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Memoria de la VII Reunión de Historiadores
Mexicanos y Norteamericanos

Papers Presented at the VII Conference of
Mexican and the United States Historians

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23-26 octubre de 1985



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO





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TOMO I



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VII CONFERENCE OF MEXICAN AND UNITED STATES HISTORIANS

Oaxaca, México

23 al 26 de octubre de 1985

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PRESENTACIÓN

Dicen que cuando Hernán Cortés le describió al emperador Carlos V la geografía de México, tomó un pedazo de pergamino en su mano, lo arrugó y lo arrojó sobre la mesa, mientras decía que el país parecía un papel arrugado. Este símil también lo hubieran entendido los aztecas, recién conquistados, si los españoles se hubieran tomado la molestia de consultarlos. La geografía tormentosa y variada del país sigue llamando la atención del observador contemporáneo con la misma fuerza, a pesar de que durante los últimos cinco siglos se hayan suavizado un poco las asperezas geográficas, gracias a los avances en el campo de los transportes y de la comunicación, y al aumento de la densidad poblacional que ha motivado el surgimiento de asentamientos humanos en casi todos los rincones de la República.

La enorme extensión territorial de la Nueva España y del México del siglo pasado, y aun la del México de hoy en día, implican una gran variedad topográfica y climática que han propiciado el surgimiento de regiones y subregiones con características ecológicas, económicas, sociales y culturales definidas y diferentes entre sí. Esta variedad regional ha influido en forma determinante en el desarrollo de la historia de México, como ha quedado demostrado por las diferentes corrientes historiográficas, entre ellas la llamada historia regional y la microhistoria, que han surgido durante la presente década.

Dentro de esta inquietud por comprender la historia mexicana desde la perspectiva regional y la espacial, se inscribieron los trabajos de la VII Reunión de Historiadores Mexicanos y Norteamericanos, que se celebró en la ciudad de Oaxaca los días 22 al 26 de octubre de 1985, y que tuvo como tema central “Las relaciones entre la ciudad, el campo y las fronteras en la historia de México”. Una gran parte de las ponencias que se presentaron en dicho evento se publican en este volumen.

Los trabajos abordan algunos de los problemas claves de la historia de México, muchos de los cuales siguen vigentes hoy día. Entre ellos destacan: la influencia y el dominio de la capital sobre el resto del país; la lucha, a nivel regional, por lograr un perfil propio y escapar de la influencia del centro; los intentos que se han llevado a cabo, en diferentes campos y en diversos momentos históricos, para descentralizar el país; el establecimiento, a nivel regional, de zonas de influencia; y los problemas fronterizos y su vinculación con el centro.

A pesar de la variedad de enfoques que presentan los ensayos, hay un tema central que se encuentra subyacente en la mayor parte de ellos y que es la problemática de cómo el espacio en general, y la distancia en particular, han influido en la historia de México y han sido en muchas ocasiones factores determinantes de su desarrollo. En ocasiones esta problemática no se aborda en forma explícita, pero está presente en la explicación histórica.

Algunos autores logran demostrar que aun situaciones como la experiencia colonial y neocolonial, o los conflictos étnicos de la sociedad mexicana, pueden ser enfocados a partir de una concepción espacial. Así, los vínculos coloniales y neocoloniales son primordialmente relaciones de poder y subordinación dentro del espacio: todo —desde las fórmulas políticas del Estado colonial (por ejemplo, el dicho colonial “obedezco pero no cumpla”), hasta las formas modernas de desarrollo dependiente (como el corporativismo transnacional)—, refleja esta compleja verdad. Por otra parte, tanto el problema de

identidad étnica como el conflicto racial, en la forma como se han dado en México a lo largo de varios siglos, casi siempre han tenido un fuerte referente territorial. Por eso, en la medida en que se ha comprimido a grupos étnicos en un mismo sitio, esto es, en las ciudades, los conflictos étnicos y las diferencias sociales han abierto el camino a otras formas de jerarquía y dominación, tales como las clases sociales y la cultura hegemónica. Inclusive el lenguaje metafórico que se utiliza en las ciencias sociales —por ejemplo, los términos de jerarquía o distanciamiento social— reflejan la dimensión espacial de los asuntos humanos.

En el fondo, la problemática espacial —de la ciudad y el campo, el centro y la periferia, tierra adentro y frontera— podría circunscribirse al sueño de un materialista. En su formulación más simple se podría reducir a un asunto de intercambios de energía entre el hombre y su entorno, con la eficiencia de la transmisión de aquella que puede ser en forma de bienes y servicios, impuestos, información o decisiones políticas, entre otros, así como con lo que los geógrafos denominan la “fricción de la distancia”. Los marcos de referencia dentro de los que se dan estos intercambios, ya sean institucionalizados o *ad-hoc*, constituyen la materia prima de los estudios modernos en historia: las relaciones de mercado, la estructura del Estado, el surgimiento del nacionalismo y la homogeneización de la cultura. Todos estos temas —que han cobrado un interés creciente durante las últimas décadas y en las cuales ha madurado la historiografía de México—, aparecen en esta colección de ensayos. Sin embargo, se trataría del sueño de un materialista con implicaciones culturales trascendentales, ya que si redujéramos nuestra comprensión teórica de la historia al determinismo geográfico, caeríamos en el riesgo de malinterpretar tanto aquello que mueve a los individuos como a las sociedades.

Por esta razón, en muchos de los trabajos encontramos otras variables que inciden tanto en el espacio como en el tiempo, tales como el impulso hacia el poder y la influencia, la preocupación por establecer dinastías familiares, un afán por mantener tradiciones culturales en peligro de extinción y la otredad.

Si se toman con seriedad el modelo del intercambio de energía con su dimensión espacial, surgen preguntas interesantes dentro del pensamiento histórico de larga duración. Por ejemplo, en este siglo, una de las preocupaciones constantes de los estudiosos de la historia de México, así como de aquellas personas que inciden en el desarrollo político y cultural del país, ha sido el crecimiento del Estado mexicano, especialmente a partir de 1910. Con esta mira se podría entender la historia política y económica del siglo XIX, e inclusive la colonial, como un prolegómeno largo y caótico que finalmente condujo al surgimiento del Estado moderno postrevolucionario. A pesar de que este tipo de enfoque puede ser considerado como simplista y hasta teleológico, puede tener algo de cierto. Las luchas, tanto políticas como militares en pos del control y la constitución del Estado mexicano, pueden verse como intentos para constituir o captar una instrumentación que redujera la fricción de la distancia, y de allí incrementar la eficiencia para la extracción de energía desde el centro. Desde luego que esto se extiende a los campos de la cultura y la ideología. Por ejemplo, en el siglo XIX, el hecho de que las personas políticamente activas se consideraran a sí mismas liberales o conservadores, tenía mucho que ver con que pensarán que el crecimiento del mercado debía anteceder al crecimiento del Estado, o viceversa. De manera parecida, el crecimiento del nacionalismo moderno mexicano —de la identidad nacional y lo mexicano— sólo ha sido posible mediante la superación de particularidades regionales, esto último gracias a la introducción de sistemas de transporte más eficientes, el crecimiento del mercado nacional, la aplicación de determinada logística militar y la expansión de los medios de información.

El presente volumen consta de setenta y cuatro trabajos, todos ellos presentados por sus autores durante la reunión de 1985 en Oaxaca. La organización temática obedece a los problemas principales abordados durante el encuentro y requiere pocos comentarios

de los editores, ya que se entiende por sí misma. Sin embargo, tal vez sea útil hacer un pequeño paseo a través de las secciones.

La coherencia de la primera sección, que se titula *Sociedades precolombinas y pueblos indígenas en la época colonial*, se basa en la dimensión temporal, más histórica en sí misma —continuidad y cambio—, pero también puede ser entendida como un sondeo de los aspectos culturales y políticos de las diferencias étnicas, sobrepuestas en la separación espacial. Dos trabajos versan sobre la época prehispánica y el resto sobre el periodo colonial. Los principales temas que se abordan en esta sección son los señoríos indígenas de Oaxaca; las características sociopolíticas de algunos municipios del centro de la Nueva España; el impacto de la inflación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI; la confesión como mecanismo de dominación y la correlación entre familia y fertilidad en Chiapas.

La segunda sección lleva por título *La política del centro y la periferia* y en ella nos confrontamos con la historia del Estado mexicano y el complejo equilibrio de fuerzas que, en algunas ocasiones lo ha fortalecido, mientras en otras lo ha debilitado. En esta sección se incluyen nueve trabajos que abarcan desde el siglo XVI hasta la época contemporánea y que tratan asuntos relacionados con las redes de influencia del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición; los medios de información y la política fiscal en la Nueva España; los efectos de la guerra de independencia y de la intervención estadounidense; la influencia del capital sobre la economía en la ciudad de México y Río de Janeiro a fines del siglo pasado y principios del presente; la concentración del desarrollo industrial y de los servicios y transportes en la ciudad de México en el porfiriato, y el problema de la frontera móvil entre el Distrito Federal y el estado de México, en la actualidad.

En *Sociedad urbana y política* se examinan diversos aspectos inherentes al tema que incluye la toma de decisiones y la concentración de poder en las urbes, la calidad de la vida urbana y los problemas migratorios, entre otros. Los trabajos sobre la época colonial analizan temas como la habitación plurifamiliar, la educación y la relación entre raza, nivel social y ocupación, y la migración hacia la ciudad de México que se dio a finales del periodo. Asimismo, se abordan aspectos sociales y políticos del siglo XIX y se analiza el papel que desempeñaron dos familias prominentes en dicho siglo. La influencia extranjera en México es tema de tres trabajos, cada uno con un enfoque particular. Dos interesantes ponencias hablan sobre problemas de la ciudad de México en la época contemporánea.

En la cuarta sección, al investigar sobre las conexiones entre la *Ciudad y campo* se pone de manifiesto la estrecha relación y mutua dependencia entre ambos. La existencia de las urbes depende del suministro de víveres del campo, a la vez que el campo depende de las ciudades en cuanto a tecnología, crédito, insumos y al mercado para vender sus productos. En varios de los trabajos se analizan fenómenos, tanto para la época colonial como para el siglo XIX. Otros aspectos tratados son: las consecuencias de la Revolución y Postrevolución en el campo y en las ciudades; las comunicaciones en Michoacán durante el porfiriato y las mujeres en los ámbitos urbano y rural en Yucatán, durante los años revolucionarios.

En la quinta sección, *Sociedad fronteriza y política*, se introduce la noción de frontera que implica pensar en términos espaciales mayores y que se convierte en una variable cualitativamente diferente, sobre todo cuando es estimulada por la magnitud creciente de las fuerzas centrípetas y el choque con otros sistemas culturales y políticos. Varias ponencias abordan la problemática que las regiones fronterizas de México enfrentan en el ámbito económico, cultural y social, en diferentes periodos de la historia de México. Asimismo, la confluencia de grupos étnicos diferentes en estas zonas y las interrelaciones entre los mismos, es sujeto de análisis. Otros aspectos tratados son los diferentes intentos de colonización; los movimientos poblacionales en el desierto, motivados por el desarrollo de la minería y, finalmente, el empleo de mano de obra mexicana en los Estados Unidos, en el presente.



Los ensayos de las dos últimas secciones, *Problemas de industrialización* y *Vida intelectual, educación y arte*, no tratan de manera directa o explícita el problema espacial, si bien se vinculan con muchos de los problemas abordados con anterioridad. Los tres trabajos sobre industrialización proporcionan, en conjunto, una visión del desarrollo de esta rama productiva y de la problemática que enfrenta en cuanto a la mano de obra, comercialización, etc., desde la colonia hasta nuestros días.

En el último inciso predominan los estudios sobre la educación, temática que es abordada bajo diferentes enfoques y que abarca épocas distintas: los problemas de financiamiento de la educación; la educación en Nuevo México; la educación técnica durante el porfiriato; la enseñanza religiosa en las escuelas particulares, así como educación en el campo. Otros aspectos tratados son la labor misionera en la Colonia y en la época actual; la novela en la época porfirista y las parroquias del norte de México.

Por último, los editores queremos expresar nuestro agradecimiento a todas las personas que hicieron posible la edición de esta memoria: del lado norteamericano a Cheryl Martin y Allen Wells que colaboraron en la parte inicial del proceso editorial, así como a Hugh Hamill, Michael Meyer y Jaime Rodríguez; y del lado mexicano a Virginia Guedea, Johanna Broda y a Roberto Moreno de los Arcos.

Asimismo, hay que destacar el apoyo recibido del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México que financió la presente edición.

RICARDO SÁNCHEZ, ERIC VAN YOUNG, GISELA VON WOBESER



I. Sociedades precolombinas y pueblos indígenas en la época colonial





Elsa M. Redmond
Charles S. Spencer*

**The Prehistoric City and State of Monte Albán:
a View from its Frontier**

In line with the theme and the setting of this conference, our paper deals with the ancient Zapotec state, whose capital was the hilltop center of Monte Albán, here in the Oaxaca Valley. The seventeenth-century friar Francisco de Burgoa, whose accounts of the Dominican mission in Oaxaca include firsthand information about the Valley Zapotec and their history, described the Zapotec state as:

tan señora y tan apoderada de las demás de su horizonte, que ambiciosos sus reyes, rompieron los términos de su mando, y se entraron feroces, y valientes por chontales, mijes, y tierras marítimas de ambos mares del Sur, y del Norte, hiriendo, matando y venciendo, hasta señorear los fértiles llanos de Teguantepeque.¹

In this paper we hope to demonstrate that Fray Francisco de Burgoa's characterization of the protohistoric Zapotec nation is relevant to the ancient Zapotec state, which arose in the Oaxaca Valley around the time of Christ. We will evaluate the applicability of using ethnohistorical information about sixteenth-century Zapotec militarism to understand the prehistoric Zapotec, whose militaristic activities can be gleaned only by means of archaeological research. We will examine the development of the Zapotec state centered at Monte Albán from the point of view of one of its frontiers, the Cañada de Cuicatlán, north of the Oaxaca Valley (Figure 1). It was here that we conducted archaeological investigations in 1977 and 1978 in order to evaluate the possibility that the Monte Albán state emerged in a context of Zapotec military expansion.

Monte Albán as a militaristic state

Where the three branches of the Oaxaca Valley come together is a series of hills on top of which extends the site of Monte Albán. Our understanding of the founding and development of Monte Albán derives from the work of many Mexican and American archaeologists, beginning with Alfonso Caso, who initiated the first large-scale explorations at the site in 1931. Monte Albán was first settled towards the end of the Middle Formative period, around 500 B.C. (Figure 2). In this founding Period Early I (500-300 B.C.), Monte Albán had a population of about 5,000 people distributed on residential terraces around the Main Plaza, according to Richard Blanton, who directed the surface survey and mapping project of the ancient city.² Excavations by Caso, Ignacio Bernal, and Jorge Acosta in the plaza area have revealed that there were just two public buildings here in Period Early I.³

*University of Connecticut

¹Fray Francisco de Burgoa, *Geográfica Descripción*, Tomo I (1674); reprinted in *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación*, 25 (Mexico City, 1934), p. 412.

²Richard E. Blanton, et. al., *Ancient Mesoamerica* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 70.

³Jorge R. Acosta, "Preclassic and Classic Architecture of Oaxaca" in G.R. Willey, ed., *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Volume 3 (Austin, 1965), pp. 814-817; Blanton, et. al., *Ancient Mesoamerica*, p. 69; Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, "The Earliest Public Buildings, Tombs and Monuments at Monte Albán, with Notes on the Internal Chronology of Period I", in K.V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People* (New York, 1983), pp. 87-91.

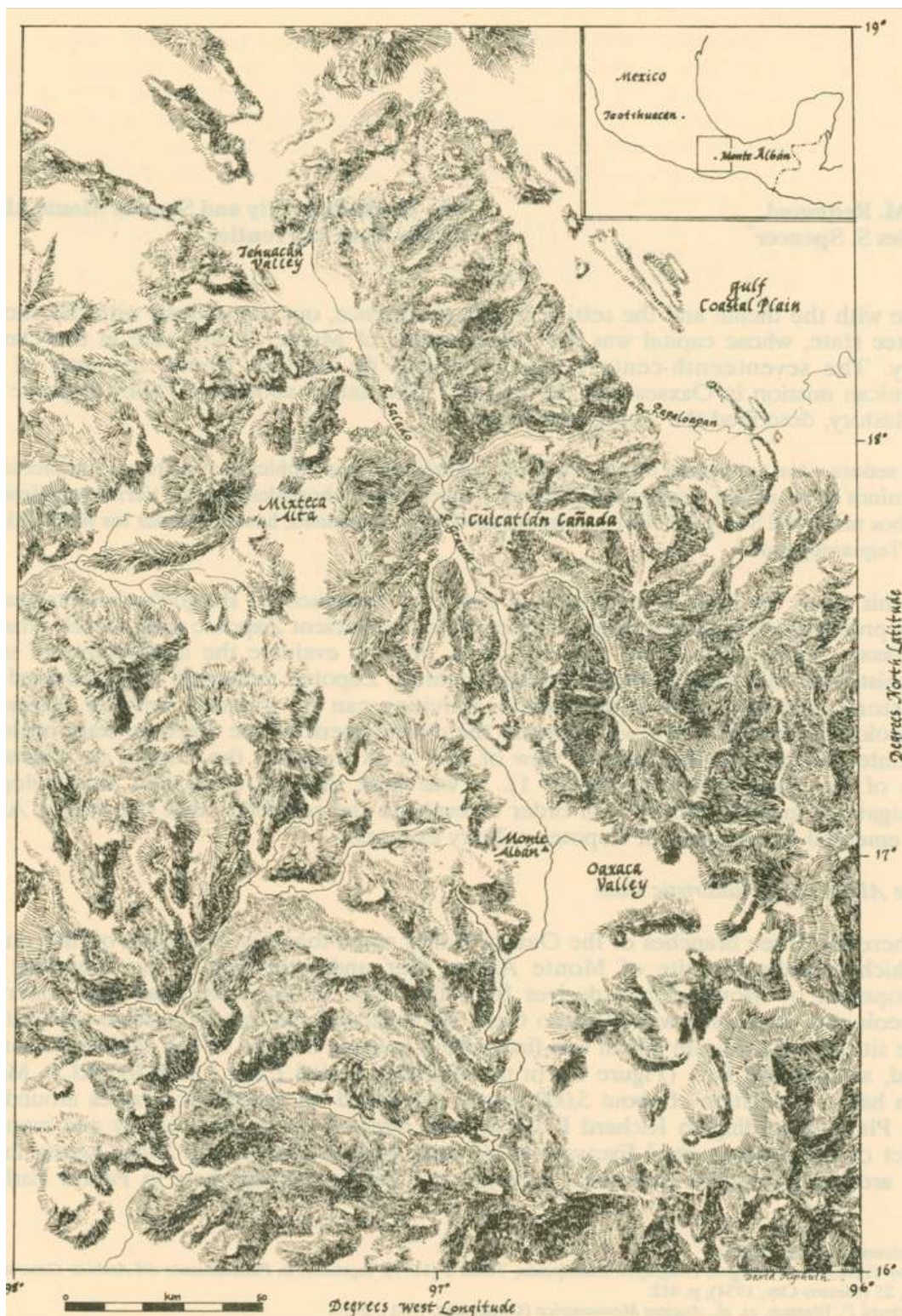


Fig. 1. Interregional map showing the relationship of the Valley of Oaxaca, the Cuicatlán Cañada, and the Valley of Tehuacán, México.

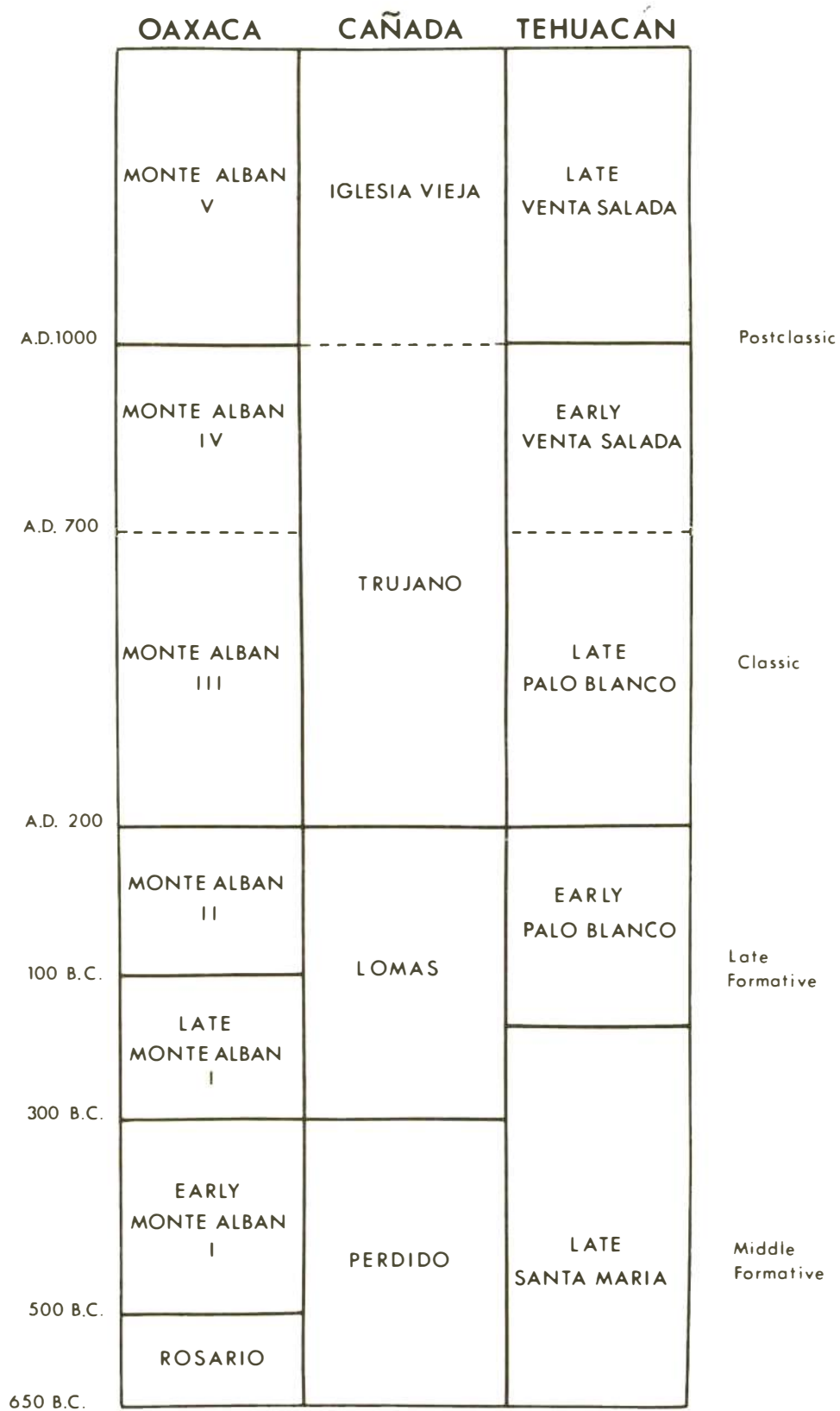


Fig. 2. Correspondence of ceramic phases in the Valley of Oaxaca, the Cuicatlán Cañada, and the Valley of Tehuacán.

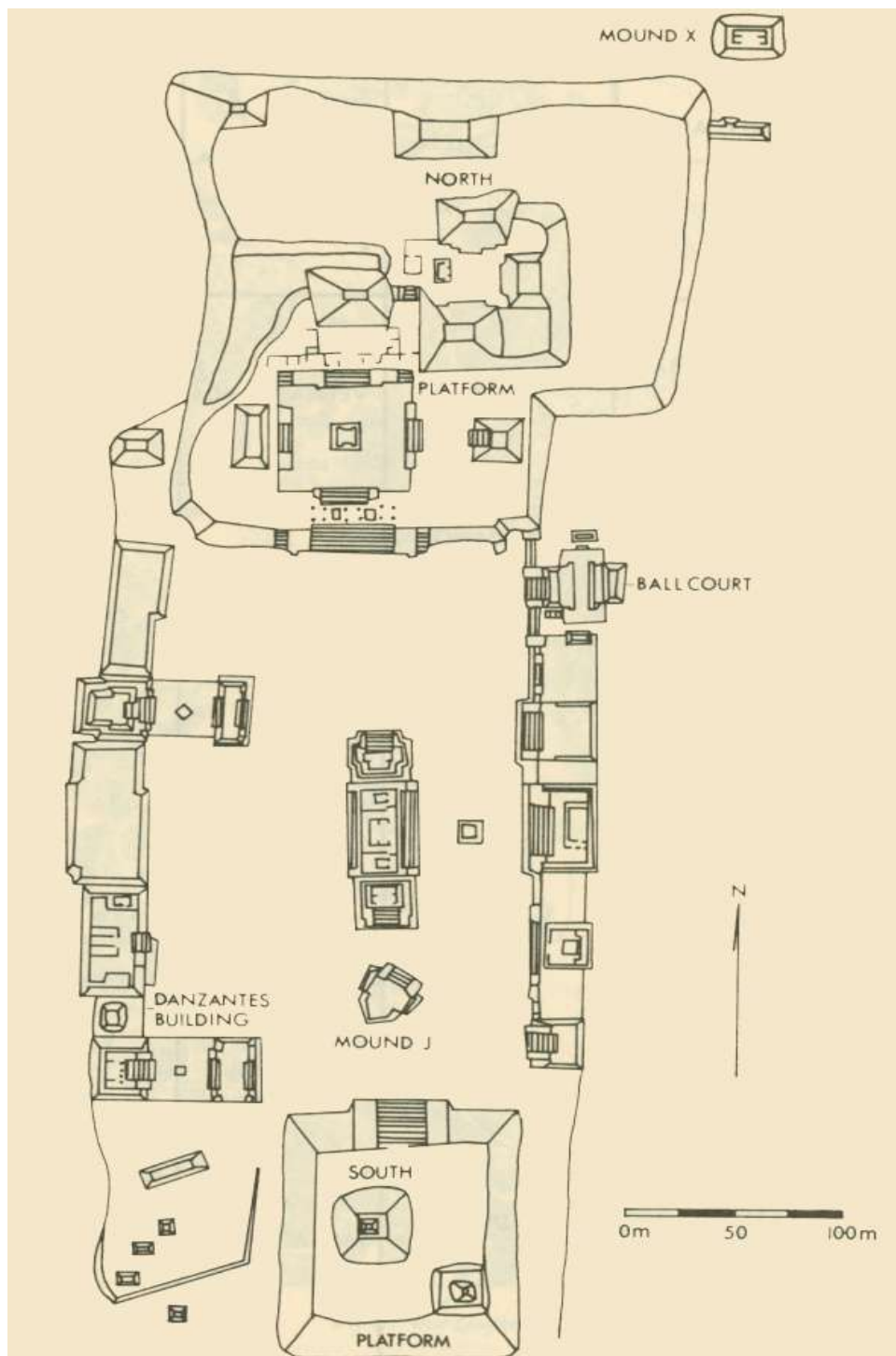


Fig. 3. Plan of the Main Plaza at Monte Albán (adapted from Marcus, 1980 : 54)

One of these was the *Danzantes* building, as it has come to be named for the rows of bas-relief representations of naked male figures or *danzantes* along its eastern face. Of all the interpretations that these *danzantes* have elicited, none is more convincing than Michael Coe's suggestion that they depict the naked bodies of slain captives.⁴ Joyce Marcus, who has been studying the inscribed stone monuments at Monte Albán, thinks it is significant that the 310 or more Period Early I *danzantes* constitute 80% of all the inscribed stone monuments at the site. She suggests that Monte Albán's rulers mounted this symbolic display of slain captives during the founding period to intimidate their enemies and reassure their supporters, before they had amassed effective political power over the region and had achieved true statehood.⁵

During the Late Formative period, by the beginning of Period II (100 B.C. - A.D. 200), Monte Albán's population had grown to over 15,000 persons and major building projects had been initiated at the hilltop center. The Main Plaza was formally laid out and impressive building platforms were raised on its four sides (Figure 3). These public buildings were both large in scale and architecturally diverse. Among them were a rectangular two-room temple structure, an I-shaped sunken ballcourt, a large *adoratorio*, and an arrowhead-shaped structure known as Building J, which we will return to describe in more detail. At the same time that these new and varied public buildings were constructed on the Main Plaza, a massive defensive wall was erected along much of the base of Monte Albán.⁶

If we assume that public buildings like temples and defensive walls reflect "different sociopolitical institutions and different sets of personnel"⁷ regardless of the sacred or secular nature of the activities with which they are associated, the marked increase in the scale and variety of public architecture at the site in Period II signals a qualitative transformation of Monte Albán's administrative role during the Late Formative period: in short, the rise of a Zapotec state centered there. For while pre-state polities lack internally-specialized administrative organizations, states are bureaucratic societies with large, centralized, and internally-specialized administrative organizations.⁸ Specialized components perform part of the state's administrative duties, among them erecting public buildings and roads, manufacturing and marketing items, exacting tribute, waging war, performing a variety of bureaucratic services, and tending religious sanctuaries.

In keeping with the possible emergence of an internally-specialized administrative organization at Monte Albán by Period II is the occurrence of virtually identical structures at certain Late Formative centers down on the valley floor, such as a two-room temple at San José Mogote and an arrowhead-shaped building at Caballito Blanco.⁹ The appearance of these functionally specific public buildings at secondary centers on the valley floor probably reflects the capacity of the Monte Albán state administration by Period II to delegate authority to specialized administrators at locations other than the capital.

If the Zapotec state indeed arose during the Late Formative period with its capital at Monte Albán, a particular body of inscribed stone monuments there provides us with an intriguing insight into the character of the newly-formed state. There are over 40 inscribed

⁴Michael D. Coe, *Mexico* (New York, 1962), p. 95.

⁵Joyce Marcus, "The Iconography of Power among the Classic Maya", *World Archaeology*, 6 (1974), p. 90.

⁶Richard E. Blanton, "The Founding of Monte Albán" in K.V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People* (New York, 1983), pp. 83-87; Alfonso Caso, Ignacio Bernal, and Jorge R. Acosta, *La Cerámica de Monte Albán*, Memorias del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Vol. 3 (Mexico City, 1967), pp. 90-106, Plano I, 137-141; Kent V. Flannery, "The Development of Monte Albán's Main Plaza in Period II", in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, pp. 102-104; Richard E. Blanton, *Monte Albán* (New York, 1978), p. 52.

⁷Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, "Evolution of the Public Building in Formative Oaxaca", in C. Cleland, ed., *Cultural Change and Continuity* (New York, 1976), p. 206.

⁸Henry T. Wright, "Recent Research on the Origin of the State", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 6 (1977), p. 383.

⁹Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, "San José Mogote in Monte Albán II: A Secondary Administrative Center", in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, p. 112; John Paddock, "Monte Albán II in the Yagul-Caballito Blanco Area", in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, pp. 116-117.

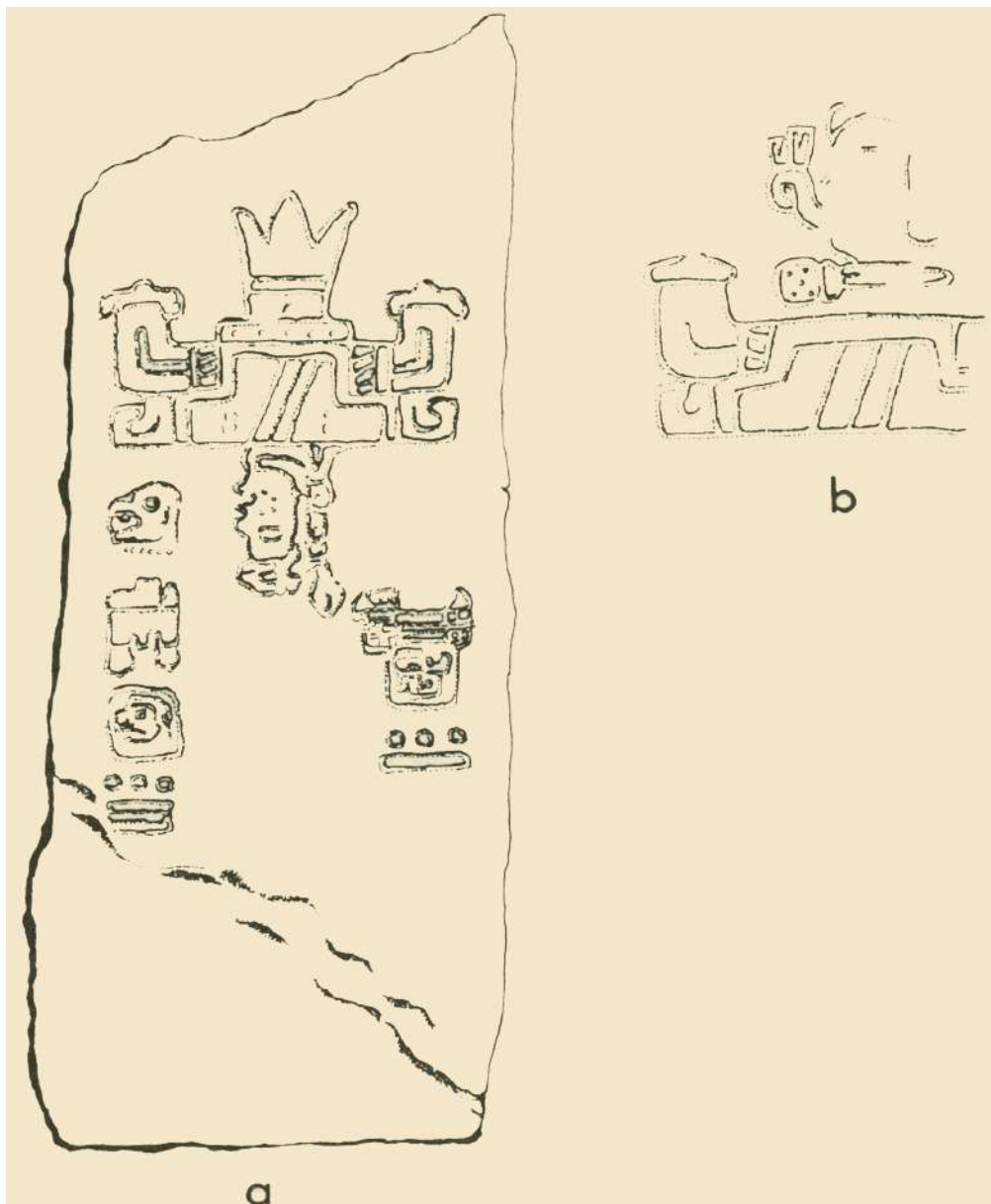


Fig. 4. a) Building J. conquest slab (from A. Caso, 1947)
b) Cuicatlán place glyph (from J. Marcus, 1980)

stone slabs on the walls of the arrowhead-shaped Building J, which was erected in the Main Plaza during Period II. First deciphered by Caso, the Building J inscriptions typically include the following elements: 1) an upside-down human head with closed eyes that is a standard convention for indicating conquest in Mesoamerican writing systems; 2) a “hill” glyph that is a general sign for “place”; 3) a combination of glyphs above the “hill” glyph that refers to the specific name of the place (Figure 4a). Caso concluded that each of the inscribed stone slabs on Building J recorded one of Monte Albán’s military conquests in the Late Formative period.¹⁰ More recently, Marcus has been trying to identify the names of the places conquered by Monte Albán with the aid of the Codex Mendoza, which includes a sixteenth-century Aztec tribute roll. All of the conquered places that she has identified to date lie outside the Valley of Oaxaca. The Building J conquest slabs underscore the militaristic character of the emergent Monte Albán state. This important iconographic evidence further suggests that Monte Albán’s ascension to statehood might have been concurrent with a campaign of military conquests outside the Oaxaca Valley.

One of the place signs on Building J consists of a human head in profile from which emanates an ornate speech scroll (Figure 4b). On the basis of its close resemblance to a known place sign listed in the Codex Mendoza, Marcus has proposed that this conquered “Place of Song” corresponds to the Cañada de Cuicatlán,¹¹ precisely the region where we conducted our investigations of early Zapotec imperialism.

A model of the Cañada’s subjugation by Monte Albán

The Cañada de Cuicatlán, home of the Cuicatec Indians in the early sixteenth century, is a narrow canyon about 32 kilometers long linking the Oaxaca Valley with the Tehuacán Valley to the north (Figure 1). The Río Grande, whose headwaters lie in the mountains immediately north of the Oaxaca Valley, flows north along the canyon floor to the present town of Santiago Quiotepec, where it joins the Río Salado, flowing south from the Tehuacán Valley. This natural corridor through the southern Mexican highlands formed a segment of the *Camino Real* in the colonial period, and we know that it served a similar function in pre-Conquest times, most notably for Motecuhzoma II’s troops on their way to attack the Valley Zapotec.¹²

In contrast to the 1500-1700 meter elevations of the Oaxaca and Tehuacán Valleys, the Cañada varies between 500 and 700 meters above sea level. The Sierra Madre Oriental to the east creates an effective rainshadow in the canyon, where an average of less than 300 millimeters of rain falls each year. Human habitation in this *tierra caliente* region is limited to places where the major tributaries join the Río Grande to produce relatively broad alluvial fans. Although there is too little rainfall in the Cañada for successful dry farming, these alluvial fans are farmed intensively using various irrigation techniques. Flood-water farming is practiced on some stretches of low alluvium flanking the river, and the remaining low alluvium can be irrigated by constructing simple *tomas de agua* (diversionary dams) of stone and brush to divert and channel water from the river onto adjacent fields. In order to cultivate the higher alluvium on remnant river terraces, water is drawn from tributary streams by means of an extensive network of canals.

With irrigation, the Cañada’s alluvial soils can yield up to 3-4 metric tons of shelled maize per hectare yearly, a figure that compares favorably with the yields of maize planted

¹⁰Alfonso Caso, “Calendario y escritura de las antiguas culturas de Monte Albán”, in *Obras Completas de Miguel Othón de Mendizábal* (Mexico City, 1947), Vol. I, pp. 21-28.

¹¹Joyce Marcus, “The Iconography of Militarism at Monte Albán and Neighboring Sites in the Valley of Oaxaca”, in H.B. Nicholson, ed., *The Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 130-131; Joyce Marcus, “The Conquest Slabs of Building J, Monte Albán”, in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, p. 108; Joyce Marcus, “Zapotec Writing”, *Scientific American*, 242 (1980), p. 56.

¹²Joseph W. Hopkins, III, *Irrigation and the Cuicatec Ecosystem: A Study of Agriculture and Civilization in North Central Oaxaca*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir, No. 17 (Ann Arbor, 1984), pp. 20-21.

on the most productive land in the valleys of Oaxaca and Tehuacán.¹³ Aside from its potential for maize agriculture, today this tierra caliente region is famed for its tropical fruits, including the native *chicozapote*, black *zapote*, and *ciruela*, none of which can be grown in the surrounding mountain valleys. The Cañada's productive specialization in the cultivation of tropical fruits has a long history, inasmuch as the sixteenth-century *Relación de Cuicatlán* noted that the tropical fruits from the Cañada were the best in New Spain:

como es tierra caliente ay en el muchas frutas de la tierra y muy buenas, que se tiene por cierto son las mejores de la Nueva España.¹⁴

Cotton was also grown in the Cañada at the time of the Spanish Conquest and was woven into cloth for mantles.¹⁵ Today, however, much of the Cañada's alluvium is devoted to the cultivation of post-Hispanic cash crops, the most important of which are sugar cane and the more recently introduced mango. Large, privately-owned fruit plantations exist in the Cañada today, reflecting a pattern of land ownership similar to the handful of colonial period *haciendas* that still dot the canyon floor.

We carried out archaeological investigations in the Cañada de Cuicatlán to evaluate the hypothesis of a Zapotec conquest of this strategically-located, fertile canyon in the Late Formative period, as suggested by Marcus's reading of one of the conquest slabs on Building J at Monte Albán. Accordingly, we formulated a model of Zapotec conquest of the Cañada in the Late Formative period. If the Building J inscriptions referred to outright territorial conquest and subjugation of regions like the Cañada de Cuicatlán, we sought to determine what the effects of a Zapotec conquest strategy would have been upon the conquered regions. Moreover, in view of the aforementioned evidence from the Oaxaca Valley suggesting that such a campaign of interregional conquests by Monte Albán might have been concurrent with its transformation into the capital of a state, we needed to understand the implications of a Zapotec conquest strategy for the development of the Monte Albán state.

The ethnohistorical evidence

The conquest model drew heavily upon ethnohistory for detailed information about Zapotec military organization and Zapotec expansionism during the Late Postclassic period. The sources consist principally of the writings of Fray Juan de Córdova and Fray Francisco de Burgoa, two Dominican friars who lived among the Valley Zapotec in the early colonial period. Spanish-born Fray Juan de Córdova was assigned to a Dominican convent in the Oaxaca Valley in 1570. In a very short period he had mastered the Zapotec language and completed his dictionary and grammar of it.¹⁶ Fray Francisco de Burgoa was born in Oaxaca in 1605, and his apostolic writings contain primary information about Valley Zapotec life and history.¹⁷

¹³Elsa M. Redmond, *A Fuego y Sangre: Early Zapotec Imperialism in the Cuicatlán Cañada, Oaxaca*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir, No. 16 (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 20-21, 39-40; Anne V. T. Kirkby, *The Use of Land and Water Resources in the Past and Present Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir, No. 5 (Ann Arbor, 1973), pp. 61-62; Charles S. Spencer, "Irrigation, Administration, and Society in Formative Tehuacán", in R.D. Drennan, ed., *Prehistoric Social, Political, and Economic Development in the Area of the Tehuacán Valley: Some Results of the Palo Blanco Project*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Technical Report, No. 11 (Ann Arbor, 1979), p. 65.

¹⁴Juan Gallego, "Relación de Cuicatlán" (1580), in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España: Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1905), vol. 4, p. 187.

¹⁵Eva Hunt, "Irrigation and the Socio-Political Organization of Cuicatec Cacicazgos", in R.S. MacNeish, general ed., *The Prehistory of the Tehuacán Valley*, 5 vols., F. Johnson, ed., *Chronology and Irrigation* (Austin, 1972), vol. 4, p. 195.

¹⁶Fray Juan de Córdova, *Vocabulario en Lengua Zapoteca* (Mexico City, 1578), reprinted in *Biblioteca Lingüística Mexicana*, I (Mexico City, 1942); Fray Juan de Córdova, *Arte en Lengua Zapoteca* (1578; reprinted, Mexico City, 1886).

¹⁷Fray Francisco de Burgoa, *Palestra Historial de Virtudes y Ejemplares Apostólicas* (1670), reprinted in *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación*, 24 (Mexico City, 1934); Fray Francisco de Burgoa, *Geográfica Descripción* (1674), 2 vols., reprinted in *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación*, vols. 25-26 (Mexico City, 1934).



Córdova's and Burgoa's accounts are invaluable to archaeologists who study the prehistoric Zapotec, even though hundreds of years separate the sixteenth-century Zapotec described by Córdova and Burgoa from their early forerunners who founded the Monte Albán state. In the case of the Zapotec, many continuities have been found to link the language and culture of the modern Valley Zapotec with their predecessors of the historic and prehistoric past, possibly as far back as 3000 B.C.¹⁸ Consequently, the ethnohistorical descriptions of Córdova and Burgoa constitute our bridge to the prehistoric Zapotec. Their word-lists and descriptions pertaining to Zapotec military practices and imperial strategies in the Late Postclassic period helped us to construct a general model of Monte Albán's proposed subjugation of regions like the Cañada de Cuicatlán in the prehistoric Late Formative period, a model which could then be subjected to independent archaeological verification. In view of the long-term continuities in Zapotec culture, we should not be surprised if some elements of Zapotec militarism and frontier administration that are known to have been practiced by the Postclassic Zapotec were legacies from earlier times.

Burgoa, who characterized the Late Postclassic Zapotec state as powerful and expansionistic, mentioned two underlying motivations for attacking and subjugating nearby regions. The Valley Zapotec sought captives taken in warfare for ritual sacrifices or for sale in Zapotec markets. They also conducted military campaigns in order to subjugate towns and entire foreign regions and extract tribute from them. Their armies, composed of ranked military orders and led by captains, employed a variety of weapons and military techniques to this end. One tactic involved marching into enemy territory in overwhelming numbers, carrying shields and meeting the opposing forces with clubs, broadswords studded with obsidian blades, spears, dart-throwers, and arrows. Another tactic was to set fire to communities and to massacre any inhabitants who mounted a resistance.¹⁹ The campaign that the Zapotec conducted against the Mexican armies in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec around 1495 exemplified yet another military stratagem, in which fortifications were erected on mountaintops at strategic points overlooking major communication routes, from where surprise attacks were launched against the enemy forces.

Following a region's defeat and surrender to the Zapotec forces, the Zapotec state seized control over the previously autonomous area. Those towns that had formerly paid tribute to their own rulers now became tributary to the Zapotec state. In order to ensure the allegiance of the newly-tributary populations, the Zapotec established fortified garrisons in the conquered lands, and Zapotec military captains and garrison troops manned these frontier installations under the supervision of a designated frontier administrator. In two cases recorded by Burgoa this frontier administrator was a member of the Zapotec ruler's lineage.

The Zapotec administration of conquered regions included both military and civil functions. Zapotec military might was concentrated in fortified garrisons on hilltops, for the purpose of defending the expanded borders of Zapotec territory and keeping watch over the subject population. These frontier installations required abundant manpower for their construction and maintenance as well as personnel to guard them, to produce food and other necessary supplies, to draw water, and to act as spies, among other duties. According to Burgoa, the subject population supplied much of the necessary manpower and provisions to maintain the Zapotec military installations in partial payment of their tribute to the Zapotec state. The remaining tribute due was sent to the Zapotec rulers in the Valley of Oaxaca. One of the principal duties of the Zapotec administrators in a conquered region was to oversee the collection and shipment of tribute to the state

¹⁸Joyce Marcus, "The Genetic Model and the Linguistic Divergence of the Otomangueans", in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, pp. 6-7; Joseph W. Whitecotton, *The Zapotecs: Princes, Priests and Peasants* (Norman, 1977); Joyce Marcus, "Archaeology and Religion: A Comparison of the Zapotec and Maya", *World Archaeology*, 10 (1978), pp. 172-179; Joyce Marcus and Kent V. Flannery, "Ethnoscience of the Sixteenth-Century Valley Zapotec", in R.I. Ford, ed., *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Paper, No. 67 (Ann Arbor, 1978), pp. 51-79.

¹⁹Redmond, *A Fuego y Sangre*, pp. 26-29.

capital. We are fortunate to have Burgoa's description of the tribute collected by the Late Postclassic Zapotec in Nejapa, a tierra caliente region traversed by the Camino Real en route from Oaxaca to Tehuantepec; tribute here was paid in prickly-pear fruit, vanilla, cochineal, and cotton mantles.

The Zapotec administration of conquered regions constituted a reign of terror for the subject populations. Burgoa wrote that in one frontier region, for example:

se hacían temer con crueldades y carnicerías que hacían de los que no les eran muy sujetos, y con ferocidades de bestias castigaban el menor recelo que tenían de su fidelidad, y siendo exploradores eran los más ciegos, y inhumanos, teniendo tan oprimidos a los vasallos, que como mastines rabiosos primero los despedazaban que se oyese el ladrido de su braveza, bestial política que aún entre gentiles fue atentamente prevenida en las fronteras.²⁰

Sometimes the skulls and bones of the butchered victims were used to construct skull racks as a symbol of conquest.

The archaeological expectations

In view of the ethnohistorical information we collected concerning Late Postclassic Zapotec militarism and frontier policies, we expected the effects of the hypothesized Zapotec conquest strategy in the Late Formative period to be archaeologically detectable in the Cañada de Cuicatlán. As the Zapotec armies swept through the Cañada they would probably have left signs of warfare and devastation, including the possible destruction of entire communities. We therefore expected to find abrupt discontinuities in the regional settlement pattern in response to the Zapotec incursion, including the sudden establishment of hilltop fortifications. Moreover, we expected to find archaeological evidence of the region's transformation into a tributary province of the Monte Albán state. Native political institutions in the region would probably have been eliminated and replaced by a Zapotec frontier administration whose duties included the military defense and control of the conquered territory and the exaction of tribute from its inhabitants. This political reorganization of the Cañada at the hand of the Monte Albán state might be manifested archaeologically by a new regional settlement-size hierarchy as well as by evidence of a clear Zapotec military presence in the area.

Individual communities within the conquered region would have been forced to meet Zapotec tribute demands. If the local economy of the Cañada prior to the Zapotec take-over was not capable of meeting those tribute demands, we would expect to find archaeological evidence reflecting a reorganization of the region's productive activities. For example, the Zapotec might have stepped up the production of the desired tribute items by expanding and altering the Cañada's agricultural regime. Needless to say, any exchange relationships that the Cañada might have maintained previously with other regions, including the Valley of Oaxaca, would have been disrupted following its incorporation into Zapotec territory. We therefore expected to find changes in the regional distribution of exotic goods imported to the Cañada after the hypothesized Zapotec take-over.

Finally, if the Valley Zapotec did pursue an interregional conquest strategy during the Late Formative period, the effects of such a strategy should also have been felt back at Monte Albán, the capital of the expanding polity. To begin with, in order for the Valley Zapotec to have embarked upon a campaign of conquest they would have needed to establish a permanent military organization, especially if no such institution existed prior to the Late Formative period. Given what we know about Late Postclassic Zapotec military organization, we would expect to find archaeological evidence signalling the

²⁰Burgoa, *Geográfica Descripción*, vol. 2, pp. 11-12.

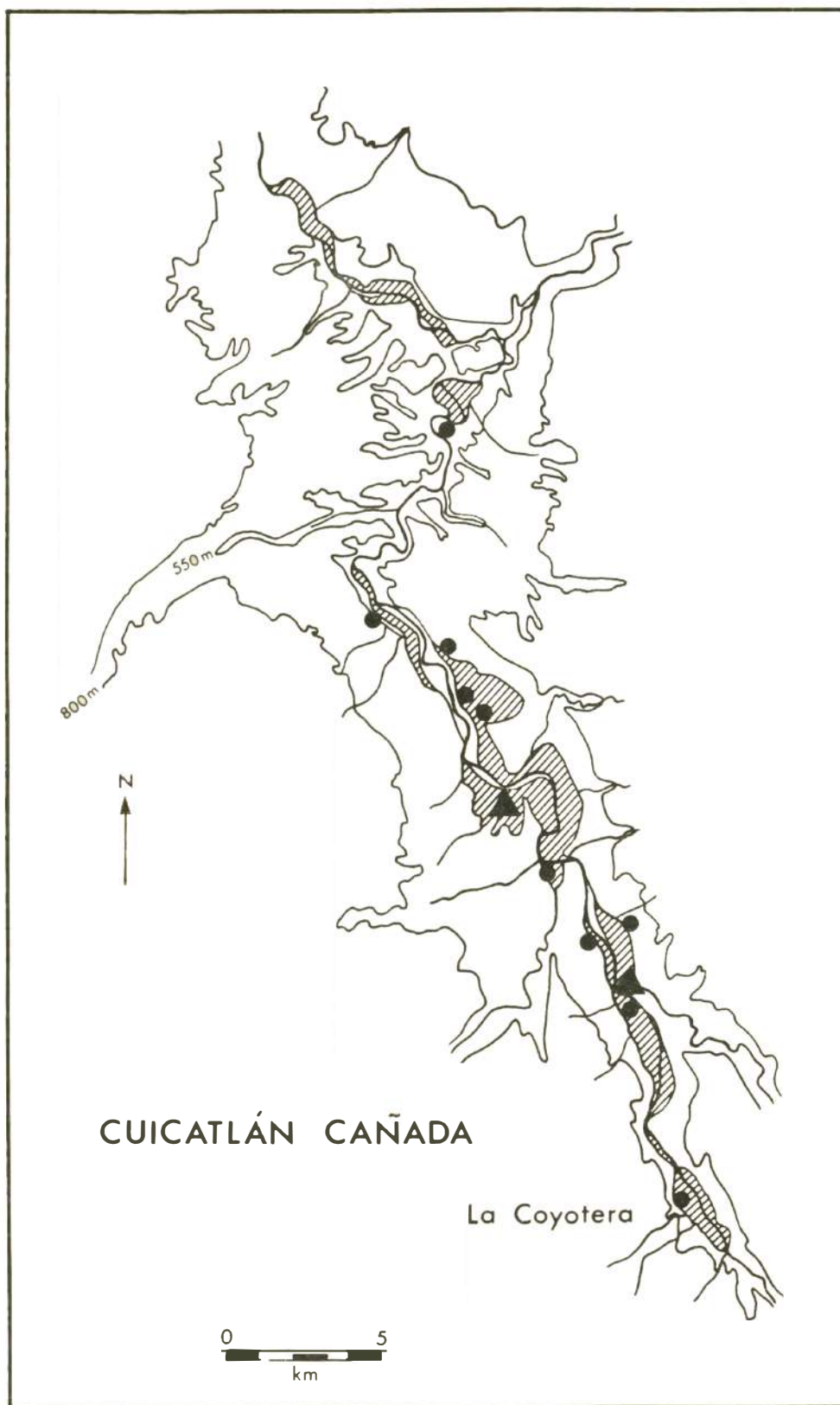


Fig. 5. Perdido phase regional settlement pattern map. Sites smaller than 5 ha, ●; sites larger than 5 ha, ▲

development of a body of military specialists and warriors in the Late Formative period, as well as archaeological manifestations of militaristic activities, including the construction of fortifications and other facilities both within and outside the Oaxaca Valley. Aside from a burgeoning military organization needed to subjugate other areas, the long-term success of the Zapotec conquest strategy also would have depended upon Monte Albán's ability to administer the subjugated regions and to oversee a vast tributary network –possibly encompassing the more than 40 conquered places recorded on Building J. We propose that the management of such a vast imperial network would have necessitated an elaboration of Monte Albán's administrative organization, and would thus expect to see signs of a significant increase in the complexity of Monte Albán's administration in the Late Formative period.

The archaeological evaluation of our conquest model for the Cañada de Cuicatlán required a comprehensive research design, one that could monitor aspects of both regional and community organization in the Cañada, beginning in the Middle Formative period before the proposed Zapotec take-over, and continuing through to the Late Formative and Classic periods (Figure 2). To collect information on the nature of regional organization, we conducted a regional settlement-pattern survey that included locating, mapping, and surface-collecting all the Formative and Classic period sites in the Cañada. Subsequently, we carried out excavations at the site of La Coyotera, which included Middle Formative, late Formative, and Classic period occupations. The program of excavation at La Coyotera was designed to investigate the nature of the community's economy and sociopolitical organization before and after the hypothesized Zapotec conquest of the Cañada.

The Cañada de Cuicatlán in the middle formative period

The Cañada de Cuicatlán witnessed the development of small farming communities on all four of its alluvial fans during the Middle Formative Perdido phase (ca. 650-300 B.C.) (Figure 2). All eleven Perdido phase sites in the Cañada were located on high alluvial terraces or low piedmont spurs directly overlooking stretches of low alluvium (Figure 5). While the majority of these Middle Formative settlements ranged in size between one and five hectares, two were substantially larger; one covered almost eight hectares and the other was at least nine hectares in size. There is archaeological evidence, therefore, of a two-level hierarchy of settlement sizes in the Cañada at this time.

The two sites in the upper level of the settlement-size hierarchy were also the only ones with pyramidal mounds up to four meters tall arranged around central plazas. Our excavations at La Coyotera, one of the Middle Formative sites on the lower level of the settlement-size hierarchy, exposed low platforms less than a meter in height contained within residential compounds and associated with certain ritual artifacts.²¹ These differences in scale between the public architecture found at sites on the upper and lower levels of the regional settlement-size hierarchy may reflect the existence of a two-tiered administrative hierarchy (made up of two chiefly centers and their subsidiary villages) in the Cañada during the Middle Formative period.

Our survey did not turn up any irrigation facilities in association with these Middle Formative period communities on the high alluvium, so we suggest that their inhabitants were farming the low alluvium using simple techniques of diversionary dam irrigation that are still practiced along the Río Grande today. The two larger centers were located on the Cañada's broadest alluvial fans, which have the greatest amounts of low alluvium. We estimate, however, that settlements on all of the regions's alluvial fans could easily have

²¹Charles S. Spencer, *The Cuicatlán Cañada and Monte Alban* (New York, 1982), pp. 136-145.

Table 1
Tropical Fruit Remains and Craft-Related
Artifacts in Perdido and Lomas Phase Midden
Deposits at La Coyotera

	Perdido Phase Midden Debris ^a	Lomas Phase Midden Debris ^a
Tropical Fruit Remains		
Total weight of <i>coyol</i> palm endocarps (g)	5.0	80.9
Total weight of <i>Palmae</i> seed fragments	0	20.6
Total number of black <i>zapote</i> seed fragments	32	46
Total number of <i>ciruela</i> seed fragments	0	36
Craft-Related Artifacts		
Notched stones (poss. loom weights)	3	0
Perforated sherd disks (poss. spindle whorls)	1	0
Other sherd disks	5	0

^aThe total volume of excavated midden debris (Perdido phase: 11.94m³; Lomas phase: 6.45m³) and the total number of diagnostic ceramics (Perdido phase: 1875; Lomas phase: 812) provide a relative measure of the "amount" of midden deposit represented in each column of the table



Table 2
Distribution of Imported Prestige Goods
at Perdido Phase Sites

Site	Number of Collection ^a	Total Ceramic Diagnostics	Total Oaxaca Pottery	Total Oaxaca Pottery Total Diagnostic (x 100)	Total Obsidian	Total Obsidian Total Diagnostics (x 100)	Total Shell
Cs27	0*						
Cs4	6	343	6	1.749	30	8.746	0
Cs5	0*						
Cs6	1	**	0	**	3	**	0
Cs9	2	155	1	0.645	9	5.806	0
Cs10 ^b	6	389	11	2.828	42	10.797	1
Cs15	13	252	2	0.794	17	6.746	0
Cs17	5	229	1	0.437	20	8.734	0
Cs19 ^b	2	298	7	2.349	27	9.060	1
Cs21	4	116	1	0.862	6	5.172	0
Cs25	5	427	4	0.937	41	9.602	0

^aIncluded in the analysis are all pure Perdido phase collections.

*Single asterisk indicates the absence of pure Perdido phase collections.

**Double asterisk indicates a sample too small for meaningful analysis.

^bThe two proposed chiefly centers are Cs10 and Cs19.

been supported just by farming the associated low alluvium.²² Their economic self-sufficiency was evidenced at La Coyotera by a wide range of productive activities, including the cultivation of the black *zapote* and the *coyol* palm (Table 1). The Middle Formative inhabitants of La Coyotera also pursued a variety of craft activities such as spinning, weaving, obsidian working, and shell working.

These Middle Formative settlements in the Cañada de Cuicatlán also had access to a variety of items imported from neighboring regions, including elaborate ceramics from the Oaxaca Valley, obsidian from Central Mexico, and marine shell from both the Pacific and Atlantic coastal regions (Table 2). Their distribution among Perdido phase sites agrees with the proposed two-level regional administrative hierarchy: the surface collections from the two larger settlements tended to have relatively more of these imported items than the surface collections from the smaller settlements. We suggest, therefore, that the two large chiefly centers in the Cañada probably functioned as nodal points in the interregional exchange networks that linked the Cañada de Cuicatlán with neighboring regions during the Middle Formative period. For their part, we suspect that these two Cañada centers were probably exporting some of the tropical products that we know were cultivated in the region and that have been recovered at Middle Formative settlements in the temperate Oaxaca and Tehuacán valleys.²³ In sum, the evidence we have presented suggests that chiefly societies flourished in the Cañada de Cuicatlán during the Middle Formative period, whose relationship with the Valley Zapotec was largely one of reciprocal exchange.

The Cañada de Cuicatlán in the late formative period

Let us now turn to developments in the Cañada de Cuicatlán during the succeeding Late Formative Lomas phase (ca. 300 B.C. - A.D. 200) (Figure 2) when, according to the inscriptions on Building J at Monte Albán, the Valley Zapotec embarked upon the conquest of neighboring regions, including the Cañada de Cuicatlán. First of all, the previous Middle Formative communities on the region's high alluvium were suddenly abandoned, and new settlements were founded on top of nearby piedmont ridges, most of which remained under five hectares in size (Figure 6).

Even more striking were the developments taking place on the Quiotepec alluvial fan at Cañada's northern boundary, marked by a mountain ridge extending west from the junction of the Río Grande and Río Salado. A narrow pass through this ridge at Quiotepec offers the only natural entryway to the Cañada from the Tehuacán Valley, and not surprisingly it was selected as the route for the Mexican railroad in the nineteenth century.²⁴ An unprecedented expansion of settlement occurred there during the Late Formative period; where previously a single 1.5 -hectare community lay, seven settlements were established, among them the largest settlements in the entire Cañada at this time. One of these spanned both sides of the mountain pass and contained a large plaza with a ballcourt, mound platforms, and over 200 residences behind defensive fortifications. On a ridgetop above the pass stood an isolated plaza dominated by a ten-meter tall mound that would have offered a commanding looko i point. An elaborate fortress occupied the highest point of the Quiotepec mountain ridge. First surveyed by Martín Bazán in 1927, the stone fortifications atop Cerro de Quiotepec enclosed two monumental mound groups, a ballcourt, and approximately 30 residences.

²²Redmond, *A Fuego y Sangre*, pp. 65-66.

²³Richard I. Ford, "Carbonized Plant Remains", Appendix XIII in R.D. Drennan, *Fábrica San José and Middle Formative Society in the Valley of Oaxaca*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir, No. 8 (Ann Arbor, 1976), p. 266; Judith E. Smith, "Carbonized Botanical Remains from Quachilco, Cuayucatepec, and La Coyotera: A Preliminary Report", in R.D. Drennan, ed., *Prehistoric Social, Political, and Economic Development in the Area of the Tehuacán Valley: Some Results of the Palo Blanco Project*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Technical Report, No. 11 (Ann Arbor, 1979), pp. 224-226.

²⁴Hopkins, *Irrigation and the Cuicatec Ecosystem*, pp. 69-71.

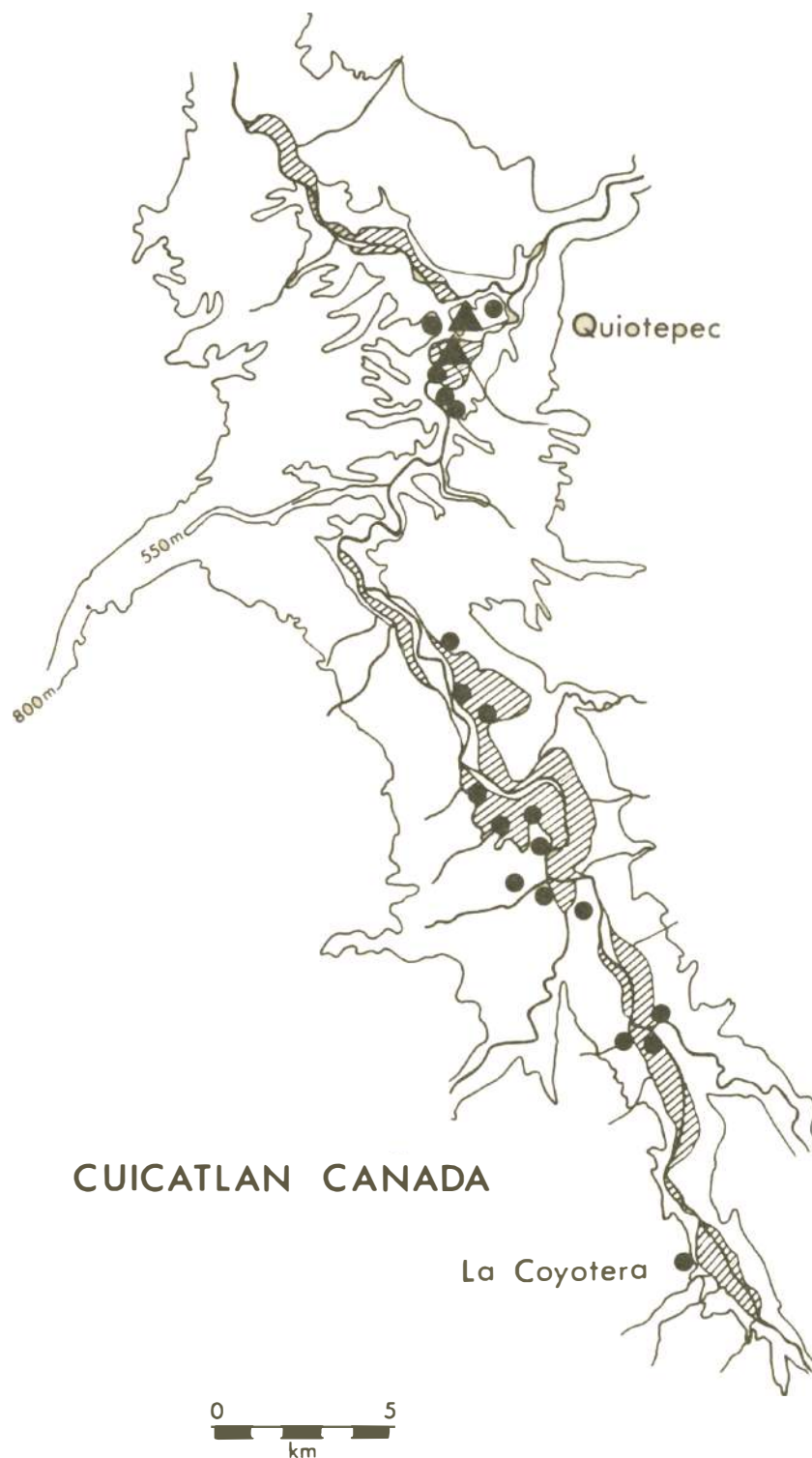


Fig. 6. Lomas phase regional settlement pattern map. Sites smaller than 5 ha, ● ; sites larger than 5 ha, ▲

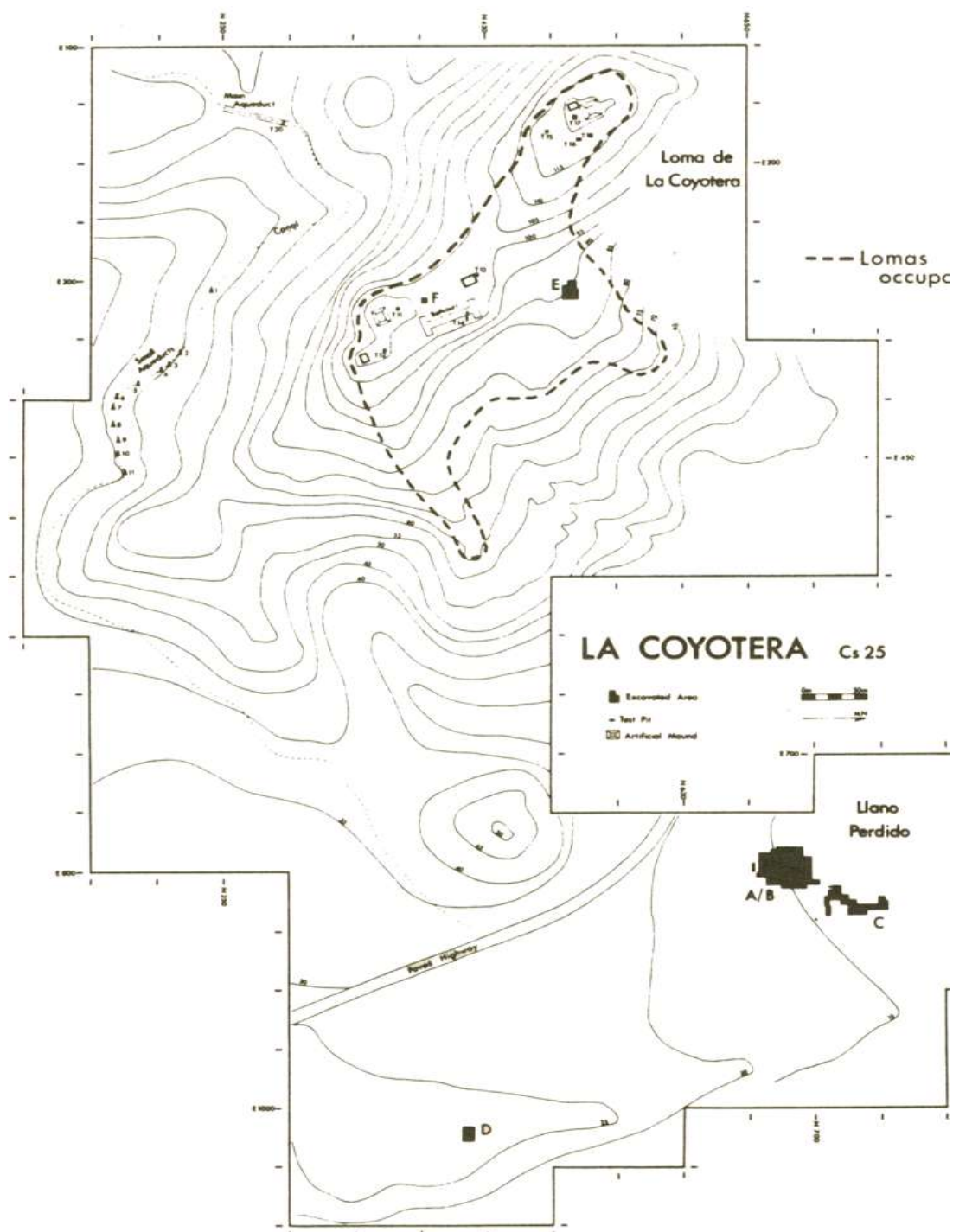


Fig. 7. Map of La Coyotera. The Middle Formative period settlement was situated on the Llano Perdido alluvium while settlement in the succeeding Late Formative period shifted onto Loma de La Coyotera

On the Quiotepec alluvium directly south of the mountain pass and across a major ford on the Río Grande lay a 200 by 210-meter plaza marked by long platform mounds six meters high, through which any traveler fording the river would have had to pass. Three additional settlements extended along piedmont ridges farther upstream and south of the mountain pass. These settlements at Quiotepec constituted by far the largest concentration of settlement on any of the Cañada's alluvial fans during the Late Formative period. This expanded settlement on The Quiotepec alluvial fan could not have been supported locally, since we estimate that there were more than four times as many people residing here during the Late Formative period than could have been supported by farming the available alluvium.²⁵

On all the settlements at Quiotepec we collected ceramics that show strong similarities to certain distinctive Monte Albán II ceramics of the Oaxaca Valley.²⁶ Just seven kilometers north of Quiotepec, however, we surveyed a contemporaneous Late Formative settlement covered with the Palo Blanco phase pottery of Tehuacán (Figure 2). In the Late Formative period, the Quiotepec area appears to have marked the northern limit to the distribution of Cañada and Monte Albán-style ceramics. A clear boundary separated the settlements in the Cañada from those to the north in the Tehuacán Valley, probably reflecting a sharp reduction in the frequency of interaction between the inhabitants of the Cañada and their neighbors in the southern Tehuacán Valley.

As happened elsewhere in the Cañada south of Quiotepec, the Middle Formative settlement on the high alluvium at La Coyotera was abandoned. In fact, there is substantial evidence that this community met a sudden and violent end. Our excavations there yielded enormous quantities of burned daub and adobe fragments, implying that the community was burned to the ground. Moreover, we discovered the body of a woman lying on the floor of a residence, who probably perished when the community was destroyed. The succeeding Late Formative period settlement here shifted to a new location on top of a piedmont ridge overlooking the high alluvium (Figure 7). The new hilltop settlement was not significantly larger than the previous Middle Formative community on the high alluvium, yet it differed from its predecessor in a number of ways. The organization of residence changed from the multi-family residential compounds of earlier times to a pattern characterized by individual residences on narrow terraces sculpted into the hillside. Like other Late Formative period settlements in the heart of the Cañada, the public sector of the new community at La Coyotera consisted of a single plaza featuring two low mounds.

Another important development in the Late Formative period was the construction of an elaborate irrigation facility at La Coyotera. This was a canal that brought water down from a tributary stream behind the site, and from over a dozen arroyos and depressions, by means of aqueducts, and channeled it onto the expanse of high alluvium below (Figure 7). We placed a test excavation across the largest aqueduct and determined that this irrigation facility was erected in the Late Formative Lomas phase, when the hilltop was first settled.²⁷ With the introduction of canal irrigation technology to Late Formative period communities like La Coyotera, the Cañada's high alluvium could have been brought under cultivation, resulting in an enormous agricultural expansion. Yet, since the local population at these Late Formative communities could have been easily supported by continuing to farm just the low alluvium, it would seem that the great productive expansion in the Cañada during the Late Formative period must have been in response to *external* demands.

Clues as to the nature of these demands come from some Late Formative period midden deposits that we excavated on a residential terrace at La Coyotera, which yielded

²⁵Redmond, *A Fuego y Sangre*, pp. 105-106.

²⁶Caso, Bernal, and Acosta, *La Cerámica de Monte Albán*, pp. 47, 68.

²⁷Spencer, *The Cuicatlán Cañada and Monte Albán*, pp. 222-225.



Table 3
Imported Items in the Cuicatlán Cañada:
A Comparison of Perdido and Lomas Phase Collections

	Number of Collections ^a	Total Ceramic Diagnostics	Total Oaxaca Pottery	Total Oaxaca Pottery Total Diagnostic (x 100)	Total Tehuacán Pottery	Total Obsidian	Total Obsidian Total Diagnostics (x 100)	Total Shell
Perdido Phase	44	2224	33	1.484	1	195	8.768	2
Lomas Phase	15	940	8	.851	1	44	4.681	0

^aIncluded in the analysis are all pure Perdido and pure Lomas phase collections from sites in the Central and Southern Cañada.

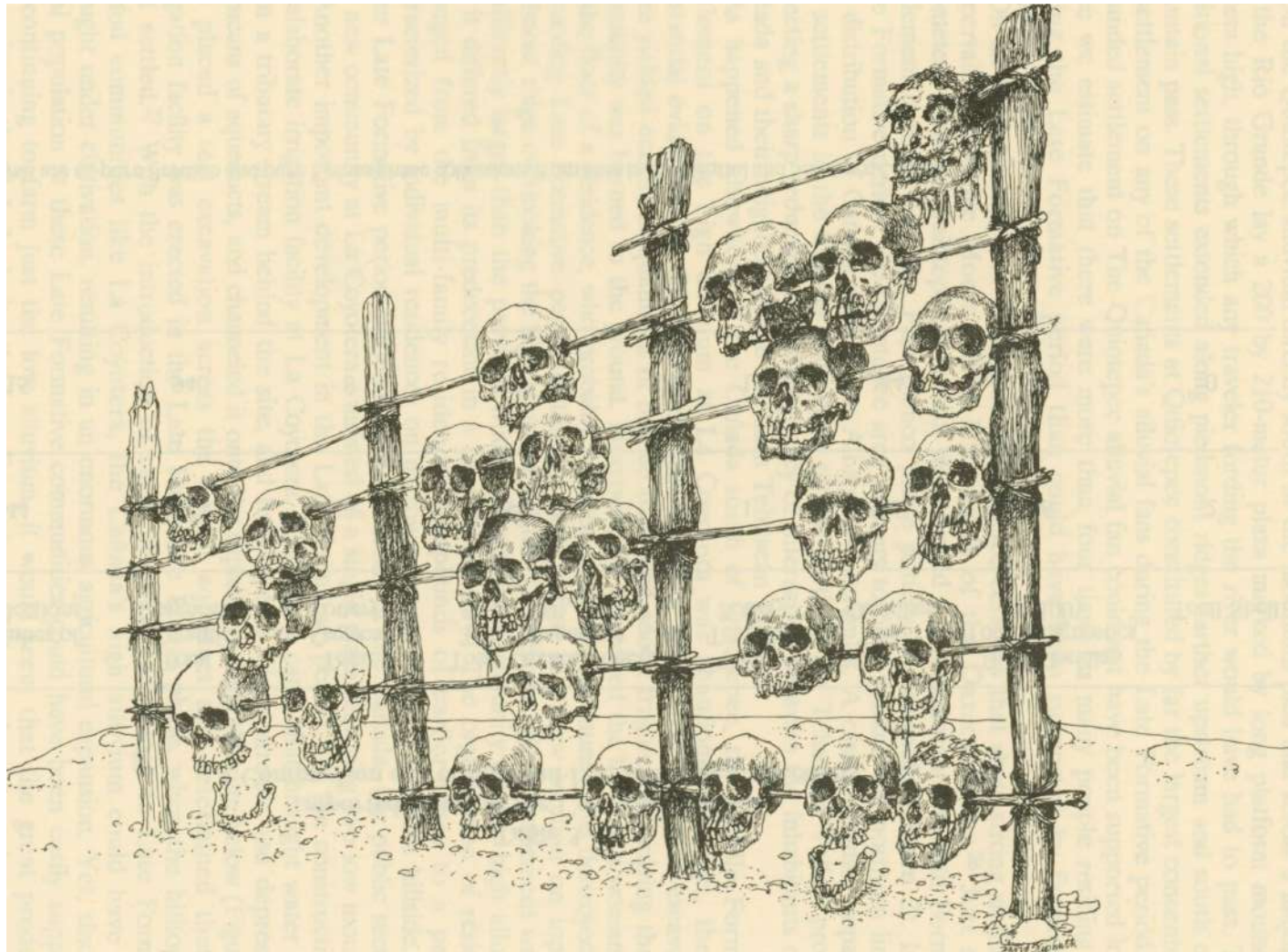


Fig. 8. Artist's reconstruction of the Lomas phase skull rack excavated at La Coyotera

sepectacularly high densities of tropical fruit and nut remains.²⁸ Table 1 compares the Late Formative Lomas phase midden deposits with those of the previous Middle Formative Perdido phase community, revealing that the Lomas phase midden deposits contained substantially higher quantities of *coyol* palm nuts, black *zapote* seeds, and *ciruela* seeds relative to the volume of midden debris. At the same time that the inhabitants of communities like La Coyotera might have been stepping up the production of certain tropical products, we witness a sharp drop in the variety of craft activities that had previously been performed at the Middle Formative period community there, evidenced by a sharp drop in the relative amount of craft-related artifacts compared to earlier times (Table 1). These findings would appear to reflect a major reorganization of the Cañada's local economy.

Another sign of change in the region's economic organization was manifested in the distribution of goods imported to the Cañada during the Late Formative period. Our surface collections at Late Formative settlements in the heart of the Cañada contained significantly fewer Oaxaca ceramics, obsidian, and marine shell artifacts than those obtained at Middle Formative period settlements (Table 3). This evident reduction in the number of goods imported to the Cañada in the Late Formative Lomas phase points to a disruption of the reciprocal exchange relations that the Cañada had maintained previously with neighboring regions, including the Oaxaca Valley.

Finally, our investigations at La Coyotera indicate than an entirely new political and ideological order was introduced at this hilltop community in the Late Formative period. The ceremonial platforms and courtyards of the Middle Formative community were replaced by a single plaza with two pyramidal mounds. A test excavation that we placed directly in front of the main mound here exposed the remains of at least 61 human skulls, arranged roughly in rows, along with many scattered skull fragments. The skulls represented individuals of both sexes and a full range of ages. Perforations on some of the skulls may indicate that they had originally been hung or attached to something. We propose that these skulls formed part of a collapsed skull rack that had consisted of upright posts(of which we have evidence) with skulls mounted on crossbeams in rows (Figure 8). Skull racks or *tzompantli* have long been associated with the militaristic Toltec and Aztec of the Postclassic period, who used them to display the heads of captives taken in warfare. But as we mentioned in an earlier section of this paper, we know that the Postclassic Zapotec also constructed skull racks, and that they did so in conquered regions when they wanted to terrorize the peoples they had subjugated.

Conclusion

The archaeological data that we collected in the Cañada de Cuicatlán agree with many of the expectations derived from an ethnohistorical model of Zapotec imperialism during the Late Formative period. Our findings in the Cañada support the hypothesis of the region's conquest by the Valley Zapotec in the Late Formative Lomas phase, and suggest that the Cañada was transformed at this time from an autonomous region occupied by several small chiefly communities into a tributary province on the frontier of Monte Albán's expanding territory. Zapotec military might was concentrated in massive installations on the Quiotepec alluvial fan at the northern boundary of the Cañada in order to define and defend the frontier region. Settlements in the central and southern Cañada lay within the zone under direct Zapotec administration, whose policies included the resettlement of the local population off the high alluvium, the introduction of canal irrigation technology in order to bring this high alluvium under cultivation, and the exaction of tribute from the subjugated population. The Zapotec tribute demands probably involved

²⁸Smith, "Carbonized Botanical Remains from Quachilco", pp. 238-243.

the supply of provisions and manpower to the large military facilities stationed on the Quiotepec frontier, and the large-scale cultivation of the Cañada's special tropical fruits and nuts. Zapotec administrators enforced these imperial policies at local communities by resorting to some of the terror tactics the Late Postclassic Zapotec are known to have practiced in conquered regions.

We conclude our discussion by returning to examine the prehistoric city and state of Monte Albán from the point of view of its expanded frontiers in the Late Formative period. If each of the 40 conquest slabs on Building J represents a separate region or place that was subjugated by the Valley Zapotec, the extent of Monte Albán's militaristic expansion would have been vast indeed; Marcus's interpretations of some of the other conquest slab inscriptions refer to places located well over 100 kilometers from Monte Albán.²⁹ In order to carry out the initial subjugation of surrounding regions the Zapotec would have had to muster a large, permanent body of military specialists and warriors. Not surprisingly, there was a proliferation of militaristic themes depicted on carved stones, statues, and effigy urns in Period II, both at Monte Albán and at other settlements in the Oaxaca Valley. Warriors were depicted wearing armor, insignia, and headgear similar to that associated with the military orders known for the Late Postclassic period.³⁰ This could mean that the Valley Zapotec had instituted a permanent military organization comprised of warrior orders by Period II, precisely the time period when, according to the Building J inscriptions and our data from the Cañada, they were mounting military conquests of regions outside the Oaxaca Valley.

Following their conquest by the Zapotec, these outlying regions would have been incorporated into Monte Albán's tributary realm. As we have seen in the Cañada, the Zapotec erected massive frontier facilities in the conquered regions, introduced sophisticated irrigation technology to open up previously uncultivated lands for agriculture, and replaced the native elites with an imperial administration. We suggest, therefore, that the managerial demands of such an interregional conquest strategy would have called for the development of an internally specialized administration centered at Monte Albán, one that would have had the capacity to delegate partial authority to specialized administrators stationed at distant outposts. Signs of this development are evident at Monte Albán and at other settlements in the Oaxaca Valley during the Late Formative period. Recall that it was during the Late Formative Period II when the Main Plaza at Monte Albán was formally laid out with its diverse array of public buildings, and when specialized administrative facilities appeared at subsidiary settlements on the valley floor. We conclude, then, that the Valley Zapotec's decision to begin a campaign of interregional conquest in the Late Formative period played a key role in the development of the early Zapotec state at Monte Albán. Like its ultimate successor in the sixteenth century, it seems that this earliest Zapotec state was truly a militaristic one.

²⁹Joyce Marcus, "The Conquest Slabs of Building J, Monte Albán" in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, p. 108.

³⁰Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Umas de Oaxaca*, Memorias del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1952), pp. 55-64; Joyce Marcus, "The Iconography of Militarism at Monte Albán and Neighboring Sites in the Valley of Oaxaca", in H.B. Nicholson, ed., *The Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica*, pp. 133-135; Joyce Marcus, "Monte Albán II in the Macuilxochitl Area", in Flannery and Marcus, eds., *The Cloud People*, pp. 114-115.



John Paddock

Señoríos indígenas del Valle de Oaxaca, 1200–1600

Para los últimos siglos prehispánicos en Mesoamérica, la historia y la arqueología se complementan con mucho provecho en Oaxaca; la región no es prehistórica en esos tiempos. Sin embargo, el descubrimiento de documentos referentes al Valle de Oaxaca, y de referencias al Valle en documentos de otras partes, es muy reciente casi sin excepción. Testimonios indígenas ahora esclarecen muchos puntos que hasta 1982 seguían dudosos; ahora lo legendario y lo histórico se pueden distinguir mejor en uno de los principales centros de la civilización mesoamericana.

Noticias del Valle de Macuilxochitl

San Mateo Macuilxochitl es hoy un callado pueblo en la mitad de lo que se llama el Valle de Tlacolula, el brazo oriental del Valle de Oaxaca. Es una área subordinada al municipio de Tlacoahuaya, y no tiene ninguna fama especial. No siempre fue así. En 1580 Tlacoahuaya estaba sujeto a Macuilxochitl, como también lo estaban San Juan Guelavía, Santiaguito Ixtaltepec, San Sebastián Abasolo, y San Francisco Lachigoloo; y Teotitlan del Valle también se clasificaba como sujeto.¹

Trabajando antes del conocimiento de los datos nuevos aquí expuestos, Gerhard había indicado la existencia de un área administrativa colonial que abarcaba la mayor parte del brazo oriental del Valle, con su sede en Teotitlan (1972: 191). Por razones obvias, los primeros arreglos administrativos españoles tendían a seguir lineamientos existentes en el momento de la conquista, pero Teotitlan estaba en el extremo occidental de esta área, que llegaba no sólo a Mitla, sino bastante más allá en las sierras de Quiatoni.²

Lo que hace poco llegamos a saber es que Macuilxochitl era la sede antes de Teotitlan. En su apogeo era la capital de un pequeño imperio integrado por varias ciudades-estado y muchas tierras; y desde Macuilxochitl salían grandes señores a conquistar. Constan estos hechos en dos documentos del siglo XVI, de autenticidad y validez incuestionables, que parecen haberse desatendido porque uno está escrito en náhuatl y el otro en zapoteco. Ambos son pictóricos conocidos desde hace tiempo.

El día 9 de abril de 1580 don Gaspar de Asensio, corregidor de Macuilxochitl y su partido –relevando en el mismo título dónde estaba la cabecera–, convocó a los regidores y los hombres más ancianos para contestar, mediante un intérprete, el cuestionario que había mandado el rey Felipe II. La Relación de Macuilxochitl que resultó se hizo acompañar por un mapa (Asensio 1905: 100-108).

El mapa no sólo ubica y nombra los pueblos sujetos, sino presenta, en forma vagamente prehispánica, un dibujo del cerro cónico que está junto al pueblo moderno de Macuilxochitl; dentro del cerro están las figuras de tres de sus grandes señores pasados. Al lado

¹En el Mapa de Macuilxochitl (1580) estos pueblos se llaman Tlacoahuaya, San Juan Macuilsuchitl, Santiago Macuilsuchitl, San Francisco Macuilsuchitl (San Sebastián Abasolo se contaba como barrio de Tlacoahuaya hasta 1878). Teotitlan aparece en una esquina del Mapa, pero el simbolismo del mismo documento revela que se consideraba alejado; por ejemplo, hay una línea divisoria que lo separa de todo lo demás.

²Aunque Teotihuacan, Tula y Tenochtitlan comenzaron como capitales de regiones bastante simétricas a su alrededor, cuando expandieron su control hacia el sur crearon "imperios" asimétricos; la ubicación periférica de sus capitales causaba constantes problemas de comunicación y grandes gastos en transportes.

hay veinte líneas escritas en un rústico náhuatl. Con la ayuda de algunos ilustres nahuatlatoles, sobre todo el Dr. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, pude leerlo (Paddock 1982). Lo que dice es:

*yoqui yniy. motenehuamacuilsuchil
ynpapa ytechcopa. tlatuani teo tzapotla*

*oqui çexelo quetlali oquimacacan çeçe
tlatohuani çeçe altepetl. cayxquj
chitlatuanj nica maquilsuchitl
quipiya tlali. yhua cuasuchit
yhua chinamyc. manelteoti
tlan. tlacochabaya
caytlali macuilsuchi
ypapa y cuac yohua*

*ya oconanatlatua
ni macuilsochitlali
ytuca tzapatecatl co
quipillayvacoqui pi
ziatuoyhuaçee civa
pili ytucayoca xo
naxi palala çanica
ca qui yeytin tlato
huani macuisu
chitl---*

- 1 Así esto se llama Macuilxochitl
- 2 porque de parte del señor de Teozapotlan
- 3 se dividieron, se dio a cada
- 4 señor sólo un pueblo.
- 5 Señor aquí Macuilxochitl
- 6 tiene tierras y linderos
- 7 y hay barrio Teoti
- 8 tlan. Tlacochahuaya
- 9 es tierra de Macuilxochitl
- 10 porque cuando hace mucho tiempo
- 11 Ocoñaña el señor
- 12 de las tierras de Macuilxochitl
- 13 quien en zapoteco se llama Se
- 14 ñor Pil-la y señor pi
- 15 ziatuo y una señora
- 16 noble llamada Yoca
- 17 Señora Palala aquí hay
- 18 los tres señores
- 19 de Macuilxo
- 20 chitl.³

En sus líneas 11 y 12, esta explicación del Mapa dice que alguien de nombre “oconana” era el señor de las tierras de Macuilxochitl, y sigue sin interrupción (líneas 13 y 14) a dar su nombre en zapoteco. *Ocoñaña* es mixteco, y es el nombre personal de dos señores a quienes conocemos en los códices mixtecos prehispánicos y el Mapa de Tezacoalco (Caso 1949). El señor 2 Lluvia Ocoñaña (el nombre personal quiere decir Veinte Tigres) nació en 1075; pero murió en 1096, probablemente sin haberse casado y sin haber reinado. El otro se llamaba 5 Caña Ocoñaña y nació en 1397; así él debe ser el Ocoñaña del Mapa de Macuilxochitl.

Se trata de un señor mixteca porque su padre era de la casa reinante en Tilantongo y su madre de la que poseía Monte Albán-Sahayucu-Zaachila, señorío del que luego hablaremos.⁴ Tezacoalco era del señor 5 Caña Ocoñaña. Este señor, dice el Mapa de Macuilxochitl, se llamaba en Zapoteco Coqui [Señor] Pil-la. Pil-la (o Pel-lãa) es el día 213 en el calendario sagrado de 260 días de los zapotecos, cuya versión debemos a fray Juan Córdova (1886: 204-212). Y es, precisamente, el día –onomástico del señor–5 Caña.

En 1563 el “gobernador” o señor indígena de Macuilxochitl presentó ante el virrey una solicitud, probablemente de confirmación de sus derechos hereditarios (Whitcotton 1983: 63, n19). Para respaldar su petición, hubiera sido natural mandar a hacer una genealogía

³Durante la reunión hubo una sesión en la que especialistas discutieron el significado de *altepetl* y *chinamitl*, confirmando esta versión. donde aparece una mancha de tinta en la línea 18 del Mapa, es posible que se haya cubierto la primera parte del [Co]qui. Además del maestro Jiménez Moreno, ayudaron en la traducción los nahuatlatoles J. Richard Andrews, Catalina Barrientos, Maarten Jansen, Xavier Noguez, Thelma Sullivan y Christine Turner.

⁴La casa reinante de Tilantongo era la más prestigiosa de toda la Mixteca, de manera que al faltar heredero en otro señorío mixteca, llamaban a alguno de Tilantongo a tomar el poder. Alfonso Caso trató esta costumbre en varios de sus análisis de los documentos mixtecos. La versión más fidedigna de las genealogías mixtecas, aunque todavía incompleta, incorpora los resultados de varios estudios recientes y se debe a Emily Rabin (Paddock 1983c: 74).

como la que ahora consideraremos. Tiene identificaciones de personajes y otras explicaciones, todas escritas en zapoteco.

El gran documento, pintado sobre piel, se conservó en partes desconocidas hasta 1913, cuando un comerciante alemán en libros antiguos lo ofreció en venta (Whitcotton 1983: 59). Desde entonces está en Nueva York, guardado en la Hispanic Society of America.

En su forma original la Genealogía de Macuilxochitl presentaba trece generaciones; manos posteriores agregaron una más al principio y otra al fin, además de algunas figuras a los lados de la columna central de señores y sus esposas. Elementos españoles aparecen con las últimas tres generaciones, así que están documentadas unas 12 generaciones prehispánicas, una contemporánea de la conquista, y dos posteriores. Si las generaciones tienen una duración promedio semejante a la de los códices históricos, la más antigua debe datar de más o menos 1200 d.C.⁵

Con la ayuda de Emily Rabin, Roger Reeck y Joseph Whitcotton –y, desde luego, fray Juan de Córdova– laboré en la traducción de las glosas en la Genealogía.⁶ Comenzamos con la glosa más larga, una que explica una interesante escena: detrás del señor de la décima generación se para un hombre armado, quien trae a tres presos atados. La glosa comienza con una palabra escrita en letras más grandes que cualquier otra, y con una inicial muy adornada. La palabra es *Quixicayo*.

Nos llamó la atención su parte final, siendo *caayo* “cinco” en el zapoteco antiguo. Sin embargo, Córdova había apuntado *Pel-láa* como el día 5 Caña, y no se parece a *Quixicayo*. Además, el nombre calendárico de la persona era un asunto religioso, mientras *caayo* era el término vulgar o cotidiano para cinco.

La segunda palabra de la glosa larga es *cualanijza*. *Niza* es “agua” en zapoteco, y, a diferencia de otros, es igual como nombre de día y como palabra vulgar. *Cuala* era “seis” en el zapoteco común antiguo. Ya conocíamos a un señor 6 Agua, en cierta dinastía del Códice Nuttall, y probablemente era él precisamente quien mandó pintar el hermoso códice. Además, él era hermano de la madre de 5 Caña.⁷

Si el nombre de un gran señor como 6 Agua pudo expresarse en zapoteco vulgar, era evidente que ya debíamos aceptar el mismo trato para otros –y un sentido muy aceptable para *quixi* en zapoteco es “caña”.

El nombre celebrado con las mayores letras, y con la inicial adornada, en la décima generación de la Genealogía de Macuilxochitl así resultó ser el *del mismo señor* nombrado en el Mapa: 5 Caña.

La identificación es segura, porque la misma glosa larga nombra, en zapoteco común, no sólo a él y a su tío 6 Agua, sino a la esposa de 6 Agua, 1 Caña Sol Precioso; a los padres de ella, el señor 1 Mono y su esposa 5 Pedernal; y al padre de 5 Caña, 2 Agua. Luego cuenta como 5 Caña y su padre atacaron a Huitzo y Mazaltepec, en el brazo norte del Valle de Oaxaca, y trajeron a algunos presos.

Las demás glosas son cortas. Dan el número de cada generación, los nombres de los señores y señoras, y el lugar de origen de cada señora.

Una pregunta se nos ocurre con insistencia: ¿cómo es posible que documentos zapotecos nombren a señores de claro origen mixteca? Tal vez la imposición en Mesoamérica de un concepto europeo esté creando un problema. Dividir a mixtecas y zapotecas en algo como naciones, cuando para ellos mismos no era así, puede ser un error. Los nombres de los nobles –zapotecas, mixtecas y otros– procedían del mismo

⁵En la genealogía corregida que hizo Emily Rabin, se puede ver que entre el nacimiento de o'8 Venado en 1063 y el de o'5 Caña Ocoñaña en 1397, hay trece generaciones con una duración promedio de 25.7 años (Paddock 1983c: 74). La cifra universal es de 28.3 años por generación, y a menudo se calculan en 30 años o a razón de tres por siglo.

⁶Publicada con Paddock, Rabin y Reeck 1982; véanse también los otros estudios sobre documentos zapotecas y su análisis en la misma publicación. Las otras glosas de la Genealogía de Macuilxochitl se tratan en Whitcotton 1983.

⁷Y, según la relación de Tlacolula y Mitla, en Mitla no tenían más gobierno que “vn Señor que se dezla Coqui Gualaniça [Señor 6 Agua]” (Canseco 1905: 149). Fue Rabin quien reconoció primero los nombres de personajes que aparecen en los códices mexicanos, que son su especialidad.

calendario sagrado de 260 días, y la pequeña casta reinante por necesidad se casaba cruzando las barreras lingüísticas con alguna frecuencia.⁸ Para decirlo de otra manera: la separación entre la casta reinante y la población común era mayor y más importante que la separación entre nobles mixtecas y nobles zapotecas.⁹

Otra pregunta casi obligada es: ¿no será una simple propaganda política de Macuilxochitl todo esto de su importancia pasada? Pero en Macuilxochitl hay restos de todas las épocas surbanas. La única parte explorada pertenece casi exclusivamente a los tiempos de Cristo, pero es imponente (Cainzú).¹⁰ En otras áreas hay grandes restos que evidentemente son de tiempos tardíos, los de los documentos. Además, cerca de 1745 Santiaguito, Lachigoloo y Guelavía estaban todavía sujetos a Macuilxochitl (Villa-Señor y Sánchez 1748: 167-68).¹¹ Pero surgen abundantes las corroboraciones si examinamos otro señorío mixteca en el Valle de Oaxaca.

Un señorío mixteca en Zaachila y Monte Albán

Con obsesiva insistencia se nos cuenta que el señor de Zaachila en el momento de la conquista era el zapoteca Cociyoesa, y que Zaachila era entonces la gran capital de todos los zapotecas. Lo que dicen los documentos antiguos es muy distinto: citan a Cociyoesa como señor, pero de Tehuantepec; y nombran a una dinastía en la que Cociyoesa no aparece como los últimos señores de Zaachila.

Al mismo tiempo, la arqueología revela claramente que la época de mayor área y población en Zaachila era aproximadamente por 600 a 800 d.C., y que para los tiempos muy tardíos, cercanos a la conquista, otros lugares de esa parte eran mucho mayores en población y en área.

Varios personajes que se nombran en los documentos de Macuilxochitl están citados también en los del señorío de Monte Albán–Sahayucu–Zaachila. Cuando coinciden el Código Nuttall y el Lienzo de Guevea –mixteca y prehispánico el primero, zapoteca y colonial el segundo– es difícil dudar. El Código Nuttall probablemente estaba ya en Europa cuando el Lienzo de Guevea se hizo; coinciden porque tratan la misma realidad histórica.

Esa realidad es una dinastía. Conocemos a seis generaciones en ella, pero la primera aparece sólo en el Códice Nuttall, y la última sólo en el Lienzo de Guevea. Sin embargo, la coincidencia de los dos documentos sobre las cuatro restantes es convincente: hay sólo una posibilidad entre más de 225 000 que ocurriera por casualidad (Paddock 1983c: 57). Es decir, ésa es la posibilidad de que los cuatro nombres de día aparecieran, en el mismo orden, por obra del azar.

Hace mucho que los estudiosos nos hemos venido equivocando sobre el Lienzo de Guevea. Comenzando con el gran Eduard Seler, todos preferíamos una de las dos copias conocidas, porque tenía más glosas que la otra. Pero en 1978 se encontraron en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Tejas dos fotografías viejas que muestran, evidentemente, las dos mitades del *original*-Lienzo de Guevea –y que revelan nuestro error. La copia que todos hemos preferido no es exacta; introduce glosas que no aparecen en el original,

⁸Whitecotton señala (1983: 72, n22) que Macuilxochitl se conoce como uno de los pueblos donde el poder quedó en manos de la gente común desde relativamente temprano; y entre 1563 y 1616 no tiene cacique conocido en los documentos de archivo. Es factible que la mayoría de la gente común haya sido zapoteca todo el tiempo, sin interrupción por la llegada al poder de nobles mixtecas.

⁹No se puede suponer que los matrimonios (o las uniones informales) interétnicos se limitaran a la casta reinante. Dondequiera en el mundo que hay contactos entre grupos étnicos, ocurren mezclas.

¹⁰La gran excepción es un juego de pelota construido con la muy peculiar técnica mixteca de color las piedras (Paddock 1983c: 34-37).

¹¹La última generación, agregada a la original genealogía, parece ser la de un señor de Teotitlan que tomó el poder a fines del siglo XVI. La cabecera estaba en Teotitlan desde entonces hasta la época de la Independencia, cuando se trasladó a Tlacolula (Whitecotton 1983: 63, n21).

cambia detalles y proporciones, comete errores en el zapoteco. La copia que habíamos desdeñado, en cambio, es casi totalmente exacta.¹²

Entre las glosas introducidas al hacer la copia inexacta (que parece datar de 1892, copiada de otra copia de 1820) están las que identifican como Cociyoesa y su hijo Cociyopii a dos figuras en la columna de señores que se sientan arriba de la pirámide nombrada como de Zaachila. *No existen esas glosas* en el original o en la copia más exacta. Sin embargo, el original y la copia buena sí nombran a Cociyoesa y a Cociyopii (como también lo hace el Lienzo de Huilotepec) señores de Tehuantepec (Paddock 1983a).

En todas las versiones, además, los señores de Zaachila y Tehuantepec están nombrados con glifos: signos de día tomados del calendario sagrado prehispánico. Cociyoesa y Cociyopii también tienen nombres glíficos, y son claramente distintos de todos los de los seis señores de Zaachila.

El Lienzo de Guevea así dice que Cociyoesa y Cociyopii son señores de Tecohuantepeque; y, agrega el documento con igual claridad, *son otros todos los señores de Zaachila*.

Lo que los tres documentos dicen de esta dinastía se puede resumir así:

La Dinastía de 5 Flor				
Fecha aproximada	Códice Nuttall	Relación de Chichicapa	Lienzo de Guevea	
	---	---	Cociyopii (¿Viento?)	Tehuantepec
1520	---	1 Casa	Cociyoesa (¿Lluvia?)	
	---	---	Águila (¿Zopilote?)	
1435	6 Agua	---	Agua	Zaachila
	11 Agua	---	Agua	
	3 Lagarto	---	Lagarto	
	9 Serpiente	---	Serpiente	
1500	5 Flor	---	---	
	Monte Albán-Sahayucu-Zaachila	Zaachila		

En la Tumba 1 de Zaachila, claramente identificable como de gente mixteca por varios tipos de evidencia, el señor 5 Flor está representado en una pared; lleva una prenda en la cabeza que se conoce sólo en otro señor de la misma tumba y en tres señores del Código Nuttall, entre ellos el mismo 5 Flor (hay otro señor en el Nuttall que la lleva, pero no pertenece a la misma dinastía; se supone que es otro señor del mismo lugar, pero anterior a 5 Flor). En dos piedras gemelas de Zaachila, el signo de 5 Flor aparece en el lugar más visible.

¹²La alteración más notable será el cambio en el nombre glífico de Guevea (Quia-pea, o Cerro-hongo). En las fotografías del documento original aparece el cerro con tres hongos en perfil; pero en ambas copias los hongos se han transformado en hojas. Mientras los nombres de otros pueblos aparecen en zapoteco, nahuatl y español, el nombre de Guevea no se traduce.

Lo que presenta el Código Nuttall sobre la identidad del lugar es complejo, como suelen ser los símbolos de los “imperios” compuestos de varias ciudades-estado. Lo componen un río con un pájaro que parece ser quetzal; un cerro de punta doblada; flamas que salen del cerro; y un árbol que también sale del cerro.

Como “doblado” y “magno” son palabras muy semejantes en mixteco (distinguidos sólo por una diferencia de tono), la primera se utiliza a veces para representar la segunda idea en forma pictórica. El nombre de Sahayucu significa “al pie del cerro” en mixteco, y el sitio original de Cuilapan está en efecto al pie de Monte Albán en su extremo sur. El nombre en zapoteco de este pueblo, Xaquiatoo, significa “al pie del Cerro Magno”, por lo que yo leí el glifo del cerro doblado como Monte Albán. Sin embargo, esta identificación no afecta los datos aquí reunidos; si está equivocada, ellos siguen en pie.¹³

Las llamas que salen del glifo del cerro doblado son un símbolo de conquista. Por lo tanto, el complejo glifo de lugar al principio de la dinastía en Nuttall 33-35 puede leerse como Cerro Magno Conquistado-Río del Quetzal-Arbol.¹⁴

El señor 5 Flor, fundador de la dinastía, pertenecía a una generación cuya fecha promedio de nacimiento era 1269; así, es muy probable que él haya nacido entre 1260 y 1280, aun cuando el Códice Nuttall no diga nada sobre su origen (Rabin y Paddock en Paddock 1983c: 74). La dinastía que fundó entonces debe datar de más o menos 1300, cien años después de la que documenta la Genealogía de Macuilxochitl.

Hechos y cuentos, mitos y datos

Los mitos deben ser una necesidad humana, porque ocurren en todas partes. Un mito oaxaqueño, antiguo pero vigente todavía, ejemplifica la importancia social, individual y cultural que pueden tener. Durante el siglo pasado, cuando les faltaban datos (es decir, frecuentemente) varios escritores oaxaqueños deponían su sentido crítico para apelar al mito y llenar así las grandes lagunas que había. Lo curioso es que hoy, cuando es fácil llenar esas lagunas decimonónicas con datos históricos y arqueológicos, y cuando nos jactamos de ser rigurosos, se siga prefiriendo el mito.¹⁵ No se puede decir que el mito sea superior o inferior a la historia. A pesar de ciertas características compartidas, son distintos. El mito no es una falsa historia.

Ya hemos visto como varios documentos de los siglos XV y XVI, indígenas y coloniales, nombran a una dinastía estrechamente emparentada con las de la Mixteca Alta, como reinante en Monte Albán y Zaachila durante unos dos siglos o más antes de la conquista, y a otra, de la misma familia, en Macuilxochitl. Datos provenientes de la arqueología y la lingüística confirman lo que dicen los documentos. Sin embargo, la versión casi universalmente aceptada como la “historia” oaxaqueña en esos tiempos es diferente. El problema no está en las diferencias, porque la evidencia ya es definitiva.

Los zapotecas constructores de Monte Albán, y sus descendientes, eran personas humanas. Sí, es obvio; pero se acostumbra tratarlos como maquinillas que sólo obedecen a alguna teoría –y suelen aplicárseles las teorías una por una, de manera que parezcan muy racionales, pero mucho menos que plenamente humanos.

¹³El pueblo mixteca de Cuilapan (Yuchacaa) se fundó en 1555, cuando Sahayucu se trasladó a donde hoy está Cuilapan (Paddock 1983c: 47-48).

¹⁴Felizmente, no importa mucho la identificación de los lugares representados en el glifo. Bastan los datos arqueológicos para identificar restos mixtecos en Monte Albán y Sahayucu, la original Cuilapan, así como en Zaachila. Alfonso Caso estaba al punto de hacer la misma identificación del Yucucanu, o Cerro Doblado-Magno, porque él había percibido el uso de esas ideas en el glifo de Teozacoalco (Caso 1960: 16, 1965: 951, 1977: 23; Smith 1973: 57). Su fuente fue Alvarado, quien define “doblar” como *caru* (1962: 82v) y “grande” también como *caru* (1962: 116v). Pero Caso se cegó a sí mismo con su costumbre de llamar todos los cerros doblados *Culhuacan*, nombre náhuatl que es correcto pero que no tiene aplicación fuera de la región nahua.

¹⁵Para aceptar el mito como historia, era necesario fingir que Monte Albán no existía, o no se conocía, o no tenía importancia. Antes de su exploración, esto era más factible; pero su exploración comenzó a más tardar en 1806, con los trabajos de Dupaix (1969). A fines de 1931 Alfonso Caso comenzó las exploraciones que aclararon definitivamente la importancia de Monte Albán. Sin embargo, para muchos autores todavía es aceptable una “historia” oaxaqueña que lo omite.

El individuo nace con las posibilidades de convertirse en un ser humano entero, pero lo logra sólo mediante un largo proceso en el que debe integrar su experiencia de un ambiente físico, su conciencia de su propia y única realidad mental y corporal –y una cultura–, la de su sociedad natal.

Cuando esa cultura ha quedado entretrejida en su ser, formando parte de su estructura personal, una amenaza contra la cultura equivale a una amenaza para el mismo ser, aun cuando no exista peligro de muerte física.

Durante el apogeo de Monte Albán, y hasta tal vez 600 d.C., el dominio zapoteca del Valle de Oaxaca parece haber sido firme. Es casi inevitable que los pobladores de la sierra mixteca que limita el Valle por el poniente, quienes podían contemplar desde lo alto los terrenos verdes y planos del Valle, los codiciaran.

Cuando ya tenía mil años como ciudad, Monte Albán declinaba en todo menos su población. Para 600 d.C. su dominio en las partes más lejanas del Valle de Oaxaca se debilitaba, y antes de 700 existían algunas ciudades-estado zapotecas en el Valle que no dependían de Monte Albán, sino mostraban un grado considerable de autonomía. Lambityeco es el ejemplo mejor conocido (Paddock 1983b).

En esta etapa, cuando Monte Albán ya no controlaba los extremos del Valle, una invasión desde la Mixteca Alta podía alcanzar cierto éxito. En estos tiempos comienza a aparecer en el Valle una nueva cultura, manifiesta en la cerámica y la arquitectura (e inevitablemente también en cambios que no dejaron huellas tan duraderas). Dos fechas ligadas al fenómeno, obtenidas del radiocarbono y procedentes de Mixtla, son de 835 y 840 d.C. respectivamente (GX-1614, M-1251; Drennan 1983: 366-67).

La vieja cultura del Valle ya estaba muy marchita. Los mismos zapotecas revelaban cierto descontento con ella al introducir los cambios que marcaban la etapa que llamamos Monte Albán IV. Sin embargo, para la gente zapoteca del Valle esa cultura, aunque decadente, era la suya; cambios repentinos impuestos amenazaban, por lo tanto, su identidad propia.

Algunos de los cambios ocurridos al tiempo de las invasiones mixtecas eran de un tipo que necesariamente se sintió como ataque a la estructura interior de los seres zapotecas. Uno muy traumático debía ser la desaparición de la “urna zapoteca”, representación en cerámica de figuras sagradas o seculares de profunda importancia simbólica.¹⁶ Otros cambios hubo que sin duda se sintieron fuertes, pero en verdad cualquier cambio repentino es desquiciante en una sociedad tradicionalista. En ella, la respuesta a todo problema se busca en la tradición, y si la tradición se ha roto las soluciones tradicionales a menudo ya no son eficaces. Todas las variantes temporales y regionales de la civilización mesoamericana, aunque desde luego tuvieron sus episodios de cambio más rápido (sobre todo en sus principios), eran tradicionalistas como norma.¹⁷

Cambios bien documentados, bruscos y radicales, ocurrieron en áreas vitales que afectaron a toda la población del Valle de Oaxaca. Acostumbramos a tratarlos en los términos deshumanizados de “inventario cerámico” y “patrón de asentamiento”, pero lo que significan para la persona que los padece incluye un enorme impacto emocional.¹⁸

¹⁶Las abundantes “urnas zapotecas” se dejaron de hacer en el Valle con el fin de Monte Albán IV, antes de 1000 d.C. Es posible que hayan sobrevivido en el Istmo de Tehuantepec, donde se había refugiado la nobleza zapoteca. También algunos rincones como Sola de Vega pueden haber albergado sobrevivencias de este tipo, como lo sugiere la recopilación que hizo Balsalobre allí en el siglo XVII: una lista de dioses zapotecas que incluye a varios de los representados en las “urnas” (Balsalobre 1892; Berlín 1957). En los días de la conquista sí había “*pinates*” mixtecas en el Valle: pequeñas figuras, a veces de dioses, hechas en piedra verde. De Yagul salió una cabeza de ídolo mayor (Bernal y Gamio 1974: Lámina 44). En el Museo Frissell de Mitla hay varias figuras pequeñas que serán del mismo tipo: estatuillas de piedra, sin símbolos reconocibles de deidades. Si la costumbre azteca de hacer imágenes de los dioses con masa de amaranto era común a otras regiones, tal vez se explique así la falta de ídolos en los restos radió explorados. Existe una imagen, en la piedra verde local, del dios oaxaqueño Xipe (en el Hotel Señorial de Oaxaca), esculpida en estilo azteca.

¹⁷Además de los estudios de los campesinos modernos de distintos países, es muy útil la caracterización de la sociedad tradicionalista que se logra a todo lo largo de un famoso estudio sociológico (Riesman *et al.* 1955).

¹⁸Por necesidad, el proceso científico comienza con una deshumanización de los fenómenos humanos, creando abstracciones manejables en el análisis. Pero rara vez el científico se acuerda del proceso inverso, una rehumanización al fin

Son sólo las huellas más duraderas de la destrucción de un sistema de vida y su reemplazo por otro. Las imperfecciones inevitables del sistema perdido no significan que sea posible contemplarlo con objetividad cuando es parte de la misma persona.

Se ha demostrado cómo ciertos rasgos profundos de la personalidad perduran a través de varias generaciones de vida en ambientes diferentes donde esta orientación básica antigua ya resulta mal adaptada (Hallowell 1952, 1955: Part IV; Spindler 1980). En lo superficial la adaptación puede lograrse muy rápidamente en la mayoría de las personas, pero aun en ellas persisten problemas.

Si las nuevas circunstancias exigen una estructura interior profunda que es distinta a la tradicional, existe *un conflicto dentro de la persona*; se le puede concebir como un conflicto entre dos capas de su ser. La neurosis es un mecanismo adaptivo, creado para seguir adelante, aunque sea cojeando, a pesar del conflicto. El alto nivel de tensión que acompaña esta lucha puede inducir al abuso del alcohol para bajarlo. Otra consecuencia frecuente de las tensiones causadas por la aculturación es el nativismo, cuyas manifestaciones se han llamado también movimientos de revitalización y cultos de crisis.¹⁹

Ante una pérdida cultural que perturba el equilibrio interior, una defensa humana que parece ser casi universal es el enaltecimiento de algunos símbolos de lo perdido, de manera que unos cuantos símbolos llegan a representar toda una cultura. Pero el proceso exige una racionalización, una justificación intelectual y el mito se crea como su explicación.

No podemos asegurar que las exigencias de la cultura en la etapa Monte Albán v hubieran sido desastrosamente distintas, en cuanto a la estructura profunda de la personalidad, de las que existían en Monte Albán IV (o en IIIb). Lo que podemos observar es la clarísima evidencia de una reacción nativista: el Gran Mito Zapoteca. (Indica su creación que una población zapoteca sí se quedó en el Valle, teniendo que adaptarse a la coexistencia con una población mixteca).²⁰

La extraordinaria perduración del Gran Mito Zapoteca, que sigue vigente hoy, se explica si notamos una serie de eventos de impacto semejante que renovaban cada vez la necesidad del mito, lo refinaron y le dieron una cada vez más perfecta adaptación a las circunstancias zapotecas.

A las primeras invasiones mixtecas del Valle es sumamente probable que hayan seguido otras, y después las aztecas. Poco después de los aztecas llegaron los españoles; y no termina allí la serie de eventos renovadores del mito.

El mito aparece en la historia escrita en 1580, aunque no está nombrado como tal. Cuando fray Juan de Mata escribió en Zaachila, el día 11 de noviembre, la *Relación Geográfica* como respuesta al cuestionario real, el estudioso fraile se extrañaba ante la pobreza evidente de un lugar que se reputaba como el magno centro político de poco antes (1905: 191).

de la investigación. Tanto es así que no tenemos ninguna palabra (en español o inglés, al menos) antónimo a *abstraer*. Sus raíces latinas nos darían una: *ad-tracer*, pero parece haberse convertido en *atraer*, que es otra cosa.

¹⁹Tenemos un número considerable de resultados empíricos que relacionan factores sociales y culturales a la hipertensión; entre ellos están la migración, la aculturación, y los contrastes entre lo rural y lo urbano" (Dressler 1984: 266). El nativismo es una reacción frecuente ante la culturación. En este caso tenemos tanto migración como aculturación. Hubo contrastes entre la vida rural y la urbana también, pero nuestros datos son menos claros respecto a ellos.

²⁰Como es casi inconcebible que la totalidad de la población zapoteca del Valle se haya trasladado al Istmo, para luego volver en gran proporción después de unas generaciones o unos siglos, supongo que durante Monte Albán v el Valle de Oaxaca tuviera una población biétnica. Ya quedó claro que el control estuvo en manos de señores mixtecas. Parece casi inevitable que buen número de campesinos zapotecas quedaran en el Valle y bajo ese control. Según los códices mixtecas históricos, era común que un conquistador mixteca se casara con la viuda de su contrincante derrotado y sacrificado (o muerto en combate). En vista de lo que podemos leer en los códices, no parece creíble que todos los mixtecas del Valle fueran señores que habían llegado (por razones románticas o políticas) a casarse sin conquista a la fuerza, y sin buen número de campesinos y nobles mixtecas acompañantes. Poco después de la conquista española, hubo decenas de miles de mixtecas, de todas clases, en el Valle de Oaxaca (Paddock 1964: 469).

Menos específico que Mata fue fray Francisco de Burgoa. Siendo vicario de Zaachila, en 1670 dedicó un capítulo entero de su *Geográfica descripción* a sus impresiones “De la nación zapoteca, de su principado y señorío” (1934: I, Cap. 39). En todo ese capítulo, no menciona el nombre de Zaachila (ni Teozapotlan); y aunque el capítulo sí trata al último señor de Zaachila, su grandeza, y sus conquistas, nunca nombra a Cociyoesa (ni a su hijo Cociyopii). Burgoa sí conocía estos nombres, y sí sabía el mito, porque en varias otras partes del libro los menciona. Lo que permite entrever es que sospechaba lo que en años recientes hemos podido comprobar: el mito es mito y la historia es otra. Tal vez sabía que el señor de Zaachila en el momento de la conquista se llamaba 1 Casa (Espíndola 1905: 116), y que Cociyoesa era otro y reinaba lejos, en Tehuantepec.

Cuando escribía Burgoa, ya había pasado la mitad de la colonia. La independencia, creando una sola nación en la que quedaban implícitamente borradas las identidades étnicas para englobar a sus portadores, era así una nueva amenaza que volvió a renovar la razón de ser el mito. Tal vez por eso mismo, el siglo XIX vio una vigorosa extensión del mito en el terreno de lo escrito, porque –a falta de datos– los escritores lo incorporaban en sus obras.

Fragmentada por su topografía, por sus variados climas y recursos, la nueva nación se integraba con grandes dificultades que no le permitían el lujo de celebrar su riqueza lingüística y étnica. Sólo después de la Revolución pudo florecer, en todas las artes, el reconocimiento mayoritario de lo indígena. Y cuando por fin llegó esta celebración, mostró una fuerte tendencia a tratarlo así: como una unidad indiferenciada, “lo indígena”, renovando una vez más la vigencia del mito como sostén de la identidad zapoteca.

El Gran Mito Zapoteca sigue siendo un aspecto principal de la historia zapoteca, aun cuando no sea la misma cosa que esa historia.

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Metepec. Un pueblo novohispano en el siglo XVI

En el centro de la República Mexicana se encuentran tres valles: los de Puebla, México y Toluca. Son espaciosos y distintos entre sí, pero los une el hecho de rodear a la ciudad de México: de los tres, el de Toluca es el más elevado, 2680 metros sobre el nivel del mar. Su configuración es muy sencilla: “es un verdadero valle estrecho y alargado orientado de sureste a noroeste. Por este último punto se comunica con el Bajío que es su continuación”.¹ El valle está rodeado de montañas y en la parte más baja corre el río Lerma, que es el eje hidrográfico de aquél.

El pueblo de Metepec está situado en la porción norte del Valle de Toluca, muy cerca de un cerro de donde tomó su nombre. Procede de las voces: *metl* “maguey” y *tepetl* “cerro”.² Dista de la población de Toluca seis kilómetros. Sus límites son: al oriente, la municipalidad de San Mateo Atenco, del distrito de Lerma; al poniente, la municipalidad de Toluca; al norte, el distrito de Lerma y municipalidad de Toluca; al sur Chapultepec, Mexicalcingo y Calimaya, del distrito de Tenango.³ Su altitud es de 2670 metros sobre el nivel del mar y su latitud está en el paralelo de 19 grados 15 minutos de latitud norte, su longitud oeste del meridiano de Greenwich está en 99 grados, 36 minutos y 10 segundos.⁴ Su temperatura media es de 12 grados centígrados, la máxima extrema es de 34 grados centígrados, unos cuatro grados más que del promedio del valle, y la mínima extrema es de menos seis grados centígrados. Su clima era y sigue siendo templado en primavera, caluroso en estío y muy frío en el invierno, debido a los vientos dominantes de norte a sur. Su superficie es completamente plana en su mayor parte y sólo posee pequeñas colinas y oteros. El cerro de Metepec es la única elevación que rompe la monotonía, y su altura no excede los 700 metros sobre el nivel del valle.

La naturaleza del terreno de Metepec es arcillosa y arenisca; siendo el extremo oriental regado por el río y la laguna de Lerma, que lo hace propicio para la agricultura; encontrándose tierras de temporal, humedad, riego y medio riego. Se ha calculado un total de 120 días de lluvia y un promedio de lluvia de 78 milímetros,⁵ por lo cual Metepec es una de las regiones más fértiles del Valle de Toluca.

Los cultivos principales de la zona son maíz, frijol, papa y haba. Otros productos en menor escala son chícharo, trébol, berro, nabo, hinojo, girasol, chilacayote, quelites, epazote. Se dan árboles frutales como el peral, nogal de Castilla, membrillo, manzano, durazno, chabacano, ciruela de almendra, capulín, tejocote e higo.⁶ También en el cerro de Metepec hay algunas variedades de pino, fresno, cedro, sauce y trueno.⁷ Yervas medicinales que están bien aclimatadas son manzanilla, árnica, ajenojo, yerbabuena, cedrón, yerba del ángel, ruda, hipecacuana, flor de sauco, estafiate y romero. Además, las plantas cactáceas, maguey, nopal y biznagas se dan en profusión.

*El Colegio Mexiquense

¹García Martínez, 1976, t. , p. 29

²Ponce, 1889, p. 22

³Venegas, 1923, p. 110

⁴Tamayo, 1976, t. II, p. 573

⁵*Ibidem.*

⁶*Monografía de Metepec*, p. 21

⁷*Ibidem.*

La riqueza agrícola de Metepec era conocida desde la época prehispánica y fue una de las causas de la conquista mexicana. En el siglo XVI llamó la atención de los frailes, en 1585 fray Alonso Ponce describió así la huerta del convento: “dan muchos y muy buenos duraznos y otras frutas, y de casi todas las hortalizas y legumbres de Castilla”.⁸

Los españoles, establecidos allí desde el inicio de la conquista, consideraron a Metepec como una de las regiones más propicias para la agricultura, al verlo como un lugar donde se podría experimentar con los cultivos traídos de España. Conservaron la producción anterior, sobre todo la del maíz y también sembraron mucho trigo.

La formación de Metepec

La Corona optó por una política de formación respecto a los naturales que los apartara de los españoles y de los esclavos africanos. Dos fueron los patrones que siguió la metrópoli para organizarlos: establecer repúblicas de indios donde se separaban a los naturales del resto de la población, y congregar o reducir en poblaciones a los indios dispersos que carecían de residencia fija. Esta política de congregación de indígenas se encuentra claramente explicada en la cédula real: “Por ello se han mandado que se junten y congreguen los indios de la Nueva España que están apartados de sus cabeceras y en parte donde no pueden con facilidad doctrinar y administrar.”⁹

Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI hubo una tendencia a asimilar los pueblos y grupos indígenas a villas o municipios españoles, donde fuese más fácil evangelizarlos y enseñarles a vivir en “policía”. A estos pueblos se les llamó de “congregación”, “junta” o “policía”, y a fines del siglo XVI se les conoció como pueblos de “reducción”,¹⁰ donde se siguieron los patrones y conceptos urbanísticos traídos de España y modificados en parte por la tradición indígena.

Gracias a las relaciones escritas que se pidieron desde España, la Corona estaba enterada del por qué convenía recoger a los naturales y congregarlos en pueblos. Dichos pueblos se establecían en los lugares más convenientes de una región, “señalándoles largos términos para sus labranzas y dehesas y montes”.¹¹

La metrópoli ordenó que antes de organizar estos pueblos de congregación se realizaran juntas para elegir el sitio adecuado tomando en cuenta los puntos de vista de los caciques, de los religiosos de las órdenes de Santo Domingo, San Francisco y San Agustín, y de las personas que vivían en la zona para que no sufrieran daño ni agravio. Al mismo tiempo se dotaría a los nuevos pueblos de autoridades indias y de tierras suficientes para sus actividades agrícolas, es decir, un fundo legal. Esta orden se dio en 1567 por el virrey marqués de Falces.

A todos los pueblos de indios que necesitasen tierras para vivir y sembrar se les dieron quinientas varas y más si era menester, y a partir de entonces no se permitiría establecer estancias de ganados de españoles ni caballerías de tierra a menos de 1000 y 500 varas, respectivamente, de los pueblos de indios, medidas desde la última casa de los naturales.¹²

Esta ordenanza fue modificada dos veces por reales cédulas, en 1587 y 1695. La primera aumentó a 600 varas el fundo legal de los pueblos indígenas, que debía medirse desde la última casa del pueblo y por “todos los cuatro vientos”. La segunda únicamente modificó el lugar desde donde se debía realizar la medición, es decir desde el centro del pueblo, que casi siempre era la iglesia.

Al agruparse los pobladores dispersos quedarían tierras desocupadas donde se podrían fundar pueblos de españoles y mestizos. Como esto podría resultar un gran negocio

⁸Ponce, 1889, p. 22

⁹Archivo General de la Nación, México (en adelante AGNM) *Indios*, t. VI, 1ª parte, f. 123 v.

¹⁰Chevalier, 1976, p. 239

¹¹Puga, 1978, t. II, p. 318

¹²Florescano, 1981a, p. 43

convendría proceder con cautela, ya que las tierras estaban preparadas para la agricultura y eran zonas de alta calidad por el beneficio que recibían del río Lerma. Al quedar sin dueño se podrían solicitar como mercedes pues no perjudicaba a ningún natural y además estaban sin producir, lo que resultaba en detrimento de la Corona y de la colonia.

Aparentemente los movimientos de los españoles eran altruistas, pero coexistían con otros menos nobles, ya que las congregaciones eran el instrumento más eficaz para asegurar el sometimiento de la población a sus intereses económicos. Así resultó más sencillo contabilizar a los indígenas mediante las matrículas de tributos, obligarles a prestar el servicio personal en forma más regular y sobre todo forzar a los naturales a adoptar gradualmente las formas de vida española. En suma, los agrupamientos permitían mantener un mayor control sobre la población india.

Por su parte, los primeros frailes vieron las bondades de este sistema ya que facilitaban el adoctrinamiento y les permitía obligar a los fieles a asistir regularmente a la iglesia. Sin embargo, notaron que en esta forma los españoles explotaban más a los indígenas y los contagiaban de sus malas costumbres y de sus enfermedades. Hubo religiosos que en cierta medida se opusieron a estas congregaciones, pero no tenían otro camino que aceptarlas, si querían lograr su propósito de cristianizar a los naturales. Posteriormente, fueron ellos “quienes primero se aprovecharon de este control absoluto de las nuevas poblaciones para dirigir y realizar uno de los proyectos constructivos más ambiciosos y espectaculares que recuerda la historia mexicana: la edificación de monasterios”.¹³

En las congregaciones coexistían un doble proyecto histórico-político y evangelizador. El primero intentó reducir la pluralidad cultural y política de los indígenas y crear una igualdad y homogeneidad que permitiera tanto el control productivo y de mano de obra, como la hegemonía cultural y política. El segundo intentó formar unidades relativamente autónomas dentro de la colonia y del Estado español. Ante el indígena encomendado había que contraponer el indio congregado y crear un espacio de libertad y autonomía relativas donde fuera posible la evangelización. La religión en estos proyectos era asumida bien para reforzar la hegemonía o para dar una identidad al propio grupo.¹⁴

A la llegada de los españoles en 1527 al Valle de Toluca o Matlatzincó como se le llamó en tiempos de la colonia, existía un patrón de asentamientos humanos dispersos. Sus pobladores estaban dedicados al cultivo extensivo del maíz, lo que les obligaba a vivir cerca de sus campos de labranza. Existían también algunos centros ceremoniales, cabeceras religiosas y económicas, donde sólo residían los gobernantes, sacerdotes y algunos nobles. A estos lugares únicamente acudían los del pueblo durante las celebraciones religiosas o días de mercado, y en casos esporádicos concurrían a prestar servicios personales en trabajos comunales o bien llevar el tributo. Ante esta situación “los españoles pronto se dieron cuenta de que no podían ni explotar completamente, ni catequizar efectivamente a un pueblo disperso en áreas remotas, donde evadirían el tributo y practicarían ritos prohibidos”.¹⁵ Era necesario congregarse a los naturales alrededor de los pueblos indígenas establecidos.

A principios de la década de los treinta, los primeros misioneros franciscanos que llegaron al Valle de Toluca se establecieron en la población de Toluca, que era el centro más importante de la zona. A medida que fueron conociendo la región, organizaron los asentamientos indígenas según lineamientos del virrey Antonio de Mendoza. Este virrey estuvo acorde en un principio en congregarse a los naturales, pero se opuso al ver los resultados. En 1550, al finalizar su gobierno, dejó una relación a su sucesor don Luis de Velasco donde aseguró: “[que] la experiencia muestra que no es tanto provecho que lo bueno que se trata, cuando el daño que se sigue de las materias y opiniones que en ellos se levanta”.¹⁶

¹³Florescano, 1981b, p. 85

¹⁴Garibay, 1981, pp. 16-18

¹⁵Gerhard, 1977, p. 349

¹⁶Hanke, 1976, t. I, p. 45

Don Luis de Velasco llegó a la Nueva España en 1550 con instrucciones más precisas sobre las congregaciones.¹⁷ Los frailes, apoyados por las autoridades virreinales, formaron las congregaciones de Capuluac en 1557,¹⁸ Atlapulco en 1560,¹⁹ Zinacantepec en 1560,²⁰ y Metepec en 1561.²¹ Algunos pueblos se juntaron en uno solo como sucedió en Calimaya y Tepemajalco.²² Estas reducciones cumplían con los deseos del rey, quien en 1560 ordenó que se dieran las disposiciones necesarias para “que los indios de estas tierras que están derramados se junten en pueblos e pongáis en ejecución con todo cuidado e diligencia, como cosa que mucho importa y porque con más voluntad y de mejor gana se junten los indios en poblaciones.”²³

En 1561 Metepec fue seleccionado como el lugar ideal para agrupar a los matlatzincas, otomíes, nahuas y mazahuas. La dispersión unida a la baja demográfica causada por la conquista, las crisis agrícolas de 1538 y 1543-44,²⁴ y las epidemias, disminuyeron en un 50% a los naturales de Tepemajalco y Metepec pues de 6640 descendieron a 3765.

Cuando el virrey don Luis de Velasco hizo una visita de inspección en esa área del valle de Toluca, dio esta merced:

Yo por cuanto los naturales del pueblo de Metepec que fue hecha relación que ya me consta como habiendo yo pasado por el dicho pueblo y visto el sitio donde cayó que es en comarca a otros muchos pueblos del Valle del Matalcingo donde hay muchos indios que carecen de doctrina por ser de lengua matalcinga y no haber religiosos que la entiendan solamente el padre fray Andrés de Castro doy licencia a los de Metepec para hacer una casa monasterio morada humilde para la habitación del padre.²⁵

Así el pueblo de Metepec se convirtió en cabecera de doctrina con seis pueblos,²⁶ sujeta a la provincia del Santo Evangelio en lo espiritual y a la Audiencia de la Nueva España en el orden civil. Tuvo como núcleo el pequeño monasterio que se construyó en 1569 dirigido por los frailes franciscanos y, según el *Códice Franciscano*, estaba bajo la advocación de San Juan Bautista.²⁷ La población de la doctrina se calculó en 2000 vecinos, en su mayoría naturales, pues aunque fue poblado por españoles que se dedicaron a la agricultura y a la cría de ganado mayor y menor su número era pequeño en relación al elemento indio.

Con el establecimiento del convento la comunidad indígena sufrió cambios substanciales. Se tomó a éste como el centro del pueblo para establecer a su alrededor una población hispana que controlara a los naturales. Los frailes se encargarían de propagar la fe cristiana no sólo en Metepec sino en los seis pueblos de visita de la doctrina y de ejercer una vigilancia más estrecha sobre la producción.

Una fuerte resistencia surgió en contra de la congregación pues los naturales perdían sus tierras de labranza, debían construir nuevas casas y además eran obligados a prestar sus servicios personales en el convento, en las casas reales, en las casas de los españoles y en la construcción de edificios públicos. También quedaban dentro del padrón de tributarios del encomendero donde existían estas mercedes. Obviamente a los naturales no les convenía la congregación bajo ningún punto de vista.

La fundación de Metepec no fue sencilla, pues con la merced otorgada en 1561 por don Luis de Velasco no se solucionaron todos los problemas. En 1591 los *macehuales* de San

¹⁷Hanke, 1976, t. I, p. 136

¹⁸AGNM, *Mercedes*, t. v, f. 138

¹⁹AGNM, *Tierras*, t. 2303, exp. 8, s/f.

²⁰AGNM, *Mercedes*, t. VII, f. 259

²¹AGNM, *Mercedes*, t. v, f. 256v.

²²AGNM, *Mercedes*, t. v, f. 143-146

²³Puga, 1878, t. II, pp. 238-239

²⁴Loéra, 1981, p. 23

²⁵AGNM, *Mercedes*, t. v, f. 256-257

²⁶Los pueblos de visita de la doctrina de Metepec eran: San Miguel Totocuitlapilco, San Bartolomé Tlaltelulco, San Francisco Coaxusco, San Jerónimo Chicahualco, Santa María Magdalena Ocotitlán y San Felipe Tlalmimilolpan.

²⁷García Icazbalceta, 1941, p. 18

Francisco, uno de los barrios de Metepec, se quejaron de que no se cumplía con lo establecido por la ley: librarlos por un año del servicio personal en minas, eximirlos de tributos por ese mismo año y posteriormente obligarlos sólo a uno de cada 20 naturales a laborar en las minas.²⁸

Los macehuales del pueblo de San Francisco de Vera del gobierno de Metepec de la encomienda de Hernán Gutiérrez Altamirano me han hecho relación [a don Luis de Velasco] que ellos se han venido de su voluntad a poblar en la hacienda donde sólo 20 indios vecinos, que siendo ahí gobernador don Miguel de Santa María los amparó y favoreció Hernando que sólo diesen para el repartimiento de las minas de Temascaltepec un indio ordinario de servicio personal ni pagasen tributo y por un año porque en ese tiempo pudiesen hacer sus casas y asientos y romper y beneficiar sus tierras y que esto sea guardado y continuado.²⁹

Se ignora si este reagrupamiento solucionó el problema de los indios que huían, como lo hicieron los naturales de Zinacantepec y Calimaya, a quienes se les obligó en diversas ocasiones a residir en estas poblaciones en calidad de fugitivos. Se supone que si hubo fugitivos en los dos pueblos aledaños a Metepec, éste debió sufrir el mismo problema. Se cuenta con información muy detallada al respecto en Zinacantepec, donde en 1593 se dio nuevamente orden de congregar al pueblo.³⁰ A cambio de la congregación, la Corona ofreció respetar y amparar la tenencia de la tierra que ya poseían los naturales. También, pidió ayuda a los indios principales para compelerlos a la reducción y amenazó con la pérdida de sus garantías individuales a los que se resistieran a vivir en el pueblo nuevo.

La población

Se tienen datos imprecisos para la población indígena del siglo XVI en el Valle de Toluca. Algunos autores,³¹ mediante cálculos estadísticos, estimaron que en 1565 había 151743 habitantes. De ellos 66751 correspondían a la provincia de Metepec y de Ixtlahuaca. Según esta misma fuente, los de Metepec, Tepemachalco y Calimaya sumaban 18468 que representaban el 27.66% del total de toda la provincia.

Atacomulco y Xocotitlán	15 844
Atlapulco	3 000
Atenco	2 200
Capulhuac	2 346
Ixtlahuaca	5 205
Metepec, Tepemachalco y Calimaya	18 468
Mexicalcingo	1 108
Otzolotepec	760
Tlachichilpa y Malacatepec	5 820
Xalatlaco	6 400
Zinacantepec	5 600

Total 66 751³²

²⁸AGNM, *Indios*, t. v, exp. 136, 3ª parte, f. 36 v-38

²⁹AGNM, *Indios*, t. v, exp. 136, 3ª parte, f. 36 v-37

³⁰AGNM, *Indios*, t. vi, 1ª parte, f. 123 v-3124

³¹Cook y Simpson, 1948, p. 51-58

³²Cook y Simpson, 1948, p. 241

Por otro lado, Peter Gerhard asegura que el número de tributarios reportados en 1570 en Metepec era de 17430³³ y los investigadores de California en un trabajo publicado en 1960 hablan de 6640 indígenas de Metepec en 1568 y 3765 en 1595.³⁴

Las cifras varían enormemente, debido a la falta de cuidado que se tuvo para contabilizar a la población indígena, por desconocimiento de la zona, por las constantes migraciones, abiertas o subrepticias, que provocaron tasas fluctuantes de nacimientos y muertes. De lo que si se tiene certeza es que fue una región de alta densidad de habitantes. Fray Miguel de León, guardián del convento de Metepec, levantó en 1623 una relación de los pueblos de su jurisdicción eclesiástica. Encontró que en Metepec había 610 tributarios, en San Mateo Atenco 390 y medio, en San Miguel Totocuitlapilco el alcalde dijo tener 165 tributarios registrados sin contar a las viudas y viudos; el encargado de San Gabriel aseguró que tenía 206, San Agustín 68, más nueve viudos y nueve viudas y en San Lorenzo existían 92.³⁵ Reunidos hacían un total de 1549 y medio, cifra que resultaba semejante a los 2000 tributarios que habían calculado los frailes de San Francisco en 1561. En suma, para el siglo XVIII esta zona ya se había estabilizado y fue calificada por Villaseñor y Sánchez como una de las privincias mayores por su población y territorio.³⁶

Como resultado de la primitiva congregación ya para el siglo XVII la provincia de Metepec era una de las más grandes en territorio, población y jurisdicción en la Nueva España. Su extensión abarcó de norte a sur más de 111 kilómetros y medio, y de este a oeste más de 67 kilómetros. Su jurisdicción política y civil a mediados del siglo XVIII comprendía 36 pueblos principales, gobernados por un capitán general con sede en Metepec, en donde había república de indios, de españoles y mixto. Treinta y seis pueblos principales comprendían este territorio.

1. San Miguel Temazcalcingo
2. San Pedro Tultepec
3. San Francisco Chicoautla
4. San Francisco Xonacatlán
5. San Juan Ximilpan
6. Santiago Temoaya
7. San Lorenzo Huytzizilapa
8. San Jerónimo Amanalco
9. San Pedro Atlapulco
10. San Francisco Ixtlahuaca
11. San Felipe del Obraje
12. La Asunción Malacatepec
13. San Miguel Almoloya del Río
14. San Miguel Zinacantepec
15. San Mateo Texcaliacac
16. San Lucas Tepemajalco
17. Santiago Calimaya
18. San Mateo Mexicalcingo
19. San Miguel Chapultepec
20. San Antonio de Padua
21. San Miguel Mimalpa
22. La Asunción Xalatlaco
23. San Mateo Tlachichilpa
24. Santiago Tlachichilpa
25. Santiago Tlacotepec
26. Santa María Atlacomulco
27. San Mateo Atenco
28. San Gaspar
29. Santiago Tianguistenco
30. Santa Ana Xilotzingo
31. San Bartolomé Otzolotepec
32. San Miguel Xocotitlán
33. San Bartolomé Capuluac
34. La Asunción Tepexoxuca
35. San Martín Ocoyoacac
36. San Juan Guapanoya³⁷

Un mundo estructurado y bien diferenciado como era el del Valle de Toluca tenía que reaccionar a la conquista española. Desde años atrás había tenido que aceptar el dominio extranjero, pues las guerras de saqueo y conquista eran comunes en el mundo mesoameri-

³³Gerhard, 1972, p. 146

³⁴Cook y Simpson, 1960, p. 63

³⁵Biblioteca Nacional de México, *Fondo Franciscano*, exp. 1377, f. 121-121v.

³⁶Villaseñor y Sánchez, 1952, t. I, p. 232

³⁷*Ibidem*, t. I, pp. 231-232

cano al cual pertenecían los habitantes de esa zona. Los conquistadores españoles, al ver a los indígenas acostumbrados a pagar tributo y a reconocer el dominio de nuevos señores, aprovecharon la situación. Controlaron primero los centros políticos; al ser sometidos los señores locales, las masas campesinas aceptaron con cierta facilidad a los españoles. Así usaron los conquistadores el estamento indígena superior, con el objeto de establecer un gobierno indirecto a través de los antiguos caciques y una vez establecido utilizaron los recursos de la región para expandirse y desarrollarse. La población del Valle de Toluca era lo suficientemente numerosa y técnicamente avanzada para ser explotada. Se le utilizó bajo el antiguo sistema de producción, se le empleó como mano de obra para las nuevas empresas económicas de los españoles y se apropió del excedente en forma de tributo.

A pesar de su aparente docilidad, hubo una resistencia pasiva. La cultura mesoamericana, propia de la región, relegó en varias ocasiones los elementos hispanos y preservó en forma vigorosa los componentes indígenas de su cultura en los órdenes religioso, político, económico y social, transformando las instituciones indígenas en coloniales.

Metepc se encontró en medio de un camino que unía un valle productor de alimentos ganaderos y agrícolas y el centro consumidor de ellos: la ciudad de México. Gracias a esta posición intermedia pudo mantener los rasgos indígenas a la vez que recibió la influencia española y la indígena, logró ser un pueblo representativo de la conquista espiritual y cultural en el Valle de Toluca. Hasta la fecha mantiene fuerte rasgos indígenas, característicos de la realidad nacional, el proceso de esta aculturación ha desembocado en el actual modo de vida mestizo que le ha dado un sentido de identidad colectiva y un lazo muy fuerte de unión.

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James Lockhart*

Complex Municipalities: Tlaxcala and Tulancingo in the Sixteenth Century

Since the appearance of Charles Gibson's *Aztecs* in 1964, it has been known that indigenous states at the subimperial level were the essential carriers of continuity past the sharp break created in central Mexico by the Spanish conquest. Persisting in recognizable form through the sixteenth century and in many cases to the end of the colonial period or beyond, they provided both the shape and the organizational core for the basic institutions of the post-conquest countryside. These entities were like city states in size, and also in their degree of independence and strong ethnic awareness. But though the Spaniards were to see each state as a *cabecera* surrounded by *sujetos* (and Gibson too makes much use of this terminology), nucleation and urban domination were not central to their manner of organization. Rather each *altepetl* (the indigenous term) consisted of a set of quite equal, distinct, independent units, often called *calpolli* or *tlaxilacalli*, which divided the entire territory of the *altepetl* among them. No indigenous term differentiated a core settlement (to the Spaniards, *cabecera*) from outlying settlements (to the Spaniards, *sujetos*), nor was there any special role for such a settlement in the scheme.

As a confederation of equal constituent parts, the *altepetl* stood in need of principles of unity, of which the strongest was the common allegiance of the parts to the same *tlatoani* or dynastic ruler. Each part separately paid its allotted share of the general tax to the *tlatoani* and rotated in services to him; sharing and rotation in relation to the *tlatoani* were thus the basic mechanisms of the *altepetl*. Hence the *tlatoani* was to be crucial for the Spaniards as well, not only in channeling benefits, but also in defining units. Gibson saw the essence of the process when he wrote that "despite exceptions, a one-to-one relation between *tlatoani* community and *encomienda* was surely regarded as a norm".¹ The general sense, then, of what happened in central Mexico after the conquest is that each *altepetl* under its *tlatoani* became an *encomienda*, and following that successively a parish and a Spanish-style municipality with a *cabildo*. The basic truth and explanatory power of this insight are such that it should by no means be abandoned. Yet as we learn ever more about central Mexico before and after the conquest, we realize that the process in all its purity may have taken place in only a minority of cases.

Sometimes a new entity was created where no recognized *tlatoani* had existed, and often the borders of the three new units (*encomienda*, parish, and town) coincided less than perfectly. But the greatest and most common exceptions to the norm were cases in which the entity contained more than one ruler. By the time the Spaniards came no independent *altepetl* was without its *tlatoani*, and the office remained crucial to operations and structure, but many of the most important states were composite *altepetl* with two or more sets of *calpulli* and a *tlatoani* for each, quite a few of these complex states surviving as viable units after the conquest.² Xochimilco, Tlalmanalco, Amecameca, Coyoacan, Huejotzingo, and Tlaxcala are among the examples. Clearly entities such as these must be integrated into our view of regular post-conquest processes. In fact, as we proceed to

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¹Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, 1964), p. 65.

²Gibson was fully aware of the composite states and himself contributed a great deal to our understanding of them.

delve deeper into documents in Nahuatl throwing light on the creation of Spanish-style Indian municipal corporations and their manner of operation, we find that an inordinate amount of the best evidence concerns precisely those prominent complex altepetl, and indeed that it was apparently in such situations that the new system first took root and reached full development. Often we must use evidence from complex situations to deduce basic processes that must have been in operation in simple altepetl as well, but which remain undocumented.

In all central Mexico the largest complex altepetl to survive was the quadripartite kingdom of Tlaxcala (Tlaxcallan), and it has also left the largest legacy of documents, Nahuatl or otherwise, on the manner of operation of its municipal corporation in the sixteenth century. Over thirty years ago Gibson used much of this documentation to produce, among other things, the fullest large-scale portrait of the structure and operation of an Indian town government that we have to this day.³ Now a unique resource only partially utilized by Gibson has become available, the Nahuatl minutes of the Tlaxcalan cabildo (primarily for the years 1547 to 1567).⁴ Close work with the minutes, the only such series known to exist, has made me more aware of several patterns, which I will briefly present in the following pages; some are perhaps specific to conglomerate towns, others more general. More especially I wish to discuss another, less well known complex situation, that of Tulancingo (Tollantzinco), for which some fresh (if highly fragmentary) evidence is also available.⁵ The Tulancingo data at times reinforce and at times complement or throw a different light on what can be learned from the Tlaxcalan records. It is the reinforcing that interests me in the present context, for Tlaxcala is so prominent and has played such a peculiar role in the mythmaking of the twentieth century that it is all too often looked upon as an altogether exceptional phenomenon rather than as the in-many-ways typical Indian corporation that it was. Tlaxcala was perhaps the first and probably the greatest ally the Spaniards had in the conquest of Mexico, but it found early and expert imitators. In the sixteenth century other Indian towns resented Tlaxcala not because, as the twentieth century has tended to feel, they were traitors for turning on the "Aztecas", but because they seemed to get all the credit and reward for doing the same thing everyone else was doing all over the country.

Representation of sub-units

It now appears that one of the deepest-reaching differences between municipal governments as they existed among Spaniards of early modern times and as they took shape among indigenous central Mexicans lay in the nature of representation. In a Spanish cabildo each member, although joining the others in dealing with general concerns, represented primarily the interests of his own family; the strongest family complexes of the entire municipal unit, based essentially in the unit's urban core, somehow found representation, with minimal attention to distribution of seats among geographical districts or jurisdictions. In indigenous cabildos, on the other hand, each member was chosen as a function of belonging to a certain constituent part, so that through rotation and proportional representation each part would get its due. In simpler municipalities, where the parts (calpolli/tlaxilacalli) were closely interlocked in a traditional, well defined

³Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1952).

⁴James Lockhart, Frances Berdan, and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala (1545-1627)* (Salt Lake City, 1986). Where not otherwise specified, all statements about Tlaxcala rest on data contained in this publication.

⁵Tulancingo collection (1), in Special Collections of the UCLA Research Library, a corpus of modest size especially notable for its Nahuatl documents from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The materials are arranged only by folders and lack consistent foliation. Where not otherwise specified, all statements about Tulancingo rest on data contained in this collection. UCLA's Tulancingo holdings, valuable as they are, represent only a small portion of the archive of the Tulancingo alcalde mayor's office, reputed to be virtually intact and in private hands.

scheme, sub-unit representation functioned so automatically that specific connections between cabildo member and sub-unit hardly ever get mentioned. It is in a situation where the actors are larger, weightier, and more independent that the process is more likely to become visible, especially in the Tlaxcalan cabildo minutes, which give us a documentary dimension unmatched for any other indigenous corporation of any size. The first organization of the Tlaxcalan municipality, apparently conceived by the Spaniards in ignorance of the entity's complexity, led to internal strife, followed by a definitive reorganization in 1545. As Gibson has shown, the result was a cabildo chosen rigidly on the basis of equal representation of the four constituent altepetl. Each contributed one alcalde, three regidores, and a tlatoani sitting as perpetual regidor, while the governorship rotated among the four altepetl in an eight-year cycle.

Close examination of the Tlaxcalan cabildo minutes reveals how far the principles of equal representation and rotation went, affecting every known sphere of the municipal government's activity. An elaborate scheme was devised to have notaries rotate equally by altepetl, with two always present at sessions (though in fact two of the corps were so much more expert than the others that they did most of the writing). The city majordomos (treasurer/stewards) at first rotated by twos among the four altepetl, then it was found necessary to have four majordomos, one from each, but this proving unwieldy, the earlier scheme returned. Each altepetl took its turn providing tribute labor to the City of Tlaxcala, with cabildo members from that particular altepetl providing supervision. Deputies supervising the market rotated by altepetl. A delegation sent to Spain in 1562 consisted of four members, one from each altepetl. A single chest contained Tlaxcala's city treasury, but inside that chest were four separately managed funds into which all payments were made and from which all disbursements came. Although fully unambiguous evidence is lacking, apparently the officials at the clearing house for city tribute (*tequicalco*) and at the inns the city ran were also appointed proportionately or in rotation, and where applicable they performed duties relevant to their home altepetl. And needless to say, provincial peace officers named by the cabildo operated in their own home regions. Indeed, officials at all levels were doubtless chosen not merely from a certain altepetl but from a specific sub-entity which would figure in a scheme of rotation or proportional representation in that framework in turn. Unfortunately (but typically) the Tlaxcalan records hardly descend to this level. The sub-entities which are most likely to have been relevant to the choice of officials are *tecalli* (lordly houses), *tequitl* (tax-paying jurisdictions into which each altepetl was divided), and a large number of named settlements within each tequitl. At present these entities and their relationship to each other are little understood, and the municipal records tell practically nothing about the cabildo members' more specific bases.

Tulancingo, my secondary example, had been a double altepetl in preconquest times, containing two named parts or halves, each with its own supreme dynastic tlatoani. Tlatocan in the south hailed back to conquering and immigrating Nahuas, Tlaixpan in the north to the Otomi,⁶ though by post-conquest times both parts appear to have been dominated by Nahuatl speakers. The kingdom of Tulancingo underwent a more radical division than Tlaxcala. Although the area remained a single jurisdiction under one Spanish corregidor, based in the settlement called Tulancingo which served as capital for the entire region and contained a Franciscan church shared by the two parts, each part became a separate encomienda, and above all each acquired its own separate governor and cabildo. Here, then, the principle of representation of constituent parts is carried to the extreme of creating two entirely separate governing bodies. The only hint in the formal structure that the two might in some sense belong together is the apparent existence in each of a single alcalde rather than a cabildo's normal complement of two. About the constituent parts of

⁶See Pedro Carrasco, "Los caciques chichimecas de Tulancingo", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 4 (1963), p. 90.

the two halves and their manner of representation, as little is known for Tulancingo as in the case of the inner workings of the four Tlaxcalan altepetl. From miscellaneous partial glimpses of the membership of the two cabildos (see Tables 2 and 3), I surmise that each had four regidores, who probably represented an equal number of sub-entities. By the late seventeenth century the monastery of Tulancingo had seven dependent *visita* churches, three belonging to Tlatocan and four to Tlaixpan (possibly Tulancingo proper represented a fourth sub-entity of Tlatocan).⁷ Some unlabeled papers from the Tlaixpan half, dated 1567 to 1571 and apparently constituting records of extraordinary tax levies and expenditures for miscellaneous purposes, speak of separate collection made by the officials in four calpolli which seem to be the constituent parts of Tlaixpan.⁸ The number of collectors named, however, does not correspond exactly to the number of parts (see Table 1). In only one year are there the expected four; one year there are three, one year six, and two years five. Nevertheless, my impression is that the normal complement was one collector for each calpulli plus a general coordinator or supervisor (Pedro Colhuateuctli).

In Tlaxcala, where four entirely parallel, distinct, and complete entities were brought within a single institutional framework, unity was achieved only through a kaleidoscopic turn-taking and sharing; in any one function at any one time, in truth only one of the four parts was generally at work. This manner of operation satisfied each of the four constituents and made it possible to get something done, because officials were always dealing with people from their own unit who would obey them and identify with them, and they were primarily concerned with carrying on that unit's affairs. The main problem was coordination of the four parts. Over the twenty years of the mid-sixteenth century closely covered by the cabildo records, council members again and again expressed concern over how to combine unified management with operation by fours. With the appointment of majordomos, collection of the maize tax, and supervision of rotary labor on city projects, the same pattern is observed: fluctuation between fewer officials, in the name of unity, and more officials, in the name of satisfying the four parts and making things work. No definitive solution emerged; rather one sees a periodic swing from one pole to its opposite. Nevertheless, the complex unit held together into the seventeenth century and beyond. Eventually many smaller settlements all across Tlaxcala's territory gained a great deal of autonomy, but the municipal corporation never split at the center.⁹

Having been decentralized into its two main constituents, Tulancingo would seem to have found a permanent solution to Tlaxcala's dilemma, but not so. The nobles of the two halves were probably closely intertwined through marriage, descent, and economic interests. Both governors maintained residences in Tulancingo proper, and so in all likelihood did many of the other members of both cabildos. In the monastery atrium on Sundays after mass, one could find the two governors surrounded by a large number of present, former, and future cabildo members, not noticeably segregated according to the two halves, to judge from the Spanish-made list that has come down to us of those present on one such occasion. Although each cabildo paid tribute to a different encomendero and dealt separately with the corregidor, there were still things they needed to do together, and such common action could run into serious difficulties. For example, in 1582 the Franciscan monastery church needed a bell, and a bellmaker was in town. Tlatocan and Tlaixpan agreed to share the cost equally, but the delegation going to borrow 100 pesos from a local Spanish resident and minor corregimiento official consisted only of the governor, alcalde, and regidores of Tlatocan. The Tlatocan governor then took the money to the monastery and in the presence of the father guardian paid it to the bellmaker. In

⁷Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Crónica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de México, quarta parte del Teatro mexicano* (Mexico City, 1697), p. 63.

⁸I have as of the present not arrived at a satisfactory analysis of the relevant phrase, which accurs as "nauhcoo calpoli" and "(ypan) calpolli nauhcoco", but it does clearly contain "calpolli" and "nauh-" ("four").

⁹The situation as to indigenous government in the Tlaxcalan region in the eighteenth century remains to be investigated in detail.

Table 1
Tribute collectors (*tlapachoani*) in the Taixpan half of Tulancingo, 1567-71

1567

Pedro Colhuateuctli
Andrés Tlapaltec atl
Pedro Xochicalcatl teuctli
Andrés Huecamecatl teuctli
Juan de la Cruz
Juan Tezcacoacatl teuctli

1558

Pedro Colhuateuctli
Andrés Huecamecatl teuctli
Juan Tlacochteuctli

1569

Pedro Colhuateuctli
Juan de la Cruz
Andrés Huecamecatl teuctli
Pedro Xochicalcatl teuctli
Baltasar Tlapaltec atl teuctli

1570

Pedro Colhuateuctli
Juan Tlacochteuctli
Andrés Huecamecatl teuctli
Baltasar Tlapaltec atl teuctli

1571

Pedro Xochicalcatl teuctli
Pedro Colhuateuctli
Andrés Huecamecatl teuctli
Martín Macuexhua
Martín Coçotecatl

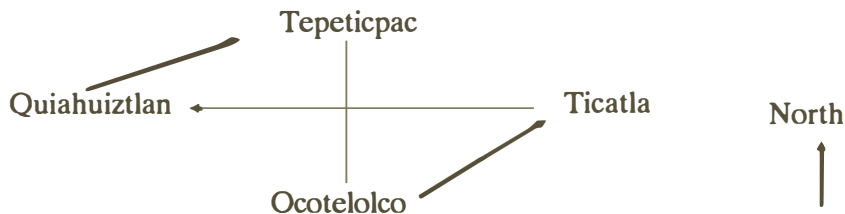
Source: Tulancingo collection. The names are in their original order. Spanish is written according to modern conventions and Nahuatl according to the conventions of Horacio Carochi (with omission of diacritics).

due time Tlatocan repaid its share, 50 pesos, but Tlaixpan did not. After two and a half years the Spaniard sued not Tlaixpan but Tlatocan for the remaining 50 pesos, and the *alcalde mayor* jailed several Tlatocan officials for the debt. The latter naturally asked that the Tlaixpan people acknowledge responsibility, which they immediately did, but instead of releasing the Tlatocan *cabildo* members already in jail the *alcalde mayor* imprisoned some Tlaixpan officials in addition. They remained in jail as the *alcalde mayor* tried unsuccessfully to auction off a house in town belonging to Tlaixpan to cover the debt. How the issue was resolved remains unknown.

Similar problems may have arisen with the joint municipal sheep-raising operation, often leased out to Spanish entrepreneurs. Aside from the lack of coordination on the Indian side, a persistent problem was Spanish failure to recognize the existence of two entities in the same town. Clerks speak of one or the other of the governors simply as “the governor of Tulancingo”. Surely the *alcalde mayor* grasped the dual organization, to which after all Spanish officials must have assented, if they did not indeed foment it. In keeping Tlatocan leaders in jail even after Tlaixpan’s responsibility was established, the *alcalde mayor* may have been making Tlatocan as the senior entity ultimately responsible,¹⁰ or he may have felt that despite the formal division the two halves were really one and must answer together. At any rate, by the mid-seventeenth century (and probably before) the Tulancingo municipal corporation had been reorganized as a single set of officials with one governor, though the rest seem still to have been divided between Tlatocan and Tlaixpan in the expected way.

Order of rotation and preference

We have already observed the importance of rotation among constituents in *altepetl* structure. Rotation cannot proceed smoothly without a fixed order, and such an order was therefore the most basic part of what one might call the specific constitution of an *altepetl* in either pre-conquest or post-conquest times. For Tlaxcala the historical writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often use an order based on the supposed chronological sequence of foundation of the four *altepetl*: Tepeticpac, Ocotelolco, Ticatla, and Quiahuiztlan. In the Tlaxcalan *cabildo* records this sequence is in a sense confirmed; ongoing rotations operate as follows:



Whenever something begins anew, however, one starts with Ocotelolco, which by mid-sixteenth century seems to have been the strongest of the four *altepetl*, Tepeticpac the weakest. The simple device of beginning with number two, leaving year-round rotations untouched, accomplished a major adjustment in matters of precedence. In the *cabildo* minutes lists of *cabildo* members or other officials almost always begin with Ocotelolco and end with Tepeticpac.

The Tulancingo papers deliver no particulars on rotation order. It is to the Nahuatl historian Chimalpahin and his home region of Chalco that we must look for well depicted

¹⁰Several considerations lead to the conclusion that Tlatocan had precedence. Torquemada and Vetancurt both mention Tlatocan first. Normally the conquering, invading group (here Tlatocan) becomes the upper half in dual organization arrangements, the conquered (here Tlaixpan) the lower. “Tlatocan” means “were the ruler is”. “Tlaixpan” is ambiguous; though it can mean “in front”, it can also mean “facing, opposite”, which I take to be the sense here; that is, Tlaixpan would be “the other one”.



ranking systems. Chimalpahins's constant concern with who is first, second, or third underlines the importance of sequence in his view of political structure. Primarily referring to the pre-conquest period, he establishes a consistent order for the four parts making up greater Chalco (each of the four itself a composite altepetl) and for the sub-kingdoms of one of the parts, Amaquemecan (Amecameca). In both cases, as originally in Tlaxcala, the sequence of foundation dictates the order, though again as in Tlaxcala certain posterior adjustments took place.¹¹ Despite the importance of chronological sequence, however, the possible relevance of the four cardinal directions to ordering schemes cannot be dismissed. The four parts of Chalco and Tlaxcala have the same relative orientation, and both orders originally began in the north (though from that point on they vary). It now also appears that a fixed order of rotation characterized the internal parts of Mexico Tenochtitlan.¹²

The role of tlatoque

The Tlaxcalan cabildo minutes confirm what was already known: in the post-1545 scheme, the tlatoque or dynastic rulers of the four constituent altepetl sat on the cabildo as permanent regidores but were excluded from the governorship or any other office. The time of more open tlatoani dominance had been the early, poorly documented period of the 1520s and 30s. After 1547, when complete records begin, the tlatoque were in fact rigorously restricted to their prescribed positions as perpetual regidores (except that one of them once held office as annually elected regidor before becoming the Quiahuiztlan tlatoani, which after all does not represent a violation of the rule). A more covert dominance may have persisted for some time, however. The tlatoque are once referred to obliquely as the wealthiest of the Tlaxcalans, while the four tlatoque plus the governor held the keys to the municipal treasure chests, and the same group, rather than the entire cabildo, made the decision to defy the corregidor's wishes on a matter of tribute collection. The governor, however, seems to have been rising in power and protocol above the tlatoque, and the body of governor, alcaldes, and tlatoque in some ways acted as a unit with formal precedence over the regidores. The overall impression is one of the tlatoque gradually merging into an upper group of noble cabildo members from whom they were hardly distinguishable. Yet the formal distinction (and restriction) continued to obtain.

That Tlaxcala had four high tlatoque rather than one doubtless served to shorten the long transitional period typical of altepetl with a single clearly supreme tlatoani, in which the dynastic ruler would also serve as governor, in many cases for a lifetime. Tulancingo had two tlatoque, but the existence of two corporations with separate governorships created a situation potentially favorable to continued tlatoani dominance. In fact, a document published by Pedro Carrasco shows very much the picture one would expect.¹³ In 1579 witnesses say that a don Julián de San Francisco, the tlatoani of Tlatocan for over thirty years in the middle part of the century, was "cacique y gobernador", giving the impression that he monopolized the governorship. The same double title is given to don Julián's son don Miguel Alejandrino, who inherited the rulership from his father, and don Miguel is in fact found as governor of Tlatocan in 1570, in the first direct documentary attestation of the occupation of Tlatocan's governorship. By 1579 don Miguel has died and his son don Diego Alejandrino, having inherited the rulership and its perquisites, is bidding for official approval of the succession. Don Diego did not, however, immediately become governor; the post changed hands frequently among non-tlatoque in the 1580s (see Table 2). Yet don Diego was not permanently out of the picture, for in 1587 he appears as alcalde, and by 1590 he seems to have acceded to the governorship.

¹¹See Susan Schroeder, "Chalco and Sociopolitical Concepts in Chimalpahin: Analysis of the Work of a Seventeenth-Century Nahuatl Historian of Mexico" (Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 1984).

¹²My book manuscript "The Nahuas After the Conquest" contains a detailed section on this topic (Chapter 2).

¹³Carrasco, "Los caciques", pp. 85-91.

Table 2

Known officers of the Tlatocan cabildo, sixteenth century

	1570	
governor		Don Miguel Alejandrino
alcalde		Don Antonio de Padua
regidor		Antonio de Santiago
regidores?		Martín Cortés Tlacochteuctli
		Cristóbal Sánchez
	1579	
alcalde		Don Cristóbal Sánchez
regidores		Martín Tapia
		Domingo de Santiago
		Pedro Juárez
		Domingo de Valencia
	1582	
governor		Don Cristóbal Sánchez
alcalde		Don Martín de Tapia
regidores		Calisto de Santa Ana
		Pedro Bazán
regidores?		Juan de San Francisco
		Martín de Santa Cruz
	1585	
governor		Don Gabriel Vásquez
alcalde		Don Domingo de Valencia
regidores		Don Bernardino de San Juan
		Antonio Hernández
	1587	
governor		Don Cristóbal Sánchez
alcalde		Don Diego Alejandrino
regidores		Juan de San Francisco
		Martín de Santiago
		Joaquín hilario
		Gabriel Vásquez
majordomo		Juan de San Pedro
	1590	
governor?		Don Diego Alejandrino
	1600	
alcalde		Don Gabriel Vásquez
regidor		Don Juan Lorenzo de San Francisco

Source: Tulancingo collection; Pedro Carrasco, "Los caciques chichimecas de Tulancingo", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 4 (1963), p. 87. All the office titles appear as loan words in the Nahuatl texts.

For Tlaixpan the situation is even more sketchily documented. From the 1560s into the 1580s several governors held office for short periods. Whether or not any of them was also tlatoani is not known at present, but the fact that a don Juan Maldonado was governor of all Tulancingo as late as 1720 inclines one to suspect that the don Pedro Maldonado who was governor of Tlaixpan in 1570-71 was, if not tlatoani, at least a member of the Tlaixpan dynasty. Apparently a situation was growing up by the late sixteenth century in which, in both halves of Tulancingo, members of the tlatoani family were highly eligible, indeed almost predestined for the governorship, but did not monopolize it. This is indeed the picture quite generally, where, as the situation in Tlaxcala, with no tlatoque-governors, would seem to be exceptional (though it remains to be seen if the same did not happen in altepetl like Huejotzingo and Xochimilco, where as in Tlaxcala multiple tlatoque corresponded to only one cabildo).

Other offices and career patterns

In the Tlaxcalan records it becomes apparent that there was a career ladder by which certain individuals advanced from regidor to alcalde and finally governor, after which they might return to occupy some of the lower posts. At the same time, other cabildo members never reached higher than regidor. Unlike Spanish cabildos, where regidores in many ways outranked alcaldes, in Tlaxcala the alcalde post was treated as the higher of the two. Frequent repetition in cabildo office kept the total number of officeholders very small. Individuals holding higher posts had more prestigious names. Generally speaking, indigenous surnames ranked lowest, saints' names and other religious surnames next up the scale, and Spanish surnames highest, with some but not much distinction being made between plebeian patronymics (Hernández, etc.) and high-sounding last names taken from encomenderos, corregidores, and ecclesiastics. The title "don" was the ultimate symbol of having attained the highest level. Although more highly valued names correspond quite closely with those individuals holding higher office, or who had at least held such office earlier, the system was not rigid, since as a cabildo member gained in experience, influence, and rank, his name would change accordingly. One Tlaxcalan abandoned an indigenous name for a religious surname, then a Spanish one, and finally, at the time of being made governor, he acquired the "don" too.

Tulancingo confirms the wider existence of all these phenomena. As can be seen even in the fragmentary data of Tables 2 and 3, returning to office after a short interval was a common pattern. Few indigenous names are seen on the cabildo, and their possessors are lower-ranking persons not going above regidor and often associated with the sub-cabildo post of majordomo. Individuals may rise from regidor to alcalde to governor. In Tlaixpan, Martín de Valencia (named after a famous Franciscan friar, hence probably an especially high-ranking nobleman) was apparently regidor in 1567, alcalde in 1568 and 1570, possibly regidor again in 1571, and again in 1582 (and very likely in office in the intervening unrecorded years as well), by now having acquired the "don", and then governor in 1585. By 1580 it had become the practice that anyone holding the office of governor or alcalde in either cabildo was automatically "don", where as most regidores remained without the title. The "don" could actually be lost when one went back to being regidor, as for example in Tlatocan with don Gabriel Vásquez, governor in 1582, who as regidor becomes plain Gabriel Vásquez in 1587, and don Gabriel again as alcalde in 1600. The same happened in Tlaxcala, too, but rarely. Even in Tulancingo, once the "don" was acquired, it generally stuck regardless of what office one might hold subsequently, as in the just-cited case of don Martín de Valencia of Tlaixpan. Within the context of close similarity, Tulancingo does manifest one significant difference: relatively fewer of the name attributes associated with highest rank appear. By the 1570s and 80s, most Tlaxcalan cabildo members bore the "don", and the proportion of surnames in the full Spanish style was

Table 3
Known officers of the Tlaixpan cabildo, sixteenth century

	1567	
governor?		Don Pedro de San Cristóbal
regidor?		Martín de Valencia
majordomo		Pedro Mexicatl
	1568	
governor?		Don Pedro de San Cristóbal
alcalde		Martín de Valencia
majordomo		Luis de León
	1569	
alcalde		Francisco de San Juan
regidor		Pedro Jiménez Tepanecatl teuctli
majordomo		Pedro Huecamecatl
	1570	
governor		Don Pedro Maldonado
alcalde		Martín de Valencia
regidores?		Martín de Santiago
		Francisco de San Juan
majordomo		Pedro Tlacochealcatl
	1571	
governor		Don Pedro Maldonado
alcalde		Don Pedro de San Critóbal
regidor		Fransisco de San Juan
regidor?		Martín de Valencia
majordomo		Pedro Tlacochealcatl
	1582	
governor		Don Francisco de San Juan
alcalde		Don Bernardo de San Juan ^a
regidores		Don Martín de Valencia
		Martín de Santa Cruz
		Martín de Santiago
majordomo		Pedro Jiménez
	1585	
governor		Don Martín de Valencia
alcalde		Don Andrés de Soto

^aDoubtless not the same person as the regidor of Tlatocan in 1585.

Source: Tulancingo collection.



much higher than in Tulancingo. The general meaning of the divergence appears to be that Tulancingo was following the same path as Tlaxcala but had probably got a later start, and being more distant from the centers of Mexican life and having a smaller base was moving more slowly.

Looking at municipal officeholding beneath the level of the *cabildo*, the Tlaxcalan records provide a considerable amount of data. The *cabildo* directly appointed a large number of peace officers in the province and in the city of Tlaxcala, as well as tribute supervisors, market constables, and persons in charge of special enterprises, notably the city-run inns for travelers. As mentioned earlier, all seem to have been primarily on behalf of and in relation to their home unit. Incumbents usually held any one post for only one year, but as at the higher level they might return to office quickly. Individuals tended to circulate among all the positions at this level without much regard to specific expertise; clearly the general managerial and judicial/supervisory aspects took precedence.

In a Spanish municipality, a sharp distinction was made between the *cabildo* members, who were well connected and presumed noble, and the sub-*cabildo* employees of the city, who were plebeians with no claim to high status and would never expect to serve on a *cabildo* at any time in their lives. In Tlaxcala, on the other hand, it appears that even the lower municipal posts were associated with nobility and that all the occupants were nobles or accepted as such. Many were so prominent as to be members of the corps of 220 electors who chose the governor and *cabildo*. Nor did any absolute barrier stand in the way of lower officials' advancement to the *cabildo*. Sometimes passing first through the positions of *cabildo* notary, city *majordomo*, or provincial lieutenant, which stood highest in rank, over the years persons who had occupied the lower posts repeatedly became *cabildo* members, and a couple got as far as *alcalde*. Despite all this, a distinction existed between the *cabildo* members and the others. Only a small proportion of the lower officials ever rose to *cabildo* membership. Their names were of the less prestigious sort, with mainly indigenous surnames, some saints' names, and no "don" at all. *Cabildo* members with the highest lineage or best education, those who frequently served as *alcalde* and governor, had rarely done duty in lower posts.

For Tulancingo, the information on sub-*cabildo* posts is presently very sparse, and it appears unlikely that the staff of lower municipal officials with direct connections to the *cabildo* was as elaborate as in Tlaxcala (which was perhaps New Spain's most highly developed indigenous municipal corporation), but some similarities do emerge. As in Tlaxcala, so in Tulancingo the post of *majordomo* was just at the edge of *cabildo* membership. Some *majordomos* have indigenous surnames, some religious, and some fully Spanish; one of them, Pedro Jiménez (Tepanecatli *teuctli*), had previously served as *regidor*. For the most part they hold office for only one year at a time, as in Tlaxcala. All the rest of the data on lower officials come from the fragmentary records of Tlaixpan's extraordinary collections and expenses which form the basis of Table 1. The documents show some officials collecting tribute items from the populace and making disbursements of both those items and money, with the permission of the *majordomo*, so we are justified in considering these persons to be collectors and managers of tribute. They refer to themselves once as *tlapachoani*, "governors", although the term seems to have had the specific sense, according to the dictionary of fray Andrés de Molina, of manager of someone's property and family. In an accompanying document the term *tequilayacaque*, literally "tribute leaders or guides", is found, apparently with reference to the same group. No Spanish word for them appears (nor does it for their approximate counterparts in Tlaxcala).

Of the group of ten persons serving in this capacity over five years (1567-71 inclusive), all but one have indigenous surnames, and that one bears a religious name.¹⁴ The

¹⁴Even that one may still have been using an indigenous name part of the time; I suspect that on Table 1 Juan de la Cruz and Juan Tlacochteuctli were the same person.

indigenous names, however, indicate high status, since the great majority of them end in *teuctli*, “lord”. It is indeed apparent that all the surnames are actually high titles, either for traditional altepetl officers or for leaders of sub-units. None of the group is known to have risen to the cabildo or even to the majordomo position, but in a sample this small, with an equally small sample of cabildo membership for comparison, one would expect much the same thing in Tlaxcala as well. Two of the ten tribute collectors are present all five years, two more in three of the five years, another in two years, and the remaining five in one year only. This is a higher repetition rate in the same post than was typical of sub-cabildo office in Tlaxcala, but in fact there are relatively few data on rotation among Tlaxcala’s tribute officials. The officers appear to vary in number from year to year, but this may be a result of chance appearance in the fragments preserved, or of the inclusion of the names of aides as well as principals. Pedro Colhuateuctli, present every year and named first every time but one, seems to have a special position. As mentioned above, I suspect that he is a superior and that normally there would be four others, one for each of the calpolli mentioned in the records. The overall situation implied by these documents is entirely compatible with the role and nature of sub-cabildo officeholding in Tlaxcala, except that we have no reason to imagine that officials in Tulancingo were equally numerous.

Miscellaneous parallel phenomena in Tlaxcala and Tulancingo

With both Spanish and pre-conquest indigenous precedent, Mexican Indian town corporations from the first gave strong support, including financial contributions, to ecclesiastical organizations and observances. The Tlaxcalan cabildo is known to have paid for vestments, ornaments, musical instruments, and other items for church use, as well as providing direct subsidies for the maintenance of the local Franciscan friars. We have already seen the largest example of such activity in Tulancingo, the two cabildos jointly paying for the bell at the monastery church. The Tlaxpan tribute collectors’ records also contain yearly disbursements of three or four pesos as the pay of the church singers (*Tullantzincó cuicanime yntlaxtlahuil*); presumably Tlatocan contributed an equal amount (or each cabildo may have supplied half the singers and then paid its own people). Expenses in 1569 to buy nails and pay masons and plasterers (the latter from Tetzoco) probably had to do with church maintenance.

A great deal of the support municipal governments gave to ecclesiastical causes was not monetary, but consisted in channeling tribute goods and services to church purposes. In Tlaxcala the records make it clear that such was the primary mechanism for organizing religious festivities and carrying out church construction projects. Little specific evidence is forthcoming for Tulancingo, but similar efforts can be deduced from a petition by a group of eleven indigenous painters who had done work in 1570 on church buildings at the behest of the municipal officials (whether of one or of both cabildos is not specified). The painters complained to the alcalde mayor that the officials had withheld their pay, as had often happened before. The town officials, on the other hand, seem to have taken the attitude that what the painters did was simply their duty to the altepetl and not something meriting monetary pay. Tlaxcala had similar problems with artisans. In 1550 the people making an altarpiece in the monastery church wanted their work to be considered as performed in fulfillment of private vows and redounding to the credit of their own sub-unit, whereas the cabildo and the friars wanted it to be considered tribute duty for the city.

In Tlaxcala, the cabildo engaged in Spanish-style agrarian enterprise, including the ownership of a flock of sheep and the operation of a farm using European implements, animals, and techniques. These properties were managed by Spaniards, with whom the Tlaxcalan cabildo made partnerships (*compañías*), putting up the money for capital investment and either paying the Spaniards set salaries or sharing profits with them. Much the same arrangement is found in Tulancingo. By 1570 there were municipal sheep



estancias, one for each of the cabildos, although both were leased to the same Spaniard; 600 pesos was being offered for a new lease. Over time the leasing out of municipal ranches and farms became a popular option for Mexican Indian towns, and Tlaxcala too probably adopted the practice later (evidence in the Tlaxcalan cabildo minutes dates from the 1550s). By the 1580s the Tlatocan cabildo was selling maize futures to Spaniards (seventeen fanegas of *iztac tlaolli* or “white maize” for 25 pesos, 4 reales in 1587), presumably supplies acquired as tribute. In the single documented instance, however, the cabildo did not come through with the promised maize.

Finally, Tlaxcala’s cabildo members frequently went on missions for which they received a per diem allowance from the city treasury. Many of these trips took them to Mexico City to make special pleas to the viceroy, be confirmed in office, or carry on litigation before the Royal Audiencia. The Tlaixpan tribute collectors’ records show the same trends, and though no sophisticated per diem arrangement is in evidence, money, food, and other supplies were collected for cabildo members going to Mexico City for confirmation in office or to carry on lawsuits.

In brief, then, significant parallels to the structure and manner of operation of the complex and in some respects unique government of Tlaxcala in the sixteenth century can be seen in the more fragmentary documentation concerning another complex jurisdiction, Tulancingo, at around the same time. It appears that with testing in this way against various situations only partially recorded, we can make use of the unusual Tlaxcalan documentation to draw broader conclusions, and that more generally we can use the relatively well documented complex municipalities to throw light on processes affecting Indian towns of all sizes and configurations.





Frances Mary Krug*

The Indian Municipality within a Spanish Urban Context: Seventeenth-Century Puebla

Puebla de los Angeles was founded in 1531 by the Spaniards in an area sparsely settled by Indians. The reasons for the founding of the city were many, including to provide a convenient stopping place for merchants and other travellers between Veracruz and Mexico City; to initiate a settlement of prosperous, small-scale farmers without the complications of the distribution of encomiendas; to establish a fixed abode for the “vagabonds” who were viewed as unproductive members of early colonial society; and to segregate Indians and Spaniards in an attempt to avoid the perceived social ills of other parts of New Spain.

Despite these goals, it was soon apparent that Indian labor would be needed to help build houses and other buildings within the city, and therefore Indians were temporarily allocated to Spaniards as laborers. They were brought in from various communities to work in Puebla, including Tlaxcala, Cholula, Tepeaca, Calpan, and Huejotzingo. Although the Crown intended that after a few years forced Indian labor would no longer be necessary, it is clear that forced labor remained a fact of life in the Puebla area at least through the sixteenth century and facilitated increased, rather than decreased, demands on the Indian population.¹ One result of this continued reliance upon Indian labor in Puebla was that, contrary to the initial goals of the city’s founders, Indians began to settle permanently both in the area surrounding the city and even within the city limits themselves. What made Puebla’s situation somewhat different from other municipalities in New Spain was that there had not been a large functioning Indian settlement there prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. In Puebla the Spanish city was settled first; the Indian municipality developed afterwards. Therefore, Puebla provides a scenario different from other settlements: the Indian municipality that developed did so within a Spanish urban context, rather than the more usual case of the Spaniards’ presence affecting and altering already established Indian municipalities.

During my research comparing the Nahuatl historical annals of the Puebla-Tlaxcala region,² it became clear to me that these documents provide information about the Indian corporate entity in Puebla. Because of the nature of the genre, annals are good sources for certain types of information on Indian municipalities and poorer sources for others. On the negative side, annals do not provide us with a general view of Indian society because of their concentration on the affairs of a minority of the Indian population. On the positive side, annals usually deal with the elite of the Indian world and concentrate to a great extent on governmental matters. Because of their emphasis on the elite, annals provide much information on the activities of Indian government. They also provide

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¹See Hans J. Prem, “Early Spanish Colonization and Indians in the Valley of Atlixco, Puebla”, *Explorations in Ethnohistory*, eds. H.R. Harvey and Hans J. Prem (Albuquerque, 1984), pp. 205-228; and Julia Hirschberg, “Social Experiment in New Spain: A Prosopographical Study of the Early Settlement at Puebla de los Angeles, 1531-1534”, *HAHR*, 59 (1979), pp. 1-33.

²This essay is part of my ongoing dissertation research concerning 23 historical annals written in Nahuatl dealing with events in the Puebla-Tlaxcala region during the colonial period. The annals have a great deal of shared material and part of my research involves a clarification of the relationships of these annals to each other, following the lead of Charles Gibson and John B. Glass, who pointed out the fact that similarities existed in “A census of Middle American Prose Manuscripts in the Native Historical Tradition”, *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 15 vols. (Austin, 1975), “Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources, Part 4”, Howard F. Cline, Volume Editor, vol. 15, p. 358.

valuable clues to the concerns of the Indian world, its attitudes and perceptions of Indian actions, and the actions of members of the Spanish world.

The source material for this essay is primarily a set of annals known as the “Códice Gómez de Orozco, 1524-1691”,³ a document rich in material concerning the activities and concerns of the Indian corporation in Puebla. It was written in Nahuatl by an anonymous author and the majority of its text relates to the last half of the seventeenth century.⁴ It is a typical colonial Nahuatl set of annals, following the expected format of a listing of years, next to which the descriptions of noteworthy events are placed. In general, the text is short and tersely written, and for any given year there are normally not more than two or three events listed. However, in the latter part, from approximately 1650 on, there is a definite change in style. Entries for individual years become quite lengthy and detailed, and the emphasis switches to a greater interest in local affairs. This style change coincides roughly with the time period when the author began to write down events within his own memory, since, given the time span covered by the annals, it is clear that no one person could have written down the events as they occurred. The author must have made use of materials written earlier, which he either used verbatim or altered to his own needs and locality. As to content, most entries in the annals can be placed into a fairly limited and predictable set of categories, including natural disasters and astronomical phenomena, news concerning government activities and officials (primarily important Spanish officials and members of the Indian *cabildo*), Church related news, and crime and punishment.

As expected, this set of annals provides many insights into the development of the Indian municipality within the context of Spanish Puebla. The first mention of the city is an entry concerning its foundation, which reads: “1533 [sic]. In this year the *altepetl* was set up. People from Tlaxcala set it up here at Cuitlaxcoapan. It was called the City of the Angels” (“1533 Nican ypan xihuitl yn omotlali altepetl quitlalique tlaxcalteca nican cuitlaxoapa motenehua suidad de loz angeles” [CGO, f. iv]).⁵ The annalist credits the Tlaxcalans with settling the city, not surprising considering that the majority of the Indian laborers came from Tlaxcala, and that the author of this document was a resident in the Tlaxcalan-settled barrio of San Juan del Río. Of further interest is that the annalist credits the settlement of the city to Indians rather than Spaniards, and makes no comment on the “Spanishness” of the city.

The first reference in the set of annals to the Indian government within Puebla is in 1565. Here, the document states that Jerónimo Santiago was made *fiscal* at a time when there was no governor, adding that “just he spoke for the *altepetl*” (“san oc ye quitlatahuiaya ... yn altepetl” [CGO, f. 4r]). Santiago was said to be from Tlaxcaltecan, the section of Puebla where Indians from Tlaxcala generally settled, and although the context is somewhat unclear, he may originally have come from Tizatlan, from a specific location called Tlatzcantitlan.⁶ From other sources it is known that perhaps as early as 1537 there was an Indian charged with acting as a liaison between the Indian barrios and the Spanish *cabildo*,⁷ and the system was subsequently expanded so that by 1561 the first Indian *alcalde* was named to perform similar duties.⁸ However, none of this is indicated by the annalist.

Although there is no further information provided in this set of annals on the functioning of Indian government until 1601, another set of annals states that in 1600 a

³The manuscript is located in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Archivo Histórico, Colección Gómez de Orozco, no. 184; hereafter it will be referred to as CGO.

⁴The document was likely written ca. 1690-1738

⁵All translations of the Nahuatl text included in this essay are mine. However, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance provided by Arthur J.O. Anderson in his preliminary translation of the “Códice Gómez de Orozco” (part of a work in progress by Anderson and myself), and the many helpful suggestions of James Lockhart.

⁶“Tlatzcantitlan” could also be a descriptive term along the lines of “among the cypresses”.

⁷Fausto Marín-Tamayo, *La división racial en Puebla de los Ángeles bajo el régimen colonial* (Puebla, 1960), p. 35.

⁸Pedro López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla vieja de la nobilísima ciudad de Puebla (1781)* (Mexico City, 1961), p. 99.

governor named don Antonio de Luna was placed for the first time in Puebla.⁹ In the 1601 entry in the “Código Gómez de Orozco”, the annalist states that the complete governmental system was set in place for the first time in that year, with three *alcaldes*, *regidores*, and *alguaciles* (CGO, f. 5r). In 1603 the second governor, don Juan Calson, was installed (CGO, f. 5r), and in 1610 the third governor, don Juan Bautista, who apparently was brought in from Tiztla to govern in Puebla (CGO, f. 5v). In this same year, the annalist reports that a *cabildo* was held at the *casa real* and three *altepetl* set up (CGO, f. 5v) - San Francisco (which included Tlaxcaltecapan), San Pablo, and Santiago (sometimes called Cholultecapan). No explanation is given as to why the *altepetl* were apparently set up nine years after the Indian *cabildo*.

The fourth Indian governor of Puebla, don Diego Pérez, did not take office until 1629 (CGO, f. 7r), and held the post until June 9, 1639, when the fifth governor, don Bartolomé Cortés took the staff of office (CGO, f. 8r). The sixth governor, don Blas de Galicia, accepted the position on June 24, 1652 (CGO, f. 9v), and held office from 1652 until 1679, when don Josef de Ribera became the seventh governor (CGO, f. 14v). Don Blas de Galicia is independently reported as governor at various times and during various events throughout this period, and thus must actually have held the office for such a long period.

Up to that point the Indian government in Puebla was not functioning in a standard way, although the annalist makes no comment on this. It would appear that from the foundation of Puebla in 1531 until 1565, when the annals indicate a *fiscal* was representing the interests of the Indian municipality, there was no clear formal organization among the Indians living in Puebla. Further, it took until 1600 for a governor to be named, until 1601 for a *cabildo* to be set up, and until 1610 for the three *altepetl* to be formally established. Examination of the rotation of the office of governor shows weaknesses in the system. The term of office for the governor on average was quite long, ranging from a minimum of three years for the first governor to a maximum of 27 years for the sixth. In addition, it is clear that the office was not rotating at year-end, as was customary in other communities. As we have seen, the annals indicate that two governors received the staff of office in June, with no notation by the annalist that this was out of the ordinary.

With the advent of the seventh governor there are indications of a gradual normalization of the governorship in terms of the length of office. Don Josef de Ribera held the office for two years, until 1681, when don Juan Andrés succeeded him. However, the latter's election is the first incident reported by this annalist of disagreement in deciding who would be governor. In this case the first nominee, Juan Agustín from San Pablo, was opposed by the representatives of San Francisco and Santiago because “he was already an old man and he did not have a house” (“*ye huenhuantzin yhuan amo quipie ycaltzin*” [CGO, f. 15v]). The *cabildo* met four times before it was able to decide on a candidate, don Juan Andrés from Santiago. It is significant that no mention is made in the account of any involvement by Spanish officials in this dispute.

Shortly after this conflict, the tentative moves made towards normalizing the term of office of the governor were threatened by an attempt to weaken the hold the Indian corporation had on the governmental system. In 1682 the governor's office was apparently held jointly by a “Chinese” named Mateo Xaen and a mulatto called Peña.¹⁰ However, by 1684 the annalist reported that the Indians were reasserting their authority, since the person who held the office of governor in that year, don Felipe de Santiago, was an Indian. Along with an unidentified group of other Indians, he removed the mulattoes controlling the governorship (the annalist lists the two “governors” of 1682 and the *teniente*), so that “they will never again enter the *cabildo* of the [Indian] commoners because they did not respect the elders who represent people in the *cabildo*” (“*aoc..*

⁹This information is found in both “Ephémérides de Tlaxcala et lieux circonvoisins, 1519-1737” (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [hereafter BNP], no. 378, f. 12) and in “Anales de Puebla y Tlaxcala, no.2, 1524-1674” (Museo Nacional de Antropología, Archivo Histórico, Colección Antigua, no. 274, f. 810).

¹⁰CGO, f. 16v. The text provides no explanation for the apparent co-governorship, but perhaps one of the two listed was *cobrador*.

calaquisque yn incabildo masehualtzitzintin ypanp.. ayocle ypan oquimittaya yn tetachcahuan yn pa.. sa yehuantin tetlatahuilia yn cabildo” [CGO, f. 21r]). The cabildo then petitioned the authorities in Mexico City for a decree providing that “never again will Christians,¹¹ mestizos, mulattoes, blacks, or Chinese enter the cabildo, only the [Indian] commoners will concern themselves with it” (“aocmo calaquisque cabildo ma qui..tiano ma mestiso ma molato ma tliltic ma chin.. sa mixcahuisque yn masehualtzitzintin” [CGO, f. 21r]). The decree arrived and was duly proclaimed.

There is another indication of an increasing normalization in the rotation of the office of the governor in the midst of this threat to the Indian corporation. The annalist reports that in 1684, don Felipe de Santiago was removed from the office of governor half-way through his term because he had had someone’s ears cut off. He was replaced by Melchor de los Reyes until mid-November, when he was reinstated as governor and “he just finished the year” (“sa oquitlami xihuitl” [CGO, f. 21v]), which implies the intent to have the governorship conform to a yearly rotation.

In 1685 don Miguel de los Santos was named eleventh governor in an apparently standard change of office (CGO, f. 22r). But in 1686, when the position changed hands again, a very serious problem arose. In this case the *alcalde mayor* wanted a mestizo named don Juan de Galicia¹² to be governor, a move that was rejected by all three altepetl (CGO, ff. 23r-23v). The Indian cabildo held two elections, but both nominees were rejected by the *alcalde mayor*, so both sides then sent to Mexico City asking for support for their position. A decree similar to the one received in 1684 was brought back by the Indian contingent, prohibiting non-Indians from the cabildo. So another election was held, this time with the *alcalde mayor* sending two witnesses of his choosing to observe. The man elected was again rejected by the *alcalde mayor*, and both sides again went to Mexico City to plead their case. Meanwhile, the *alcalde mayor* put an acting governor in place. When the *alcalde mayor* returned to Puebla in mid-February he stated to the cabildo “If you do not want don Juan de Galicia to be governor, then I will place him as *cobrador* and he will collect the tribute” (“amo nananquinequi yes g^{or} yn don ju^o de galisia nictlalis yes *cobrador* yehuatl cololoz yn tlacalaquili” [CGO, f. 23v]). Since this was a very important function of the Indian governor, this action significantly reduced the power of the office. Finally, don Miguel de la Cruz was chosen by the Indians to be the twelfth governor, and his election was confirmed by officials in Mexico City on July 8, but don Juan de Galicia apparently held the office of *cobrador* from February 21 on.

The narration of this event provides some insights into the Indian municipality in Puebla in the late seventeenth century. The annalist states that the mestizo don Juan de Galicia did have some support amongst the *huehuetque* (elders), with the account even mentioning four names. It is clear from this event that there were a number of factions within the Indian cabildo, including at least one supporting Juan de Galicia (consisting of the four individuals named by the annalist, “and others” [“yhuan oc sequintin” - CGO, f. 23r]) and one opposing him. However, the author alleges that the reason the four elders favored Galicia was solely because “he fed them and got them drunk” (“quintlacualti oquintlahuanti” [CGO, f. 23r]). It is also evident that it was important for the Indian cabildo to at least perceive that it was in control. The members’ continued appeal to Mexico City, and the lack of indication in the text that the Indians had lost in this power struggle, shows that the Indian municipality’s leaders still believed that they were in control. They felt victorious in getting an Indian elected as governor even though they had to concede the collection of the tribute to a mestizo. There is a strong anti-mestizo feeling apparent here. However, although the mestizo is associated with the *alcalde mayor* in terms of being his choice for governor, there is no intimation whatsoever that the *alcalde*

¹¹That is, Spaniards.

¹²It is possible that this don Juan de Galicia was somehow related to don Blas de Galicia, who had been governor of Puebla from 1652 to 1679.

mayor was involved in any chicanery used to influence elders in the decision, a typical attitude of the annalist seen repeatedly throughout the text. Although Spaniards and things Spanish are viewed favorably, mestizos, mulattoes, blacks, and other non-Indian members of the Spanish world are viewed critically. Almost invariably the latter groups are reported only in the context of criminal activity or attacks upon the Indian corporate entity.

In 1687 the annalist reports that don Josef Lázaro became the thirteenth governor, but he died six months later after being kicked by a mule, and was replaced by his son of the same name, who “finished the other half of the year” (“oquitlami yn oc tlaco xihuitl!” [CGO, f. 24v]). There is no information given on whether or not Lázaro held the office of *cobrador*, but since the annalist normally does indicate if this is not the case, we can probably assume that he did. However, in 1688 the mestizo don Juan de Galicia (about whom all the fuss was made in 1686) actually became governor (CGO, f. 25v), an office he held for three years. Even when he gave up the office to don Diego de León, most likely an Indian, in 1691 (the last year covered by the annals), Galicia retained the office of *cobrador* (CGO, f. 29r). It is significant that there are no descriptions of disputes over the governor’s office after 1686, and the facts of who was governor in what years are merely recorded, as if it were completely normal that a mestizo should hold the office.

Information in the annals provides insights into other aspects of the Indian municipality. We have seen above that three *altepētēl* were set up in 1610, namely San Francisco, San Pablo, and Santiago, and that each had one *alcalde*, *regidor*, and *alguacil*. The annalist also identifies a number of *barrios* of Puebla, but he clearly is a resident of the *barrio* of San Juan del Río with a pronounced feeling of loyalty and pride in events that took place there. He spends a great deal of time relating the details of the construction of the church of San Juan del Río by the Indian *cabildo*, and emphasizes in 1685 that the eleventh governor of Puebla, don Miguel de los Santos, “was a resident of San Francisco in the *barrio* of San Juan del Río” (“San fran^{co} chane ypan *barrio* San ju^o de Ryo” [CGO, f. 22r]), and that “this was the first time that this *barrio*, which used to be called Tlaxcaltecapan, had risen to the governorship” (“yancuica otlecoc yn yn gobernasion *barrio* montenehua tlaxcaltecapan” [CGO, f. 22r]). The fifteenth governor, don Diego de León, was also a resident of San Juan del Río (CGO, f. 29r), perhaps indicting the increasing importance of that section of Puebla.

Unfortunately, *barrio* affiliations of the governors are not provided consistently by the author. The only information we have is that the third governor was from Tizatlá (CGO, f. 5v), the eighth from Santiago (CGO, f. 15v), the eleventh from San Juan del Río (CGO, f. 22r), the twelfth from Santiago (CGO, f. 23v), the thirteenth from San Miguel (CGO, f. 24v), and the fifteenth from San Juan del Río (CGO, f. 29r). At least two governors (the ninth and fourteenth) were non-Indians, although no residence information is given for them. Thus, it is impossible at this point to make any judgment as to the circulation of the office of governor among the three *altepētēl*.

There is scattered information about the holders of other offices within the Indian government, but it is not nearly sufficient to arrive at credible conclusions about possible career patterns. For present purposes it is enough to note indications that there were indeed three *alcaldes*, although the evidence is less specific for *regidores*. Past office holders seem to have played a large role in decision making, and this annalist’s reporting of events demonstrates that theirs was an important voice even late in the seventeenth century. In at least two cases some or all of the members of the governing group were arrested by Spanish officials. In 1677 the past *alcaldes*, *regidores*, *alguaciles*, and all the elders were imprisoned from August 27 until September 15, when the Bishop released them. The arrest was made because they “favored” (“ypan otlatoque” [CGO, f. 14r]) the Indian governor, but no further details are given. One man died while being held in jail.¹³

¹³CGO, ff. 14r-14v. The dead man was a Juan Gerónimo, citizen of San Juan del Río. Since the governor involved was don Blas de Galicia, it is possible that the annalist’s inclusion of this incident could be related to the resistance he shows to don Juan de Galicia, if in fact don Juan and don Blas de Galicia were related.

In 1681, the elders of the three altepetl were jailed for a time, apparently because of something to do with the tribute collection (CGO, f. 15v), a standard occurrence in other communities at the end of the sixteenth century.

Numerous examples of the concerns of the Indian municipality in Puebla are found within the annals. As noted above, much of the detailed information concerning the office of the governor in Puebla relates to attempts by the corporation to deal with threats to its power and authority, and the same is true with other aspects of town government. For example, in the entry for 1685 the annalist describes an unsuccessful attempt to stop the practice of Indians renting houses from Spaniards outside of the Indian barrios (CGO, f. 22v). This incident reveals both the concern of the Spanish government that Indians were escaping their tribute obligations by renting houses from Spaniards, as well as the concern of the Indian corporation over the threat that such a situation posed to its control. It is clear that this situation was not new in Puebla, for as early as 1556 there were indications that the Spanish cabildo was attempting to stop Indians from living within the Spanish parts of the city without permission.¹⁴ Furthermore, in 1606 the Indian cabildo asked the viceroy to order that Indians not be allowed to live in the Spanish sections.¹⁵ The order was granted, but obviously the problem continued.

Another evident concern of the Indian municipality in Puebla during the seventeenth century was church construction and renovation. Some of the information provided on religious ceremonies relates primarily to the Spanish sections of the city, as indicated by the activities taking place and the names of officials involved. However, a great number of the projects and ceremonies detailed were clearly Indian. Starting in 1616 a multitude of building projects are listed, including altarpieces, chapel construction, processions of images, and dome construction. As is to be expected, the majority of detailed information in this regard centers on the church of San Juan del Río, the barrio in which the annalist resided. However, he also lists information as to when a variety of churches and chapels were renovated, built, or consecrated within Puebla, normally with very little detail other than the date, what was done, and the name of the church. For the more detailed listings, the author at times includes the names of people involved in the projects. It should be stressed that the individuals participating in these building projects were definitely local Indians, and that there were Indian artisans planning and building churches, altars, portals, and belfries in Spanish styles and using Spanish techniques. Spanish artisans were normally only used when trouble was encountered or a particularly elaborate piece planned. In one case concerning the vault project at San Juan del Río, where a Spanish artisan was consulted, his advice was not taken and preference was given to the opinion of two Indian artisans whose plan for remedying the situation was less costly and disruptive to the church (CGO, ff. 25v-26r).

Inherent in many of the annalist's descriptions of events are some clear indications of his attitudes and perceptions of the events. Because the annalist is obviously closely associated with the Indian elite in Puebla (as evidenced by his high degree of literacy and his familiarity with Spanish as well as Indian governmental and religious affairs), the attitudes and perceptions he exhibits are representative of a portion of the Indian world. Although he has a definite bias in favor of San Juan del Río, this is typical and does not detract from the applicability of his more general perceptions to a larger group.

The annalist's view of both his own world—the Indian side of Puebla—and the Spanish world are clearly expressed. One example that typifies his worldview concerns a crisis related to breadmaking in the city in 1682.

¹⁴Villaseñor, *Cartilla vieja*, pp. 91-92; and Marín-Tamayo, *La división racial*, p. 22.

¹⁵Marín-Tamayo, *La división racial*, p. 22.

“...Also in this year the Spaniards began to raise the price of maize for no good reason. They placed its price at a peso for a half a basket even though there had been good harvests; God had granted a good yield of maize as well as wheat. But the Spaniards began to raise prices in the month of August, for no good reason. Then at the beginning of the month of September, fifty Spaniards agreed that only they would make bread. Then they went up before the *alcalde mayor* and obliged themselves that only they make bread to feed Puebla. And then city officials summoned the [Indian] commoners and told them they were taking breadmaking away from them; they set a penalty for them and gave them a day’s time to stop making bread, and only the chosen Spaniards would make it. But they really couldn’t keep it up. It was done inside the city for only two days, and during those two days there was already hunger. On Monday, the 21st day of the month of September, right on the day of St. Matthew, on Monday and Tuesday, there was hunger; neither bread nor tortillas was found, neither in the marketplace nor in stores. And if someone secretly baked a bit of something with old flour and took it to the market, even tortillas, the Spaniards would fight over it. Even though it was someone of very high rank, the [Indian] commoners no longer paid him respect; whoever was first got the bread. There was nothing but weeping. Then everyone got worked up, priests along with the Spaniards and [Indian] commoners, so that everyone took the side of the [Indian] commoners. The [Indian] commoners gave a letter they wrote with their hands to the *alcalde mayor*. Then the *alcalde mayor* went up to his palace, then all the nobles and some of the elders cried out to him saying, “Bread, bread, Captain, we’re hungry, we’re hungry!” Then the *alcalde mayor* heard it and they read him the letter, which said that all the service of our great ruler the King would be lost if they made us relinquish our trade, breadmaking. Let the Spaniards do all the different services and pay the tribute –and when the *alcalde mayor* heard it he quickly orderd that a decree be issued and proclamation made that the [Indian] commoners should make the bread. And he gave instructions that the Spaniards be arrested and the chosen Spaniards then fled...”¹⁶

There are a number of interesting facets here. The precipitating factor in this crisis, according to the annalist, was that the Spanish had raised the price of corn “for no good reason” in the face of a good harvest of both corn and wheat. There is also the statement that the Spaniards were incapable of feeding the city, while the Indians were more than capable in that regard. In addition to this pride in the accomplishments of the Indian world there is a somewhat unrealistic perception of the strength and power that the municipality had over the situation. When the lack of bread reached a crisis point, the annalist reported that the actions of the Indian corporation in bringing the matter to the *alcalde mayor*’s attention and threatening to no longer pay tribute were the only factors in his quick action to reinstate breadmaking as an Indian pursuit. Here the author perceives the power and influence

¹⁶CGO, ff. 174-18r. “Saanno ypa xihuitl yn san oquinenpehualtique yn caxtilteca oquitlasotilica yn tlaolli se peso ypatiuah oquitlali que yn tlaco cocohuacali auh huel omotlamochiuhca ynic acon yuhqui tlaolli yuh trigo yn omochiuhca yn oquimotemaquilaca yn dioz auh sa oquinenpehualtica yn caxtilteca yn oquipehualtique quitlaqotilia ypan metztli agosto niman ticalaque metztli de septiembre auh niman oncan omonotzque onpualliommatlacti caxtilteca ynin san yehuantin quichihuasq yn pantzin niman otleoque yxpan *alcalde mayor* ynic omobligaroque ynic san yehuantin quichihuasque pan ynic quitlacualtisque yn suidad de loz angeles auh niman yn justisia ...tlaca oquinnotzque yn masehualtizintin ynic quinquixtilisque y tlaxcalchihualistli oncan oquinpenatique ynic tonalli oquimacaque termino ynic amo quichihuas yn pantzin san oc yehuantin yn caxtilteca yn omixquesque quichihuasque auh amo huel oquisustentaroque sannica ome tonalli ynic omochiuh yn itec suidad ynin ome tonali ye yc oapismicoaya ypan tonali lunes yc sepualiose 21 tonali mani metztli septiembre huel ypan ylhuitzin sa matheo lunes yhuan martes yn ohuapismicohuaya aocmo nesia ma pa ma tortillas yn tianquisco ma tienda auh yn aquin ychtaca oquimochihuilli yn se mita cacasoli yn conaxitiaya y tianquisco ma toltilla san ypan omomiciaya yn caxtilteca manel huel momahuistilia aocan quipoaya masehualtizintli yn aqui achtoa sa yehuatl quihuicaya yn tlaxcalli sa choquistli omania auh niman onca omacomunque ynic muchi tlacatl yuhqui teopixque yuh caxtilteca yuhqui masehualtizintin ynic mochi tlacatl npan omomanque ym masehualtizintin oquimacaque se amatl oquichihque masehualtizintin ymatica yn *alcalde mayor* yquac ye ontleco *alcalde mayor* ypalasio niman muchin pipiltzintin yhuan sequintin huehuey tlaca oquitzatzilique oquihuique pan pan pa señor capitan ye tapismiquisque ye tapismiquisque auh yn iuh oquicac yn *alcalde mayor* yhuan oquipohuili que yn amatl yn iuhqui oquitotia ynic mochi polihuis yn itequipanolocatzin yn tohueytlatocatzin Rey yntla techcahualtisque yn toofisio yn tlaxcalchihualistli ma yehuantin yn caxtilteca quichihuacan yn quexquich tlatequipanolistli yhuan yn tlacalaquili auh yn iuhqui oquicac yn *alcalde mayor* niman isihuca otlanahuati mochihuas yn acto ynic niman omotlastihuetz pregon ynic quichihuasque yn masehualtizintin yn pantzin auh yn caxtilteca otlatequiuhiti quintzatzacasque auh yn yehuantin niman ocholoque yn caxtilteca yn omixquetzca”.

of the Indian corporate entity to be paramount and reports no other considerations, such as complaints from within the Spanish community about the shortage of bread.

Although the author clearly does not view in a positive light the individual Spaniards who raised the prices of food, in this and many other instances he exhibits a great deal of respect, awe, and positive feelings towards Spaniards in general. In this case the author is clearly dismayed that Spaniards were fighting over old pieces of bread in the marketplace, but also adds that the situation was serious enough that the Indian commoners did not act with as much humility as previously, for whoever was first at the market would get whatever bread was available. Still, the Indians did appeal to Spanish authority with reportedly excellent results, and as far as the annalist is concerned justice was served with the banishment of the individual Spaniards who had caused so much trouble for the rest of the city.

Other instances reveal that the Indian municipality expected certain behavior from Spaniards and was disappointed when faced with individuals acting differently. For example, the annalist reports at length on criminal activities in which Spaniards were involved. In one instance, the author states that the accused Spaniard “was really someone in Puebla” (“huel tepilhua cuitlaxcoapan” [f. 20v]), implying that this was unexpected behavior for a Spaniard in his position. From the annalist’s viewpoint Indians, mestizos, and mulattoes committing crimes rated little more than the normal recitation of who, when, where, and why, but the involvement of Spaniards was cause for concern, particularly when the Spaniard was an important individual.

For the most part Spanish individuals encountered in these annals, aside from local religious figures, are mainly limited to important governmental officials. The comings and goings of the viceroy, bishop, and alcalde mayor are painstakingly recorded, and this annalist, unlike some others, has a fairly clear idea of the function of such officials.¹⁷ Although he often makes mistakes in the spelling of officials’ names, he understands the position of viceroy and how it differs from that of the King, and his reports of ceremonies marking the deaths and crownings of royalty make it clear that he understands the position of the King relative to the rest of the Spanish governmental system. At one point, in 1680, he even reports on the presence of “the two cabildos, the Bishop and canons, and the court functionary, alcalde mayor, alcaldeş, and regidores” (“yn ome cabildos yn señor obispo yhuan canonigos yhuan justisia tlaca alcalde mayor alcaldeş rregidores” [CGO, f. 15r]) at the ceremonies welcoming the Viceroy on his visit to Puebla.

There are many indications that the annalist viewed events in Spanish Puebla with a great deal of awe and respect. He evinces nothing but sympathy for the celebrations held relating to royalty and religious figures, total support for Christianity, and no hint of any anti-Spanish feeling or pro-English sentiments in the long descriptions of preparations to combat English invaders.¹⁸ In 1683, for example, the annalist states after describing the gathering of Spanish, mulatto, and black militia companies and the dressing up of the bishop in the attire of war, that “it really terrified people when it happened. Nothing like it had been seen since the coming of the Faith” (“huel temamahti yn omochiuh yn ayc omottac yn ixquich cahuitl ohuala tlaneltoquilistli” [CGO, f. 19r]). He also describes in great detail religious ceremonies held in various years, featuring masses and processions throughout the streets of Puebla. He was particularly impressed with an instance in which one of a group of visiting friars from Rome in 1684 was struck by lightning while preaching and then, when revived, told the crowd: “I have gone before our Lord God there in heaven. He told me that he will pardon you for your sins” (“ye onihua yn ixpantzinco yn totecuio diox yn onpa ylhuicac ye onechmolhuilili ynic amechmotlapopolhuilis yn amotlatlacol”) [CGO, f. 20v]). According to the annalist, everyone was so impressed with these friars from Rome that “at night no one wanted to sleep” (“auh yn oyohuac ayocac y

¹⁷Many annalists typically confused the office of viceroy with that of the King, and did not perceive the difference between the two.

¹⁸Two instances of such preparations can be found, in 1683 (CGO, ff. 18r-19r) and 1685 (CGO, ff. 22v-23r).

yolocacoochia” [CGO, f. 20r]) and “everyone thought these friars amotlatlacol were saints” (“mochi tlacatl oqui ynin teopixque ca santome” [CGO, f. 20v]). Perhaps these ceremonies were particularly well received because “some gave sermons in the manner of the Mexica” (“yn sequin oquimochihuilique sermo mexicacopa” [CGO, f. 20r]), that is, in Nahuatl.

Of course, many such “Spanish” events were not totally a concern of the Spanish world and would have involved members of the Indian community, both in the participation of the Indian cabildo in the festivities and in a general participation by the Indian municipality. It is clear throughout the annals that although the annalist is conversant with Spanish culture, he is much more at ease with the familiar Indian world. The dichotomy between the Indian and Spanish worlds is further indicated by the social information contained in the annals. The annalist clearly distinguishes between members of the Indian world and those of the Spanish, in which latter grouping he specifically includes all non-Indian individuals. The emphasis on the concern of maintaining the solidarity of the Indian world in the face of an intrusive Spanish one shows us the author’s orientation perhaps more clearly than anything else. Although there are many indications in the annals that the Indians of Puebla were quite respectful of Spanish culture, the retention of their corporate existence is the more dominant theme.

In general the annalist is unconcerned with everyday events in Spanish Puebla except as they affect the Indian sections, as seen above where a group of Spaniards failed at breadmaking. Entries naming specific local Spaniards are almost always terse statements concerning census taking, deaths, or parts played in religious or governmental ceremonies. Events within the Spanish sections of Puebla included are, for the most part, correctly reported, but not nearly with as much detail as in the annalist’s descriptions of events concerning the Indian municipality. Indian Puebla is, in many respects, the center of the annalist’s world despite his obvious degree of Hispanization, and like many influential members of the corporation he views it as interesting, powerful, and influential. However, as seen above, Indian government was not functioning smoothly in Puebla. Besides the difficulties in yearly rotation and intrusion by the Spanish community into the office of the governor, other problems are indicated by the annalist, all representative of problems faced increasingly by other Indian communities near the end of the sixteenth century. Since Puebla apparently did not have a functioning Indian cabildo until the early part of the seventeenth century, however, it is not unexpected that these problems did not surface there until a correspondingly later time. It is significant that the Indians of Puebla were able to form a government similar to that of other Indian communities at a time when the whole system was undergoing various changes. The system obviously still retained a great deal of appeal by the closing decades of the sixteenth century.

It is unfortunate that the annalist provides little detail of the functioning of the Indian municipality in the first half of the seventeenth century. Consequently the most we can say with certainty is that it did exist, and apparently worked from a position of strength, if the cabildo’s difficulties in choosing a governor in 1681 and its resistance to non-Indian intrusion in 1686, as reported by the annalist, were indeed the first times the governorship was seriously threatened. Evidence exists to indicate that the situation was not without difficulties for the corporation, however, as in the early concerns over Indians living outside the Indian barrios and the settling of non-Indians within the Indian sections of Puebla. The last half of the seventeenth century in Puebla (the time period for which the most detailed information is available) was a time of troubles for the Indian corporation, for just as the functioning of government was becoming normalized, threats to the independence of the cabildo became apparent. However, it was also a time of perceived strength and influence over Spanish policies as well as a period of extensive church construction projects undertaken by the Indian municipality. It is evident from the annals that the Indian municipality that developed within the context of Spanish Puebla had made a concerted effort to be like other Indian communities, and as such came to suffer from many of the same problems and concerns.





Woodrow Borah*

**Inflation in Nueva Galicia, 1557-1598:
Auctions of Tribute Maize**

In 1958 the late Sherburne Cook and I published a study, *Price Trends of Some Basic Commodities in Central Mexico, 1531-1570*.¹ Covering forty years in the middle of the sixteenth century, the monograph was restricted to the territory of the Audiencia of Mexico, equally that of the royal treasury district also centered in Mexico City. Its purpose was to ascertain prices and price changes over time for the principal commodities delivered each year by Indian towns from the entire region to their Spanish overlords, i.e., the Crown and encomenderos. Behind that was the further purpose of calculating average annual prices for each tribute commodity in order to arrive at an approximate probable value in the minds of the Spanish officials who counted the population of an Indian town and recommended the annual tribute to be paid,² the necessary basis for analyzing what we dubbed the gamma category of demographic data, *tasaciones* without known relation of amount to tributary.³

Our study admittedly had ends, and used a regional mix of data, which distinguished it from price studies prepared in accordance with criteria accepted as proper by economists and historians studying price trends elsewhere. Although based on all the data we could then locate, it used fewer than we should have liked although they were well distributed and coherent. Within them were various kinds of price data, although all exhibiting in general the same tendencies, and data from various parts of the region. We did not calculate moving averages, as some critics pointed out, but came to that decision on the ground that our data covered the short span of forty years, too few for moving averages to be important and sufficiently few that surrendering years at either end to create moving averages represented a serious truncation. We lumped together wholesale and retail prices, on the ground that the trend should have been approximately the same in both and a line arrived at by least squares should be valid for both. The criticism, moreover, assumed a more rigid separation of wholesale and retail markets customary in Europe and in commerce today rather than the more flexible usage of sixteenth-century Mexico. Further, our resort to prices set at auctions of tribute, and to the commutations which were based on an average of preceding transactions at such auctions for the town in question, gave rise to the charge that these were not free market values and therefore suspect.⁴ This point, one of the more serious of those made in criticism of our study, I shall deal with in this essay. All reviewers and critics, it should be pointed out, basically accepted or did not challenge our overall findings of a steep upward trend in prices, but wished for more conventionally acceptable data and refined calculations.

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¹(Ibero-Americana: 40, Berkeley, 1958.)

²See the discussion in *ibid.*, pp. 1-13.

³Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *The Indian Population of Central Mexico, 1531-1610* (Ibero-Americana: 44, Berkeley, 1960).

⁴The most extended discussion and criticism is in Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708-1810)* (Mexico City, 1969), pp. 8-28, which undoubtedly reflects a distillation of French comment. The most recent discussion, embodying French and Mexican views, is Pedro Pérez Herrero, "Comercio y precios en la Nueva España. Presupuestos teóricos y materiales para una discusión", *Revista de Indias*, 46 (1984), pp. 465-488, esp. pp. 475-476.

Since 1958 a number of studies of prices of foodstuffs in colonial Mexico have been published, although we still lack the fuller kinds of examinations which have appeared for Europe. Almost all concentrate upon the eighteenth century; a few cover as well the last years of the seventeenth. The sixteenth century and the earlier seventeenth remain as ill-covered as they had been before.⁵

This dearth of studies may be due, at least in part, less to lack of materials than to difficulties of access and expense of analysis. My own experience illustrates the point. During a year spent in Seville at the Archivo General de Indias, I took notes bearing directly on prices in the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although my notes were made in the spring of 1959 and Sherburne Cook and I used them in our studies of Indian population,⁶ only now am I able to analyze them for trends in price. The reason is simple: the detail was too great for treatment save at costs for beyond normal university research allocations in the humanities, or even most social sciences, until the advent of silicon chip computers radically lowered costs.

I present here preliminary findings for prices obtained in sales at public auction of tribute maize for royal towns in Nueva Galicia in the years 1557-1598. The data consist almost entirely of the successful bids at the annual auctions for each Indian town *en cabeza real*; that is, held to payment to the Crown. Since there were virtually no commutations to payment in money in the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia during these years, the values, with fewer than a half dozen exceptions, represent sale prices.⁷

I have described already the system of Indian tributes in the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia in a paper published in 1970.⁸ Until the region became a separate judicial and administrative jurisdiction in 1548, it formed part of the Audiencia of Mexico, sharing as well in the same common administration and organization of Indian tributes, although Crown revenues were collected and disbursed by the royal treasury officials of the Caja de Zacatecas rather than those of the Caja de Mexico. In the first years of the new audiencia, the seat of the royal treasury officials became Guadalajara, under the name of Caja de Guadalajara, with a *subcaja* in Zacatecas because of its importance as a mining center. The years from 1550 to 1570 were a period of great change in the definition and levy of Indian tributes in the Audiencia of Mexico. In the Audiencia of Guadalajara—less populous, poorer, and far less developed economically—the changes in definition of tributary, the elimination of exemptions, and the reduction of tribute to a relatively uniform quota proceeded far more slowly. In 1557 some Indian towns still were providing *servicio* and were held to the yield of sowings set by area or by the amount of seed to be planted, but the high court already was implementing the requirements of the New Laws and subsequent royal legislation which eliminated *servicio* and set tribute in kind in definite amounts in accordance with a quota per tributary.⁹

In both the older forms of stating tribute and the newer ones, the system of collection did not change, and indeed remained approximately uniform during the forty-one years of

⁵The most important are *Ibid.*; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, 1964), pp. 452-459 *et passim*; Claude Morin, *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVII. Crecimiento y desigualdad en una economía colonial* (Mexico City, 1979); and Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley, 1981). A good deal of information on specific localities appears in town studies. See, for example, Cecilia Rabell Romero, *Los diezmos en San Luis de la Paz. Economía de una región del Bajío en el siglo XVIII* (Mexico City, 1984). The most recent study, Richard L. Garner, "Price Trends in Eighteenth-Century Mexico", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 65 (1985), pp. 279-325, knits together data from previous studies for a continuous series on the whole colonial period, but data for the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries are thin.

⁶Most notably in our chapter, "The Population of West-Central Mexico (Nueva Galicia and Adjacent New Spain), 1548-1960", in Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1970-1979), vol. 1, pp. 300-375.

⁷The records are found in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Contaduría, legs. 856-861B.

⁸"Los tributos y su recaudación en la Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia durante el siglo XVI", in Bernardo García Martínez, ed., *Historia y sociedad en el mundo de habla española. Homenaje a José Miranda* (Mexico City, 1970), pp. 27-47.

⁹*Ibid.*

our period.¹⁰ At the end of the annual harvests, which came in the months from September to October since the region is one of summer rainfall and dry winters, the royal treasury officials would have proclaimed the auction of the tributes in kind due the Crown from Indian towns, in the Spanish settlements within whose economic orbit the towns lay: Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Tepic, Compostela, and Purificación. After repeated proclamations by the public crier on major feast days and the lapse of a suitable interval, the royal officials proceeded to hold the auctions of the tribute of each Indian town assigned to that settlement, commodity by commodity. Since the presence of the royal officials was deemed necessary, the auctions in the Spanish settlements followed each other *seriatim*. Accordingly, the sale of tributes in kind required some months, usually from November to January, but sometimes starting earlier or finishing later. The sales, however, always dealt in the crop due from the immediately previous harvest unless the Indian town were in arrears on delivery or had petitioned for a deferral of payment.

For each Indian town held to tribute in a given commodity, then, there is at least one sale some time in the months after its harvest of the amount it had to deliver as tribute. If the amount was large, its might be auctioned in lots to several buyers and so constitute multiple sales. The successful bidder seldom paid in coin on the spot but more generally signed contracts promising payment in three installments during the subsequent year. These contracts were duly reviewed by the *audiencia* and copied by notaries for transmission to Spain where they underwent additional audit before they were filed. The successful bidder received the right to take delivery of his purchase in the Indian *cabecera* and so was responsible for transport beyond the center of the town. This feature of the system introduces an unknown element of cost of transport, present in the purchaser's mind and undoubtedly influencing his offer, but one that remained relatively constant from year to year since it did not change.

At this point we must ask whether the market sketched here was free or subject to rigging or manipulation. Such a question is never easy to answer since even in our time so-called free markets have been subject to manipulation. In the society of Nueva Galicia, with a population of a few thousand Spaniards in relatively few settlements and only a small number of them of consequence and affluence, opportunities for collusion and manipulation were undoubtedly present, particularly since the same people were involved in the bidding at each Spanish center over terms of years and in Guadalajara office-holders and officials of the cathedral chapter were among the most prominent bidders. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the market in tribute commodities in Nueva Galicia was fairly free. The royal treasury officials were required to, and did, encourage competitive bidding. Rather than sell when the bidding was thin, they postponed sale and returned to the public auction a few days later after further public proclamation. Their comments record instances of some bids after strenuous efforts to obtain more, and mention the premiums they occasionally had to offer for better prices. In yet other instances, again few, they record the number of bids as evidence of the need to accept a somewhat lower price than might be considered suitable. Upon review by the *audiencia*, an occasional bid was voided as too low and the tribute put to public auction again some months later. The distribution and movement of prices themselves argue a free market, since the variation within the year and from year to year is far too great for one rigged or otherwise controlled.

The records available to us for sales of tribute maize cover the harvest years from 1557 to 1598 with no data for 1579, 1588, and 1589, but with long runs preceding and following the gaps. They consist of the surviving accounts of the royal treasury officials of Nueva Galicia in the form of copies of their accounts, comments, and the contracts of sale. For each sale they record the date, the name of the Indian town whose tribute was being sold, the type and amount of the commodity being purchased, the price (usually as a unit price

¹⁰What follows is based on the reports and accounting of the royal treasury officials.

per fanega of maize but occasionally as a total value when the bid contained either a discount or a premium for the sale), and the name of the successful purchaser. In a number of instances, particularly when the tribute commodities of a town had fallen to such small amounts that they could not be sold individually, the entire tribute in kind for the town would be lumped together in a single transaction with an overall price, which makes it impossible to arrive at the value set on any item within it. Such transactions have been discarded from my calculations. The names of the purchasers form a valuable category of information, which through the application of much genealogical and family detail as well as knowledge of friendships, associations, and office holding would shed considerable light on the economic and social history of the period in Nueva Galicia and answer many questions about the nature of society there. Such research, however, lies beyond the purpose of this paper

The fact that the data record only one type of transaction, i.e., the sale of tribute commodities, and have no information on sale in any other kind of market, has both advantages and disadvantages for determining trends in prices of maize and any other commodity. The advantages are easily enumerated. First, for each town the sale of its tribute maize was held once a year, some time after the end of the harvest, when the prospective bidders already knew the abundance or scarcity of the crop and had some idea of the volume of supply and demand for whatever purpose for which they wanted the maize. The fact that in certain years the tribute of large towns was divided into portions for separate bidding did not change this feature. Second, transportation as a factor in determining price was held constant even though the maize was delivered to the successful bidder in the *cabecera* of the town so that he had to move it to where he wanted it, for the maize of the same town was put to auction each year, its price for the year forming a recurring item in a mix of various towns with recurring, though differing, costs of transportation. Third, the question of wholesale or retail transaction may be eliminated since the bidding was held to a uniform procedure. Undoubtedly, some of the bidders proposed, if successful, to resell the maize in some kind of a market since Spaniards in general did not raise maize at this time, yet had to feed servants in their households. Others of the bidders probably wanted a supply of maize for their workers on haciendas and in mines or other enterprises. Their needs to feed Indian mouths would have been greater and have accounted for more of the sales. In a few instances, the Spanish bidder served as agent for an Indian town which wished to buy the right to its tribute maize and so eliminate the need to deliver any.

The disadvantages of this kind of data are more complex. First is the fact that, although the sales refer to the end of the growing season for a specific harvest year, the dates for the sales of the tribute of each town vary from year to year across a number of months, from November March and occasionally as late as May if the sale was disallowed and the maize had to be put up for auction again. Since the demand for maize and its price changed, beginning relatively low at the harvest and continuing low until late spring when it began to rise, reaching a maximum just before the harvest of the next year,¹¹ this variability perhaps affected the bids, although inspection of the dispersion displayed by the points of the graphs suggests that the basic factor in inducing variability was the abundance of the year's harvest and so overall supply.¹² Second, as the Indian population declined during the course of the period and tribute assessments were revised in accordance with the lower number of tributaries in any given town, the quantities of tribute commodities entering the auctions, for our purposes specifically maize, shrank in accordance with the revision of the tribute schedules. The operation of this factor meant a gradual drop in the overall amount of maize involved in the annual auctions, but probably

¹¹See Borah and Cook *Price Trends*, pp. 13-14.

¹²See the discussion for the alhóndiga of Mexico City in Florescano, p. 88 *et seq.*



meant as well keener bidding for the remaining supply. Third, as Indian towns in *encomienda* escheated to the Crown their tributes in kind entered the annual auctions, partially compensating for the shrinkage in the amounts furnished by the older royal towns but also adding an element of change since their tributes did not figure in the earlier royal auctions. We should, in fact, posit a smaller, parallel market in the tribute maize paid to *encomenderos*. Many undoubtedly consumed the maize in their households and enterprises, but others, who must have found themselves with more than they needed, would sell the surplus in some kind of transaction. As *encomienda* towns escheated to the Crown, the households of the heirs deprived of direct receipt of tribute maize, and other people who had relied on supply through this route, would have had to resort to maize passing through the royal auctions or some other form of market. The effect would be to drive up prices. Fortunately escheatment, although less randomly distributed in time since it tended to cluster in the last decades of the sixteenth century as *encomiendas* finished their third life, is much more randomly distributed in geography since the new royal towns were scattered throughout the area of southern Nueva Galicia, exactly the area of the older royal towns. Finally, I must mention the problem of locating many of the towns: those which have gone out of existence, those which have changed their names, often quite radically, and even worse those of the same name but different location. Luckily, the publication of Peter Gerhard's invaluable guide, *The North Frontier of New Spain*,¹³ greatly eases solution of these difficulties. One may remark that the royal treasury officials, themselves perplexed by the need to distinguish among towns of the same name, often continued in subsequent years to give the identity of the last *encomendero* as an aid for themselves. It should be mentioned that some of the disadvantages noted could be and were solved by simple sweat (with occasional curses). For the changes in quantities there seemed to be no solution possible nor need for any. For the new towns entering the auctions, there was a possible solution in restricting calculations to the original towns, but since distribution appeared random, no adjustment was made.

Before I proceed to describe the procedure of entry of the data and analysis, a further question which may perhaps arise in the reader's mind remains to be answered: why the limitation to the years between 1557 and 1598? The reports of the royal treasury officials for Nueva Galicia cover years both earlier and later. However, for the years before 1557 tributes were assessed and collected under an earlier system inherited from the Audiencia of Mexico, in which tribute in agricultural commodities was set in terms of the yield of sowings either of a specified area or quantity of seed. Auctions under this system tended to sell the right to the crop without specifying the amount of it even though the local Spanish official must have determined it and reported his finding to the royal treasury officials. Further research in the treasury records may uncover the relevant data; I can only report that I found too few for use. The terminal year 1598 derives from the fact that with the tribute maize of 1599 the royal treasury began to implement an order from the Audiencia of Guadalajara, dated 2 February 1600, that the maize tributes of Indian towns in Nueva Galicia be sold to Spaniards deserving well of the republic at the average value of the prices received from the maize of each town in the previous five years.¹⁴ Implementation of the order, which must have been issued upon petition of the more prominent Spaniards in the audiencia and with at least tacit consent of the viceroy, effectively ended the free play of price for tribute maize.

The procedure for arranging the data for entry into the computer was relatively simple, though lengthy, since over two thousand lines of data were involved. First, the data were entered upon sheets, one for each treasury province and year, from the notes taken in the Archivo General de Indias. From the sheets the data were transferred to a computer in a

¹³(Princeton, 1982)

¹⁴Accounts of 1599, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Contaduría, leg. 859B.



form of GANDER, a simple and unusually flexible program devised for the Data General computer by anthropologists at the University of California, Berkeley, for the recording and analysis of their own field data. For each sale there went into the computer the harvest year, treasury province, town, amount of maize sold expressed in fanegas and almudes, and the price per fanega accepted by the royal treasury officials, expressed in the silver pesos, reales, and granos of the common colonial Mexican coinage. Once all data were entered, a print-out was taken off, for checking against the sheets and, if desirable, the original notes. Any errors noted were corrected.

A trial analysis of the data in the computer disclosed that the division of the data by treasury provinces was essentially meaningless and that the more significant division should be by coast and plateau. Accordingly, the data were rearranged --an easy matter for the computer-- into two divisions according to altitude and climate. Only data for the treasury province of Zacatecas, although incorporated in the highland data, were reserved as well for additional and special treatment. The towns concerned, all in the Juchipila Valley to the southwest of the city of Zacatecas, supplied the new silver mines in their first years, but by the late 1560s the prices bid for the tribute maize showed a special and unusual pattern, to be discussed later.

For the purpose of analysis all quantities had to be converted to the one unit of almudes and the prices into granos so that the computer would deal with single expressions in each instance. At this point a question arose as to the more representative value for determining trend in price. Basing calculation upon the total unit prices of each year would assign a perhaps excessive weight to the many little towns delivering small quantities. A weighted average derived by calculating the total amount of money and total quantity of maize involved for each major region for each year, and dividing the first by the second, would give due weight to the quantities involved and would allow the larger towns more influence. In the end, the decision was to calculate trends by both methods, but as a check to separate and calculate the trends for the individual towns of Tlaquepaque and Tepic, both close to substantial Spanish settlements, and for Mezquituta in the Zacatecas province.

Trends were calculated by least squares through the program called REGRESS, and through the same program the corresponding graphs were sketched upon a data plotter. To one who has been used to the tedious methods of an earlier technology, the process is little short of miraculous. Nine graphs were drawn in less than half an hour. The graphs were then redrawn by a technician in order to reduce them to the size of typewriter paper. They are appended to this essay.

What do they show? Whether calculated in terms of unit price per fanega of maize at each sale or the weighted average price per fanega for the year, both coast and plateau exhibit a strong upward movement of values. Let us begin examination with the calculations in terms of unit price for the coast and the plateau, leaving all discussion of Zacatecas, including Mezquituta, for slightly later. With 1,234 items entering the calculation, the coast has the largest number of data, which also show the greatest amount of dispersion. Beginning in 1574, prices on the whole moved distinctly higher, a somewhat surprising development since it anticipated the great epidemic of the 1570s by at least one year. Nevertheless, calculation of the trend by subperiods 1557-1574 and 1575-1598 demonstrated that a single trend line for the entire period expresses the trend well. The slope of the line for the entire period is 1.1612. With a t value of 12.3 for 1232 degrees of freedom, the probability that these results are due to random variation in the data is far less than one percent.

Although I had separated data for the plateau from those for the coast in order to test for possible difference in degree of upward movement, the graph for unit prices for the plateau shows a slope of almost the same degree. For the plateau, calculation of a single trend line for the 762 items entering into the calculation yields a slope of 1.1650. The

difference with the coast is insignificant for the period of forty years. The value for t , 17.0, is even higher than that for the coast, and with 760 degrees of freedom again indicates a probability of far less than one percent that these results are due merely to random variation.

As a check upon the calculations in terms of unit prices, I have had the computer also calculate weighted average prices for each year, i.e., for both coast and for plateau there would be one value each for every year, representing an average reached by multiplying for each town the amount of maize sold at the auction by the unit price, summing the amounts of maize and of money involved in the transactions, and then dividing the sum of money by the sum of the maize to arrive at a weighted average price for the region for that year. The effect is to reduce variation markedly, entirely within the year and somewhat from year to year although there would still be the variation caused by differences in the abundance or scarcity of the year's crop. For the coast, with values for 37 years, the slope of the trend line is reduced somewhat to 1.4742, but still indicates a rise from approximately 0/3 (3 reales) to 1/0/1 (1 peso, 0 reales, 1 grano), that is to say, 2.8 times. With 35 degrees of freedom, t at a value of 4.7 remains well beyond the one percent level of probability that the result should be ascribed to random variation. (These are values taken from the trend line, the slope of which is influenced by high values in the 1570s and 1580s. The actual values at either terminus of the trend line are lower: for 1557-1559 an average of slightly less than 0/2/5, and for 1596-1598 an average of approximately 0/6/4, for an increase of two and a half-fold.)

For the plateau, corresponding calculations result in a trend line with a slope that is still markedly upward (1.3160) but, as for the coast, somewhat less so than that for unit prices. The rise was approximately from 0/3/6 to 1/0/6. Calculated in terms of weighted annual average prices, tribute maize sold at auctions for the plateau towns brought higher prices relative to the coastal towns in the earlier years and less in the later ones. For the 41 years of the period, the rise for the plateau was 2.4 times. With 39 annual averages entering the calculation, a value of 6.2 for t , with 37 degrees of freedom, again indicates a reliability of the calculation considerably beyond the one percent level. (Again, these are calculations from the trend line. The actual values at either terminus are somewhat different: for 1557-1559 0/2/11, and for 1596-1598 a value of 0/7/11, for an increase of 2.7 fold.)

Recalculating by weighted annual average prices thus confirms the general result obtained through examining unit prices, but somewhat reduces the steepness of slope of the trend lines. As a further check upon my calculations, I had the computer sort out the data for one town in each region, a town so close to the major Spanish settlement that transportation for Spanish use could be ignored. San Pedro Tlaquepaque lay within half a league of Guadalajara, or a half-hour's walk; Indian Tepic lay contiguous to the Spanish city at even less distance. For each town the unit price for the year was used for the calculation by least squares of trend for the period.

For Tepic, in the coastal region, the slope of the trend line (2.0115) is distinctly greater than that for the entire region in terms both of unit prices and weighted annual average prices. The rise for the period in the value of tribute maize secured from Tepic would be from approximately 0/4 to 1/3 on the trend line. With data for 38 years, t at 2.0 with 36 degrees of freedom is again a highly reliable calculation well beyond the one percent level of probability. For San Pedro Tlaquepaque, on the plateau, data for 40 years yield a trend line with a slope of 1.8693 and a value for t of 8.0, with 38 degrees of freedom well beyond the one percent level. As in the case of Tepic, the rise in prices during the period for the tribute maize of Tlaquepaque was steeper than the regional trend whether calculated in terms of unit prices or average weighted prices. The movement was from 0/3 to 1/2, or more than three-fold. The values for Tlaquepaque may represent a premium on maize in the audiencia seat and the largest Spanish settlement in the area, just as the premium on tribute maize from Tepic may represent a similar premium at the local capital.

These calculations for the two Indian towns both confirm that there was a sharp rise in the prices for maize, but in varying from other calculations they demonstrate that the regional figures on both bases represent mixtures of individual town values. Contrary to what one might have expected at the outset, the overall rise was approximately of the same degree of steepness on the coast as on the plateau. One might have expected a steeper rise in the former because of the more rapid decline of the Indian population in the lowlands, since that decrease meant correspondingly greater shrinkage in the amounts of tribute maize entering the auctions at the same time that Spanish need for maize to feed workers on haciendas, estancias, and other enterprises at the least was holding steady, but more probably rising. Given the technology of the day and the nature of settlement –dirt trails serving as roads, transportation by bearer and pack animal– it was not economical to move bulky commodities like maize more than a few days' journey, so that Nueva Galicia, both coast and plateau, really consisted at the time of many small market areas which had to take care of their own supply of foodstuffs. We can only speculate at this stage of investigation on how the growing deficit in maize on the coast was met: perhaps through the increasing availability of meat from the rapidly expanding numbers of livestock.

Let us turn now to Zacatecas. The data for Zacatecas have been included within the general calculations for the plateau, but have been segregated anew for another series of calculations because they exhibited a number of features which distinguish them from values for other towns both on the plateau and on the coast. In the earlier years the prices bid for maize in the Zacatecas area were in general higher than those for the tribute of towns elsewhere on the plateau; in the later years, to the extent that we have data, they were relatively low. The towns whose tribute maize was auctioned in Zacatecas in the early years are all in the Juchipila Valley, southwest of the mining center. Since the great silver strikes at Zacatecas were already under way in those years, clearly the maize was bid in for the maintenance of Indians working in the mines and in ancillary operations. In fact, one of the bidders in those years was Francisco de Ibarra, a discoverer of one of the deposits and a major mine owner. With the expansion of silver mining, especially after the development and application at midcentury of the mercury amalgamation treatment of ores in the patio process, the needs of Zacatecas for food for its workers surpassed the amounts that could be supplied from Indian tributes. Accordingly, the Spanish in Zacatecas very rapidly developed haciendas for raising the supplies they needed.¹⁵ It is this development of a better and cheaper source of maize for the Indians at the mines which explains the apparently aberrant behavior of the prices bid for tribute maize in the middle and later years of our period. In 1570 Mezquituta, at the southern end of the Juchipila Valley, was removed from the bidding in Zacatecas to that in Guadalajara in recognition by the royal treasury officials of the possibilities of sale. It has been kept within the Zacatecas group for our purposes in order to permit comparison for the entire period. The maize tribute of the other towns in the Juchipila Valley was largely removed from auction in a slow, cumulative process and applied to the maintenance of the Indians who gathered salt from saline ponds for the royal monopoly, providing low-grade salt for the patio process. The only addition to the auctions in the later years was Apozol when it escheated to the Crown in 1595, but its maize too was auctioned in Guadalajara.

¹⁵Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, 2d ed., ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada; prelim. Study, María del Carmen González Muñoz (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 248; Madrid, 1971), pp. 137-138, for the descriptions of Jerez de la Frontera, Provincia de los Zacatecas, Llerena, and El Nombre de Dios. The Spanish towns raising irrigated maize and wheat for the mines are at considerable distances from the city of Zacatecas. Llerena, according to López de Velasco, is 25 leagues northwest and Nombre de Dios approximately twelve leagues beyond. However, most of the foodstuffs were moved to the mining camps rather than the city; these lay much nearer the Spanish towns. Haciendas growing the foodstuffs were, of course, outside the towns and might be nearer the mining camps or somewhat farther away. For the supply of the Zacatecas area roads were somewhat better and rude carts were used to a considerable extent; Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indian, & Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 18-27.

The aberrant behavior of maize prices for Zacatecas, relative to that of all other towns both on the coast and the plateau, is clearly evident in the calculation of trend in terms of unit prices. The slope is downward (-.4157) on reports of 124 bids for the period. With a value for t of -2.1 on 122 degrees of freedom, the result does not have the extraordinarily high degree of validity of the previous calculations but still lies at between the two and three percent level of probability. The range of prices started at 0/6 but dropped to 0/4/6 in the course of the period. There is no reason to postulate that the removal of tribute maize from the auctions for the consumption of the salt workers lowered prices, inasmuch as the principal factor must have been the availability at lower prices of Spanish commercial supplies, grown nearer the mining area.

Calculation in terms of weighted average annual prices confirms the one based on unit prices. With data for 38 years, the variability is lowered so that the average price of maize begins at 0/5/6 and falls during the period to 0/5. The slope is mildly negative (-.1196); with 36 degrees of freedom, the value of t (-.36) falls so low that the calculation must be regarded as having only minor statistical reliability. In effect, the trend is flat.

An additional test in the form of calculating the trend of maize prices for Mezquituta bears out the determinations for the Zacatecas treasury province. Mezquituta tribute maize, it should be remembered, was auctioned in Zacatecas until 1570 and thereafter in Guadalajara. We have data for 36 years. The slope of the trend line is mildly upward (.4859), and t , with a value of 1.5 on 34 degrees of freedom, has a relatively weak validity since it indicates slightly better than a ten percent level of probability, i.e., ninety percent reliability, which is weak for historical data. The trend of prices would start at 0/4/4 and finish at 0/6/6.

The Zacatecas region, then, exhibits price behavior for tribute maize distinctly different from that of the rest of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia. The contrast must be ascribed to development around the mining center of Spanish-owned haciendas raising maize. As its need for maize outgrew the possibilities of supply, it was more efficient to employ Indians directly on haciendas than to apply more indirect methods of extraction or production. The development testifies to the strongly entrepreneurial spirit of the Spaniards in the city, who obviously examined their problems and, in terms of the resources and technology available to them, moved to a rational solution.

Taken as a whole, what does this body of data for prices of royal tribute maize in the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia indicate; what should be the interpretation of the calculations outlined in this paper? In the first place, clearly the bidding was relatively free. The variability in prices within each year and between years indicates a true market. In the second place, despite the exiguous numbers of Spaniards in some areas of the audiencia and the relatively small population of Guadalajara, Spanish society in Nueva Galicia tended to be capitalist, or, if one prefers the term, commercial-precapitalist. It was oriented toward enterprise even though much of its revenue may have come from administration and from encomiendas. Many of the bidders bought maize for workmen in mines and ancillary operations. Undoubtedly others, particularly those bidding in the tributes of the larger Indian towns, sought it for resale in smaller lots. Basically, they were acting as wholesalers acquiring a supply for the retail market. Lay and ecclesiastical officeholders, who figure prominently in the sales, may have fallen in any of these categories, their business activities being additional to their posts in the royal government or in the Church.

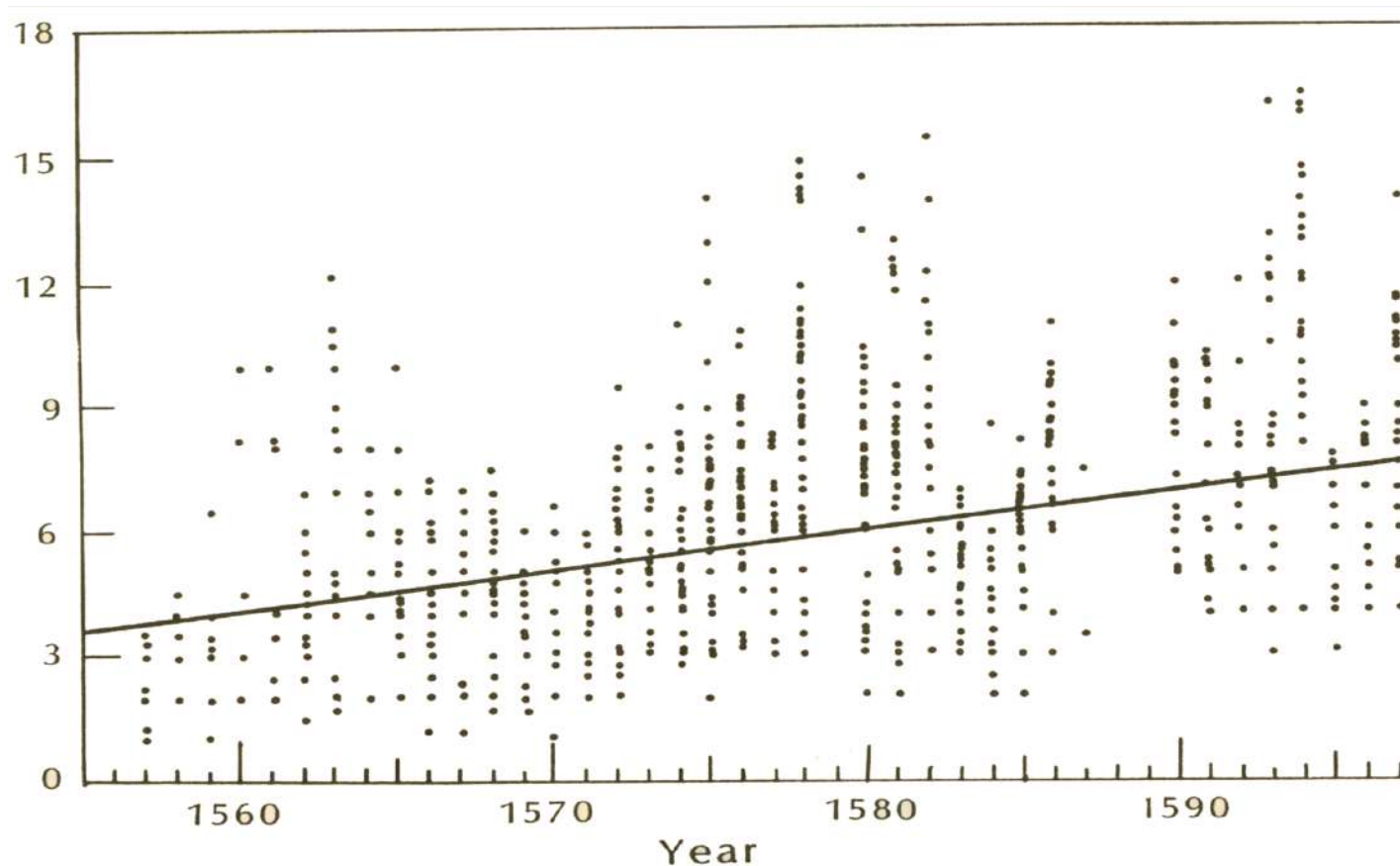
In the third place, the prices of tribute maize in the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia show a trend similar to that calculated for tribute maize in the Audiencia of Mexico. The results exhibited here are not fully comparable with those in the Borah-Cook study of 1958 in type or in temporal coverage. The latter covered the period 1531-1570, whereas data in this essay come from the years 1557-1598. Moreover, it made no division of coast and plateau, though this point may not be important since the division made in the



calculations presented here turns out to disclose nothing of significance. Whatever the differences in the two studies, some comparison can be made. The trends for both audiencias may have moved at different rates but clearly were upward. For the Audiencia of Mexico, the commutation values for maize set on the basis of average auction prices for a term of years immediately preceding rose from 0/4 for the audiencia as a whole in the 1560s to 0/9 (or 1/1) in 1627, when tribute in maize was commuted to silver coin for the entire territory. We have as yet no comparable data for the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, but the calculations of trend for the coast and plateau to 1598 in terms both of unit prices and average weighted annual prices would indicate a slightly steeper upward tendency relative to the Audiencia of Mexico. How long the trend continued, we do not know. Extrapolating from 1598 into the seventeenth century for the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia would be highly speculative. We must await further studies for our enlightenment.

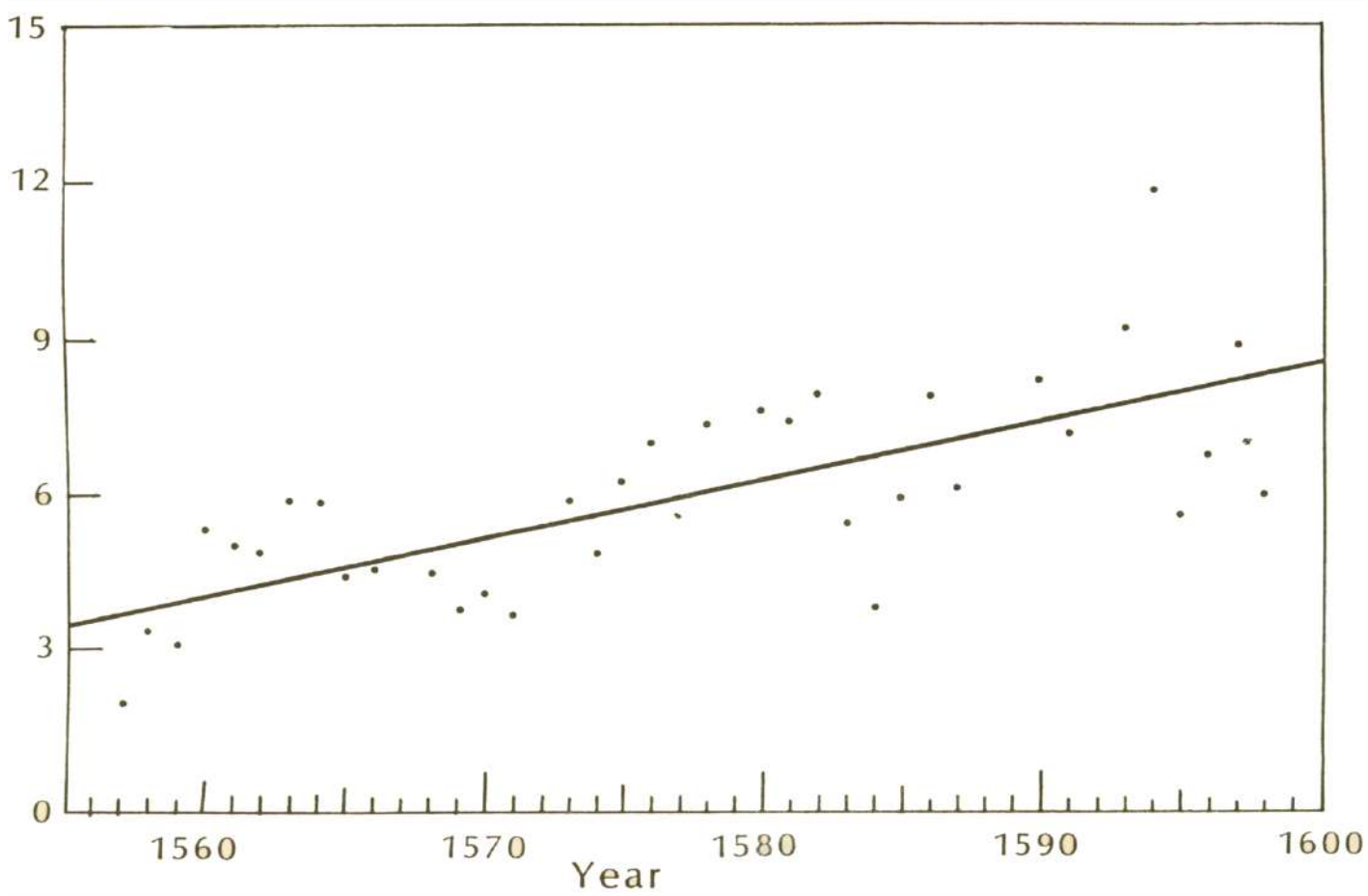


Maize Unit Prices – All Nueva Galicia
Reales / fanega



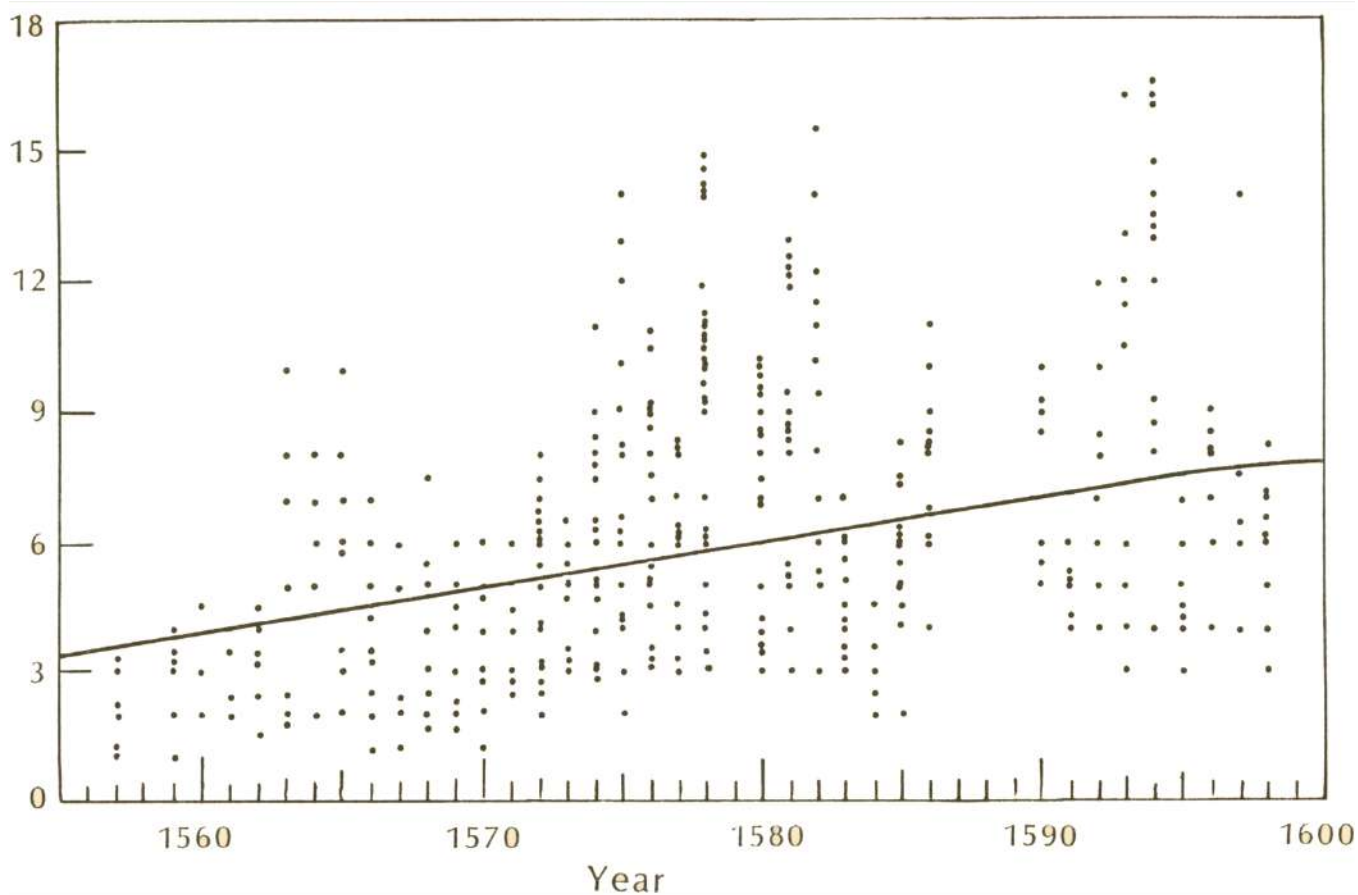


Maize Average Annual Prices – All Nueva Galicia
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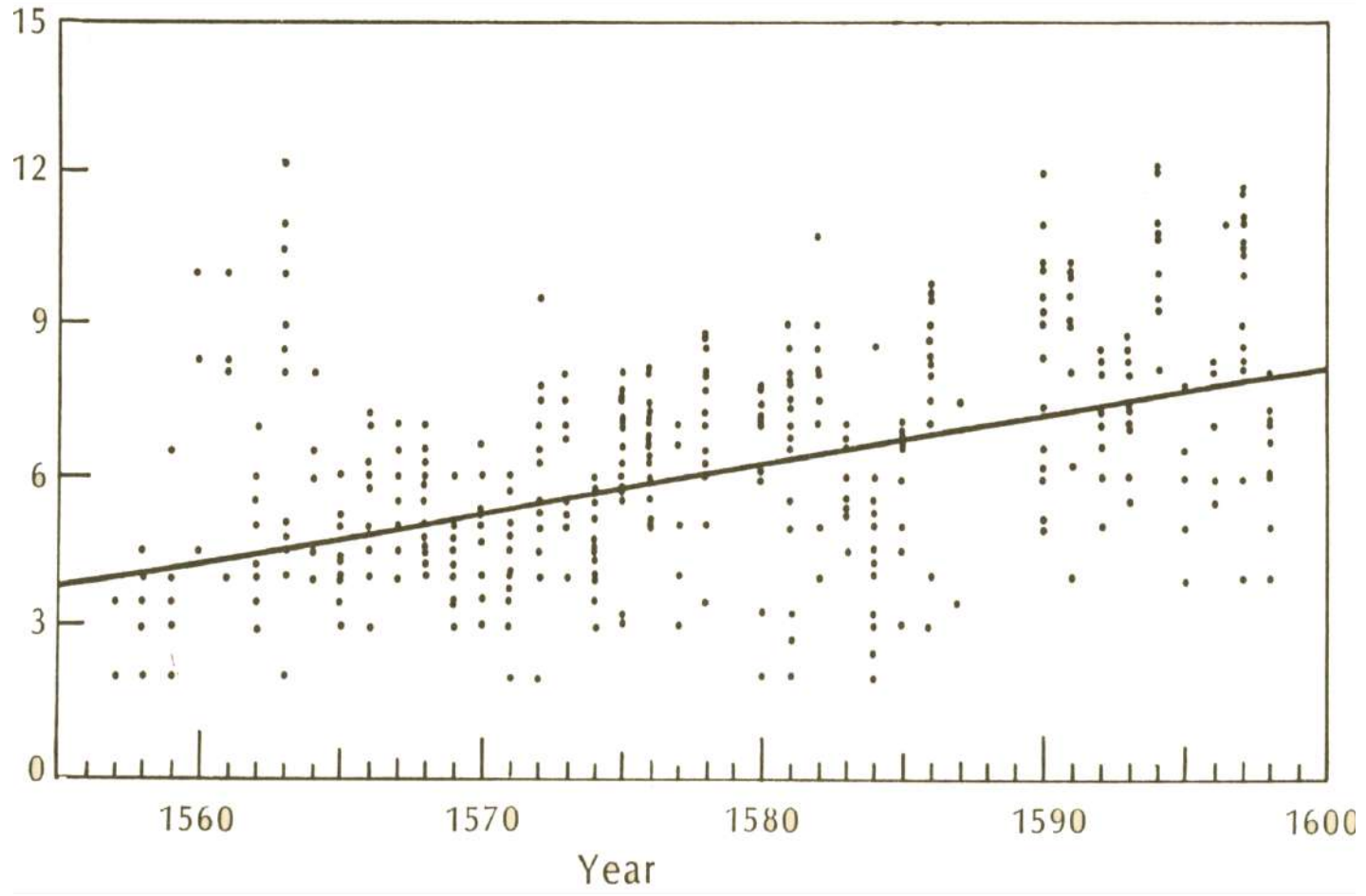


Maize Unit Prices – Coast
Reales / fanega



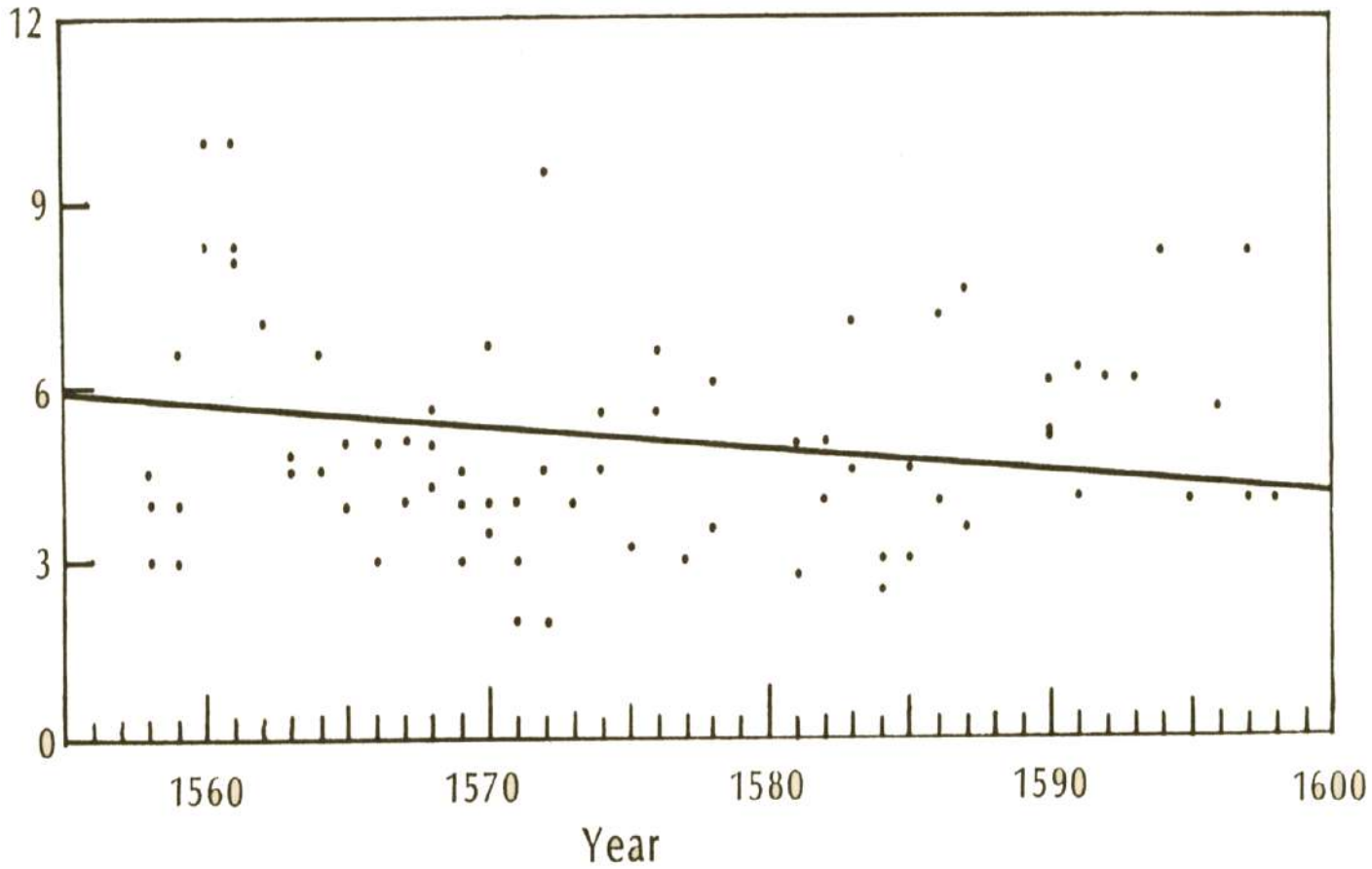


Maize Unit Prices – Plateau
Reales / fanega



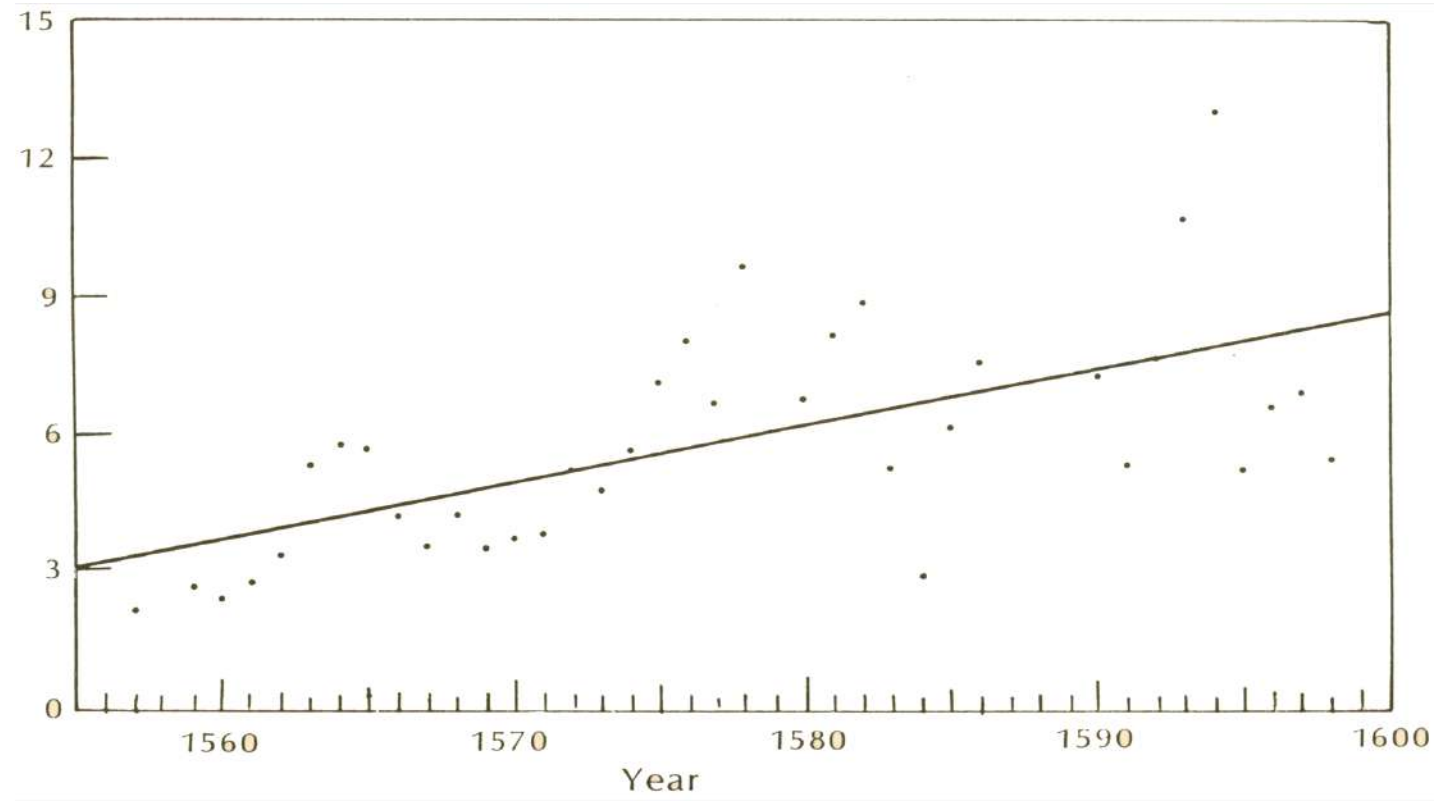


Maize Unit Prices – Zacatecas
Reales / fanega



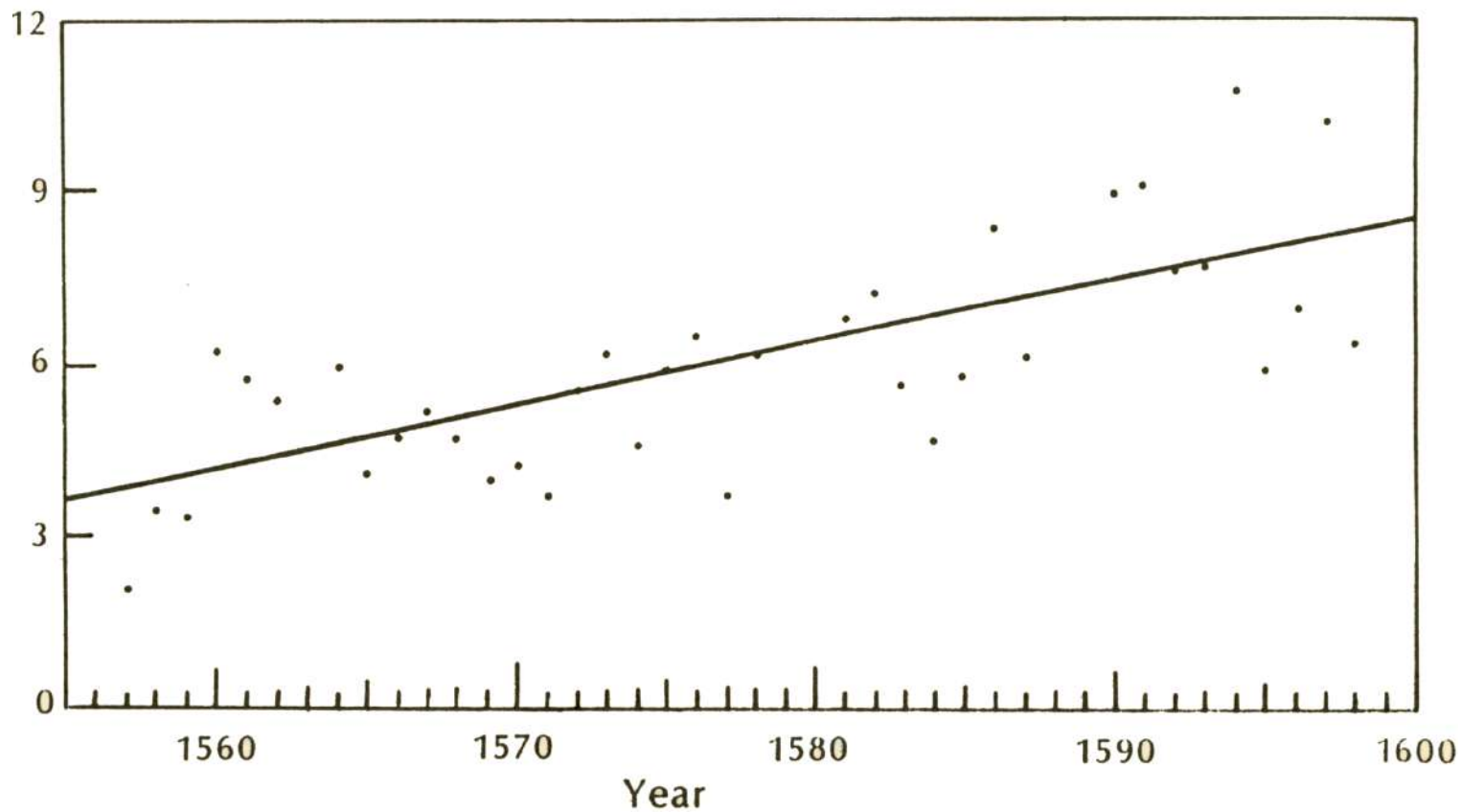


Maize Annual average Prices – Coast
Reales / fanega



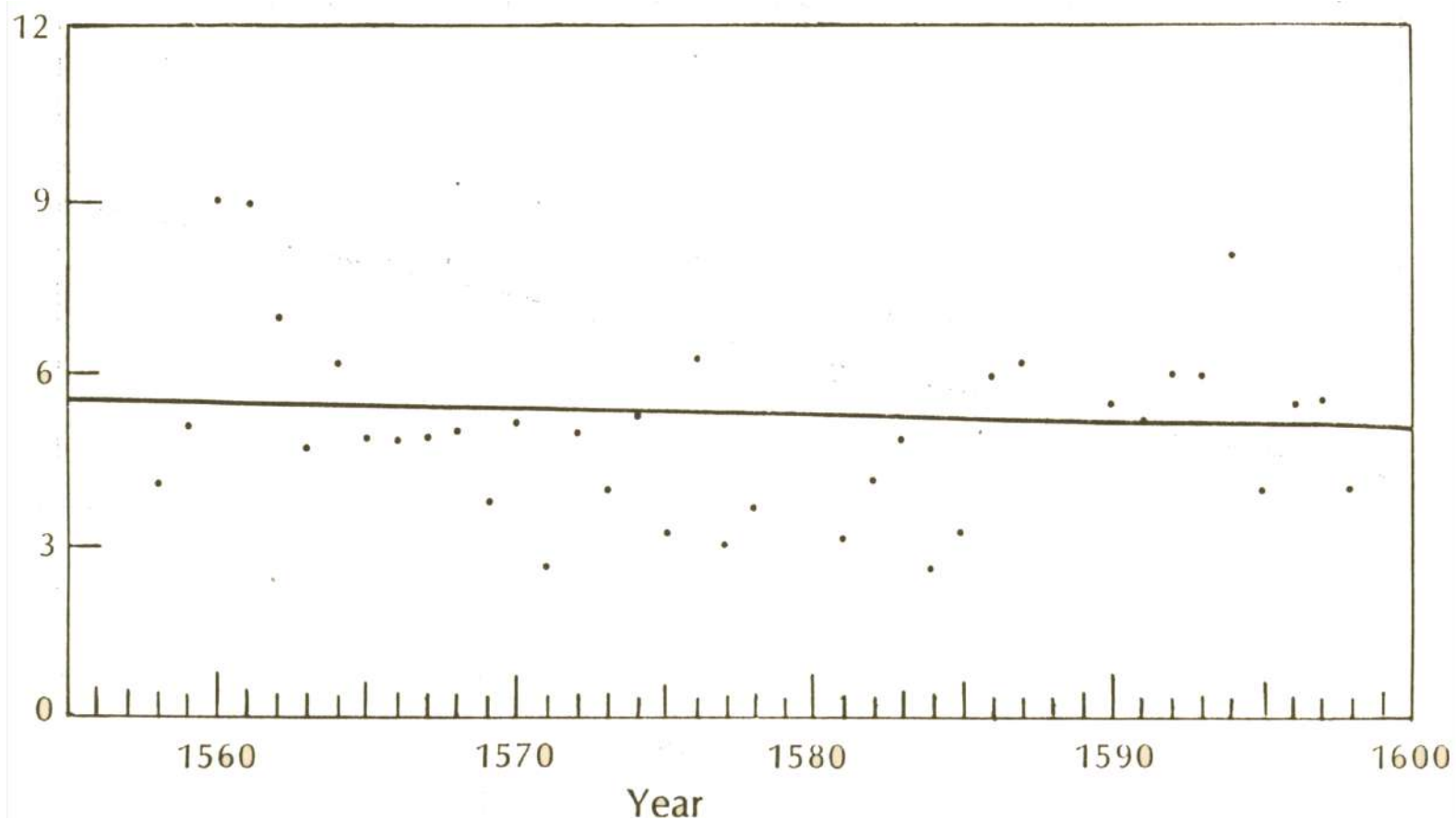


Maize Annual Average Prices – Plateau
Reales / fanega



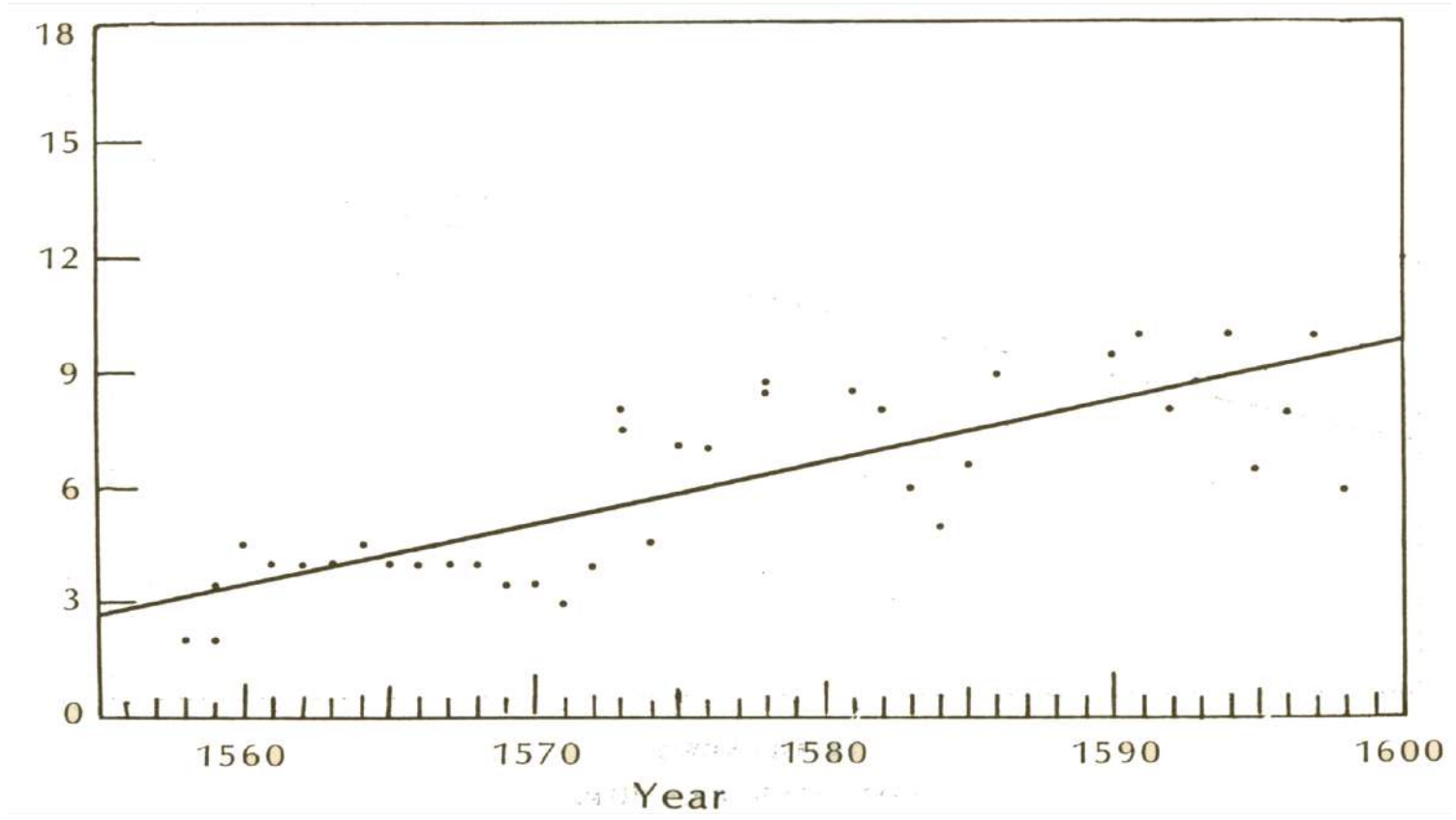


Maize Annual Average Prices – Zacatecas
Reales / fanega



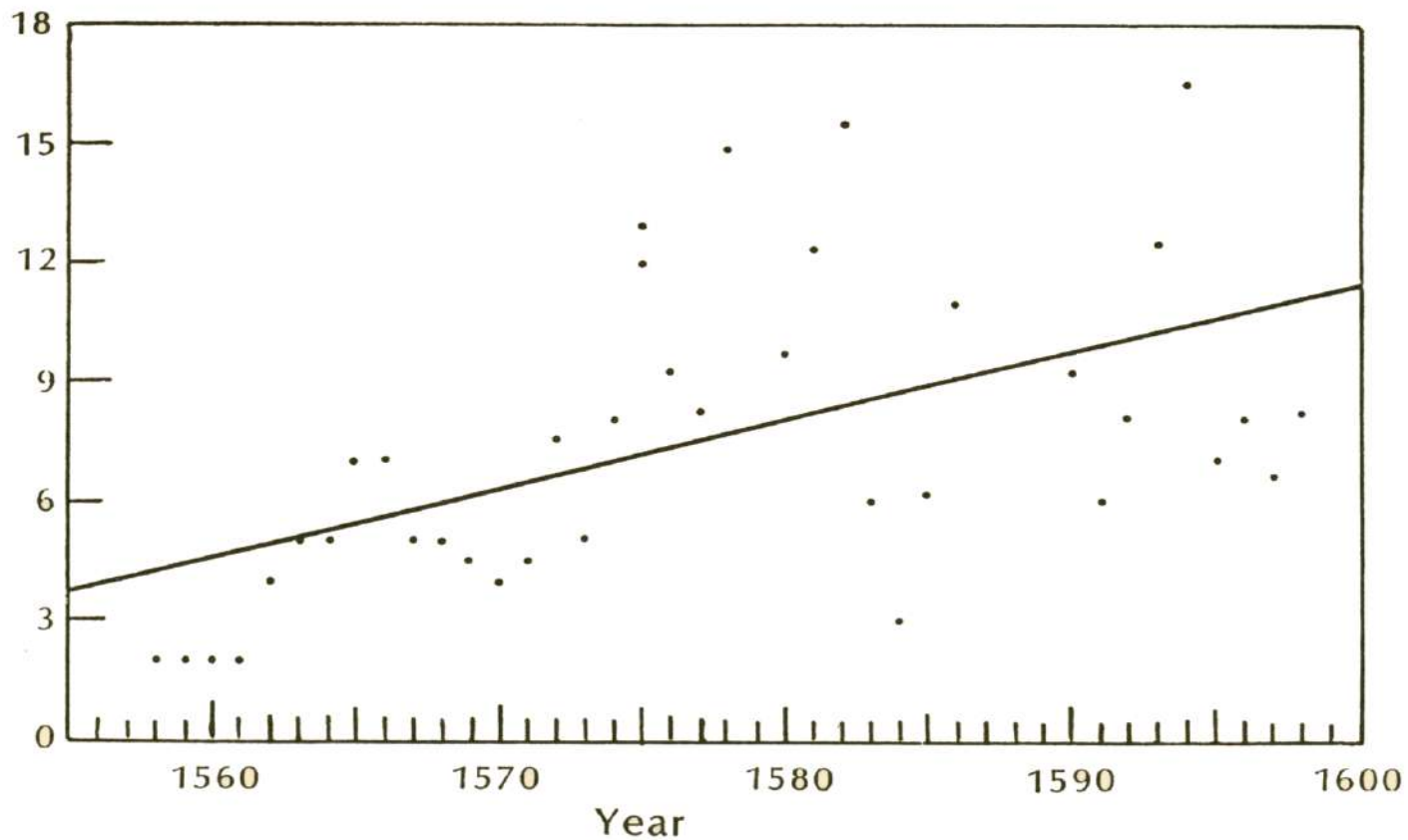


Maize Unit Prices – Tlaquepaque
Reales / fanega



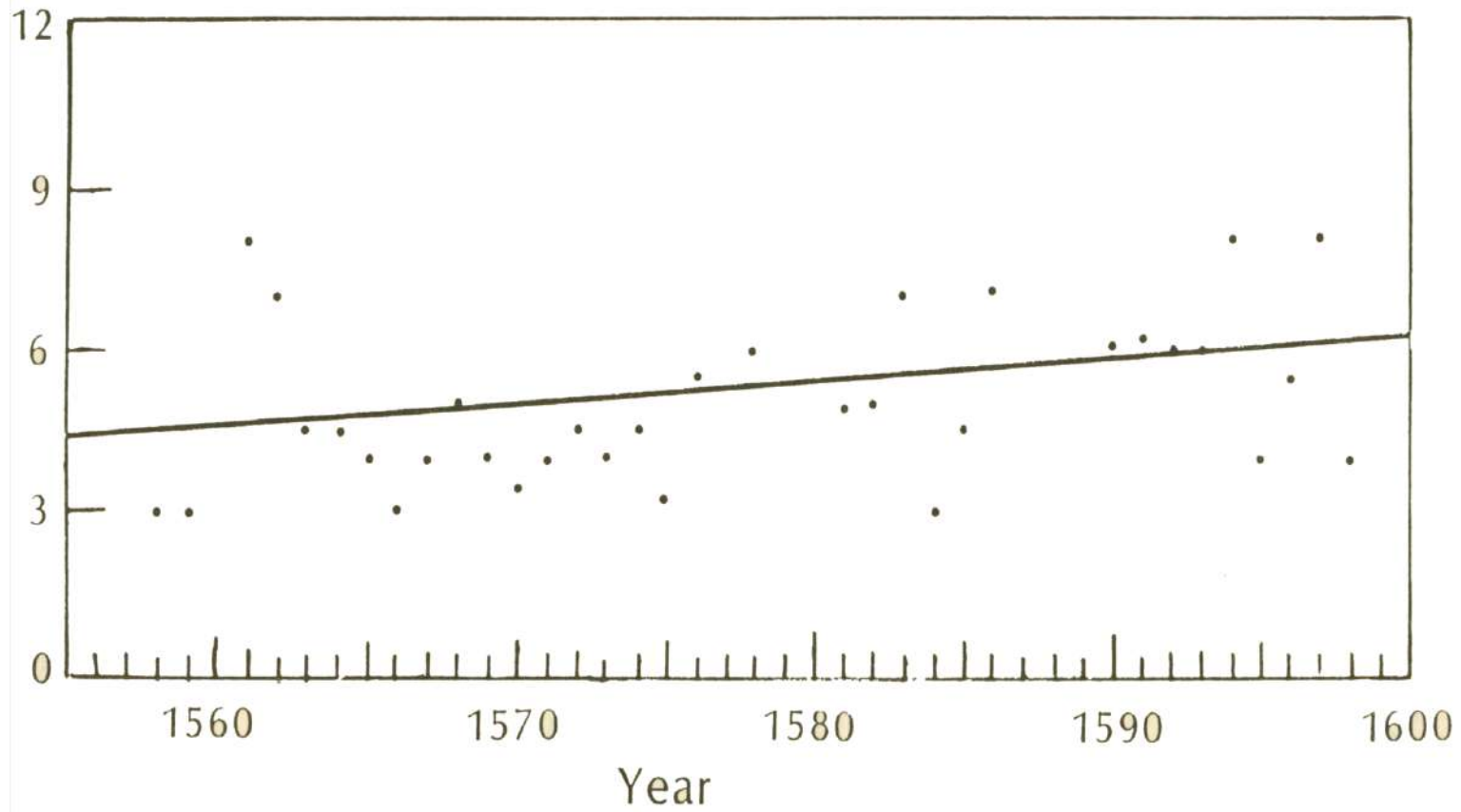


Maize Unit Prices – Tepic
Reales / fanega





Maize Unit Prices – Mezquituta
Reales / fanega







J. Jorge Klor de Alva

**Sin and Confession Among the Colonial Nahuas:
The Confessional as a Tool for Domination**

The Christian concepts of sin and confession formed an important part of the European technology of domination over the Indian communities of the new World. Sacramental confession, and the religious context within which it was embedded, served military, political, economic, and social functions by acting as both an *external* mechanism of social control, subjecting personal behavior and subjective ideas to the public scrutiny of non-Indians, and as an *internal* mechanism of self-control, which resulted from successful attempts to inculcate guilt, fear, or devotion upon the minds of the penitents. While the overt goal of this sacrament was to facilitate divine forgiveness for mortal sins, and thus make temporal consolation and eternal salvation possible, its net effect was to contribute substantially to the establishment and maintenance of an efficient system of socioeconomic control favorable to the post-Contact ruling elites. The pragmatic desire on the part of religious and lay officials was to develop in the hearts of the indigenes an ethos of Hispanic order, loyalty, obedience, and responsibility that would obviate the need for expensive administrative and military controls. In effect, the right to hear confessions and determine penances shifted to the Church a large portion of the local policing responsibilities that would otherwise have fallen on the shoulders of the secular powers.

Efficient administration required that the behavior of the natives and Europeans be predictable, docile, and productive in ways that would benefit the colony. To this end European modes of reward, punishment, discipline, and surveillance were deployed throughout every layer of society. The crass measures of the Inquisition suffered an early failure, as evidenced by its limited application to Indians after the burning of the cacique Don Carlos in 1539. Consequently, more local, less public forms of intelligence gathering and religious discipline were employed to control the behavior of the non-privileged native sectors before any form of deviancy could become a costly judicial or military problem. Chief among these strategies of surveillance and ideological regulation were coerced and induced confessions (within and outside the confessional), penances, forced restitutions, public shaming, ridicule, and physical punishment.

The confessional played a supporting role in the colonization of the native mind. It justified many of the more visible regulating forces and made possible for Europeans a deeper and more widespread understanding of Indian life at the local level than the cultural barriers would otherwise have permitted. Given the modern scholarly concern with the secular mechanisms that shaped the new colonial order, it is easy to underestimate the importance of sin and confession for the formation of a disciplined, colonized will. Nonetheless, the proliferation and popularity of bilingual manuals for confessors of Indians point to the importance attached to the confessional by both religious and secular authorities. Though it is difficult to assess how well these manuals fulfilled their objectives, their prefaces and self-serving introductions make clear that many priests considered them extremely useful. In essence, they consciously aimed to simplify the implementation of missionary and Hispanicizing agendas while serving as a handy catalogue of native resistance and survival strategies.

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Nonetheless, the confessors had to serve contradictory interests. Many missionaries and secular clergy worked hard to make palatable the effects of the physical and judicial presence of Europeans on their parishioners. Along with local officials, they had the task of convincing the indigenes to accept peaceably their shifting politico-economic and sociocultural positions in the face of labor drafts, residential displacements, cyclical inflations, forced consumption, land losses, diseases, and so on. However, in opposition to some dominant sectors, the priests sought to diminish the effects of unconscionable exploitation. At the same time that they gave weight to burdensome official ordinances by threatening the poor Indians with moral opprobrium and ecclesiastical discipline, the confessors were responsible for imposing religious sanctions against abusive local leaders. Therefore, they had the difficult job of inculcating Christian attitudes and behaviors that promoted respect for authority and the Spanish institutions while seeking to protect the lives and “souls” of their parishioners from the frequently conflicting concerns of the Crown, the colonists, and the native nobility

This complex balancing act led to lengthy treatises on the methods and questions proper for the confessional. No set of questions could satisfy all interests, much less the specific claims of any one sector. However, the basic aim of the interrogations was consistent: to Christianize the natives and to transform them into peaceful, loyal subjects of the colonial administration. This required a careful examination of Christian beliefs and the proper observance of rituals; investigation into economic behavior to root out whatever was considered unjust by the Spanish sector, which benefited extensively from restrictions on native commercial activity; the promotion of forms of political organization that favored the colonial hierarchy and promoted native subordination to approved local leaders; and the imposition of moral comportment that would lead to social peace, the adoption of European ideals of proper sexual behavior, and the moderation of personal habits in order to make the penitent conform with the Spanish model of docile servitude. All this was encouraged by designating deviations as sinful and therefore subject to temporal and eternal punishments.

In general, the confessional guides follow the order of the catechism of the Christian doctrine. Thus the questions are arranged according to the Ten Commandments, the seven mortal sins, the seven works of charity, and similar organizing categories. In the appropriate places the longest manuals have detailed discussions on the sacraments, the form wills should take, and other matters relevant to proper pastoral care. The inclusive range of topics raised in the guides underlines the aggressiveness with which the Church sought to bring as many human activities as possible under its surveillance. In doing so, it superimposed moral categories of good (grace) and evil (sin), and spiritual categories of reward (salvation) and punishment (damnation, penance) upon secular economic, political, and sociological functions. The importance attached to the affairs regulated by each category of sin is suggested by the amount of space each received. In Fray Alonso de Molina's 1569 *Confessionario mayor en la lengua mexicana y castellana*, the most detailed and comprehensive manual published in the colonial period, economic activities (the seventh commandment) take up more than three times the number of pages devoted to sexuality (the sixth commandment), and almost five times the pages concerned with idolatry, pagan practices, and Christian rituals (third commandment), or homicide and criminal assaults (fourth commandment).

Though manuals for confessors were available in the vernacular since 1510,¹ the earliest known bilingual (Nahuatl-Spanish) handbook is the *Confessionario breve* of Fray Alonso de Molina published in 1565. However, informal bilingual confessional guides, in abbreviated manuscript form, circulated widely before this time. Motolinía, the Franciscan chronicler, states that the sacrament of penance was first introduced in 1526 and shortly thereafter

¹Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977), p. 42.

the Indians were being confessed in accordance with the order of the Ten Commandments.² As was his custom, Motolinía generalizes the extent of early Christian devotion to the confessional from a handful of exceptional, edifying cases and much poorly understood native symbolic behavior; nonetheless, he offers some early examples of the economic role the confessional played in the forced leveling of social statuses and the redistribution of goods at the local level through imposed and voluntary acts of penitential restitution. Writing in 1540 about the willingness of many converts to pay their debts before their Lenten confession, Motolinía cites a number of cases of restitution via the releasing of slaves, the giving of alms, or the repayment of gold owed.³ As early as 1537 detailed confessions were being imposed on the natives to the extent that they were sometimes compelled to note the number and type of their sins in script (if literate) or, more commonly, through detailed pictographic texts or coded mnemonic devices.⁴

The existence of tables of contents and thematic and alphabetical indices are evidence of the pragmatic nature of the guides. They were meant to be used frequently and efficiently, however extensive their treatment of each sin or category of sinner. Though limited resources made general confessions more practical, without these bilingual texts most confessors would have been unable to carry out the detailed examinations of conscience that had become particularly popular in the sixteenth century.⁵ Despite the fact that many of the questions have a history that dates back at least to the early penitentials of the thirteenth century, contemporary socioeconomic, historical, and cultural practices were reflected in the texts that sought to be immediately relevant and up-to-date. As could be expected, the most commonly used guides in central Mexico were those that were culture-specific enough to yield the maximum amount of pertinent local information and that provided the Náhuatl wording for eliciting it. The differences among the manuals used, from Molina's to the bachiller don Carlos Celedonio Velásquez de Cárdenas y León's 1761 *Breve práctica y régimen del confionario de indios*, point to the varieties of local knowledge embedded in these works. It could not have been otherwise; the disciplinary function of the guides was most effective when they reflected actual experiences familiar to the confessants.

Questions of local relevance sometimes suggested geographical contrasts between the Náhuatl-speaking communities. For instance, hallucinogens play a relatively minor role in the urban-oriented work of Molina, whereas Bartholomé de Alva's 1634 guide, which relies on his experiences in the region of Chiapa de Mota (Chapa de Mota, northeast of Mexico City in the state of Mexico) is quick to put in the mouth of the (typical) penitent the following confession:

Yes I have loved (God) with my whole heart, but sometimes I have believed in dreams, in herbs, in the *ololiuhqui*, the peyote and other things.⁶

Urban life represented the Spanish ideal of civilized society. However, as is well known, sixteenth-century missionaries sought to separate the Indians from the Spaniards, physically and morally. While this segregation was a real possibility during the early period of the *encomienda*, when the Spanish city and the native communities stood in sharp relief, the subsequent decline in the Indian population and the accompanying shift to the *repartimiento* labor draft system, after the 1540s, made the division less tenable. The juxtaposition of ignorant but idolatrous countryside and corrupt but Christian city formed part of the

²Toribio de Benavente (or Motolinía), *Memoriales o libro de las cosas de la Nueva España y de los naturales de ella*, preliminary study by Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico City, 1971), pp. 128-29.

³Ibid., pp. 131-36.

⁴Ibid., pp. 129, 137-38.

⁵Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, p. 79.

⁶Bartolomé de Alva, *Confionario mayor, y menor en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City, 1634), fol. 8v.

colonial mythology surrounding the geography of sin, but it was considered false by some of the most informed priests. Fray Alonso de Montúfar, Archbishop of Mexico, wrote the Council of the Indies in 1556 that the jurisdictional jealousies among the religious orders, and between these and the secular priests, were causing the natives to be so ill-served “that even here in Mexico [City], where the Indians should be better Christians, they are the worse”.⁷ This polemical assertion received confirmation in the 1570s when Fray Diego Durán affirmed that daily,

not only in the towns distant from Mexico [City], where there would be some excuse, there being a lack of preaching, ...but in those near Mexico [City] and in Mexico [City] itself there are so many evils and superstitions and Indians as idolatrous as during their ancient law, medics, conjurers, impostors, and old preachers of their damned [religion], that they make it impossible for it to be forgotten, teaching it to the young and the children...⁸

Jacinto de la Serna, in his *Manual de ministros de Indios para el conocimiento de sus idolatrías y extirpación de ellas*, written in the first half of the seventeenth century, argues that since the forced nucleation of settlements, during the period of *congregaciones*, the idolators brought into the villages and towns the idolatry they had practiced in the mountains.⁹ As a consequence, he adds,

All these [superstitions and idolatries] are so common that they can be found today [1647] in the city [of Mexico], where it is least noticed, and where the ministers of Satan can most safely work their tricks... everyone inside and outside the City [Mexico], and throughout the whole kingdom is infected passively or actively: some because they make use of all the conjurations, tricks, and superstitions..., and others passively permitting them to use these...¹⁰

The constant colonial conflict between city and countryside is reflected in these (unexpected) descriptions of cities, particularly Mexico, as *the* centers of moral and spiritual corruption. Though religious and secular struggles for control and influence permeated these accusations, they also represented a native response to the unwelcomed colonial strategy of urbanization, advocated primarily by the Church and Crown, and the contradictory needs for a mobile labor force experienced by landholders in and outside of the cities.

Sixteenth-century shifts in labor recruitment practices, resulting principally from the declining native populations and increasing numbers of blacks and Europeans, threatened the most vulnerable Indian communities with social disarticulation and cultural extinction. The most serious abuses against the native groups were caused by the dominant sector's need for a cheap, mobile labor force capable of fulfilling the demands of the repartimiento, the mines, and the *obrajes*. Besides recourse to the courts, one of the few mechanisms available with which to resist these centrifugal forces was the deployment of pre- and post-Contact religious elements that could give coherence and cohesion, personally and collectively, to the desintegrating communities. Consequently, short-lived, regional nativistic movements sometimes arose. These were mostly poorly coordinated efforts at spiritual resistance to Christianization, as represented by the case of Martín Ocelotl, the clandestine cult leader exiled from New Spain in 1537 by the Inquisition.¹¹ More commonly, resistance

⁷Luis García Pimentel, ed., *Descripción del Arzobispado de Méjico hecha en 1570 y otros documentos* (Mexico City, 1897), p. 424.

⁸Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme*, 2 vols., edition and preliminary study by Ángel Ma. Garibay K. (Mexico City, 1967), p. 78.

⁹Jacinto de la Serna, *Manual de ministros de indios para el conocimiento de sus idolatrías y extirpación de ellas*, in *Tratado de las Idolatrías*, vol. 1, preliminary study by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (Mexico City, 1953), p. 93.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 333-34.

¹¹J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Martín Ocelotl: Clandestine Cult Leader", in Gary B. Nash and David. G. Sweet, eds., *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981).

to Hispanization and religious indoctrination was passive and very local.¹² This constant spiritual opposition, whose legacy is evident in the contemporary ethnographies of Mesoamerica, resulted in the frequent unearthing of new centers of pagan worship. These periodic discoveries made imperative the gathering of intelligence concerning the whereabouts and activities of native cult leaders and local sorcerers who sought to undermine the official authorities.¹³ Many of the questions found under the first commandment in the guides sought to counter these competing symbolic systems. For instance:

By chance did you adore or have for a god some creature of His, such as the sun, moon, or the stars? Are you still keeping some image of the devil or know of someone who has one hidden? ... Did you offer some offering, or give it some present: or...incense, or cut some paper, or did you kill some animal before it? ... Did you ever call for a sorcerer [*ticitl*] to tell your fortune or to remove some bewitchment from your body, and in order to suck your flesh did he cut your hair in a superstitious manner, or did you call him to find what you had lost, or did he divine [by looking] into water in your presence?¹⁴

The Christian priests also used questions on the first commandment to guard against the circumvention of ecclesiastical financial and ritual prerogatives. With some of the same economic preoccupations in mind that moved Molina and others to outline carefully the appropriate form testaments should take, Bartholomé de Alva asks,

Perchance, when someone died...did you bury him placing in the grave a cloth of *nequen* [*ayatl*], *piciete*, *mecapal*, shoes, money, food, and drink, and all concealed from your priest? And this diabolical custom that you have, is it to provide him with such things, because you think he will return to live here on the earth at some time, because he has left the present life to go do penitence in that place (which the elders during the period of blind paganism...) called Ximoayan?¹⁵

In the sixteenth century the recruitment and distribution of labor was primarily in the hands of local native leaders, who took their orders from colonial officials. Therefore, the responsibility for creating a mobile labor force fell on caciques and other leaders; however, they gained more from employing the workers locally than from shipping them out. As a consequence, some confessionals provided confessors with a series of interrogations whose object was to free labor from personal or community-oriented employment and to facilitate its impressment in the service of Spanish interests. In the name of unrestrained employment and free trade, Molina urges the confessor to ask the following:

Did you {by chance} order that nobody hire himself out to others until your properties were attended first? or did you prohibit and obstruct them so that they would not go where they pleased to gain their livelihood or look for employment, or so they would not go to sell their goods and lands wherever they pleased? because you cannot impede them, nor obstruct them {except if the village had need of such goods or lands, so that they should be sold there}.¹⁶

¹²J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Christianity and the Aztecs", *San José Studies*, 5 (November, 1979), pp. 6-21; Klor de Alva, "Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity", in George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and George D. Wirth, eds., *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800: Anthropology and History* (New York, 1982).

¹³See, for instance, Juan Bautista, *Confessionario en lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City, 1600); Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, *Aztec Sorcerers in Seventeenth-Century Mexico: The Treatise on Superstitions by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón*, translated and edited by Michael D. Coe and Gordon Whittaker (Albany, 1982); Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions That Today Live Among the Indians Native to This New Spain*, 1629, translated and edited by J. Richard Andrews and Ross Hassing (Norman, 1984).

¹⁴Alonso de Molina, *Confessionario mayor, en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City, 1569), fols. 20r, v. (facsimile edition with an introduction by Roberto Moreno de los Arcos in the supplement to the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas*, 7 (Mexico City, 1972).

¹⁵Alva, *Confessionario*, fols. 12v, 13r.

¹⁶Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fol. 43r.



Did you obstruct {by chance} the *macehuales* who wanted to go live and construct their house in other towns, prohibiting them from selling their homes and personal lands, or their other lands?¹⁷

Then, as today, arguments on behalf of unrestricted trade primarily benefited those who did not need protection.

The confessors could contribute to social control by raising the socioeconomic price of deviant behavior through the imposition of harsh penances. But this could drive penitents away to more lenient confessors or away from the confessional altogether. Therefore, for confessions to be truly effective the penitents had to internalize basic Christian attitudes toward spiritual transgressions: sin had to cause pain and absolution had to feel redemptive enough to make punishments tolerable. Thus, the long enumeration of sins with pragmatic explanations of their worldly effects were a necessary complement to spiritual threats of eternal perdition. No matter how mundane the topic, sin was constantly maintained as the fundamental subject of confession, and as many practical activities as possible were brought under its purview. Furthermore, all social virtues were transformed into religious precepts, and all vices into sins. The gravity of each was elucidated, and proportional degrees of culpability were pronounced. Consequently, in conjunction with daily and dominical preaching, the manuals attempted to teach the natives to identify every aspect of their everyday life as a potential occasion for sinful acts *and* thoughts. To instill this attitude of self-control through self-criticism, which was critical to the European strategy of domination, the manuals highlighted the importance of the “seven mortal sins:” pride, avarice, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, and sloth.

In Molina’s 1569 *Confessionario* pride and sloth receive particular attention. It is tempting to interpret this emphasis as implying that these two sins symbolized two key threats to Hispanic order: insubordination and an unwillingness to labor in work beneficial to those outside the immediate Indian communities. However, Molina’s questions seem to bear out this reading only in the case of pride. The examination of this sin sought to uncover and chastise (“false”) affirmations of dominion, claims to privileged information, resistance to ecclesiastical or secular authority, and acts aimed at drawing attention to oneself. The social leveling function of this interrogation was meant to apply to both commoners and leaders, the latter being admonished to lead with humility and to refrain from flaunting their wealth. In effect, native leaders and their charges were being urged to refrain from questioning authority and to accept their subordinate positions with Christian resignation. Though questions concerning sloth fill over 25 pages, most of these focus on negligence towards the sacraments, particularly confirmation. This sacrament solidified the faith of adults by renewing and strengthening the baptismal commitment to Christianity. Therefore, it was central in creating the adult Christian community and crucial in the continual war against apostasy or indifference. The economic significance of sloth was discussed in fewer words:

By chance due to your laziness did you ever say: ‘oh if only I had not worked nor done the good I did?’ And because of this you proposed and determined to waste your time, and to employ it in entertainments and games, and in being lazy; and in strolling around the plazas and other places, like a vagabond in order to not work in what is necessary; and due to this you do not have what is necessary to maintain your person, your wife or children...?¹⁸

Even though we do not have a comprehensive study of the social damage caused by the epidemics of the sixteenth century, we know that these, in combination with the abuses that resulted from the colonial mechanisms of exploitation, produced a moral decline in

¹⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 43v.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 98r.

the most afflicted communities.¹⁹ The recurrent tragedies created an atmosphere in which abortions and suicides were transformed into acts of resistance and defiance. Consequently, it is not surprising to find detailed questions on the subject in the manual of 1569, written during the horrible plagues of 1563-64 and 1566, when it is said that almost half the population of Chalco died.²⁰ By way of contrast, Bautista's text, published more than ten years after the last major plagues of the century, when the population of the laboring class had stabilized after the many deaths of the previous decades, limits its questions on suicide and abortion, found under the fifth commandment, to the following:

Did you take or give deadly drinks to anyone? Did you take something to make you sterile or to cause you to abort, or perhaps did you do this to some other person?²¹

Molina, on the other hand, poses questions suggestive of the desperation faced by the Indians and the role of the priests in controlling it:

Did you ever desire your death? ... Did you give any pregnant woman potions to make her miscarry, and so that the child would die? And if the penitent is a woman...Did you ever drink a mortal poison to miscarry the child, by which you killed your child...? Or did you give it the breast in such a way that it was damaged and he was no longer able to suckle...? And when you were still pregnant did you press on your belly in order to miscarry and kill your child?... Did you carry some load, or grind something, so that you came to miscarry? Did you drink some potions to make yourself sterile...and so that you would never reproduce? With evil intention did you ever hurt a male, at the time of copulation, and thus he got sick and died?²²

Questions concerning the sixth commandment were a critical aspect of the political technology deployed by the Spaniards in order to subjugate native bodies and transform these into efficient productive forces. Knowledge about the intimate, private behavior of the Nahuas, extracted by the confessors, multiplied the points at which the colonial institutions could intervene in the lives of the penitents. On the other hand, exposing the natives to new sins by the use of suggestive questions increased their vulnerability to European ideological controls.

While it is extremely difficult to understand what Molina meant by the last question noted in the quote above, the manual of Bartolomé de Alva sheds some light on both the birth control and pleasure aspects that may have been addressed by the interrogation:

Have you mocked any woman (and if it is a woman) any man, by putting some evil thing in your natural part, when you approached her, from which she derived some disease?²³

Restrictions on efforts at population control through characterization of them as dangerous or belligerent could be what is at stake here, but this could also be read as an attempt to limit native sexuality through the superimposition of European models. The relation between the control of intimate behavior and productive activity is well known: repression of the former reinforces the disciplining of the latter. The making of docile native bodies required that all areas of bodily performance be trained in new habits and exercised in new social arrangements. Thus the widespread practice of cohabitation, representing a continuation of native habits of familial organization, was continually

¹⁹ Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido, eds., *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1982).

²⁰ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, 1964), p. 449.

²¹ Bautista, *Confessionario*, fols. 48r, v.

²² Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fols 30v-31v.

²³ Alva, *Confessionario*, fol. 24v.

assailed, and those guilty of this transgression were predictably persecuted as both sinners and seditionaries.

Questions inspired by the Christian focus of sexuality on reproduction generated knowledge about native intimacy whose traces cannot be found outside the manuals. For instance, we now know that it was popular among Náhuatl speakers to make love “outside of the usual vessel” and with the “woman...on her belly”, practices strictly prohibited by the Church. Sodomy, especially when the men were drunk, was not rare, nor was lesbianism. Concerning this last point, the 1611 manual of the Dominican Martín de León warns confessors to be sure to ask the following “to virgins and single girls, it being very common”:

Have you ever layed one above the other, playing like man and woman by way of mockery and play somewhere?²⁴

And with regard to the sin of onanism he adds:

Have you defiled yourself with your heels, when you grind or when you are sitting down someplace?²⁵

These examples point to the depths accessible to colonializing practices as a consequence of the confessionals. In effect, the displacement of native bodily customs by colonial Spanish ones was a significant tactic in the overall strategy of domination, and a necessary complement to the mechanisms for the extraction of useful labor and the disciplining of commercial habits.

The comprehensiveness of Molina’s text makes it particularly useful for studying the relations between the confessional and the colonial politico-economic order. Its questions sketch the connections between the various socioeconomic sectors, the responsibilities and privileges of each, the land tenure issues that precipitated conflicts, the modes of operation found within the markets, and the variety of ways -common among merchants- by which they sought to maximize their profits through deceit. It is worth repeating that Molina dedicated three times more space to the seventh commandment than to any other. In part, this is due to the fact that his text, one of the earliest, is especially concerned with legitimizing the still evolving colonial structure. Consequently, many of the colonial practices Bartolomé de las Casas considered a sin (and attacked vehemently when writing about the abuses of the Spaniards)²⁶ were transformed by Molina into *positive duties*.

Throughout the section on the seventh commandment one can discern the ways in which the society was affected by the colonial processes that leveled the pre-Contact hierarchy. Many members of the lower sectors were integrated into the higher strata, and those in dominant positions frequently found themselves deprived overnight of autonomy or privileges. The manual strives to convince everyone to accept their destiny in silence, to work diligently and honestly, to obey with respect and humility, and to revere the tenets of Church and Crown. Trade, production, and local government are reinterpreted as moral activities, subjects open to the judgment of secular and spiritual observers. In effect, despite the fact that its moral commands apply to all sectors, the practical effect of the confessional was to deprive most Indian penitents of the right, reserved to some Spaniards, to buy cheap and sell dear.

Of course, as noted above, one can also find many questions that demonstrate the very real effort made by the Church to safeguard the poor from the abuses of their superiors. But the protective sanctions, in the end, favor the Spanish economic sector, either through

²⁴Martín de León, *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City, 1611), p. 116.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols., preliminary study by Lewis Hanke (Mexico City, 1951); Las Casas, *Apologética historia sunaria*, 2 vols., preliminary study by Edmundo O’Gorman (Mexico City, 1967).



depriving authentic local leaders of power, disrupting the local merchants' trading patterns, or by facilitating the mobilization of the members of the Nahua communities so that they can be made to work beyond the local economic community. Thus, the native merchant is prohibited from making any sale that will enrich him if when doing so "he has not acted in favor and to the benefit of the city...but only to gain self enrichment".²⁷ Though a desire to protect consumers moved Molina to urge confessors to probe deeply into all the deceits possible in the marketplace, a result of these detailed interrogations was nonetheless to limit the circulation of cheap, even if admittedly inferior, products. The standard of quality suggested by Molina could only have the inadvertent effect of driving up the price of consumer goods.

The questions directed at the caciques, principal leaders, *tequitlatos*, and overseers can help us to reconstruct the relations between the various sectors in the rural zones. They put in relief the Spanish efforts at influencing to their advantage the native struggles for political and economic power. On the one hand, they hoped to profit from intra-communal conflicts by weakening native leadership; on the other, they sought to maximize the movement of goods and services from the native to the Spanish sector. The following questions are suggestive of these strategies:

Did you ever take something from the macehuales that are in your charge, and those you govern? Did you ask them for blankets, chickens, cacao...which things they were not obliged to give you? Did you add to them or increase their tribute? Or did you take from them or demand from them something in order to give it to the Spaniard you serve, or some other cacique or leader (in order to obtain their favor)? And when everyone dances at the feasts, did you by chance ask for tribute or tortillas, or cacao, flowers, canes with incense, or mats, etc.?

When the tribute was collected, did you leave or keep for yourself the surplus of the said tribute, concealing and hiding it for your benefit, or did the other leaders and nobles distribute it among themselves?²⁸

Concerning the problems of land tenure and the use of lands, the confessional could be brought to bear on the issues by specifying in what ways land could be employed so that sin would not result. An effect of this moral determination of proper land use patterns was the freeing up of additional communal land for Spanish ownership or use. For example:

And all the plots of the town, worked by the macehuales, are they {by chance} necessary for the said town? Or would it be sufficient to work less lands and plots? And being thus, did you command them to work much more land, so as to increase...the property of the community and thereby you oppressed the macehuales?²⁹

The struggles throughout the sixteenth century between the religious orders and the colonists had political and economic aspects that drew the Indian leaders into the fray. The native working sectors were sometimes able to take advantage of the conflicts by mobilizing the protection of the mendicants in opposition to the local authorities; for instance, against their abusive use of the "derrama" (additional or unauthorized tribute) or of personal services. The following interrogation urged by Molina on all confessors shows the extent to which the friars were willing to confront the native leaders directly in order to protect the working Indians from over-exploitation at their hands and those of the Spaniards:

²⁷Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fol. 36r.

²⁸*Ibid.*, fols. 41v, 42r.

²⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 42r.



Do you send your macehuales to far away lands, so that they will bring you fruit or flowers {from the hot lands}? Or so they will take corn to the mines? Or do you send them far from their villages so that they will work and serve the Spaniards, by which they were harmed? Or perhaps you commanded them to obtain some *derramas* or personal services, beyond that which has been commanded by the Emperor or the King, going far beyond the quota? Or by chance did you for some reason give them some work to do, such as work in your corn fields, the building of your houses, or those of your friends and dependents?

Did you command your macehuales to give you their chickens, telling them you would pay for them and buy them, and then you did not give them all they were worth, in accordance with their price in the tianguetz [market]? Did you {by chance} command that no one is to sell their goods, such as their corn, until yours had been sold first, or your beans, etc., thus harming the others?³⁰

Sometimes local leaders protected themselves from the complaints lodged by their workers with the colonial officials by terrorizing the would-be petitioners into silence. Molina's manual challenged the wrongdoers by characterizing the practice as widespread and insisting that it be investigated:

...did you obstruct them and impede them so they would not appeal, nor go and complain to the royal audiencia [court], when you committed some harm or injustice on them? Or did you sentence them unjustly, or did you receive some bribe, and when you received what they gave you, did you decide against justice? Or perhaps because of what you were given you gave an evil sentence...And because of this, they did not dare go to you, because they knew and understood that you are a man without mercy and like a wild beast?³¹

A large number of examples showing how these local officials exercised political control, which was outside the communities' traditions, can be discovered by analyzing the relevant questions. We know that, like the Spaniards, they chose or put in charge people who favored them "because they were...related or...were friends". At the same time, these leaders were often protected from annual elections and audits ("residencias") at the end of their terms.³² Nonetheless, however much Molina's probing into these local abuses benefited the non-privileged sectors, they had the ultimate effect of contributing to the eroding of native leadership and, thereby, to the weakening of the Indian communities.

The questions posed by the manuals changed as the colony of New Spain matured in the course of three centuries. The guides varied in specificity, comprehensiveness, and concerns. The above discussion seeks only to point to the significant roles sin and confession played in the creation of the colonial order. In a future monograph I hope to elucidate these roles in detail. For now, it is enough to note that, ultimately, the colonization of the Indians, leaders and followers, rested in no small measure on the Europeans' capacity to teach them to sin; to teach them to feel psychological remorse over a whole universe of activities and thoughts that had previously escaped normalization and institutional castigation. The bilingual guides for confessors were a critical part of this proselytizing strategy: at the level of tactics, they permitted even the most ignorant rural priest access to the everyday mysteries of the enigmatic communities in their charge, in or beyond the confessional. The manuals contained the code by which the Christian register of culpability and punishment could be translated into a practice of control and domination. These guides played an important role in the colonization project not because they were read to all the Indians, not because the natives visited the confessional regularly, nor because these always sought to heed the words of their confessor. The manuals were important because they provided

³⁰*Ibid.*, fols. 42v, 43r.

³¹*Ibid.*, fol. 43v.

³²*Ibid.*, fols. 43v-44v.



the code for an extremely intimate and comprehensive mode of coercion that took hold of the individual body, family, and community in places otherwise inaccessible to the colonial powers. The confessional seconded secular control by regulating all social relations through the instilling of moral obligations between family members, families and officials, workers, workers and officials, workers and employers, employers and officials, and of every individual to the Church and Hispanic culture by pointing invariably to Spanish officialdom as the ultimate source of secular authority and justice, and to Hispanic culture as the ultimate arbiter of human customs, mores, and tastes. Whatever protection the humble natives received at the hands of the confessors, the manuals never went so far as to question the legitimacy of Spanish authority or the primacy of Hispanic culture. Rather, the guides formed a part of the colonial technology of power by legitimating the Christian and Hispanic worlds and by transforming these into the sole domains of common sense and moral propriety. The importance of this in the colonization project cannot be exaggerated.





Rebecca Horn*

The Sociopolitical Organization of the Corregimiento of Coyoacan¹

Spanish rule left intact much of the indigenous socio-political organization at the regional level in central Mexico. The administrative forms of *encomienda*, *corregimiento*, and *doctrina* were merely superimposed upon the indigenous city-state, or *altepetl*, leaving the internal functioning of central Mexican Indian society at the provincial level much as it had been in the pre-conquest period.² This paper addresses the persistence of indigenous characteristics of sociopolitical organization in relation to the introduction of, and adaptation to, Spanish administrative forms in the *corregimiento* of Coyoacan located just southwest of Mexico City. Coyoacan was an important pre-conquest regional state, and the integrity and complexities of its sociopolitical organization persisted well into the colonial period. This persistence is particularly striking when one considers Coyoacan's proximity to the colonial capital and the intensity of Hispanic intrusion which that proximity entailed. While proximity to Mexico City posed a threat to indigenous culture, at the same time it allowed for the abundance of documentation in both Spanish and Nahuatl that is preserved from and about the region. For these reasons the study of colonial Coyoacan contributes greatly to an understanding of important ethnohistorical issues throughout colonial central Mexico.

The pre-conquest *altepetl* (*atl*: water; *tepetl*: mountain) referred to both a people and a territory, and it was ruled by a dynastic lineage. Each *altepetl* was subdivided into smaller units termed *calpulli* or *tlaxilacalli*. The members of each subunit were governed through local officers under the authority of the dynastic ruler to whom all members owed service and tribute. The organization of subunits within the *altepetl* was cellular rather than hierarchical, each subentity being equal, "...each with its own sense of separate origins, each a microcosm of the whole [altepetl]".³ After the conquest the Spaniards designated the subunit in which the dynastic ruler, or *tlatoani*, resided as *cabecera*, "head town", the other subunits subject to the ruler being designated *sujeto*, "subject". The prevailing pattern was for one *altepetl* with one *tlatoani* to become one *encomienda* and one *doctrina* (parish). Indigenous mechanisms of organization channeled tribute and labor from the *sujetos* through the *cabecera* to the *encomendero* (one who held an *encomienda* grant) and to the parish church. Ideally, in terms of Spanish administration these civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were coterminous. The *corregimiento* was a larger civil administrative

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¹This paper is part of a larger project which concerns the Indians of Coyoacan from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. It is based on research conducted in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico and the Sección Histórica of the Archivo General de Notarías del Distrito Federal during 1984 under the terms of a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, and at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, with the support of a Bancroft Library Study Award for the academic year 1985-86.

²My discussion of the *altepetl*, and its relationship to Spanish administrative forms, is based on Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of México, 1519-1810* (Stanford, 1964), especially chapters 3, 4, and 7; James Lockhart, "Capital and Province, Spaniard and Indian: The Example of Late Sixteenth-Century Toluca", in *Provinces of Early México: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*, Ida Altman and James Lockhart, eds. (Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 99-123, especially pp. 99-103; and James Lockhart, "Some Nahua Concepts in Postconquest Guise", *History of European Ideas*, 6 (1985) pp. 465-482, especially pp. 469-471.

³Lockhart, "Some Nahua Concepts", p. 469.

unit usually made up of several encomiendas and therefore several indigenous altepetl, each with a designated cabecera and sujetos.

The pattern of one altepetl governed by one tlatoani becoming one encomienda or parish, however, did not always hold true, due both to the complexity of pre-conquest provincial organization and to post-conquest political accommodation. Two dynastic lineages might have been present within one altepetl, forming a kind of dual organization or moiety. And often pre-conquest altepetl grouped together, forming a larger entity also called altepetl (sometimes modified by *huey*: great, large), yet each constituent altepetl remaining to some extent independent and autonomous within the larger framework of the complex altepetl, each having its own titled ruler, set of subunits, and sense of separate origin. Even so, these constituent altepetl were “bound together so tightly in one large unit that outsiders refer mainly to the larger, not the smaller unit”.⁴ Amecameca, Tlaxcala, and Tulancingo are well-known examples of such complex altepetl.⁵ Coyoacan was also a complex altepetl, made up of four constituent parts, only the aggregate unit being recognized by the Spaniards in the post-conquest period. The Spaniards often ignored or did not recognize each and every tlatoani lineage in moiety arrangements or in double or multi-altepetl formations. In such a case, the Indians largely maintained pre-conquest forms of organization while adapting to the post-conquest context: municipal officeholding and public labor duties, for example, were rotated on the basis of moieties or constituent altepetl.

Coyoacan was an important pre-conquest state in the Tepanec ethnic region that lay to the northwest, west, and southwest of the Valley of Mexico lakes. Tepanec towns with indisputable tlatoani lineages were promptly granted cabecera rank by the Spaniards; Coyoacan was included in this group.⁶ The cabecera of Coyoacan, with its sujetos, was claimed by and officially granted to Cortés in 1529, forming the major part of his Marquesado holdings within the Valley of Mexico. Cortés also claimed the Tepanec town of Tacubaya located to the northwest of Coyoacan and much closer to Mexico City. Tacubaya’s pre-conquest status, and the nature of its relationship to Coyoacan in the pre-conquest period, are not entirely clear. Evidence suggests that it was an independent altepetl. For example, it was listed in the Memorial de los Pueblos as an independent town, and had a history of local rule.⁷ Tacubaya may well have been largely independent of Coyoacan but associated with it in some kind of a dual altepetl formation. Since dual organizations of various kinds were prevalent in central Mexico, a larger dominant altepetl (Coyoacan) in association with a smaller subordinate one (Tacubaya) would not have been unlikely.⁸

Whatever the case, the Spaniards did not recognize a tlatoani in Tacubaya at the time of the conquest, and Cortés and his adversaries feuded as to whether or not Tacubaya was to be designated a cabecera. Cortés’ motive in having Tacubaya declared a cabecera is not wholly clear, but Gibson suggests that if Cortés were able to “establish Tacubaya as a cabecera he might conceivably assign additional sujetos to it and thus increase his holdings”.⁹ Cortés’ interests may have coincided with those of the Indians of Tacubaya, who faced losing their independent status because of the historical circumstance that found them without a recognized tlatoani at the time of the conquest. Indeed, the post-conquest dispute over the status of Tacubaya’s tlatoani lineage may have represented

⁴Susan Schroeder, “Chalco and Sociopolitical Concepts in Chimalpahin: Analysis of the Work of a Seventeenth-Century Nahuatl Historian of Mexico” (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1984), p. 161.

⁵For Amecameca see Schroeder; for Tlaxcala see Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1952); and for Tlaxcala and Tulancingo, see James Lockhart, “Complex Municipalities: Tlaxcala and Tulancingo in the Sixteenth Century,” in this volume.

⁶Gibson, *The Aztecs*, p. 39.

⁷“Memorial de los Pueblos”, in *Espistolario de Nueva España, 1505-1818*, ed. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, 16 vols. (Mexico, 1939-42), vol. 14, p. 118ff; Gibson, *The Aztecs*, pp. 39-41.

⁸Lockhart, “Some Nahua Concepts”, p. 471.

⁹Gibson, *The Aztecs*, p. 39, and p. 477, note 50.

in itself the unfolding of pre-conquest conflicts in which the Indians of Coyoacan had been attempting to take advantage of a disrupted tlatoani lineage in order to incorporate Tacubaya fully into the Cooyoacan jurisdiction. Initially the *audiencia* designated Tacubaya a sujeto of Coyoacan, but in the end Cortés' view prevailed and Tacubaya was granted cabecera status. Thus Cortés' Marquesado holdings in the Valley of Mexico, which were designated a corregimiento for royal administrative purposes, constituted what Gibson has called a "composite encomienda", made up of two altepetl, Coyoacan and Tacubaya, each with its own tlatoani and set of subunits and each representing a separate cabecera-sujeto arrangement.¹⁰

In colonial central Mexico each cabecera with its sujetos was usually designated a parish, and this was the case with the two cabecera-sujeto arrangements in the corregimiento of Coyoacan. The parish of San Juan Bautista Coyoacan was founded in 1528, and the church of the parish of San José Tacubaya built in 1556. Both were Dominican parishes, and the head town of each became the *cabecera de doctrina*, or head town of the parish, from where ecclesiastical matters were administered to the sujetos, or *visitas de doctrina*. In the case of Coyoacan, the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions coincided in the sense that each cabecera with its respective sujetos constituted a parish. There was not a one-to-one relationship, however, between parish and encomienda, as was the pattern elsewhere in central Mexico, because of the special nature and unusual size of Cortés' grant.¹¹

In addition to being designated the head of a parish, other features of a town with cabecera rank included a municipal government fashioned after the Spanish model and a town jail. Although probably built much earlier, the first documentary evidence of a jail in Coyoacan dates from 1553 and in Tacubaya from 1583. The importance attributed to the right to possess a town jail as an expression of independent status is illustrated by a request made by the Indians of Tacubaya in 1583 that the corregidor (highest local Spanish official) of Coyoacan be prohibited from housing wrongdoers from Tacubaya in the Coyoacan jail. Claiming that their own jail was sufficient, and that being held in Coyoacan caused undue hardship, the Indians of Tacubaya requested and obtained an order requiring all wrongdoers from their jurisdiction be held in their own jail.¹²

In 1553, when Oidor Gómez de Santillán made a *visita*, or inspection, to Coyoacan and Tacubaya in order to investigate tribute abuses, each had an organized *cabildo*, or town council.¹³ In Coyoacan with its recognized tlatoani line, the designation of cabecera and sujetos and the formation of the municipal town government posed little problem. In the early post-conquest period the tlatoani was appointed *gobernador*, the highest official on an Indian town council. This position had no counterpart on the Spanish cabildo but was an innovation that took into account the indigenous tradition of a local dynastic ruler. Don Juan de Guzmán Itztollinqui was officially recognized as tlatoani by Cortés in 1526 (after the deaths of his father, who had aided Cortés in the conquest, and of his brother, who had accompanied Cortés to Guatemala), and he served virtually uncontested as

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹¹For the foundation of the parish of San Juan Bautista Coyoacan see Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 101; and for the parish of San José Tacubaya, see Gerhard, *Guide*, p. 101, and Licenciado Antonio Fernández del Castillo, "Tacubaya", in *México en el tiempo: el marco de la capital*, ed. Roberto Olavarria (Mexico City, 1946), p. 193. For the visitas of San Juan Bautista Coyoacan, see Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN), Hospital de Jesús (hereafter HJ) leg. 382, exp. 38, and AGN-HJ, leg. 278, exp. 13, ff. 3r-4r. For the visitas of San José Tacubaya, see AGN-HJ, leg. 382, exp. 39. Several sources discuss Franciscan activities in Coyoacan prior to 1528. See: Gibson, *The Aztecs*, p. 99; Gerhard, *Guide*, p. 101; Federico Gómez de Orozco, "Apuntes para la historia de la Villa de San Angel, D.F.", *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, series 4, 5 (1927-8), p. 476; Manuel Toussaint, *Arte colonial en México*, 2nd. ed. (Mexico City, 1962), p. 50.

¹²An *alcaide de la cárcel* in Coyoacan is mentioned during the inspection of 1553 in *Colección de documentos sobre Coyoacan*, eds. Pedro Carrasco and Jesús Monjarás-Ruiz, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1976 and 1978) vol. 1, p. 75. For the first documented mention of a jail in Tacubaya and the petition made by the Indians of Tacubaya, see AGN-Indios, vol. 2, exp. 81, f. 92r.

¹³For information on the sujetos and town government of Coyoacan and Tacubaya in 1553, see Carrasco and Monjarás-Ruiz, *Colección*, vol. 1. For a detailed and comprehensive study of Indian town government in Morelos, see Robert S. Haskett, "A Social History of Indian Town Government in the Colonial Cuernavaca Jurisdiction, Mexico" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985).

governador of Coyoacan until 1554. During the inspection of 1553 he was accompanied by a full roster of town officials: two *alcaldes*, eight *regidores*, two *mayordomos*, two *contadores*, two *escribanos*, eight *alguaciles*, and one *alcaide de la cárcel*.¹⁴ Although Tacubaya experienced greater difficulty in acquiring cabecera status than Coyoacan, by the time of the inspection of 1553 it was recognized as a cabecera and had an organized town government. The tlatoani don Toribio served as gobernador, and was accompanied by the other members of the Tacubaya town council, including one alcalde, two regidores and seven alguaciles.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the dispute as to Tacubaya's pre-conquest status was still evident. While the break in tlatoani rule in Tacubaya was never explicitly mentioned, don Toribio was questioned during the inspection about his right to the title of local ruler. He stated that his father and grandfather had held the title before him, and that they were descendants of the lords of Azcapotzalco (historically the most important of the Tepanec political centers). Witnesses were also brought forward to confirm his statement.

In Spanish documentation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tacubaya is referred to as the "sujeto" of Coyoacan. Yet by the time of the inspection of 1553 Tacubaya was recognized as a separate cabecera, responsible for the collection and delivery of its own tribute to Marquesado officials. Furthermore, there is no indication that the Coyoacan municipal government interfered in any major way in the internal affairs of Tacubaya, or that the Indians of Tacubaya owed either personal service or tribute to the native officials of Coyoacan.¹⁶ The designation of Tacubaya as a "sujeto" in this context, then, does not refer to an altepetl subunit (calpulli or tlaxilacalli) owing allegiance to a tlatoani lineage. Rather, it represents an administrative subdivision of the corregimiento, Tacubaya serving as a secondary administrative center within the jurisdiction.¹⁷ However, the designation of Tacubaya as "sujeto" in Spanish documentation may still be in part a reflection of indigenous organization, the relationship between the primary and secondary administrative centers of Coyoacan and Tacubaya within the corregimiento resembling the relationship between a dominant altepetl (Coyoacan) and a subordinate one (Tacubaya) in some kind of pre-conquest dual altepetl association.

As previously stated, in pre-conquest and early colonial central Mexico, the subentities forming the altepetl were referred to as calpulli and tlaxilacalli. The precise meaning of these terms and their regional and temporal variations is still not well understood, although tlaxilacalli seems to be the more commonly used term in many areas of colonial central Mexico.¹⁸ In colonial Coyoacan, for example, altepetl subunits were almost exclusively called tlaxilacalli. Both common and noble Indians identified themselves as belonging to a particular tlaxilacalli, invariably stating in testimony its traditional Nahuatl name, Spanish saint's name, or both. In colonial Coyoacan, the term tlaxilacalli covered a wide range of subunits, from rather large important ones to small insignificant ones. Furthermore, tlaxilacalli naming patterns suggest that there were subunits of tlaxilacalli, themselves called tlaxilacalli, and that in addition associations existed between tlaxilacalli

¹⁴Gibson, *The Aztecs*, p. 159; Carrasco and Monjarás-Ruiz, *Colección*, vol. 1, pp. 74-5.

¹⁵Carrasco and Monjarás-Ruiz, *Colección*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 67-73.

¹⁶For tribute collection, see AGN-HJ, leg. 114, exp. 1, ff. 2r-v. For obligations to native officials, see Carrasco and Monjarás-Ruiz, *Colección*, vol. 1. For an analysis of personal service and tribute as recorded in the inspection of 1553, see Emma Pérez-Rocha, *Servicio personal y tributo en Coyoacan: 1551-1553* (Mexico City, 1978).

¹⁷Gibson, *The Aztecs*, p. 68, discusses this same use of sujeto in reference to the three cabeceras in the encomienda of Cuahtitlan.

¹⁸For recent research on the use of the terms calpulli and tlaxilacalli in local-level Nahuatl documents from Culhuacan, see S.L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600. A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque, 1986), pp. 53-8; from Morelos, see Haskett, "A Social History", pp. 495-6; from Molotla, Morelos, see Pedro Carrasco, "The Joint Family in Ancient Mexico: The Case of Molotla", in *Essays on Mexican Kinship*, Hugo G. Nutini, Pedro Carrasco, and James M. Taggart, eds. (Pittsburgh, 1976), pp. 45-64; and from various regions of central Mexico, see Luis Reyes García, "El término calpulli en documentos del siglo XVI", paper presented at the International Congress of Americanists, Vancouver, 1979. For an exhaustive study of sociopolitical terms, including calpulli and tlaxilacalli, in the work of the seventeenth-century historian Chimalpahin, see Schroeder, "Chalco", pp. 173-185.



situated near one another, perhaps in some kind of dual organization similar to that found in colonial Culhuacan.¹⁹

Tacubaya, which was located in the northern region of the corregimiento, was smaller than Coyoacan and had far fewer tlaxilacalli-- approximately thirteen in contrast to Coyoacan's nearly one hundred. Differences between Tacubaya and Coyoacan, however, went beyond size and the number of tlaxilacalli. In organizational terms Coyoacan was much more complex. While Tacubaya served as the civil and ecclesiastical center for its thirteen subunits, the tlaxilacalli of Coyoacan were organized into five distinct groups: Coyoacan, San Agustín de las Cuevas (Tlalpan), Santo Domingo Mixcoac, San Jacinto Tenantitlan (San Angel) and San Pedro Quauhximalpan.²⁰ Of the latter four groups, each had a slightly different relationship to--or extent of independence from--the cabecera of Coyoacan. Over the course of the colonial period, one tlaxilacalli in each of the four groups sharing the name of the group as whole, acquired all or some of the attributes associated with cabecera status.

The pursuit of cabecera status, or more generally the pursuit of independent status, was the expression of a strong sense of local patriotism and separatism among the tlaxilacalli and calpulli of central Mexico. Spanish rule removed some of the incentives which had previously held them together, and it also introduced factors which encouraged separatist tendencies. The concept of hierarchy inherent in the Spanish distinction between cabecera and sujeto in particular brought to the fore the tendency within subunits to seek a more independent status.²¹ Cabecera status initially was granted on the basis of the existence of a pre-conquest tlatoani lineage; with the formation of Spanish-style municipal government the tlatoani usually served as its first gobernador. During the course of the sixteenth century, however, the office of Indian gobernador became increasingly independent of the position of tlatoani. Thus, the original criterion for cabecera status, that is, a pre-conquest tlatoani lineage, was gradually replaced by other attributes attached to cabecera status, the most important being the presence of a cabildo with its own gobernador, a town church, marketplace, and jail.²²

San Agustín de las Cuevas (Tlalpan) was the first sujeto of the cabecera of Coyoacan to attempt and then to acquire cabecera status. Located in the southern area of the Coyoacan jurisdiction, bordered by the jurisdiction of Xochimilco, San Agustín de las Cuevas was initially acquired by Coyoacan from Xochimilco in the 1520's. The court ordered San Agustín de las Cuevas returned to Xochimilco but, at least in part due to the political clout of the Cortés estate, Coyoacan secured it again in the 1540's and it remained within the corregimiento of Coyoacan throughout the rest of the colonial period.²³ In 1591 San Agustín de las Cuevas requested and was granted a *licencia* to build its own jail. In 1592 the officials of Coyoacan complained that its sujeto, San Agustín de las Cuevas, was attempting to elect an *alcalde* of its own. By the early seventeenth century, San Agustín de las Cuevas was electing its own municipal officials in spite of the attempts by the Coyoacan town officials to prevent it. In the municipal elections of 1630, for

¹⁹Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan*, pp. 53-8.

²⁰My information on the constituent parts of Coyoacan and Tacubaya is gleaned from a large number of documentary sources written in both Spanish and Nahuatl.

²¹James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 172-3; Lockhart, "Some Nahuatl Concepts", p. 477; Gibson, *The Aztecs*, pp. 54, 188-190; Stephanie G. Wood presents a detailed discussion of the pursuit of independence by sujetos in the Valley of Toluca, in "Corporate Adjustments in Colonial Mexican Indian Towns: Toluca Region, 1550-1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 4-5, 195-212.

²²Gibson, *The Aztecs*, pp. 54, 167-8, 188-190. Wood, "Corporate Adjustments", discusses in detail the criteria used in the pursuit of pueblo status in the Valley of Toluca.

²³*Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-84), vol. 12, p. 295; and Gibson, *The Aztecs*, pp. 72-3.

example, a full roster of town officials was elected, except perhaps a gobernador, the gobernador of Coyoacan possibly still serving in San Agustín de las Cuevas for that year.²⁴

The importance of ecclesiastical issues in a sujeto's struggle for independence is suggested by the Coyoacan town officials' complaint in 1592 that the people of San Agustín de las Cuevas were holding their own processions locally during Holy Week rather than in Coyoacan as was traditional, and that they were encouraged to do so by the Dominican *religiosos* in residence at the local monastery. The Coyoacan officials requested that these actions be prohibited.²⁵ These protests may have been either aimed at preventing San Agustín de las Cuevas from becoming an independent parish, or in reaction to its actual foundation which occurred when it was designated a *cabecera de doctrina* sometime between 1570 and the end of the sixteenth century.²⁶

In the case of San Agustín de las Cuevas attributes of *cabecera* status were acquired gradually. Construction of a municipal jail and the creation of a parish came first, probably because such actions not only would have attracted less protest than an attempt to elect town officials, but also because thereafter their existence could be used as arguments in favor of *cabecera* status. In the establishment of an independent municipal council the first step seems to have been the election of an *alcalde*, then other town officials, and finally the gobernador. In the Valley of Toluca, a sujeto rarely elected a gobernador prior to legal recognition of independent status.²⁷ If the case in Coyoacan was similar, San Agustín de las Cuevas would have received official recognition sometime before the election of its first gobernador, although it is not known exactly when this occurred. Certainly, by the mid-seventeenth century, San Agustín de las Cuevas was an independent town, functioning as a *cabecera*, with a number of recognized sujetos located nearby and in the hilly hinterland to its south, its overall jurisdiction corresponding to the recently established parish of the same name.²⁸

As the fragmentation of the *cabecera-sujeto* system of town hierarchy, and of the indigenous *altepetl* upon which it was based, continued over the course of the colonial period, the meaning of the term *altepetl* underwent change. A study of Indian municipal government in the colonial jurisdiction of Cuernavaca, for example, demonstrates that "no matter how small or insignificant a place might be, the fact that it elected a town council made it an *altepetl*".²⁹ In early seventeenth-century Nahuatl documents San Agustín de las Cuevas is called *altepetl*.³⁰ Although there is no direct evidence, San Agustín de las Cuevas may have constituted a pre-conquest *altepetl* within the multi-*altepetl* of Xochimilco.³¹ It is also possible that San Agustín de las Cuevas was made up of a cluster of *tlaxilacalli* grouped together during the colonial period by virtue of their separation from Xochimilco and lack of ethnic and historical ties to Coyoacan. The use of the term *altepetl* under these circumstances suggests that its meaning adapted during the colonial period to changes in post-conquest sociopolitical organization. When a sujeto acquired attributes originally associated with a *cabecera* (that is, a gobernador and town council, an independent church, etc.), and received official *cabecera* rank, the newly designated

²⁴AGN-Indios, vol. 6, 2a. parte, exp. 600, ff. 134r-v. For elections of 1630 and 1631, see AGN-HJ, leg. 59, exp. 2, ff. 66r, and leg. 59, exp. 2, ff. 83r-v, respectively.

²⁵AGN-Indios, vol. 6, 2a. parte, exp. 129, ff. 31r-v, and vol. 6, 2a. parte, exp. 600, ff. 134r-v. Wood, "Corporate Adjustments", pp. 188-190, discusses the role of ecclesiastical matters in the pursuit of pueblo status in the Valley of Toluca.

²⁶For the foundation of the parish of San Agustín de las Cuevas, see Fortino Hipólito Vera, *Itinerario parroquial del arzobispado de México y reseña histórica, geográfica y estadística de las parroquias del mismo arzobispado* (Amecameca, 1880), p. 74; and Gerhard, *Guide*, p. 101.

²⁷Wood, "Corporate Adjustments", p. 214.

²⁸For *cabecera de gobierno* (and sujetos) and *cabecera de doctrina* (and visitas), see AGN-HJ, leg. 278, exp. 13, ff. 1r-v, and leg. 382, exp. 37; and Bienes Nacionales (hereafter BN), leg. 912, exp. 30.

²⁹Haskett, "A Social History", p. 85.

³⁰See the election documents cited in note 24 for the use of the term *altepetl* in reference to San Agustín de las Cuevas in the seventeenth century. For the eighteenth century, see AGN-HJ, leg. 55, exp. 15, ff. 8r-v and 14v; and leg. 55, exp. 16, f. 33v.

³¹On Xochimilco, see Gibson, *The Aztecs*, pp. 41-2.

arrangement of the cabecera and its sujetos may have been perceived by its Indian members as the true-- or at least a legitimate--embodiment of the altepetl, and therefore called as such.

By the mid--seventeenth century two other Coyoacan sujetos, Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan (San Angel), enjoyed a status quite distinct from the remaining Coyoacan sujetos, although they were not full civil cabeceras. Both were affected by the ecclesiastical elaboration which began in the Coyoacan area in the late sixteenth century. Santo Domingo Mixcoac, like San Agustín de las Cuevas, was designated a cabecera de doctrina sometime between 1570 and the end of the sixteenth century, and San Jacinto Tenantitlan was so designated in the early seventeenth century. Each parish included visitas located in the immediate vicinity of their respective ecclesiastical centers and in the hilly hinterlands fanning out from the lake shore to the west and southwest of them.³²

The core areas of each parish, that is, those tlaxilacalli which were part of or located relatively near the Spanish- designated ecclesiastical head towns of Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan, constituted distinct entities. While neither had an independent municipal council, both had specific representation on the Coyoacan municipal council. In election documents of 1629, 1630, 1631, and 1632, for example, an *alcalde* and *fiscal* (church official) were specifically elected from each district.³³ The election of an *alcalde*, as discussed in reference to San Agustín de las Cuevas, was often the initial step in the formation of an independent council. Furthermore, in Nahuatl documents from early seventeenth-century Coyoacan, each of these groups of tlaxilacalli is called altepetl.³⁴ Both Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan represented a situation quite distinct from that in San Agustín de las Cuevas in that they had both been part of pre-conquest Coyoacan, and in the early seventeenth century were closely associated with the cabecera of Coyoacan without fully independent municipal councils of their own. The use of the term altepetl in reference to these two districts, therefore, could refer to pre-conquest constituent altepetl within the complex altepetl of Coyoacan. Becoming the core of a parish independent of Coyoacan and having specific representation on the Coyoacan council were then post-conquest expressions of the identity and integrity of pre-conquest entities.

Sometime after the mid-seventeenth century the group of tlaxilacalli constituting the western area of the parish of Santo Domingo Mixcoac broke off from that parish and gained independence from Coyoacan. San Pedro Quauhimalpan became its civil and ecclesiastical cabecera, the surrounding towns constituting its sujetos and visitas. In 1746, and perhaps much earlier, San Pedro Quauhimalpan held municipal elections for a full municipal council, including a gobernador. In election documents from the early and mid-eighteenth century, the district of San Pedro Quauhimalpan is consistently referred to as an altepetl, its component parts as tlaxilacalli.³⁵ The use of altepetl in reference to San Pedro Quauhimalpan is more ambiguous than in the three districts previously discussed. San Pedro Quauhimalpan formed part of pre-conquest Coyoacan, but the references to it as an altepetl date from after it already had a full municipal council with a gobernador (indeed the references are from municipal election documents). Used in this

³²For the creation of the parish of San Agustín de las Cuevas, see note 26. For the parishes of Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan, see Vera, *Itinerario parroquial*, pp. 32 and 53, and Gerhard, *Guide*, p. 101. For their respective visitas, see Santo Domingo Mixcoac - AGN-BN, leg. 912, exp. 11, and AGN-HJ, leg. 382, exp. 38; San Jacinto Tenantitlan (San Angel)--AGN-BN, leg. 912, exp. 13, and AGN-HJ, leg. 382, exp. 38.

³³AGN-HJ, leg. 318, exp. 14, ff. 61r-70r.

³⁴For the use of the term altepetl in reference to Santo Domingo Mixcoac, see AGN-BN, leg. 1453, exp. 12, ff. 181r-195v; for San Jacinto Tenantitlan, see the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, BL 84/116m: 533.

³⁵For municipal elections in San Pedro Quauhimalpan, see AGN-HJ, leg. 51, exp. 1, ff. 8r-9v; leg. 55, exp. 15, ff. 7v, 19v, 21v, and 30v; and leg. 55, exp. 16, ff. 34v-37v. In AGN-HJ, leg. 382, exp. 40 (dated 1807), San Pedro Quauhimalpan is listed as a cabecera de gobierno and de doctrina, its visitas also identified as sujetos. The one exception is Santa Rosa, which was a sujeto of San Pedro Quauhimalpan but a visita in the doctrina of San Jacinto Tenantitlan. I have been unable to find any notice or confirmation of San Pedro Quauhimalpan's cabecera de doctrina status in other documentary or secondary sources.

way altepetl could refer either to a constituent altepetl or to a group of tlaxilacalli which had broken away from the cabecera of Coyoacan and united under the authority of the newly recognized cabecera of San Pedro Quauhximalpan.

The distinct groupings of Coyoacan tlaxilacalli in the colonial period suggest that Coyoacan was a complex pre-conquest altepetl composed of four parts: Coyoacan (representing in itself a sizeable district), Santo Domingo Mixcoac, San Jacinto Tenantitlan, and San Pedro Quauhximalpan. San Agustín de las Cuevas, as discussed earlier, was part of pre-conquest Xochimilco. A complex Coyoacan altepetl, even in the number of its component parts (that is, four), would be perfectly consistent with what is known about other areas of central Mexico. Furthermore, although there is evidence that the meaning of the term altepetl underwent change over the course of the colonial period, its use in the early seventeenth century to refer to Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan (neither of which had full municipal councils or recognized cabecera status), suggests reference to pre-conquest entities. And Coyoacan is also at times called *huey altepetl*, "great, large altepetl", characteristic of complex altepetl elsewhere in central Mexico.³⁶ The internal composition of these four pre-conquest constituent altepetl might account for the grouping of tlaxilacalli in colonial Coyoacan, explaining why certain subunits were associated with Coyoacan, while others were associated with Santo Domingo Mixcoac, San Jacinto Tenantitlan, and San Pedro Quauhximalpan. The pursuit of cabecera status in colonial Coyoacan, therefore, must be viewed as an activity tied to pre-conquest altepetl identity rather than to individual altepetl subunits (that is, calpulli or tlaxilacalli). Each constituent altepetl sought for itself those attributes--that is, a gobernador, municipal council, and church--which in the early colonial period had become the embodiment of municipal pride.

The pace and timing of the pursuit of a more independent status by all five groups of Coyoacan tlaxilacalli can also be explained in both pre- and post-conquest terms. That San Agustín de las Cuevas was the first district to break away from Coyoacan is consistent with the fact that it was the most recently acquired and, therefore, the least integrated into the altepetl of Coyoacan. Furthermore, all, or a significant segment, of the people of San Agustín de las Cuevas and its sujetos, may have been of a different ethnicity than the Tepanec Indians of Coyoacan, since they had been part of the altepetl of Xochimilco prior to their acquisition by Coyoacan and, therefore, of Xochimilca ethnicity. Taking advantage of post-conquest developments, the people of San Agustín de las Cuevas may have been attempting to move toward independent status based on ethnic differences which transcended pre- and post-conquest institutional arrangements.³⁷

Geographical considerations also seem important in San Agustín de las Cuevas' early acquisition of cabecera status, and probably also influenced San Pedro Quauhximalpan's eventual ability to become independent of Coyoacan. Both San Agustín de las Cuevas and San Pedro Quauhximalpan were located largely in the hilly hinterlands on the edge of the corregimiento some distance from the cabecera of Coyoacan. Furthermore, both were located on important trade and transportation routes. San Agustín de las Cuevas was located on the *camino real* which tied Mexico City to Cuernavaca and the southern areas of Mexico including the Pacific coast ports, and San Pedro Quauhximalpan was situated near the camino real which tied Mexico City to the Toluca Valley.³⁸ With the degree of political and economic independence afforded by distance and strategic location, San Agustín de las Cuevas and San Pedro Quauhximalpan may have been able to achieve independence

³⁶AGN-HJ, leg. 55, exp. 15, f. 13v, and exp. 16, f. 36v.

³⁷Gibson, *The Aztecs*, p. 73.

³⁸Bernardo García Martínez, *El Marquesado del Valle: Tres siglos de régimen señorial en Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1969), Map of the Corregimiento de Coyoacan; Gibson, *The Aztecs*, Map 10, "Main roads and canals, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", p. 363. For an example of a sujeto arguing for independence on the grounds that it was located some distance from its cabecera, see *Ibid.*, p. 53. Wood discusses this issue and provides examples from the Valley of Toluca, "Corporate Adjustments", pp. 197-9.

from the Coyoacan cabecera more easily than could the sujetos of Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan, which were located in the heart of the Coyoacan district and on less strategic roads.

While initially sujetos sought and acquired cabecera status for themselves, the cabecera-sujeto arrangement itself underwent modification over time because of its decreasing importance to the colonial economy. In the sixteenth century indigenous organization was vital to the economy as it was the basis for channeling tribute and labor to the Spaniards. As private estates began increasingly to rely on informal labor arrangements without reference to the formal structure of the indigenous polity, towns began to be recognized simply as *pueblos*, and the distinction between cabecera and sujeto largely gave way to the concept of undifferentiated pueblos.³⁹ Under these circumstances, the five groupings of Coyoacan tlaxilacalli were themselves not immune to the tendency for separatism among their own tlaxilacalli. By the mid-seventeenth century, there were already indications that certain tlaxilacalli were moving toward a more independent status. San Andrés Totoltepec and Ajusco, for example, were awarded specific representation (an alcalde each) in the municipal elections of San Agustín de las Cuevas, at virtually the same time that Santo Domingo Mixcoac and San Jacinto Tenantitlan were represented on the Coyoacan council.⁴⁰

The tlaxilacalli of the five districts of colonial Coyoacan were further differentiated by the designations *acohuic*, “upwards”, and *tlalnahuac* (*tlalli*: lan; *nahuac*: next to), “next to the land”. Several examples exist of the explicit use of these terms in the Coyoacan region between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. The first is a statement made by the vicar of the Dominican monastery of Coyoacan to the *visitador*, Oidor Gómez de Santillán, during the inspection of 1553. In describing the way in which the people of Coyoacan were organized in order to work “en la obra de la iglesia”, he stated that Coyoacan was divided into two parts, the first called “Acouya”, “en la parte de poniente”, and the second called “Tlalnahuac”, “en la parte de oriente”. The terms *acohuic* and *tlalnahuac* were also used about 1550 to subdivide land and tax lists pertaining to don Juan de Guzmán, the tlatoani of Coyoacan. Its latest documented use is a municipal election document dated 1632 in which a regidor mayor *tlalnahuac* and a regidor mayor (presumably *acohuic*) are listed among the elected officials.⁴¹

In many areas of colonial central Mexico municipal offices and public labor duties rotated among *altepétl* within a complex *altepétl*. One might reasonably assume, even in the absence of direct evidence, that the same was true for Coyoacan. That the *acohuic* and *tlalnahuac* categories somehow mediated the rotation of municipal offices and the organization of public labor among the constituent *altepétl* is indicated by their use in the organization of church labor and in the designation of *tlalnahuac* and *acohuic* officials on the municipal council. An analysis of those tlaxilacalli designated *acohuic* or *tlalnahuac* for which a location can be determined indicates that the tlaxilacalli of Santo Domingo Mixcoac, San Jacinto Tenantitlan, and San Pedro Quauhxpamalpan were exclusively designated *acohuic*. Coyoacan and San Agustín de las Cuevas, on the other hand, included tlaxilacalli of both designations.⁴²

Scholars have suggested that these terms might designate topographical features, *acohuic* representing the upper region, and *tlalnahuac* representing its lower lying areas. This appears to be the case in other regions in which the term *acohuic* has been used.⁴³ In

³⁹Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, pp. 172-3. In *The Aztecs*, pp. 50-57, 167-8, and 188-90, Gibson discusses a number of factors which modified the town hierarchy of cabecera and sujeto. Wood, “Corporate Adjustments”, presents a detailed study of the transformation of the cabecera-sujeto system of town hierarchy, the formation of pueblos, and the pursuit of pueblo status in the Valley of Toluca.

⁴⁰AGN-HJ, leg. 59, exp. 2, ff. 27r and 83r-v.

⁴¹See Carrasco and Monjarás-Ruiz, *Colección*, vol. 1, p. 147; Arthur J.O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart, *Beyond the Codices* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 149, 159-162; AGN-HJ, leg. 318, exp. 14, f. 69r.

⁴²The location of many but not all tlaxilacalli has been identified. This discussion is, therefore, preliminary.

⁴³Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, *Beyond the Codices*, pp. 148-9.

Coyoacan, however, both hilly and low-lying tlaxilacalli are found under both acohuic and tlalnahuac designations. Santa Cruz Atoyac, located near the edge of Lake Texcoco, and Ajusco, located in the hilly hinterland, for example, are both designated tlalnahuac. Similarly, Santa Catalina Omac in the low-lying area of Coyoacan proper is designated acohuic but so are a number of tlaxilacalli located in the hills southwest of Coyoacan including, for example, San Bartolomé Ameyalco and San Pedro Quauhimalpan.

Another suggestion as to the meaning of the terms acohuic and tlalnahuac proposes that they may distinguish a core area of the altepetl from tlaxilacalli of more recent acquisition.⁴⁴ A preliminary analysis of tlaxilacalli designated either acohuic or tlalnahuac in the five districts of colonial Coyoacan supports this explanation: the acohuic tlaxilacalli for which sites can be identified occupy a more or less “central area”, while the tlalnahuac tlaxilacalli lie on the outskirts of the jurisdiction, in particular along its eastern edge. Making a distinction between a core area and areas of more recent acquisition is quite compatible with the history of territorial acquisitions by Coyoacan in the sixteenth century. Coyoacan engaged in border disputes with both Xochimilco and Huitzilopochco (San Mateo Churubusco) in the early sixteenth century. Backed by the power of the Cortés estate, Coyoacan acquired three sujetos from Huitzilopochco, and acquired San Agustín de las Cuevas (Tlalpan) from Xochimilco, both border disputes being with non-Tepanec peoples, that is, people of a different ethnicity. Although we do not know the names of the sujetos acquired by Coyoacan in these transactions, both acquisitions were in the general area of what we know to be the tlalnahuac tlaxilacalli located on the eastern edge of the Coyoacan jurisdiction.⁴⁵

It is quite possible that in Coyoacan the use of these terms denoted a distinction between a core area of traditional Coyoacan tlaxilacalli of Tepanec ethnicity and more recent acquisitions of non-Tepanec tlaxilacalli. In this case, the use of the term acohuic might mean “upper” in the sense of original or senior, tlalnahuac meaning “lower”, or junior. Although the land acquisitions of which we have knowledge occurred in the post-conquest period, the concept of a division between a core and more recently acquired areas might well have had pre-conquest antecedents. The eastern part of the Coyoacan jurisdiction borders on regions of non-Tepanec peoples, likely adversaries in border disputes. Moreover, this region was much more populous and fertile (and therefore more valuable) than the hilly western portion of the jurisdiction. Thus it would be an attractive area for territorial acquisitions either before or after the conquest.

The persistence of indigenous forms of sociopolitical organization in colonial central Mexico is striking, especially in regions such as Coyoacan which experienced relatively intense Spanish contact and settlement in the early post-conquest period. Relying on indigenous mechanisms for the collection of tribute and the allocation of labor, Spanish rule left intact much of the indigenous sociopolitical organization at the regional level, superimposing Spanish administrative forms upon the indigenous city-state, or altepetl. Altepetl were in many cases organizationally complex, and in many areas of colonial central Mexico the rotation of labor obligations and municipal officeholding were based on moieties and multi-altepetl formations. Coyoacan itself was a complex altepetl in which indigenous distinctions between a core area of Tepanec people and an “outlying” area of ethnically distinct peoples most likely mediated the rotation of labor obligations and municipal officeholding as late as the 1630’s.

Continuing to function in many ways as it had before the conquest, the altepetl was nevertheless transformed as the Indians of central Mexico adopted and adapted Spanish forms of government and Spanish representations of municipal identity. The Spanish-style cabildo and the office of Indian gobernador gradually replaced the presence of a tlatoani

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁵For Xochimilco, see note 23; for Huitzilopochco, see *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Ibero-América*, 14 vols. (Madrid, 1927-32), vol. 1, pp. 177-8; Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505-1818*, vol. 6, p. 117.



line as the basis of independent status, and a gradual fragmentation of the altepetl occurred over the course of the colonial period as altepetl subunits sought and acquired independent status on the basis of these Spanish criteria. The continuing fragmentation of the altepetl was in part, however, an expression of indigenous interests, Indians using Spanish criteria to meet local needs and aspirations. Individual tlaxilacalli had a strong sense of micropatriotism and tendency to separatism. In the sixteenth century the importance of the cabecera-sujeto structure to the colonial economy inhibited this tendency to separatism. But as Spaniards increasingly relied on informal labor arrangement with no reference to the formal structure of the indigenous polity, the desire among tlaxilacalli to separate came to the fore, encouraged in part by the concept of hierarchy inherent in the distinction between cabecera and sujeto as introduced by the Spaniards. In Coyoacan the fragmentation of the altepetl first occurred along the lines of constituent altepetl rather than individual tlaxilacalli, the Indians adopting Spanish criteria for independent status, but instilling them with indigenous meaning, and using them to express the identity and integrity of pre-conquest units.





Robert Haskett*

The Indian Municipality of Cuernavaca in the Colonial Period

The rapid Spanish military victory over the Mexica Empire was only a violent precursor to a much longer administrative conquest of New Spain. Crucial to the formation of a viable colonial state was an effort to reshape indigenous society into an easily controllable form, one that would be compatible with the Spanish system. A corpus of laws and procedures began to take shape during the sixteenth century that would theoretically touch upon every aspect of indigenous life. Many of them called for an intervention into the traditional political organization of the indigenous *altepetl*, the regional states covering much of the central Mexican countryside. In each of the states (as the Spaniards perceived them) an attempt was made to shape the local ruling apparatus into a form closely approximating Iberian municipal councils (*cabildos*). These quasi-Spanish *cabildos* were eventually established in all areas of New Spain, including special jurisdictions such as the Cortés family's Marquesado del Valle, the huge seigniorial estate granted to the conqueror in the early sixteenth century.

One segment of the Cortés domain, the Cuernavaca jurisdiction, is an especially rich field for a study of the effect of conquest and colonialism upon indigenous ruling structures. The *altepetl* of this region were involved in the first wave of attempts to alter indigenous governmental structures. By the end of the sixteenth century all but the smallest towns were led by governing bodies staffed by functionaries bearing an array of Spanish official titles. It seemed as if a fundamental rearrangement, if not a more complete disruption, of pre-conquest jurisdictional alignments had taken place. Yet the Spanish quest for conformity never completely succeeded. The action of decreeing change did not always lead to the desired reaction from the conquered people. Why this was so emerges from the analysis of more mundane sources than imperial legislation. The working documents of community life, above all those written by the Indians themselves, suggest among other things that indigenous *cabildo* organization was markedly different from Old World counterparts. Indigenous input into the formation and evolution of the *cabildos* was a key element in all of this. It meant that instead of being finite bodies of officers, the Indian councils of the Cuernavaca region were broader and much more complex groups of elites who together acted as guardians of corporate interest.¹

Cuernavaca's sixteenth-century *cabildo* was structured by the governing elite themselves so as to directly reflect the villa's pre-Hispanic organization. In a pattern repeated all over central New Spain, Cuernavaca's hereditary *tlatoani* held the office of *gobernador* (chief administrative officer) through the 1540s, after which other high nobles began to hold the position as well. From the start this office, theoretically a Spanish innovation but with no ready Iberian equivalent, was modified so that it was more in keeping with the villa's own ruling traditions. Before the conquest, Cuauhnahuac (the villa's pre-Hispanic name) had been composed of four major districts, perhaps semi-independent *altepetl* in their own

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¹Pedro Carrasco, "The Civil-Religious Hierarchy in Mesoamerican Communities: Pre-Spanish Background and Colonial Development", *American Anthropologist*, 63 (1961), p. 492; and Charles Gibson, "The Aztec Aristocracy in Colonial Mexico", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (1960), pp. 172-173, both discuss the survival of indigenous "councils of elders" following the conquest of Mexico.

right, complete with distinct tlatoani lineages. There was probably some sort of as-yet undiscovered rotation of the rulership among the four parts similar to a system which existed in pre-Hispanic Tlaxcala that allowed power to be shared over time. Such an arrangement is strongly suggested by the fact that each subdivision boasted its own governor once the villa's quasi-Hispanic cabildo had been established. The position of these apparently subordinate governors within the cabildo is not yet understood. In any event, this system disappeared during in the late sixteenth century.² Yet the importance of these subdivisions continued to be reflected in council structure. Officers below the level of governor were specifically attached to these districts, each of which had an *alcalde*, a *regidor*, and several other subordinate officers, a ubiquitous structure that persisted everywhere in the jurisdiction to independence.³

Day-to-day council records illustrate time and again that indigenous perceptions of cabildo organization repeatedly strayed from the narrow path marked out in colonial regulations. In any community, officers of many different types and levels customarily acted together in a variety of matters, and especially in litigation, as rough equals. Past officers and other members of a local group who bore only the titles *huehuetque*, *pipiltin*, or *alepehuaque* (elders, nobles, or town notables) were just as likely to participate in such activities as their elected brethren. Elite women are even known occasionally to have played active if unofficial political roles. Pragmatic Marquesado officers abetted the Indians in the maintenance of this broader operational structure by routinely recognizing the legitimacy of such mixed groups.⁴

In a similarly marked departure from Spanish models, the functions of specific officer types overlapped in ways not envisioned by imperial administrators, further evidence for the essentially indigenous nature of Cuernavaca's cabildos. Gobernadores (chief municipal officers), alcaldes, and regidores had similar administrative duties, were expected to collect and deliver tribute to the proper authorities, and acted as judges, police officers, and functionaries of the local church. On the other hand, officials generally thought to have been attached primarily to the church, such as *fiscales* (chief secular aids to priests), were not only elected members of most cabildos but also acted with their colleagues in purely secular matters.⁵

This functional confluence can be explained, in part, by the fact that membership in the jurisdiction's ruling bodies remained heavily restricted to the end of the colonial period. With some few exceptions, participation was possible for only a recognized, hereditary elite. The ruling groups of most towns ranged from two to fifteen percent of the male tributary population at any time during the colonial period.⁶ Furthermore, elected officials

²Archivo General de la Nación, México, Hospital de Jesús (hereafter AGN-HJ), leg. 208, exp. 9. For additional information on Cuernavaca's early cabildo structure see Silvio Zavala, *Tributos y servicios personales de indios para Hernán Cortés y su familia: extracto de documentos del siglo XVI* (Mexico City, 1984), pp. 85-108, 145-196, and 199-206; James Lockhart, Frances Berdan, and Arthur J.O. Anderson, *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala, 1545-1627* (Salt Lake City, 1986), discuss Tlaxcala's early cabildo organization.

³Cuernavaca's political organization can be recreated by using information found in the expedientes comprising AGN-HJ, vols. 9, 52, and 86, and legs. 51, 59, 106, 115, 329, 347, 421, and 427; the structural evolution of the cabildos of such municipalities as Tepoztlán, Yecapixtla, Tlaltizapán, and several others are discussed in Robert Haskett, "A Social History of Indian Town Government in the Colonial Cuernavaca Jurisdiction, Mexico" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), Chapter 2.

⁴This is a summary of Chapters 5 and 6 of Haskett, "A Social History of Indian Town Government". Data comes from Nahuatl-language municipal records and the copious body of litigation preserved in the ramos Civil, Hospital de Jesús, Indios, Tierras, and Tributos of Archivo General de la Nación, México.

⁵Woodrow Borah, "Population Decline and the Social and Institutional Changes of New Spain in the Middle Decades of the Sixteenth Century", *Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanisten Kongresses, Wien* (1962), pp. 172-178; Edward Calnek, "Tenochtitlan in the Early Colonial Period", *Proceedings of the XLVII International Congress of Americanists, Paris*, (1979), pp. 35-38; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, 1964), p. 153; Delfina Esmeralda López Sarrelangue, *La Nobleza indígena de Pátzcuaro en la época virreynal* (Mexico City, 1965), p. 160; Alejandra Moreno Toscano, *Geografía económica de México [siglo XVI]* (Mexico City, 1968) p. 66; and Joseph Whitecotton, *The Zapotecs: Princes, Priests, and Peasants* (Norman, 1977), p. 187, have all identified such a simplification in the areas of New Spain covered by their work.

⁶This compilation is based on a comparison of voter lists from the jurisdiction's Nahuatl and Spanish election records with population figures from census summaries periodically produced by the Marquesado. The ramo AGN HJ is the primary repository of such documents.

and “councils of elders” made up of individuals known as huehuetque were not distinct units, but rather two parts of the same whole. Officers rotated in and out of this pool, giving a past official as much knowledge and authority as another currently in power. Council members who had initiated litigation one year tended to follow it to its conclusion regardless of their momentary electoral status. Cabildo veterans who happened to be out of office for the year probably still had more credibility than inexperienced officers serving for the first time.

But the ruling group’s apparently egalitarian internal structure should not be overemphasized. It is not evidence that indigenous society had been simplified by conquest and demographic disaster.⁷ When the group activities of councils in litigation are examined more closely, for example, it becomes clear that only a few individuals, generally those filling the upper range of political office or coming from families of the highest elite, were in control. Overlap in officer function aside, it soon becomes obvious that certain functionaries possessed greater authority and pursued a broader set of duties than others, and that officials in the lower reaches of a cabildo carried out a much narrower range of functions than those above them. All of this indicates that the jurisdiction’s ruling bodies were hierarchically organized and internally stratified, and continued to be so to the end of the colonial period.⁸

Career patterns

Officer career patterns echoed the ruling group’s internal stratification. The survival of pre-Hispanic notions of what constituted suitable official employment for elites allowed some people to begin their careers in relatively low-level posts with no loss of social status and then move on to ever higher positions.⁹ But such symmetrical career ladders were the exception rather than the rule in the Cuernavaca region. For present purposes, the career paths followed by a majority of the ruling group can be organized into three major categories.

At the top were those who never held anything but the highest municipal office, the governorship, and sometimes did so for long periods of time. Repetition in office seems to have been especially common in the seventeenth century, if not before, as much a result of the depressed demographic situation as a survival of pre-conquest dynastic traditions. Governors were constantly re-elected in seventeenth-century Oaxtepec, Tepoztlán, Yecapixtla, and other pueblos and villas of the jurisdiction.¹⁰

Data are most complete for Cuernavaca itself. A man named don Toribio de San Martín Cortés was habitually governor of the villa in the late sixteenth century.¹¹ For the period between 1629 and 1650 as few as five people dominated the governorship, two of them members of the Hinojosa family. Similarly, the governor for 19 of the 27 years between 1670 and 1697 was don Antonio de Hinojosa, and only four other individuals are known to have held the post for short terms during the period.¹² At this time Cuernavaca’s

⁷Pedro Carrasco, “La transformación de la cultura indígena durante la colonia”, *Historia Mexicana*, 25 (1975), p. 180; Nancy Farris, “Indians in Colonial Yucatan: Three Perspectives”, in *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica*, Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom, eds. (Lincoln, 1983), pp. 29-32; José Miranda, “Importancia de los cambios experimentados por los pueblos indígenas desde la conquista”, *Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanisten Kongresses, Wien*, (1962), pp. 147-152; and John Tutino, “Provincial Spaniards, Indian Towns, and Haciendas: Interrelated Agrarian Sectors in the Valleys of Mexico and Toluca, 1750-1810”, in *Provinces of Early Mexico*, James Lockhart and Ida Altman, eds. (Los Angeles, 1976), p. 182, all comment on the persistence of a recognizable indigenous ruling group following the conquest.

⁸Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson, *Tlaxcalan Actas*, identify similar career patterns and the “broadly defined”, intrinsically indigenous nature of officer-function in mid-sixteenth-century Tlaxcala. Carrasco, “Civil- Religious Hierarchy”, pp. 485-487, discusses a pre-Hispanic career “ladder” and officer hierarchies.

⁹AGN-HJ, vol. 49, exs. 11, 12, and 13 (Oaxtepec, don Matías de la Cruz, 1671-93); vol. 49, exs. 11 and 13, vol. 86, exp. 50, leg. 312, exp. 9; AGN-Tierras, vol. 1714, exp. 8 (Tepoztlán, don Jacinto de Rojas, 1671-1705, and don Bernardino de Rojas, 1689-99); and AGN-HJ, vol. 49, exs. 3 and 11 (Yecapixtla, don Lucas Bautista, 1671-92).

¹⁰AGN-HJ, vol. 52, exp. 8; AGN-HJ, leg. 312, exp. 20, and leg. 387, exp. 37; and Zavala, *Tributos y servicios personales*, pp. 145-205.

¹¹See AGN-Tributos, vol. 52, exp. 17.

¹²Don Josef Gaspar Díaz (1719-1720, 1722-1724, 1728), don Antonio de Hinojosa II (1729-1730), don Melchor de Hinojosa (1714-1716), don Matías de Santiago (1740, 1748, 1751), don Nicolás Pedro de Santiago (1735, 1738), and don Francisco de Santiago (possibly two individuals-1734, 1739, 1744, 1746, 1754-1755).



pool of potential officers stood at 40 people, or two percent of the male tributary population. The office of governor was therefore monopolized by a mere 13 percent of the ruling group, or a minuscule .02 percent of the tributary population.

The situation changed only slightly during the eighteenth century. Certain people continued to serve exclusively in the post of governor and some individuals held the post frequently, though extended contiguous terms became rarer. The reasons for this change are not entirely clear, but the demographic increase during this century probably meant that there were more people eligible for the job, and that greater competition for the office of governor led to a slightly more frequent rotation in and out of office. This is not to say that eligibility for the post was broadened or that it became the preserve of more than just a select few. Between 1710 and 1757 the Cuernavaca governorship was held by at most 15 people, six of whom served multiple terms of office.¹³ During the same period the governorship of other towns, such as Yautepec, was still dominated by as few as one percent of the male tributary population.¹⁴

Systematic data available from 1772 to 1811 include the names of all gubernatorial candidates for many different towns. In Cuernavaca, for example, 32 different people aspired to the office, but only 15 of them actually served as governor. Typically, of these five held the office for more than one term.¹⁵ Though governors tended to hold office in a more episodic pattern during the eighteenth century and more people could hope to achieve this rank than before, it remained a highly restricted position unavailable to most members of the ruling group.

Some of those who reached the rank of governor had served in a lower office at a prior date (see List 1), and these people represent the second level in the ruling group's internal hierarchy. Some had worked their way up through the ranks, the governorship representing the peak of their career, but this was not always the case. Many officers, including several in the sample presented here, actually filled lesser offices after completing their terms as governor.¹⁶ Others held a lower office in the midst of a successful gubernatorial career. There was a certain tendency for governors to have served also as *fiscales*, the principal post connected with the church-related arm of a *cabildo*, and a similar relationship existed between the offices of governor and *juez* in Cuernavaca itself (the office of *juez* was second to the governor in the villa). It is highly significant that all of the offices held by these governors tended to be on the higher levels of the council—it was rare to find someone who had been a *mayordomo* later attain the governorship.

It should be obvious by now that a large majority of any town's ruling group never attained the governorship. List 2 provides examples of such careers, which can be assigned to the third and lowest level of the ruling elite. Yet it is possible to subdivide this group in turn. Some people seem to have held

List 1: Sample Careers--Officers who Attained the Rank of Governor

don Mateo de la Cruz, Tetecala	Alcalde, 1712 Governor, 1715
don Juan Esteban, Yautepec	Regidor mayor, 1628-29 Governor, 1632

¹³See Yautepec's Nahuatl- and Spanish-language election records in AGN-HJ, vols. 8, 9, and 69, and legs. 59, 115, 345, and 373.

¹⁴See, for example, the career of don Dionisio José Atliyac, governor in 1784, 1793, 1795-1799, 1801-1805, and 1807, AGN-HJ, vol. 82, exp. 17, leg. 55, exp. 1, leg. 309, exp. 5, leg. 356, exp. 5, and leg. 427, exp. 37.

¹⁵This was also true in Tlaxcala; see Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson, *Tlaxcalan Actas*.

¹⁶For a discussion of election disputes in general and this aspect of them in particular, see Haskett, "A Social History of Indian Town Government", Chapter 4.

don Juan Francisco, Tezoyuca	Fiscal, 1642 Governor, 1643, 1644 Alcalde, 1646
don Domingo Gabriel, Tepoztlán	Alcalde, 1716, 1725, and many other times Governor, 1740 Fiscal 1746
don Bonifacio José, Mazatepec	Alcalde, 1798+
don Hipólito Méndez, Cuernavaca	Governor, 1800-04, 1806, 1809 Juez, 1710-11, 1714-16
don Francisco de Rojas, Tepoztlán	Governor, 1718 Governor, 1723, 1737-39, 1742, 1745, 1747, 1751-52 Alcalde, 1735, 1765
don Francisco de Santiago, Cuernavaca	Alcalde, prior to 1734 Juez, prior to 1734 Governor, 1734 Fiscal, 1751
don Lázaro Díaz de Santiago, Cuernavaca	Fiscal, 1630 Governor, 1638, 1640, 1643

+ Had been one of three candidates for governor.

Source: Various volumes, legajos, and expedientes in AGN Civil, Criminal, HJ, Indios, Tierras, and Tributos.

List 2: Sample Careers--Officers who did not attain the Rank of Governor

don Luciano Antonio, Yecapixtla	Alguacil mayor, 1795 Notary, 1801 Alcalde, 1804 Regidor, 1806
Nicolás Antonio, Cuernavaca	Mayordomo, 1739 Regidor, 1745
don José Antonio Atenco, Tlaltizapán	Mayordomo, 1798, 1802
José Guillermo de la Cruz, Tlaltizapán	Notary, 1773-74, 1794-95
don Josef de la Cruz, Yecapixtla	Regidor, 1772-73, 1777
Tomás Enriquez, Huacalco	Alcalde, 1748 and “one other time” Regidor mayor, prior to 1748 Topile, “many time” prior to 1748
Francisco Gómez, Cuernavaca	Alcalde, 1647 Juez, 1648
don Francisco Ortiz, Tepoztlán	Alcalde, 1711, 1725
don Miguel Osorio, Yautepec	Alcalde, 1728-29, 1731-32
don Andrés Antonio de Rojas, Tepoztlán	Notary, 1740, 1747, 1759, 1772-75, 1777-80, 1782+

Juan de San Pedro,
Cuernavaca

Regidor, unspecified date
Alcalde, 1673
Regidor, 1672

+ Long career verified by handwriting analysis.

Source: Various volumes, legajos, and expedientes in AGN Civil, HJ, and Tributos.

offices exclusively in the upper reaches of the political hierarchy even though they never became governors, while others began at the lowest officer levels and advanced to a relatively high rank over time. Still others did not follow such a symmetrical career pattern at all, filling lower- and higher-level positions in rotation. Finally, there were those who never rose above the lowest levels of office. At any rank, there were many individuals who specialized in one type of office in the same way that certain members of the ruling group served only in the office of governor.

There was some room for mobility between the ruling group's various strata, but rankings tended to be restricted and difficult to penetrate. There was no significant trend towards a weakening of such distinctions as the colonial period progressed. A given individual's relative social status was an important determinant of his access to certain levels of the political hierarchy, a subject which deserves some discussion in its own right.

Social status

Social position was always an important consideration with respect to cabildo service and membership in the ruling group. The documentary record indicates that the status and genealogy of gubernatorial candidates, at least, were hotly debated in election disputes.¹⁷ The social ranking which has received the most scholarly attention is that of *cacique*, an Arawakan word for leader (*Kassiquan*-to have or maintain a house) adopted by the Spaniards during the very early Caribbean phase of settlement and thereafter applied to the *tlatoque* (rulers) and other high nobles of central New Spain.¹⁸ In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries people called caciques held the governorship in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction with great frequency. As elsewhere, caciques gradually found that they had to share power with other powerful nobles, but even so men with the title cacique or *caciques y principales*, a common variant, continued to assume office through the eighteenth century.¹⁹ A liberalization of the title, which could conceivably have been accorded to all officers above a certain rank and social station rather than hereditary caciques alone, may be at work here. As a rule, though, caciques did not serve in low-level offices, most of them filling the governorship at some point in their careers. Below the governor level there were far fewer men in office bearing these titles. Alcaldes or similar officers tended to be called "principales", while regidores and lesser officers were never identified as caciques.

Another way to approach the question of social status is by examining the use of the title "don". The use of don was highly restricted in colonial New Spain, as it was in Old Spain during the same time period. A Spaniard sporting the title was a person of distinction, a rule also applied to indigenous society. In general, only those of tlatoani, *tecuhli* (lord), or

¹⁷Women of a similar rank were called *cacicas*. They could not, however, vote or hold political office. See Ricardo Alegría, "Origin and Diffusion of the Term 'Cacique'", *Acculturation in the Americas: Proceedings and Selected Papers of the 29th International Congress of Americanists* (1952), p. 313.

¹⁸Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Formas de gobierno indígena* (Mexico City, 1953), p. 37; Woodrow Borah, "The Spanish and Indian Law: New Spain", in *The Incan and Aztec States, 1400-1800*, George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, eds. (New York, 1982), pp. 268-269; Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 154-156, 167-168; and Ronald Spores, *The Mixtec Kings and Their People* (Norman, 1967), pp. 111-112, have identified such a reduction.

¹⁹See Aguirre Beltrán, *Formas de gobierno*, p. 36; Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson, *Tlaxcalan Actas*.

pilli (noble) status could rightfully use *don* before their names, and although its use broadened over time, it remained a designation of consequence through the early nineteenth century.²⁰ When the available data for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are compiled (the data for the sixteenth, late eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries are too sparse to be of much use), a suggestive pattern emerges.²¹ Nearly all governors were *dots*, but *alcaldes* were less apt to be. Officers of the *regidor* class or lower almost never had the title preceding their names.

At times, people who moved up through the political ranks were accorded the honorific *don* when they had achieved a certain official level.²² For example, Antonio Cayetano, *regidor* for Cuernavaca's San Miguel district in 1740 and 1744, became *don* Antonio Cayetano when elected as San Miguel's *alcalde* in 1746.²³

Even the powerful *don* Antonio de Hinojosa, who served as governor through most of the final decades of the seventeenth century, did not sign his name with a *don* until he achieved the position (and perhaps not coincidentally entered his thirties) in 1670.²⁴ Though the honorific once achieved was usually retained forever, there were instances in which the title seems to have appertained to the office and not the person. Diego Antonio, *regidor* of Cuernavaca's San Pedro district in 1738, became *don* Diego Antonio when he was elected the district's *alcalde* in 1744. When the same man became San Pedro's *alguacil mayor* in 1746, however, his name no longer included the honorific.²⁵

The use of *don* reflected almost exactly the internal stratification of the jurisdiction's ruling group. Those of sufficient status to fill the higher *cabildo* ranks possessed the honorific as a matter of course or achieved the title by reasons of seniority or advancement. Some individuals who did not have a strong social claim to the title might use it if they reached a *cabildo*'s lower official reaches. The majority of the jurisdiction's officers did not use *don* at all even though they were members of an elite with respect to the rest of society. A few of these men may have been ambitious *macehualtin* (commoners), and there is a chance that some *dots* may have sprung from commoner families. This is almost impossible to document, however, and there is every indication that it would have been an exceptional occurrence. Even if the entry of commoners into the ruling group did take place, it did not dilute this body nor did it lead to the disappearance of an independent indigenous nobility, as suggested by some scholars.²⁶ In the first place, there was a pre-Hispanic precedent for the ennoblement of able commoners, such figures sometimes acting as ruler. In the second place, any *macehualli* who succeeded in gaining membership in the colonial-period indigenous elite ceased to be a commoner in any real sense.

The available social data for the jurisdiction support and at least partially explain the pattern of stratification suggested by officer careers. Below the level of the *dots*, *caciques*, and *caciques y principales* who served exclusively in the governorship, officers such as those appearing on List 1 were probably from families of lesser stature who depended more heavily on their personal ability and political connections in the quest for the highest *cabildo* office. In addition, an "apprenticeship" system in which younger members of a

²⁰Data was gleaned from a wide variety of Nahuatl and Spanish documentation, notably witness testimony and electoral records, found primarily in the ramos Civil, Hospital de Jesús, Tierras, and Tributos. Sources are far too numerous to list individually.

²¹Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson, *Tlaxcalan Actas*, have discovered a similar pattern in sixteenth-century Tlaxcala.

²²AGN-HJ, leg. 59, exps. 3, 9, 10, and 11, which include data for Pascual de la Cruz, a *regidor* of the San Pedro district who became *don* Pascual de la Cruz upon attaining the post of *alcalde* in 1745.

²³AGN-Tributos, vol. 52, exp. 17.

²⁴AGN-HJ, leg. 59, exps. 3, 4, and 10.

²⁵Carrasco, "Civil-Religious Hierarchy", p. 493; Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 153; Moreno Toscano, *Geografía económica*, p. 66; Whitecotton, *Zapotecs*, p. 187.

²⁶Pedro Carrasco, "Royal Marriages in Ancient Mexico", *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, H.R. Harvey and Hanns J. Prem, eds. (Albuquerque, 1984), pp. 43, 45-54. This article is an excellent study of the topic of dynastic marriage in the late pre-Hispanic era. Ronald Spores, *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times* (Norman, 1984), p. 109, finds that *principales* in colonial Mixtecan Oaxaca tended to marry within their class.

higher-stratum family cut their teeth in lesser offices could have been in operation. Individuals such as those on List 2 who never rose above certain positions were members of minor elite families of various ranks who were nonetheless full members of the ruling group in a larger sense.

Marriage, family and compadrazgo

The social status of an individual was of course inseparable from that of the family. Marriage and family had been politically important institutions during the pre-Hispanic era. Certain families had a tradition of officeholding, and it had been common for marital alliances to be formed between various dynasties and noble lineages. The coupling of families of unequal status also took place, usually to the benefit of both parties when one partner possessed position and the other drive and ability.²⁷ On a more basic level, marriage had marked a man or woman's entry into adult society, and a citizen's "reputation...depended largely upon the decency of his family life and the care with which he brought up his children".²⁸ The Christian Spaniards held identical beliefs, and these were regularly inculcated among the indigenous population by the Church. There is some evidence that marriage remained a prerequisite for public service: the bachelorhood of one of Cuernavaca's eighteenth-century governors, don Melchor de Hinojosa, was used against him during an election dispute when his opponents suggested that this was one reason for the governor's ineligibility to rule.²⁹ For the most part, married officers were the norm and bachelors the exception in the colonial Cuernavaca jurisdiction.

The region's patterns of familial officeholding and marital alliance had much in common with pre-conquest strategies. Membership in families of a certain position within a town's differentiated ruling-class society helped determine an individual officer's access to certain political posts and levels of the cabildo hierarchy. Single families often provided incumbents for the same council posts over long periods of time. The tendency for Hinojosa males to hold Cuernavaca's governorship has already been discussed, but the same situation existed in most of the jurisdiction's towns regardless of size. For example, the brothers don Francisco Juan and don Marcos Juan both served as governors of Guaxintlán, the latter in 1733 and the former in 1740. In the Yautepec of the 1770s and 1780s, don Felipe de Alva and don Alberto de Alva, father and son, both held the office of governor. Families of the lesser elite often supplied their pueblos with officers of suitable lower status. It is doubtful that the offspring of petty officials could hope to move above their socially defined station unless they could overcome their family's status through alliances made with more powerful individuals.³⁰

Patterns of intermarriage not only traced lines of stratification, but more importantly served to bind the ruling group together. Domination of the upper political strata was strengthened by the tendency for powerful elite families to intermarry, forming alliances which sometimes had the flavor of pre-Hispanic dynastic strategies. Cuernavaca's don Antonio de Hinojosa, for example, married a cacica who was the descendant of a Texcocan cacique family. Marital alliance sometimes brought people of disparate position together for the benefit of both parties much as it had before the conquest, fostered the formation of political factions, and occasionally reflected the existence of ongoing political rivalries. Another Hinojosa marriage, that of doña María de Hinojosa (one of don Antonio's daughters) to the sometime governor don Josef Gaspar Díaz in the early

²⁷Soustelle, *Daily Life*, p. 187.

²⁸AGN-Criminal, vol. 39, exp. 26, Cuernavaca, 1716.

²⁹AGN-HJ, leg. 344, exp. 5, Guaxintlán; and AGN-HJ, vol. 82, exps. 10 and 14, Yautepec. See also AGN-Civil, vol. 118, exp. 5, 1711-12; AGN-HJ, leg. 208, exp. 9 and leg. 344, exp. 17, 1720s; and AGN-HJ, leg. 74, exp. 72 and leg. 78, exp. 15, 1750s, for evidence of families of Tepoztlán which habitually provided the villa with town officers.

³⁰AGN-Tributos, vol. 52, exp. 17.

eighteenth century, was an apparent attempt to end the political rivalry that had plagued the two families for over one hundred years.³¹ But this marital alliance was an abject failure, and the resulting domestic discord merely fueled the families' traditional rivalry. But other marriages were more successful than this, so much so that the jurisdiction's various ruling groups were closely knit together by familial relationship and the bonds of marriage.

A related quasi-familial tie was based on the Spanish institution of *compadrazgo* (co-godparenthood), an essential element in the sacraments of baptism and marriage in colonial New Spain, quickly adopted by the indigenous population. There actually seems to have been some pre-Hispanic precedent for this Christian institution. Francisco López de Gómara, in describing the marriage rites of the Mexica, mentions people "like godparents" who sponsored and aided a bride during the ceremony.³² For the jurisdiction's ruling group *compadrazgo* served as another important strand in the web of interlocking socio-political relationships. Entries in surviving baptismal records from seventeenth-century Cuernavaca show that many of the villa's rulers entered into this relationship with one another. In 1632, Cuernavaca's sometime governor don Lázaro Díaz de Santiago became godfather for the son of a cacique and former governor. In 1633, other nobles sponsored don Lázaro's son, Blas.³³ Tepoztlán's political alliances were customarily cemented with *compadrazgo* in the eighteenth century. The villa's governor of 1712 was related in this way to the most powerful member of the ruling group at the time, and several important allies of governors belonging to the influential Rojas family were described as "compadres de bautismo".³⁴ These officers used the personal obligation and tie of godparenthood to cement political alliances and ensure loyalty within the ruling group.

The institution could also be used to bind individuals from lower levels of society to those of higher ones. A former governor of Pazulco, for instance, became godfather to the children of commoners in the 1690s. The Hinojosas of Cuernavaca were perhaps the quintessential godparenting elite family, acting as *compadres* and *comadres* for the offspring of numerous *macehualtin* in the seventeenth century.³⁵ Members of the ruling elite became the godparents of commoners as a kind of duty which included many potential personal and financial obligations. Such actions must have been encouraged by Spaniards imbued with similar European traditions. The obligations of *compadrazgo* were not all on one side, however, and the commoners thus favored were bound to their rulers by sacrosanct quasi-familial ties that reinforced subordinate position. Elite godparenting was a favor repaid by commoners with loyalty, service, and the acknowledgement of the status quo. The institution was an integral part of a town's political and social structure, of immeasurable help in maintaining its physical cohesion.

Spanish godparenting of the indigenous ruling group's children operated in much the same fashion.³⁶ Again, records concerning the Hinojosa family provide the best examples of such relationships. The children of the governor don Antonio de Hinojosa and the cacica doña Felipa de Haro, his wife, tended to have godparents who were influential members of the local Spanish community. One daughter, for instance, was sponsored by one of the jurisdiction's *alcaldes mayores*. Several other children had Spanish godparents who sported the titles *don* and *doña* and were clearly members of the cream of local Hispanic society. The villa's political record demonstrates that the Hinojosas often

³¹AGN-Civil, vol. 1627, exp. 2. Don Josef was a rival of don Melchor de Hinojosa in 1716, AGN-Criminal, vol. 39, exp. 26, and a second don Antonio de Hinojosa in 1730, AGN-HJ, leg. 59, exp. 17.

³²Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las indias* (Barcelona, 1966), vol. 2, p. 401.

³³Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter GSU), microfilm, roll 659054. Nahuatl baptismal records of the Cuernavaca parish, 1600-1640; AGN-Civil, vol. 1118, exp. 5, Tepoztlán, 1712; and AGN-HJ, vol. 75, exp. 6, leg. 74, exp. 72, and leg. 78, exp. 15, Rojas and allies, Tepoztlán, 1759.

³⁴AGN-HJ, vol. 72, exp. 19.

³⁵All godparenting information for the Hinojosa family was found among Nahuatl and Spanish baptismal records from the GSU, microfilm, rolls 659054 and 659063, Cuernavaca parish, 1600-1700.

³⁶Cheryl E. Martin, "Demographic Trends in Eighteenth-Century Morelos" (unpublished ms., 1983), p. 12.

benefited from the influence of friendly Spanish officers and citizens. The *compadrazgo* relationship with such people was certainly an important ingredient in these political connections. In return, the Hinojosas were staunch supporters of the colonial system.

Age and ethnicity

Age, which might also be thought to reflect an individual's standing in the political hierarchy, actually seems to have had relatively little to do with ranking. Throughout the colonial period officers on all levels in every town reportedly ranged from 20 to 100 years old, but caution must be exercised when dealing with any age information appearing in the documentary record. Most data are found in witness testimony in which informants tended to give their ages in round figures or in increments of five; it was extremely rare for anyone to say he was 39 years old, for example. Some had no idea of their own age, in which case Spanish witnesses recorded that the person "is [40] by the look of him". For the most part, ages over 70 can probably be translated merely as "old", though there is some evidence of officers still serving when they had reached quite advanced years. A don Francisco de Rojas of Tepoztlán, for example, was still holding the governorship when he was well over 70.

Such longevity was probably exceptional in colonial New Spain, one study calculating that in the eighteenth century only around seven percent of the indigenous population was over fifty years of age.³⁷ In the Cuernavaca jurisdiction, the normal age spread for officers of all types was between 30 and 50 or 55 years of age. There does not seem to have been any rigid ranking by age within any of the jurisdiction's local ruling groups, nor was there an identifiable seniority system in which an officer gained ever-higher ranks as he matured. It was not unusual to find *regidores*, *alcaldes*, and even an occasional governor, as well as lesser officers, who claimed to be less than 30. Social status, rather than seniority or age, allowed 50-year-old *topileque* to serve under 30-year-old *alcaldes*. In other words, though in most cases an individual would have to reach 30 before active council service could begin, beyond this general constraint age was not apparently a major force shaping the indigenous political hierarchy.

Ethnicity, too, had a limited impact on the ranking of an individual in the ruling group's social and political hierarchy. The majority were ethnically Indian through the early nineteenth century. *Mestizos*, *castizos*, and sometimes Spaniards, however, assumed office in the jurisdiction's *cabildos* despite repeated laws to the contrary. Many families of the highest elite, such as the Hinojosa of Cuernavaca, were biologically *mestizo* by the early seventeenth century.³⁸ Though much was made of their mixed heritage during disputes, few people were ever removed from office for this reason, nor were they barred in practice from the highest political offices. In general, persons of mixed background with the proper ancestry, connections, or exceptional ability were favored despite the accident of their birth.

Language and literacy

Aside from the highest elite (notably the *caciques* and *naborías* (personal dependents, essentially removed from the Indian world), New Spain's indigenous population never became thoroughly Spanish-speaking. This is obvious from the persistent need of interpreters when Spaniards and Indians dealt with one another, the huge corpus of native-language

³⁷Gibson, *Aztecs*, 144.

³⁸Similar trends in other parts of New Spain are identified by Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 144, 163, 177; Jonathan Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 61-65; Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967), pp. 43-46; Magnus Mörner and Charles Gibson, "Diego Muñoz Camargo and the Segregation Policy of the Spanish Crown", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 42 (1962), pp. 561-562; Spores, *Mixtec Kings*, pp. 114-115; David Szweczyk, "New Elements in the Society of Tlaxcala", in *Provinces of Early Mexico*, James Lockhart and Ida Altman, eds. (Los Angeles, 1976), p. 141; and Tutino, "Provincial Spaniards", p. 183.

documents dating from the years immediately following the conquest and extending well into the eighteenth century, and examples of civil documents and religious works written in indigenous tongues by Spaniards for dissemination in the countryside.³⁹ In some parts of central New Spain, however, there seems to have been a trend towards a growing number of *ladinos* (Indians able to speak Spanish) by the late seventeenth century. This is not demonstrated by a lessening need to use interpreters, but rather by witnesses who admitted to ladino status yet used interpreters anyway.⁴⁰

But in the Cuernavaca region, and perhaps elsewhere, the presence or lack of an interpreter cannot always be equated with bilinguality of witnesses. Interpreters were used whenever possible because testimony taken from Indians without such assistance could be challenged. Further, the extent to which people were really bilingual when they were called *ladinos* is questionable. They may have been able to carry out a certain amount of business in halting Spanish, but when giving testimony or swearing out important legal instruments they used Nahuatl, the language in which they could express themselves most easily and clearly, with the least chance of having their statements challenged at a later date. Detailed information drawn from a wide variety of documentary sources is more enlightening, and shows that a vast majority of the jurisdiction's ruling group was unable to speak Spanish even in the later eighteenth century. As might be expected, there was a slight tendency for officers serving on *cabildos* in the jurisdiction's larger towns, with significant Hispanic populations, to be *ladinos*. Governors, especially those of larger towns, were far more likely to be *ladinos* than any other officer type, with *alcaldes* the only other body of officials with any significant number of Spanish-speaking members.

Literacy was tied to social and political status in a similar fashion. In pre-Hispanic times, those filling governmental posts were expected to be well educated. Members of the nobility received rigorous instruction at the hands of indigenous priests at the local *cabmecac* (school for the upper classes), including instruction in law, statecraft, reading, writing, divination, chronology, poetry, and rhetoric.⁴¹ In a sense this tradition was carried on following the conquest by those who attempted to teach the younger members of the indigenous nobility Christianity as well as the reading and writing of Spanish.⁴² But despite this tradition and the Spanish effort to educate them, very few members of New Spain's indigenous elite were actually able to read and write either their own or the intrusive language.⁴³

Literacy is discernible primarily through the analysis of signatures. Individuals with shaky or indistinct hands were probably not actually able to read and write with any facility, while those unable to sign their names at all were definitely illiterate. Truly literate members of the jurisdiction's ruling group included notaries (who were usually literate only in Nahuatl until the mid-eighteenth century) and a few of the high elite.⁴⁴ Officers from the jurisdiction's larger towns (primarily those which had the highest non-Indian populations) were more likely to be literate (in Nahuatl, at least) than those from the many smaller *pueblos de indios*. This distinction should not be exaggerated, however, for illiteracy rates were high in both cases. When literacy rates for the various officer ranks are compared, it is clear that governors had a better chance of being literate than *alcaldes*, who in turn were more likely to be able to read and write than *regidores* and lesser officers.

³⁹See Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 147-149; and William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, 1972), p. 38.

⁴⁰Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 149.

⁴¹Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia antigua de México* (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 206-207; Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1979), p. 211; and Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life of the Aztecs on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest* (Stanford, 1961), pp. 169, 172.

⁴²Gibson, "Aztec Aristocracy", p. 174. Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley, 1966), pp. 207-235, gives a detailed if idealized description of these early educational efforts.

⁴³Once again, data have been gleaned from hundreds of pages of witness testimony as well as other documentary sources located in the ramos Civil, Hospital de Jesús, Tierras, and Tributos.

⁴⁴The best example of the latter is don Antonio de Hinojosa of Cuernavaca, who not only had a good hand but could also write lengthy documents in excellent Spanish: AGN-Tributos, vol. 52, exp. 17; and AGN-Tierras, vol. 1501, exp. 2.

The ability to read and write, or at least to sign one's name and to speak and understand Spanish, were characteristics that could aid an official career in the colonial world, since indigenous officers with these skills were much better equipped to deal with the Spanish system than those who lacked them. It is therefore not surprising to find such people only in the highest levels of the political and social hierarchies. This is not to say that all upper-level officers were well educated and that suitably able or aristocratic monolingual illiterates could not attain high political rank, since many of the latter did so. But it is no accident that non-ladinos unable to read or write dominated the jurisdiction's lower-level offices.

Conclusions

Even in the last years of Spanish rule, the Cuernavaca jurisdiction's indigenous ruling elite had not become a socially debased group desperately clutching at the tattered remnants of past glory. By actively modifying Spanish *cabildo* organization in light of native tradition, they had created a unique Nahuatl-Spanish political system that survived into the early nineteenth century. As was true of the pre-Hispanic governing class, this colonial council hierarchy was dominated by a vigorous, internally stratified ruling group headed by a few interrelated families whose members monopolized the highest political offices.⁴⁵ Below this level were two more main political strata populated by officers carrying out duties which were defined in fundamentally indigenous ways and who pursued career patterns determined in large part by an individual's social status. Some of these officials were undoubtedly literate and bilingual, others may have been ethnically mixed, but the more typical town officer of any level was Indian, functionally illiterate, unable to speak Spanish with any facility, and somewhere between 30 and 50 years old. One of this ruling group's most important achievements had been to construct a system of municipal government that satisfied the colonial authorities at the same time that it preserved a large measure of their own political and social traditions. This proved to be a crucial mechanism of survival in a system in which indigenous rulers found themselves answerable to, and in the final analysis politically dependent upon, foreign overlords.

⁴⁵Preconquest *tlatoxoyotl* (rulership) had been limited to those descended from certain dynasties of recognized royal status. Below them a hierarchy of nobility and officers, bound together by marriage and family relationships, existed within restricted and well-defined strata. See Edward Calnek, "Patterns of Empire Formation in the Valley of Mexico, Late postclassic Period, 1200-1521", in *The Incan and Aztec States, 1400-1800*, George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, eds. (New York, 1982), pp. 48-57; Carrasco, "Civil-Religious Hierarchy", pp. 484-491, and the same author's "Estratificación social indígena en Morelos durante el siglo XVI", in *Estratificación social en la Mesoamérica preispanica*, Pedro Carrasco and Johanna Broda, eds. (Mexico City, 1976), p. 104; and Michael E. Smith, "The Role of Social Stratification in The Aztec Empire: A View from the Provinces" (unpublished ms., n.d.), which is a study of Cuauhnahuac's pre-Hispanic ruling class.



Herbert S. Klein*

**Family and Fertility in Amatenango (Chiapas),
1785-1816¹**

The French model of family reconstitution has always been difficult to apply in Latin American historical research.² The high rate of illegitimacy, the quality of the local parish registers, the intensity of geographic mobility of the American populations, and sometimes even the sheer size of the parishes, have made the task of reconstruction a difficult one.³ Thus most of the historical demographic research which has been undertaken has been of the macro-analytical kind. Parish registers have been used to reconstruct total population and crude death and birth figures, or to look at patterns of births and deaths by seasonality or in relation to specific events.⁴

There is one group within the American population, however, for which rates of illegitimacy were low and for whom migration was not a serious concern. This was the stable rural Indian population, especially in the more isolated regions of colonial Spanish America. Although migration was a constant part of the rural world, migrations from such culturally homogeneous and isolated communities were usually temporary. Residence was thus recognized as one's traditional community and was so recorded. Marriage in such relatively closed communities was common and illegitimacy rates low.

For all of these reasons small, well-defined Indian communities in relatively isolated farming regions can provide the necessary conditions for which historical family reconstruction methods can be used to determine the vital rates of past American populations. Such a community is the Tzeltal-speaking pueblo of Amatenango in the province of Chiapas, which was part of the Audiencia of Guatemala in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Through a fortuitous series of accidents the birth, death, and marriage registers of this isolated farming community of Mayan-speaking Indians have survived intact for the late colonial period. In an 1810 *padrón de indios*, local census officials recorded some 121 married males and a total of 138 *tributarios*, or men from the ages of 15 to 50 years. Thus the town in this period consisted of between 550 and 700 persons, depending on the

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²The reconstruction of demographic indices through the use of parish registers to reconstruct historical families was elaborated in Louis Henry, *Manuel de démographie historique* (Geneva and Paris, 1967).

³One study found that close to half the births in the city of Guadalajara in the late seventeenth century were illegitimate: Thomas Calvo, "Concubinato y mestizaje en el medio urbano: el caso de Guadalajara en el siglo XVII", *Revista de Indias*, 44 (1984); while another suggested that under-registration of births made the task extraordinarily difficult: Cecilia Andrea Rabell, "Demografía histórica y crítica estadística: evaluación del subregistro de defunciones infantiles en los libros parroquiales de San Luis de la Paz, México, 1735-1799", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, [vol.] (Enero-Marzo, 1976). On the unusually large size of the central Mexican parishes see Elsa Malvido, "Tula, problemas técnicos de las reconstrucciones familiares, 1592-1813", *Cuicuilco*, 1 (Junio, 1980), p. 27.

⁴See, for example, the articles of Elsa Malvido, "Factores de despoblación y de reposición de la población de Cholula (1614-1810)", *Historia Mexicana*, 23 (1973), and "El abandono de los hijos - una forma de control del tamaño de la familia y del trabajo indígena - Tula (1683-1730)", *Historia Mexicana*, 39 (1980); as well as Claude Morin, *Santa Inés Zacatelco (1646-1812), Contribución a la demografía histórica de México Colonial* (Mexico City, 1973). Also see Morin's useful introduction to the use of Mexican colonial parish registers in "Los libros parroquiales como fuente para la historia demográfica y social novohispana", *Historia Mexicana*, 21 (1972).

multiplier adopted for measuring the ratio of tributarios to total population.⁵ This is manageable size quite comparable to small European farming communities, and about a tenth the size of a typical contemporary central Mexican parish.⁶ On the basis of this census of tributarios an initial and still incomplete listing of families was made. The existence of complete parish registers for this same period allowed me to record all births, deaths, and marriages which took place in the community for the generation of 1810.⁷ From these separate items, taken over a forty-year period between 1780 and 1820, I was able to reconstruct the demographic histories of 319 Indian marriages in the community, of which 217 were couples with at least one child already born by 1816.⁸ I was thus able to reconstruct complete histories of all births and deaths which occurred in some five-sixths of the tributario families found in the padrón listing (or 100 out of 121 on the list), as well as complete histories of some 219 earlier and later families.

These reconstructed family histories indicate that the Tzeltal speaking Indian peasant women of Amatenango married at an unusually young age and had rather high marital fertility rates for a population found within Western European and American colonial societies in this period. The average age of women at marriage was 16.8 years (for 228 women),⁹ quite young by 18th- and early 19th-century standards. In rural England in the 1750-1799 period, for example, women on average married at 25.7 years of age, which represented a decline from earlier decades. These mean ages, moreover, well reflected the experience for the overwhelming majority of women. Thus three-quarters of the Amatenango women were married by 17, and fully 90% by age 20 (see table 1). By contrast, only two-thirds of English women were married by the time they reached 26 years of age, and it took until 30 years before 90% of them were married.¹⁰ In the Normandie community of Crulai, the average woman married at 24.1 years in the period 1674-1742.¹¹ In a recent survey of some 38 family reconstitution studies, mostly dealing with peasant populations in various parts of France in the 18th century, the average age of women at marriage was found to be 25.7 years, again highlighting the unusual pattern of very early marriages revealed in the eighteenth-century Chiapas data.¹²

Table 1:
Age of Amatenango Women at Marriage, 1780-1820

Age of Women (in years)	Number	Comulative Pct.
11	3	1.3%

⁵Archivo General de Guatemala, A3.16, legajo 306, expediente 4126, "Lista de tributarios del pueblo de Amatenango existentes en este año de 1810". In fact a clerical census of 1778 listed the community with 571 persons in 159 households; see Robert Wasserstrom, *Class and Society in Central Chiapas* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 97.

⁶Elsa Malvido "Tula, problemas técnicos", p. 27.

⁷The parish registers are from the Archivo General Eclesiástico de la Diócesis de Chiapas, Pueblo de San Francisco Amatenango, Libros de Bautismos, 1759-1791 and 1791-1817; Libros de Difuntos, 1727-1790 and 1790-1810; Libros de Matrimonios, 1772-1798, 1798-1807, and 1808-1816. All of these are contained in the microfilm collection of the Museo de Antropología (México), Fondo de Microfotografía, Serie Chiapas, rollos 4, 5, 6, 19.

⁸Of the 102 marriages which listed no children, 38 were contracted from 1813 onward and could conceivably have produced no children by 1816. Another twelve women who had contracted marriage did not have any children because of their own death before the age of 19, or because they died within three years of being married. This leaves 52 marriages (or 16 percent of the total) who either had no children, migrated out of the community during their period of reproduction, or whose registrations are missing. Another 28 percent of the women who did have at least one child had no birth certificates which could be found or confirmed and their ages at marriage and first birth could thus not be established.

⁹The average age at marriage for the 215, single women contracting marriage for the first time was 16.1 years.

¹⁰E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Scofield, "English Population History from Family Reconstitution: Summary Results, 1600-1799", *Population Studies*, 37 (1983), pp. 162, 164.

¹¹E. Gautier and L. Henry, *La population de Crulai, paroisse normande* (Paris, 1958), p. 84.

¹²Daniel Scott Smith, "A Homeostatic Demographic Regime: Patterns in West European Family Reconstitution Studies", in Ronald D. Lee, ed., *Population Patterns in the Past* (New York, 1977), p. 23.



FAMILY AND FERTILITY IN AMATENANGO

12	4	5.3
13	20	14.0
14	27	25.9
15	40	43.4
16	32	57.5
17	38	74.1
18	19	82.5
19	15	89.0
20	3	90.4
21	8	93.9
22	3	95.2
23	4	96.9
24	2	97.8
25	2	98.7
26		
27	2	99.6
28	1	100.0%
TOTAL	228	

Source: For this and all following tables, see note 4.

So young were these Amatenango brides by contemporary European standards that they probably entered upon childbearing as soon as was biologically possible for an 18th-century population. While it is impossible from the available data to calculate accurately the age of menarche, or the period of initial post-menstruation adolescent infertility for these Chiapas women, it would appear from the experience of other historical populations of the period that this was probably the case. Mid-19th-century U.S. Black slave women, probably the best studied historical population on this question, reached the age of menarche at an estimated 15 years of age and had an initial period of infertility of some 3 years, which meant that such women on average could have had their first child at 18 years of age.¹³

The birth of the first child among Amatenango women in the 1780-1820 period occurred 2 years and 3 months after marriage (for the 166 mothers whose date of first parturition is known). This meant that the mean age of mothers at the birth of their first child was 19.1 years (with the mode at 18.5 years). This was probably close to the natural limit of fecundity of these poorly nourished peasant women. Clearly there were no significant social restraints practiced in Amatenango which limited the beginnings of fecundity for the women in the community. In early 18th-century France, where women married later than in Amatenango, the time between marriage and first parturition was only 13.9 months.¹⁴

This combination of marriage at or close to menarche and a normal subsequent temporary adolescent infecundity period also explains the low level of pre-marital sexual activity recorded in the marital birth figures. For legally married Tzeltal mothers, the number of pre-marital conceptions were few. Of the 157 first births which are known in relationship to the date of the mother's age at marriage, only 12 (or 7.6%) were born 7 months or less from the time of the marriage. The level for such premarital conceptions in early 18th-century Crulai was almost double this figure, or 14.5%.¹⁵

¹³James Trussel and Richard Steckel, "The Age of Slaves at Menarche and their First Birth", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8 (1978), p. 594.

¹⁴Henry, *Manuel*, p. 102.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 104.

While early marriage may have been the norm for the women of the community, this was not quite the case for the men. The men of Amatenango were typically older than their spouses. This age difference is usually associated with sharp wealth differences among men, but in this case may possibly be related to delayed male access to the limited agricultural resources available in this poor community. On average, the men tended to be three years older than their wives (or aged 19.6 years for the 216 men whose birth dates were known).¹⁶ This would suggest that men were delaying marriage somewhat until they could inherit or obtain sufficient resources to marry, which in this case must have been access to fertile lands. It would thus appear that men were forced to delay their marriages until they could provide an income for their families, no matter what the rule of post-marriage residence may have been.

Once the first child was born, there was a steady conception of children, the average spacing between children on the order of 36.3 months (see table 2). This suggests that the women of Amatenango were nursing beyond the first year of the newborn child. In societies where nursing is shorter or only part-time and no artificial contraception is practiced, the average spacing between children is around 20 months. The extra 16 months between Chiapas births most likely represents lactationally caused infecundity due to full time nursing by Amatenango mothers. Herbal contraceptives, post partum sexual taboos, or even abandonment,¹⁷ may have also been operative, but the experience of contemporary Guatemalan women studied by demographers shows that on average 14.3 months of added infertility was due to intense lactation by peasant women, a figure close to that found among 18th-century Amatenango births.¹⁸ Of course, 18th-century European peasant women were also engaging in full-time lactation of infants, though it would appear that they were nursing for a good six months less than the women of Amatenango. Thus in early 18th-century Crulai, France, the average spacing between children was between 24 and 30 months depending on birth order.¹⁹ The spread was somewhat broader for all the 17th- and 18th-century European peasant populations so far studied, but in the end the overall average spacing was 27.9 months for all birth intervals of completed large families.²⁰

Table 2:
Birth Intervals Between First and Subsequent Children among Amatenango Families, 1780-1820 (in months)

Birth Interval	Mean	Std.Dev.	N
Between 1st & 2nd child	34.9	14.5	153
Between 2nd & 3rd child	36.7	15.1	105
Between 3rd & 4th child	36.5	16.1	79
Between 4th & 5th child	35.7	15.2	59
Between 5th & 6th child	44.1*	56.9	41
Between 6th & 7th child	31.6	11.9	22
Between 7th & 8th child	36.0	11.6	14
Between 8th & 9th child	31.2	6.9	8
Between 9th & 10th child	37.4	17.6	5

Note: *The high mean of this interval is due to one birth of 380 months. Excluding this birth, the mean drops to 35.7 months for the remaining 40 births.

¹⁶The average for the 199 *solteros* who contracted marriage for the first time was 19.0 years.

¹⁷Abandonment was practiced among the Indians in the north in the early part of the century; see Malvido, "El abandono de los hijos".

¹⁸John Bongaarts, "A Framework for Analyzing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility", *Population and Development Review*, 4 (1978), pp. 115-116.

¹⁹Gautier and Henry, *La population de Crulai*, p. 147.

²⁰Smith, "A Homeostatic Demographic Regime", p. 23.

Despite the longer spacing due to amenorrhea induced by longer lactation, married fertility among the Amatenango women was still quite high because of the total lack of artificial contraception. Estimating the age of menopause at 35 years (which provides a sample of some 19 women in our collection of marriages), the average number of children born to women over 35 years of age was 7.6 children. As can be seen in table 3, there was a normal increment of births with each passing decade in the life of the mother. If the age of 40 years and above is used as the cut-off point for fertility (the average age of women at birth of their last child in 17th- and 18th-century rural Europe was 40.1 years), then the average births would be 8.5 children per completed family. This is a rather high birth rate and comes quite close to the European peasant norm of the time. In 17th- and 18th-century European communities, women who successfully completed their fertility and survived to age 44 had on average 8.9 children.²¹ But this was the rate for women who on average had their first child at 27.4 years of age. Thus the longer spacing between children experienced by Amatenango women because of longer lactation practices was compensated for by their beginning their child bearing years at a much younger age.

Table 3:
Number of Children by the Age of Mothers at the Birth of their Last Recorded Child

Age of Mothers	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
10-14	1		1
15-20	1.3	.6	39
20-24	1.9	.8	42
25-29	3.7	1.7	39
30-34	5.2	1.8	25
35-39	6.9	2.7	11
40 & over	8.5	1.9	8

Not all marriages recorded were in fact first marriages of single persons. Some 19% of all unions involved the remarriage of widowed persons remarrying (as can be seen in table 4). This figure is rather close to the 19% figure given for remarriages in a sample of English marriages in the 1781-1809 period, which was 17%.²² It is also comparable, though somewhat higher, to that found earlier in the century for the French rural community of Crulai.²³ But the ratio, which was the same for both men and women in Amatenango, was quite different for the contemporary French peasants, where it was much higher for the men than for the women (19% of all men and only 11% of all women marrying). In Amatenango remarriages, widows married single men as often as widowers married single women, which in fact was quite rarely. Rather, widows and widowers overwhelmingly married other persons for whom the marriage was a second union. In contrast, late 17th- and 18th-century French peasant widowers in Crulai predominantly married younger single women, whereas widows were primarily confined to widowed men.²⁴ In Amatenango, however, young single brides were clearly reserved almost exclusively for single men. The reason for this lack of sexual difference in remarriage in Chiapas may have something to do with more equal female access to resources in the American Indian community, and the more equal distribution of the resources between younger and older men.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Scofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), p. 259.

²³Gautier and Henry, *La population de Crulai*, p. 83.

²⁴The average age for the remarrying couples was, like that for single persons, also considerably younger in Chiapas than in France, with the mean age of remarried women being 20.7 years and men 25.7 years.

Table 4:
Marriage & Remarriage Partners in Amatenango, 1785-1816

WOMEN	MEN		TOTAL
	Solteros	Viudos	
Solteras	255	2	257
Viudas	3	59	62
TOTAL	258	61	319

Thus all the evidence from our collection of 319 marriages during this late 18th- and early 19th-century period in the life of an isolated rural community, strongly supports the idea of very early marriages in the Amerindian rural zones of the Meso-American region. Women were clearly marrying at or before the age of first menstruation and were having children as soon as biologically possible. All this was in sharp contrast to the contemporary northern European pattern of much later first marriages and consequently shorter intervals between marriage and first birth. Equally, the Amatenango women had on average some 10 months more between the births of their children than did the European women. This fact, in the light of contemporary nursing practices and the lack of any formal contraception techniques, strongly suggest that the Amatenango women were intensively nursing close to a year or more beyond the European peasant women of their time. The end rate of completed fertility was the same in both cases, however, with both European and Chiapan women having 8 to 9 children per completed family for women who had reached menopause. The comparable result was clearly due to the much earlier entrance of Amatenango women into childbearing.

If these very preliminary findings hold up to the test of further family reconstitution studies undertaken on other American populations, it will show that 18th-century peasant families in Latin America did not share in the famous "northwest European family model system".²⁵ This "system" of late marriage, high ratios of non-marrying adults, and very low illegitimate births was designed to control population in relationship to resources. But having suggested that this small peasant village in Chiapas differed from contemporary Europe does not guarantee that it was the model for the rest of Latin America or even Mexico. The only other available family reconstruction for colonial Mexico, the study by Thomas Calvo of an urban parish in Guadalajara in the 17th century, found a far different pattern with later marriages, fewer children per completed family, higher pre-marital conceptions, and other indices which suggest that the rural Indian society differed strikingly from the contemporary urban populations of Mexico.²⁶ Late 18th-century Chiapas may even have differed from earlier local developments in that this was a region recovering from a century and a half or more of population decline beginning with the Spanish conquest. The high fertility rates per completed family and the low ages of marriage may thus have been a response to the previous period of population loss.

But however late colonial Amatenango may have differed from contemporary urban populations and even earlier local ones, the patterns emerging from this reconstruction suggest that this was a zone with a high rate of population growth, and that such growth must have been related to a resource environment permitting a relatively unrestrained natural expansion to the local peasant population. Whether the Chiapas norm was common throughout the stable Indian communities of rural Mexico cannot be determined, however, until more detailed reconstructions have taken place.

²⁵The standard surveys of the European family pattern and its opposites are found in J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective", in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History* (London, 1965); and the same author's more recent "Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System", *Population and Development Review*, 8 (1982).

²⁶Thomas Calvo, "Familles mexicaines au XVII siècle: un tentative de reconstruction", *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1984). On the other hand, eighteenth-century *porteño* wives of merchants had both completed family fertility and age of marriage rates quite close to those found in contemporary Amatenango; Susan Socolow, "Marriage, Birth and Inheritance: The Merchants of Eighteenth-Century Buenos Aires", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 60 (1980).



II. La política del centro y la periferia





Solange Alberro*

Imperativo centralista y contingencias locales: el caso del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, 1571-1700

Vamos a tratar aquí de un problema que nos parece haber caracterizado a la administración del régimen de los Austrias: aquel que, trascendiendo, aunque sin traicionar su sentido profundo: la oposición ciudad-campo, atañe a la voluntad imperial de imponer cierta política conforme a sus intereses, frente a contingencias locales susceptibles de modificar o, incluso, de desvirtuar este propósito inicial. El caso del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición como máquina institucional nos proporcionará los datos necesarios, mientras el marco histórico-espacial de la Nueva España de los siglos XVI-XVII, con su originalidad, constituirá el campo de observación.

Empecemos por recordar brevemente los resortes administrativos de la institución y los mecanismos de su funcionamiento. Al ser revitalizada y reforzada por los Reyes Católicos a fines del siglo XV, la Inquisición española resulta ser la única institución cuya jurisdicción se ejerce en la totalidad de los reinos y provincias de la península, puesto que las demás veían su acción reducida por los numerosos fueros, leyes, usos y costumbres tradicionalmente vigentes en cada región. Esta capacidad de intervenir en todos los puntos del territorio y en contra de cualquier individuo, sea cual sea su estatuto, manifiesta obviamente el propósito monárquico de contar con un medio centralizador y federativo -el primero en la historia de España al menos-, cuyo terreno es esencialmente ideológico, ya que el catolicismo constituye por estas fechas el único denominador común de pueblos y culturas heterogéneos, en vísperas de formar una nación.

Este carácter se ve también reflejado en la estructura administrativa de la Inquisición española, netamente vertical. El Consejo Supremo de la Santa y General Inquisición -notemos el adjetivo significativo: general-, comúnmente llamado *La Suprema*, aparece a partir de 1480 en el mismo nivel que los otros cuatro consejos de la Corona, aquellos de Finanzas, de Estado, de Castilla y de Aragón. Huelga recalcar, por tanto, la importancia que éste adquiere de ahora en adelante. Sus miembros ya no son nombrados por el Papa, como lo eran en la antigua Inquisición aragonesa que se remontaba al siglo XIII, sino que son directamente designados y remunerados por la Corona española, concretándose el papado a ratificar dichos nombramientos. Este Consejo Supremo es la cabeza de un amplio cuerpo que paulatinamente abarcará no solamente al territorio peninsular, las islas Canarias y Baleares sino también las posesiones del Mediterráneo, como Sicilia y Cerdeña y más tarde -1571 y 1614- las americanas, a través de 21 tribunales.

Cada tribunal, compuesto de un número variable de inquisidores, en función de su importancia -de 2 a 5 generalmente- nombra a su vez comisarios en cada población. Estos eclesiásticos, regulares o seculares, fungen de hecho como intermediarios entre el tribunal de distrito y la masa del pueblo cristiano. Carecen de autoridad, de autonomía, se limitan a obedecer las órdenes recibidas -lecturas de edictos, aprehensión de individuos para remitirlos al tribunal, trámites distintos-, y reflejan la situación que prevalece en su zona al recabar, según normas estrictas, las denuncias que emanan de la masa y transmitir las, a veces acompañándolas de comentarios, a las autoridades superiores que son las facultades para formar un proceso.

*El Colegio de México.

La acción de los comisarios se ve reforzada por la presencia de los *Familiares* de la Inquisición, laicos que materializan la presencia de la institución en la vida diaria y que desempeñan ante todo la función de soplones y eventualmente de auxiliares. Ellos no gozan de ningún poder fuera del prestigio que les confiere el título, sinónimo, aunque no siempre seguro, de “limpieza de sangre”.

Supongamos ahora que algún atrevido vecino de una remota aldea, haya proferido una blasfemia llamativa: podía ser denunciado por un familiar, pero más a menudo por un testigo de la plática, deseoso sinceramente de “descargar su conciencia” al denunciar a un mal cristiano, o de perjudicar a su prójimo. La denuncia se verificaba ante el comisario, que anotaba el detalle de las circunstancias en que se produjo el delito, los datos relativos al denunciado y al denunciante, quien debía finalmente ratificar su dicho. Se remitía luego la información al tribunal de distrito que decidía si el caso requería el traslado del culpable y la apertura de un proceso o si sólo bastaba una amonestación dada localmente por el comisario, o aun, un silencio preñado de ambigüedades. Cuando se formaba proceso, la sentencia era establecida y aplicada por el tribunal de distrito, mientras cualquier discrepancia al respecto era aclarada por la Suprema. Asimismo, la instancia superior era regularmente informada de los asuntos despachados por cada tribunal mediante las *relaciones de causas* que la mantenían al tanto de cuanto sucedía. Así, la relación orgánica entre Suprema y tribunal local aseguraba tanto la preeminencia de una como la autonomía del otro. Pero existían otros medios para imponer una estrategia común al conjunto de las instancias inquisitoriales desparramadas por las posesiones de la Corona española. Citemos por ejemplo los edictos generales de la fe, cuyo texto elaborado en Madrid o a veces en Roma, traducía la voluntad de perseguir delitos específicos: judaísmo e islamismo primero, luego protestantismo y jansenismo, y al final, en el siglo XVIII, masonería o ateísmo, de acuerdo con la coyuntura política e histórica. Existía también el cuerpo de los manuales y códigos destinados al inquisidor, el resultado de la praxis institucional reunida a lo largo de los siglos que, en un verdadero proceso de sedimentación y sin cancelar jamás la norma anterior, la corregía, aumentaba o precisaba, en un afán por atajar la proteica perversidad de la herejía, presta siempre a renacer bajo nuevas formas. Estos textos básicos, que incluyen tanto a las Sagradas Escrituras como a los padres de la Iglesia, los concilios, los decretos y bulas papales, como a los códigos formados por los profesionales que fueron los Eymerich, Torquemada, Cisneros o Valdés, eran vigentes en todos los tribunales y en ellos el inquisidor en turno encontraba si no siempre una respuesta definitiva, si al menos indicaciones valiosas para despachar los negocios que le deparaba la suerte.

Ahora bien, los territorios controlados por el Santo Oficio español, incluso en Europa, eran sumamente variados, y factores históricos, geográficos, políticos y culturales, cuando no étnicos, hacían que la situación delictiva fuese distinta según el distrito inquisitorial. En efecto, si en los siglos XV y XVI abundaron los conversos judaizantes encubiertos en Toledo, en Valladolid o en Sevilla, los moriscos fueron los más numerosos en Cuenca o en Valencia, mientras las brujas eran el pan de cada día en Santiago de Compostela o en Logroño y los alumbrados aparecían tan sólo en algunas regiones.

A pesar de su estructura fuertemente jerarquizada en torno a una política única, la institución contaba con los medios para encarar esta diversidad. Al lado de los edictos generales, se leían también los edictos particulares elaborados por determinados tribunales con base en la información misma que se había recibido, cuando se trataba de perseguir delitos específicos cuya aparición o recrudecimiento exigía una intervención especialmente planificada. De la misma manera, los códigos incluían, al lado de las normas y directrices generales tocantes a cada delito, una verdadera jurisprudencia que tomaba en cuenta las miles de circunstancias que podían rodearlo y por lo tanto para intervenir en el dictamen de la sentencia.

Así es cómo, por ejemplo, el tribunal de Zaragoza estaba facultado para perseguir, a fines del siglo XVI, a los contrabandistas de caballos, obviamente no por el hecho de serlo -delito totalmente fuera de su jurisdicción-, sino porque al desempeñar esta actividad tan tradicional como respetable en los Pirinos, aquéllos proporcionaban una ayuda logística apreciable a los protestantes del sur de Francia, convirtiéndose de este modo en sus cómplices y cayendo, por tanto, bajo el fuero inquisitorial.

Así las cosas, el aparato inquisitorial, tal como fue ideado por los Reyes Católicos y como funcionó en su periodo de auge, o sea en el siglo XV y por lo menos la mitad del XVI, representa un instrumento simple y complejo a la vez, siempre eficiente, en manos de la Corona española, quien no lo utilizó para fines estrictamente políticos sino en muy contadas ocasiones, a falta de otro medio. La monarquía, en efecto, le atribuyó un propósito infinitamente más profundo: el de fundir en el crisol ideológico común de la ortodoxia, a tantos pueblos, culturas y grupos, cuya diversidad hubiese estorbado de otro modo a la naciente, frágil y sin embargo necesaria unión de los reinos ibéricos. Aparato construido de manera piramidal según el modelo tomista, -el presidente del Consejo es la máxima autoridad, que sólo consiente la del Rey-, consta de tribunales dotados de apreciable autonomía, aunque estrechamente ligados a la autoridad central. Al mismo tiempo, la máquina goza de una flexibilidad innegable mediante la red numerosa de comisarios y de familiares atentos a la coyuntura local, y cuenta con los medios institucionales para encarar situaciones delictivas particulares. Estas características le permiten desempeñar la función para la cual fue creada: la de forjar un consenso común en torno a la ortodoxia, en un proceso dinámico que la lleva a aprovecharse de las mismas circunstancias locales para lograr su propósito.

En otras palabras, la situación delictiva propia de cada tribunal es la que constituye el terreno de acción del Santo Oficio que, reprimiendo judaizantes aquí, moriscos allá y alumbrados en otra parte, impone paulatinamente el molde común a los reinos ibéricos. Si tomamos el ejemplo de funcionamiento que nos proporciona el Santo Oficio en la península y si consideramos que es representativo del proyecto absolutista de los Austrias, vemos que la voluntad centralista se vale estrechamente de los particularismos propios de cada distrito para imponerse.

¿De qué manera reacciona la institución inquisitorial como proyecto centralizador y federativo en el campo ideológico una vez transplantada en Nueva España? En primer lugar, ya lo hemos dicho en otras ocasiones,¹ el nuevo distrito difiere notablemente de los peninsulares puesto que si el de Valladolid solía aparecer como descomunal con sus 89 000 km², el que depende del tribunal establecido en la ciudad de México abarca cerca de 2 000 000 de km², desde Nuevo México hasta Nicaragua, incluyendo las islas Filipinas. Además, la geografía americana se empeña en sembrar el espacio de infinidad de obstáculos naturales: sierras, selvas, lagunas, pantanos, ríos, desiertos y océanos, que no pocas veces constituyen barreras casi insalvables, tomando en cuenta los medios de comunicación de la época.

A estas peculiaridades del entorno geográfico local, se añade lo que hace al distrito novohispano, como al neogranadino y más aún al peruano, radicalmente distinto de los metropolitanos, afectando profundamente la relación imprescindible e imperiosa con la Suprema: se trata de la presencia abrumadora del Atlántico que impone no sólo la distancia y el alejamiento, sino también la discontinuidad, la escasez, la incertidumbre en la correspondencia que debe forzosamente depender de una flota anual y de la fortuna de los mares. Lo mismo sucede en el norte: fray Alonso de Benavides, comisario en Santa Fe de Nuevo México, en 1620 se queja de que a veces los convoyes tardan cuatro años en venir de la capital del virreinato,²

¹Véase en particular en Solange, Alberro, *La actividad del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Nueva España, 1571-1700*. INAH. Colección Científica, n. 96. México, 1981.

²"Carta del Comisario fray Alonso de Benavides a las autoridades inquisitoriales de México". Nuevo México, 1626. Archivo General de la Nación, de ahora en adelante AGN, Inquisición, 356, f. 291-293.

otro tanto tratándose de Filipinas. Obviamente, tales factores van a imponer modalidades nuevas de funcionamiento que modificarán de manera sustancial las relaciones del tribunal con la Suprema, por una parte, e incluso los mecanismos internos de la institución local.

También distaba mucho el contexto humano americano en el que se desempeñaba el Santo Oficio de ser similar al peninsular. Si allá se trataba, en su mayor parte, de una población cristianizada desde siglos atrás, no resultando ser los conversos y los moriscos más que minorías importantes, y si por tanto la acción inquisitorial encontraba en ella un terreno propicio al poderse convertir todo cristiano en un colaborador eventual, todo cambiaba en la Nueva España. En primer lugar, la población indígena, que representaba al menos el 80% del total de habitantes, quedaba excluida, como se sabe, del fuero inquisitorial. Los que eran susceptibles de ser perseguidos por el Santo Oficio, los españoles -peninsulares y criollos-, los negros y las castas, se encontraban desparramados en un inmenso territorio, a veces en pequeños núcleos tales como ingenios, trapiches, haciendas, reales de minas, cuyo aislamiento los protegía de hecho del alcance de cualquier autoridad, civil o eclesiástica. Pero sobre todo, el nivel medio de cristianización, si excluimos a los españoles, era muy relativo y dudamos mucho que un indígena purépecha o zapoteco, un esclavo negro, ladino y más aún, bozal, un vaquero mulato o un oficial mestizo hayan sido capaces, como lo pedían los edictos de la fe, de denunciar a un luterano, a un judaizante clandestino, cuanto más a un partidario de Ario o de Jansenio, sencillamente porque carecían de los conocimientos en materia de fe para distinguir entre una práctica ortodoxa y una heterodoxa, sin pensar siquiera en disidencias a nivel teológico.

Por consiguiente, al no poder actuar en contra de la mayor parte de la población, el Santo Oficio se veía imposibilitado de desempeñar la función fundamental que le habían encomendado los Reyes Católicos y sus sucesores: la de unir y uniformar. Tampoco podía esperar mucho de la colaboración de la porción de creyentes que caían bajo su jurisdicción, por su cristianismo tan reciente como aproximado para buena parte de ellos. Asimismo, las características de esta población, frecuentemente aislada y de espíritu a menudo rebelde -pues numerosos colonos españoles no habían venido a América para vivir según las mismas pautas rígidas de las que habían tal vez huido en su patria-, dificultaban la labor inquisitorial hasta volverla un verdadero desafío.

¿Cómo reacciona el tribunal novohispano ante esta situación? Hemos visto que la Inquisición española compaginaba a la vez un fuerte centralismo y el respeto de la coyuntura local, que se reflejaba en el desempeño de cada tribunal de distrito, lo cual constituía la base misma de su funcionamiento, como ya lo hemos subrayado. Tan es así, que al establecerse los tribunales de Lima y de México en 1571, la Suprema, consciente de las peculiaridades del medio americano y deseosa de agilizar el ejercicio de la institución, no vacila en modificar levemente las normas que cada tribunal debía observar. En su *Instrucción a los Inquisidores de Nueva España*, el inquisidor general, don Diego de Valdés, puntualiza que en los casos en que en España se suele consultar a la Suprema sobre el procedimiento a seguir, es preciso dejarlo de hacer en la colonia pues, de lo contrario, “se seguiría mucho daño a los presos por la dilación que habría en la determinación de las causas”.³ Por tanto, si se mantiene la obligación de consultar a la Suprema cuando los jueces no logran ponerse de acuerdo, tratándose de un caso que implica la relajación, se prescinde de ella en circunstancias que en la metrópoli la hubiesen requerido. El resultado es una mayor autoridad y autonomía del tribunal local con relación a la Suprema, tomando en cuenta lo que sucedía en los tribunales peninsulares.

La posibilidad de apelar ante el Consejo General por parte de un inculpado se reduce de la misma manera, quedando los inquisidores novohispanos facultados para despachar

³Instrucciones a los inquisidores de la Nueva España, en Jiménez Rueda, Julio, *Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, primer Inquisidor de México*. Ediciones Xóchitl, p. 178. México, 1944.

el asunto y logrando el primero ser escuchado por la instancia suprema tan sólo luego de haber recibido su sentencia.

Siguiendo la misma tendencia y al contrario de lo que sucedía en España, en donde los inquisidores se encargaron puntualmente de visitar su distrito al menos durante el siglo XVI, las instrucciones eximen a los ministros novohispanos de la obligación de dicha visita, alegando el “distrito tan largo”, y les ordena encargar a los comisarios la publicación de los edictos y el registro de las denuncias, tarea que normalmente incumbía a los mismos inquisidores.⁴

Estas modificaciones hechas de principio a las normas vigentes en los demás tribunales, atestiguan claramente la conciencia, en el más alto nivel de la máquina inquisitorial, de las peculiaridades propias de la colonia y de la necesidad de adaptación por parte del flamante tribunal. Esta última se expresa a través del discurso normativo y muy pronto se verá rebasada por la práctica, tal como se va a imponer a los ministros establecidos en la capital del virreinato.

En efecto, éstos no tardan en comprender la dificultad y, a veces, la casi imposibilidad de llevar a cabo su misión. Así es como, por ejemplo, desisten de recibir las denuncias mandadas por los comisarios de Filipinas, examinarlas y en caso necesario, traer a los inculpados a México para juzgarlos, empresa efectivamente reñida con el sentido común, dada la época, y determinan confiar en los comisarios locales, quienes se encargan de castigar a los culpables, llegando incluso a celebrar remedos de autos de fe en Manila. Algo semejante sucede en Nuevo México, donde impera una anarquía endémica y donde los comisarios gozan de poderes mucho más amplios que en otras partes, por las mismas razones. Vemos aquí cómo el tribunal novohispano, presionado por contingencias locales insalvables, se ve obligado a renunciar a parte de su autoridad a favor de su representante inmediato, exactamente como la Suprema había renunciado a parte de la suya, y por las mismas razones, a favor del tribunal novohispano.

Los edictos reflejan de la misma manera la irrupción de las características locales en la praxis inquisitorial. Si los edictos generales de la fe siguen siendo los mismos que se leen en todos los distritos inquisitoriales, tanto de Europa como de América, revelando las pautas generales impuestas por la Suprema y, más allá, por la estrategia imperial, aparecen de este lado del mar una serie de edictos particulares en relación directa con preocupaciones estrictamente coloniales. Se trata, por ejemplo, de aquellos que en Perú interesan a los consumidores de coca y que en Nueva España tratan de las hierbas indígenas *peyote*, *puyomate*, *ololiuhqui* y *pipitzintli*, sin olvidar aquellos que piden a los amos cuyas esclavas negras “hablan por el pecho” -o sea que se dedican a la ventriloquía- que procuran evitar semejantes actividades por parte de sus esclavas.

Sin embargo, el peso de las contingencias locales se revela ante todo en el fenómeno de la denuncia. En efecto, es preciso recordar que la denuncia surge del seno del pueblo cristiano, inducida por la lectura del edicto y que constituye un reflejo fiel de la situación socioeconómica que impera en determinada región en un momento dado. Hemos comprobado desde hace tiempo,⁵ mediante una demostración que no repetiremos aquí, que el volumen de denuncias en una zona corresponde a un contexto particular y que una ruptura de equilibrio interesando la esfera socioeconómica -nuevos ajustes sociales en Celaya, en 1614; lucha por el poder en la Tepeaca de 1656-, se acompaña de un recrudecimiento en el número de denuncias. Al tomar las emociones colectivas uno de los pocos cauces que se ofrecen a ellas en la época, la denuncia inquisitorial, la institución se

⁴*Ibidem*, p. 182.

⁵Solange Béhocaray Alberro, “Índices económicos e incongruencia en la Nueva España, siglos XVI y XVII”, en *Cahiers des Amériques Latines* (9-10), París, 1974 y *Actas del XLI Congreso de Americanistas*, México, 1976, (s.e.). Alberro, Solange, “Inquisición y proceso de cambio social: delitos de hechicería, Celaya 1614”, en *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 30. (30-4), 1974. Alberro, Solange, “Inquisition et Société: Rivalités de pouvoirs á Tepeaca (1656-1660)”. *Annales, ESC*, n. 5. París, sept-oct 1981.

convierte en un espejo valioso de los movimientos profundos que afectan a un sector de la población, una zona. Nos parece importante señalar, una vez más, este papel catalizador y finalmente desmovilizador del Santo Oficio, factor innegable de paz social al canalizar y desviar las frustraciones hacia los archivos inquisitoriales, papel que sin embargo suele ser subestimado, cuando no totalmente ignorado.

Vemos por tanto que la mayor parte de la actividad inquisitorial, el estímulo, el acopio y el estudio de la denuncia, que interesa al conjunto de la institución, a través del denunciante, del comisario y del ministro, está directamente relacionada con el conocimiento pormenorizado de los grupos, los sectores y las regiones. Tanto es así, que las demás instancias administrativas, el virrey, por ejemplo, no vacilan cuando la necesidad lo requiere, en pedir la colaboración del Santo Oficio mediante informaciones que sólo éste puede tener, dadas las características de su funcionamiento, como sucedió efectivamente al menos dos veces en el transcurso del siglo XVII en Nueva España.⁶

Pero si la denuncia refleja fielmente la coyuntura local, la actividad inquisitorial propiamente dicha, que se manifiesta a través de los procesos, debe a la vez obedecer a esta presión local y a la estrategia general de la institución definida por la Suprema.

El Santo Oficio novohispano se desempeña obviamente mejor cuando se enfrenta con delitos tradicionales de herejía, dentro de una política ampliamente señalada. Así es como los dos periodos de mayor actividad inquisitorial de fines del siglo XVI y de mediados del siglo XVII, obedecen a lineamientos que rebasan el marco estrictamente novohispano. En el primer caso, la ola de procesos que sigue al establecimiento del tribunal es imputable a la lógica de una institución recién creada, mientras la gran persecución en contra de los cripto-judíos, entre 1642 y 1649, se explica por el fracaso de la política de apertura de Olivares, cuya caída provoca una reacción anticonversa -anticipada en Lima y Cartagena de Indias en 1639, seguida en México en la década siguiente- y que culmina con las magnas manifestaciones en la metrópoli, en los años de 1650. En cambio, la institución aparece casi impotente ante las manifestaciones heterodoxas más comunes en el virreinato y los activos procesos sincréticos que corroen paulatinamente la ortodoxia en las numerosas prácticas de magia, hechicería y superstición y que van incluso ganando terreno dentro de sectores de la población teóricamente ajenos a su acción, no encuentran en la Inquisición ninguna respuesta adecuada. Sólo se consignan las denuncias en la inmensa mayoría de los casos.

Más aún, la coyuntura local, con la red de limitaciones de toda índole que hemos señalado, pero también de intereses, de complicidades, entra a veces en contradicción con el cabal cumplimiento de la misión inquisitorial. Pensemos por ejemplo en tantos individuos acusados de algún delito, pero cuyo estatus impedía de hecho no solamente la aprehensión y la remisión a las autoridades, sino incluso la pesquisa preliminar del comisario que difícilmente encontraba a quien se atreviera a denunciar a tales personajes. Este fue el caso de encomenderos de Yucatán, acusados de encubrir prácticas idólatras; de funcionarios rebeldes y arrogantes, de mineros y de hacendados del norte sospechosos de no pocas actitudes dudosas. A veces, la correspondencia de los mismos comisarios a las autoridades capitalinas deja percibir un sentimiento de impotencia y llega acaso a sugerir una prudente sordera.⁷

Por otra parte, los inquisidores participan, socialmente hablando, del grupo dominante, que en la colonia abarca a grandes rasgos, a los funcionarios, laicos o eclesiásticos, y al sector acomodado de la población: mercaderes, hacendados y a los encomenderos que aún

⁶La primera vez fue en 1641, cuando el obispo Palafox solicitó el concurso del Santo Oficio para indagar las actividades de los portugueses en el virreinato. cf AGN, Inquisición 489, f. 85 y siguientes. La segunda vez, cuando el virrey Marqués de Mancera pidió la ayuda del tribunal en lo tocante a unos negros y mulatos que habían brindado "a nuestra salud y a que el año que viene, gobernemos este reino". AGN, Riva Palacio, tomo 33, exp. 3. González Obregón menciona el episodio en *Rebeliones indígenas y precursores de la Independencia Mexicana*. Ediciones Fuente Cultural México, 1952.

⁷AGN, *Inquisición*, 312, exp. 88. Denuncia contra don Vicente de Zaldívar. Zacatecas, 1616.

subsisten, y mineros opulentos. Si bien este sector es susceptible de dividirse según fracciones de intereses diferentes y a veces opuestos, las distinciones sociales vigentes en la madre patria tienden a desvanecerse aquí ante la solidaridad de los poderosos. Por ello, todos se dicen cristianos viejos, muchos dejan entender que proceden de casas nobles, y los escrúpulos y reticencias callan a menudo ante el todopoderoso don dinero.

En cuanto a los inquisidores, convertidos a veces, por el suelo raquíutico y las oportunidades generosamente brindadas por la colonia, en mercaderes y negociantes, ellos tratan frecuentemente con personajes poderosos cuyos orígenes y obras no siempre resultan del todo claros y contra quienes eventualmente existen testimonios en los archivos del tribunal. En los años 1630-1640, por ejemplo, algunos ministros mantenían relaciones amistosas con varios de los mercaderes más acaudalados de la capital que resultaron ser judaizantes practicantes, y Sebastián Vaez de *Azevedo*, uno de los más relevantes llegó, con la complicidad de sus amigos inquisidores, a almacenar en las mismas salas del tribunal ciertos fardos de mercancía recibida de Filipinas para sustraerla al fisco real.⁸

Es por otra parte interesante observar la actitud inquisitorial cuando se trata de juzgar a los esclavos negros, generalmente por los delitos de blasfemia y de reniego. En efecto, el tribunal, como institución, respalda la esclavitud; suele vender negros a los ingenios cuando sus amos resultan incapaces de pagar los gastos de cárceles; durante el siglo XVII tiene intereses por lo menos en uno: Santa Inés Amanalco, y los ministros, como particulares, poseen esclavos y participan eventualmente de la producción y distribución del azúcar.⁹ Al mismo tiempo, el tribunal se ve obligado a intervenir en contra de los amos que pretenden impedir la vida conyugal o la práctica religiosa de sus esclavos y, desde luego, en contra de estos últimos cuando cometen algún delito en materia de fe. Por todas estas razones, la actitud inquisitorial, tratándose de siervos, refleja la ambigüedad de tal situación y hemos comprobado que si las sentencias dictadas contra los africanos aparecen a veces demasiado rigurosas a la Suprema, traduciendo por tanto una participación objetiva del tribunal a los intereses de los dominantes, ocurre también que la misma lógica del cometido inquisitorial lo lleve a defender al esclavo al resultar patente la arbitrariedad o la crueldad del amo.¹⁰

Esta ambigüedad se expresa asimismo en los fallos y en la aplicación de las sentencias. Las observaciones y hasta las reprimendas hechas por la Suprema al tribunal novohispano por haber obrado con excesiva severidad, haber desobedecido órdenes suyas -en el caso de Guillén de Lampart- o haber inducido prácticas imprudentes -por ejemplo, al ordenar a Gaspar de Robles, en 1642, que fingiera nuevamente ser judío para, de esta manera, engañar a sus correligionarios y facilitar sus confesiones-,¹¹ sugieren una mayor autonomía de la institución virreinal con relación al Consejo General. Sin embargo, este proceso de relativa independencia, resultado directo de la coyuntura local, necesitaba para volverse realmente efectivo, de una eficiencia y de una eficacia que el mismo procedimiento inquisitorial vetaba. Al residir el tribunal en la capital de la colonia, único lugar a donde podían ser remitidos los reos, formados los proyectos y ejecutadas las sentencias, se reducía considerablemente el impacto de la acción inquisitorial. A pesar de que algunas voces hayan abogado a favor del castigo aplicado localmente para escarmiento de quienes habían presenciado el delito, único medio efectivo de prevención, el tribunal, como

⁸Visita de Medina Rico; Cargos contra los Inquisidores, cargo 140. Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid). Legajo 1737, n. .

⁹Como fue el caso del notario inquisitorial Eugenio de Saravia, en Medina, José Toribio, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México*. Ediciones Fuente Cultural. México, 1952, p. 212.

¹⁰Se dan varios ejemplos en Alberro, Solange, *Negros y mulatos en los documentos inquisitoriales: rechazo e integración*. El Colegio de México *El trabajo y los Trabajadores en la Historia de México*, University of Arizona Press. México, 1979.

¹¹AGN, *Inquisición*, v. 390, exp. 1, "Testimonios de Gaspar de Robles, México, 1641". Véase también Biblioteca Nacional, Cedralario de Nueva España. *Inquisición*, MS 1259, f. 29. Véanse, además, "Indios económicos e Inquisición en la Nueva España, siglos XVI y XVII"; "Inquisición y proceso de cambio social: delitos de hechicería, Celaya, 1614"; "Inquisition et Societé: Rivalités de pouvoirs a Tepeaca (1656-1660)"; "Negros y mulatos en los documentos inquisitoriales: rechazo e integración", se encuentran en el libro: Solange, Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en el México colonial, 1571-1700*. Fondo de Cultura Económica. México, 1988.



cualquier organismo burocrático, jamás consintió -salvo en las dos excepciones señaladas anteriormente: Filipinas y Nuevo México-, en delegar sus poderes, por no permitírsele la tradición del aparato, al contrario de lo que sucedió con la justicia eclesiástica ordinaria. Así las cosas, se condenó a una casi impotencia fuera de la zona del altiplano, única en sufrir en su totalidad el despliegue del poder inquisitorial.

Finalmente, hemos analizado breve y superficialmente el funcionamiento inquisitorial en Nueva España porque lo consideramos representativo del control intentado por los Austrias. La institución era dotada de una estructura jerarquizada y centralizada, lo hemos visto, que no excluía una autonomía relativa por parte de las instancias locales. Su funcionamiento consistió, por tanto, en compaginar en una praxis el estímulo y la pauta dictados por la Suprema con la coyuntura local, surgida del seno de la población. El contexto americano impuso desde el principio una mayor autonomía del tribunal virreinal y el peso de las contingencias coloniales la reforzó.

Sin embargo, la tendencia no alcanzó a desarrollarse plenamente y sólo se logró la erradicación de los delitos de herejía perseguidos tradicionalmente por la institución, siguiendo una estrategia que obedece a factores e impulsos que no son estrictamente locales sino institucionales e imperiales. Establecido en América en un momento en que la Inquisición española se encontraba ya en un proceso de decadencia, el tribunal novohispano no pudo adaptarse lo suficientemente a la coyuntura delictiva local para elaborar una estrategia novedosa y eficiente que la hubiese forzosamente llevado a encontrar fórmulas represivas locales, como lo hicieron la justicia eclesiástica ordinaria, la justicia civil y sobre todo la Real Acordada del siglo siguiente. Tal decisión implicaba el grave riesgo de crear o reforzar poderes locales, en perjuicio del aparato y de la autoridad central. Este parece haber sido el gran dilema del régimen llamado absolutista, de los Austrias: el principio de autoridad subsistía incólume, pero desprovisto de los medios para imponerse, o la autoridad que se imponía efectivamente lo hacía a expensas del principio que lo legitimaba. De ser así las cosas, el absolutismo de los Austrias aparecía esencialmente como una declaración de principios, sobre todo en el siglo XVII, mientras el XVIII de los Borbones correspondería a una reacción consistiendo en tratar de compaginar, por fin, autoridad con eficiencia.



Richard Boyer*

People, Places, and Gossip: The Flow of Information in Colonial Mexico¹

City and countryside are normally viewed as polarities. The former dominates the latter because cities concentrate individuals and institutions which have the power to affect remote hinterlands. Fernand Braudel captures this relationship when he calls great cities “planetary systems”,² a term that also connotes the symbiosis between larger and smaller centers and between urban and rural in a region. That unity must be stressed because of the tendency to posit too sharp a division between city and country, one not experienced by people who moved indifferently from one to the other. In terms of the flow of information and the movement of people, city and country were complementary more than polar, the boundary between them blurred as people crossed back and forth according to need and inclination.

How did this work? Let us view New Spain and its outposts as an irregular grid consisting of roads and nodes, the second ranging in nature from the sleepy pace of isolated estancias to the cosmopolitan bustle of the viceregal capital itself. Traffic on the roads ebbed and flowed with the seasons, the rhythm of commerce, the feast days of the church calendar, and the size and importance of the places linked. Information was around--all around--but because it was carried mostly in the memories of men and women, it had an organic and random quality. To search out a particular piece of information could be difficult if one were at the wrong place at the wrong time. Moreover, information could be contradictory, garbled, vague, and incomplete, because the human vehicles of it inevitably revised, reinterpreted, forgot, added to, or emphasized one or another aspect of a topic. With ever-changing nuances to savor, information was endlessly fascinating because it never reached a final, definitive form.³ And because knowers could err, distort, forget, move, or die, to get “correct” information surely was a hit and miss affair, just as systematic deception could be prolonged for long periods without detection.

What kind of information are we talking about? Below are detailed some examples. First, however, it is useful to remember François Chevalier’s observation that people in early modern times were interested far more in other people than in “the relations between men and things”.⁴ We must not, therefore, overstress interpretive categories--class, caste, and race, for example--as if they were inherent in the data itself,⁵ as if they had been primary organizing ideas in the minds of those whose past we seek to recover. On the contrary,

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² Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. by Sian Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972 [1949, 1966]), vol. I, p. 327.

³ In her fascinating account of the case of Martin Guerre, Natalie Zemon Davis implies that knowledge of “the imposture” existed at three levels: firstly, the “news of the imposture [that] began to circulate like other ‘terrible’ and ‘marvelous’ cases of murder, adultery, fire, and flood”; secondly, Jean de Coras’s *Arrest Memorable*, the written account of a jurist; thirdly, the version held by the villagers of Artigat. Davis suggests that the written version was never taken as ‘true’ by the villagers. For outsiders without access to the oral tradition of the village, on the other hand, the written version, simply because it was written, pre-empted others that were not; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 104, 125, 152n.

⁴ François Chevalier, “New Perspectives and New Focuses on Latin American Research”, Conference on Latin American History, *Newsletter*, 21 (Apr., 1985), p. 14.

⁵ Unless, of course, they are.

analysis of the content of information as it was passed around and sought is a way to subordinate such categories to experience instead of imposing them on it in advance. In a larger study presently under way, I shall deal with the movement and accessibility of information by exploring in some detail four aspects: the grid, the carriers, the content, and the inquirers. Here, however, I should like to limit myself to some preliminary discussion of the grid.

Roads linking cities and towns formed the structure of a kind of informational grid. Information available in a given place was roughly proportional to the size of its population and the rate at which people circulated in and through it. Novelties from the outside must have been welcome, especially if they could be attached in some way to people already known or known about. Because the monopoly system of commerce limited the number and significance of portals to the outside, Vera Cruz was obviously the prime place to seek out information from Spain. Don Juan Gómez Franco (born about 1694 in Barrameda, Spain) knew this but failed to take advantage of it.⁶ For eighteen years he lived in New Spain without ever receiving news of his wife and daughter in Castile. Presuming but not verifying that his wife was dead, Gómez remarried. But at the same time he realized that she could be alive, became uneasy, and admitted his recklessness in the confessional. The priest ordered him to Vera Cruz “to investigate whether she were dead or alive”. Later he claimed that from his home in Córdoba, very close to the port, he had made such trips both before and after the second marriage “whenever ships were in ...to ask after his wife and daughter”. If he had in fact done this before his second marriage, apparently he did it more energetically afterward, when he heard two conflicting reports, both from men of San Lúcar. One said that his wife had married a farmer (*hombre de campo*), the other that she was dead. The resulting uncertainty created considerable anxiety for Gómez, “causing so much internal disquiet” that he was distant and transported to the point that “on occasions his present wife would ask ‘what’s with you?’ or ‘what’s come over you?’” Before this, when Gómez had presumed that his first wife was dead, he may have believed what he *wanted* to believe.⁷ The judges, in any case, did not excuse him, citing his presumption as a “frivolous excuse... when to investigate the truth... in Vera Cruz, where so many people arrive from his home region (*patria*), was a simple matter, while for his wife it was more difficult, because she did not know where her husband was after so many years without news”.

The Inquisitors recognized here a well-established network and insisted that information was available at Vera Cruz. No excuses on the part of Gómez could justify the failure to secure it. What is more, in Córdoba Gómez was on one of the main routes between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. Not only did he have access to Vera Cruz itself, but also to virtually all recent arrivals from Spain. Because Vera Cruz was so highly regarded as a source of information, affidavits taken there automatically carried an extra measure of authority. At least Juan Antonio Chacón Gayón (born about 1661 in San Vizente de la Barquera, Burgos) thought so.⁸ He travelled from Puebla to Vera Cruz to obtain forged testimony from an alleged eyewitness of the death and burial of his wife in Spain. Juan came up with a document that was easily dismissed by the judges. “It is not presumable or credible that a priest from the town of Laredo would write so awkwardly and with such poor orthography”, they said, and besides “there are so many errors in the certification itself ...[which] is not even written on stamped paper”. If Chacón’s attempt to manufacture the evidence that he was free to marry failed, it was because he executed it clumsily, not because he misjudged the force that such an affidavit normally carried. There was, after all, a similar logic at work when

⁶Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN), Inquisición, vol. 972, exp. 1.

⁷Dolores Enciso Rojas deals with this aspect of the Inquisition case files in her “Perversión de la memoria: las mentiras de los bigamos”, in *La memoria y el olvido: Segundo Simposio de Historia de las Mentalidades* (Mexico City, 1985), pp. 153-163. Bartolomé Bennassar says that those accused of bigamy routinely used the defense that a spouse was dead; see his, *The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Benjamín Keen (Berkeley, 1979), p. 291n.

⁸AGN, Inquisición, vol. 699.

the Inquisitors found fault with Lorenzo de Otalora Carvajal (born about 1626 in Antequera) for not verifying properly his wife's death.⁹ That Lorenzo was a slave did not make him any less responsible for obtaining necessary information. "With Guatemala [where his wife was] so close to Oaxaca", they asked, "and with the two cities having so much communication between them", why had he not made more effort to "know if it were true that the said mulatto Blas had killed... his wife?" Even to trust the word of a notary, as Lorenzo had done, was no excuse.

A node could be any place where people within some sort of community could pool their individual knowledge and perceptions. The process was a constant set of interactions focused primarily on the fierce curiosity to know about one another. Much to his dismay, Gerónimo de Rivera (born about 1570 in Seville) found that information that his wife was alive and well found its way to the small mining camp of CuencaMé all the way from Seville.¹⁰ In fact, mining camps could be alive with information because transients of many types arrived regularly with news of the outside world. Juan Joseph de Ortega (born about 1715 in Guadalcázar?), resident in the mining camp of Guadalcázar virtually all of his life, noted that in his lifetime "many bonanzas" had brought to the district "many people from every corner of the kingdom with every possible trade".¹¹ As a miner and (probably more importantly) as majordomo of the *cofradía* of San Joseph, a post which entailed travelling the district and collecting contributions, Ortega said he knew "most of the people" who had resided in the area. When the time came, the Inquisition called upon Ortega's intimate knowledge of the people of his district, a knowledge that encompassed even an obscure 'coyote' resident only a few years on an outlying ranch.

People acquired information about each other because they were curious. What they gleaned remained as a curiosity to chat about as long as nothing suspicious emerged to pass on to authorities. Residents took particular interest in new arrivals, even familiar types such as the itinerant trader coming with his goods on muleback. Manuel Ángel Domínguez (born about 1718 in Villa de Trigueros), for example, had been engaged in this petty commerce for seven months ("siete meses de viandantes") when late one afternoon he entered the mining camp of Mesquital (district of CuencaMé).¹² That same night a notary, at the priest's behest, summoned him. The priest wanted to know about Domínguez's marital status and the whereabouts of his wife, this in spite of the trader's claim to be single. Although the monitoring of the morals of his community by the priest was more or less standard, it is important to stress that it was not a one-man job. Those with authority relied on the network of curious residents that made it impossible for strangers and transients to be anonymous as they stopped at isolated settlements. Indeed even when strangers were personally not considered suspicious they were nevertheless objects of considerable attention to be probed for news of people and events. Don Pedro Joseph Calzido of the mining camp of Cosalá, also a priest, illustrates the process. As two strangers conversed one day, he stood by listening.¹³ The circumstances were as ordinary as the people. Don Clemente, a carpenter, was talking in the anteroom of a private house to a man named Rivera, probably his helper, about an obscure vagabond named Juan Esteban Pacheco. Don Pedro perked up his ears on hearing that Pacheco's wife had been 'stolen' (*hurtado*) by some robbers shortly after she married him. Making a mental note of this tidbit, he carefully recalled it later for the Inquisition when Pacheco was investigated for bigamy.

⁹AGN, Inquisición, vol. 610, exp. 11, f. 233-384. I discuss this case in more detail in "Slavery and the Inquisition in New Spain: A Note on the 'Closed System' Thesis of Stanley Elkins", in Jeffrey Cole, ed., *The Church and Society in Latin American History* (New Orleans, 1984), pp. 125-137.

¹⁰Huntington Library - 12 - HM 35106 - Pt. 2. The date of Rivera's trial was 1603, only two years after the mining camp was settled. He may have been among the first to arrive at a time of rapid settlement of the area, for Vázquez de Espinosa reports 120 vecinos and many transients there in 1604; Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 192-195.

¹¹AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1180, fols. 14-98.

¹²AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1066, exp. 4.

¹³AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1088, fols. 211-274. Br. don Pedro's testimony was recorded by a notary on 11 December 1761.

People in small, out-of-the-way places with few distractions and a slow pace (such as Cosalá) eagerly snatched at scraps of information, whether generated locally or from afar. Those with something to hide kept their secrets in these outposts with difficulty. San Miguel de Panzacola, a distant presidio on the very edge of the viceroyalty, is another example. Francisco Xavier Ponce de León, in charge of a squad (*escuadra*) there for ten years, injured a vertebra and returned to central Mexico.¹⁴ At the presidio, he had known Joseph Miguel Reyes (born about 1730 in Calpulalpan) for four years. Disabled with a broken bone, Reyes, a former soldier, had become a storekeeper. He was married, the father of two, and compadre of Ponce de León. All of this was normal enough and no cause for suspicion as long as details of Reyes' other marriage remained hidden. However, while Ponce de León was stopping over in the village of Calpulalpan (jurisdiction of Tezcuco), he conversed with the village storekeeper and found out that his surname was Reyes. Ponce de León picked up on this and mentioned Joseph Miguel, his compadre and the man's namesake in Panzacola. The at first happy coincidence that the men were brothers followed. But as they chatted Ponce de León shocked the storekeeper with news that Joseph Miguel had remarried in Panzacola, and the storekeeper Ponce de León with word that his absent brother already had a wife here in Calpulalpan. Ponce de León verified the information by speaking to the alleged wife, and then proceeded to Mexico City where he denounced his compadre to the Inquisition.

They way that apparently innocuous information about Joseph Miguel moved from a small presidio in the north to an insignificant village in the center of New Spain indicates that nodes--places where information was transmitted--did not have to be important centers or even places on well-travelled roads. On the contrary, the intensity with which available information was worked over by people in smaller centers was inversely proportional to their size and the amount of traffic passing through them--rough indicators, in turn, as noted above, of how much information was introduced and circulated through the system of a local center. A resident of Calpulalpan or Panzacola was far more likely than a resident of Mexico City, for example, to have complete knowledge of the people of his district. Catalina Rodríguez, resident most of her life in Dominican haciendas around Las Amilpas, told Inquisitors that a free mulatto, Juan Luis, could not possibly be married "because if he were she would have known it, having always been in contact with him, with his pueblo of Yguala, and with other places where he goes..."¹⁵ Seventy-year-old Miguel de Montoya used exactly the same negative inference: "if [María Hernández] were dead it would have been public knowledge in the said village of Cantillana where her father and brothers live".¹⁶ Within sub-regions, especially isolated ones with a brisk regional traffic, knowledge of the people of a small network of towns circulated rapidly and efficiently. Juan Antonio Mascareñas (born about 1700 in, or on the road to, Santa Fe) married a second time thinking that his first wife was dead.¹⁷ After about a year, a Joseph Flores, native of Querétaro and fellow soldier, told Juan that he had been in Sinaloa and had seen his wife. Juan, stationed in Cerro Gordo, got a twelve-day pass with the intention not to return but to go to Guadalajara and turn himself in to the Inquisition. His actual movements, however, reveal that he wanted to double check what Joseph had told him. He went to Indé and then to the mining camp of Canelas near Guadiana, asking in each place for news of his wife. Then, in Guapuquilla, his father-in-law, Leonisio Nuñez, told him that in a mail run he had just made, he had heard in Chihuahua that the first wife was alive. This seemed to be the final link that convinced Juan that he had indeed committed bigamy.

¹⁴AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1013. Ponce de León's first appearance before the Inquisitors is dated 3 October 1760.

¹⁵AGN, Inquisición, vol. 310, exp. 3. Catalina's deposition is dated December, 1614.

¹⁶AGN, Inquisición, vol. 23, exp. 10, fols. 166-266 (24 July 1553).

¹⁷AGN, Inquisición, vol. 824, exp. 12, fols. 74-197.

The mastery of local information was so complete that however distant from his town, a resident was, at least for a time, in possession of virtually all of it, even as he was collecting more to be added later to the common pool of his circle of contacts. Felipe Rodríguez (born about 1725 in Chinconautla), after about 25 years of residence in the village of Zumpango, took off with his team of mules, apparently not intending to return.¹⁸ After some seven or eight years away, while on the road to San Juan del Río, he ran into Alexandro Leonardo, a *vezino* of Zumpango. With Alexandro he sent back the cheerful message: “tell everyone in Zumpango that I am well and have suffered no setbacks” (avía seguido ninguna vejación). In fact, this passing meeting on the road allowed Felipe to control the information that was to go back to his home village. Had Alexandro seen Felipe in his new home, however, he would have seen that he had remarried, information that would have led to his prosecution had it got back to Zumpango.

Any gathering of people, however temporary, *ipso facto* formed an expanded pool of information. Such a gathering later worked to Felipe’s disadvantage one Thursday at the plaza of Guadalupe. A cousin of Felipe’s first wife (also from Zumpango) spotted Felipe while selling maize in the plaza and was curious about his companion. He activated the network around him and from “one and another” discovered that canon Malpica of Valladolid employed both men and that Felipe was married there. Thus Felipe was discovered, and the relative took the information to Mexico City where he denounced Felipe to the Inquisition.

The contrast in Felipe’s fortunes at the hands of his wife’s cousin and his *paisano* Alexandro points to two crucial aspects of information transfer. One had to have enough, and one had to have the context or interest to attach significance to it. The quantity could vary from very little indeed, say a mere fragment of an overheard conversation, to detailed reports from eyewitnesses. Moreover, information sufficient for one to assign significance was not for another because the crucial factor was not information as such, but the connecting of new information with old. In the case above the cousin of an abandoned woman was not collecting information disinterestedly, but rather was probing for some explanation for Felipe’s behavior toward his cousin.¹⁹ Thus nodes were the reservoirs of information but people were the contact points whose questions and sensibilities activated bits of it into *significant* information.

Mexico City was the ultimate node, housing temporarily and sometimes permanently individuals and clusters of people who themselves were fragments of other *patrias chicas*. People from even the smallest villages could find others there with current news from home. Take Juan Antonio Ramírez (born about 1716 in Puebla), who spent most of his early life in the fishing village of Alvarado.²⁰ Ramírez left Alvarado after surprising his wife in the act of adultery. Thrusting his knife violently but, as it turned out, inaccurately, into the mantled lovers huddled on the bed, he thought that he had killed her. His inference seemed confirmed when a letter from his sister-in-law reached him in Mexico City. The letter, he said, reported that “he had wounded [his wife] so severely in the breast that she had died”. He claimed that it had been delivered by the brother of the woman’s husband, Pasqual Bravo, traveling to Mexico City in the service of an employer based in Vera Cruz. Pasqual handed it to him “at the corner of San Bernardo”, and because Ramírez couldn’t read he went to a store in front of the monastery and asked a young man there to read it.²¹ Another relative of his wife, Manuel

¹⁸AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1156.

¹⁹This point will be analyzed further in a larger study when I consider in more detail the carriers of information and variations of categories for assessing significance.

²⁰AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1341. Gerhard, after Bishop Mota y Escobar, characterizes the port early in the seventeenth century as “a colony of Greek fishermen intermarried with Negroes”, and in the eighteenth as populated mostly by mulattoes; Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 361-62.

²¹Although one street does not make a ‘corner’, the text reads “en la esquina de San Bernardo”. Nor does it help that the convent was located in the middle of a block of the Calle de la celada, called calle de San Bernardo from the middle of the seventeenth century after San Bernardo was founded. The nearest corner was with Bajos de San Agustín and in a loose way the reference might be to that corner, see maps in Antonio García Cubas, *El Libro de mis Recuerdos*, sixth ed. (Mexico City, 1969), p. 173, and in Richard Boyer, “La ciudad de México en 1628: la visión de Juan Gómez de Trasmonte”, *Historia Mexicana*, 115 (Enero-Marzo 1980), facing p. 452. Additional details can be found in José María Marroqui, *La ciudad de México*, 3 vols., second ed. (fascimile) (Mexico City, 1969), I, pp. 615ff.

Bravo, came to Mexico City about a month later to claim his share of his father's estate. Ramírez bumped into Manuel at the corner of San Felipe Neri²² and again received confirmation that his wife was dead. A third confirmation came from Joaquín, a mestizo native of Mexico City but resident for most of his life in Alvarado. Somehow, probably as a small merchant, Joaquín continued to keep a foot in both places, "living part of the time in the port", according to Ramírez, "and part in this city". Ramírez ran into Joaquín in Mexico City's second-hand market (*baratillo*) "a year before the epidemic" and they discussed news of Alvarado. Joaquín told him that his wife had died of "fevers".²³ Two years later, the two men met again in the same market, where Joaquín was selling black trousers. Ramírez took a pair on credit and as they chatted found that Joaquín had travelled from Alvarado with Gregorio Zamudio, a *vecino* of the port. Ramírez then looked up Gregorio to confirm for a fourth time the certainty of his wife's death.

Although Ramírez seemed to suffer from a nagging uncertainty, he surely had good reason to believe his wife dead. From Mexico City one could contact good informants in order to keep surprisingly close tabs on a small, isolated, and distant village, and *vice versa*. Towns and villages received news of their native sons through periodic contact with the information pool of the metropolis. Joseph Antonio Rozete (born about 1733 in Tepetlapa) was the subject of such a reserve flow of information back to the provinces.²⁴ At the church of San Francisco, Joseph ran into María de los Dolores, whom he had not seen for five years. At one time both had been *vecinos* of the town of Chiautla, but María had moved to Piatla. Now each was in Mexico City to celebrate the festival of Guadalupe. María asked Joseph about his trip and Joseph, among other bits of information that María was to recall later, replied that he had come by foot and that he was married to an Antonia Navarro. María perked up at this because she had known Joseph as married in Chiautla. Back in Piatla she recounted the story of her trip to friends and neighbors, no doubt with particular attention to the significant bit she had learned about Joseph. Pablo Marcelino, a *vecino* of Tehuacán, was in her house on that occasion. He corroborated her suspicion, for he had seen Joseph living as a married man in Tehuacán for some four years. As soon as he returned, he denounced Joseph to agents of the Inquisition.

In this way, through direct contact with the person involved, information worked its way from Mexico City out to the towns. More indirectly, Ana Niño, a mestiza from Valle de Barranca but now living in Los Reyes, kept getting reports from Mexico City that her husband Diego was married there.²⁵ Perhaps because the information was somewhat uncertain, or perhaps because she did not know what to do if it were true, Ana did not act. However, the son of the *padrino* of her marriage, still resident in Valle de Barranca, was travelling through Los Reyes, which provided the occasion to see Ana. As he talked with her she mentioned the disquieting news from Mexico City, which he then reported to agents of the Inquisition. But what happened exactly in Mexico City that such news was picked up and brought to people such as Ana? We have already seen long-separated acquaintances meeting at the festival of Guadalupe. We have also seen a long-absent muleteer noticed when he showed up at the plaza of Zumpango on market day. Another variant that exemplifies behavior typical of many can be seen in the actions of Christóval Hernández (born about 1555 in Medina del Campo).²⁶ Hernández, a *vecino* and resident of Mexico City, had also resided for five years or so in the mining camp of Sombrerete.

²²Again the wording here is "encontró en la esquina de San Felipe Neri". San Felipe gives onto a plaza that becomes a direct, if narrow, passageway to the Cathedral three blocks or so to the east. The reference here could be to that plaza or it might refer to a nearby corner.

²³There is no indication that Ramírez saw this as a discrepancy from his earlier assumption that she had died of his stab wounds. His original presumption, of course, could encompass the notion that death was not instantaneous but delayed and accompanied by infection and "fevers".

²⁴AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1062, exp. 2.

²⁵AGN, Inquisición, vol. 134, exp. 9.

²⁶AGN, Inquisición, vol. 308, fols. 110-111.

On Tuesday, 18 August 1615, he entered the Cathedral and noticed two letters on a small box (*cajuela*) next to the font of holy water, one opened and the other sealed. The address on both was nearly the same: “Antonio Rodríguez, may God protect in the Indies in New Spain, postage one tostón”. Because he had known Rodríguez for five years in Sombrerete, Hernández took the letters to send them north “at the first opportunity”. As he read the opened letter, however, he was startled to discover that Rodríguez’ wife in Moguer had given birth to a son on 24 October 1614. But because Rodríguez had a wife in Sombrerete, where he was “vecino and resident”, Hernández reported his suspicions to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, handing them also the evidence of the letters.²⁷

Tracing the steps of Hernández in this way gives us a glimpse of how some ordinary routines intersected with the acquisition and processing of information. Entry into the church, the glance at the letters, the reflex to forward the two of them, the reading of the opened one, were not decisions but habits. The connections that he soon made, however, amounted to new information: the suspicion that his friend was a bigamist. Such a suspicion, Hernández well knew, must not to be kept to oneself. He passed it on immediately to its proper custodians.

Was the behavior of Hernández only characteristic of the capital? Probably it was not. People in centers of any size would have done much the same thing: the difference was not in process but scale. In Mexico City there was more information, fed by a wider range of sources, renewed more frequently, all permitting more and faster connections. Information lying inertly in the Cathedral in the form of undelivered letters was more likely to be activated, brought into the streets, and attached to people more quickly, because so much more traffic passed through that cathedral than any other. However obscure an individual, however distant in the provinces, Mexico City was the place to look for him. Take for example Alonso Guerra (born about 1544 in Bohadilla de Rioseco, two leagues from Villalón), for sixteen years missing in the Indies without a word.²⁸ After twelve years, in what must have been one of many attempts to locate him, his wife Catalina (now in Cantillana) wrote to Pedro Rodríguez, her uncle in Cartagena, asking him to look for Alonso. Pedro had no luck in Cartagena but eventually made it to Mexico City, travelling with a coffle of black slaves to sell there. Because he presumed that Alonso was in the cattle business, he approached three men in the main square one day, in appearance also cattlemen, and inquired about Alonso. The strangers indeed knew of him and said that he lived out toward Santa Ana. Later, a carter delivering fodder told Pedro that his master was Alonso’s compadre, godfather of one of his children. Furthermore Alonso himself was a carter, he said, at least on occasion, although in the old country he was said to have been a scribe (*escribano*). With this Pedro was convinced he had found the missing husband.

The continual circulation of people in Mexico City plus the size of the metropolis, made it a place to find out information. For the same reasons, paradoxically, some anonymity was possible there. Yet fugitives of whatever type could go unnoticed or forge new identities for only so long. Eventually travelers from even the most obscure and far-flung places passed through the city to recognize and greet their compatriot or, as the case might be, to expose an alleged compatriot as a fraud. Here the comings and goings of people were important but, even more, the process occurred as a matter of course because everyone collected and passed on information about paisanos, relatives, neighbors, and even strangers. María Guadalupe Delgadillo (born about 1760 in Texcuco) ran away from her husband in Tepespa (doctrina of San Juan Teotihuacán) twice, each time going to Mexico City.²⁹ The first occasion she took refuge in the convent of San Lorenzo, where

²⁷This file is as interesting as it is fragmentary. There is no indication that it went beyond Hernández’ initial denunciation. One of the letters is inserted in the file (fol. 111). A substantive problem that cannot be resolved with the documentation is that Rodríguez appears to have resided in Sombrerete for five years or so and the baby obviously was conceived in January, 1613. Hernández, I think, mistook his friend in Sombrerete for the Rodríguez of the letters. Others with similar suspicions did more checking before going to the Inquisition.

²⁸AGN, Inquisición, vol. 256, exp. 5.

²⁹AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1192, fols. 1-85.



she earned her keep as a servant. Behind the convent walls, María remained unnoticed for five months, but when she ventured into the street “to find a cure” for an illness, relatives of her husband spotted her. They took María in tow, brought her back to their house, and returned her to Tepespa. Returning to Mexico City a second time, María followed the same pattern: she obtained work as a servant in a private home, did the same in three different convents, and then returned to her original employer. This time, even though she wrote to her husband scolding him for mistreating her and asking him to change, she eluded his relatives and acquaintances for five years or so. Then, with grave consequences, she called attention to herself by contracting a second marriage. She took this step, she said, after talking to “some Indians from Tepespa, selling chickens at the Palace Fountain” and hearing from them that her husband was dead.

With María one sees how Mexico City could function in these several phases. It was a place to hide and to be found. And whether one was lying low or searching, it was a vantage point to glean news from home villages, choosing informants with discretion, if necessary, to minimize publicity. The trick for a woman, perhaps, was to remain cloistered as much as possible, stay away from the busy streets, and be watchful. Shrouding oneself in a *rebozo* surely made it easier to keep an eye on others while shielding one’s own features from view.

Hypólita de Alcántara’s (born about 1666 in Mexico City) avoidance of her husband Mathías, though both were in Mexico City at the same time, shows what could be done. Her evasion began when Mathías was caught stealing and sentenced to four years of labor in an *obraje*.³⁰ Although she stayed with him for a few months or so, the “bad life” (*mala vida*) was too much to endure, she said, and she ran off.³¹ Probably as a stopgap, she worked for a short time at the convent of San Bernardo, and then she joined the household of the Condesa de Peñalba where she remained for eight years. She moved in with her mother just before testifying before the judges of the Inquisition. It is notable, then, that during and after her husband’s four-year incarceration she lived undetected in the same city. After he was released and back on the streets, she managed to stay hidden even as she kept track of him. She said that he was easy to spot because he was so disfigured (“por ser tan orreroso de condición”), an appearance also described by the notary of the Inquisition: “body thin; face dark, long, and withered; beard and moustache graying; forehead scarred in the middle; eyes dark; upper teeth missing, bottom ones rotten”. By watching Mathías, Hypólita knew when he moved into his parents’ house near the Alameda and when he moved to Puebla with Matheo, like her husband, a trained embroiderer (*bordador*). And even as Hypólita was avoiding Mathías, he, after his release from the *obraje*, was searching for her (*por muchas y varias diligencias*) in a little drama of hide-and-seek that lasted about a year and a half before Mathías moved on.

Other cases could be discussed to illustrate in more detail how communication moved within and between cities, towns, and countryside. The framework for that communication I have characterized as a network of nodes stitched together by roads. On the basis of this sketch, a few conclusions seem justified. The conditioning factor for everything else was that the flow of people between every kind of place--city, town, port, or mining camp--was constant and itself a topic to be talked about. This ebb and flow of a large population carried information as a living repertoire to be recounted, played with, embellished, simplified, or interpreted as the case might be. To a considerable degree that information took as its subject matter people. People never tired of talking with and about each other. They also made a clear distinction between information considered amusing, curious, entertaining, or harmlessly scandalous, and that which indicated moral or criminal culpability. The latter they invariably reported to local authorities or to agents of the Inquisition. It was not in vain that that tribunal counted on the cooperation of the populace for its investigations, for indeed it was a popular institution.

³⁰AGN, Inquisición, vol. 547, leg. 8.

³¹Mathías stated that she had remained with him for two months, Hypólita that it had been a year.



Marcella M. Little*

**From Tax Farmers to Royal Bureaucrats:
Sales Tax Reform, State Revenues, and
Commerce in Eighteenth Century Mexico**

Beginning in 1754 Spanish reformers in New Spain instituted a major reform. They replaced sales tax (*alcabala*) farms with a rational tax collection system, based in theory on the close monitoring of commerce combined with consistent collection practices placed in the hands of professional bureaucrats. This effort was intended to meet reformist goals of increasing crown revenues, reviving the Spanish economy, and reasserting the power of the Spanish state over the empire, substantially lost in the time of the Hapsburgs. As part of this general overhaul of the relationship between the colonies and the mother country, the reformers' attempt to reassert royal control over tax collection threatened established networks of power and influence tied to the pre-existing tax farms, and unleashed economic and political struggles among those trying to gain or retain economic and political advantages. The reform of sales tax collection in New Spain particularly highlights struggles for control of trade among various groups of merchants in Cádiz, Mexico City, Veracruz, and the provincial centers of New Spain. At the same time, the maneuvers of all these groups influenced sales tax policy, collection practices, and revenues.

In 1575 the Spanish government imposed the sales tax in New Spain on the merchant or other seller involved in all sales of raw materials, consumer goods, chattels, and real and personal property. While in theory the tax was charged on every transaction, in reality it was usually charged as goods entered the jurisdiction of larger cities and towns, or by annual contract (*igualada* or *relación jurada*) in more rural and remote districts. Though the crown intended the tax to touch all commercial activity, certain types of people and goods were exempted. Personal exemptions applied primarily to Indians and the clergy but disappeared when these groups entered into the mainstream commercial economy. The Indians' exemption applied only to their dealings in Indian-produced goods, while the clergy and religious institutions remained exempt as long as they did not engage in trade for profit. Exempted goods fell into two broad categories: subsistence goods and luxury items. The first group included maize and other grains sold in markets and to the public granary, bread, and more generally all subsistence goods sold at retail to the poor and homeless. The second category included saddle horses, books, paintings, hunting birds, dowries, inheritances, money, and weapons.¹

Long before its introduction in the Indies the sales tax had played a major role in providing financial support for the crown. It probably originated in Castile in 1342 as a kingdom-wide tax during the campaign to re-take Algeçiras from the Moors. First established as a temporary war-time measure, it had become a permanent part of crown revenue by the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, supplying at least 80 percent of regular state revenue during their reign.² By the sixteenth century observers argued that the tax

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¹*Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1943), Lib. 8, tit. 13, leyes 19-23.

²Some scholars date the introduction of the *alcabala* to the reign of Alfonso of Castile in 1269. Salvador de Moxo, *La alcabala, sus orígenes, concepto y naturaleza* (Madrid, 1963), and Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, "La alcabala en el Perú bajo los Austrias", *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 33 (1976), pp. 257-271, both accept the 1342 date, as do Fabián de Fonseca and Carlos de Urrutia,

directly obstructed the movement of goods within Spain and indirectly hindered their manufacture and sale. For example, in 1563 the merchants of Cádiz complained that taxes on commerce in the three years since 1560 had ruined their trade. During the eighteenth century Adam Smith, father of the philosophy of free trade, attributed England's prosperity to the lack of tax barriers on internal trade. He even condemned the alcabala specifically:

Through the greater part of a country in which a tax of this kind is established, nothing can be produced for distant sale. It is to the Alcavala, accordingly that Ustariz imputes the ruin of the manufactures of Spain. He might also have imputed to it likewise the declension of agriculture, it being imposed not only upon manufactures, but upon the rude produce of the land.³

In spite of reservations such as these Philip II, pressed by ever increasing demands on his treasury, extended the tax to the Indies in the last years of the sixteenth century. Acknowledging the fragile state of the colonial economy, and perhaps recognizing the potential harm caused by this type of taxation, the king imposed a two percent tax in the Indies, low compared with the standard ten percent paid in Spain.

Tax Farms

For over 150 years sales taxes in New Spain--in Mexico City, Veracruz, and the provinces--were collected by private tax farmers, groups of local merchants and local government officials. Since they all had a stake in colonial commerce, they used their control over tax collection to allocate the burden of taxation in Mexico to their own advantage. In obtaining and fulfilling their contracts these tax collectors bought both commercial freedom for themselves within their districts and guarantees of minimal state interference. Under a kind of tribute or contractual system the actual amount of tax collected bore little relationship to real or anticipated commercial activity. Instead, it reflected the balance between the government's need for increased revenues--evidenced so dramatically in the rate increases of the 1630s, when the tax jumped rapidly from two to four, and then to six percent--and its need to buy political peace, emergency support, and cooperation in the colonies. Under this system one body, the powerful merchant guild (*consulado*) of Mexico City, dominated commerce and sales tax collection in all of New Spain, not only in the Mexico City sales tax contracts, but also through its domination of provincial tax farmers and local government officials dependent on goods supplied by the *consulado* merchants.

In the capital for most of the seventeenth century the city council and merchant guild competed for the right to collect the alcabala. The *cabildo* won early favor, between 1602 and 1676, gaining four of the first five contracts, but proved an unreliable source of income, and often defaulted. Over this period it became increasingly clear that only the *consulado* had the financial wherewithal to meet the contracted sums. Worried that the amounts collected by the guild did not accurately reflect commercial activity, toward the end of the century the Viceroy ordered the termination of the agreement with the city and the imposition of government collectors. When collections actually declined from over 270,000 pesos to just over 230,000 pesos annually, the government re-opened bidding to private contractors beginning in 1694.

Historia general de la real hacienda, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1849), vol. 2, p. 5, and Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Politica indiana* (Madrid, 1736-39), p. 462; Moxo (p. 13) attributes the 1269 date to Jaime Vicens Vives and others. For the importance of the alcabala to Ferdinand and Isabella, see Edward Ames and Richard T. Rapp, "The Birth and Death of Taxes", *The Journal of Economic History*, 37 (1977), pp. 161-178.

³Robert S. Smith, "Sales Tax in New Spain, 1575-1770", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 28 (1948), p. 2; Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York, 1937), p. 861. Sentiments of the Cádiz merchants may be found in Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, 2 vols., trans. by Sian Reynolds (New York, 1973), vol. 2, p. 534.



Over the sixty years 1694-1754 the consulado contracted four fifteen-year agreements, the first signed at 260,000 pesos annually and the remaining three at 280,000 pesos. In each case the consulado provided substantial guarantees and gifts to the crown to secure the contract. Private individuals submitted rival bids for at least two contracts, in both cases for amounts substantially higher than the consulado's bid. While the government undoubtedly used these to extract a higher price from the consulado, it seemed unwilling to give up its ties to the guild. For example, in 1707 the government actually signed a contract with Spanish merchant José de Zozoya for 325,000 pesos per year, and got an immediate treasury deposit of 200 doubloons and a further promise of 10,000 pesos within four months for the construction of the royal palace in Mexico City. The consulado lodged an immediate protest, bid 280,000 pesos, and offered a 50,000-peso gift. In accepting the merchants' bid the Viceroy cited the security of their credit and their longstanding service to the crown. Zozoya received a refund of his doubloons. During bidding for the contract to begin in 1739 the guild overcame a rival bid by Veracruz merchant Juan Bautista Belaunzarán for a reputed 840,000 pesos. A successful lobbying effort by the guild's representative in Madrid helped persuade the King to turn down the higher offer,⁴ and the consulado accompanied its bid with a 40,000-peso donation.

Just as in Mexico City during the tenure of the consulado, major collection methods used in the provinces relinquished government functions to special interests. In some cities merchants with ties to the Mexican consulado often won private contracts, while in others consortia of local merchants, or of merchants and miners, held semi-public leases known as *encabezamientos*. Finally, local magistrates collected the alcabala in several districts, particularly those with large Indian populations. Many controlled trade in their districts while they themselves remained dependent on the Mexico City monopolists for supplies and credit.

The choice between private contractors and local citizens usually involved a trade-off between the maximum share of revenue for the crown and the need to keep political peace. This conflict is shown clearly in events in Puebla and Veracruz in the mid-eighteenth century. In both cities groups of local merchants complained of abuses by private tax collectors and asked that they be given the farm in the name of the citizens and merchants of the city. In Puebla in 1747 the resident merchants claimed that collector Jacinto Martínez de Aguirre, a citizen of Mexico City, forced the city's Indian traders to prove ownership of the goods they brought to sell in the city, and that he charged on inheritances, and on cotton brought in for the city's textile industry. Even though the Viceroy warned against giving the contract to the citizens, saying that "the people of that city do not have the necessary and suitable judgement to manage this tax", Martínez de Aguirre lost tax collection privileges in Puebla. The Viceroy's fear proved well founded when the city asked for relief during the ninth year of the fifteen-year contract.⁵

In Veracruz citizens overcame competition from a private merchant even though he submitted a higher bid. In this case, in 1751 Juan Bautista Belaunzarán, a local merchant who had bid on the Mexico City contract in 1739, proffered a bid of 62,600 pesos for nine years. The city promptly topped this by 3,130 pesos, which Belaunzarán matched with the added incentive of a 400-peso donation to the crown. The crown attorney argued in favor of the private bid despite the petition of 111 citizens of Veracruz to have it denied. Discounting this opposition, the *fiscal* claimed that a few wealthier merchants were using the others to assure local control over the tax, with the object of minimizing their own liability. He went on to state that giving the tax contract to the city would be

⁴Smith, "Sales Tax", p. 13.

⁵Revillagigedo a Enseñada, 15 de abril de 1747, and Informe del virrey, 9 de noviembre de 1757, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter, AGI), México, leg. 773; Consejo de Indias, 6 de noviembre de 1758, AGI, México, leg. 2092; Condiciones particulares conque a mas de las grales se remató estos asientos de las de Puebla y sus agregados, 1743, AGI, México, leg. 1959.

generally harmful to the treasury, cut down on bidding, and keep total revenue artificially low. Nonetheless the crown decide in favor of the citizens' group.⁶

A general agreement prevailed during the early period of alcabala collection in New Spain that public officials should collect the tax. The crown favored this system, and local officials consented in order "to free the town from the avaricious grasp of private tax gatherers",⁷ but when rate increases brought pressure for higher contract prices, cabildos began to default or refuse to undertake the job of collection. At this point demands for tax increases bore no relationship to the general state of the economy. On the whole, therefore, municipalities preferred to keep the tax in the hands of public officials, or at least local merchants, in the hope that collection practices would respond to local conditions. During the eighteenth century crown officials voiced a preference for private collectors, claiming that they promised higher returns. Political considerations often prevented these higher bids from resulting in actual tax farm contracts.

Until the mid-eighteenth century a special relationship evolved between the consulado in Mexico City and the alcabala tax farm. In Mexico City itself the guild assumed direct responsibility for the tax during almost half of the period before 1750, and played a major role during the cabildo farms as well. It also had a hand in provincial tax collections, although the details here remain elusive. In many cases provincial tax collectors remitted bills of exchange drawn upon the capital's large merchant houses,⁸ which probably indicates that provincial sales tax contracts provided them with a source of capital and means of control over internal commerce. Several regional leaseholders lived in Mexico City, among them José de Arizmendi, an active Mexico City merchant with commercial outlets in Sierra de Pinos who also collected the sales tax in that mining district.⁹ The frequent mention of lags in payments from the guild to the treasury, perhaps indicating difficulties in making collections, seems to rule out an overt desire for profit as the guild's major motive, and most likely the consulado reaped few profits before the economic upswing of the eighteenth century. Control of the tax would at least prevent others from exerting pressure on mercantile activity, however, and control of the collection process could assure a lighter tax burden for guild members. Also, perhaps the consulado was able to use the money collection to its advantage during the interim between collection and deposit in the treasury, relying on these revenues to finance commercial activities.¹⁰ At the very least, then, conversion to royal administration would force the consulado to make adjustments in its means of controlling commerce.

Tax Reform

The decision to reassert royal control over sales tax collection came first in Mexico City. Revenues had remained steady in the capital since the beginning of the eighteenth century, while total alcabala revenues for the viceroyalty had increased dramatically, from 370,000 pesos at the beginning of the century to over 500,000 pesos in 1740. Therefore, as negotiations opened in 1750 for the alcabala contract in the capital, the government asserted its decision to terminate the contracts and in 1754 established a royal bureaucracy.¹¹

⁶Ciudad, vecindario y comercio de Veracruz, 1752; and Revillagigedo a Enseñada, 18 de diciembre de 1752, AGI, México, leg. 2092; La ciudad, vecindario y comercio de Veracruz y don Juan Bautista Belaunzarán sobre quedarse ambas partes con el arrendamiento de las alcabalas de la propia ciudad, 1751, AGI, México, leg. 773.

⁷Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 103.

⁸David A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 51.

⁹Páez a Gálvez, 7 de junio de 1775, AGI, México, leg. 2354; Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, p. 98.

¹⁰C. Norman Guice, "The Consulado of New Spain, 1595-1795" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952), p. 105; Enrique Florescano and Isabel Gil Sánchez, "La época de las reformas borbónicas y el crecimiento económico, 1750-1808", *Historia general de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1976) vol. 2, p. 199. Florescano and Gil state that the guild merchants "financed a large part of internal commerce via the purchase or rental of the alcabalas and customs".

¹¹Collections for 1754 through 1758 are drawn from Estado general de productos, gastos y liquidación a favor de SM del ramo de reales alcabalas, unión de armas y armada de barlovento de esta ciudad y sus agregados, AGI, México, leg. 2092.

With this move the Viceroy was enabled to appoint professional bureaucrats with direct loyalties to Spain. He also attempted to reduce customary exemptions and exclusions by authorizing a set of rules to clarify and tighten collection practices and regulate all commercial travel through an elaborate system of passes and return receipts. By the 1760s reformers became increasingly aware that their efforts to monitor and tax commerce throughout New Spain would fail as long as provincial taxes remained in the hands of tax farmers. Political considerations, including some small-scale tax revolts in 1766 and 1767, caused an initial delay, but by 1776 all sales taxes in New Spain, except in the most remote jurisdictions, were placed in the hands of royal bureaucrats. Without doubt the new administration in Mexico City succeeded in its primary task of increasing tax revenues. In 1754, the city's net alcabala returns of over 700,000 pesos nearly doubled the consulado contract intake of almost 370,000 pesos for 1753, and for the first five years inclusive collections averaged over 600,000 pesos annually. The arrival of fleets with goods from Europe was the most significant variable influencing totals: revenues peaked the year following and gradually declined until the next fleet's arrival. Reflecting its large wealthy Spanish population and position at the center of New Spain's commercial network, the city accounted for over 50 percent of alcabala income to the royal treasury between 1754 and 1776.¹² The provinces saw similar dramatic increases. Overall income nearly doubled from 1776 to 1778, from 950,000 to 1,750,000 pesos. Increased revenues flowed from nearly all treasury districts of New Spain, only the troubled mining district of Bolaños showing an immediate decline. Income from the southern part of New Spain, from Puebla and Antequera, increased 50 percent in the first year. In the booming north the conversion resulted in substantial gains for the crown as revenue increased two-and-one-half times in Guanajuato and Durango, more than tripled in Pachuca and Guadalajara, and more than quadrupled in Sombrerete and Zacatecas. Such dramatic results appeared to vindicate those who had long been arguing in favor of royal collectors, and the new administrators lost little time in reporting their successes to the crown.¹³ These high levels were sustained over the first few years even in the face of the outbreak of war in 1780, in part because of a temporary two percent increase in the tax rate in that year.

In addition to these increased revenues the continued smooth flow of trade belied consulado warnings of impending commercial disaster. More ominous from the crown's perspective, however, were hints that resistance to the new system was showing up in increased contraband and fraud which sometimes reached into the aduana itself. Signs emerged that the relatively easy gains of the first few years of royal administration, many of which derived from the fact that taxes were finally levied on the major portion of commercial activity, would not be sustained without a struggle. To meet this situation, during the 1780s royal administrators introduced measures designed both to consolidate gains for the royal treasury, and to promote economic growth which in turn would increase revenues. In 1786 the crown introduced the intendency system to strengthen governmental authority at the regional and local level, and three years later the Spanish version of free trade (*comercio libre*) was officially extended to New Spain. Both innovations demonstrated the crown's desire to rationalize the imperial system and to undermine the powerful merchant guild and other vested interests in the colonies. While challenging the authority of the recently established sales tax bureaucracy, the intendancies had little direct impact on the overall amount of taxes collected. They posed a more direct threat, however, to the commercial system that supplied the tax revenue. For example, efforts by the government to eliminate or at least control the forced sale of goods by local government officials (*reparto de efectos*) threatened a vital link in the

¹²This total represents the ratio between Mexico City total collections and sales tax income into the matrix treasury in Mexico City between 1754 and 1776.

¹³Operación de lo debido cobrar...1778, Páez a Gálvez, 27 de julio de 1777; and Páez a Gálvez, 27 de agosto de 1778, AGI, México, leg. 2091.

commercial chain that would also hurt the consulado merchants in Mexico City.¹⁴ While their ability to control credit may have saved them in the long run, the capital's merchants saw both the end of the reparto and more efficient tax collection as direct threats to their customary control over New Spain's commercial system.

During the same decade the introduction of free trade into New Spain (officially in 1789, but unofficially as early as 1778) called into question the future status of the Mexican consulado and accentuated divisions within New Spain's merchant community. In general opposition to the system centered in Mexico City, while merchants in Veracruz and provincial centers such as Guadalajara expected from the new system an opportunity to compete more effectively with the capital's consulado merchants.¹⁵ Prior to 1778 merchants in other areas of New Spain provided no threat to the traders of the capital, but these same provincial merchants applauded the end of the fleet system in anticipation of greater independence and larger profits.¹⁶ The impact of free trade on the subsequent fortunes of Mexican merchants is controversial, particularly its effects on the hegemony of the Mexico City monopolists. On one side are those seeing a major blow to the merchants' ability to control commerce. These observers note the emergence of new commercial patterns, routes, and participants, and conclude that the city's merchants had lost their monopoly privileges, since with the loss of official support for their position their ability to control commerce had crumbled. Investments by established merchants in other activities such as mining and agriculture are interpreted by these observers as signs of commercial defeat and retrenchment. From this perspective, during the 1780s Veracruz replaced Mexico City as New Spain's commercial entrepôt, and its merchants came to dominate the commercial network. The emergence of large numbers of new merchants is seen as further evidence of the eclipse of the traders in the capital.¹⁷ Others have argued that while the reforms certainly terminated official recognition of monopoly and partially opened international trade to a wider group of merchants, the dramatic increase in the overall volume of trade and the Mexico City merchants' favorable position in the crucial credit network enabled merchants there to retain their dominance over the commerce of New Spain.¹⁸ From this perspective investments in mining and especially land became part of the merchants' overall strategy to control credit. In either case, the consulado saw the developments of the 1780s as a direct threat, accurately perceiving that the changes facilitated emergence of rivals both in Veracruz and the provinces. At the very least free trade with Spain and other Spanish colonies established the basis for a serious

¹⁴Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, p. 64; Alejandra Moreno Toscano and Enrique Florescano, "El sector externo y la organización espacial y regional de México (1521-1910)", in *Contemporary Mexico*, ed. James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer, and Edna Monzón de Wilkie (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 273-305.

¹⁵Brian Hamnett, "Mercantile Rivalry and Peninsular Division: The Consulados of New Spain and the Impact of the Bourbon Reforms, 1789-1824", *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, 2 (1976), pp. 273-305.

¹⁶Florescano and Gil, "Reformas borbónicas", p. 259.

¹⁷Many authors provide this interpretation. See, among others, Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: the Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713-1826* (Baltimore, 1983), p. 134; Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, *Comercio exterior de Vera Cruz, 1778-1821. Crisis de dependencia* (Seville, 1978), p. 16 (who also argues [p. 14] that new merchants often found themselves in trouble because they lacked sufficient funds and access to credit); Florescano and Gil, "Reformas borbónicas", p. 224; Enrique Florescano and Fernando Castillo, eds., *Controversia sobre la libertad de comercio en Nueva España, 1776-1812* (Mexico City, 1975), p. 20; Enrique Semo, *Historia mexicana: Economía y lucha de clases* (Mexico City, 1978), pp. 167-169; and Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid, 1970), p. 21. Viceroy Revillagigedo appeared to support this position when he stated that old merchants had turned to agriculture or mining, leaving the path open for new merchants with less money but more savvy; see "Carta reservada del segundo Conde de Revillagigedo", *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, 1 (1930), p. 194; and Revillagigedo, *Instrucción reservada al Marqués de Branciforte* (Mexico City, 1966), p. 200.

¹⁸This position comes out most strongly in the work of John Kicza; see his *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, 1983), p. 63; and "Merchants and Business Practices in Colonial Spanish America", comments presented at the Tulane Symposium on Unity and Diversity in Colonial Spanish America, 1983, p. 9. The consulado's contention that new merchants were prone to bankruptcy lends some support here; see "Informe de consulado", in Florescano and Castillo, *Libertad de comercio*, p. 73.

rivalry that erupted into an “economic struggle that was still going on when the Napoleonic wars disrupted the Spanish Empire”.¹⁹

*Revenues*²⁰

As noted above, alcabala revenues climbed dramatically after the arrival of royal tax gatherers. During the 1780s, however, the gains seemed less spectacular starting at the center of the commercial system, Mexico City. Revenues in the capital increased during the early 1780s, with totals approaching 900,000 pesos in 1784 and 1785, but in 1786, when an agricultural crisis swept the viceroyalty, revenues dropped over 200,000 pesos and failed to recover. Furthermore, revenues from taxes on European imports, the linchpin of consulado dominance, declined at an average annual rate of over four percent between 1786 and the end of the century. At the same time Veracruz apparently flourished. Under free trade the number of stores and warehouses doubled or even tripled. The population increased to 20,000 by the end of the century, with an additional 15,000 people seasonally floating through the city. An increasing number of vessels called at the city through the 1780s and early 1790s. After the reform of tax collection in the port in 1786, and through the early years of free trade, sales tax revenues increased dramatically in the Veracruz treasury district, at an average annual rate of over 20 percent between 1760 and 1785. In fact, during this period Veracruz accounted for over one-half of total provincial revenues from sales taxes, but after 1786 revenues there declined almost four percent annually, even faster than in the capital.

While sales tax revenues faltered in Mexico City and Veracruz, officials pointed to the economic dynamism of the provinces. Almost everywhere sales tax revenues had increased dramatically immediately after the imposition of royal collectors in 1778, but this trend did not last through the 1780s. Most significantly, in many regions tax revenues began a steady decline after 1786, most notably in coastal Tabasco, where contraband was clearly a factor, and also in New Spain’s mining districts. In fact, in Guanajuato sales tax revenue declined at an average rate of nearly nine percent annually between 1786 and 1816 after increasing at nearly the same pace between 1760 and 1785. Zimapán saw less dramatic declines, but along with Bolaños continued to produce smaller revenues from the alcabala. In other mining areas only new silver strikes prevented a similar pattern from emerging.²¹ For its part the government probably did not worry so much about the decline of sales taxes in mining areas, because it had previously granted massive tax exemptions to these regions in an effort to stimulate silver production. Even in other provinces where returns continued to increase, however, the *rate* of increase slowed. For example, while revenue in Guadalajara rose at an annual rate of over five percent between 1760 and 1804, the increase was greater in the early years of this period, reaching over fifteen percent per year from 1760 to 1786 but tapering off to nothing afterwards. Similarly, in Valladolid de Michoacán the greatest increases came before 1786. Only in Oaxaca and Acapulco did sales tax receipts accelerate after the early 1780s.

¹⁹James Lang, *Conquest and Commerce: Spain and England in the Americas* (New York, 1975), p. 80. See also Humberto Tandón, *El comercio de Nueva España y la controversia sobre la libertad de comercio, 1796-1821* (Mexico City, 1976), p. 19; Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España*, 4 vols. (Mexico City, 1941), vol. 4, p. 97; Luis Muro, “Revillagigedo y el comercio libre--1791-1792”, *Exposos de México. Homenaje a don Daniel Cosío Villegas* (Mexico City, 1971), p. 314.

²⁰The following discussion of quantitative trends is based primarily on the account books of the various regional treasuries in New Spain and from the annual books of the Mexico City customs house, all currently located in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. To identify and verify trends in regional tax collections I used ordinary least-squares regression, through the use of a SAS computer program. I only identified trends in cases with *t*-scores of at least .01, indicating a 99 percent probability that a trend exists. I calculated average annual growth rates for those regions and periods with statistically significant trend lines using the method and formula described by Roderick Floud in *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians* (Princeton, 1973), pp. 90-93. This method uses the regression line to calculate the growth rate, providing the equivalent of a compound interest rate based on the values for all available years.

²¹Páez a Flores, 14 de junio de 1788, AGI, México, leg. 2351.

Thus while overall sales tax revenues increased, the slowing rate of growth must have disturbed the tax collectors and reflected real problems in the regional economies. Historian of Guadalajara Eric Van Young notes that “the amount of taxable goods moving through rural markets, as reflected by the levels in alcabala (sales) taxes in the late eighteenth century, simply does not increase in proportion to rural population growth”.²²

Thus the 1780s—decade of administrative reform, free trade, and agricultural crisis—also brought dramatic changes in sales tax revenues. At the center of New Spain’s commercial system, in Mexico City and its potential rival Veracruz, collections on imports actually began to decline. This must have greatly worried tax officials subject to ever-increasing demands from a hard pressed royal treasury. Revenues also sagged in the provinces, but here the incorporation of remote northern regions into the tax system helped keep revenues up and exemptions for the mines, seen as an essential component of economic recovery, helped mitigate the tax officials’ worries.

Of course we still have to grapple with the problem of what these sales tax revenue figures really mean for the commercial system. What do they really measure? Several legal and illegal factors weakened government control and drained away tax revenue. While untaxed goods entered the stream of illegal trade most dramatically through coastal contraband, merchants used other methods as well, including clandestine entry, falsification of statements at aduanas, and bribery of customs house officials. In Mexico City and other commercially central areas the temptation to engage in illegal trade probably derived from a desire to escape heavy tax burdens that caused prices of legal goods to rise beyond the means of many potential consumers. High prices caused by a combination of high shipping costs, high taxes, and monopoly profits plagued the viceroyalty²³ and were seen as a real problem by Spanish reformers. One of these, Tomás Ortiz de Landazuri, said: “...of all taxes, there is no other more onerous and contrary to the felicity and life of commerce than the alcabala”.²⁴ The consulado also singled out the alcabala: “...everyone knows that whenever alcabala collections go up, those that must pay it are more ready to commit fraud and clandestine trade”.²⁵ In addition to this tax evasion, exemptions on the “non-commercial” dealings of Indians and the clergy, and those on basic foodstuffs like maize, also indicate that the tax revenues undervalue total commercial activity. Also, because of the elimination of the resale tax in 1756 most of the small-scale commerce that took place within the bounds of a single jurisdiction legally escaped taxation. Thus theoretically nearly all non-local commercial activity paid the alcabala, but it is quite likely that both the clergy and the Indians used their exemptions to bring in goods for trade, a commerce virtually unmeasurable but which probably did not increase over time. These transactions, in fact, probably became increasingly subject to taxation because of the reformers’ hostility toward corporate privilege and exclusion. By contrast, several factors spurred ever-increasing contraband traffic in the waning years of the century, including perpetual war in Europe that blocked supply routes from Spain, British blockades in the Caribbean, the mounting burden of taxation, and the opening of commercial access provided by limited free trade, neutral shipping, and increased contact with contraband-ridden Havana.²⁶

²²Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley, 1981), p. 268.

²³Florescano and Gil, “Reformas borbónicas”, p. 260.

²⁴The attitudes towards contraband of the important reformers Campomanes and Campillo may be found in Stephen K. Ainsworth, “Commerce and Reform in the Spanish Empire During the Eighteenth Century” (Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1975), pp. 118, 134. Landazuri’s statement may be found in Informe de Landazuri, 16 de octubre de 1767, AGI, México, leg. 1249.

²⁵Informe del consulado, 1753, AGI, México, leg. 2502.

²⁶Liss attributes to Revillagigedo the notion that free trade contributed to increased contraband; *Atlantic Empires*, p. 153. John Lynch, “British Policy and Spanish America, 1783-1808”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 1 (1967), p. 7, claims that while Great Britain profited from comercio libre the “lucrative and closely guarded Mexican trade largely eluded British penetration”.



Because of these exclusions, then, actual sales tax revenues collected during this period provide a direct measure only of the reformers' efforts to increase crown income from internal Mexican commerce. In addition, they provide a tentative general index of regional commercial activity, thus helping to illuminate mercantile ebbs and flows at both the center and edges of the commercial system. A maze of exemptions and rate changes, uncertainty over late colonial price trends for manufactured goods, and the difficulty of measuring fraud and contraband complicate evaluation of tax revenues as a direct measure of commercial activity, but study of sales tax revenue totals nevertheless provides an invaluable tool for analyzing regional commercial dynamism. In their efforts to rationalize sales tax collection and make it more efficient the reformers achieved spectacular short-term results. The crown's attempt to use alcabala reform in its assault on the corporate privileges of the consulado merchants succeeded in part, but the very act of imposing these reforms undermined the commercial system that rested on that control. The early revenue gains faded while the Mexico City merchants felt increasingly threatened, both by the government's attack and by the emergence of rivals in Veracruz and elsewhere. By the early nineteenth century the virtually insatiable demands of the crown on sales tax income severely undermined the efforts of the early reformers.

For trade between Veracruz and Jamaica see Ortiz de la Tabla, *Comercio... Vera Cruz*, p. 332, and for links with Havana see Tandrón, *Libertad de comercio*, p. 40. Some historians assert that contraband went up in wartime; See Javier Cuenca Esteban, "Comercio y hacienda en la caída del imperio español, 1778-1826", *La economía española al final del antiguo régimen*, 3 vols., ed. Josep Fontana Lázaro (Madrid, 1982), vol. 3, p. 424, and Semo, *Historia mexicana*, pp. 191-192. Most scholars quote Humboldt's estimate that 25 percent of imports entered New Spain illegally during the eighteenth century.





Brian R. Hamnett*

**Puebla. City and Province during the Independence
Period, 1800-1824**

Puebla became the principal centre of conflict during the years 1811-13. The object of this paper is to explain why it became so and with what result. It was a striking new development that the central-southern province of Puebla should by the winter of 1811 have become the focal point of an insurrectionary movement which had originated in September, 1810 from the social conditions of the central northwest of New Spain, a region of completely different cultural features. This transition, however, was not simply geographical. Moreover, it cannot be attributed uniquely to the appearance of the main revolutionary force under the leadership of José María Morelos on the Puebla perimeter in the summer of 1811. There was evidence of widespread popular participation in the insurgency movement within the province of Puebla itself. Morelos was able to tap this potential and for a time use it for his purpose, but it existed in its own right, and derived from circumstances which anticipated the outbreak of an independence movement. However, the roots of insurgent support are not easy to trace, especially since the archival documentation is only rarely concerned to point them out. It is one thing to identify support for the idea of political independence from Spain among urban intellectuals, in the main lawyers and members of the lower secular clergy, but quite another to explain why certain popular groups chose for a time to participate in an insurgency that to a large extent was initiated from outside their province.

Any examination of the social history of late colonial Puebla and Tlaxcala will show the existence of deep and long-lasting tensions at many levels, but it does not reveal the existence of any popular rebellions of breadth or duration which might be regarded as antecedents of the struggles of the 1810's. In the main, social conflicts took the form of limited demonstrations of popular grievances, usually designed to influence the course of litigation, and on occasions direct action either when litigation failed altogether or when particular abuses became intolerable. The frequency of litigation, and the predilection for appeals to the law and to the authorities entrusted with implementing it, indicate the degree of popular integration into the mental structure of the colonial system. The prerequisite for insurgency would be the breaking down of this structure, and the political objective of an insurgency movement would be to finish off any remaining sense of pertaining to the old structures and to create an alternative structure of authority and obedience.

A central problem lies in establishing the connection –if there was one– between localized, limited conflicts and insurgency participation in the 1810's. Once the "Independence period" is stripped of its nationalist rhetoric, we can see that many of the conflicts which preceded it continued throughout it, were on occasion subsumed into it, and often tended to supersede it well into the middle of the nineteenth century. The historical continuity lies not in the brief excitement over independence, but in the localized disputes which existed both before and after the armed struggles of the 1810's. The broader escalation of violence during that decade provided opportunities for popular action on a larger scale in pursuit of longstanding revindication of grievances concerning

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land or water rights, customary practices, abuse of labor, or wage levels. Such earlier conflicts were for a time transformed from isolated incidents into microcosms of the struggle beyond the local and provincial spheres. Once the official leadership of the independence movement had been removed and once the itinerant rebel bands were contained by government counter-insurgency policy, then these microcosms, stripped of their broader context, reverted to the limited spheres within which they had previously played their course. Such local issues remained generally as unresolved after Independence as they had been before it.

Land and Labor Disputes in the Puebla Countryside

Claude Morin contrasts land and labor conditions in Michoacán with those in the Puebla-Tlaxcala zone at the end of the eighteenth century. In the former, increased agricultural productivity resulted from greater use of irrigation and the extension of cultivated surface. In the latter, different ecological conditions and institutional practices impeded such procedures, and, instead, greater pressure was placed by the landowners upon the labor force, much of which was of indigenous origin. Morin argues that the result was a worsening of labor conditions on the land in the Puebla-Tlaxcala zone.¹ Resident estate workers (*gañanes*) in Tlaxcala and in several Puebla districts complained of long hours and of ill treatment by the hacienda owners or mayordomos. James Riley's study of labor relations in Tlaxcala draws attention to the generally small extent and perennially low yield of the Tlaxcala haciendas. Estate owners remained close to bankruptcy, a situation which led to pressure on the labor force and to repeated litigation with the Indian villages.² In many of the Puebla districts, the condition of the haciendas was little better than in Tlaxcala. By 1790, for instance, all the Cholula haciendas were burdened with mortgages, nearly 70% of which were in favor of some sort of religious foundation. Property owners usually borrowed in order to supplement deficient incomes or to pay off past debts, rather than to make improvements. Eleven of the 38 Cholula haciendas were bankrupt. The ranchos seem to have fared better: only one of the sixteen was bankrupt. In Puebla's most populous district, San Juan de los Llanos (now Libres), in the northeast, seven of the hacienda owners and ten lessees controlled the 36 estates. Of the 62 ranchos, half were under tenancies. Most of the Puebla ranchos were run as family enterprises. The haciendas tended to be market-oriented, and, in contrast to the ranchos, required a substantial outlay of capital and labor, neither of which could be counted upon. The Puebla *hacendados* experienced frequent frustration in their efforts to gain the upper hand over their labour force. Indian villages, moreover, continued to show reluctance to work on hacienda lands, particularly when wage labor services conflicted with their own planting and harvesting seasons.³

Disputes resulting from abuses of labor on estates in the main cereal districts of Atlixco, Tepeaca, Huejotzingo, and San Juan de los Llanos recurred during the 1770's and 1780's. Litigation accompanied the colonial authorities' recognition of the free status of *gañanes* in the *bandos* of 14 July 1773, 21 August 1779, and 23 March 1785. The laborers took their stand on the principle accepted in the *bandos* that as free men they had the right to take their labor where they chose. According to the proprietors, however, the workers

¹Claude Morin, *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVII. Crecimiento y desigualdad en una economía colonial* (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 250-253.

²James D. Riley, "Landlords, Laborers and Royal Government: The Administration of Labor in Tlaxcala, 1680-1750", in Elsa Cecilia Frost, Michael C. Meyer, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, eds., *El Trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 223-225.

³Reinhard Liehr, *Staatrat und Städtische Oberschicht von Puebla am Ende der Kolonialzeit (1787-1810)* (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 8-12. In San Juan, there were also *terrazgueros*, who paid either with part of their crop or in personal services their obligations to the landlords.

were by nature “idle” and “drunken”.⁴ Gañanes, as the litigation testified, would not tolerate verbal abuse or physical ill-treatment without protest. Between 1776 and 1778, the *alcalde mayor* of Tepeaca, Puebla’s principal maize-producing district, registered nine cases of ill-treatment. In 1779, resident laborers in San Juan de los Llanos marched on the landowner’s house when one of their number had been beaten on the Hacienda de Virreyes. The *alcalde mayor* responded by forming a body of men and arresting 25 of the protesters, though no one was excessively punished and the landowner proved concessive.⁵ *Indios gañanes* from the Hacienda de San Marcos in Acatzingo (Tepeaca) sent representatives to the city of Puebla in 1777 to press claims for unpaid wages. Although the Puebla courts upheld the laborers’ case, nothing was paid by the employers, and a second journey to Puebla was required, at great inconvenience to the workers.⁶ Gañanes on the Hacienda de San Sebastian Puchingo in San Juan de los Llanos appealed in 1782 for a liquidation of accounts, in view of the hacienda’s failure to pay them.⁷ Landowners throughout these districts, in Tlaxcala, and in the upland districts of Veracruz repeatedly blamed their economic difficulties both on worker recalcitrance and on government protection of worker interests. They demanded a change of policy.⁸ The above instances show that resident hacienda workers in the main cereal districts were not prepared to remain passive in face of abuses, especially when it appeared that the colonial authorities were disposed to listen sympathetically to their complaints. Practical redress at the place of work, however, remained another matter. This is not to argue that either repeated failure of redress or a general deterioration of laborers’ conditions in Puebla at the end of the colonial period contributed to insurgency support in the 1810s. On the contrary, there does not appear to be any systematic evidence in either respect. Nevertheless, the existence of tensions on the land among proprietors, mayordomos, and resident workers may have created conditions which made insurgency support possible when the opportunity arose.

The recovery of population during the eighteenth century added a further dimension to the sources of local conflict. Suits between villages, or with haciendas and ranchos, concerning possession of disputed borderlands appear frequently in the archival documentation. Several land suits in the later eighteenth century involved requests by hacienda laborers for formal incorporation as a *república de indios* with the statutory 600 *varas de fundo legal*, on the grounds that existing land resources were inadequate to sustain an increased population. Such requests generally received a favorable response from the viceregal authorities, as in the case of the request from the gañanes of the Hacienda de San Miguel Villanueva in Tepeaca in 1799 for formal pueblo status, with the full support of the parish priest of Acatzingo. The *audiencia* refused to sustain the vigorous opposition of the hacendado.⁹ Similar requests came from the gañanes of the Hacienda de San Pablo in the same district.¹⁰ Since these petitions also continued after the insurgency, as in the case of Atlixco in 1820, it seems that they formed part of a continuous trend, unabated by the years of violence in the countryside.¹¹

⁴ Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereafter AGI), *Audiencia de México*, leg. 1739, audiencia to crown, México, 23 July 1785, with 18 *cuadernos*. See Herbert J. Nickel, *Soziale Morphologie der Mexikanischen Hacienda* (Wiesbaden, 1978), p. 183. The daily wage was 1.5-2 reales.

⁵ Archivo Judicial de Puebla (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, Microfilm Collection), Rollo 68, “Levantamiento de gañanes de la Hacienda Virreyes (1779) y Hacienda de San Miguel (1780), San Juan de los Llanos”.

⁶ Archivo General de Notarías, Puebla (hereafter AGNP), leg. 238 (1770-71), notaría 3; *registro* (1777), f. 48.

⁷ Archivo Judicial de Puebla (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Cerro de Loreto, Puebla), leg. 1782, no. 2651, 30 August 1782.

⁸ AGI, *México*, leg. 1739, landowners of Tlaxcala and San Juan de los Llanos, 21 December 1785; see cuaderno 2 (1778) for the detailed file concerning the grievances of the gañanes; consejo de Indias, Madrid, April 1778.

⁹ Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter AGN), *Tierras*, vol. 1296, exp. 6 (1798), Ambrosio Sagarzurrieta, México, 31 August 1799; Viceroy Azanza’s decision, Mexico, 9 October 1799.

¹⁰ AGN, *Tierras*, vol. 1366, exp. 3, f. 119.

¹¹ AGN, *Tierras*, vol. 1903, exp. 6, Hacienda de Santa Lucía Nocemaluapan.

Villagers in extreme circumstances were quite prepared to take the law into their own hands when they felt that the orthodox legal channels had failed them. Even though the Intendent of Puebla, Manuel de Flon, commented sharply on Indian litigiousness--“it is well known and a constant occurrence that the Indians with a blind passion and tenacity pursue in the law courts of this realm their claim to the land”--the failure of the villagers of Chalcoapan in Cholula to gain access to the hacienda lands they contested led in 1809 to peasant direct action. Possibly their readiness to override the law was motivated by the conditions of hunger in the Intendancy due to the dearth of 1809-10, and their pressure for further land a response to food shortages within the community.¹²

Hacienda pressure for village labor proved to be a repeated source of conflict in the localities. In the southern district of Izúcar (now Matamoros), labor relations degenerated to the point of open rebellion in 1781, when resistance to forced labour on private estates led to violence. As a result, the *alcalde mayor* remained wary of further recurrence throughout the decade. Even so, the pressure from the estates for a guaranteed labor force from the peasant villages continued unrelieved. Hacendados continually appealed to the *alcalde* to secure this for them during the harvest season, but their requests were blocked by the opposition of the Indian village authorities, who, according to the proprietors, remained totally indifferent to their interests. The *alcalde* feared to exert pressure on them, confining himself instead to complaining of the “laziness” of the working population, which in 1787, following the dearth of 1785-86, he blamed for the loss of the cereal crop.¹³ The Izúcar district proved to be an insurgent stronghold in 1811 and 1812. The principal rebel force under Morelos made the town of Izúcar its forward base of operations, at the southern edge of Puebla’s cereal valleys. This district was also Puebla’s chief sugar producing zone, and in the late eighteenth century Izúcar contained even more tribute-paying negroes and mulattoes, often plantation and mill workers, than the comparable sugar zone of Cuautla. The wealthiest individual in the district appeared to be Mateo Musiti, owner of the Hacienda de San Juan Bautista Ravoso, one of the four sugar refining estates. A series of villages and *barrios* throughout the 1800’s pressed law suits against him for encroachments on their lands by his cattle. Such disputes were of long duration: in suits with previous owners, the Audiencia had decided in favor of the villagers in 1743 and 1747. It proved to be Musiti who vainly tried to rally Royalist resistance to insurgent forces when in December 1811 they appeared in the district from the direction of Chiautla. Musiti was forced to flee, leaving his properties at the mercy of the rebel army.¹⁴

Artisans, Guilds, and Merchants

A direct connection existed between the cotton textile industry of the provincial capital and the Gulf and Pacific coast raw material-producing zones, especially in view of mercantile involvement in both processes. The transition from woolens to cotton from the 1740’s encouraged the concentration of spinners and weavers in the city of Puebla. The rise of the Querétaro woolen industry probably helped to explain the decay of the woolen trade in Puebla and Tlaxcala. Although many other types of industry existed in the city, Puebla tended to concentrate on cottons, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century produced textiles valued at more than one million pesos annually. Although a cotton weavers’ guild had existed in the city since 1676, the merchant investors of the late colonial period preferred to operate outside the context of the guild structure. In any case, the guilds scarcely

¹²AGN, *Tierras*, vol. 1404, exp. 19 (1809), ff. 2-3, Flon to Viceroy Lizana, no. 33, Puebla, 2 September 1809.

¹³AGN, *Civil*, vol. 1418, exp. 15, ff. 208-209, *alcalde mayor* Lázaro Josef Figueroa Yáñez, Izúcar, 10 May 1787.

¹⁴AGN, *Tierras*, vol. 1385, exp. 2 (1806); AGN, *Tierras*, vol. 1404, exp. 6 (1809); AGI, *México*, leg. 1141, Flon to Mangino, no. 3, Puebla, 20 December 1787; Enrique Florescano and Isabel Gil Sánchez, eds., *Descripciones económicas regionales de Nueva España. Provincias del Centro, Sudeste y Sur, 1766-1827* (Mexico City, 1976), pp. 166-169. The district produced 60,596 *fanegas* of sugar and more than 90,100 *fanegas* of maize yearly.

affected the rural artisan, especially since in the peasant villages cotton spinning and weaving generally remained the preserve of women. Villages in several areas engaged in specialized activities. In Santa Ana Chiautempan, near Tlaxcala, for instance, weavers accounted for more than 75% of the local artisans.¹⁵

Two parallel processes were taking place in the late colonial period: mercantile penetration of the districts of raw material production, on the one hand, and mercantile penetration of the processes of textile production and distribution, on the other hand. The controversial role of the merchant who supplied capital or work instruments in the rural areas where a generally mulatto, pardo, or negro population produced cotton, had become a major political issue since at least the 1750's, when the royal authorities had sought to regulate private commercial monopolies in the localities. With the establishment of the Intendant system in New Spain in 1786, the Crown tried to prohibit *repartimientos de comercio*, through which royal administrators, financed by merchants, had used their authority in the districts to guarantee the merchants' monopoly of supply and extraction. As a parallel process, merchant investors in the textile producing zones increasingly financed artisan producers. This reduced the artisan's sphere of action, but it did not reduce him to the status of employee. Resentment of mercantile penetration seems to have raised political consciousness among artisans. According to Potash, some 28 cloth warehouses existed in the city of Puebla, into which went the greater part of the produce of the 1,200 looms of Puebla and those of Cholula, Tlaxcala, and Huejotzingo, their cloth handed over by the weavers to the merchants' commissioners.¹⁶ The majority of the city population worked in the textile trade, with possibly some 20,000 individuals involved, as well as domestically employed female spinners.¹⁷ The ordinary working people of Puebla consisted in the main of struggling artisan producers. The economic uncertainties of the 1790's and 1800's kept the city authorities wary of potential unruliness resulting from an artisan sense of grievance.

The city barrios, suburbs, subordinate districts, and areas within the tax district of the nearby town of Amozoc contained a large number of Indian and "caste" weavers producing popular clothing. The Puebla weavers' guild had little clear indication of the extent of production beyond its own organization.¹⁸ When in 1803 the cotton-spinners' and weavers' guild called for full subjection of producers to the guild ordinances, poor artisans protested that their livelihood and that of their families would be endangered. They argued that they could never afford the cost of guild examination. Other artisans replied that, since they did not work for themselves, they could hardly subject themselves to the guild organizations, especially since some of them operated with funds supplied by the merchants. Although guild officials threatened to close down the workplaces of these artisans, they received no sympathy from the municipal authorities, who had already listened to reports of guild extortion and poor quality products.¹⁹ The guilds sought constantly to secure the prohibition of all artisan activities that took place beyond the formal guild structure. In practical terms, the city council, aware of the social consequences, did not share this objective. The woolen guild pressed in 1807 for the banning of all activity beyond its supervision, and blamed poor sales of its own products on "free purchase and acquisition of woolen cloth". The Puebla municipality heard many such requests from guilds for a tightening of regulations. All were in themselves indications of the broad range of economic activities that took place in and around the city, and in

¹⁵Robert A. Potash, *El Banco de Avío de México. El Fomento de la industria, 1821-46* (Mexico City, 1959), pp. 17-25; Jan Bazant, "Evolución de la industria textil poblana", *Historia Mexicana*, 52 (April-June, 1964), pp. 473-516; Liehr, *Staatrat und Städtische Oberschicht*, pp. 17-23; Wolfgang Trautmann, *Las Transformaciones en el paisaje cultural de Tlaxcala durante la época colonial* (Wiesbaden, 1981), p. 102. See also Hugo Leicht, *Las Calles de Puebla* (Puebla, 1934), pp. 349-50, 385.

¹⁶Potash, *Banco de Avío*, p. 23.

¹⁷Liehr, *Staatrat und Städtische Oberschicht*, p. 21.

¹⁸AGN, Alcabalas, vol. 37, Rafael Mangino to Agustín Pérez Quijano, Puebla, 24 June 1793.

¹⁹Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Puebla, Puebla (hereafter AAP), "Expedientes sobre gremios y oficiales (1744-1802)", vol. 234, libro 2699, ff. 269-270v, Manuel José Herrera, *escribano*, Puebla, 6 May 1803; f. 27v, *veedores*, Puebla, 11 May 1803.

which a complex structured group of artisans participated. For such reasons, the city council generally ignored guild pressures and remained unwilling to provoke the large number of small “illegal” traders. The city syndic argued in 1807 that a total ban threatened the livelihood of many poor artisans, who, “worthy as they are, cannot afford to sustain the cost of officially authorized operations”.²⁰

The presence of popular-based insurgent bands throughout the Puebla countryside in 1811-12 made the municipal authorities graphically aware of the potential danger of collusion between them and a numerous body of disgruntled artisans within the city itself. Furthermore, the rebel presence in the countryside aggravated social conditions in the city as a result of migration from the rural areas affected by the fighting.²¹ No such collusion, however, actually occurred. An explanation may lie in the city council’s unwillingness to support guild restrictions earlier in the 1800’s.

The Insurgency in the Puebla Districts

By 1811 and 1812, the Intendancy of Puebla had become the “principal theater of the war”.²² Grievances of long duration in several districts on and beyond the Puebla borders provided recruitment for rebel bands operating under José Francisco Osorno. The Osorno clan, like the Villagrans of Huichapan, were already well known before the insurgency as criminals of long standing. Thieves before 1810, they became insurgents thereafter. The Osornos came to exercise a predominant influence across the Llanos de Apam and in the north Puebla sierra. This ranchero clan held Zacatlán as its operational base from 30 August 1811 until its capture by the Royalists on 23 August 1813. Members of the family owned or leased ranchos or haciendas in these areas, and commanded a wide clientèle which supported them with their material requirements. The insurrection enabled rancheros to become masters of entire haciendas. Osorno formed a group of rancheros into a well-mounted, well-armed band in the Zacatlán district, and operated throughout the Llanos and the north from August 1811; in total some 700 men were under his command.²³ Zacatlán had been a district in which *repartimientos de comercio* were the means by which outside merchants conducted their business, usually with credit from Mexico City, Puebla, or Veracruz merchants.²⁴ A disturbance had already broken out in 1802.²⁵ Hostility to creditors, whether merchants or shopkeepers, whose properties were frequently looted, may well have accounted for insurgency support in these districts.²⁶

Royalist counter-insurgency operations, which involved the burning of scattered settlements or *rancherías* throughout the disputed zones, only served to increase rebel support. Osorno gained recruits among hacienda workers, rancheros, shepherds, and peons, and had sympathetic contacts within the city of Puebla itself who supplied him with information. The pulque hacendados of the arid northern districts paid him protection money with which he financed his activities.²⁷

²⁰AAP, “Expedientes sobre obrajes y talleres (1621-1809)”, vol. 224, ff. 234-235, *síndico personero del común*, Puebla, 1 August 1807.

²¹AAP, “Expedientes sobre servicio militar, 1810-11”, libro 1288, ff. 240-256, Puebla, 21 June 1811; AAP, *Libros de Cabildo*, vol. 81 (1812), ff. 79-83, Puebla, 18 April 1812.

²²AGN, *Virreyes*, vol. 268A, ff. 1-7v, Calleja to Minister of War, Mexico City, 15 March 1813.

²³AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 285, ff. 50-51, Ciriaco de Llano to Viceroy Venegas, Puebla, 14 September 1811; ff. 100-101, Llano to Venegas, Tulancingo, 24 September 1811. See also Antonio Carrión, *Historia de la ciudad de Puebla de los Angeles*, 2 vols. (Puebla 1896-97; 1970 ed.), vol. 2, pp. 86-89.

²⁴AGN, *Civil*, vol. 896, Mexico City, 18 and 21 June 1804. See also Horst Pietschmann, “Der Repartimiento-Handel der Distriktsbeamten im Raum Puebla im 18 Jahrhundert”, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 10 (1973), pp. 236-250.

²⁵Carrión, *Historia de la ciudad*, vol. 2, pp. 82-89; René Cuéllar Bernal, *Tlaxcala a través de los siglos* (Mexico City, 1968), pp. 184-187.

²⁶AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 285, ff. 125-126v, Manuel Aráoz to Llano, Tlaxco, 30 September 1811; AGN, *Historia*, vol. 103, no. 22, Interim Subdelegate Juan Torquemada y Veristáin to Dávila, Tetela, 3 September 1811; no. 493, Dávila to Venegas, Puebla, 7 September 1811.

²⁷Carrión, *Historia de la ciudad*, vol. 2, pp. 87-91.

The main rebel army of 2,000 men (though with only 530 rifles) reached the southern town of Chilapa in August 1811. From this relatively fertile area, which produced both cereals and tropical crops, Morelos opened his first major campaign in November against Royalist positions on the populated plateau. The insurgent progress through the Puebla southern districts disrupted the trading activities and financial connections of outlying merchants. Those operating between Chilapa and Izúcar suffered first. Spanish peninsular merchants usually had to flee for their lives, leaving their investments behind them, losing what credit was owing to them and thereby compounding their own obligations to their creditors. Ramón Medrano, for instance, an importer of Spanish cloth, had contracted in 1808 with a Chilapa trader, Manuel Castrejón, for the distribution of his textiles in the district to the value of 1,612 pesos. The insurgent occupation of Chilapa interrupted his trade and Castrejón fled to Puebla for safety. Already late in repaying his debt, which was due by April 1809, he agreed to pay five per cent interest from February 1810 until its liquidation. The insurgency in Izúcar similarly disrupted the affairs of a Basque merchant, Domingo Aguirrisábal, who had formed a company with Francisco Torres, sub-lieutenant of the town militia. The rebel occupation, however, cost him his 1,600 pesos of investments. Aguirrisábal also fled to Puebla, owing the value of his house in Izúcar (2,300 pesos) to his Mexico City creditor, the merchant Captain José de Iraeta.²⁸

Effective control of Royalist operations fell to Brigadier Ciriaco de Llano, second-in-command in the province from 1 November 1811. In 1811-13, Llano played a major part in preventing the establishment of insurgent control on the plateau. During the autumn of 1811, rebel bands began to converge from different directions on the Puebla cereal valleys. The town of San Juan de los Llanos fell to them on 11 September. Other rebel bands threatened to cut off communications with Veracruz and caused alarm among the landed proprietors of Orizaba and Córdoba. Morelos himself took Izúcar on 10 December, his first major gain in fourteen months of activity. This town became his forward base of operations on the Puebla plateau, with the city of Puebla his declared objective.²⁹ Llano at that time considered the city defences useless. A volunteer force of 1,300 men was not fully equipped. The Company of Patriot Nobles, a cavalry section of the Volunteers of Ferdinand VII, consisted in the main of young men in their twenties, *poblano* and Castilian, almost entirely drawn from the families of landowners and merchants. Among them was the 20-year old Vicente Furlong, who had volunteered with 32 others in December 1810, before the insurgent threat to the city had materialized. Vicente Furlong was the son of José Sebastián Furlong, who held municipal office in 1811 and 1812, and who was listed in 1813 among the merchants as the owner of a bakery and eligible for donations required to sustain the counter-insurgency.³⁰ A veteran militia officer, Captain Gabriel Bringas, a member of one of Puebla's principal landowning and mercantile families, took command of the Urban Corps of Distinguished Patriots of Ferdinand VII in March 1811.³¹ Frequent conflicts took place between the civil and military authorities within the city concerning the financing of the counter-insurgency from February 1811

²⁸AGNP, leg. 152, caja 1 (1811-12), notaría 2, "Registro de instrumentos públicos (1812)", Puebla, January 1812; 22 February 1812. The authorities in Tlaxcala suspected Indian cooperation with the approaching insurgents. This was a district with a longstanding land dispute (since 1716) between private proprietors and communities; AJP, Rollo 2 (Independencia, 1811-35), "Procesos a sospechosos de insurgencia, Tlaxcala (1811)". See also Leticia Reina, *Las Rebeliones campesinas en México (1819-1906)* (Mexico City, 1980), pp. 348-349.

²⁹AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 286, ff. 245-246, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 11 December 1811; AGN, *Historia*, vol. 103, no. 24, Juan Valdés to Venegas, Real Fuerte de San Carlos de Perote, 12 September 1811.

³⁰AAP, "Expedientes sobre servicio militar (1810-11)", vol. 117, libro 1281, ff. 168-174; AAP, *Libros de Cabildo*, vol. 81 (1812), ff. 36-43v; AAP, *Libros de Cabildo*, vol. 82 (1813), ff. 231-233v. See also Eduardo Gómez Haro, *La Ciudad de Puebla y la guerra de independencia* (Puebla, 1910), pp. 139, 146. Patricio and Cosmé Furlong, prominent merchants and industrialists, both became governors of the State of Puebla, the former in 1829 and 1833, and the latter in 1834 and 1853.

³¹AAP, *Libros de Cabildo*, vol. 80 (1811), ff. 158-159v.

onwards. They did not cease with Independence in 1821, but continued through the period of Puebla's radical federalist stance in the second half of 1823.³²

Llano took the decision to make a stand at Atlixco. However, the expected attack on the city of Puebla in December 1811 did not materialize in spite of superior insurgent force. Morelos, instead of striking at Atlixco, withdrew towards Cuautla outside the cereal valleys of Puebla, largely because of news of the advance of the main Royalist army under Brigadier Félix Calleja. In this way, Morelos lost the opportunity of a swift advance on the poorly defended city of Puebla, which, if it had been taken, would have represented the most significant insurgent gain since Hidalgo's entry into Guadalajara in December 1810. The rebel force, while superior to defence forces within the city, could not, however, risk an action with Calleja's army in view of its own shortage of men and firearms. The insurgent position was, in any case, overstretched, since Morelos was attempting to secure control of a vast territory between the Pacific Ocean and the plateau. Nevertheless, his failure to seize Puebla allowed the Royalists to fortify the city and train its defence forces. Calleja caught Morelos in Cuautla between 19 February and 2 May 1812 while Puebla remained for the duration of the war in Royalist hands.³³

The long-term significance of Morelos' failure was highlighted by the activities of the other insurgent bands. The province of Tlaxcala lay largely under their control, with bands operating from Apisaco and seizing Texmelucan, which controlled communications between Puebla and Mexico City, on 1 January 1812. Other bands struck at Tepeaca and recruited among the "indiada" of the nearby villages, but they could not penetrate beyond Llano's strong position at Amozoc. Rebel activity, however, was intense in Cholula and Huejotzingo, but without the support of the main rebel army came to nothing in the long run. The Royalist siege of Cuautla enabled Royalist commanders in Puebla to recover the initiative: they retook Tepeaca on 30 May 1812, but were still not strong enough to take Izúcar. In the meantime, Spanish peninsular troops had been landed at Veracruz earlier in the year and had made their way inland to Puebla.³⁴

The second rebel threat began when Morelos entered Tehuacán with 3,500 men on 10 August 1812. This town, situated at the southeastern edge of the cereal valleys, became the principal insurgent base of operations. Other bands had already established a land blockade around the port of Veracruz from July in an attempt to cut the Viceroyalty off from Spain. Morelos' failures in the Veracruz uplands, however, had forced him back into Tehuacán and thence into Oaxaca, further away from the main centres of colonial power. A Royalist counter-offensive took Izúcar and Tehuacán in November 1812. After the end of the year, no major rebel force remained on the Puebla plateau. The insurgents had lost the year-long battle for the control of the cereal valleys of Puebla. By the winter of 1812-13, Morelos had abandoned the cities of Puebla and Veracruz as feasible objectives. By the time the Conde de Castro Terreño took command as General-in-Chief of Puebla's División del Sur on 9 March 1813, Royalist forces in the province totalled 7,498 men. The disintegration of the insurgent encirclement strategy in 1813-14 enabled the Royalists to advance into the heartlands of the insurgency. Particularly effective were their *divisiones volantes* after 1815.³⁵

³²AAP, Libros de Cabildo, vol. 80, ff. 200-211, Venegas to Ayuntamiento, Mexico, 16 April 1811; ff. 326-329, Dávila to Ayuntamiento, Puebla, 26 April 1811; ff. 151-156, sala capitular to Venegas, Puebla, 16 March 1811; AAP, Libros de Cabildo, vol. 82, ff. 441-442v, Dávila to Ayuntamiento Constitucional, Puebla, 5 August 1813; AAP, Libros de Cabildo, vol. 83, f. 60, Calleja to Ayuntamiento, Mexico, 20 January 1814.

³³AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 286, ff. 123-123v, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 23 November 1811; ff. 162-163, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 27 November 1811; ff. 194-195, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 3 December 1811; AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 289, ff. 158-159v, no. 43, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 10 February 1812.

³⁴AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 289, ff. 74-78v, Lieutenant Diego Ruiz Herrera to Llano, San Martín Texmelucan, 1 January 1812; Carrión, *Historia de la ciudad*, vol. 2, pp. 119-120.

³⁵AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 290, ff. 139-140v, Llano to Venegas, no. 71, Puebla, 28 June 1812; ff. 148-167v, no. 77, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 2 July 1812; AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 292, ff. 306-315v, no. 84, Llano to Venegas, Jalapa, 10 August 1812; AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 463, Captain Antonio Zubieta to Calleja, Cuautla, 21 November 1814; AAP, Libros de Cabildo, vol. 81, sala capitular to Ayuntamiento of Puebla, Veracruz, 14 July 1812.

Osorno's operations, particularly across Tlaxcala, still acted as a pole of attraction in the northeast. Although forced out of Zacatlán in August 1813, Osorno's bands continued to operate in the Llanos de Apam, a region that was not under Royalist control until September 1816. Government forces left garrisons in key positions in the Puebla northeast and in Tlaxcala, such as San Juan de los Llanos and Huamantla, by late October 1816, and established field guards (*guardacampos*) in several important haciendas.³⁶ To some extent members of these Royalist defence organizations were amnestied insurgents, who had sometimes been only recently hacienda workers. In other words, a considerable transfer of allegiances was taking place at the local level. It may have been motivated by villagers' and estate-workers' disillusionment with the insurgency and particularly with the rapid transformation of rebel bands into marauding bandit groups that preyed off the country people. The government was able to take advantage of such sentiments through its amnesty policy, which was designed to win back population to the official power. The terms of amnesty were lenient, and usually provided for return to place of origin and work. Since disruption of the network of investment and communications, however, had plunged the province into recession, there was little prospect of work for amnestied rebels, many of whom were left idle in the villages, susceptible to further insurgency recruitment, to banditry, or to commonplace crime. The amnesty lists suggest that individuals frequently took part in the insurgency for only short periods of time. Most of those who applied for amnesty in several Puebla districts in 1816 were young villagers in their late teens or in their twenties, who may have been attracted to insurgency participation through sheer frustration at the lack of any other possibilities for self-advancement. Many were described as "indios". They included hacienda workers from Atlixco, artisans such as weavers from Tlaxcala, muleteers, and army deserters. In the Puebla districts of Huejotzingo, Cholula, Atlixco, and Texmelucan there were weavers, tailors, barbers, carpenters, bakers, blacksmiths, button-makers, saddle-makers, tradesmen, muleteers, farm workers, and even mine workers. They represented, then, a cross-section of the artisan population of the district villages, as well as estate workers and small farmers. Unfortunately, the documents do not tell us what their motives for joining--or leaving--the insurgency were. Impressive, however, was popular willingness to change sides in the period 1815-18, a phenomenon evident also in the southern districts which in 1811-13 had been the principal areas of Morelos' support.³⁷

The Impact of Insurgency: Damage and Recovery

In the short term, the insurgency took a drastic toll in some of the areas affected, though the degree of recovery varied in accordance with the predominant economic activity. The long-term effects, however, are difficult to determine, since other factors of significance also enter the picture. The insurgency must be placed within its historical context and not treated in isolation from these other factors. The province of Puebla was already in economic difficulties before the insurgency broke out in its country districts. It is probably best to view the insurgency as a short-term aggravation of other trends, which much of post-Independence policy sought to rectify. There is a long catalogue of damaged properties and lost investments, but the insurgency did not break the power of the Puebla merchants, textile-operators, and landowners. Nevertheless, many smaller

³⁶AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 462, no. 2, Villaidea to Calleja, Pachuca, 4 September 1813; AGN, *Historia*, vol. 152, ff. 111-116v, Viceroy Apodaca to Minister of War, no. 1 (*reservada*), Mexico, 31 October 1816.

³⁷AGN, *Virreyes*, vol. 273, ff. 255-263v, Venadito to Minister of War, no. 761 (*reservada*), Mexico, 31 December 1818; AGN, *Historia*, vol. 152, ff. 334-348, Apodaca to Minister of War, no. 57, México, 30 June 1818; AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 296, ff. 106-113v, Captain Rafael de la Luz Segura, Tochimilco, 7 April 1816; ff. 136-145, José Montero, Puebla, 31 May 1816; ff. 165-172, José Montero, Puebla, 14 April 1816; ff. 193-201v, José Montero, Puebla, 19 November 1816; ff. 203-208v, Llano, Puebla, 3 December 1816.

merchants, shop-keepers, and outlying landowners suffered further hardships from the insurgency to compound those already experienced before 1810.³⁸

Many factors enter the picture: the impact of changing patterns of trade in the trans-Atlantic world after 1740, the recovery and subsequent decline of silver-mining, the effects of warfare and blockade after 1796, the impact of neutral concessions on the textile trades, the effects of the *consolidación de vales reales* after 1804, and the impact of two dearths in 1785-86 and 1809-10. These were all factors which deeply affected the economy and society of late colonial New Spain, of which the Intendancy of Puebla was an integral part. Except in terms of fiscal pressures, it is virtually impossible to quantify the relative impact of these factors, especially when we try to ascertain the impact of insurgency as well. The archival documentation on the insurgency refers largely to individual cases. Statements that haciendas were “devastated” fail to specify for the most part the degree of damage and do not take into account capacity for recovery. A few concrete instances should illustrate this point.

Wealthy proprietors were able in several cases to pay off their outstanding mortgage obligations in spite of recent insurgent activity in the countryside. The business connection between the Spanish peninsular merchant Tiburcio de Uriarte, a Royalist Volunteer Captain, and the Huejotzingo landowner José Mariano Tisier had begun in 1765. Uriarte belonged to a family of merchants which administered grain estates, lent to private proprietors, and maintained business contacts in both Veracruz and Spain. Members of the family held municipal office in Puebla. Tisier owned the Haciendas of San Pedro Coxtoca, San Luis Coyotzingo, and San Pedro Calputetlán. In 1765, Uriarte had secured on Tisier's behalf a mortgage of 3,000 pesos on Coxtoca from a city chantry. This mortgage was finally paid off in March 1820. In June 1812, in spite of continued insurgent activity throughout the main cereal zones, Uriarte provided a short-term loan of 21,000 pesos for Tisier to refurbish his properties damaged by insurgent depredations. Evidently confident of Tisier's solvency, Uriarte gave him the loan for a five-year period at the low annual interest rate of four percent, against the guarantee of three haciendas.³⁹ In another case, the opposite happened. Insurgent activity in Atlixco brought about the failure of one proprietor at least, though it is significant that this owner's debts had mounted initially because of the years of poor harvests which had preceded the insurgency. José Antonio Morales, who owned the Hacienda de San Alejo and rented the Hacienda de Zapotitlán, had frequently borrowed from his sisters and from his late brother without interest, beginning in 1812, in order to repair damage to his estates. The debts mounted to such an extent that he could no longer pay his 16,000 pesos in obligations and mortgaged his estates to his creditors.⁴⁰

Government fiscal pressure combined with insurgent activity in the countryside to restrict the commercial prospects of city merchants and shopkeepers. In March 1814, for instance, the authorities imposed fresh tax burdens on Puebla's 73 general stores (*tiendas mestizas*) and 36 bakeries (*casas de panadería*) in order to finance counter-insurgency policies. These pressures affected prominent merchants, professional men, and small traders equally. Several store proprietors appealed for reduction of the tax quota and argued that interruption of communications and trade in the countryside had disrupted their activities and reduced their capacity to pay. One Puebla merchant, Ramón de Rivera, owned two bakeries, one in the Calle de Torreblanca. He applied to the Municipal Finance Committee in 1816 for a rebate of 46 pesos levied on both shops.

³⁸For further discussion, see Brian R. Hamnett, “The Economic and Social Dimension of the Revolution of Independence in Mexico, 1800-1824”, *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, Neue Folge, Jg. 6, H. 1 (1980), pp. 1-27.

³⁹AGNP, leg. 145, caja 1, registro, Puebla, 30 December 1806; AGNP, leg. 146, caja 2, registro, Puebla, 28 July 1807; Archivo del Registro Público de la Propiedad, Puebla (hereafter ARPP), Libro de Censos, no. 40, ff. 130-130v, Uriarte to Ayuntamiento, Puebla, 11 December 1810; ARPP, Libro de Censos, no. 41, f. 365, Puebla, 11 March 1820.

⁴⁰AGNP, leg. 171, caja 2, registro, Atlixco, 13 January 1821.

Trade recession had forced the Torreblanca store to close down. Like Rivera, several other storekeepers secured a reduced tax quota or a rebate.⁴¹ However, it would be unwise to generalize concerning the impact of the insurgency on the city economy. Just as the initial thrust of Morelos' campaign of 1811-12 petered out, two Puebla merchants apparently felt sufficiently optimistic to form a company in February 1813 for the purpose of managing a general store in the Calle Segunda de Mercaderes, with capital of 10,897 pesos. Manuel Pérez de Oropeza and Cristóbal Ramírez contracted for a five year period. The latter became a city councillor in 1823.⁴² Later in the 1810s, as the dangers of insurgency receded, three city residents--José María Nava, Ignacio de la Baza, and Marcelino Cano--formed a company in September 1819. Cano also resided in the village of Cuautinchán, where the company shop was to open. Cautiously venturing back into the countryside, the partners provided only for an initial one-year agreement with the option of a further year. Cano and Nava both invested the relatively small sum of 1,000 pesos in the shop.⁴³ Three other Puebla merchants agreed in August 1822 to dissolve the company they had formed in August 1819 after realizing profits of 9,661 pesos, which they divided among themselves. All three were members of the Puebla city council. One of them, Juan González Núñez, had initially invested 6,000 pesos in the company. The enterprise became his sole responsibility in 1822. At the time of dissolution, the company assets reached 32,289 pesos, with 12,628 pesos in liabilities.⁴⁴

The insurgency was primarily directed against merchant-investors, particularly those of Spanish peninsular origin, their intermediaries, and local shopkeepers. During the fighting, landed proprietors not already resident in the city took refuge there if their estates were threatened with rebel attack. Even so, the great proprietors and merchants continued much as before, though on a reduced scale. Although the insurgency did not bring about the independence of Mexico from Spanish rule, it did help to undermine in many provinces the hitherto predominant economic position of the Spanish peninsular merchants. For those who were already principally based in New Spain, the insurgency did not undermine their position, but caused them temporary inconveniences. The Escandón family interests, for instance, had originated in Orizaba and then had been transferred to Puebla. Pablo Escandón, born in Asturias in the 1770s, had moved to New Spain in the 1790s. In Orizaba he married into the Garmendia family, part of the landed elite of upland Veracruz. During the insurgency in the Veracruz coastal districts of Acayucan, Tlalixcoyán, and Cosamaloapan, all cotton-producing districts traditionally connected with the Puebla textile industry, Escandón saw his investments there wither away during the summer of 1812. By the late 1810s, however, the Escandón family were an established part of the Puebla mercantile elite. Pablo Escandón's sons, Manuel and Antonio, the former born in Orizaba and the latter in Puebla, became by the 1840s "the best-known businessmen of the time", men who had moved well beyond their original Puebla milieu to function at the national level.⁴⁵

It seems probable that the impact of the events of 1800-1824 contributed towards the transformation of Puebla's economy from one heavily oriented in the colonial period towards Veracruz and Spain, to one more regionally based, though with strong interregional relationships to the provinces of Mexico and Veracruz, after the creation of the Mexican sovereign state. The former Spanish peninsular merchants had already been subtly

⁴¹AAP, Expedientes sobre servicio militar (1812-1820), vol. 118, ff. 123-135, Puebla, 28 March 1814; f. 201, Puebla, 6 February 1816.

⁴²AGNP, leg. 152, caja 1, Puebla, 22 February 1812.

⁴³AGNP, leg. 152, caja 1, Puebla, 9 September 1819.

⁴⁴AGNP, leg. 171, caja 2, Puebla, 27 August 1822.

⁴⁵AGN, *Operaciones de Guerra*, vol. 296, ff. 53-54v, Escandón to Llano, Puebla, 17 November 1812; ff. 55-55v, Llano to Venegas, Puebla, 20 January 1813. See also Margarita Urtas Hermosillo, "Manuel Escandón: De las diligencias al Ferrocarril, 1833-1862", in Ciro F.S. Cardoso, ed., *Formación y desarrollo de la burguesía en México, Siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1978), p. 33; and Moisés González Navarro, *Anatomía del poder en México (1848-1853)* (Mexico City, 1977), pp. 178, 218, 240, 406-408, 422.



absorbed into the Puebla regional elite and their descendants continued to hold such a position after Independence. An effort was made by Puebla industrialists under the leadership of Esteban de Antuñano, who had originated from Veracruz, to develop the colonial textile industry during the period 1836-1846 by means of a process of mechanization. However, problems of capital and technology, combined with inadequate national supplies of raw material, delayed this process until late in the century. Consequently agriculture, interregional commerce, and importing of manufactures from northern Europe remained Puebla's principal economic activities.⁴⁶

⁴⁶See Potash, *Banco de Avío*, passim.



Douglas W. Richmond*

Yucatan's Struggle for Sovereignty during the Mexican - U.S. Conflict, 1836-1848

The Yucatecan elite's major concern at the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Mexico was the acceptance of state sovereignty within the Mexican union. The national government was usually unwilling to do so unless Yucatán would support its leaders, or unless the republic was threatened with defeat by the United States. The struggle for sovereignty was complicated by fierce factional struggle among the Yucatecan elites representing Mérida and Campeche, which were determined to maintain commercial privileges and their lucrative trade with Mexico and the United States. At the same time, the white oligarchy resisted major changes in the socioeconomic order. During the U.S.-Mexican conflict Yucatecan leaders distrusted Mexico City, but were more concerned about national destinies than is commonly understood.

Yucatán's differences with Mexico evolved during the colonial period. Geographical restrictions and the presence of a small Spanish elite juxtaposed upon the largest Indian group in Mexico forced the Spanish to become less restrictive. The Maya retained more of their cultural heritage and pre-Hispanic institutions than other Mexican Indians. Spanish rule was relatively mild until the final decades of the eighteenth century, when the Bourbon reformers attacked Maya autonomy by means of fiscal and legal centralization. Because of the rising cost and demand for food, authorities permitted hacendados to convert the free peasants into *lunero* peons in the western areas including Mérida. Although formally subject to viceregal authority since the conquest, the Yucatecan elites in fact enjoyed an autonomous defensive military system established in order to defend them from pirate attacks.¹

Yucatán's regional distinctiveness became even more pronounced in the 1820s. Reluctant to support the independence movement, Yucatán joined Mexico as a state in 1824 only on the basis of unconditional federalism. But the Liberals and Conservatives angered the Yucatecans. Liberals such as José María Luis Mora did away with protectionist measures which had enabled Campeche and other ports to establish flourishing shipbuilding industries by the 1830s. Yucatecans had never had to pay the *acabala* sales tax during colonial times, but under the Liberals they were forced to do so. On the other hand, the Conservatives also alienated Yucatecans by forcing them to pay the *arancel* tax at the same rate as the rest of Mexico, whereas previously they had been obliged to pay at only 60% of the customs tariffs rate imposed on other states. Yucatecan planters disliked this blow to their tobacco production.² For this reason, sovereignty in the form of strong autonomy was popular among the upper class. In addition to the fiscal policies of the early republic, the elites also reacted strongly against political centralism, so that Santa Anna's dictatorship had little appeal in the state. Moreover, the campaign against Texas was quite unpopular,

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¹Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, 1984), is an outstanding overview. For economic change, see Robert Patch, "Agrarian Change in Eighteenth-Century Yucatán", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 65 (1985), pp. 39-49. See also Miguel Civeira Taboada, *Yucatecos en la sociedad mexicana de geografía y estadística desde 1833 a 1862* (México, 1964), pp. 23-24

²John G. Chapman, "Yucatecan Secessionism, 1830-1843" (Master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1967), pp. 15-20; Mary W. Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatán", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 9 (1929), p. 132.

since Yucatán ended up paying 17 percent of Mexico's cost for the war in Texas. As many as 2,500 Yucatecan soldiers were sent off to Texas, some of whom took part in the battle at the Alamo.³

Exasperated by foreign war and convinced that elite civilian government was superior to the chaos of the caudillos in Mexico, Yucatecan leaders revolted in May, 1839 and by June, 1840 had defeated the centralist forces in Campeche. Either outright independence or strong autonomy became ever more appealing as the Yucatecans wrote an ultra-liberal state constitution in 1841. Santa Anna persuaded Andrés Quintana Roo, a well-known Yucatecan poet and political writer, to act as his agent in order to negotiate an agreement with the Yucatecan leadership. Both sides consented to an accord on December 29, 1841. The agreement stipulated that the peninsula could remain under its current laws, enjoy favorable tariff rates as well as free transit of its goods, maintain autonomous military privileges, and elect two representatives to Santa Anna's provisional junta. Although the Yucatecan congress ratified the agreement and Santa Anna decided to reject it, provincial reaction to this *acuerdo* was unfavorable. Therefore the national government refused to seat the Yucatecan representatives until Mérida severed relations with Texas. Determined to rule all of Mexico as an authoritarian centralist, Santa Anna decided to dispatch a large Mexican army to Yucatán. But the Yucatecan upper class was united on the basis of sovereignty and routed Santa Anna's forces, who surrendered outside Mérida without much of a fight.⁴

Santa Anna's failure to impose centralist restrictions upon Yucatán enabled its leaders to secure the critically important *convenios* of December 14, 1843. With his prestige temporarily eclipsed, Santa Anna departed for his Veracruz hacienda and left a weak interim president, Valentín Canalizo, in charge of the government. But even though he was part of the Santa Anna regime, Valentín Gómez Farías supported Yucatecan aspirations for sovereignty. Gómez Farías persuaded Yucatecan leaders to discuss their need for autonomy with the national government as long as both sides could agree to support federalism. Himself a dedicated liberal, Gómez Farías sympathized with calls for regional self-rule. By means of a June 7, 1843 decree, the Yucatecan government commissioned three talented, hard-headed negotiators to obtain their demands, and their discussions with the national government produced the *convenios*.⁵

Similar in content to the agreement negotiated earlier by Quintana Roo, the December, 1843 *convenios* were precisely what the Yucatecans wanted. Yucatán would enjoy complete autonomy in the naming of local officials, was exempted from federal taxes in case of war, and did not have to supply soldiers to the national army. Should international conflict arise, however, Yucatán would have to make available to the central government all her naval forces and port facilities. More importantly, Yucatán could determine levels of customs duties, and her goods would enjoy unlimited access to Mexican ports, subject to local taxes. Naturally, incoming Mexican goods were not to be discouraged. In return for recognizing Santa Anna's regime, therefore, Yucatán obtained her autonomy, an odd contradiction that would bedevil the state's continual struggle for sovereignty.⁶

Once the *convenios* became law, both sides felt they had gained advantages. Santa Anna was eager to reunite Yucatán with Mexico as conflict with the United States threatened. He was also satisfied that Yucatán disavowed its "national flag" and adopted the

³Howard F. Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Yucatán, 1825-1847", in *Related Studies in Early Nineteenth Century Yucatecan Social History* (Chicago, 1950), p. 67; Albino Acereto, *Evolución histórica de las relaciones políticas entre México y Yucatán* (Mexico City, 1907), p. 69; Nelson Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan* (Stanford, 1964), p. 27.

⁴Chapman, "Yucatecan Secession", pp. 21-69; John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, 2 vols. (London, 1843), vol. I, p. 82; Acereto, *Evolución histórica*, pp. 73-75; Reed, *Caste War of Yucatan*, pp. 27-32.

⁵Ramón Osorio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias de México* (Puebla, 1972), pp. 153-54; Civeira Taboada, *Yucatecos en la sociedad mexicana*, p. 32.

⁶Juan Francisco Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán desde la independencia de España hasta la época actual*, 2 vols. (Mérida, 1921-27), vol. I, pp. 236-38; Osorio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias de México*, pp. 160-61.

institutional names and forms used by other states. For example, Yucatán established a centralized *Asamblea* (legislature) that replaced the congress, so that seven men became the lawmakers. Santa Anna also was allowed to select the new governor from a list of candidates proposed by the Yucatecan *Asamblea*. His choice of an old, neutral leader seemed to satisfy both sides. In general, Santa Anna favored the Campeche faction of the Yucatecan elites over the Mérida group. But in allowing the Yucatecans to establish tariff rates and use the resulting revenues as they desired, Santa Anna mollified Mérida as well as Campeche. And for all parties, the *convenios* temporarily quieted the popular campaign for Yucatecan independence.⁷

An attempt by Santa Anna to restrict Yucatecan commerce a year later revived the appeal of complete separation from Mexico. Santa Anna suddenly decreed on February 21, 1844 that only a certified number of articles could be exported duty-free from Yucatán to the rest of Mexico, but the list excluded major Yucatecan products such as maize, sugar, and tobacco. Himself a gulf coast hacendado, Santa Anna seems to have been responding with this measure to the appeals of other east coast hacendados to restrict Yucatecan products. Gulf coast weavers and spinners also wanted to restrict the entry of Yucatecan textiles.⁸ The decree definitely created adverse conditions for Yucatecan commerce.⁹ To make matters worse, Santa Anna refused to consider Yucatecan petitions to rescind the trade decree and appointed a new governor for Yucatán who took possession of his post on June 2, 1844.¹⁰

Throughout the remainder of 1844 and all of 1845, the Mexico City governments and Yucatán could not reach agreement over how to resolve the autonomy dispute. The new regime of José Joaquín de Herrera was willing to cancel the February, 1844 trade decree, but neither Herrera or the national congress would accept the *convenios*. But the Mariano Paredes revolt in January, 1845 changed matters since Paredes was backed by Spanish royalists who strongly favored centralism. Distressed that Paredes would not repeal the 1844 commerce decree, Miguel Barbachano seized power in Mérida when Santa Anna's governor refused to sign the Yucatecan legislature's program for independence. After Barbachano recalled Yucatán's representatives from Mexico City, Paredes agreed to informal discussions about implementing the *convenios*. Although Barbachano offered to recognize the Paredes regime and bring Yucatán back into the Mexican union if Mexico City would withdraw the 1844 trade restrictions, little happened because Paredes was too busy balancing federalist appeals and royalist plots to satisfy Yucatán or the rest of Mexico. To force a decision, Barbachano's legislature in July, 1845 reaffirmed Yucatán's desire to remain independent. But on December 14 of that year, the Mexican congress formally repudiated the *convenios*.¹¹

The decision of the Mexican *Cámara de Diputados* moved the Yucatecan lawmakers simultaneously to decree the peninsula's independence and withdraw recognition of the national government only two weeks later. The Barbachano regime had separated from Mexico precisely over the issue of the *convenios*, and not in order to avoid the danger of war with the United States.¹² Yucatán was unhappy with Mexico City but genuinely desired to return to the republic when Mexico could accept the *convenios*. When Paredes returned to power early in 1846, the Mexican government recognized the *convenios*, but the executive did not. Moreover, the February, 1844 trade law stayed in force. Paredes immediately began

⁷Juan Suárez y Navarro, *Informe sobre las causas y carácter de los frecuentes cambios políticos ocurridos en el estado de Yucatán* (Mexico City, 1861), p. 9; Chapman, "Yucatecan Secession", p. 72; Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Yucatán, 1825-1847", pp. 73, 74, 617.

⁸Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Mexico, 1825-1847", p. 74; Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 242-43.

⁹Acerato, *Evolución histórica*, p. 83.

¹⁰Osorio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias*, p. 162.

¹¹Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Mexico, 1825-1847", pp. 619-20; Miguel Soto, "The Monarchist Conspiracy and the Mexican War", in Douglas W. Richmond, ed., *Essays on the Mexican War* (College Station, 1986), pp. 66-84; Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 244-47; Acerato, *Evolución histórica*, p. 83.

¹²For a dissenting view, see Suárez y Navarro, *Informe sobre las causas y carácter*, pp. 10, 57-59. There is great disagreement among Yucatecan historians on this issue.



negotiating for Yucatán's return, but such a clumsy negotiating posture was a feeble position from which to deal with the Yucatecan upper class, which was losing commercial revenue.¹³ Paredes continued to assume an ambivalent position that the Yucatecans considered hostile, reportedly informing Barbachano that he would support the *convenios*, yet insisting that the national congress would have to ratify them. But if Mexico City legislators refused, Paredes warned, Yucatán would have to exercise considerable prudence and respect the national government. As a *congreso extraordinario* prepared to meet in Mérida, the Yucatecans debated whether absolute or temporary separation should be the course to follow.¹⁴

Mexican appeals for reunion on the basis of pure patriotism failed. Paredes dispatched Colonel Juan Crisóstomo Cano to Mérida in order to discuss Yucatecan re-entry, but Cano insisted that prior to signing any treaty, Yucatán must send 300 artillerymen to Veracruz, and, if possible, an infantry battalion as well. Although well received at first, Cano brushed aside political concessions and tried to whip up support for the conflict with the United States. Cano's mission collapsed when Barbachano insisted on the end of the 1844 trade decree and reinstatement of the *convenios*. To worsen matters, Cano foolishly requested that the Yucatecans revoke the convocation of the *congreso extraordinario*.¹⁵

Barbachano reviewed Yucatán's grievances in an address to the congressmen on the day following their formal installation. He noted that Mexico City's March 7 reply to Yucatán's position was unsatisfactory and created "inevitable discord". Barbachano pointed out that article 16 of the *convenios* mandated that the December, 1843 agreement was "inalterable" and not subject to later discussion or political circumstances. The governor also announced that relations with the Mexican government had deteriorated to the point that Yucatecan negotiators in Mexico City had requested their passports when discussions ended. The congressmen indicated their support by electing Barbachano as provisional governor during a secret session held the same day.¹⁶

As war broke out between Mexico and the United States, the legislators reiterated that the abrogation of the *convenios* had ruled out adherence to Mexico. In view of the central government's instability and the Yucatecan legislature's desire to maintain Yucatán's security, the body decreed that it would arrange internal and international matters as it deemed appropriate. But, it insisted, "as a new testimony to the spirit of nationalism", it was willing to reunite with Mexico if the state's needs were recognized.¹⁷ As proof of its determination to maintain Yucatecan autonomy but eventually rejoin Mexico through negotiations, the Asamblea appointed an official agent during a secret session. The legislative commission defined its agent's primary mandate as clarifying Yucatán's relationship with Mexico.¹⁸ On May 12, 1846 the legislators received from the Paredes government a reply to their March 14 note, but once again the president's position regarding the *convenios* and the February, 1844 trade restrictions was unacceptable.¹⁹

Although stung by yet another rejection of their demands, the Yucatecans appointed a new agent to discuss the *convenios* in Mexico City. This diplomat reiterated that independence would probably be the inevitable outcome of the current situation. If that were the case, then the Yucatecan *comisiones locales* would ultimately make the decision, while congress would establish a new administrative structure if the local governments opted for independence. But if the Mexican government were publicly to declare its true sentiments in a positive manner, then this process could be short-circuited. Mexico, however, would

¹³Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, p. 248; Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan", p. 134.

¹⁴*Diario de la Marina*, March 15, 1846.

¹⁵Osorio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias*, pp. 163-64; Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, p. 251.

¹⁶Yucatecan Documents (hereafter cited as YD), Sesiones del Congreso (hereafter cited as SC), Special Collections, Library of the University of Texas at Arlington, Roll, 37, vol. 13, frames 4-10, address dated April 23, 1846.

¹⁷YD/SC, Roll 29, vol. 16, frames 13-14.

¹⁸YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frames 3-4.

¹⁹YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frame 6.



have to proclaim its protection of Yucatán's political structure in line with the principles of a "republican, popular, and representative government".²⁰ Although the negotiator held out the hope that differences could possibly be reconciled, the Yucatecans were making it clear that they preferred a federalist regime in Mexico City.

The Yucatecan legislators defined their position in a June decree as concern for Mexico's fate in its struggle against the United States surfaced. Joaquín Castellanos successfully proposed that Yucatán resign itself to whatever fate befell Mexico during the war with the United States, that domestic issues be put aside temporarily, and that Yucatán not provide aid to the United States. The Castellanos motion also proclaimed that Yucatán would "at the same time support the war on the peninsula (of Yucatán) against them (the United States) if necessary". Nevertheless, he concluded by warning that involvement in the war could lead to very serious circumstances, complicating the Yucatecan position even more.²¹ Despite their sympathetic concern for Mexico, the congressmen insisted that the *convenios* be accepted and that Yucatán remain free of all commitments to the republic. Meanwhile, congress would establish a new administration and rejoin Mexico in case a mutually satisfactory arrangement could be made.²²

After prolonged debate, the Yucatecan deputies demanded their sovereignty without direct reference to the war. Once again, the legislators manifested their dissatisfaction with Mexico's response to their March 7 demands relating to the *convenios*. Article two reiterated Yucatán's independence while article three stated that Yucatán would return to Mexico and "comply with all its duties" if the *convenios* were accepted. Article four announced that a *ley orgánica* would define Yucatán's new government. The last provision of the decree stipulated that all civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities swear an oath of allegiance to the preceding articles.²³ By ruling out the writing of a new constitution and pledging to fulfill her duties if Mexico would approve the *convenios*, Yucatán sought to establish what amounted to temporary independence. And the motion to support the war should Yucatán decide to resist U.S. forces held out the possibility that Mexico could count upon Yucatecan assistance.

Less than two months later, Yucatán began to take notice of conciliatory gestures from its former nemesis, Santa Ana. Exiled in Cuba, Santa Anna engineered his return to power by promising to reimpose the federalist constitution of 1824. Also attractive to Yucatán was Santa Anna's opposition to a monarchical government. Going further, in March, 1846 Santa Anna reportedly backed the return of Yucatán by sanctioning the *convenios*. He admitted that his February 21, 1844 order was a mistake, but attributed its promulgation to his enemies, who supposedly used it to turn the rest of Mexico against him.²⁴ Such pro-Yucatecan sentiments made a substantial impact in Havana, where much of Mérida's commerce arrived.

Once again Santa Anna tricked Yucatecans into supporting him in return for his promise to respect their autonomy. After his revolt broke out in Guadalajara on May 20, 1846 Santa Anna left Havana and met with Barbachano in the port of Sisal. There Santa Anna agreed to support the *convenios* in return for Yucatecan backing for his cause. By means of Decree 37, the Yucatecan legislators supported Barbachano's deal in August. Proponents of the decree argued that Santa Anna was offering much more than Paredes. After heated debate, Yucatán's legislature decided to back a president who had once betrayed it while the nation was experiencing a difficult war.²⁵ Rather than independence, Yucatán had now accepted a federalist autonomy with tacit recognition of a limited role in

²⁰YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frames 6-7.

²¹YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frame 8, sessions of June 3, 1846.

²²YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frame 9, sessions of June 6, 1846.

²³YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frames 52-53; Acereto, *Evolución histórica*, pp. 83-84.

²⁴Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatán", p. 134; *Amigo del Pueblo*, March 10, 1846.

²⁵Orosio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias de Méjico*, p. 164; YD/SC, Roll 29, vol. 16, frames 17-18, contains Decree 37. Also see YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frames 20-22; YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frame 84.

the war with the United States. Santa Anna and Barbachano quickly formalized their agreement. On September 24, 1846 the Mexican government decreed that Yucatán was officially “revindicated”, and ended the hated February, 1844 trade restrictions. That, along with the declaration that the *convenios* were once again law, meant that Yucatán was reincorporated. The declaration noted that Yucatecan officials, both public and private, had carried out tough negotiations, and the peninsula’s congressmen received a call to rejoin the national congress as Mexico reestablished a federalist system. A day later, Barbachano accepted these conditions with a request that he be reconfirmed as governor of Yucatán.²⁶ The Yucatecan congress declared Yucatán’s reincorporation into Mexico on November 2, 1846.²⁷

Meanwhile, the Yucatecan elite established economic policies clearly designed to enhance their power. Despite its traditional demands for free trade, the legislature levied a wide variety of new customs charges upon incoming trade and vessels from Mexico, voting down an August 21, 1846 motion to exclude all Mexican imports from taxes, and two months later imposed a 10 percent duty upon all imported cotton.²⁸ The Yucatecan legislature also enacted wasteful as well as self-serving tax privileges. While the rest of Mexico was levying stiff taxes upon local churches to fight the war, Yucatán allowed foreigners to import on a duty-free basis items used to adorn their churches.²⁹ Landowners received exemption from the *contribución personal* tax in May, 1846 while petitions permitting influential citizens to avoid tariff charges became routine.³⁰

Simultaneously, the government weakened itself by means of arbitrary policies that alienated rural laborers and peasants. Particularly distasteful was the *fagina* (forced labor) legislation obliging villagers to build public roads. When rural citizens requested exemption from these duties, the legislature typically refused.³¹ Moreover, land policies allowed plantation owners to expand at the expense of the villages. *Jefes políticos* were conferred jurisdiction in conflicts between villagers claiming land that hacendados desired to obtain, and the *jefes políticos* could recommend new boundary changes affecting any village. The ostensible goal of this law as to provide “subsistence” lands for villagers, though in actuality the hacendados often influenced the *jefes políticos* for their own benefit.³² In addition, the villages lost their fiscal independence when the Yucatecan legislators abolished the *cuentas de arbitrios* (tax agencies). But as food became scarce --maize prices had quadrupled since 1813-- congress exempted villagers from payment of the *arrendamiento* tax in August, 1846.³³

Constant intervention by Mérida in Campeche resulted in widespread dissatisfaction with the Yucatecan legislature. Grievances in Campeche had many causes. The legislators in Mérida had always insisted that they were federalists, but they tightened their control over Campeche in 1846. In May of that year, congress ruled that the Campeche *fondo común* (treasury) revenues would have to be sent to the state treasury rather than to the Campeche ayuntamiento. Mérida also regulated health conditions in Campeche’s port and raised import duties, which irritated the merchants since most of their trade focused upon Mexican gulf ports, while Mérida prided itself upon commercial links to New Orleans, Havana, and New York. Campeche had to seek approval from the state capital to pay for a lighting system in the barrio of San Roman, while nearby Carmen appealed for 16 pesos a month to maintain vaccination facilities. Mérida also “revised” Carmen’s budget in August, 1846.³⁴ By amending

²⁶*Siglo Diez y Nueve*, no. 819, October (?), 1846; Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, p. 252; *La Patria*, September 20, 1846.

²⁷YD/SC, vol. 13, frames 138-141 contain the official reincorporation decisions enacted by the Yucatecan legislature.

²⁸*La Patria*, April 26, 1846; YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frame 82; YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 13, frame 137.

²⁹YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frame 59; from session of July 7, 1846.

³⁰Pertinent examples are YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frame 20 and YD/SC, Roll 29, vol. 16, frame 16.

³¹The *fagina* problem is described in YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frames 61-62, 101 and YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 13, frame 113.

³²For land policy, see YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frames 72, 89-90, 94-95; Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, pp. 8-11, 41-49.

³³YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13 frames 82, 84 mention the *cuentas de arbitrios*. The end of the *arrendamiento* tax is related in YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frames 79-81; and YD/SC, Roll 29, vol. 16, frame 16.

³⁴YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frames 23-28, 35-36, 75-76; Moisés González Navarro, *Raza y tierra; la guerra de castas y el henequén* (Mexico City, 1970), p. 50.

Carmen's fiscal affairs to suit its tastes, the Mérida congress served notice that its notion of autonomy was quite contradictory. The Yucatecan congressmen were unabashedly liberal in terms of the demands they set for the peninsula in relation to Mexico City. But the Mérida deputies were determined to control Yucatán's local affairs with an iron fist.

The agreement between Santa Anna and Barbachano finally motivated defiance from Domingo Barret, the *jefe superior político* of Campeche, and the local ruling class, who demanded that the state legislature revoke its support for Santa Anna's Plan de Guadalajara. Campeche leaders also agitated for the restoration of Yucatán's 1842 constitution, because they were distrustful of Santa Anna and concerned about their own autonomy. Campeche disavowed the *ley orgánica* written in Mérida and proclaimed in September. Practically a new constitution in itself, the document was actually fairly centralist in that it mandated a strong executive and enumerated obligations and duties expected of each citizen.³⁵ Finally, the Barbachano faction began discharging followers of Santiago Méndez, Campeche's departure from the gentlemanly atmosphere of internal Yucatecan politics.³⁶

The first phase of a Campeche revolt began on October 25, 1846 when its leaders demanded reestablishment of the 1841 constitution, reduction of taxes, and the return of *campechanos* to public office. The executive of the state government was quite angry as well as confused with this turn of events but merely requested the legislators to discover and describe Campeche's political direction. The state government, concerned about smaller revolts in the rest of Yucatán, considered the Campeche uprising a serious revolt and formulated extraordinary powers for the government to crush it. The legislators proposed that the government should have wide powers to re-establish order and to enhance its revenues from throughout the peninsula.³⁷ Barbachano contained but could not crush the Campeche rebels. On December 8, 1846 groups in Campeche revolted successfully. The movement gained the support of many Indians who were attracted by Campeche's continued call for tax reductions. The Campeche leaders protested bitterly against Barbachano's November, 1846 reincorporation into Mexico since the national congress had not ratified the *convenios* or revoked the February, 1844 trade decrees. Fearful of Santa Anna's centralist tendencies, the leaders in the port city of Campeche once again demanded restoration of the 1841 constitution.³⁸

Perhaps more importantly, Campeche wanted to clarify that Yucatán would remain unconditionally neutral during the war with the United States. Campeche merchants feared their fleet would be seized or destroyed by U.S. forces during the war. The feeling persisted in Campeche that Mexico could not possibly win against the United States and that local exports would be adversely affected by U.S. blockades of Mexican ports. Furthermore, many feared that if the United States invaded Yucatán, Mexico could not aid the peninsula. Although *campechanos* shared Mérida's conviction that the *convenios* had to be honored, they insisted that Yucatán declare its neutrality during the war in order to gain economic advantages. Therefore, the December revolt attracted more local support than the earlier insurrection because Barret and other Campeche leaders opposed Yucatán's reincorporation into Mexico.³⁹

Barbachano's efforts to rally the peninsula behind him against the Campeche revolt on the basis of patriotic support for Mexico failed. The state government's official periodical claimed that Yucatán was proving its loyalty in the war, refuting suggestions to the contrary. It also referred to the Campeche revolt as "vandalism" and linked it to the resurgence of

³⁵*La Patria*, Oct. 8, 1846. The *ley orgánica* is outlined in González Navarro, *Raza y tierra*, p. 72; YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frame 23; YD/SC, Roll 29, vol. 16, frames 19-26; and YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frame 99.

³⁶YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frames 23-24.

³⁷Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Yucatán", p. 622; YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frames 26-27.

³⁸Suárez y Navarro, *Informe sobre las causas y carácter*, pp. 10, 18; Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 254-59.

³⁹Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Yucatán", pp. 621, 624; Acereto, *Evolución histórica de las relaciones políticas*, pp. 85-88.

caudillos. Along similar lines, Barbachano impuned the rebel proclamations as unaptriotic and claimed that the Campeche revolt threatened the *convenios*. But these patriotic calls to arms failed because mass opinion opposed further bloodshed and because most Yucatecans were embittered by the deceitfulness of the Mexican government. Barbachano's position deteriorated further when he labeled as traitors those who would not take up arms against the rebels; his military support melted away and Mérida surrendered to Barret's victorious Campeche forces in January, 1847.⁴⁰

Campeche's desire for a specific understanding with the United States proved contagious. As early as March, 1846 Yucatán's official periodical voiced widespread fears about the effect of the U.S. navy upon Mexican ports. When war broke out, sentiment for annexation to the United States appeared on the western coast of Yucatán.⁴¹ As if to justify *campechano* anxiety, a U.S. warship sailed into Campeche on June 4. The U.S. navy had given its commander specific orders to salute the Yucatecan flag with a barrage from his 21 guns, and the captain demanded to know Yucatán's intentions during the war. Campeche took no direct action, referring the affair to Mérida, where Méndez and six other legislators proposed that the United States be informed that Yucatán had separated from Mexico, reassumed its sovereignty, and that congress was deciding the peninsula's future. A second proposed action by the legislature was more controversial, since it consisted of informing the U.S. commander that if Yucatán changed its policy toward the war, "...lo pondrá lealmente en conocimiento del Gobierno de Estados Unidos, para corresponder a la muestra de cortesía que acaba de recibir". The first proposition passed easily, but the second carried, only after modification, by the close vote of nine to eight. The revised version stated that the U.S. request for Yucatán's position on the war amounted to acknowledgement that Yucatán was separated from Mexico, albeit on a temporary basis. Nevertheless, the statement maintained, Yucatecans were reunited with each other by means of their legislators, who were deliberating the peninsula's future.⁴² Mérida disapproved of conciliatory gestures to the United States and wanted to emphasize that congressional power should decide matters such as war and peace.

For many reasons, the United States pressured Yucatán as part of its war strategy. The Secretary of the Navy wanted to gain the sympathies of Chiapas and Tabasco. At one point, the State Department considered seizing the isthmus of Tehuantepec partially in order to support any group in Yucatán that would maintain the state's separation from Mexico.⁴³ Because the United States also respected its flag, Yucatán was able to send supplies to Mexico. As an ally of Santa Anna, Barbachano was committed to helping Mexico against the United States. The Spanish captain of the *Manuelita* left Campeche on July 13, 1846 and reported that despite Barbachano's neutrality, the governor was sending troops, war material, and provisions on board Mexican ships flying the Yucatecan flag.⁴⁴ As a result of Barbachano's reunification with Mexico, U.S. warships had blockaded the island of Carmen and the port of Laguna, one of Yucatán's most important ports, which thus suffered an interdiction of trade with the rest of Mexico.⁴⁵ Seizing gulf ports was undoubtedly a key part of the U.S. strategy to attack Veracruz.

The Barret government responded by trying to gain U.S. recognition of Yucatán's sovereignty along with trade concessions at Carmen and other ports. Barret tried to end

⁴⁰*Siglo Diez y Nueve*, October 8, December 19 and 24, 1846; Molina Solis, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 260-267.

⁴¹*Siglo Diez y Nueve*, March 26, 1846; *La Patria*, May 21, 1846.

⁴²Quoted in YD/SC, Roll 38, vol. 14, frames 9-11; *La Patria*, June 28, 1846. Based upon naval logbooks, Francis Joseph Manno's article, "Yucatán en la guerra entre México y Estados Unidos", *Revista de la Universidad de Yucatán*, 5 (July-August, 1963), pp. 51-72, is a useful source for military and diplomatic policy of the United States; pp. 52-54 describe the June 4 incident in Campeche.

⁴³C.H. Gibbon to James Buchanan, U.S. Secretary of State, July 22, 1846, *Correspondence of the United States Department of State, Miscellaneous Letters, July 1 to December 30, 1846* (Washington, D.C., Federal Records Center), Microcopy 179, Roll 111, frames 89-90.

⁴⁴*La Patria*, July 30, 1846.

⁴⁵Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatán", p. 135.



the U.S. occupation of Carmen and Laguna by requesting of David Connor, commander of the U.S. fleet in Veracruz, that Yucatán be excepted from blockades or any other hostilities directed toward Mexico. Connor was accommodating and replied that Yucatán would not suffer any hostile action as long as Barret did not permit Yucatán to participate in the war or send contraband to Mexico. In response, Barret ordered tight restrictions on contraband to Mexico from Campeche and Carmen, but public reaction in Mérida to these discussions was so negative that Barret moved his headquarters to Campeche.⁴⁶

Yucatán's first direct contact with the United States occurred when Barret dispatched José Rovira to Washington, D.C. as the peninsula's official representative, traveling by means of a safe-conduct pass provided by Connor. The United States was receiving an easy person to deal with, since Rovira had been educated there and favored Yucatán's annexation by the Polk government. Although Polk leaned toward acquiring Yucatán, Secretary of State James Buchanan correctly believed that congress would never approve the idea and informed Rovira that it was out of the question. Rovira's mission was not ultimately very successful. Buchanan agreed to respect Yucatán's neutrality only if the Barret faction could demonstrate its stability. At least Rovira received a promise that U.S. trade would be maintained with Campeche and the rest of Yucatán, but his complaint that Veracruz and Tampico did not have to pay trade duties while Carmen and Laguna did resulted in no immediate change. The United States maintained full control of Carmen and imposed heavy tariffs.⁴⁷

Despite these and subsequent concessions from the United States, the Barret government became weaker. After Rovira left, the United States officially recognized Yucatecan neutrality, modified its coastal blockade of Yucatán, and permitted trade between Campeche and Sisal. When Perry succeeded Connor as fleet commander, he appointed two naval officers and commissioners to deal with the Yucatecan government. Carmen enjoyed a reduced tariff and limited trade, though U.S. occupation continued. Barret was not only willing to compromise on international matters, but attempted to broaden his base of support by convening another *congreso extraordinario* in May, 1847. Despite efforts to cut taxes while avoiding an impending deficit and still implementing the 1841 constitution, the legislators accomplished little. Méndez won the gubernatorial elections in July, 1847.⁴⁸

The climax of Yucatán's quest for sovereignty occurred under the leadership of Méndez. The new governor dispatched his son-in-law, Justo Sierra O'Reilly, to the United States to secure an end to its occupation of Carmen and to urge Washington to propose restraints upon possible Mexican reprisals against Yucatán. Sierra convinced the United States to abolish duties on goods in vessels plying between Carmen and the Yucatecan ports, but the outbreak of the caste war altered his strategy considerably. The fear of an Indian victory and wholesale slaughter of the remaining whites motivated Sierra to seek aid from any quarter to end the caste war. Barbachano still continued to believe that Yucatán should support Mexico, but once his Indian supporters redefined the revolt as a racial conflict and gained the upper hand, Sierra pleaded for U.S. assistance to put down the revolt. Meanwhile, Méndez requested 2,000 Mexican troops, but Mexico was still fighting the United States. Since neither Yucatán nor Mexico could agree on trade concessions, Mexican troops never arrived.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, p. 276; Osorio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias*, p. 178; Manno, "Yucatán en la guerra entre México y Estados Unidos", p. 56.

⁴⁷Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 276-77; Marvin Alisky, "The Relations of the State of Yucatán and the Federal Government of Mexico, 1823-1978", in Edward H. Moseley and Edward D. Terry, eds., *Yucatán: A World Apart* (University, Alabama, 1980), p. 249; Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatán", pp. 135-136.

⁴⁸Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Yucatán", pp. 627-639, is the most accurate description of the Barret era.

⁴⁹Justo Sierra O'Reilly, *Diario de nuestro viaje a los Estados Unidos* (Mexico City, 1938); Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatán", p. 137; Cline, "Regionalism and Society in Mexico", pp. 639-40. Molina Solís, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 48-50, describes Méndez's overtures to Mexico.

As the white elite faced disaster early in 1848, Méndez dramatically offered to trade Yucatecan sovereignty in return for foreign assistance in crushing the Indian revolt. Méndez offered Yucatán to Spain, Britain, and the United States on March 25, and coincidentally, Sierra also offered Yucatán to the United States on April 3, before he received word of Méndez's incredible overture. Fortunately, Méndez had earlier commissioned Barbachano to arrange a peace treaty with the Indians, but he realized that once it was in force his position as governor would be untenable. Therefore Méndez also resigned on March 25 to allow Barbachano to become governor.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Polk urged congress to accept Sierra's offer. An eager expansionist, Polk, proposed sending U.S. troops to the Yucatán to avoid further bloodshed, restrain European influence, and occupy a region that seemed to be headed by willing collaborators. Angry that newspapers and congressmen in the United States interpreted the caste war as an uprising of the oppressed majority, Sierra feared that the Treaty of Guadalupe would allow Mexico to terrorize the Yucatán in vengeance. Isolated and embarrassed at having received no official instructions from his government, Sierra was watching in dismay as the U.S. congress voted against Polk's Yucatecan proposal when word reached the United States of a peace treaty arranged by Barbachano with the Indians. Although he felt guilty about attempting to negotiate a separate deal with the United States while Mexico had suffered a humiliating defeat, Sierra concluded that white immigration to Yucatán was the peninsula's only salvation.⁵¹

It fell upon Barbachano to end the caste war and reunite Yucatán to Mexico permanently. On April 18, 1848 he withdrew the Méndez offers of sovereignty to foreign powers and dispatched negotiators to Mexico City with confidential instructions. Mexico's army only numbered about 5,000 soldiers and U.S. troops still occupied the capital. But the national government did send 15,000 dollars along with rifles and ammunition, since the military situation in the Yucatán was actually worsening. By now, the Yucatecan military and ayuntamientos had made it clear to Barbachano that reincorporation was paramount, and reunion occurred on August 17, 1848 when Mexico recognized Yucatán as sovereign in terms of internal administration but subject to the national constitution. Fiscal problems were actually solved later, but the federal government assumed control of Yucatecan customs duties in return for its aid in crushing the caste war revolt.⁵² Yucatán had lost its autonomy after the war with the United States, but preserved its socioeconomic system as a result.

In conclusion, Yucatan's experience during the Mexican war points out the overall lack of national unity at the time. Public reluctance to support the war was noticeably strong in the periphery. The states of Chiapas and Tabasco considered uniting with Guatemala, while in Coahuila the powerful Sánchez Navarro family provided supplies and equipment to the U.S. forces. The northern states had been worn down by Indian wars and factional strife. In Sonora, as in Yucatán, reluctance to support the government also centered on objections to high tariff duties. The port of Guaymas suffered from weak transportation links and, like the Campeche ports, engaged in lively contraband that resulted in its occupation by U.S. forces. Moreover, the caste war that developed in the Sierra Gorda was even more serious a problem for Mexico than the Maya revolt in Yucatán.⁵³

⁵⁰Molina Solis, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 67-93; Acereto, *Evolución histórica de las relaciones políticas*, pp. 89-91.

⁵¹Sierra, *Diario de nuestro viaje*, pp. 333-50; Williams, "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatán", pp. 138-141.

⁵²Molina Solis, *Historia de Yucatán*, pp. 95-162; Acereto, *Evolución histórica*, p. 92; Civeira Taboada, *Yucatecos en la sociedad mexicana*, p. 33.

⁵³Lack of national unity is emphasized in Gene Brack, *Mexico Views Manifest Destiny* (Albuquerque, 1975), p. 171; Charles H. Harris, III, *A Mexican Family Empire: The Latifundio of the Sánchez Navarros, 1765-1867* (Austin, 1975), pp. 285-89; Stuart F. Voss, *On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Sonora and Sinaloa, 1810-1877* (Tucson, 1982), pp. 108-110; Paul Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police, and Mexican Development* (Lincoln, 1981), pp. 28-30; Manno, "Yucatán en la guerra entre México y Estados Unidos", p. 60



There are many indications that Yucatán harbored no animosity toward the rest of Mexico. U.S. naval officers reported that despite Yucatán's deepening ties with the State Department, hostility to Mexico in the peninsula had not increased after the war began. The legislature regularly analyzed communication from as far away as New Mexico, and corresponded cordially with Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Sonora, Michoacán, Sinaloa, and Zacatecas. Although bad relations existed with the national government, the Yucatecan legislature went out of its way to assure Veracruz that it would always enjoy good relations with Yucatán.⁵⁴ Yucatán had little hostility for individual state governments, but felt deep resentment against the federal government in Mexico City.

If Yucatán was unique, it was undoubtedly in her courtship of the United States. Offering her sovereignty was an extreme move that might have become permanent, and had U.S. forces entered Yucatán, they might have been tempted to remain as long as possible.⁵⁵ There is also no doubt that the blockade of Yucatecan ports damaged Mexican interests as well. At least one Mexican citizen directed a claim to the Yucatecan legislature for sums seized by a U.S. naval captain who deposited the Mexican's funds in the Sisal custom house.⁵⁶

Despite the elite's reluctance to enter the war, many Yucatecans participated notably. A little known fact of the Mexican War is the contributions made by Yucatecans to the war effort. Several Yucatecans fought at the battle of Angostura, where Santiago Blanco was promoted to general for leading two successful attacks against U.S. forces. Another *yucateco* prepared the defenses of Chapultepec against the North Americans, and was killed there on September 13, 1847.⁵⁷

All factors taken together, it appears that despite some desire to aid the Mexican republic against the United States, Yucatán was primarily motivated to protect its socioeconomic system. Yucatán's separation was really transitory, but not many wanted to fight the United States outside the peninsula. Moreover, Yucatán's planters and merchants desired some form of domestic order to keep the Maya in check. Not only did the national government fail to provide stability of this sort, but it consistently established tariff policies damaging to Yucatecan commerce. In many ways, Yucatán resembled the Old South or Catalonia in terms of its desire to avoid national regulation while enjoying free trade. Convinced that progress was as indigenous to its soil as limestone, Yucatán enjoyed a cultural renaissance and avoided religious conflict. But the Yucatecan elite's exploitation of the masses and its inability to avoid sectarian regional disputes paralleled development in much of Mexico during the period of the war with the United States.

⁵⁴YD/SC, Roll 37, vol. 13, frames 8, 13, 46, 73-74; Manno, "Yucatán en la guerra entre México y Estados Unidos", p. 62.

⁵⁵Donathan C. Oliff, *Reforma Mexico and the United States: A Search for Alternatives to Annexation, 1845-1861* (University, Alabama, 1981), pp. 12-13. Oliff notes that the post-war Herrera government also requested U.S. troops for use in Yucatán.

⁵⁶YD/SC, Roll 24, vol. 7, frames 15-16.

⁵⁷Civeira Taboada, *Yucatecos en la sociedad mexicana*, pp. 36, 45; Osorio y Carvajal, *Yucatán en las luchas libertarias de Méico*, pp. 195-198.





Steven Topik*

Economic Domination by the Capital: Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro, 1888-1910

One of the distinguishing elements of Latin American development has been the primacy of capital cities. The dominance of the primate city has been attributed to a variety of reasons: Iberian tradition, the desire to Europeanize (“modernize”), and the existence of economies of agglomeration. The size of capital cities has also been attributed to particularly negative factors, and urbanization is often explained as “essentially the spatial manifestation of external and internal dependency or colonialism”.¹ Whatever the causes of Latin America’s overgrown capitals, it is clear that they have had important consequences for development.

The object of this essay is to compare the primacy of Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro in the transition period from colonial cities to industrialized megalopoli (1880-1910). As the capitals of Latin America’s two largest countries, they constitute important cases worthy of attention in and of themselves. Moreover, they provide a substantial contrast: Mexico City, in the country’s interior, is one of only two Latin American capitals that grew out of an indigenous, pre-Colombian tradition; Rio, a port city, is the product of European colonization and an African slave-based economy. Mexico City is the heir of a Spanish colonial tradition that emphasized the importance of urban life, while colonial Brazil was dominated to a much greater extent by the plantation “Casa Grande”. By the end of the nineteenth century, Mexico was undergoing political centralization under Porfirio Díaz while republican Brazil was decentralizing. On the other hand, both capitals had much in common as well. They were both embedded in nations that were underdeveloped, rural, and dominated by oligarchies while experiencing substantial foreign investment and export-led growth.

The era of export-led growth is a contradictory one for urban studies. On the one hand it is seen as the one period in which the importance of the primate city diminished. Thus, Harley Browning has observed that:

...the export economy was contrary to the development of high primacy. The process of extraction (of minerals or agricultural products) had an essentially “enclave” characteristic and required a minimum of articulation with the economy as a whole.²

Other authors argue that with the resurgence of the export economies in the last part of the nineteenth century the primate city became increasingly important as a result of “the

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¹Richard Schaedel, Jorge E. Hardoy, and Nora Scott Kinzer, eds., *Urbanization in the Americas from its Beginnings to the Present* (The Hague, 1978), p. 5. Also see: Paulo Singer, “Campo y ciudad en el contexto histórico latinoamericano”, in Luis Unikel and Andrés Nechochea, eds., *Desarrollo urbano y regional en América Latina* (Mexico City, 1975), and Alejandro B. Rofman, “Influencia del proceso histórico en la dependencia externa y en la estructuración de las redes regionales y urbanas actuales”, in Unikel and Nechochea, eds., *Desarrollo urbano*.

²H.L. Browning, “Variación de la primacía de América Latina durante el siglo XX”, in Unikel and Nechochea, eds., *Desarrollo urbano*, p. 156. This view has been endorsed by historians such as Tulio Halperin-Donghi, who discusses the decline of cities after independence in *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid, 1969). Richard Morse noted in *Las ciudades latinoamericanas*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1972), vol. 2, p. 34, that: “el supuesto de una primacía centrípeta... encaja difícilmente en el caso de América Latina del siglo XIX”.

establishment of national sovereignty”.³ The essential difference between these two viewpoints is that one stresses the economic impact of the export sector and the other the political impact. At first glance Mexico City and Rio seem to illustrate opposing views. Mexico City, according to Claude Bataillon, was the beneficiary of “Porfirian [political] centralism” which allocated it the bulk of public expenditures.⁴ Rio, at the same time, was facing an economic challenge to its supremacy from the center of São Paulo’s coffee lands.

This essay will first measure the extent and nature of the demographic and economic primacy of the two capitals and then it will discuss the causes of their primacy.

Demographic trends

The area around Mexico City has been the urban center of Mexico since the days of Teotihuacán. Tenochtitlán was a city of between 100,000 and 500,000 people, with far-flung commercial and political influence and controlling areas with dense populations and high levels of civilization. In contrast, there was no indigenous urban center on the present-day site of Rio de Janeiro. Brazil’s sparse, neolithic, semi-sedentary populations had no urban tradition. Mexico City was built upon the ashes of Tenochtitlán; it quickly became the largest city in the Americas and one of the largest in the Spanish world. As the center of the vast Viceroyalty of New Spain with authority over the Caribbean, Central America, the Philippines, and the Southwest and West of the present-day United States, it concentrated considerable political, religious, and military power. As the only site of the Consulado until late in the eighteenth century, it enjoyed monopoly rents on international commerce. Already in the seventeenth century its population approached 100,000 and its opulence was legendary. By 1803 it had about 137,000 inhabitants.⁵

Although Portugal had an urban tradition at least as great as Spain’s, its colonizing experience differed, relying on the “feitoria” (trading post) and the plantation. The Portuguese did not found a city in Brazil until thirty years after the discovery, and did not found an administrative capital until twenty years after that. The capital was Salvador, Bahia, not Rio, which was founded in 1565. By 1600 Rio had only some 4,000 people and a century later its population numbered under 12,000. Rio’s importance only grew with the discovery of gold in the 1690s in the neighboring interior province. The ensuing gold rush reoriented the colony’s economy from the Northeast to the Center. A political confirmation of that economic fact came in 1763 with Rio’s elevation to Brazil’s capital. Nonetheless, in 1800 Rio’s population was only one-third that of Mexico City’s and one-half that of Brazil’s largest city, Salvador (see table 1).

The nineteenth century marked a key transition in the relationship of each capital to its nation and to the other capital. As we have seen, until 1800 Mexico City clearly dominated Mexico just as its population dwarfed Rio’s and Mexico’s population overshadowed Brazil’s. Mexico City continued to dominate in Mexico. Indeed, its ratio to the second largest city continued to grow; by 1910 it was four times as large as Guadalajara. This was not so much a consequence of the dynamic growth of Mexico’s capital as a sign of the stagnation of Mexico’s secondary cities. Mexico City’s share of a slowly growing national population remained stable at about 2.7 percent throughout the nineteenth century. Rio and Brazil, on the other hand, experienced much more energetic growth in the nineteenth century. With the arrival of the Portuguese court and approximately 20,000 courtiers in 1808, which made Rio the capital of the Portuguese empire for thirteen years, Rio’s population ballooned. The rise of thriving coffee lands in Rio’s hinterland continued the accelerated growth. By the 1820s Rio was Brazil’s largest city; by 1872 it surpassed

³Singer, “Campo y ciudad”, p. 33.

⁴Claude Bataillon, *La ciudad y el campo en el México central* (Mexico City, 1972), pp. 52,53.

⁵J. Eric S. Thompson, ed., *Thomas Gage’s Travels in the New World* (Norman, 1958), pp. 64, 67-71; Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, 4 vols. (London, 1822-1823), vol. 1, pp. 212-223.



Table 1: Measures of Primacy

Year	Brazil's Population (in millions)	Mexico's Population (in millions)	Brazil Mexico	Rio's Population (in millions)	Mexico City's Population (in millions)	Rio M.C.
1800	2.3	5.2	.44	43	137 ^b	.31
1850	8.0	7.5	1.07	181	185 ^c	.98
1872	10.1	8.8	1.15	275	200	1.37
1895	15.7	12.6	1.13	599	339	1.54
1900	17.3	13.6	1.27	691	344	2.00
1910	23.1	15.2	1.53	905	471	1.92

Year	Rios as % of Brazil	Ratio to second largest	M.C. as % of Mexico	Tatio to second largest
1800	1.9	.86 ^a	2.6	2.00
1850	2.3	1.21	2.5	2.98
1872	2.7	2.13	2.3	2.67
1895	3.8	3.22	2.7	3.85
1900	4.0	2.88	2.5	3.40
1910	3.9	2.41	3.1	3.92

^aThe ratio here is second largest to largest since Salvador was the largest city in Brazil.

^bThis estimate is for the year 1803.

^cThis estimate is for the year 1856; it seems reasonable because there were estimates in 1846 of about 200,000.

Sources: Richard E. Boyer and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th-Century Latin America: Statics and Sources* (Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 19, 23, 25, 28, 33, 41, 47; Ward J. Barret and Stuart B. Schwartz, "Comparación entre dos economías azucareras coloniales: Morelos, México y Bahía, Brasil", in Enrique Florescano, ed., *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (México City, 1975), p. 558; Brasil, Directoria Geral da Estatística, *Anuário estatístico, 1939/1940* (Rio, 1940), pp. 1293, 1294, 1297, 1298.

Mexico City just as Brazil's population passed Mexico's. Rio grew twice as fast as the relatively rapidly expanding national population and the end of the century saw this once secondary city now triple the size of its nearest rival, São Paulo.

The urban systems of Mexico and Brazil had similarities. In both countries at the turn of the nineteenth century the national capital dominated a system in which only around ten percent of the country's population lived in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants. Consequently, while Mexico City held only three percent of the national population and Rio four percent (compared to Buenos Aires, Habana, and Montevideo, which all held over a fifth of their countries' citizenry), Mexico City housed over a quarter of Mexico's urban population Rio a third of Brazil's.⁶

These similarities, however, should not mask the important differences that existed. While Mexico City had retained its primacy since the pre-Columbian era and continues to hold it to this day, Brazil's primate city shifted with regional economic fortunes. When Northeastern sugar yielded to Minas gold and Paraíba Valley coffee, Rio unseated Salvador. Later São Paulo challenged Rio as coffee moved south and industry burgeoned, surpassing it in 1970. Mexico's largest cities were mostly in the areas where the pre-Columbian populations had been concentrated, in the interior. None of the ten largest cities in Mexico in 1910 were ports, and only one of the 25 largest was a port (Veracruz). Brazil's urban population, in contrast, was concentrated along the coast, reflecting the country's export orientation. In 1910 all of Brazil's largest ten cities were ports except São Paulo, which stood at the railhead connecting the plateau to the port of Santos.⁷ The nature of primacy was also different. Although the size ratio of the capital city to the second largest city was similar in Mexico and Brazil, the ratio of the largest to the second, third, and fourth largest urban centers was not. Mexico loomed much larger over its next three rivals than did Rio. Or, put another way, Brazil had larger secondary cities, while Mexico had a much greater small-town and village population.⁸

The population of Rio grew six times faster than Mexico City's between 1800 and 1910, and twice as fast between 1850 and 1910, because of foreign immigrants and, probably, better health conditions. In 1850 almost half of Rio's inhabitants were foreign born, many of them African slaves. (Slaves constituted close to half of Rio's population.) After the abolition of slavery in 1889 Rio continued to enjoy the single largest concentration of foreign born residents in Brazil. Between 1890 and 1910 it was second only to the state of São Paulo in the number of European immigrants it received. They represented one-third of the capital's inhabitants in 1890 and still one quarter in 1920. Although Mexico City also succeeded in attracting the largest share of European immigrants to Mexico, they composed only one percent of its residents, reflecting Mexico's overall failure to attract foreigners.⁹ Both Mexico City and Rio drew a large number of national migrants, as well; they constituted about half of Mexico City's population in 1900 and 1910. Similarly, Rio received more migrants between 1872 and 1920 than any state in the country. These migrants, mostly from neighboring states (as was the case with Mexico City), contributed about one-quarter of Rio's residents in 1890.¹⁰

⁶Calculated from Thomas W. Merrick and Douglas H. Graham, *População e desenvolvimento econômico no Brasil*, trans. by Waltensir Dutra (Rio, 1979), p. 232; Directoria Geral de Estatística (hereafter, DGE), *Anuário estatístico, 1939/1940* (Rio, 1940), pp. 1293, 1294; and Secretaría de Economía, Dirección General de Estadística, *Estadísticas sociales del Porfiriato, 1877-1910* (Mexico City, 1956), p. 12.

⁷DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1939/40*, pp. 1296-1298; Ian Scott, *Urban and Spatial Development in Mexico* (Baltimore, 1982), pp. 36, 43.

⁸Calculated from DGE, *Anuário, 1939/1940*; Scott, *Urban and Spatial Development*, p. 43; and Richard E. Boyer and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th-century Latin America: Statistics and Sources* (Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 33-48.

⁹Brasil, DGE, *Recenseamento de 1920* (Rio, 1922), vol. 1, pp. 427-429; Merrick and Graham, *População e desenvolvimento*, pp. 126; Annibal Villela and Wilson Suzigan, *Política de governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889-1945* (Rio, 1973), pp. 264, 278; Secretaría de Economía, *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato*, pp. 28, 34, shows that in 1910 Brazil held eleven times as many immigrants as all of Mexico; in fact, Rio alone had almost twice as many foreign residents as Mexico.

¹⁰Secretaría de Economía, *Estadísticas sociales*, p. 175; Brazil, DGE, *Sinopse do recenseamento do Brasil, 1890* (Rio, 1895), pp. 164-168.



In neither case was the capital's numerical superiority over secondary cities caused by a particularly high natural growth rate. Both capitals were infamous as breeding grounds of disease, especially until Mexico City drained its lakes at the turn of the century and Rio undertook its yellow fever campaign in 1904. Mexico City had one of the country's lowest birth rates and highest death rates during the Porfiriato and only three states had lower life expectancy than the federal district.¹¹ Though data on Rio's national health standing are somewhat contradictory, it is clear that yellow fever and tuberculosis were serious problems. Nonetheless, it appears that life expectancy in Rio was about 50 percent greater than in Mexico's capital.¹²

Economic Dominance

Population figures demonstrate that Rio was the larger and more dynamic of the two, but that Mexico City enjoyed greater national primacy. Both towered over their urban rivals, but did their demographic superiority reflect economic dominance? While population data provide an idea of the capital's relative national importance, they do not suffice to give a full picture. After all, in the twentieth century rapid population growth has been associated as much with poverty as with prosperity. Therefore, this section of the essay will examine the role of both cities as centers of commerce, finance, and production.

The area around the Valley lakes had been a commercial center since the era of Teotihuacán and the market at Tlatelolco greatly impressed Bernal Diaz and his fellow conquistadores. The area's dense population, sophisticated agriculture, and far-reaching political suzerainty, rather than an unusually great natural resource endowment, created its commercial importance.¹³

Mexico City continued the area's tradition of commercial importance after the conquest. The Spanish mercantilist system concentrated international trade in the capital of the Viceroyalty, and only with the Bourbon Reforms of the eighteenth century did its iron grip on foreign commerce relax somewhat.¹⁴ Mexico City was also a distribution center for domestic production because it was home to a large percentage of the country's rich and money-earning population. But while it was by far Mexico's largest market and many of its wealthier residents owned haciendas, mines, distilleries, ranches, and obrajes in other districts, relatively few domestically produced goods were re-exported from Mexico City to other regions. Furthermore, the rough topography led to a considerable amount of local self-sufficiency.¹⁵ With independence, Mexico City's role in international and internal commerce declined. Imports fell off as the country's ability to pay for them with the export of precious metals diminished. Moreover, the influx of British merchants, the dismantling of the Spanish mercantilist system, and the exodus of Spanish commercial capital undercut the capital's commercial advantages. The centrifugal force of foreign

¹¹Secretaría de Economía, *Estadísticas sociales*, p. 175, shows that 23 states had higher mortality rates. According to United Kingdom, Council Office, Accounts and Papers, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, 1905, No. 3640, *Trade* (London, 1906), Mexico City's mortality rate was three times that of major European cities and over twice New York's. Part of the problem was murder. According to the *Mexico Herald*, 31 January 1896, in 1894 there were 436 murders in the capital, which on a per capita basis was ten times Italy's murder rate. For a discussion of Mexico City's health conditions see Moisés González Navarro, *Población y sociedad en México (1900-1970)*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1974), vol. 2, p. 143.

¹²Gilberto Freyre, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic*, trans. Rod W. Horton (New York, 1970), pp. 342-348. Nancy Stepan, *Beginnings of Brazilian Science* (New York, 1981), discusses the great strides that were made in disease prevention during the Republic; and see also Merrick and Graham, *População e desenvolvimento*, p. 63; DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1939/1940*, p. 1306.

¹³Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Baltimore, 1963), p. 232. Bernal Diaz discussed the natural resources (p. 423): "We decided to go... when we realized that there were no gold or mines or cotton in the towns around Mexico, only a lot of maize and the maguery plantations". See also Ross Hassig, *Trade, Tribute and Transportation: The Sixteenth-Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico* (Norman, 1985).

¹⁴Alejandra Moreno Toscano, "México", in Morse, *Las ciudades latinoamericanas*, vol. 2, p. 177; Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley, 1981), p. 143, 144.

¹⁵Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826* (Austin, 1976), pp. 4, 25; Batallion, *La ciudad y el campo*, p. 119.

invasions, civil wars, and the rise of local caudillos and bandits further reduced Mexico City's commercial hold.

The political re-centralization and economic resurgence of the Porfiriato seems to have restored some of the capital's earlier commercial prominence. The "Pax Porfiriano" strengthened ties abroad as well as expanding the internal money economy. The railroad to Veracruz greatly lowered the cost of imports, facilitating Mexico City's position as an international emporium. The railroad system insured Mexico City's continued supremacy by placing it at the hub of lines running from North to South and East to West. Most of the country's most prosperous areas were now tied to the capital by rail; rate discounts on long-distance shipping allowed it to be competitive in markets all over the country.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the centralizing commercial effect of the railroad has probably been exaggerated. The lines connecting Mexico City to the United States ultimately reduced Veracruz's commercial importance as goods entered through Tampico or by land through northern Mexico. It had been Mexico City's control over Veracruz's commerce that had allowed the capital to dominate the international trade. Now new centers arose in the North that were fairly independent of the capital. This was particularly true of Monterrey.¹⁷ Thus the railroad did not provide Mexico City with great advantages in the country's richest export areas, the North and Yucatán. Mexico City's hinterland, outside of Morelos, was among the country's poorest regions.

This is not to say that Mexico City lost its place as commercial leader. Given its demographic superiority and the concentration of income, there is little reason to wonder at its continued place as the country's largest market. Using tax revenues as a proxy for income, Mexico City's per capita earnings were four times those of the richest state. And a larger percentage of the capital's population was employed: almost half compared to a national average of 38 percent. The size of the market was somewhat diminished, however, by the fact that wages were not particularly good. Matías Romero estimated in 1892 that wages in twelve states were better than the Federal District's 35 cents a day. Still, government statistics show that about one-fourth of Mexico's commercial sales during the Porfiriato took place in the Federal District.¹⁸

Guanabara Bay, unlike the Valley of Mexico, had enjoyed little indigenous trade prior to Rio's founding. Its location was dictated exclusively by Portuguese needs, most importantly its commercial and defensive advantages as a port, and not by indigenous tradition. Rio was consequently always more dependent on international trade than was Mexico City. Because of its dependence on the external link, Rio's commercial role grew rather slowly. Since the Portuguese, unlike the Spanish, established no monopoly port, international commerce was dispersed. But Salvador clearly predominated until the eighteenth century. The shift from the Northeastern sugar economy to mining in Minas Gerais, and the transfer of the capital to Rio, allowed the latter to overtake Salvador as the leading international entrepôt by the end of the eighteenth century. Still, by the close of the colonial period the new capital was responsible for only about one-third of foreign trade. In some years Salvador, Recife, and even Maranhão were more active than Rio.¹⁹ Rio's role in colonial internal commerce is difficult to gauge because of the lack of information. Given the large slave and natural economies, it would seem that only a

¹⁶Bataillon, *La ciudad y el campo*, p. 54; John H. Coatsworth, *Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico* (Dekalb, 1981), p. 126.

¹⁷Alexander M. Saragoza, "The Formation of a Mexican Elite: The Industrialization of Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1987), pp. 27, 58, 83. In 1909, according to the Secretaría de Hacienda, *Memoria, 1909*, p. xv, about one-fifth of Mexico's imports by weight entered by rail.

¹⁸Secretaría de Fomento, Colonización y Industria, *Cuadro sinóptico y estadístico de la República Mexicana, Año de 1900* (Mexico City, 1901), pp. 72, 73; J.B. Taylor, *Coffee Growing in Mexico* (Mexico City, 1893), pp. 16, 17; El Colegio de México, Seminario de historia moderna de México, *Estadísticas económicas del porfiriato. Fuerza de trabajo y actividad económica por sectores* (Mexico City, 1960), pp. 38, 170, 171; Ermilo Coello Salazar, "El comercio interior", in Daniel Cosío Villegas, ed., *Historia moderna de México. El Porfiriato: La vida económica* (Mexico City, 1965), vol. 7, part 2, p. 738.

¹⁹Jose Jobson de A. Arruda, *O Brasil no comércio colonial* (São Paulo, 1980), pp. 137-154.

relatively small proportion of the population was engaged in the money economy. The ports and the mining areas were the centers of consumption. But the distance that separated the major ports deterred the growth of a national market, and the mining areas, which initially were supplied by the Northeast and the South as well as Guanabara Bay, soon began to supply many of their own needs. Thus it is doubtful that Rio was extremely important as a redistribution center for domestic production.

After independence, Rio's importance in international and domestic trade grew just as Mexico City's declined. The florescence of the Paraíba Valley coffee economy, connected to Rio by the railroad in the 1860s, coupled with the stagnation of mining, sugar, and Amazonic products, led the capital to a clear position of pre-eminence by mid-century. During the last 45 years of the Empire (1843-1888), the Court (Rio) serviced over half of all foreign trade.²⁰ At the same time, the domestic market benefited from export-led growth, an expanding population, and the relative decline of the slave population (from 25 percent of Brazil's population in 1823 to 5 percent in 1887). Mircea Buescu estimates that non-exports, which contributed only 25 percent of GDP in 1600 and 43 percent in 1700, rose to 71 percent by 1850 and 80 percent in 1900. The growth of Rio's role as a market and redistribution center mirrored the internal economy's dynamism. In the 1870s the Federal District was responsible for one-quarter to one-third of all inter-provincial trade.²¹

Under the Republic, Brazil's capital lost some of its commercial prominence just as Mexico City probably did during the Porfiriato. Although Rio continued to be by far the leading importer of foreign goods, receiving 40 percent of Brazil's imports, it lost its lead in exports and total foreign trade to the Paulista port of Santos. Rio lagged behind in second place, still with almost one-quarter of Brazil's international commerce in the 1908-1912 period.²² The migration of coffee production south undermined Rio's commercial status. Just as in Mexico City, the railroad, which had initially reinforced the Federal District's commercial advantages by bringing the Paraíba Valley under its influence, later diverted exports to Santos as the railroad snaked into western São Paulo state.

The same dynamic was evident in internal commerce, though again data are sparse. Rio continued to be by far the country's principal market. Prices were high there (some foreign residents complained that prices were higher than in Paris) so profits were good. The prices could be high because the Federal District was by far the country's richest area. If we again use tax receipts as a proxy for income, we find the Federal District's per capita income seven times greater than that in the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, or Rio Grande do Sul. In 1910 the capital's per capita tax revenue was triple that of São Paulo city. Of course income was concentrated in a few hands, as in Mexico City. However, data from the 1920 census imply that Rio's workers did relatively better than those of Mexico City. For example, artisan wages were the second highest in the country and wages in Rio's food factories were third best.²³ Thus Rio's market was broader than Mexico City's because of its larger population, and deeper because of the greater and more wide-spread purchasing power. The importance of Rio as a national market is reflected in data on coastal trade. The Federal District received three-fourths of all potatoes shipped in the country, almost half of the lard, rice, and butter, and one-quarter of the manioc and sugar.²⁴ Of course much of this was trans-shipped or sent by rail to the capital's hinterland. As in the case of

²⁰Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *História do Rio de Janeiro (Do capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro)*, 2 vols. (Rio, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 266-268.

²¹DGE, *Recenseamento de 1920*, vol. 1, pp. 427-429; Mircea Buescu, *Brasil, disparidades de renda no passado* (Rio, 1979), p. 16; Anonymous, *Synthese do comércio marítimo geral do Brasil de 1873-1874* (np, nd), pp. 24,25,53.

²²DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1908-1912*, 3 vols. (Rio, 1917), vol. 2, pp. 22, 102.

²³J.P. Wileman, ed., *The Brazilian Yearbook, 1909* (New York, 1909), p. 1418; DGE, *Recenseamento de 1920*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. xii-xvii.

²⁴Ministério de Agricultura, Indústria, Comércio, Superintendencia do Abastecimento, *Movimento de cabotagem de diversos generos alimentícios e de primeira necessidade no Brasil e no anno de 1919* (Rio, 1920), *passim*.

Mexico City, Rio was located in the country's population center; but unlike Mexico City's, Rio's hinterland continued to be a fairly prosperous exporting area.

Finance

The Aztecs had accumulated great wealth in Tenochtitlán through tribute, plunder, and trade, but capital and finance came only with the Spanish and commercial capitalism. The colony's wealth, in turn, was concentrated in the seat of the Viceroyalty in the hands of the *almaceneros*, miners, landlords, and the Church. They were responsible for financing much of the larger-scale economic activity of the country. After independence, Mexico City found much of its wealth dissipated: the Church withdrew funds, wealthy Spaniards fled, and forced government loans were spent on warfare. Moreover, the political unrest in the countryside and economic stagnation discouraged investment. Probably only with the Porfiriato did Mexico City begin to regain its former financial eminence and eventually surpass it. The only truly national banks were founded in the capital. As a result, the banks of the capital produced all of the country's banknotes in 1885 and still almost two-thirds of the national total in 1910. Coins were also concentrated in the capital so that the Monetary Commission in 1903 found almost one-third of the country's coins there. The presence of Mexico's largest banks and a major share of money in the Federal District naturally translated into financial hegemony. By one estimate, 92 percent of all credit was extended in the Federal District in 1890 and 74 percent still by 1911, after state banks had been established.²⁵

The capital's financial position sprang from its commercial dominance, the presence of the country's wealthiest national investors, a rich foreign community, and the infusion of state funds. Mexico City's commercial role dictated the residence of wholesale merchants and the establishment of a credit system. The presence of wealthy rentiers, miners, and landowners because of the capital's cultural advantages, and because it was the center of political and economic decision-making, meant that capital was potentially available for finance. Even more important was the presence of foreign investors, who were the prime movers behind the country's major banks.

While good economic reasons dictated that Mexico City would be Mexico's financial center, political considerations were also important. The state encouraged the establishment of banks in the capital so that they could extend credit to the Treasury. Government bonds attracted a large share of finance capital once Diaz convinced investors that they would be repaid with interest. Nine-tenths of the bonds were floated in the Federal District. By 1908-09 treasury deposits equaled one-half of the cash-on-hand of all of the country's banks, and over one-half of their reserves. Over 90 percent of these funds were deposited in the Federal District.²⁶ If the state's expenditures and deposits in Mexico City had been financed solely through taxes collected there, then the government's role would have been simply to channel funds from one sector of the capital to another, i.e., from the consumer to the banks. But in fact much of the treasury's outlays were funded by revenues captured in the provinces and deposited in the capital. Analysis of the 1908-09 budget reveals that approximately 45 percent of the federal budget was spent in the Federal District. The absolute amount was almost one-third more than the taxes paid in to the Treasury by the Federal District; in other words, in that one year the state brought into the capital almost ten million pesos.²⁷ Thus to an important extent, Mexico City's financial supremacy was at the expense of the rest of the country.

²⁵Colegio de México, *Estadísticas económicas*, pp. 179, 187, 188, 196; Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público, *Memoria*, 1906, pp. 325, 326.

²⁶Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, *Cuenta del erario federal formada por la tesorería general de la federación correspondiente al año económico de 1908-1909* (Mexico City, 1910), *passim*; Secretaría de Hacienda, *Memoria*, 1909, pp. 159-160.

²⁷James W. Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditures and Social Change since 1910* (Berkeley, 1970), p. 246, noted that "[since] there is apparently no historical record of the federal entities in which gross federal expenditures have been spent, it is not possible to link total federal expenditures directly to regional analysis". That is true for all regions of the country

Rio de Janeiro was also a major financial market during the colonial era, but it did not occupy Mexico City's central position. Much of Brazil's credit was extended in Salvador, Recife, Maranhão, and later Minas Gerais by local or foreign capitalists. Only with the arrival of Portugal's king in 1808 and the establishment of the first Banco do Brasil did Rio clearly assert its leadership. In finances, as in commerce, independence spurred Rio's growth and Mexico City's decline. By the end of the Empire, Rio held about two-thirds of Brazil's bank assets and housed its only stock market. The Court's banks, exporters, and factors were responsible for financing much of Brazil's coffee and sugar production as well as its international imports. As with Mexico City, the Brazilian capital's financiers provided almost 90 percent of the federal government's internal loans.²⁸

The Republican Revolution in 1889 at first enhanced the capital's financial position. Liberal currency issue policies and public loans to banks allowed those same institutions to emit 95 percent of a flood of banknotes, purchase numerous banks in other provinces, and invest in many other sectors. But by 1891 the momentum of the expansion ceased and many newly-formed institutions failed. São Paulo gradually eroded Rio's financial supremacy. By one estimate the capital held about 30 percent of Brazil's bank deposits in 1912 (though this number is somewhat suspect because data for 1921 show Rio back at almost half of all national deposits).²⁹ In either case, Brazil's Federal District continued to be the financial center just as in the case of Mexico, though each experienced a decline in influence after an initial surge during the export boom.

Rio owed its financial prominence to the same factors as Mexico City: its commercial leadership, the residence of the country's wealthiest people, the presence of foreign interests, and state aid. Although European-owned banks were extremely powerful, contributing about half of Brazil's banking activity up to World War I, their role was not as important as in Mexico City. Many of the largest banks of Brazil's capital had no significant foreign participation.³⁰ The national state also contributed greatly to Rio's financial prominence. The arrival of King Dom João in 1808, and the assets of the government and his court, no doubt increased Rio's liquid wealth. The eight-fold expansion of the government's revenues during the nineteenth century also brought funds to Rio. This is because the great majority of Treasury deposits were made in Rio banks, while government bonds attracted funds from throughout the country and public spending brought a large net infusion of money. Though Mexico City received less than half of federal spending, Rio received in some years three-quarters of the national total while contributing only 40 percent of revenues. In absolute terms this meant that Rio received far more from Brazil's central government than did Mexico City from Díaz' regime; Brazil's per capita government revenues were 50 percent greater than Mexico's and its population 20 to 50 percent greater, depending on the year.³¹ It is surprising that Rio was the beneficiary of much greater federal government largesse even under the Republic, since the founders of the new regime attempted to diminish the capital's influence by

except the Federal District. Most funds are discretely enumerated for the capital in Secretaría de Hacienda, *Cuenta del erario federal, 1908-1909*. I have assumed that the administrative outlays for the secretariat's higher officials were disposed of in Mexico City, but have not included many material purchases and military salaries that were doubtless issued in the capital.

²⁸*Almanack Laemmert, 1890*, passim; see also Joseph Sweigart, "Financing and Marketing Brazilian Export Agriculture: The Coffee Factors of Rio de Janeiro, 1850-1888" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1980).

²⁹DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1939/1940*, p. 1356. In 1912, according to the DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1908/1912*, p. Iviii, the Federal District's per capita bank deposits were 7.5 times the national average, five times the highest state and almost six times São Paulo's per capita deposits.

³⁰In 1912, according to the DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1908/1912*, vol. 2, p. lvi, foreign banks held 35 percent of all deposits, discounted 37 percent of all notes, and issued 56 percent of all loans. On the largest national banks see: Steven Topik, "State Enterprise in a Liberal Regime: The Banco do Brasil, 1905-1930", *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 22 (1980), pp. 401-421.

³¹R. de Zayas Enríquez, *Les Etats-Unis Mexicains, Leur resources naturelles. Leur Progrès. Leur Situation Actuelle* (Mexico City, 1899), pp. 128-132. Also see: Steven Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889-1920* (Austin, 1987).

mandating a move of the capital in the 1891 Constitution while at the same time Mexican federal politicians were bent on centralizing authority in the Federal District.³²

Production

Tenochtitlán was a center of crafts. The Spaniards commented on the city's extensive network of workshops staffed by highly skilled artisans. Under the Spaniards, Mexico City continued to have industrial importance, but not commensurate with its population or its commercial and financial roles. Puebla became the main textile producer for the national market, while village handicrafts continued to supply most of the needs of the rural population. Independence undercut all Mexican manufacturing because the economy in general stumbled while a flood of low-priced British imports out-competed Mexican products. When national industry began to become significant in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Mexico City did not dominate it.

Certainly the Federal District had manufacturing between 1890 and 1910, but it was often in small factories and workshops employing rather outmoded techniques to produce foodstuff and clothing. Production was an outgrowth of the city's commercial and political importance and not the reverse. Fernando Rosenzweig has observed that "...the concentration of population favored growth [in Mexico City] [while] in Orizaba and Monterrey the progress of industry stimulated urbanization".³³ In most important consumer industries, such as textiles and aguardiente, Mexico City lagged well behind such competitors as Puebla and Veracruz. In the dynamic modern industries represented by iron and steel production, dynamite, and glass, Monterrey far outstripped the capital. Even in electricity production, where the capital's political advantages should have brought supremacy, Mexico City accounted for only four percent of national output in 1910, while Puebla's electrical generating capacity was eleven times greater. At the end of the Porfiriato, Mexico City held about one-fifth of the nation's industrial capital, one-tenth of its industrial work force, and about an eighth of national industrial production.³⁴

Rio began with a far smaller productive plant than Mexico City but came to surpass the latter in the nineteenth century. There was neither much of a pre-Colombian artisan tradition, nor much manufacturing under Portuguese colonialism. Given the sparse indigenous and European populations, the underdevelopment of Brazil's internal markets, the facility of foreign imports, and Portuguese prohibitions, this is not surprising. Though the coffee boom inspired the growth of the money economy in the nineteenth century, manufacturing became widespread only after mid-century. The Paraguayan War sparked demand for domestically-produced goods, but in 1872 Rio still employed under six percent of the national manufacturing work force. The 1880s and early 1890s saw an additional spurt in productive capacity. By 1893 the capital housed upwards of 300 factories and workshops.³⁵

Rio clearly was Brazil's manufacturing center in the years between 1889 and 1910. In 1907 it contributed 30 percent of national production (more than twice Mexico City's share); this was almost double the output of the Federal District's nearest rival, São Paulo. Most of Brazil's largest and most sophisticated factories located in Rio because of its great market, its communications links to a rich hinterland for raw materials and consumers,

³²Rio's *Jornal do Comércio* of 12 June 1894, p. 1, reported that an expeditionary corp was already plotting the site of the new capital in the planalto. The realization of the plan would have to wait sixty years, however, demonstrating the political and economic might of Rio's dominance.

³³Fernando Rosenzweig, "La Industria", in Cosío Villegas, ed., *HMM, El Porfiriato, Vida Económica*, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 399.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 392; Colegio de México, *Estadísticas económicas*, pp. 112, 113, 122, 144; Zayas Enríquez, *Les Etats-Unis Mexicains*, pp. 187, 188; Bataillon, *Ciudad y campo*, pp. 56, 58. Bataillon notes (p. 55) that electric power ended the Federal District's power disadvantage, citing data that in 1911, 80 percent of the country's electrical capacity was in the center. In fact, however, most of it was in Puebla, and Mexico City continued to lag behind in terms of worker productivity because of less mechanization.

³⁵DGE, *Anuário estatístico, 1939/1940*, p. 1302; DGE, *Recenseamento, 1920*, vol. 1, pp. 1296-1298; *Rio News*, March 28, 1893, p. 1; Humberto Bastos, *Pensamento industrial no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1952), p. 136.

and the presence of a large, relatively skilled work force. (In 1890 half of Rio's adults were literate compared to the national average of fifteen percent.) Moreover, unlike Mexico City, Rio enjoyed by far the greatest electrical capacity in the country because of the proximity of hydroelectric sources. Consequently Rio claimed most of the largest, most productive, and best mechanized factories in Brazil.³⁶

Symbolic Importance

In addition to their industrial, financial, and commercial roles and their demographic weight, the two capitals occupied particularly important positions because of their symbolic importance. Just as Catherine II had sought to make planned cities "centers of civilization" to westernize Russia and Emperor Franz Joseph designed Vienna's Ringstrasse to demonstrate the culture and power of the imperial capital, Diaz and the Republican presidents of Brazil set out at the turn of the century to transform their capitals into national showcases to impress foreign investors and instill pride in the national elite. Rio had been a colonial city with narrow, dirty streets, few public places, unhealthy living conditions, and outmoded public services. Mexico City, while blessed with more plazas and parks, also suffered from woefully inadequate sanitary conditions and antiquated public facilities. The Mexican and Brazilian federal governments invested large shares of their budgets in draining lakes and swamps, providing sanitation for the affluent core of the city, and attracted foreign capital to bring electric lighting, gas, trams, and telephones. The federal treasuries invested substantial sums in erecting monumental public buildings and large boulevards. Rio's Avenida Central and Mexico's Paseo de la Reforma both consciously imitated the Champs Elysées. The capitals represented the summation of national progress and dreams.³⁷

Conclusion

Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro manifested many of the characteristics common to Latin American primate cities. Both clearly dominated their underdeveloped national urban systems and many aspects of their national economies. In both cases the boom in exports, beginning in the 1850s in Brazil and the 1880s in Mexico, led initially to greater primacy as the capitals' commercial and financial roles were reinforced. The export surges were more significant than industry in enhancing primacy; manufacturing was more the result of export-led urbanization than the cause of the cities' expansion. Eventually, externally oriented growth decreased in some ways the primacy of both capitals as secondary cities flourished. In Mexico City, the decline came in its commercial and financial functions; Rio fell off relatively in all economic areas and in population.

On the other hand, Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro differed in important ways. The timing of their primacy was quite distinct. Mexico's greater indigenous population, Spanish urban preference, and mercantilist system allowed the viceregal seat to far outshine Rio in the colonial era. Mexico's much discussed Iberian and indigenous urban traditions and Brazil's rural plantation orientation did not suffice, however, to maintain Mexico City's urban superiority after independence. The more peaceful process of nation-building in Brazil and the earlier vitality of its export economy propelled Rio into the lead in the

³⁶DGE, *Recenseamento, 1920*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. viii, lxxxvi; Villela and Suzigan, *Política do governo*, pp. 381-382, demonstrate that although by 1920 the entire state of São Paulo had greater total electrical capacity than the Federal District, in per capita terms the Federal District was substantially superior to São Paulo state. The capital enjoyed more than twice the electrical power of São Paulo city.

³⁷Dan Browser, *The Russian Urban Revolution, 1850-1900* (Berkeley, forthcoming), p. 69; Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (London, 1980); Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, 1988). For Another contemporary Latin American example, see James Scobie, *Buenos Aires, from Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910* (London, 1974).

nineteenth century. In the second half of the last century, Rio was clearly the more dynamic and economically important of the two capitals. Only after the turn of the century did the roles begin somewhat to reverse themselves, and even then Rio's relative decline owed more to the startling rise of São Paulo than to the rapid expansion of Mexico City.

The nature of the primacy of the Mexican and Brazilian capitals also differed somewhat. Demographically both capitals housed approximately the same proportion of the total national population and of the national urban population. But Mexico's secondary cities were significantly smaller than those of Brazil, allowing Mexico City to tower over its rivals to a greater extent than Rio. Mexico City's demographic pre-eminence was not reflected to the same degree in the economy. Rio was substantially more important as an industrial center and probably as a commercial center; only in finance did Mexico City have relative superiority.

We are thus presented with an apparent paradox: Mexico City enjoyed the greater primacy, but Rio was the larger and more economically active. Partially, of course, this was due to the relative smallness of Mexico's secondary cities. But the disjuncture between Mexico City's demographic and economic positions can also be explained, in my opinion, by the fact that Mexico City owed prominence more to its political role than did Rio. This seems counter-intuitive for a number of reasons. A popular school of Brazilian historiography has stressed the overweening presence of Brazil's "patrimonial state" throughout its history, while Mexican historiography stresses the weak, fragmented nature of the central government in the nineteenth century up to the Porfiriato. And even under the Díaz regime, *laissez faire* practices are thought to have predominated. Budgetary data in fact confirm the more active participation of the Brazilian state. Per capita spending was double Mexico's and a far greater share was spent on capital improvements. More germane, Rio received a greater share of the larger Brazilian budget than did Mexico City. This manifested itself in greater infrastructural investments, a higher level of social services, and twice as many government employees in Rio.³⁸

Although the state took a more active part in Rio, nonetheless, the city probably owed its prominence more to economic factors than did Mexico City. Had Rio not been the capital, it still probably would have been the principal port since it had a wonderful naturally protected harbor and was the closest port to the Paraíba Valley's coffee lands. Thus its commercial role was assured; from that it would have gained financial importance in any event. Industry would naturally have arrived because of the population concentration accompanying its commercial prominence. After all, the Brazilian state never did much to aid industry. Its most important contribution was to help maintain Rio's primacy after the Paraíba Valley declined in the 1890s by financing infrastructure and redistributing wealth into the Federal District. But it is doubtful that São Paulo could have overtaken Rio by 1910, even had the latter not been the national capital.

It is less likely that Mexico City would have been an important urban center had it not been the residence first of the Viceroy and then the President. It enjoyed good lands and a large sophisticated population, but no export products. It was also not a natural distribution center for exports and imports since it was far from the sea, distant from rivers, and surrounded by rugged terrain. The Spanish population, which held most of the wealth, came to Mexico City because it was the seat of government and church and was, therefore, granted monopoly commercial powers by the Spanish crown. After independence it continued to enjoy primacy because of the advantages it had secured in the colonial period. Its hinterland was not economically very important outside of small-scale

³⁸ Colegio de México, *Estadísticas económicas*, p. 43; DGE, *Recenseamento do Rio de Janeiro (Distrito Federal) realizado em 20 de Setembro de 1906* (Rio, 1907), pp. 388, 389. For more on the comparison see Steven Topik, "The Economic Role of the State in Liberal Regimes: Brazil and Mexico Compared, 1888-1910" in Joseph Love and Nils Jacobsen, eds., *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* (Westport, Ct., 1988).



gold and silver mines overshadowed by those further north. Nor was Mexico City the country's manufacturing center. Thus, although the state's overt direct role in the 1890-1910 period was greater in Rio, Mexico City owed its primacy to a greater extent to historic state interventions and continued to reap the rewards during the Porfiriato. Mexico City's political advantages continued and indeed expanded after the Revolution centralized power even further while Rio's diminished to the extent that Brazil inaugurated a new capital in the interior in 1960.





David W. Walker*

**The Elusive "Bottom Line": An Urban - Based
Estate Owner in Durango, 1897 - 1911**

Introduction

This paper examines the conflicts which developed in the late Porfiriato between a Mexico City resident and the administrators of his Durango estate on one side, and the estate's workers and nearby rural communities on the other. Rationalizing the estate's operations after he acquired the property in 1897, the owner raised productivity by reducing wages, eliminating surplus employees, increasing rents charged to tenants, and extracting maximum returns from sharecroppers. The hacienda enforced its property rights and raised additional revenues by charging local villagers fees for previously free access to resources such as water, wood, and pasture lands, or sometimes by ending such privileges altogether. Although the profitability of the estate rose sharply, the precipitous modernization of labor and property relations carried hidden costs.

The urban-based estate owner

When he purchased Santa Catalina del Alamo in 1897 from the bankrupt Mexican General Land Mortgage and Investment Company of London for £40,000, Pablo Martínez del Río was Mexico's foremost corporate lawyer, a notable representative of that Mexico City-based fraction of the Porfirian elite commonly referred to as the *científicos*. Like them, most of his income derived from his work as an intermediary providing foreign capitalists with access to Mexican resources and, like other *científicos* who usually disdained entrepreneurial risk-taking, he invested only infrequently in Mexican enterprises. Why then did he risk his own capital in Santa Catalina del Alamo, a failed scheme that had lost the English company hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling? Although he acquired the property cheaply, he needed to invest huge sums to make it profitable. To irrigate fields of cotton and wheat, the attorney spent \$300,00 building the Mercedes dam and its network of canals and ditches. Martínez del Río spent \$200,000 more to import pure-bred cattle and sheep to improve meat and wool production; to drill wells and erect windmills to water 16,000 head of cattle, horses, and mules and 100,00 head of goats and sheep; to enclose fields and pastures in protective walls of stone and barbed wire; to construct houses for administrators and peons; to build barns and store-rooms for the hacienda's produce; and to purchase machinery to thresh wheat and gin cotton.¹

Given the enormous commitment required, Martínez del Río's purchase of Santa Catalina del Alamo was, in a certain sense, a case of conspicuous consumption. Not only did the Mexican urban elite treasure estate ownership for the social status it bestowed, but so did the British and North American elites like Lord Beresford and William Randolph

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¹Unless otherwise noted, "\$" denotes Mexican *pesos*; the 1888 sale is registered in Notary No. 4, 1888, fols. 91-100 (Mar. 27, 1888), Archivo General de Notarías, Mexico City (hereafter, AN); the 1897 sale is registered in Notary No. 4, 1888, fols. 199-208 (Jun. 3, 1897), AN; the total investment in improvements from 1897 to 1911 was \$501,110.83, as shown in Notary No. 4, 1911, fols. 214-260 (Jul. 24, 1911).

Hearst among whom Martínez del Río plied his trade. Educated abroad in the prestigious English boarding school, Stonyhurst, the Mexican attorney knew many of his clients intimately and he shared their values. To be sure, Martínez del Río also had a good nose for profit. Although the attorney put most of his savings in mortgage loans and urban real estate, he also understood that agricultural properties sometimes offered excellent security and great speculative value. A cautious and intelligent investor, he had the additional advantage of a thorough familiarity with Santa Catalina del Alamo because he arranged the sale of the estate to the English company in 1888 and served as its principal representative in Mexico. As member of the Board of Directors of railroad companies like the Mexican Southern Railway, the Interoceanic Railway, and the Mexican Central Railway, he knew that completion of the International Railroad extension which passed through the estate to connect Durango city with Torreón, a major rail junction on the Mexican Central, would radically improve the commercial possibilities of Santa Catalina del Alamo.²

To reduce the risks of developing Santa Catalina del Alamo, Martínez del Río used his social and political connections in Mexico City and in Durango City to defend the estate's property rights against unruly local elements which had occupied the English company's land without paying rent, or which had preyed upon its livestock. The attorney enjoyed an intimate friendship with Porfirio Díaz, who relied upon him to find jobs for his cronies and clients and to extract other useful goods and services from the foreign companies.³ Martínez del Río used his acquaintance with Díaz and his own prominence in Mexico City as the basis for developing useful relationships with powerful politicians in Durango like General Juan Manuel Flores and Esteban Fernández. To head the general administration of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas, the attorney recruited one of Durango's leading citizens, Francisco Gómez Palacio. The son of the Reforma hero of the same name, Gómez Palacio was a capable administrator; his network of acquaintances was invaluable in protecting and advancing the owner's interests in Durango.⁴

The estate

A product of the gradual amalgamation of many smaller haciendas, ranchos, and labores in the colonial era, by 1897 Santa Catalina del Alamo still stretched across most of the partido of Cuencamé in eastern Durango. When its new owner purchased the adjacent Hacienda del Sobaco five years later and combined its lands (Guadalupe and Cruces) with those of Santa Catalina del Alamo, the latifundio--Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas--expanded to its maximum size, 418,193 hectares.⁵ For administrative purposes, Martínez del Río divided his estate into six sections--the "haciendas" of Santa Catalina, Alamo, El Pasaje, Covadonga, Mercedes, and Guadalupe y Cruces, each managed by resident administrators, each fiscally separate of the others, but all subordinate to the principal administrator, Gómez Palacio, whose office remained in Durango City. As a matter of policy, Martínez del Río

²For the effects of rail transportation on rural estate economies, see John H. Coatsworth, *Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico* (DeKalb, 1981).

³For Pablo Martínez del Río's association with Porfirio Díaz, see David W. Walker, *Kinship, Business, and Politics: The Martínez del Río Family in Mexico, 1823-1867* (Austin, 1987), pp. 225-227.

⁴The owner could count on his general administrator to be zealous in maximizing productivity on the estate because Gómez Palacio's remuneration took the form of a 15 percent commission on annual profits up to \$50,000 and 20 percent on profits in excess of \$50,000; contract terms for the administrator are described in a letter, Pablo Martínez del Río to Francisco Gómez Palacio, Mexico City, Oct. 28, 1904, Archive of Carlos Martínez del Río y Fernández Henestrosa, Mexico City (hereafter CMRFH). Although expensive, the arrangement helped to insure effective management. The sudden death of Pablo Martínez del Río from a heart attack during a visit to the United States in November 1907 did little to disturb the estate's operations or to jeopardize its profits. Gómez Palacio continued to administer Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas for the owner's widow and children through 1913.

⁵The purchase of the Hacienda del Sobaco was registered with the notary Manuel Puente in Lerdo, Durango on Jul. 19, 1902; the price paid for the property was \$21,258; see also the listing for Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas in John R. Southworth, *The Official Directory of Mines and Estates of Mexico*, Vol. XI (Mexico City, 1910), pp. 196-197.



chose not to employ local residents as hacienda managers and he distrusted anyone with ties to nearby communities. He refused to employ Pedro Reyes as manager at Covadonga because Reyes had "many *compadrazgos*" with families in the adjoining town of Peñón Blanco.⁶ Of the managers he did hire, Antonio Herrán, at Mercedes, maintained a family in Saltillo; Eduardo Trigueros, at Pasaje from 1902 to 1906, had ties of *compadrazgo* with the Martínez del Río family in Mexico City; Antonio Martínez, at Pasaje after 1906, was a Spaniard; and Wentworth S. Conduit and Thomas Fairbairns, at Guadalupe y Cruces from 1904 to 1911, were North Americans. The owner required his managers, aside from demonstrating considerable technical and administrative skills, to show toughness in their dealings with the estate's residents. Martínez del Río refused to hire Eduardo Trigueros' brother at Covadonga because Emilio Trigueros lacked the "maliciousness to manage ... above all in Covadonga, where there are many bad people".⁷

The division of the latifundio into six separate operating units was a response not only to the critical problem of size, but also reflected a functional organization of the estate's economies. Alamo and Covadonga raised cattle, horses, mules, goats, and sheep; Santa Catalina cultivated corn and beans; the irrigated fields of Mercedes and Guadalupe y Cruces were planted in cotton and wheat; and Pasaje had a mixed economy. The livestock-producing units supplied oxen and mules to clear and plant the lands of the cereals-producing units and, in turn, were supplied with grains to feed livestock and workers alike. All units produced marketable surpluses: horses and mules for mining and agricultural enterprises across the republic; meat for markets in Durango, Torreón, and Mexico City; corn and beans for haciendas in the Laguna district; and wool and cotton destined for factories in northern and central Mexico. Because of a critical shortage of rainfall and water for irrigation, and because the hacienda was situated in rugged mountainous terrain, 97 percent of the estate's lands were unsuitable for farming and could only be used for grazing purposes. Ironically, it was these arid wastelands which contained the property's most valuable resource--guayule.

The workers

The estate's work force was divided into two broad groups: *acasillados*, residents paid a daily wage for casual labor, and *acomodados*, who received a monthly salary for performing specialized tasks.⁸ Until 1911, most *acasillados* earned a daily wage of \$0.37. During the planting and harvest seasons, when the demand for labor increased sharply, the estate suspended the *raya* and paid piece rates. Although daily wages were supplemented with free housing and access to a small plot of land to grow corn and vegetables or to pasture their animals, workers paid for these 'extras' by contributing monthly to the hacienda several days of free labor called *fatigas*. Santa Catalina's *acomodados* included *vaqueros* and *pastores* as well as artisans such as carpenters and blacksmiths. Salaries for shepherds and cowboys ranged from \$10 to \$25 monthly, including daily rations of corn, beans, and meat. School teachers received \$20 a month, plus access to free land to raise cash crops of corn or beans. Certain other employees, such as coach drivers, received most of their salary as the use of rent-free land.

Both *acasillados* and *acomodados* might draw against future wages by purchasing food, clothing, and utensils on credit from the hacienda's *tienda de raya*. Since the wage scale at Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas was low by regional standards and hardly covered

⁶Pablo Martínez del Río to Francisco Gómez Palacio, Mexico City, Feb. 13, 1905, CMRFH.

⁷Pablo Martínez del Río to Eduardo Trigueros, Durango, Nov. 19, 1906, CMRFH.

⁸For an overview of labor relations on Porfirian haciendas, see Friedrich Katz, "Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54 (1974), pp. 1-47. For a comparison with conditions on a Zacatecas hacienda in the nineteenth century, see Harry E. Cross, "Living Standards in Rural Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Zacatecas, 1820-1880", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 10 (1978), pp. 1-19.

essential subsistence needs, employees accumulated large debts at the tiendas. Although local hacienda owners and administrators generally cooperated in refusing to hire laborers indebted to other estates, there is no evidence of attempts to restrain physically the mobility of labor in the region.⁹ Intense competition between employers seeking laborers would have made debt peonage unworkable in any event. Instead, indebtedness on this estate functioned as a disguised salary which discouraged the formation of a more competitive labor market. Wages remained low even though labor was scarce, and thus the threat of ending a peon's access to credit served as a powerful tool to discipline the work force. But the absence of debt peonage on this estate should not be taken to suggest that labor relations were harmonious. On the contrary, there is evidence that conflict, not collaboration, characterized relations between employer and employees at Santa Catalina del Alamo. The disaffected workers included not only the grossly-exploited *acasillados*, but also the more privileged *acomodados*. Evidence of discontent included movements to resist low wages, episodes of theft by employees, and random violence.

When peons, shepherds, and cowboys at Pasaje demanded higher wages in November 1906, Gómez Palacio responded by ordering the resident manager, Eduardo Trigueros, to fire "the agitators of the people... and let them agitate somewhere else".¹⁰ At the same time, because Pasaje was short of workers to tend livestock, the general administrator instructed the resident manager to appease the disgruntled *acomodados* if possible, not by increasing their wages, but by promising to pay more of their salary in cash. At the same time, Trigueros was to make it clear to the cowboys and shepherds that they should abandon the "dream that they will be paid entirely in money".¹¹ In January 1908, after Antonio Herrán succumbed to pressure from cotton pickers at Mercedes who refused to work until piece rates were increased from \$0.015 per kilogram to \$0.02 per kilogram, Gómez Palacio ordered the rates lowered to their old level and lectured:

I cannot understand why now that the corn [harvest] is finished, and consequently the people who work in it are unemployed, it should be necessary to raise the [piece rates] ... It is necessary that we understand the necessity of exercising the greatest economies, if we want the business to give a profit, and not to imagine the advantages of spending more money, because such a system is ruinous, not only because it is more costly, but because of the influence it exercises on the workers, since if they understand that by making themselves lazy they can increase their wages, that is the way it will always be. For this reason, I judge the increase inconvenient, especially in the present circumstances, in which there is no reason to fear that the people will leave to look for better pay somewhere else.¹²

Dissatisfied employees at Santa Catalina y Anexas increased their income by stealing farm implements, grains, or livestock. When thefts of corn were detected at Santa Catalina in June 1905, Martínez del Río ordered the resident manager, Miguel Soto, to implement "with all energy the means that may be necessary to end the abuses... I want at any cost to maintain order and morality on the Hacienda, and I prefer not to have new residents than to have bad ones".¹³ But like pilfering, the rustling of livestock by cowboys, shepherds, and foremen remained a chronic problem. In January 1905, the owner blamed Chen Soto, a *caporal* at Pasaje and a retired cattle thief, for an epidemic of cattle and mule thefts which struck the hacienda. He ordered his manager, Francisco Calderón, to fire the famous

⁹On the contrary, there were instances in which workers who left the estate owing money were invited to return and the old debts were forgiven. Other workers who left owing debts as high as \$480 were punished by being barred from returning to Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas. The absence of debt peonage on Santa Catalina del Alamo is consistent with Katz's typology of regional variations in labor relations; see Katz, "Labor Conditions", pp. 31-37; for an extended discussion of the historiography of debt peonage, see Arnold J. Bauer, "Rural Workers in Spanish America: Problems of Peonage and Oppression", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 59 (1979), pp. 34-63.

¹⁰Francisco Gómez Palacio to Eduardo Trigueros, Durango, Nov. 19, 1906, CMRFH.

¹¹Francisco Gómez Palacio to Eduardo Trigueros, Durango, Nov. 29, 1906, CMRFH.

¹²Francisco Gómez Palacio to Antonio Herrán, Durango, Jan. 4, 1908, CMRFH.

¹³Pablo Martínez del Río to Miguel Soto, Mexico City, Jun. 1, 1905, CMRFH.



rustler and rum him off the hacienda. Then he punished Calderón for exercising poor judgement by making him pay for fifty of the missing cattle. At the same time elsewhere on the latifundio, authorities arrested Domingo Mota, a pastor at Pasaje, for stealing sheep. Gómez Palacio complained: "It seems that in all parts the shepherds are taking from their own flocks and one has to watch them more than the outsiders".¹⁴ In other instances suggestive of the fragile bond between the estate and its *acomodados*, a manager caught caporal Juan Bermúdez switching Alamo's fat goats for a Peñón Blanco butcher's skinny goats in October 1906, and three years later the local *acordada* jailed *vaqueros* at Covadonga and Alamo caught with stolen cattle in their possession.

The beatings, murders, and assaults which became increasingly common on the estate in the stressful years after 1906 are suggestive of the underlying social pressures and discontent which plagued resident workers at Santa Catalina. The pattern of this violence was random, directed internally, but not before 1911 aimed at the hacienda management. July 1907 witnessed the murder of one of Alamo's peons, killed in an argument with the resident of a nearby town. An elderly man who lived on Santa Catalina was brutally beaten without apparent reason in December 1908. In September of the following year, a deranged hacienda employee stabbed to death a child.

What accounts for this conflict and disorder on Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas in the years immediately prior to the Revolution? In part, it was a product of the fierce economic pressures the work force was subjected to after 1906. While nominal wages remained static or even declined, the cost of living rose sharply, especially for *acasillados*. The shift by this estate and other local haciendas away from subsistence crops such as corn and beans, towards cash crops such as wheat and cotton, and a succession of poor harvests because of floods, droughts, and frosts, combined to raise the price of corn and beans almost beyond the reach of peons without access to rations. Before 1906, these commodities wholesaled for \$2 to \$4 per hectoliter. After 1906, prices tripled. So serious were the shortages of corn that Gómez Palacio ordered his managers in 1908 and 1909 to ration corn to reduce the peons' consumption. Although *acomodados* were cushioned from the worst effects of the rise in foodstuffs, like other employees they were subject to the inflationary prices for other goods marketed by the estate's stores and by its competitors in nearby towns. Thomas Fairbairns, the administrator of Cruces, commented in February 1909 on the problems facing workers on his hacienda: "So far we have been unable to take advantage of the fatigas [the free labor] the peons owe, as they are barely living as it is on the 38 c. a day they get and if they don't work, they don't eat".¹⁵

The drive to rationalize labor management helped to lower operating costs, but it destabilized social relations on the estate. Under a traditional system of hacienda labor relations an estate owner formed durable social bonds with resident workers, especially with the *acomodados*.¹⁶ *Compadrazgo* (ritual kinship) and *clientelism* (the exchange of goods and services between *patrón* and *peon*) retarded the development of class conflict of the sort which afflicted Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas on the eve of the Mexican Revolution. The patriarchal owner and his workers constituted an extended family, united in their defense of hacienda interests against hostile outsiders. The *Patrón* cared for workers and their families even when they were redundant. He lent them money not just to patronize the *tienda de raya*, but also to stage celebrations of births, marriages, and burials--money that neither side expected would be repaid. He served as godfather to his workers' children. On traditional haciendas, bonds between masters and servants might reach back several generations.

¹⁴Francisco Gómez Palacio to Eduardo Trigueros, Durango, Jan. 21, 1905, CMRFH.

¹⁵Thomas M. Fairbairns to Francisco Gómez Palacio, Cruces, Durango, Feb. 13, 1909, CMRFH.

¹⁶For hacienda social relations and regional variations, see Katz, "Labor Conditions", pp. 27-37; for the colonial hacienda, see Eric Van Young, "Mexican Rural History Since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda", *Latin American Research Review*, 18 (1983), pp. 5-62.

In contrast to this traditional model of hacienda social relations, the Martínez del Río family owned Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas only thirteen years before the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. The owner lived hundreds of miles away in Mexico City and, because he was fully occupied attending to his law practice, seldom visited the estate. The general administrator resided in faraway Durango City and resident managers were strangers to their employees. With few exceptions neither the owner nor the administrators extended social ties of *compadrazgo* to their subordinates. Instead of positive sanctions, managers used punishments or threats of punishment, such as dismissal from the hacienda or criminal or civil prosecution, to discipline the work force. Gómez Palacio's philosophy of hacienda social relations revealed the great social void which separated *servientes* from owners and managers:

“Our Peons, by defect of education or be it an absolute lack of elucidation, do not have any trace of moral sentiment and the only control of their evil passions is the fear of punishment. Lacking this ... one must fear every class of excesses”.¹⁷

Acomodados may have been especially sensitive to problems of status and security. As individuals with high status in their local rural communities, they more than other workers longed for social recognition from their superiors. But not only was this group socially estranged from the owners and administrators at Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas--they were also economically insecure. Carpenters, blacksmiths, pastores, vaqueros, and caporales faced repeated threats of redundancy and salary reductions as management sought to lower overhead costs after 1903. In 1907 and 1908, Gómez Palacio ordered Herrán at Mercedes not only to lower wages for *acasillados*, but also to fire carpenters, dismiss the blacksmith's helper, cut the pay scale for *monteros* to 75 centavos daily, and reduce his assistant's salary to \$1.50 daily. As Gómez Palacio emphasized, these takebacks made good business sense: “The fact is that these general costs weigh on a very limited production”.¹⁸ Acomodados who tended livestock faced the additional worry of salary deductions for livestock lost or stolen while in their care.

Many employees probably resented what they perceived as the hacienda's failure to fulfill its social obligations. Martínez del Río understood that workers expected the owner to be “a sort of living providence to supplement and relieve the shortcomings of their [the peons'] own improvidence”.¹⁹ Both he and the general administrator recognized the usefulness of providing services such as free housing and medical care to induce workers to migrate to the hacienda. In practice, however, market forces guided labor relations and fiscal considerations diluted the hacienda's capacity to deliver welfare services. Managers could seldom find teachers willing to staff the estate's schools for salaries less than those paid to cowboys. Church services on the estate were irregular, and sometimes discouraged because they distracted employees from their duties. Once a visiting bishop refused to say mass in one of the hacienda's capillas because of its poor state of repairs. Another time, the general administrator answered a priest's request for funds to buy wax for candles used in church services with the observation:

...this function is a devotion of the faithful, [so] the right thing is that they and not the hacienda be the ones who bear the costs, since the hacienda already pays its obligations, like the mass service. If the devout do not have the means to cover the costs, they must not do the devotion, because fundamentally it does not benefit them if done with someone else's purse.²⁰

¹⁷Francisco Gómez Palacio to Barbara V. Martínez del Río, Durango, Mar. 20, 1911, CMRFH.

¹⁸Francisco Gómez Palacio to Antonio Herrán, San Lorenzo, Durango, July 19, 1907, CMRFH.

¹⁹Extract of a speech by Pablo Martínez del Río to the National Agricultural Congress, Ft. Worth, Texas, reported in *The Mexican Herald* (Mexico City), Dec. 18, 1898.

²⁰Francisco Gómez Palacio to Miguel Soto, Durango, Dec. 6, 1909, CMRFH.



When building for workers, Gómez Palacio understood that residents preferred two-room adobe houses to one-room houses, but these cost 50 percent more so he instructed managers to construct only one-room houses. He judged that because houses with kitchens cost more, workers who wanted houses with kitchens should live in houses without doors.

Although the hacienda was conscientious in providing free medical treatment for its workers--in one case sending children bitten by a rabid dog for treatment at a special clinic in Monterrey--even here there were sometimes misunderstandings. In October 1906 Gómez Palacio scolded Valente Vargas for giving Ascención García \$10 after the peon had injured himself with an axe. The general administrator reminded the manager of the Rancho of Alamito that hacienda policy was to provide the injured with free medicine and to give them loans until cured, but not to give them gifts of money--that "neither you nor I can be charitable with someone else's money".²¹ Gómez Palacio's directive in 1903 that wages and rations be withheld from those who failed to report for work provoked a strong letter of protest from the shoemaker Jesús Doras on behalf of Pedro Ceniceros, the attendant for the shepherds' remuda who was ill with a shyphilitic lesion, Silverio Roza, a vaquero thrown from a horse who did not work for a week, and Isabel Ramírez de Espinoza, whose husband had died suddenly after a painful illness.²²

The sharecroppers

The system of sharecropping which evolved on this estate was marvelously adapted to the agricultural conditions of the region. It provided a way around the chronic labor shortages which plagued estates in, and/or adjacent to, the Laguna. Cultivating five-sixths of the cotton, wheat, corn, and beans marketed by Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas, sharecroppers, not wage laborers, were the essential productive element. Sharecropping also served as a mechanism to recruit casual labor. To receive an allotment of land, *medieros* (sharecroppers paying rent with one-half of their harvest) were required to work a certain number of days of paid and unpaid labor. *Tercieros* (sharecroppers paying rent with one-third of their harvest) often brought their own peons to work the allotted lands. Sharecropping helped to reduce the capital needed to work the estate since *tercieros* were required to furnish not only labor, but also all draft animals, tools, seeds, rations, etc. Sharecropping shifted the risks of farming under often hostile climatic conditions onto the *medieros* and the *tercieros* while reserving most of the profits for the estate. A crop failure for the hacienda meant the loss of rent for a year and an increase in the indebtedness of *medieros*, while sharecroppers lost their labor and sometimes their investments in hired labor, seeds, and draft animals. Because it monopolized the local supply of arable land, the hacienda could dictate onerous terms in its sharecropping contracts. In exchange for the use of land, draft animals, seed, water, and credit, *medieros* delivered one-half of their harvest in kind, with an additional obligation to sell their remaining harvest to the estate at low prices. In 1906 *medieros* in wheat were obliged to sell their half of the harvest to the hacienda for \$4 per hectoliter (after the hacienda had first deducted from this half debts owed to the tienda de raya). If the hacienda threshed wheat for the sharecropper, it received all the wheat straw free. The hacienda sold wheat for up to \$0.10 per kilogram and made an additional profit by selling the straw as fodder. *Medieros* in cotton sold their half of the harvest to the hacienda for \$0.87 to \$1.00 per arroba of unginned cotton until they had repaid all credit extended; they could sell whatever remained for \$1.25 per arroba. The hacienda sold ginned cotton for \$35 per quintal and cotton seed for \$37 per ton. The hacienda determined what crops would be grown. At Mercedes the hacienda refused after 1909 to provide fully-irrigated land for

²¹Francisco Gómez Palacio to Valente Vargas, Durango, Oct. 10, 1096, CMRFH.

²²Francisco Gómez Palacio to Pablo Martínez del Río, Alamo, Durango, Jun. 15, 1903, CMRFH.

corn, preferring instead cash crops such as wheat or cotton. In 1911 Mercedes's tercieros were instructed to plant cotton in place of wheat.

Successive crop failures had brought relations between the hacienda and its sharecroppers close to the breaking pint by 1910. Especially hard hit were those who sharecropped corn and beans on dry or semi-irrigated lands. Floods in July 1906 destroyed Nazas' corn and bean crops, with many fields drowned under five feet or more of water. A drought the following year reduced the bean harvest by one-half and the corn harvest by two-thirds. In 1908 the hacienda sacrificed the last remaining water in the Mercedes reservoir to irrigate corn, only to lose that crop to an early frost. Conditions elsewhere were such that many sharecroppers simply abandoned their fields. The frost returned again the following year to claim one-fourth of the corn crop and one-half of the beans. 1910 was a drought year; one-third of the corn crop and one-half of the beans were lost. The hacienda had the consolation of high prices for those products which were harvested, but hopelessly indebted sharecroppers were forced to surrender all their produce at low prices. The estate paid sharecroppers in 1908 \$6 per hectoliter for beans it then resold for \$12.

1909 marked the beginning of agitation by sharecroppers demoralized by successive reverses. Although there had been isolated protests on Santa Catalina in 1906, now the hacienda was confronted by complaints, demands, and threats of walkouts from sharecroppers at Cruces, Mercedes, and Pasaje. In May 1909 the medieros of Cruces addressed a collective letter to the general administrator protesting the attempt to charge them against the current wheat crop for advances they had received for the failed crop of 1907. Because the hacienda took all their harvest in 1908, the sharecroppers considered that this "made it square for them". Gómez Palacio advised his manager at Cruces, Thomas Fairbairns: "I don't suppose they will carry out their threat to abandon the labores; but in case some of them should do it, let them go and do the harvesting with hired labor, which I suppose will not be hard to get at the present time".²³ Upon learning that the medieros had given in, Gómez Palacio counseled restraint: "I think it would be a good policy to slacken the rope on their necks a little bit, rather than have it too taut [sic] and break it. We can afford to do it this year, considering the good price of wheat".²⁴ In practice, however, Gómez Palacio relied more often on forceful coercion. In August 1909 the general administrator received an anonymous letter signed by "Various Pasajeños" denouncing abuses by the resident manager, Antonio Martínez. Rejecting pleas for an investigation, Gómez Palacio dismissed the charges as the work of troublemakers and instructed Martínez to seek out and punish the letter's author.²⁵ Two months later, sharecroppers on the labor of San Pablo at Mercedes refused to accept their obligation to clean irrigation canals and ditches without pay. Stating "I do not wish to establish a bad precedent", Gómez Palacio instructed Antonio Herrán to deliver an ultimatum to the protesters--to clean ditches or surrender their lands.²⁶ This time all but one sharecropper abandoned their fields and moved off the estate.

The operations of the tienda de raya--the hacienda store through which many employees received all or most of their wages as food, clothing, or utensils--served to focus the frustrations and resentments of the resident workers and sharecroppers. Here peons and sharecroppers, in emotionally-charged circumstances, came into close personal contact with the resident managers, who tended the stores and shared in the profits. The prices charged for goods were not appreciably higher than those charged in stores in nearby towns, but in the tienda de raya the effects of static or falling wages and successive crop failures could be measured tangibly in deepening levels of indebtedness and in the rising costs of "candles, matches, blankets, soap, sugar, cotton cloth, cutlery, tools, enamelled-ware and

²³Francisco Gómez Palacio to Thomas M. Fairbairns, Durango, May 13, 1909, CMRFH.

²⁴Francisco Gómez Palacio to Thomas M. Fairbairns, Durango, May 21, 1909, CMRFH.

²⁵Francisco Gómez Palacio to Antonio Martínez, San Lorenzo, Durango, Aug. 7, 1909, CMRFH.

²⁶Francisco Gómez Palacio to Antonio Herrán, Durango, Oct. 30, 1909, CMRFH.



what-not" which the stores marketed.²⁷ When Gómez Palacio learned that Fairbairns had closed the tienda de raya at Cruces in August 1909, Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas' general manager chortled: "Well and good that you shut off the Tienda de Raya, and have instead a simple, modest, poor little tiendita, for the sake of economy in taxes. We can afford to let alone the high-sounding Tienda de Raya, remembering that a rose by any other name smells as sweet".²⁸ The tiendas de raya (by any name) were useful to the estate because they lowered real labor costs (by exchanging wages for goods delivered at retail prices) and because they eliminated the need to maintain a large cash supply on the estate.²⁹

The towns

Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas was ringed by small towns and villages. The *municipio* (town) of Peñón Blanco lay sandwiched between Alamo on the east and Covadonga on the west; the *municipio* of Nazas extended north above Covadonga and Guadalupe y Cruces; the *congregaciones* of La Uña and El Conejo squatted on the western perimeter of Guadalupe y Cruces; and the congregación of Sauces pressed against the eastern limits of Santa Catalina. The town of Cuencamé did not border the estate, but as *cabecera* its courts had jurisdiction over those parts of the hacienda lying within the *partido* (district) of Cuencamé. Conflicts with the residents of each of these communities festered in the period 1897 to 1910. Although this hostility originated with and fed upon disputes over property rights, contests between the hacienda and local non-estate residents to control town governments intensified the bitterness. The estate sought to protect its property rights by using its influence with the state government to remove hostile local officials and by maintaining the *acordada*, a mounted rural police force commissioned by the state and financed by local hacendados. Because the caciques and middle-class residents of these towns challenged the political and economic controls imposed by Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas, the estate's power was never hegemonic, and its owner and managers sometimes lost political skirmishes to individuals with greater social standing in their local communities. Even where the estate won before 1910, it suffered mortal wounds once the Madero revolt shifted power decisively towards local residents and away from state and national governments.

After purchasing Santa Catalina del Alamo in 1897, Pablo Martínez del Río acted resolutely to assert his property rights. Disputes with local residents occupying hacienda land illegally were resolved by force, litigation, stealth, and negotiation. In most of these encounters, the hacienda won and local communities lost. Although they possessed no titles, the people of Sauces, El Pasaje, Covadonga, Peñón Blanco, Cuencamé, and La Uña claimed as their own the land their families had lived on for generations. Many were descendants of military colonists who garrisoned presidios in the area until the eighteenth century. When extensive estate agriculture in northern Mexico broke down after independence, Santa Catalina del Alamo was virtually abandoned by its absentee owners and no one questioned the gradual occupation of scattered ranchos and labores belonging to the estate until the Mexican General Land Mortgage and Investment Company attempted to take possession of these properties after 1888.

When the residents of Sauces, El Pasaje, and Covadonga continued their refusal to acknowledge its ownership of these lands or to pay rent, the English company tried to evict them in 1895. Counseled by what the company charged were "agitators", the community of Sauces obtained court injunctions to prevent the evictions and appealed to President Díaz for protection. Although Díaz refused to intervene (after Martínez del Río protested

²⁷Patrick O'Hea, *Reminiscences of the Mexican Revolution* (Mexico City, 1965).

²⁸Francisco Gómez Palacio to Thomas M. Fairbairns, Durango, Aug. 19, 1909, CMRFH.

²⁹For the role of the tienda de raya in the hacienda economy, see also Cross, "Living Standards", p. 16.

the attempt to make Saucos a municipio) and instead referred the matter to the Governor of Durango, the residents did win a partial victory--they were not evicted by force.³⁰ Instead, Martínez del Río turned their town into a no-man's land. To emphasize his property rights, the hacendado constructed a fence cutting across the center of the congregación along the property line with the adjacent hacienda of Juan Pérez. To speed up the dismantling of the community, the owners of the two haciendas signed a pact pledging in 1903 not to employ residents of Saucos or to permit them to collect wood or pasture their animals on hacienda lands until the residents agreed to vacate their homes and to move into hacienda housing at a different location. Competition for scarce labor resources, however, made it impossible for the two estates to cooperate. Each accused the other of hiring peons from Saucos. After a year, Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas abandoned the scheme and began to devise more subtle tactics to use against Saucos.

The residents of El Pasaje and Covadonga were less successful in maintaining their identity as rural communities. Witnesses charged that in 1898 Martínez del Río, "assisted by the public forces of the Acordadas of Durango, and taking advantage of the dissimulation and complicity of the superior authorities of the same State", evicted Pasaje residents and seized their land, livestock, crops, and homes.³¹ Afterwards, some residents of Pasaje stayed on the hacienda, and as workers and sharecroppers continued to lead resistance to the demands of the owner and managers. The displaced families took refuge in the *barrio* of Pasajito in Cuencamé and waited for an opportunity to recover their lands. Relations between this town and the estate worsened in 1905 when Martínez del Río completed construction of fences to keep livestock from Cuencamé out of hacienda pastures. There were frequent incursions, however, and as late as 1909 Cuencamé residents continued to invade hacienda lands to graze their animals. In retaliation, the estate refused to employ Cuencamé residents, "given the hostile attitude that the majority of these people have assumed against Santa Catalina".³²

Residents of the rancho of Covadonga and of nearby lands said to belong to Peñón Blanco's ejidos alleged that Martínez del Río, aided "with armed men", evicted them and committed "every class of depredations".³³ The townspeople appealed their evictions to the Supreme Court, but lost an October 1900 judgement. In 1903 the disputed lands around Peñón Blanco were enclosed in fences of stone and wire and the estate began posting guards to charge fees to residents who collected wood or pastured animals on hacienda land. Town officials attempted in June 1906 to persuade the estate to honor a pledge by the English company to cede lands in the Mesa del Peñón to the community, but Martínez del Río insisted the "vague promise" had no legal value and instructed his general administrator: "what is best is to give a full and energetic refusal in order to put an end to gossip".³⁴

The estate's conflicts with the congregaciones of La Uña and Conejo began after the purchase of the Sobaco lands in 1902 and the organization of the new hacienda of Guadalupe y Cruces. Gómez Palacio outlined his strategy for doing away with the villages in 1904:

The way is none other, in my judgement, than that which I have in mind for Saucos: that is to say, to build houses on Guadalupe and bring the people there. I have recommended much prudence and have not let it be known that this is an attempt to end the congregación... I have indicated .. the convenience of not angering the people by refusing them pasture for their animals, but on the contrary,

³⁰Pablo Martínez del Río to Porfirio Díaz, Mexico City, Dec. 30, 1895, fols. 17621-17624, Porfirio Díaz Collection (Hereafter, PDC), Mexico City.

³¹Francisco O'Reilly to National Agrarian Commission, Mexico City, Nov. 16, 1920, leg. 705-23 (724.1), fol. 705, Archivo de la Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria, Gómez Palacio, Durango (hereafter SRA-GP).

³²Francisco Gómez Palacio to Antonio Alemán, Durango, Aug. 19, 1907, CMRFH.

³³J. Froilan Reyes to Governor of Durango, Peñón Blanco, Aug. 14, 1917, leg. 705-25 (724.1), fol. 714, SRA-GP.

³⁴Pablo Martínez del Río to Francisco Gómez Palacio, Mexico City, Jun. 2, 1906, CMRFH

by providing them with everything, by means of a contract, to go about obtaining recognition of the property [rights]...³⁵

Here the plan worked less effectively than in Sauces. Claiming the land where their houses stood was their own, residents steadfastly refused to sign contracts. Four years later, on the eve of the Revolution of 1910, La Uña's people were building new adobe houses, expanding the village, and ridiculing attempts by Conduit to exercise control.

La Uña and Conejo survived and flourished as independent rural communities because they had powerful friends like Mariano Arce, the owner of the Rancho de San Agustín across the Nazas river from Guadalupe y Cruces. Arce's interest lay in the bounty of guayule growing wild on lands belonging to Guadalupe y Cruces. His friendly relations with residents made it possible for him to contract to buy guayule cut clandestinely on these lands, an activity which the owners and administrators of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas strongly opposed but were powerless to stop. The estate also found it difficult to contend with the resistance of community leaders like Eduardo Franco, José García, and Cipriano Molina. The latter presented so many problems that Martínez del Río counseled his manager, Conduit, in April 1905: "[Molina] has been quite a troublesome element to us for some time... wonder if you could not get around him with perhaps a little money".³⁶

Gómez Palacio, himself the owner of the Hacienda de San Lorenzo near Durango City, appreciated the need to cultivate peaceful relations with local men of substance. By offering generous rental terms on an adjacent rancho in 1903, he pacified the cacique of Sauces, Jacinto de la Joya. The administrator also warned his manager at Pasaje to use tact when collecting rent owed by José Bori, "because this is one of the most considerable and influential persons in Nazas, and it is not convenient for us to break ties with such caciques".³⁷ When the hacienda began to enclose its pastures in Peñón Blanco, it did not attempt to fence lands claimed by powerful local hacendados and factory owners like Juan Francisco Flores. Despite its attempts to please individuals deemed consequential, too many persons of above-average economic and political means saw their interests damaged by the estate's monopoly of pasture and farming lands in the partido of Cuencamé. In two separate proceedings in 1907 and 1908, respectively, Pedro Sosa and Severino Ceniceros of Cuencamé and Simon Yiverino of Peñón Blanco denounced Santa Catalina del Alamo's lands as *baldíos* and promised to share these lands with local residents if they won possession of them. Although Gómez Palacio beat off the legal challenges in court, he could not silence a growing public clamor for a division of the hacienda's lands.

Nowhere did the hacienda find relations more difficult than in the town of Cuencamé, where the owners and the administrators found themselves occupied in constant battles with local residents for control of the town hall and the municipal courts. In November 1904 Gómez Palacio advised Martínez del Río that because the jefe político of Cuencamé was supporting the congregación of Ocuila in its dispute with the estate and with the neighboring hacienda of Sombretillos, "we must procure the placement in the cabecera of the partido of a jefe who will be our creature, and if you approve the idea, I will set to work on this when Esteban Fernández returns".³⁸ Already, the jefe had angered Gómez Palacio by refusing to deal harshly with Ocuila residents accused of taking livestock from the estate. Subsequently, when a new jefe, Miguel Breceda, replaced the complacent Santa Marina, the newcomer's first act in January 1905 was to address a letter to Gómez Palacio putting himself under the "orders" of the general administrator. His second act was to organize an armed search of houses in Ocuila, where two mules belonging to the hacienda were recovered. The following year Breceda was rewarded with rental of the rancho of

³⁵Francisco Gómez Palacio to Pablo Martínez del Río, Durango, Jan. 15, 1904, CMRFH.

³⁶Pablo Martínez del Río to Wentworth S. Conduit, Mexico City, Apr. 27, 1905, CMRFH.

³⁷Francisco Gómez Palacio to Eduardo Trigueros, Durango, May 20, 1903, CMRFH.

³⁸Francisco Gómez Palacio to Pablo Martínez del Río, Durango, Nov. 29, 1904, CMRFH.



Marquesaña. In 1906 Breceda was succeeded by Gómez Palacio's first choice as jefe, Angel Morales, a former police chief of Durango City. But Morales, like other officials, soon proved a disappointment to Gómez Palacio. Because Cuencamé residents kept cutting fences, and because of the jefe's lax attitudes towards livestock rustlers and a failure to prosecute residents of the community of Ocotillo for stealing wood from the hacienda, the administrator was again using his influence in 1909 and 1910 to persuade the state government to replace the jefe político.

The estate experienced similar problems in its attempts to control the judges of Cuencamé. There were repeated episodes--in 1904, 1905, and 1909--in which local courts freed hacienda residents accused of rustling. In February 1909 Gómez Palacio attempted to prosecute the *juez conciliador* of Cuencamé after he released pastors from the hacienda of Alamo caught stealing cattle. Previously, Judge Bocanegra had jailed Manuel Castellanos, employed by Gómez Palacio to supervise an armed security force that patrolled hacienda pastures. Juan Badillo, a Cuencamé resident described by Gómez Palacio as "one of the most recalcitrant ones", repeatedly challenged the estate property rights by grazing his animals on its lands. When Badillo refused to pay a fee for "damages" to the pasture in January 1909, Castellanos seized the trespassing livestock and was arrested when Badillo complained to the court in Cuencamé. Convinced that "with this class of people hardness is what works best", the administrator had Bocanegra fired and replaced by a more understanding judge, Guillermo Castillo. Gómez Palacio acknowledged this was only a temporary victory: "From here [Durango City] there is not much one can do to counteract the influences of the *tinterillos* with the local judges, who generally move to their whims in the small towns".³⁹ Gómez Palacio was no more successful in controlling the courts of the other principal town in the partido, Peñón Blanco. Without the cooperation of these courts, Gómez Palacio could not always punish the cattle rustlers and trespassers that his acordada apprehended.

The bottom line

Why were urban investors in Porfirian Mexico eager to own rural estates? Consider the appeal of the bottom line--profit. In 1911, Gómez Palacio estimated the market value of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas at \$5.3 million.⁴⁰ Apart from appreciating 700 percent in value over the cost of acquisition and improvements (\$743,379.76), the estate was the principal income producer in the portfolio of properties inherited by Martínez del Río's wife and children. In the nine months between December 1910 and August 1911, Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas contributed 85 percent (\$401,027.13) of the family's gross income (\$473,991.25) earned from diversified investments acquired for \$3.7 million. By way of contrast, while the Durango estate generated a 54 percent return on capital invested, \$30,000 in shares of the Compañía Cemento de Hidalgo gave 18 percent returns; \$18,436.73 in shares in a tobacco company, El Buen Tono, paid 4 percent; \$19,047.50 in the Compañía Expendidora de Pulques produced dividends of less than 2 percent; \$25,020 in a mining company, Soledad de Pachuca, returned 6 percent; and massive investments in Mexico City land, rental housing, and mortgage loans gave returns averaging 6 to 9 percent.⁴¹

Looking more closely at Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas, one can detect a steady growth rate of about ten percent annually in the volume of net profits for the years between 1903 and 1911. Profits for the 1903 fiscal year totalled \$57,964.09; profits for the 1911 fiscal year totalled \$657,400.35. A major contributor to the trend towards soaring

³⁹Francisco Gómez Palacio to Antonio Herrán, Durango, Jan. 5, 1909, CMRFH.

⁴⁰Valor estimativo de las Haciendas de SCA...", Oct. 15, 1911, CMRFH.

⁴¹Calculated from data reported in Notary No. 4, 1888, fols. 214-260 (Jul. 24, 1911); and Notary No. 25, 1913, fols. 226-233 (n.d.), AN.



profits were sales of guayule which in 1911 produced gross income of \$743,913.82, compared to the \$92,828.76 in gross revenues from the estate's other operations. In more normal years, when sales of livestock, grains, and cotton were not disrupted by revolutionary violence, these operations yielded gross revenues ranging from \$150,000 to \$227,000 annually. Following the general trend, the hacienda of Guadalupe y Cruces developed into one of the most productive of the estate's properties. Its net profits, based on the sale of wheat and cotton, increased four-fold from \$7,294.08 in 1907 to \$28,399.77 in 1909. The record of the Compañía Aparcera, formed by relatives and friends of Pablo Martínez del Río to work lands on Santa Catalina, demonstrated that under the right conditions sharecropping by *terceros* could return good profits. This company paid \$1,400 and \$600 dividends on each of the six \$1,000 shares subscribed for the 1906 and 1910 harvests. Even the mundane operations of the tienda de raya at Guadalupe y Cruces produced higher net returns (10 to 12 percent) than investments in many mining or manufacturing establishments.⁴²

Not itemized on the 'bottom line' of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas' accounts (nor listed in the ledgers of any of the great estates in Porfirian Mexico) were the hidden social and political costs incurred as the vast agricultural enterprise conducted its affairs in a business-like fashion with the residents of rural Durango. These cumulative costs—the grassroots reaction of rural people against the forced modernization of labor and property relations—came due beginning in 1911. Seeking to redress the grievances of the preceding thirteen years and exploiting the opportunities which accompanied revolutionary (or even counter-revolutionary) pronouncements in the name of Madero, Vázquez Gómez, Reyes, Díaz, Zapata, and Orozco, the workers and sharecroppers of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas joined the residents of local rural communities in more than a dozen major assaults, uprisings, and occupations which by 1913 effectively destroyed the estate's territorial integrity and its capacity to produce income for its urban-based owners.

In the partido of Cuencamé, the content of national political programs and movements was largely irrelevant; the context of local social relations shaped the Revolution there. The people of Peñón Blanco occupied the lands of Covadonga and Santa Catalina while residents of Cuencamé and hacienda workers and sharecroppers took possession of Pasaje and Mercedes. The cascos of Guadalupe y Cruces, Covadonga, Alamo, and Santa Catalina were looted, livestock and produce carried off, and the main houses, stores, barns, and equipment destroyed. Along with the resident managers, hacienda records and the tiendas de raya were favorite targets for vengeance. Armed assailants shot and killed Antonio Herrán, the administrator of Mercedes; a gun battle at Pasaje left Antonio Martínez severely wounded; and attackers at Alamo beat Dionisio Salas and then dragged him behind a horse. Other managers narrowly escaped similar fates. From Guadalupe y Cruces Patrick O'Hea frantically wired Gómez Palacio in February 1912: "A party of men this place rose last night... money, horses, equipment, and store goods taken. A faithful employee shot dead by my side. My life also attempted. Everything is lost if I leave, but fear I cannot remain..."⁴³ The more visible leaders of the assaults on Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas were caciques like Calixto Contreras of Ocuila, Severino Ceniceros of Cuencamé, and Antonio Castellanos of Peñón Blanco, but the anonymous collaborators that helped them carry the day were acomodados like the machinist, Severo García, and the caporal, Julián Martínez, at Cruces or the blacksmith, Pedro Hernández, at Mercedes. Gómez Palacio lamented after an attack on Santa Catalina in June 1912: "It is sad to say, but it is a fact without any doubt that the greatest enemies the hacienda has are its own *sirvientes*".⁴⁴

⁴²Pablo Martínez del Río to Francisco Gómez Palacio, Mexico City, 28 Oct. 1094; Francisco Gómez Palacio to Miguel Soto, Durango, Jul. 3, 1907; Thomas M. Fairbairns to Francisco Gómez Palacio, Cruces, Durango, Mar. 15, 1909, Apr. 6, 1910; Guadalupe y Cruces Account, Dec. 31, 1908; Francisco Gómez Palacio to Barbara V. Martínez del Río, Durango, Jul. 14, 1912, CMRFH.

⁴³Patrick O'Hea to Francisco Gómez Palacio, telegram, Cruces, Durango, Feb. 13, 1912, CMRFH.

⁴⁴Francisco Gómez Palacio to Barbara V. Martínez del Río, Durango, Jun. 23, 1912, CMRFH.

Santa Catalina y Anexas and the Mexican Revolution

In the immediate aftermath of the Madero Revolt, Gómez Palacio assessed in July 1911 the hopelessness of defending Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas against its workers and local residents. He understood correctly the implications of the revolution in political relations which had taken place and he struggled to devise a strategy to cope with the new reality. Religious pacification was one of his more novel ideas:

Being that our civil resources are exhausted, and not having at our disposition military resources, I am thinking about recourse to the religious ones, having already taken the steps necessary with the Archbishop in order that they come missionize to the hacienda and the nearby towns. The idea has had a good reception and they are already taking the necessary steps to put it into practice. I do not think that the missions can make the usurpers of the lands return them; but I do believe they will serve to moralize the people... and make the robberies of animals diminish, at least...⁴⁵

Although this plan failed, as did schemes of a very different nature to create a hacienda self-defense force, it does reveal a belated attempt to redress the imbalances in hacienda social relations described in the preceding pages. It was probably a step in the right direction. Material conditions on this estate were harsh, but other estates paid workers less and took more from sharecroppers without provoking rebellion. The workers of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas were starved in terms of symbolic gratification. Missing was the patrón who gave a hacienda its sense of community. In the absence of a patrón, there developed a pattern in which labor-management relations were mediated by third parties, often artisans in nearby towns, as illustrated by the intervention of a shoemaker of Peñón Blanco, Jesús Doras, on behalf of sick or injured acomodados. Similarly an outsider, Julio Fierro, represented the medieros of Cruces in their attempt to prevent the estate from taking all the 1909 harvest. In other circumstances where the Church had a greater presence, as in the Bajío, one might have seen the clergy acting as mediators between rural enterprises and disaffected employees. In Peñón Blanco, Cuencamé, and Nazas, the grassroots leaders of the community were neither hacendados nor priests, but small property owners or artisans like the tinsmith Severino Ceniceros, who became jefe político of Cuencamé after the Madero revolt.⁴⁶ Carrying out many of the clientelistic functions of a patrón, they bridged the social differences between hacienda workers and local residents. So long as the hacienda had a monopoly of force, its penchant for using negative sanctions to discipline workers and sharecroppers was effective. Once the Madero revolt revealed the weaknesses of the state and national governments that Martínez del Río and Gómez Palacio had used to enforce the estate's property rights, the hacienda was defenseless as its workers and sharecroppers joined or sympathized with local militias commanded by "that Indian from Ocuila", Calixto Contreras. The tutelage begun in the late Porfiriato by small town artisans like Severino Ceniceros ripened into bold campaigns by armed revolutionaries to indoctrinate and politicize hacienda residents. After 1913 the partido of Cuencamé became a stronghold of Villismo (as it had been under different names since 1911).

The relations between resident hacienda workers and the absentee owner of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas, which were described in the preceding pages, do not fit easily into the model of worker-owner harmony proposed by Friedrich Katz.⁴⁷ Instead of helping the owner defend Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas from attacks by outsiders, resident workers actively participated in rebellions against the hacienda. Elsewhere, in

⁴⁵Francisco Gómez Palacio to Barbara V. Martínez del Río, Durango, Jul. 13, 1911, CMRFH

⁴⁶Alan Knight, "Peasant and Caudillo in Revolutionary Mexico, 1910-1917", in D.A. Brading, ed., *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 42.

⁴⁷Katz, "Labor Conditions", pp. 44-47.



Sonora, Tamaulipas, Guerrero, western Durango, and Coahuila, the Maytoenas, the Figueroas, the Maderos, and other rancheros and hacendados (who were not urban-based or absentee estate owners) commanded the unswerving allegiance of their workers (and in some cases the support of nearby rural communities). There was between Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas and towns like Cuencamé a conflict similar to that described by John Womack, Jr. and others between sugar haciendas and villagers in Morelos, except that in eastern Durango there was little friction between hacienda workers and local townspeople or villagers and fewer residents of these towns sought communal occupation of hacienda lands.⁴⁸ Most of the occupied lands of Pasaje, Mercedes, Covadonga, and Santa Catalina were divided among individual property owners and except for grazing lands were not given over to communal ejidos.

New micro-studies of haciendas in Durango and Chihuahua may reveal a pattern of social relations which nurtured the development of Villismo, that is, highly-commercialized estate agriculture based on sharecropping; modernized "non-traditional" labor relations managed by cost-conscious, absentee, urban-based estate owners; conflict with land-hungry local communities with historic claims to estate lands; and the emergence of middle-sector artisans and caciques who forged estate workers and town residents into powerful revolutionary coalitions. These combinations gave Villismo its characteristic social heterogeneity. Villa, himself a native of Cuencamé, worked as a mediero there before moving on (most likely with Gómez Palacio's *acordada* in hot pursuit) to polish his skills as a professional cattle rustler in Chihuahua.

While settings like Cuencamé were the great breeding grounds of Villismo in Durango, the experience of Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas may also reveal one of the movement's great weaknesses—its provincialism. The people of Cuencamé had won their revolution by the end of 1913—they had confronted and overcome the problems posed by urban-based estate owners like Martínez del Río in the late Porfiriato—and they had little to gain by joining great national crusades. Like the Zapatistas of Morelos, they may have been reluctant to extend their revolution beyond local borders. Moreover, in moving outside Chihuahua and Durango they would discover that other rural peoples had political agendas based on very different experiences with Porfirian haciendas. Nowhere else would Villa's representatives be able so effectively to bridge the social and economic differences that separated townspeople and hacienda workers. Fatally, Villismo may have relied upon a geographically narrow social base created by special circumstances of the sort chronicled in this essay.

⁴⁸John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1968); for hacienda-town conflicts, see also Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970).





Gustavo Garza*

El sistema ferroviario y eléctrico como génesis de la concentración industrial en la ciudad de México (1876 - 1910)**

El capitalismo es resultado de siglos de evolución durante los cuales se va construyendo un vasto conjunto de obras infraestructurales, paralelamente al desarrollo de sus determinantes directos: la producción mercantil, la división del trabajo, el capital comercial, el trabajo asalariado, la manufactura y la expansión del mercado.

En México, el capitalismo industrial se consolida a partir de 1876. Este trabajo analiza los principales factores históricos que hicieron posible iniciar en esta época la incontenible tendencia hacia la concentración industrial en la ciudad de México. Puebla reunía, igualmente, las condiciones necesarias para poder fungir como el principal centro industrial del país. No obstante, en el período 1876-1910, se establecieron los factores definitivos que inclinaron la balanza en favor de la ciudad de México.

1. Distribución geográfica de la industria textil (1879 y 1882)

En 1879 existe una mejor distribución territorial de la industria textil que la de 1845 y de las 29 entidades, 23 poseen al menos un establecimiento textil.¹ Puebla persiste como la entidad con mayor número de este tipo de empresas, con 21 de un total de 99, esto es, con 21.2% del total nacional (véase el cuadro 1).²

Según el número de empresas y producción de hilaza, Jalisco le sigue en importancia y, en tercer sitio, se encuentra el Distrito Federal. Sin embargo, este último ocupa el segundo lugar considerando al capital invertido y a la producción de manta (véase el cuadro 1).

El aumento de importancia de Jalisco y Coahuila y el surgimiento de la industria textil fabril en los estados norteros de Nuevo León, Sonora y Chihuahua, denotan que continuaba el patrón de dispersión industrial como reflejo de consideraciones técnicas y del debilitamiento del control económico de la ciudad de México, iniciado desde mediados del siglo XIX.³

En el Distrito Federal se encuentran 8 empresas textiles que representan el 8.0% del total, aunque su participación, considerando el capital invertido y las piezas de manta aumenta a 13.3% y 15.6%, respectivamente (porcientos calculados del cuadro 1). Entre estas magnitudes se puede establecer la concentración de la industria textil en la ciudad de México.

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** Este trabajo constituye una adaptación del capítulo v del libro, Gustavo Garza, *El proceso de industrialización en la ciudad de México, 1821-1970*, El Colegio de México, 1985.

¹ La información no es enteramente comparable, pues en 1845 se incluyen las fábricas de hilados y tejidos de algodón y en 1879 se agregan a éstas las de tejidos de lana. Aunque la fuente para 1879 no incluye que el título a las fábricas de hilaza, la información de que, al menos en parte, si se consideran.

² Los datos son a nivel de entidades federativas pero en la mayoría de los casos, las empresas se encontraban en la capital estatal o en sus alrededores.

³ La imposibilidad de atender adecuadamente a los mercados lejanos produjo el surgimiento de nuevos centros de abastecimiento y un menor control económico de la capital: "la información analizada muestra la pérdida de los antiguos mercados del norte, región donde se registran los mayores crecimientos urbanos de la época (Monterrey, San Luis Potosí)". (A. Moreno Toscano y E. Florescano 1970: 37).

Es de particular importancia observar el tipo de fuerza motriz que utilizan las empresas textiles en 1879. En el capítulo anterior se señaló que en 1843 la fuerza motriz básica era hidráulica. Para 1879 esto se había modificado apreciablemente y existían 9 empresas que trabajaban exclusivamente vapor (9.1%); 54 utilizaban agua y vapor (el 54.5%); las 36 empresas restantes (el 36.4%) continuaban sus actividades con el agua como fuerza motriz (véase cuadro 1). Para esta época, por ende, estaban desapareciendo las ataduras territoriales a la existencia de corrientes de agua. Este hecho tecnológico iba a posibilitar, en el futuro inmediato, una mayor movilidad de las empresas fabriles respecto a los recursos naturales y a establecer la condición fundamental para su concentración urbana. La invención de la máquina de vapor como fuerza motriz constituyó una condición necesaria para la eliminación del patrón prevaleciente de dispersión geográfica de la industria.

En 1882 se mantiene la distribución geográfica de la industria textil de 1879.⁴ En las mismas 23 entidades federativas se localizaba al menos una empresa textil, aunque el total de las fábricas existentes disminuye a 92. La disminución de siete establecimientos sucede por una reducción de dos en el Distrito Federal, tres en Hidalgo y tres en México y el aumento de uno en Puebla (véase los cuadros 1 y 2).

En términos relativos, por ende, de 1879, a 1882, Puebla aumenta su importancia en número de establecimientos pasando del 21.2% al 23.9% y en producción de manta del 23.9% al 29.5%. En contrapartida, el Distrito Federal disminuye su participación en establecimientos del 8.0% al 6.5% y en producción de manta del 15.6% al 13.4% (Porcentos calculados de los cuadros 1 y 2).

La participación en el valor de la producción textil para 1882 estima la importancia relativa global de cada entidad: Puebla con el 29.7% y el Distrito Federal con el 13.5%. Aún agregando a este último las empresas textiles del estado de México, que en valor de la producción representaron el 6.6% del total nacional, continúa muy a la zaga de Puebla.

Cabe señalar, finalmente, que las entidades de Campeche, Baja California Territorio, Tamaulipas, Chiapas, Tabasco y Morelos, en ambos años no tienen ninguna empresa textil.

La rama textil era la principal industria fabril, pero no era, obviamente, la única. Para tener una idea general sobre el nivel de industrialización de la ciudad de México y Puebla, sería necesario considerar al resto de las empresas capitalistas. Desgraciadamente sólo se cuenta con esta información para la ciudad de México, pero será posible obtener una idea general de ambos niveles de industrialización con base en otras consideraciones.

El análisis de la estructura industrial de la ciudad de México en 1879 indica, en primer lugar, el predominio de industrias caracterizadas por la pequeña producción mercantil. Ramas tales como la producción alimenticia, fabricación de prendas de vestir, industrias de cuero, etc., en esa época estaban constituidas por talleres de corte semimanufacturero que se dedicaban a satisfacer las necesidades de consumo de la población capitalina. Según la clasificación utilizada, *grosso modo*, este tipo de pequeñas empresas representaban un elevado número de las existentes, constituyendo 665 del total de 728, esto es, el 91.3%. Las restantes 63 que agrupaban al 8.7% del total, son las que presentaban claramente formas de producción capitalista fabril (véase el cuadro 3).

Este 8.7% de empresas fabriles absorbían el 25.1% del valor de la producción anual, por lo que en esta etapa incipiente del desarrollo capitalista mexicano de la pequeña producción mercantil y manufacturera, tenía aún una importancia elevada (cálculos del cuadro 3). Interesa, sin embargo, el estudio de los determinantes de la localización de la industria fabril capitalista. Ésta se encuentra menos ligada al mercado que la producción simple de bienes de consumo, aunque sin desprenderse por completo de su influencia.

Ya se ha señalado que en la ciudad de México se concentraban las más importantes fábricas de papel, tabacalera, de aceites, etc., mientras que en Puebla existían empresas

⁴Se realiza este breve análisis de 1882 pues a pesar de ser un año muy cercano a 1879, permitirá evaluar la consistencia de la información y tener una idea de los cambios en la localización de la industria textil.



Cuadro 1
República Mexicana: Distribución de la industria textil por principales características y entidades federativas, 1879

Entidades	Número de establecimientos	Producción mensual		Capital invertido	Fuerza Motriz		
		Hilaza (kg)	Manta (Pzas)		Vapor	Vapor y agua	Sólo agua
Total ^{a/}	99	243 785	271 284	9 517 775	9	54	36
Aguascalientes	1		1 000	28 000			1
Baja California Norte							
Baja California Sur							
Campeche							
Coahuila	7		11 300	278 000		5	2
Colima	2	28 000	4 000	107 000		2	
Chiapas							
Chihuahua	3		7 500	122 000		2	1
Distrito Federal	8	6 858	42 400	1 271 000	2	6	
Durango	7	20 000	12 500	233 000		3	4
Guanajuato	4	8 000	22 700	296 000	1		3
Guerrero	1		2 000	35 000			1
Hidalgo	4	2 614	6 900	200 000	1	2	1
Jalisco	10	118 536	18 500	907 000		4	6
México	6	8 292	18 900	677 775			6
Michoacán	3		9 500	196 000		3	
Morelos							
Nayarit							
Nuevo León	3		4 500	146 000		2	1
Oaxaca	2	6 900	6 000	40 500		2	
Puebla	21	34 335	64 750	2 392 000	3	13	5
Querétaro	3		12 000	550 000		3	
Quintana Roo							
San Luis Potosí	1	1 500	2 784	600 000		1	
Sinaloa	3		11 800	205 000	2		1
Sonora	1		1 000	42 000			1
Tabasco							
Tamaulipas							
Tlaxcala	2		2 200	70 000			2
Veracruz	5	8 750	7 250	712 000		5	
Yucatán	1		1 300	27 000			1
Zacatecas	1		500	18 000		1	

Fuente: Emiliano Busto. *Estadística de la República Mexicana*, tomo I Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, México, 1880, (Cuadro 2 de la industria en el Distrito Federal).

^{a/}El total de la producción mensual de hilaza, manta y capital invertido no concuerda con los valores presentados

Cuadro 2

República Mexicana: características principales de la industria de tejidos de algodón por entidades federativas, 1882

Entidades federativas	Número de establecimientos	Producción anual (Piezas de manta)	Valor de la producción
Totales	92	3 373 608	11 723 628
1. Aguascalientes	1	12 000	42 000
2. Coahuila	7	132 000	462 000
3. Colima	2	48 000	168 000
4. Chihuahua	3	90 000	315 000
5. Distrito Federal	6	452 400	1 583 400
6. Durango	7	150 000	525 000
7. Guanajuato	4	272 400	953 400
8. Guerrero	1	24 000	
9. Hidalgo	1	16 800	58 800
10. Jalisco	10	282 000	987 000
11. México	3	186 800	653 800
12. Michoacán	3	114 000	399 000
13. Nuevo León	3	54 000	189 000
14. Oaxaca	2	72 000	252 000
15. Puebla	22	995 200	3 483 200
16. Querétaro	3	150 000	525 000
17. San Luis Potosí	1	33 408	116 928
18. Sonora	1	12 000	42 000
19. Sinaloa	3	141 600	495 600
20. Tlaxcala	2	26 400	92 400
21. Veracruz	5	87 000	304 500
22. Yucatán	1	15 600	54 600
23. Zacatecas	1	6 000	21 000

Fuente: García Cubas: *Cuadro Geográfico Estadístico de la República Mexicana*; México 1882-1883, pp. 26 a



Cuadro 3
Ciudad de México: principales características de la industria por grupos, 1879
(En pesos corrientes)^{a/}

<u>Grupos industriales^{b/}</u>	<u>Número de establecimientos</u>	<u>Personal ocupado</u>	<u>Capital fijo total</u>	<u>Sueldos</u>	<u>Valor anual de la producción</u>	<u>Forma de producción^{c/}</u>
Total	728	12 550	4 011 694	2 843 225	15 503 719	
20. Alimentos	128	1 657	425 240	417 954	5 519 323	p.p.m.
21. Bebidas	7	63	28 082	14 216	108 526	f.
22. Tabaco	20	2 710	132 386	281 479	1 007 742	f.
23. Textiles	6	1 456	910 655	565 802	1 643 394	f.
24. Calzado y vestuario	214	3 413	954 728	696 589	3 224 704	p.p.m.
25. Madera y corcho	129	703	244 713	190 496	713 171	p.p.m.
27. Papel	10	326	457 333	147 848	496 119	f.
28. Imprentas	58	847	136 398	125 102	403 097	p.p.m.
29. Cuero y Piel	16	640	8 023	56 865	387 593	p.p.m.
31. Química	117	552	369 076	153 534	1 302 312	p.p.m.
33. Minerales no metálicos	3	100	32 094	22 746	62 015	p.p.m.
34. Metálicos básicos	7	151	44 129	36 962	170 541	f.
35. Productos metálicos	13	402	268 783	133 632	665 112	f.

Fuente: Emiliano Bustos, *Estadística de la República Mexicana*, tomo I, Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, México, 1880 (cuadro 1 de la industria en el Distrito Federal).

^{a/}Excepto el número de establecimientos y el personal ocupado que está en unidades físicas.

^{b/}La información original se presenta a nivel de clases de industrias o talleres y se agregaron en grupos industriales conforme a la clasificación de actividades de los censos industriales del siglo XX.

^{c/}p.p.m. Significa pequeña producción mercantil y f. fabril. Esta clasificación es muy aproximada pues se estimó considerando la naturaleza general de las características técnicas de cada tipo de fábrica o taller considerado en los grupos industriales.

fabriles de alfarería, productos químicos, cerillos, jabón y vidrio. Puebla aventajaba considerablemente a la ciudad de México en la rama textil, pues en términos de capital invertido la primera en 1879 tenía 2392 y la segunda 1271 miles de pesos y en valor de la producción textil en 1882 tenían 3.4 y 1.5 millones de pesos respectivamente (véanse cuadros 1 y 2). Si las cifras de las empresas de los otros grupos industriales de la capital fuesen mayores a estas diferencias, cabría la posibilidad de que tuviera mayor producción industrial que la poblana.

No obstante, considerando que el valor de la producción de todas las empresas fabriles de la ciudad de México identificadas en el cuadro 3 era de 3 878 813 pesos y tomando como punto de referencia que únicamente la producción textil de Puebla fue de 3 483 200 en 1882 (cuadro 2), se puede más bien inferir que agregando a esta última cifra la producción del resto de las empresas poblanas, la industria fabril capitalista en Puebla era más importante que la de la ciudad de México en los años ochenta del siglo XIX.

La mayor diversificación de la estructura industrial de la ciudad de México y el advenimiento de la fuerza motriz de vapor, junto con una serie de políticas del Estado relacionadas con la creación de las condiciones generales de la producción favorables a la ciudad de México, iban a invertir la tendencia a concentrar la producción industrial fabril en la ciudad de Puebla.

La teoría de localización industrial señala correctamente que el empresario se establece en donde minimiza costos y/o maximiza sus utilidades. Esto puede ser una constatación del resultado final de un proceso histórico muy complejo en el cual interactúan la distribución de los recursos naturales con la construcción de una serie de obras de comunicaciones, de generación de energía, disponibilidad de agua, para la educación y la salud, etc., cuya manifestación más avanzada es la ciudad misma. Como resultante de este proceso, el empresario se obliga a establecerse en ciertos lugares, de tal suerte que su decisión individual está socialmente determinada por la relación dialéctica entre los recursos naturales y la creación de las condiciones generales de la producción.

Un análisis completo de dicho desarrollo se sale con mucho de los objetivos y posibilidades de la presente investigación, por lo que, únicamente, se analizarán los dos renglones principales de dichas condiciones generales construidos en el periodo de estudio: el sistema ferroviario y el eléctrico.

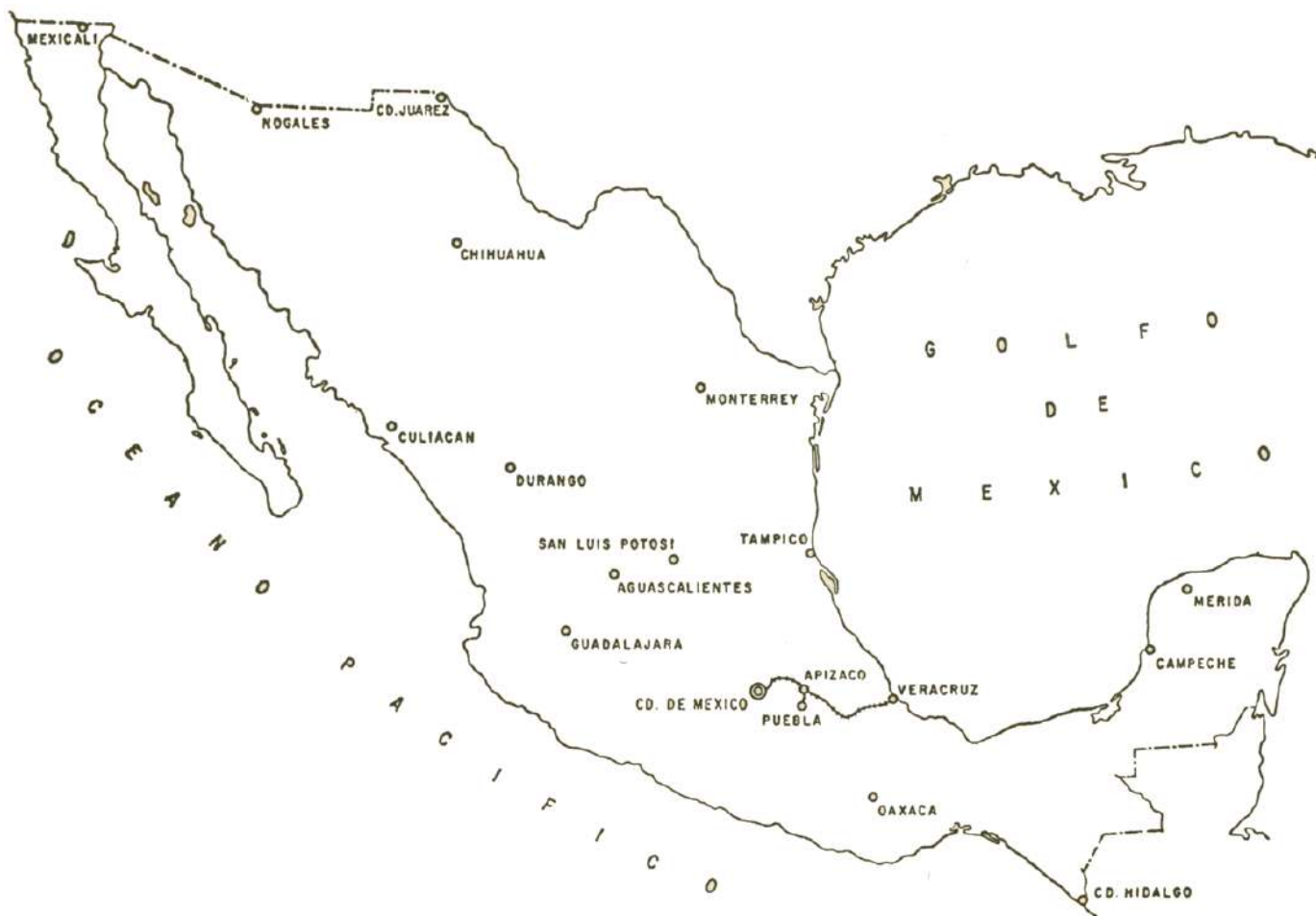
2. *Construcción del sistema ferroviario e integración del mercado nacional*

Desde las primeras décadas del siglo XIX en Europa y los Estados Unidos de América había surgido “la invención básica que iba a transformar a las principales industrias de mercancías: el ferrocarril”, (E.J. Hobsbawn, 1978: 87). En 1825, con la línea ferroviaria entre Liverpool y Manchester se inauguró la puesta en práctica del ferrocarril que había tenido su origen en 1815 con el tren minero de Stephenson en el condado de Killingsworth, Inglaterra. Una vez demostrada su factibilidad económica, se abrieron las primeras líneas cortas en Estados Unidos en 1827, en Francia en 1828, en Alemania y Bélgica en 1835 y en Rusia en 1837. Ya para 1850 existían 23,500 millas de vías de ferrocarril en el mundo (E.J. Hobsbawn, 1978: 88).

Aunque las inversiones directas en los ferrocarriles significaban utilidades reducidas o hasta pérdidas, su construcción frenética durante el siglo XIX parecía irrazonable o como señala Hobsbawn, era una verdadera “locura del ferrocarril”. Este desarrollo, sin embargo, estaba lejos de ser caprichoso y significó un impulso inusitado al capitalismo. Lo fundamental es que representaba el instrumento material para un desarrollo revolucionario de la circulación mercantil y, por ende, de la producción de mercancías. Adicionalmente, constituía un fuerte impulso al crecimiento de la industria pesada, pues su construcción demandaba grandes cantidades de hierro, carros y maquinaria de vapor. Finalmente, permitía absorber el capital acumulado de los países que se estaban rápidamente

Mapa 1
República Mexicana: red ferroviaria en 1873

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Fuente: Sergio Ortiz Hernán, *Los ferrocarriles de México*, México, STC, 1974

industrializando y, principalmente, de Inglaterra. Todos los ferrocarriles de la primera época se construyeron con hierro, máquinas y técnicos británicos (E.J. Hobsbawn, 1978: 90-93; V.I. Lenin, 1974: 544-545; E. Mandel, 1962: 198-199).

Además de los factores anteriores, las necesidades de nuevos mercados y acceso a las materias primas de los países atrasados, impulsaba a los países capitalistas hegemónicos a promover y realizar la construcción de vías férreas en esas naciones.

a. Circulación de mercancías en México antes del ferrocarril

Durante la colonia y hasta los primeros 5 o 6 décadas del México independiente, gente y mercancías se transportaban por una extensa red de caminos y senderos: "Las carreteras se proyectaban en todas direcciones, con la ciudad de México en el centro" (J.H. Coatsworth, 1976: 23).

A finales del periodo colonial formaban el sistema carretero 55 rutas y 105 de "herradura", con una longitud total de 27,325 Km. de los cuales 19,720 únicamente permitían el tránsito de bestias y peatones y sólo 7,605 el paso de carruajes (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 25). Este sistema que ligaba a todas las localidades importantes con la ciudad de México, estaba orientado hacia la exportación de materias primas, minerales y la importancia de mercancías.

Los caminos más transitados e importantes, por tanto, comunicaban a México con el exterior: el interoceánico que iba de Veracruz a la ciudad de México y se continuaba hasta Acapulco, conectando el Atlántico con el Pacífico; el camino de "tierra adentro", el más largo de todos, que se inicia en la ciudad de México y se extiende por cerca de 2,500 Km. al noroeste, pasando por las regiones mineras de Zacatecas y Durango hasta llegar a Santa Fe, en el Nuevo México; la ruta a Oaxaca, Tehuantepec y Guatemala, hacia el suroeste; como ramificación del camino de "tierra adentro", existían rutas que comunicaban a la capital con San Luis Potosí, Monterrey, Guadalajara y Valladolid; adicionalmente, existían otros caminos que la conectaban con Pachuca, Toluca, Morelia, Tlaxcala, Zamora y Cuautla, (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 25).

La duración de los viajes por carretera entre la ciudad de México y Veracruz en la temporada seca era de 16 días y en la de lluvias hasta de 30 días (J. Doazan, 1972: 98). Lógicamente se necesitaban varios meses para que las mercancías nacionales y extranjeras llegaran a los puntos más distantes de la República.

El transporte de bienes y personas en los inicios de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, resultaba pues, muy ineficaz por su larga duración y alto costo. Era necesario para el desarrollo del capitalismo un substancial mejoramiento en el sistema de transporte, de tal suerte que se garantizara una reducción del periodo de circulación de las mercancías y, al mismo tiempo, una reducción de su valor. El surgimiento del ferrocarril fue la respuesta.

b. Desarrollo del ferrocarril hasta 1873

La "locura ferrocarrilera" mexicana fue realmente precoz. En el mismo año de 1825 en que se realizaba el primer viaje de carga y pasaje en Inglaterra, Francisco de Arrillaga realizaba estudios para construir las vías ferroviarias entre México y Veracruz.⁵ Sin embargo, lo incipiente del desarrollo ferrocarrilero en Europa y la inestabilidad política y bancarota económica por la que atravesaba la nación, no permitieron que se realizaran las primeras ideas de la era ferrocarrilera.

⁵El antecedente más remoto del ferrocarril en México es un decreto de 1824 que convoca a presentar proyectos de comunicación interoceánica por el Istmo de Tehuantepec. Éste "...contemplaba la posibilidad de que la unión entre los mares se realizara con los nuevos medios de locomoción que por entonces eran objeto de ensayos en Europa y no necesariamente con la apertura de un canal". (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1974: 39).

Veinticinco años después de los primeros proyectos cristalizó la primera línea férrea mexicana: el 16 de septiembre de 1850 se inauguró un tramo de 13.6 Km. entre Veracruz y El Molino. El año siguiente se abrió un nuevo tramo de 12.6 Km. construido directamente por el gobierno y lentamente se fue desarrollando el tendido de vías durante 23 años, hasta que finalmente se terminó e inauguró la vía México-Veracruz en 1873, (M. Romero, 1898: 115).

La culminación de la línea ciudad de México-Veracruz realizaba el “gran sueño” de esa generación. Su año de terminación indica el primer periodo del desarrollo del ferrocarril en México durante el cual se lograron construir 556 Km. de vías y se otorgaron 48 concesiones, de las cuales sólo 9 se habían efectuado, (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 180) (véase el mapa 1).

El tiempo del trayecto por ferrocarril entre la ciudad de México y Veracruz en 1877 era de 19 horas de bajada y 20 horas y media de subida, y se redujo en 1885 a 13 horas y media y 14 horas 15 minutos, respectivamente. Nueve años después los trenes descendían hasta la costa en 11 horas 30 minutos y escalaban las alturas hasta la capital en 12 horas 40 minutos (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 71). El ferrocarril transformó los días de transporte en horas y con esto sentaba una condición necesaria, aunque no suficiente, para el desarrollo de la producción fabril capitalista.

Adicionalmente a la reducción del tiempo, el ferrocarril posibilitó una disminución substancial del costo de transporte, facilitando la extensión del mercado interno en una economía de creciente monetización: “Las casi 26 mil toneladas movilizadas por las viejas rutas carreteras, implicaron el pago de 2 millones, en tanto que con 611 mil se cubrió el flete ferroviario de casi 79 mil toneladas” (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 78). Esto es, que el costo por tonelada transportada en ferrocarril se redujo a un décimo del pago por carretera.

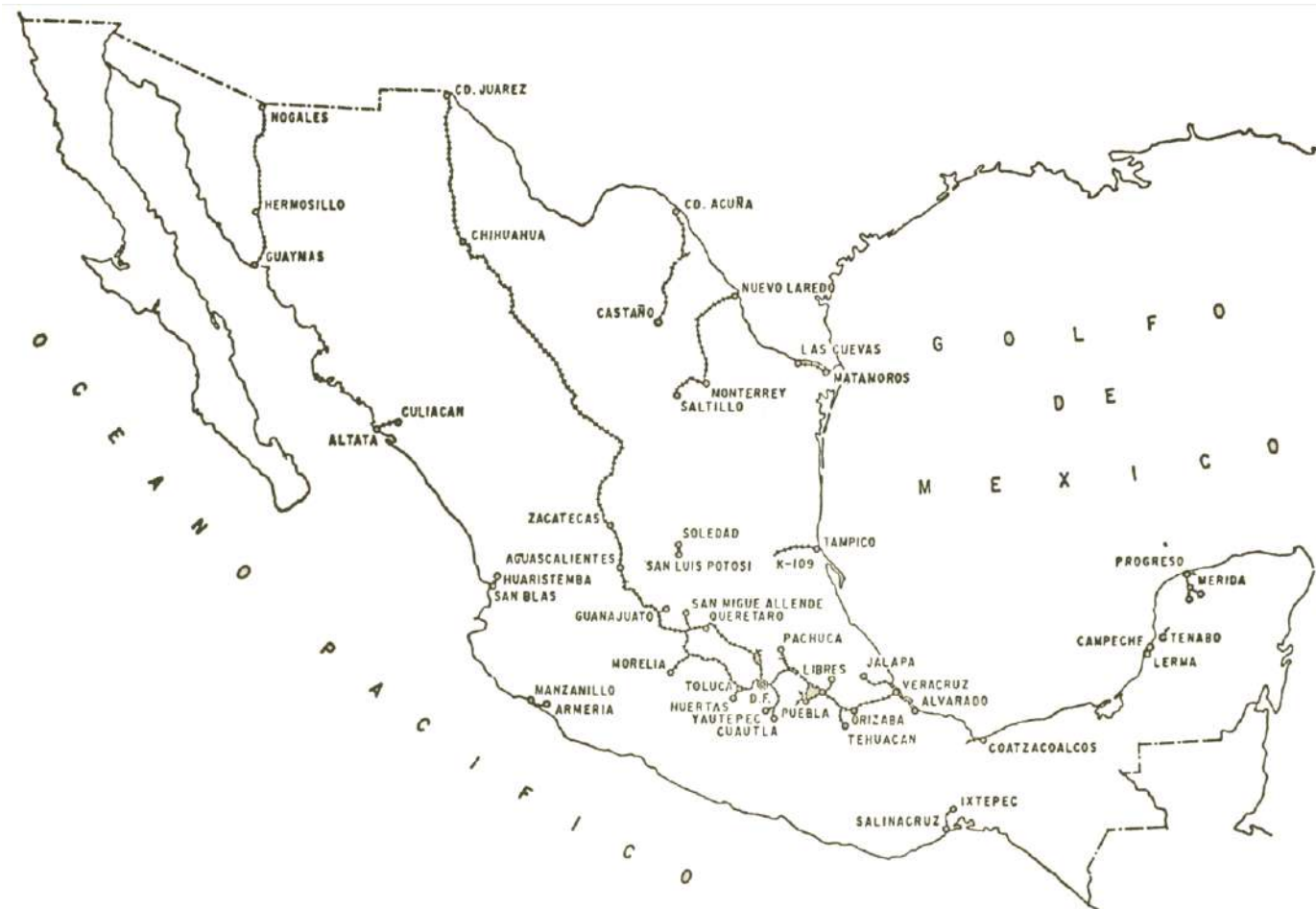
La reducción revolucionaria del tiempo y costo de la circulación de las mercancías acentuaron la importancia de la capital como el principal centro comercial nacional e internacional. Antes de la construcción del ferrocarril, se estima que se transportaban alrededor de 30 mil toneladas de mercancías entre la capital y Veracruz, cantidad que aumentó un 500% en 1873, primer año de su funcionamiento, en que se transportaron 150.5 mil toneladas (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 72).

La aparición del ferrocarril agilizó indudablemente el proceso de circulación de mercancías, pero estaba muy lejos de lograr por sí mismo un desarrollo acelerado de las fuerzas productivas. Era ilusorio pensar que “El paso de la vía férrea tiene que multiplicar en gran escala las producciones agrícolas y las explotaciones mineras e industriales...” (E. Busto, 1880: 441), o creer como Benito Juárez que “...es fácil destruir las causas de esta miseria. Facilitemos nuestra comunicación con el extranjero y con los demás estados de la República, abriendo nuestros puertos y nuestros caminos” (citado por V. Fuentes Díaz, 1951: 6).

El desarrollo industrial no depende únicamente del mejoramiento de la circulación de las mercancías, aunque esto sea una de sus condiciones necesarias. Se requiere fundamentalmente una acelerada acumulación de capital que desarrolle todas las ramas de la economía creando, a su vez, una masa de trabajadores-consumidores asalariados que constituya el mercado para las mercancías producidas. Esto no ocurría en México al inicio de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y la economía nacional representaba un mercado y una fuente de minerales y materias primas para los países capitalistas avanzados.

El sector agrícola experimentó desequilibrios, pues al paso del tren los agricultores con producción superior al consumo local enviaban sus excedentes a la ciudad de México; “pero el consumo de ésta era ya atendido por distritos que, a su vez, habían excedido su producción. La afluencia de granos poblanos tenían, así, que extremar la crisis en la capital”. (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 77). De esta suerte, cada vez era mayor la cantidad de productos agrícolas que entraban a la ciudad de México, “...sin que hubiera un paralelo crecimiento de la población ni un mayor poder adquisitivo de las masas” (V. Fuentes Díaz, 1951: 53).

Mapa 2
República Mexicana: red ferroviaria en 1884



Fuente: Sergio Ortiz Hernán, *Los ferrocarriles en México*, México, SCT, 1974.

Cuadro 4
República Mexicana: crecimiento del sistema ferrocarrilero de 1873 a 1910

Años	Kilómetros construidos		Ingresos generales ^{a/} (en pesos)
	Anual	Acumulado	
1868		273	
1869	74	347	
1872	209	556	
1873	16	572	1 848 345
1874	14	586	2 395 590
1875	76	662	2 489 803
1876	4	666	2 267 522
1877	6	672	2 844 825
1878	65	732	3 033 871
1879	144	881	3 430 331
1880	192	1 073	4 026 567
1881	575	1 648	5 679 193
1882	1 922	3 570	0 042 732
1883	1 725	5 295	11 236 783
1884	436	5 731	10 257 563
1885	121	5 852	9 902 337
1886	76	5 928	10 494 235
1887	1 738	7 666	12 344 393
1888	29	7 695	15 069 293
1889	599	8 294	17 618 385
1890	1 250	9 544	19 743 221
1891	306	9 850	22 565 596
1892	436	10 286	24 193 768
1893	165	10 451	24 513 143
1894	120	10 571	23 049 052
1895	20	10 591	27 733 854
1896	259	10 850	30 017 644
1897	666	11 516	34 967 350
1898	565	12 081	38 247 778
1899	463	12 544	44 046 053
1900	1 071	13 615	49 425 478
1901	908	14 523	48 880 495
1902	612	15 135	56 049 221
1903	978	16 113	
1904	409	16 522	
1905	411	16 933	
1906	577	17 510	
1907	558	18 068	
1908	545	18 613	38 274 778 ^{b/}
1909	429	19 042	
1910	283	19 280	

Fuente: Vicente Fuentes Díaz, *El problema ferrocarrilero en México*, edición del autor, México, 1951; Sergio Ortiz Hernández, *Los ferrocarriles en México*, Dirección General de Ferrocarriles en Operación, Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Transportes, México, 1970.

^{a/} Flete y Pasajeros.

^{b/} No se conocen datos precisos, pero las cifras iban proporcionalmente en aumento.

Cuadro 5

República Mexicana: situación financiera de las principales líneas ferroviarias, 1908

Empresa ferrocarrilera	Capital ^{a/} (c)	Masa de plusvalía ^{b/} (p)	Tasa de ganancia (p)/(c)
1. Ferrocarril Central Mexicano ^{c/} (Cd. de México-Cd Juárez)	766 125 550	5 665 264	1.466
2. Constructora Nacional Mexicana ^{c/} (Cd. de México-Nuevo Laredo)		5 571 339	
3. Ferrocarril Mexicano ^{d/} (Cd. de México-Veracruz)	84 124 184	2 872 899	3.425
4. Interoceánico ^{d/} (Veracruz-Cd. de México-Balsas)	68 731 220	2 298 871	3.345
5. Internacional ^{c/} (Piedras Negras-Durango)	81 131 874	2 980 390	3.673
6. Mexicano del Sur ^{d/} (México-Oaxaca)	31 308 601	381 496	1.218

Fuente: Miguel A. Quintana, *Los ferrocarriles nacionales de México y las tarifas de transporte de carga*, ponencia presentada al H. VII Congreso Panamericano de Ferrocarriles, México, D.F., septiembre de 1950.

^{a/} Corresponde al "Costo de ferrocarril" Señalado por M.A. Quintana, las compañías variaban el capital con las modificaciones del tipo de cambio.

^{b/} Corresponde al "Superávit" señalado por M.A. Quintana.

^{c/} Empresa norteamericana.

^{d/} Empresa inglesa.

Por su parte, la industria no se vio especialmente promovida por la construcción del ferrocarril a Veracruz; “La nueva vía férrea apenas afectó la industria nacional: sólo la fábrica de tejido de Cocolapam, en Orizaba, y algunas de Puebla y México, aumentaron sensiblemente su producción” (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 79). Un autor de la época hacía notar la inconsistencia entre el desarrollo de las vías férreas y la expansión del mercado interno: “La construcción de nuevos ferrocarriles no ha podido aumentar en gran escala las necesidades del país, que cuenta con un grupo inmenso de seres humanos (la raza indígena) cuyo consumo es muy limitado. No ha habido pues, la misma producción por el aumento de los mercados de consumo que en el desarrollo de la red ferrocarrilera” (C. Díaz Dufoo, 1893; 82).

c. La ciudad de México como centro del sistema ferroviario (1880-1910)

La etapa del rápido desarrollo ferrocarrilero se inicia en 1880 al otorgarse tres concesiones trascendentales a empresarios norteamericanos para construir las líneas troncales principales que comunicarían a la ciudad de México con la frontera norte. Además de centro carretero, la capital también se perfilaba para ser el núcleo principal del sistema ferroviario.

Se aprobó con la compañía Bostoniana del *Ferrocarril Central Mexicano*, la construcción de la línea México-Querétaro-Celaya-Salamanca-Irapuato-Guanajuato-Silao-León-Aguascalientes-Zacatecas-Chihuahua-Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez). Esta ruta ciudad de México-Paso del Norte, debería tener un ramal hacia el Pacífico por Guadalajara. Igualmente se otorgó la franquicia a la *Constructora Nacional Mexicana* que se organizó en los Estados Unidos para que construyera la línea ciudad de México-Nuevo Laredo siguiendo la ruta de: México-Toluca-Maravatío-Acámbaro-Morelia-Zamora-La Piedad-Manzanillo. La línea tendría un ramal por Morelia que se continuaría para San Luis Potosí-Salttillo-Monterrey-Nuevo Laredo. Finalmente, se otorgó la concesión al ferrocarril de Sonora para construir un sistema entre Guaymas-Hermosillo-Paso del Norte, con un ramal hacia la frontera con Arizona, (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 97).

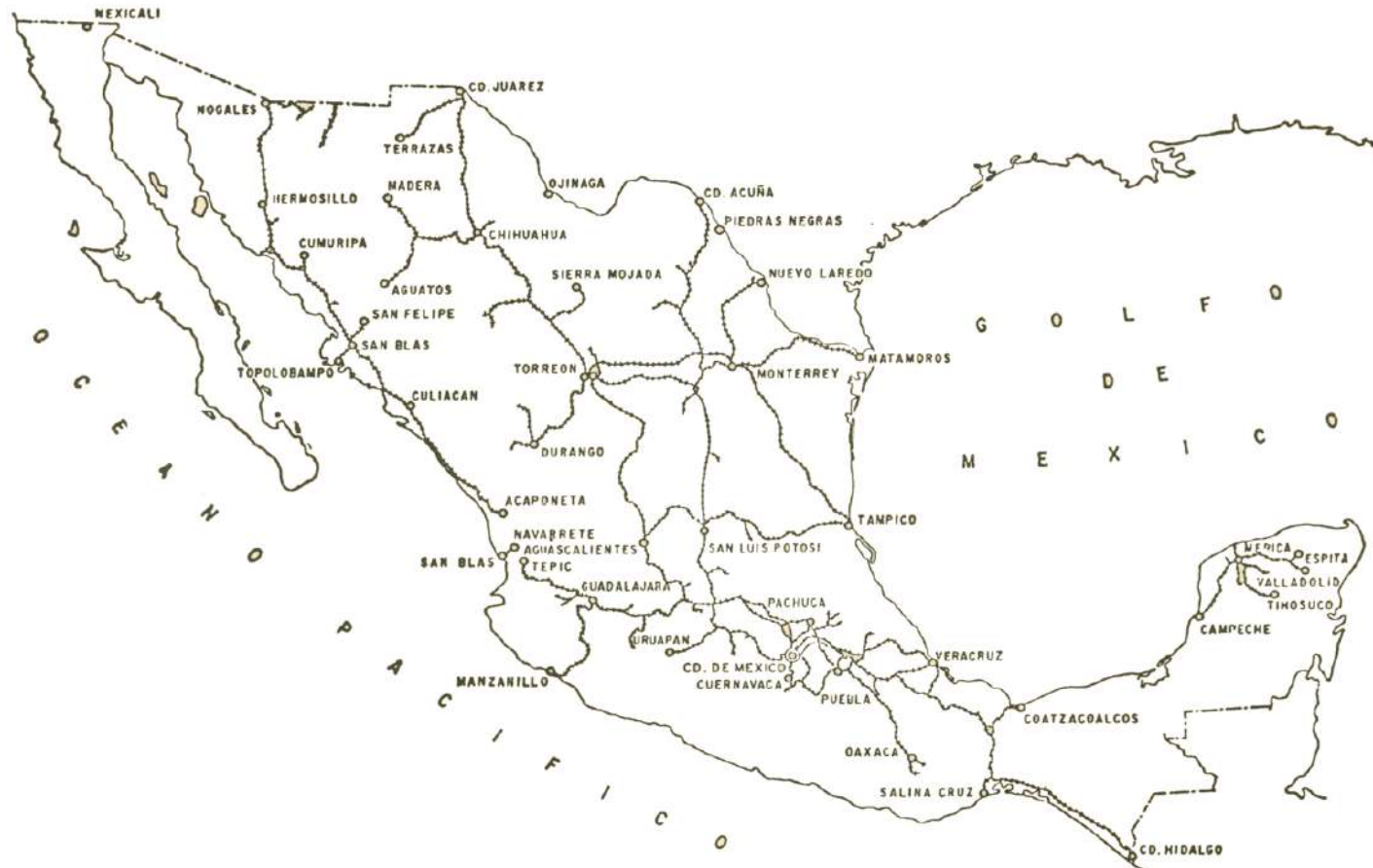
Hasta 1879 existían únicamente 881 km. de vías instaladas, pero a partir de las tres concesiones anteriores empezó la acelerada construcción de líneas férreas (véase el cuadro 4 y el mapa 1). Para 1880 ya se tenían 1,073 km., mismos que se quintuplicaron en únicamente tres años para alcanzar en 1883 una red de 5,295 kilómetros de extensión. El siguiente año, el 8 de marzo de 1884, se terminó de construir la línea ciudad de México-Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez) del *Ferrocarril Central Mexicano* que se realizó en un periodo de tres años (C. Díaz Dufoo, 1893: 84) (véase mapa 2). En los siguientes 10 años la red se duplicó alcanzando en 1892 la cifra de 10,286 kilómetros de vías construidas. Ésta se volvió a duplicar hacia finales del régimen porfirista cuando en 1910 se tiene una red ferroviaria de jurisdicción federal de 19,280 kilómetros (véase el cuadro 4 y el mapa 3).

La construcción de la casi totalidad de las líneas de esta red ferroviaria que hasta el presente (1983) sólo se le han agregado un par de miles de kilómetros, tuvo como origen a la ciudad de México. Ésta se constituyó en la localidad urbana mejor comunicada con las principales ciudades del país, consolidándose como el centro comercial-administrativo más importante de la República.

d. El ferrocarril como condición para la inversión extranjera

El ferrocarril como medio de transporte de todo tipo de mercancías constituye el ejemplo clásico de las condiciones necesarias para que la producción en todas las ramas de la actividad económica se desarrolle. El ferrocarril en el siglo XIX y las primeras

Mapa 3
República Mexicana: red ferroviaria en 1910



Fuente: Sergio Ortiz Hernán, *Los ferrocarriles de México*, México, SCT, 1974.

décadas del XX fue el medio de circulación por excelencia y, únicamente en forma secundaria constituyó una actividad económica atractiva para la inversión privada.

En Inglaterra el financiamiento de ferrocarriles no representó una empresa altamente redituable y más bien su tasa de ganancia era inferior a la producida por otros sectores.⁶

En México los rendimientos de las empresas ferrocarrileras eran igualmente bajos o aún menores. Para 1908 el *Ferrocarril Internacional* y el *Mexicano* tenían tasas de ganancia de 3.673% y 3.415% anual, que eran las más elevadas de las principales compañías existentes. Los ferrocarriles que iban a la frontera norte y se conectaban con los norteamericanos, el central y el nacional, alcanzaban ganancias de únicamente el 1.466% anual (véase el cuadro 5).

Con estos rendimientos el ferrocarril en sí mismo no representaba una buena inversión para el capital extranjero: "El capital inglés, especialmente, esperaba dividendos muy elevados en los países de economía colonial con salarios muy bajos. Un interés de tres por ciento anual, era un interés europeo que se conseguía con mayores seguridades. La inversión en México con ese rendimiento debe haberse estimado como ruinoso, sobre todo cuando el capital inicial se había invertido con cambios cerca de la paridad"⁷ (M.A. Quintana, 1950: 15). De esta suerte, en 1908 cuando el gobierno de Porfirio Díaz fusionó los ferrocarriles privados en una empresa nacional fue, "...sabiendo perfectamente que los ferrocarriles estaban en una situación que se acercaba a la quiebra" (M.A. Quintana, 1950, 10).⁸

Si empresarios ingleses y norteamericanos no ignoraban la baja rentabilidad de las empresas ferrocarrileras ¿por qué invertir en ellas? La respuesta es muy sencilla: el capital no puede penetrar en los mercados extranjeros a lomo de mula. Requiere de transportes eficientes que le permita introducir los productos industriales al mercado local y extraer materias primas y minerales en la magnitud necesaria para alimentar el proceso productivo en los países centrales.⁹

La verdadera motivación de las inversiones extranjeras en ferrocarriles es evidente en el caso de la extracción de minerales: "El ferrocarril de Sonora, por ejemplo, estimuló las actividades mineras de su zona de influencia, al punto de que en pocos meses se constituyeron en Nueva York varias compañías: Minas Prietas, Co.; North Mexico Mining, Co., y Santa Maria Mining, Co." (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 102). En 1881 algunas compañías norteamericanas se adueñaron de las minas más ricas de Chihuahua y Coahuila, y un grupo de inversionistas relacionado con el Ferrocarril Central Norteamericano, dominaba catorce minas, (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 102). La simbiosis ferrocarriles-explotación de minas es pues indiscutible.¹⁰

Las inversiones norteamericanas en ferrocarriles fueron pronto seguidas por inversiones en minería, petróleo, electricidad y terminaron ya bien entrado el siglo XX alcanzando a las actividades industriales.

No es de extrañar que al fusionarse en 1908 las principales vías férreas con la creación de los Ferrocarriles Nacionales de México, bajo el control del estado mexicano, esta

⁶En 1855 el interés medio del capital invertido en los ferrocarriles británicos era de un 3.7 por 100. Sin duda los promotores, especuladores, etc., obtenían beneficios mucho mayores, pero el inversionista corriente no pasaba de ese pequeño tanto por ciento" (E.J. Hobsbawm, 1978: 90).

⁷Hasta 1905 el peso mexicano estaba a la paridad con el dólar. En 1905 el tipo de cambio se fijó en 2 pesos por dólar.

⁸La consolidación de las líneas fue por iniciativa del ministro de Hacienda, Limantour. El negocio se realizó aceptando "capitales inflados" de las empresas "...y el capital de la nueva empresa se infló aún más al emitir las acciones que debería dejar al gobierno el control del negocio" (F. Loria, 1914: 96). Este autor proporciona evidencias de que Limantour tuvo importantes intereses personales en dicha operación.

⁹El sistema tarifario de las empresas ferroviarias facilitaba enormemente este propósito reduciendo indiscriminadamente en un 50% las tarifas para la importación y exportación, por lo que contribuía así a frenar el desarrollo industrial nacional pues las mercancías locales tenían que pagar las elevadas tarifas ordinarias. (F. Loria, 1914: 59).

¹⁰Los grandes consorcios extranjeros estuvieron muy interesados y lograron obtener el control de los principales ferrocarriles nacionales: "Pocas personas se habían dado cuenta de que, desde tiempo atrás, dos poderosas consolidaciones norteamericanas, el famoso trust "Standard Oil Company" a cuyo frente se encontraba el célebre millonario Rockefeller, y la casa de "Speyer" se hallaban en lucha para adquirir el mayor número posible de líneas férreas mexicanas". (C. Díaz Dufo, 1922: 161)

“primera nacionalización de la historia” no enfrentó el menor conflicto con el capital extranjero. Ya existían las líneas tendidas de acuerdo con sus intereses, y no importaba quién las controlara.

e. Financiamiento, subsidios y tarifas

La inversión para la construcción del ferrocarril era básicamente privada, en general, de empresarios extranjeros. Para éstos era relativamente secundario el éxito financiero de las empresas ferrocarrileras, pues lo fundamental era contar con las condiciones necesarias para la circulación de los productos minerales y las materias primas hacia el exterior, así como para la introducción de mercancías extranjeras al mercado nacional.

Este proceso se facilitó por la política porfirista de fomentar la inversión extranjera otorgándole subsidios y tarifas preferenciales (D. Pletcher, 1958: 24).

El caso más exagerado de facilidades dadas por el Estado fue la construcción del Ferrocarril Mexicano, la primera línea del país, el cual tuvo un costo de 26 195 600 pesos que distribuidos en sus 470 kilómetros equivalían a 55,735 pesos por kilómetro (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 73). Pues bien, a este ferrocarril se le otorgó un subsidio de 29 661 pesos por kilómetro, esto es, poco más del 50% del costo. Adicionalmente, se le permiten exenciones de impuestos para la importación del equipo necesario y, como si todo lo demás fuera poco, se dejaba a perpetuidad su explotación con montos menores que variaban de 5 a 10 mil pesos por kilómetro, todos los ferrocarriles construidos fueron directamente subvencionados con pagos en efectivo, en valor de tierras nacionales, en bonos, etc.¹¹

El pago de estas cantidades significaban verdaderamente una parte muy importante de los costos de construcción, y una carga considerable para el Estado. Los subsidios absorbían entre el 15-18% del costo de construcción y el gobierno de la República llegó a destinar “...hasta el 15% de sus ingresos generales a subsidiar los ferrocarriles” (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 87).

Adicionalmente a esta ayuda directa, existieron toda una serie de apoyos indirectos no menos importantes: *a)* implementación de un sistema de exención de impuestos; *b)* concesión de terrenos nacionales por donde pasara la vía; *c)* exención del pago de impuestos de importación; *d)* ampliación de los plazos para el término de la construcción de tramos; *e)* otorgamiento en algunos casos, de subsidios anuales.

Todas las vías férreas construidas bajo esta política de fomento, convergían hacia la ciudad de México, con la única excepción del ferrocarril del Pacífico que iba de Acaponeta a Nogales (véase el mapa 3). Esta situación, que en el futuro sería de trascendental importancia para la organización territorial de la industria, se debía fundamentalmente a que además de ser la capital de la nación y asiento de los poderes federales, era el más importante centro comercial.

De esta forma, en vez de establecer una política congruente de localización geográfica de los ferrocarriles para lograr la integración del territorio nacional y su desarrollo equilibrado, se cuidó mucho que esto no ocurriera y se privilegiara a la capital. Así, la concesión del Ferrocarril Mexicano estipulaba “...el absurdo requisito de que la construcción, incluido el tendido de vía, comenzara por los dos extremos al mismo tiempo. Esta exigencia hizo obligatorio el enorme gasto de transporte de los rieles por los execrables caminos de Veracruz a Puebla y a México”. (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 74; citando al ingeniero constructor Arthur M. Wellington). Para que se cumpliera el requisito fueron

¹¹Únicamente en los diez años comprendidos entre 1867-1877 “...el erario cubrió a las empresas ferroviarias casi 9.3 millones por subsidios y participación de acciones” (S. Ortiz Hernán, 1970: 88). El régimen de Porfirio Díaz, “Otorgó subsidios a diestra y siniestra, sin investigar de antemano la solvencia y responsabilidad del concesionario” (M. Romero 1889: 118). Para 1896 se habían otorgado 107.7 millones de pesos y, finalmente, en 1902, los subsidios fueron de 144.9 millones de pesos.¹²Para una descripción detallada de las características de estas compañías véase E. Galarza, 1941: 27-49.

Cuadro 6

República Mexicana: plantas generadoras de energía eléctrica y capacidad instalada según origen, 1879-1951

Años	Plantas generadoras			Capacidad instalada (Kw)		
	Total	Para servicio público	Para servicio privado y mixto	Total	Hidroeléctrica	Termoeléctrica (por cientos)
1879	1		1	2	0.0	100.0
1889	60	14	46	938	9.5	90.5
1899	235	58	177	31 039	38.8	61.2
1926	388	273	115	392 396	63.3	36.7
1929	727	378	349	475 426	66.4	33.6
1936	1 157	561	596	542 914	61.7	38.3
1939	1 266	598	668	628 980	59.1	40.9
1943	1 168	585	583	680 622	57.2	42.8
1950	1 572	446	1 126	893 449	54.2	55.8
1951	1 828	496	1 332	1 400 373	50.4	49.6

Fuente: Rodolfo Ortega Mata, "El futuro de la industria de servicios eléctricos públicos", en Héctor Cassaigne, *et al.*, *Energética*, EDIAPSA, México D.F., 1953.

pagados adicionalmente 1.2 millones de dólares de la época sólo por el temor de que la ciudad de México quedase sin estar comunicada por el ferrocarril. Estas caras compulsiones garantizaban, sin embargo, aumentar su hegemonía.

Los inmensos recursos que destinó el Estado mexicano a la creación de la estructura fundamental para la circulación de mercancías favorecieron en especial al capital nacional y extranjero asentado en la ciudad de México.

f. Localización industrial socialmente determinada

La génesis y desarrollo del sistema ferroviario mexicano permite aclarar el papel histórico que la construcción de las condiciones generales de la producción tiene en el proceso de organización territorial de la población y las actividades económicas. No obstante haber sido edificado con fines relacionados con el comercio y la explotación de las actividades extractivas, el ferrocarril iba a constituir un factor de considerable importancia en el proceso posterior de concentración industrial en la ciudad de México. Habiéndola conectado con los principales lugares productivos de la República y con el exterior, la ciudad adquiere los mayores beneficios de esta vasta red ferroviaria que conforma la base fundamental de los medios de circulación socializados.

Es de inmensa significación derivar de la cuestión ferrocarrilera que la localización industrial individual está socialmente determinada. Es irrelevante señalar que el empresario se localizara donde se minimiza el costo, tal como lo hace la teoría convencional de localización industrial. La interacción entre las condiciones generales de la producción y la distribución geográfica de los recursos naturales son los determinantes fundamentales de la organización territorial de las actividades económicas al explicar las diferencias de costos de producción en el espacio.

3. Electricidad y concentración espacial de la industria

La distribución geográfica de gran parte de las fábricas del siglo XIX se regulaba por la disponibilidad de la fuerza hidráulica, lo que favorecía un patrón de dispersión territorial relativa. Este tipo de distribución se mantuvo en México hasta alrededor de 1880, cuando las máquinas de vapor empezaron a desplazar a las corrientes de agua como fuerza motriz.

En esta época se introduce en México la energía eléctrica, que al substituir a la fuerza motriz hidráulica-vapor y corrientes de agua-además de representar un avance decisivo en el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, estableció las bases fundamentales para la emergencia de un nuevo patrón de localización geográfica de las actividades económicas: su elevada concentración en las ciudades. Analizar hasta dónde la aparición y desarrollo de la electricidad favoreció la concentración de la industria en la ciudad de México es el objeto de este apartado.

a. Compañías y producción eléctrica

La energía eléctrica se introdujo en México hacia 1879, un decenio después de empezarse a utilizar en los países más avanzados. Al igual que en éstos, se instalaron originalmente pequeñas plantas generadoras en minas, fábricas, haciendas, plantaciones, alumbrado y bombeo de agua en las ciudades importantes.

En 1879 existía una de las primeras plantas de energía eléctrica en la fábrica de hilados y tejidos de Heyser y Portillo, en la ciudad de León, Guanajuato (J. Díaz Arias. 1946: 12). Nueve años después, en 1888, se construye sobre el río Atoyac la primera planta hidroeléctrica con capacidad de 2,400 H.P. a 12 kilómetros de la ciudad de Puebla para proporcionar energía a las fábricas textiles (E. Galarza, 1941: 36). Un año más tarde en

1889, se instala la segunda planta hidroeléctrica en las minas de Batopilas, en el estado de Chihuahua, con una capacidad de 22.3 KW (V. Sánchez Ponce, 1976: 40).

Para 1889 se habían instalado un número considerable de pequeñas plantas que fueron paulatinamente substituyendo a la energía de vapor y a las corrientes hidráulicas. A partir de 1890, por ende, en la minería y en la industria textil, el uso de la energía eléctrica estaba muy extendido. La electricidad se utilizó como servicio público en 1881 con el alumbrado de la ciudad de México, logrando tener por primera vez “ese hermoso collar de luminosas perlas” (E. Galarza, 1941: 17). Hacia 1890 se había reemplazado completamente el alumbrado de gas por las bombillas eléctricas.

El uso de la electricidad se desarrolló considerablemente y de existir una planta en 1879 se pasó a 60 en 1889 aumentando también la capacidad instalada de sólo 2 KW en el primer año a 938 KW en el segundo (véase cuadro 6). Las 60 plantas existentes en 1889 eran de propiedad privada, aunque 12 dedicaban su producción exclusivamente a los requerimientos de alumbrado y bombeo de agua en ciudades, esto es, eran plantas privadas destinadas a producir electricidad para el servicio público. Las 46 plantas restantes se utilizaban en el servicio privado y mixto, (véase el cuadro 6).

La producción de energía eléctrica se desarrolló, en una primera etapa, dentro de las minas y empresas particulares como un elemento más de la organización técnica del trabajo, esto es, con las máquinas generadoras formando parte de los medios de producción privados.

Hasta el año de 1889 el 90.5% de la producción eléctrica se realizaba en plantas termoeléctricas y sólo el 9.5% restante en hidroeléctricas (véase el cuadro 6). Este hecho no es nada baladí y llega a ser determinante en la distribución geográfica de la industria. Las plantas termoeléctricas que consumen carbón o petróleo no se encuentran atadas a la existencia de ríos y se establecen más o menos libremente.

En el decenio 1889-1899 la producción de energía eléctrica aumenta considerablemente. El número de plantas se eleva a 235 y el total de KW a 31,039, mientras que la participación de las termoeléctricas disminuye el 61.2% (véase el cuadro 6). Hasta 1905 la mayoría de las plantas pequeñas eran mexicanas, pero a partir de entonces hace su aparición el capital foráneo, iniciando una segunda etapa del desarrollo eléctrico de México: el establecimiento de las grandes empresas extranjeras.

Éstas surgen a principios del siglo XX e integran sistemas eléctricos principales: “Entre 1902 y 1906, cinco grandes compañías británicas, canadienses y norteamericanas entraron en la industria mexicana de generación de energía eléctrica y, durante los siguientes cuarenta años, esas mismas compañías constituirían la columna vertebral de esa industria” (M. Wionczek, 1967: 34). Las cinco compañías fueron: i) *Mexican Light and Power Company*; ii) *Puebla Light and Power Company*; iii) *Guanajuato Power and Electric Company*; iv) *Chapala Hydroelectric and Irrigation Company*; y v) *Río Conchos Electric Power and Irrigation Company*.¹²

Para las finalidades de esta investigación destaca la existencia de la *Mexican Light and Power Company*. Esta empresa se constituyó en 1902 con un capital inglés de 25 millones de dólares, para crear una gran hidroeléctrica que fuese capaz de enfrentar el acelerado aumento de la demanda de la electricidad en el centro del país y, particularmente, en la ciudad de México. La compañía inició en 1903 la construcción del sistema Necaxa, en el río de ese nombre que presenta “...una notable serie de saltos de agua con una caída total de acerca de 1,000 m, en un trayecto de menos de 6 km”. (E. Galarza, 1941: 27). Aunque el proyecto completo no se terminó hasta 1910, la generación de energía eléctrica del Necaxa se envió a la ciudad de México el 10 de diciembre de 1905, gracias a un tendido de 320 km. de líneas de transmisión: “Acto seguido, la empresa anunció que a partir del

¹² Para una descripción detallada de las características de estas compañías, véase E. Galarza, 1941: 27-49.

10 de enero de 1906, se rebajarían en un 50% las tarifas de alumbrado y de la energía, para mayor gloria de aquel memorable día” (E. Galarza, 1941: 28).

Las empresas existentes que surtían de electricidad a la ciudad de México eran principalmente plantas de vapor que trabajaban con carbón, que era muy caro en el mercado mexicano. La *Mexican Light* no tardó en absorber estas compañías pequeñas, logrando un dominio completo del mercado.

Con el inicio de los grandes proyectos hidroeléctricos, la ciudad de México dispuso de mayores cantidades de energía eléctrica e, inicialmente, a costos más reducidos que en otras regiones del país. El desarrollo industrial contemporáneo basado en la energía eléctrica terminó con la vieja dependencia de la fuerza hidráulica y representó un fuerte poder de atracción para que la naciente producción industrial se localizara en la ciudad de México.

La ventaja inicial que representó la reducción del 50% de las tarifas en la capital del país, efectuada por la *Mexican Light* en 1906, desapareció con el surgimiento de las demás compañías en otras regiones que establecieron tarifas similares. Entre todas fijaban precios de monopolio que impedían su disminución a pesar de los progresos en la generación y transmisión que abatían el costo de operación.

Las tarifas para alumbrado mantuvieron sus precios sin alteración de 1900 a 1930, cobrándose alrededor de 30 centavos por K.W.H., aunque éste fluctuaba de 25 centavos en Guadalajara hasta 40 centavos en Saltillo. El K.W.H. tenía en ese periodo un costo de alrededor de 10 centavos (J. Díaz Arias, 1946: 72).

Más que el costo, lo que beneficiaba a la ciudad de México era la mayor disponibilidad del energético, pues mientras que las zonas sin electricidad se veían marginadas de cualquier posibilidad de industrializarse, la *Mexican Light* que la surtía era la empresa más importante del país: “En 1923 esta compañía produjo 725.051,000 K.W.H. mientras que la producción de sus más importantes competidores era la siguiente: Northern Mexico Power and Development 127.292,000 K.W.H.; Puebla Tramways, 118.309,000 K.W.H.; Chapala Electric 102.838,000 K.W.H. y Guanajuato Power, 80.704,000” (E. Galarza, 1941: 49).

b. Energía eléctrica e industrialización

La aparición de la electricidad como medio de trabajo representó un acelerado impulso a la mecanización de la industria fabril reduciendo el tiempo y costo de producción. El resultado económico lo refleja, por ejemplo, el aumento de la productividad por trabajador en la industria textil: su coeficiente producto-trabajo se elevó de 0.273 en 1923 a 0.431 en 1932, básicamente debido al mayor uso de la maquinaria eléctrica por las empresas textiles (E. Galarza, 1941: 187).

La utilización de máquinas eléctricas en la industria textil condujo a la práctica desaparición de los tejedores manuales y de las pequeñas empresas que carecían del capital necesario para adquirir la nueva maquinaria y, en contrapartida, al surgimiento de las grandes sociedades anónimas que desplazaron a las primeras.¹³

El consumo de electricidad se extendió a la fabricación de prácticamente todo tipo de productos, v.g., en la “...fabricación de materiales de construcción, cigarros y puros, productos de hierro y acero, ladrillos, hielo, jabón, llantas de automóvil, zapatos, muebles, productos químicos, harinas, hule, alcoholes y cerveza”.

En las fábricas de cigarros de la ciudad de México y Guanajuato, el 70% de su equipo mecánico era eléctrico, cerca del 85% del papel era producido en fábricas que usaban exclusivamente fuerza eléctrica (E. Galarza, 1941: 63).

En general, la electricidad elevó la productividad en todas las ramas industriales y extractivas. A falta de datos globales, se puede mencionar el caso del transporte en donde;

¹³ Así, “En 1909, cada una de las grandes fábricas propiedad de sociedades anónimas, tenía entre 36,800 y 44,100 usos, mientras que el promedio de las 145 fábricas existentes en el país era de 5,200 usos” (E. Galarza, 1941: 184).

Cuadro 7
República Mexicana: potencia eléctrica instalada, en Kw, 1889

Estados	Total	%
Total del país	837.89	100.00
1. Aguascalientes	1.16	0.1
2. Baja California		
3. Campeche		
4. Coahuila	16.80	2.0
5. Colima		
6. Chiapas		
7. Chihuahua	20.30	2.4
8. Distrito Federal	441.15	52.7
9. Durango	13.40	1.6
10. Guanajuato	10.96	1.3
11. Guerrero		
12. Hidalgo	4.60	0.5
13. Jalisco	79.10	9.4
14. México	39.97	4.8
15. Michoacán	54.00	6.4
16. Morelos		
17. Nayarit		
18. Nuevo León		
19. Oaxaca	19.50	2.3
20. Puebla	46.76	5.6
21. Querétaro		
22. Quintana Roo		
23. San Luis Potosí		
24. Sinaloa	2.1	
25. Sonora		
26. Tabasco		
27. Tamulipas		
28. Tlaxcala	4.00	0.5
29. Veracruz	47.70	5.7
30. Yucatán	6.0	0.7
31. Zacatecas	15.02	1.9

Fuente: Julián Díaz Arias, *La industria eléctrica y su importancia en la industrialización de México*, México, UNAM, Escuela Nacional de Economía, 1946, cuadro número 1.



Cuadro 8
Fuerza de trabajo por las principales ramas económicas (1895-1910)

Año y entidad	Industria		Construcción		Electricidad ^{a/}		Comercio	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1895								
República Mexicana	554 555	100.0	49 594	100.0			249 605	100.0
Distrito Federal	55 640	10.0	8 507	17.2			31 909	12.8
Resto del País	498 915	90.0	41 087	82.8			217 696	87.2
1900								
República Mexicana	624 039	100.0	62 997	100.0	8 910	100.0	261 455	100.0
Distrito Federal	56 936	9.1	11 073	17.6	166	1.9	37 819	14.5
Resto del País	567 103	90.9	51 924	82.4	8 744	98.1	223 636	85.5
1910								
República Mexicana	613 913	100.0	74 703	100.0	10 553	100.0	293 753	100.0
Distrito Federal	72 186	11.8	15 758	21.1	1 363	12.9	51 543	17.5
Resto del País	541 727	88.2	58 945	78.9	9 190	87.1	242 210	82.5

Fuente: El Colegio de México: Fuerza de trabajo y actividad económica por sectores, Seminario de Historia Moderna de México. (sf), pp. 48-52.

^{a/}Incluye gas combustible.

“Una locomotora eléctrica con 14 hombres reemplazó a una máquina de vapor atendida por 45 hombres” (E. Galarza, 1941: 181), o el caso de la fabricación de ropa; “En la ciudad de México se estableció un taller foto-eléctrico, o sea una máquina de lo más moderna que podía cortar 54 pares de pantalones en una sola operación” (E. Galarza, 1941: 15).

Adicionalmente, la utilización generalizada de la electricidad como medio de trabajo en la industria estimuló a la gran empresa capitalista por las políticas tarifarias que la favorecían en contra de las pequeñas unidades: “En 1907, por ejemplo, el costo de un caballo de vapor al año varió desde \$100 para los consumidores grandes hasta un promedio de \$477 para los pequeños” (E. Galarza, 1941: 193). No sólo favorecía a la empresa la mayor productividad obtenida por la utilización del motor eléctrico, sino que le significaba un menor costo en comparación a los talleres y pequeñas empresas.

Esta rápida extensión del uso de la energía eléctrica en los procesos productivos se aprecia claramente en la composición de su consumo. Para 1926, alrededor de una tercera parte de energía era para las empresas minero-metalúrgicas y algo más de una quinta parte para las otras industrias, esto es, que cerca del 55% del consumo total lo absorbían las actividades industriales. El 45% restante se utilizaba en el alumbrado público, transportes eléctricos, agricultura y consumo residencial (M. Wionczek, 1967: 58).

c. Electricidad y distribución industrial

Algunos pensadores esperaban que la aparición de la electricidad iba a estimular la descentralización de la industria, señalando que provocaría “factorías esparcidas aquí y allá en toda la República”. El resultado sin embargo fue el opuesto.

En los inicios de la industrialización del país, el 90.5% de la producción eléctrica se realizaba en plantas termoeléctricas (véase el cuadro 6). Este hecho fue históricamente fundamental para modificar el patrón de dispersión industrial y sentar las bases para su concentración territorial. Verdaderamente la aparición de la energía eléctrica fue la “madre de las ciudades industriales”, no sólo por la importancia del fluido para las actividades productivas, sino porque permitió su concentración territorial al neutralizar para siempre el papel fundamental que la fuerza motriz hidráulica había jugado en la localización de las empresas fabriles.

El proceso concentrador se aceleró por la existencia de otros factores locacionales, tales como la disponibilidad de capital monetario, la fuerza de trabajo, el aparato jurídico-político del Estado, el desarrollo del comercio, etc., que eran fundamentales para el desarrollo industrial. En este momento se decide históricamente la pugna sobre cual sería la ciudad que se constituiría como el centro industrial principal del desarrollo fabril emergente: Puebla pierde su principal factor de atracción industrial y las ventajas de la ciudad de México se tornan irresistibles.

En 1889 del total nacional de potencia eléctrica instalada, el 52.7% se encontraba en el Distrito Federal y únicamente el 5.6% en Puebla. En el resto de los viejos centros industriales, como Jalisco, Michoacán, México y Veracruz, también se producen cantidades muy inferiores a las de la capital del país (véase el cuadro 7). Así, desde sus inicios, el papel revolucionario de este energético en el desarrollo del capitalismo fabril beneficia sobre todo una localidad: la ciudad de México.

La evolución de los grandes proyectos hidroeléctricos en los inicios del siglo XX acentuaron el proceso de concentración de la energía eléctrica en el centro del país y, particularmente, en la capital. Como se vio, el primer y más importante de estos sistemas fue el de Necaxa construido por la *Mexican Light and Power Company*. Esta compañía tenía “...como finalidad que, de acuerdo con las leyes de la República Mexicana, pudiera generar, transmitir y distribuir energía eléctrica en la ciudad de México y en el Distrito Federal de la República Mexicana, fundamentalmente” (Banco de México, s.f.: 151).



Cuadro 9
Industria textil, tabacalera y del aguardiente en el Distrito Federal y resto del país, 1898-1910

	TEXTILES		TABACALERA		AGUARDIENTE	
	Numero de establecimientos	ventas	Numero de establecimientos	ventas	Numero de establecimientos	Ventas
1898						
República Mexicana	125	29 753	743	5 524	1 972	39 279
Distrito Federal	13	2 813	36	1 747	3	2 253
Resto del país	112	26 940	707	3 777	1 969	37 026
1900						
República Mexicana	153	33 877	721	6 663	1 973	31 198
Distrito Federal	14	4 165	36	2 507	2	1 684
Resto del país	139	29 712	685	4 156	1971	29 514
1902						
República Mexicana	139	36 907	670	8 156	2 025	34 309
Distrito Federal	9	5 608	31	3 789	2	1 594
Resto del país	130	31 299	639	4 367	2 023	32 715
1904						
República Mexicana	146	51 214	469	8 953	1 960	39 736
Distrito Federal	10	2 062	15	4 260	2	2 340
Resto del país	136	49 152	454	4 367	1 958	37 715
1906						
República Mexicana	142	45 386	479	9 581	1 558	44 135
Distrito Federal	12	6 540	9	5 250	2	3 649
Resto del país	130	45 146	470	4 331	1 556	40 486
1908						
República Mexicana	145	43 370	437	9 117	1 448	43 000
Distrito Federal	14	5 354	6	5 282	2	2 945
Resto del país	131	38 016	431	3 855	1 446	40 655
1910						
República Mexicana	145	51 348	351	8 797	1 543	37 127
Distrito Federal	12	7 237	6	5 108	2	1 403
Resto del país	133	44 111	345	3 689	1 541	35 724

Fuente: El Colegio de México, *Estadísticas económicas del porfirato, fuerza de trabajo y actividad económica por sectores*, México, pp. 107 a 123.

Esta elevada concentración territorial de la oferta energética sentó las bases para una concentración económico-demográfica sin precedentes en la historia de la humanidad. Para el caso de México este proceso a la elevada concentración territorial de la industria se aceleraría hacia la tercera década del siglo XX, como se verá en el capítulo siguiente.

Para finalizar, queda por ver los niveles de concentración industrial de la ciudad de México en las postrimerías del siglo XIX y en los albores del XX. Se trata de compararlos con los observados en 1879 y 1882 para determinar si la aparición del ferrocarril y la energía eléctrica con centro en la ciudad de México coinciden con el inicio del aumento sistemático de su participación industrial.

4. *Concentración industrial de 1895 a 1910*

México experimentó un relativamente elevado crecimiento económico entre 1895-1910. El Producto Bruto Interno (PBI) creció en términos reales a una tasa del 3.6% anual, siendo que en el primer lustro (1895-1900) lo hizo al 4.9% anual y en el decenio siguiente (1901-1910) al 3.5% anual. Interesa determinar cuál fue la dinámica de crecimiento de la ciudad de México dentro de este significativo proceso de desarrollo.

En el periodo de 1895-1900, el Distrito Federal según su fuerza de trabajo en el sector industrial, experimentó un lento desarrollo disminuyendo su importancia relativa del 10.0% al 9.1%. Con la misma variable, la rama de comercio experimentó un mayor dinamismo en ese quinquenio alcanzando un incremento anual del 3.4% y aumentando su participación en el total nacional de 12.8% al 14.5% (véase el cuadro 8).

En el decenio de 1900-1910, cuando el crecimiento de la industria nacional tuvo una marcada contracción, paradójicamente el incremento de la fuerza de trabajo industrial en el Distrito Federal se elevó al 2.4% anual, aumentando significativamente su participación hasta el 11.8% del total nacional. La electricidad y la construcción también alcanzan un crecimiento significativo y el comercio aumenta al 17.5% del nacional (véase el cuadro 8). De esta suerte, de 1900 a 1910 la ciudad de México aumenta apreciablemente su producción industrial y más aún la de otras ramas no agrícolas. Mientras que la capital de la República consolida y acelera su importancia como el primer centro comercial, paralelamente empiezan a crecer las ramas del sector secundario.

La fuerza de trabajo no es, sin embargo, la información más adecuada por las diferencias en su productividad. Sería razonable esperar que el trabajador en la ciudad de México fuera más productivo y que su participación en las actividades no agrícolas, según fuerza de trabajo, subvaluara su importancia real. Para poder determinar su participación verdadera, se requeriría contar con los datos del valor de la producción o del *quantum* producido, información que sólo se dispone para la industria textil, tabacalera y del aguardiente para los años de 1898 a 1910.

De los 29.7 millones de ventas de la industria textil en el país en 1898, el Distrito Federal participó con 2.8 millones, esto es, con el 9.5% del total nacional (véase el cuadro 9). Se vio que en 1882 el Distrito Federal absorbía el 13.5% del valor de la producción de la industria textil (véase el cuadro 2). Teniendo en cuenta la dificultad de comparar una información de esta naturaleza, es posible inferir, no obstante, que persistió la disminución de la importancia industrial de la ciudad de México ocurrida de 1879 a 1882, o al menos que ésta no aumentó. Sin embargo, de 1898 a 1910 se observa una consistente tendencia a aumentar la importancia de la capital en la industria textil nacional. En 1910 alcanza el 14.0% de las ventas textiles del país cuando en 1898 tenía únicamente el 9.5% (véase el cuadro 9)

En la industria tabacalera el nivel de concentración es mucho más considerable. En 1898 el Distrito Federal poseía el 31.6% de la producción nacional, con únicamente el 4.8% del total de establecimientos, esto es, que sus empresas eran notablemente de

Cuadro 10

**República Mexicana: inversión en infraestructura con fondos privados, principalmente extranjeros, 1877-1910
(en millones de pesos)**

Concepto	Inversión
1. Obras en la cascada de Necaxa para obtener cien mil caballos eléctricos ^{a/}	70.0
2. Tranvías eléctricos en el Distrito Federal	10.0
3. Mil quinientos kilómetros de líneas férreas sin subvención, con equipo ^{b/}	40.0
4. Capital extranjero para bancos federales y de los Estados, con concesión federal ^{b/}	90.0
5. Fábrica de gas para alumbrado y calefacción	10.0
6. Fundiciones metalúrgicas del "Boleo", Monterrey, San Luis Potosí, Aguascalientes, Torreón, Velardeña y Cananea	40.0
7. Tranvías en toda la República, menos en el Distrito Federal	14.0
8. Alumbrado eléctrico en la ciudad de México y servicio telefónico	12.0
TOTAL	286.0

Fuente: Diego López Rosado, *Historia y pensamiento económico de México*, tomo V, México, 1968: 148-149.

^{a/}Esta inversión aunque situada en el estado de Hidalgo servía, como se vio en el punto anterior de este capítulo, básicamente a la ciudad de México por lo que se considera como inversión destinada a ella.

^{b/}Estas inversiones realizadas en la ciudad de México y en el resto del país beneficiaban ampliamente a la capital, como en el caso del ferrocarril anteriormente analizado.

Cuadro 11
República Mexicana: obras en infraestructura del gobierno contratadas con capitales extranjeros, 1877-1910

Concepto	Inversión
1. Obras del Puerto de Veracruz ejecutadas por la casa Pearson	33.0
2. Contratos de Pearson relativos a Tehuantepec y puertos terminales	104.0
3. Obras de desagüe del Valle de México	14.0
4. Construcción y equipo de 18 000 Km. de vías férreas de concesión federal	500.0
5. Obras de saneamiento del Puerto de Veracruz	4.0
6. Obras del Puerto de Tampico	6.0
7. Obras de saneamiento de la ciudad de México	6.0
TOTAL	667.0

Fuente: Diego López Rosado, *Historia y pensamiento económico de México*, tomo v, México, 1968: 148-149.

naturaleza fabril. En los 12 años siguientes eleva su participación considerablemente hasta alcanzar en 1910 el 58.0% de la producción nacional (véase el cuadro 9).

Por último, la fabricación de aguardiente en la ciudad de México, representa la tendencia opuesta y disminuye su importancia de 1898 a 1910. En el primer año el Distrito Federal tenía el 5.7% del total de litros producidos y en el último el 3.7% (véase el cuadro 9). La tendencia de esta rama se puede considerar mas bien atípica, pues se encuentra muy vinculada a los insumos agrícolas para su elaboración. Así, en la ciudad de México sólo existían en 1898 tres de los 1,972 establecimientos del país y en 1910 sólo dos de los 1,543 (véase el cuadro 9).

Considerando las tres industrias en conjunto, su nivel de concentración en la ciudad de México fue en 1898 de 15.6% elevándose a 25.2% en 1910. Según los totales de la industria nacional de transformación, estas tres empresas representan para 1898 y 1910 el 32.2% y 30.9%, respectivamente, por lo que el significativo aumento en la concentración de las tres industrias entre 1898 y 1910 se debe considerar con reserva si se trata de extender a todo el sector industrial.

Con esta limitante, se puede concluir que el periodo de dispersión relativa de la industria que comienza a mediados del siglo XIX toca a su fin en el último decenio de ese siglo. En contrapartida, con el nacimiento del siglo XX comienza un segundo patrón de distribución territorial de la industria regido por nuevas leyes y caracterizado por su tendencia a la concentración espacial en una sola ciudad. Este nuevo proceso es debido en parte, a los requerimientos técnicos de interconexión entre las empresas fabriles y toda una gama de acciones político-económicas, que al aumentar y mejorar las condiciones infraestructurales necesarias para la producción industrial, tienen un efecto directo sobre la conformación del espacio.

5. *Centralización del poder y consolidación económica de la ciudad de México (1877-1910)*

El ideario político de Porfirio Díaz se fundamentaba en lograr la pacificación del país mediante un Estado fuerte que estableciera los requerimientos superestructurales necesarios para el desarrollo del naciente capitalismo: progreso, paz y orden.¹⁴

La centralización del poder político en la ciudad de México le otorgaba considerables ventajas sobre el resto de ciudades. Primero, porque en ella se realizaban los trámites legales que regulan la actividad económica que tiende a localizarse en donde éstos se efectúan. Segundo, y lo que es más importante, porque la existencia física del aparato del Estado en una localidad tiende a privilegiarla en cuanto a inversiones generales en infraestructura urbana, indispensables para el proceso productivo y la reproducción de la fuerza de trabajo.

Las inversiones del gobierno de Díaz en la ciudad de México fueron cuantiosas.¹⁵ En el periodo de 1877 a 1910 las inversiones en infraestructura alcanzaron la suma de 1,036.9 millones de pesos de la época, distribuidos en 286 millones de inversión con fondos privados, 667 millones contratados con compañías extranjeras y 83.9 millones invertidos por el gobierno (véanse los cuadros 10, 11 y 12). De los 286 millones de inversión privada, 92 se gastaron en la ciudad de México, 64 para el resto del país y los 130 restantes fueron inversiones generales, pero que favorecían especialmente al Distrito Federal. Tal fue el caso del sistema de bancos federales y el entendimiento de vías férreas (véase el cuadro 10).

La inversión de 667 millones contratada con compañías extranjeras, era la más cuantiosa. Únicamente 20 correspondían directamente a la capital, 147 al resto del país y

¹⁴Los caudillos regionales que impedían el poder central fueron eliminados mediante la reorganización del ejército; "Buena parte de ellos fueron cooptados por Díaz y los que se negaron a cooperar fueron militarmente aniquilados". (V.M. Durand Ponte, 1979: 53).

¹⁵Existían inversiones en infraestructura de 3 tipos: las realizadas con fondos privados, principalmente extranjeros; las contratadas por el gobierno con capitales extranjeros y, finalmente, las ejecutadas directamente por el Estado.

Cuadro 12
República Mexicana: obras de infraestructura ejecutadas directamente por el gobierno,
1877-1910
(en millones de pesos)

Concepto	Inversión
1. Obras de pavimentación de la ciudad de México	8.0
2. Obras de distribución de agua para la ciudad de México	12.0
3. Monumentos consagrados a la Independencia en la ciudad de México	1.5
4. Obras de desecación y regadío en Chalapa	2.7
5. Construcción de escuelas en el Distrito Federal	2.5
6. Teatro de la Gran Opera en la ciudad de México, hasta 1911	11.0
7. Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas	3.8
8. Edificios de Correos	3.5
9. Palacio Legislativo	8.0
10. Obras diversas	3.0
11. Hospital General y otros edificios	6.0
12. Nueva Cámara de Diputados	0.3
13. Telégrafos en toda la República, teléfonos, faros y edificios de la federación fuera del Distrito Federal	12.0
14. Penitenciaría del Distrito Federal, exaduanas de Santiago Tlatelolco y monumento a Cuauhtémoc	4.6
15. Costo de expropiación de terrenos para la Gran Opera y en el Paseo de la Reforma	4.6
16. Mejoras en el Bosque de Chapultepec	0.4
TOTAL	83.9

Fuente: Diego López Rosado, *Historia y pensamiento económico de México*, tomo v, México, 1968: 148-149.

los 500 de tendido de vías férreas eran generales, pero como ya se señaló, favorecían en especial a la ciudad de México (véase el cuadro 11).

Finalmente, las inversiones realizadas directamente por el gobierno se concentraban excesivamente en la ciudad capital. Ésta absorbía 69.2 millones de los 83.9 millones invertidos, esto es, el 82.5%. En todo el resto del país solamente se invirtieron los 14.7 millones sobrantes (véase el cuadro 12).

Así, el gobierno federal casi exclusivamente concentraba sus inversiones de infraestructura en la ciudad de México y las realizadas por empresas privadas extranjeras en forma directa o indirecta también beneficiaban a la ciudad en particular. La centralización del poder exigía una ciudad acorde a sus pretensiones de grandeza.

Es sintomático de esta etapa inicial del proceso de industrialización que la mayor parte de las obras que constituían las condiciones generales de la producción fueran financiadas por el sector privado. Tarde o temprano esto iba a entrar en contradicción con su carácter de servicios generales, por los intereses divergentes de las diferentes fracciones del capital y el Estado tendría que controlar directamente su construcción y administración. Con la participación estatal se acentúa el carácter social de las condiciones generales emergiendo su importancia crucial en la tendencia hacia la concentración espacial de la industria, como se analizará con detalle en la cuarta parte de esta investigación.

La expansión demográfica y física de la ciudad de México iba en conexión directa con sus inversiones en infraestructura. En 1877 contaba con 230 mil habitantes y en 1884 con 300 mil, representando este aumento una tasa anual de 3.9%, esto es, mucho más elevada que el 1.5% anual de la población total del país. De 1884 a 1900 la dinámica de crecimiento disminuyó notablemente a 0.9% anual y en el último año la ciudad tenía 344 mil habitantes. En el último decenio del régimen porfirista la tasa volvió a elevarse, siendo entre 1900-1910 del 3.1% anual y, en el último año, en la ciudad habitaban 471 mil personas.

Desde el punto de vista del crecimiento físico de la ciudad de México, se ha señalado que, “El periodo de gobierno de Díaz marca un gran desarrollo para la ciudad” (M. E. Terrés, 1977: 85). Efectivamente, la ciudad se extendió considerablemente y si en 1869 apenas contaba con una colonia (Santa María la Rivera), para 1880 surgió la colonia Guerrero y a partir de este año éstas se multiplican: la Teja y la colonia Volante en 1882; la Morelos en 1886; las del Rastro, Indianilla e Hidalgo en 1889; en 1891 las de San Rafael, Limantour y Candelaria Atlampa; la Díaz de León y la de Maza en 1894; en 1897 la del Paseo; la Peralvillo en 1899; la Condesa, la Roma y la de La Bolsa en 1902; la Nueva del Paseo en 1903; entre 1904-1907 la Cuauhtémoc, la Scheibe, la de La Viga, la del Valle y la Romero Rubio; la Escandón y la de los Arquitectos en 1909; en 1910 la del Chopo; en 1913 la Balbuena y otras más (J. Galindo y Villa, 1925: 212).

Además de las acciones estrictamente políticas que habían logrado consolidar un Estado fuerte, el gobierno de Díaz elaboró una estrategia de política económica, que indudablemente tendría implicaciones en la configuración del espacio nacional.

Se ha tratado en detalle la política de construcción de las condiciones generales para la producción que giró en torno a los ferrocarriles y la generación de energía eléctrica. Esto posibilitó la circulación más expedita de las mercancías y su reducción a menor costo, acelerando considerablemente la rotación del capital y aumentando la tasa de ganancia, como se verá en la siguiente parte del trabajo. Una medida legislativa que estimuló este proceso fue la abolición efectiva de las alcabalas internas, que no se había logrado desde que fue establecida por la Constitución de 1857.

Las alcabalas, portazgos u otros impuestos eran cobrados por aduanas interiores dependientes de los diversos gobiernos estatales de la República. La existencia de estas imposiciones locales, además de dificultar el libre tránsito de las mercancías, constituían barreras proteccionistas para cada entidad federativa, que entorpecían la aplicación del mercado interno a las nacientes industrias fabriles capitalistas, que requerían de mayores

mercados que los locales... (J. Galindo y Villa, 1925: 200), se habían tratado de eliminar infructuosamente desde la Constitución de 1857.¹⁶

En el apogeo del poder de Díaz, el ministro de Hacienda, Limantour, realizó en 1895 una iniciativa de reforma de los artículos 111 y 124 constitucionales para limitar las hasta entonces fuertes atribuciones de los estados de la República.¹⁷ El primero de julio de 1896 se abolieron para siempre las aduanas interiores y “...el comercio y la industria han respirado desde entonces, porque no sólo ha cesado la tradicional opresión a que habían estado sujetos, sino que han tenido una base firme de tributación, sin la que todo progreso es imposible” (P. Macedo, 1905: 119).

Al eliminarse los tributos adicionales que las mercancías producidas en una entidad debían de pagar al venderse en otra, se eliminaba otra traba para la concentración económica espacial. Aquellas regiones con mayor desarrollo fabril relativo se impondrían mediante la competencia a las más atrasadas y, en los inicios del siglo XX la localidad más desarrollada era la ciudad de México. Además de ser la más beneficiada por el ferrocarril y la energía eléctrica, se elimina la barrera legal que le dificultaba lograr el control del mercado nacional.

Rebasa las posibilidades de este trabajo analizar las implicaciones territoriales del conjunto de políticas económicas durante el porfiriato y, en especial, de su influencia en la capital.¹⁸ No obstante, para terminar el capítulo se ejemplificará el impacto espacial de la política exterior para evidenciar que prácticamente cualquier política sectorial o de otra índole repercute en la organización territorial de las actividades económicas y de la población y se puede constituir en un determinante histórico de su concentración espacial.

La normalización de las relaciones con los países hegemónicos era indispensable para atraer sus inversiones, consideradas por el Estado porfirista como la única posibilidad de progreso económico. Para esto se efectuaron un conjunto de medidas legislativas que garantizaban su seguridad y que atrajeron considerables capitales que pronto dominarían a las principales actividades económicas.

Los Estados Unidos poseían el 38% del total de las inversiones extranjeras, Gran Bretaña el 29%, Francia el 27.5%, Alemania y Holanda el 2.0% y, finalmente, otros países tenían el 2.5%. El monto de estas inversiones alcanzaba en 1910 la cantidad de 3,400.8 millones de pesos (L. Nicolau D’Olwer, 1974: 1154). Las inversiones de los Estados Unidos estaban localizadas en primer lugar en minería, en segundo en ferrocarriles y en tercero en bienes raíces; Inglaterra controlaba la rama petrolera y tenía importantes inversiones en bienes raíces y ferrocarriles; finalmente, las inversiones francesas se orientaban a la banca, la industria y el comercio.

La localización geográfica de estas inversiones favorecía claramente a la ciudad de México, esto es, la localidad que garantizaba las mayores ganancias en las actividades no agrícolas ni extractivas. Para el año de 1902, la distribución de la inversión norteamericana por estados de la República fue: Distrito Federal 62.8%, Coahuila 9.5%, Sonora 7.3%, Chihuahua 6.3%, Oaxaca 2.3%, Nuevo León 2.2%, Sinaloa 1.4% y Durango 1.4%. (L. Nicolau D’Olwer, 1974: 1134).

Por el cúmulo de ventajas de la ciudad de México para sus capitalistas y clase gobernante, la inversión extranjera no hacía más que localizarse en el espacio privilegiado, acelerando con ello el proceso concentrador.

¹⁶En su artículo 124, la Constitución señalaba que para el 1 de Julio de 1858 deberían quedar abolidas. La guerra de Reforma y la intervención extranjera imposibilitó la aplicación de tal precepto y aun cuando en 1861 se reafirmó el artículo, muy pronto fue derogado.

¹⁷El artículo 111 en su fracción IV impedía a los estados gravar el trámite de personas o cosas que atravesasen su territorio, mientras que el artículo 124 atribuía a la federación la facultad privativa de gravar y reglamentar la circulación de mercancías. (P. Macedo, 1905: 118-119).

¹⁸Las políticas económicas durante el porfiriato que no se han presentado son: i) la normalización de las relaciones exteriores del país, en especial con los países imperialistas; ii) la legislación referente al de centro de las actividades productivas, en especial la agricultura y la minería; iii) la política bancaria y el gasto público; y iv) la deuda externa (V. Durand Ponte, 1979: 71).

En conclusión, de todo lo anterior queda evidenciado el carácter histórico de los factores que influyen en la distribución espacial de las industrias, así como la importancia de sus nexos. Independientemente de que la teoría de localización industrial considere a todos estos determinantes, es evidente que adolece de un defecto fundamental: los presenta en forma ahistórica, lineal esencialmente estáticos, sin jerarquía alguna y con sólo una significación funcional. Los factores de localización industrial no pueden ser tomados autónomamente, independientes los unos de los otros, sin señalar sus jerarquías de dependencia. Éstos surgen históricamente con nexos y mediaciones recíprocas, como se desprende del análisis del proceso de industrialización de la ciudad de México.

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**Martha Baranda y
Lía García Verástegui**

**La zona conurbada: problema de la frontera móvil
entre el estado de México y el Distrito Federal**

Si el concepto de límite territorial se refiere a una línea divisoria, el de frontera se refiere a una zona de transición cuyo objetivo principal es la protección de la región o país, pero permitiendo el intercambio entre las poblaciones fronterizas. Así, “la frontera fue originalmente un instrumento de tamiz en la organización del espacio accesible”.¹ De esta manera en ciertos momentos la frontera ha ejercido la función de participación de territorios entre comunidades de sistemas sociales diferentes, y por otro lado, la frontera, en determinadas circunstancias se ha convertido en el límite,² que a su vez comprende y protege.

Sin embargo, tradicionales han sido los problemas por linderos territoriales o por cuestiones de fronteras a lo largo de la historia de los pueblos. Aquéllos se acrecientan cuando hay, entre los países o zonas limítrofes, una desproporción en extensión, poder político, posesión de recursos naturales, grado de desarrollo, densidad de población, etc., que permite al fuerte prevalecer sobre el débil.

No sólo entre países, también entre estados o provincias que los conforman se presentan dichos problemas que vienen a negar la función original de la frontera. Tal es el caso del estado de México y la ciudad capital con la “frontera móvil” que constituye la zona conurbada. El problema se agrava cuando en el estado surge un fuerte desequilibrio regional caracterizado por una gran concentración urbana e industrial en su zona conurbada con el Distrito Federal, y la existencia de zonas insuficientemente desarrolladas en el resto del territorio. A una dinámica de crecimiento poblacional “sin precedente en la historia de la humanidad”,³ se ha aunado la agudización de actividades productivas, tanto las industriales como las complementarias del sector terciario.

La zona fronteriza a que nos referimos se conocía anteriormente con el nombre de Valle de México, ahora se le designa como Valle de Cuautitlán-Texcoco.

Esta denominación corresponde a la parte de la cuenca que, formando parte de la zona conurbada del centro del país, corresponde al territorio del estado de México. La que hace referencia al Valle de México comprende también al Distrito Federal. Por lo mismo se hace necesario acentuar que se trata de dos personas jurídico-políticas distintas, reconocidas ambas por la constitución y fruto no del azar, sino de una muy larga historia, que con la geografía definió los contornos de cada uno de los estados que integran la federación mexicana.⁴

La zona conurbada viene a ser el más actual de una serie de problemas relacionados con cuestiones de límites y zonas fronterizas, producto de mutilaciones e invasiones territoriales sufridas por el estado de México.

Una aproximación al estudio del desarrollo histórico de este estado revela de inmediato que las mutilaciones de su territorio, con el consecuente cambio de fronteras, se han

¹César Sepúlveda, *La frontera norte de México. Historia, conflictos. 1761-1983*. 2a. ed., México, Editorial Porrúa, 1983, p. 173.

²*Ibidem*.

³Reunión de orientaciones básicas respecto a la ordenación de la zona metropolitana y la descentralización de la vida nacional”, Toluca, estado de México, 1985 (Versión mecanoscrita)

⁴Alfredo del Mazo G., *Primer Informe de gobierno*, Toluca, estado de México, gobierno del estado de México, Coordinación General de Comunicación Social, 20 de enero de 1983.

significado como una constante en su historia, y un problema al que ha tenido que enfrentarse desde su surgimiento como entidad federativa. Esto ha redundado desde luego en su poder político y en su crecimiento económico y social.

La primera desmembración sobrevino recién creada la República Mexicana, cuando empieza a discutirse si la ciudad de México, como sede de los poderes federales, debe quedar o no, comprendida dentro del estado de México, puesto que así lo estuvo en la antigua Provincia de México. Después de una ardua lucha, el Congreso Constituyente decidió la erección del Distrito Federal el 18 de noviembre de 1824: éste quedaría ubicado en el corazón de la ciudad de México, con una extensión no mayor de 2 leguas de radio a partir del zócalo. Se ordenaba al mismo tiempo al congreso estatal decidir otra ciudad para capital del estado y trasladar allí los poderes locales. En enero de 1827 se eligió a Texcoco y, comienza el problema de la “capital nómada”. A los pocos meses se mudarían a Tlalpan, donde permanecerían por un espacio de tres años, instalándose definitivamente en Toluca a partir de julio de 1830.

La pérdida de la ciudad de México significó para el estado, en primer lugar, una disminución de su poder político y cultural; luego, conflictos en la percepción de ingresos, impuestos y diezmos, mientras se deslindaban los derechos y atribuciones entre el gobierno estatal y el federal; después, una interdependencia originada por la ubicación misma de la capital del país que quedaba enclavada en el territorio del estado de México, el que la rodeaba en su totalidad. Trajo consigo también un retardamiento en su organización y administración interna, cuya hacienda pública se vio tan golpeada por los continuos gastos de traslado de la capital.

En febrero de 1827 el congreso local declaraba que los límites con que surgía el estado serían: al norte, San Luis Potosí; al sur, el Océano pacífico; al este, Veracruz, Puebla y Oaxaca; al oeste, Querétaro y Michoacán. Esta gran extensión se vio disminuida pocos años después, cuando se creó el estado de Guerrero, por decreto presidencial, el 15 de mayo de 1849, en lo que constituía la “tierra caliente” del sur. Ello conllevó la pérdida de la salida al mar, con Acapulco, primer puerto comercial en las costas del Pacífico, así como de importantes zonas mineras, entre ellas Taxco, y vastas regiones de maderas tropicales.

Hacia 1854 el entonces presidente Santa Anna decretó la “comprensión del Distrito de México”, con lo que agrandaba el área de la ciudad de México a costa de varias fracciones del estado como poblaciones, aldeas, fincas, ranchos y terrenos circunvecinos. La segregación comprendió: Santa Fe, Mixcoac, San Ángel, Coyoacán, Mexicalcingo, Tacuba, Tacubaya, Xochimilco, Tláhuac, Ixtapalapa, Ixtacalco, Milpa Alta y otros pueblos importantes que integraban la Prefectura del Sur. Al año siguiente, el 25 de noviembre de 1855, quedaba incorporada también Tlalpan a la ciudad de México.

Con la creación del estado de Tlaxcala se alteró la frontera oriente del estado de México, que cedió su distrito de Calpulalpan, en enero de 1863, a favor de la nueva entidad.

Cuando las guerras de Reforma, Benito Juárez ordenó la formación de tres distritos militares en el estado de México en razón de su vasta dimensión, que dificultaba el auxilio eficaz y directo de la propia capital a sus regiones más lejanas. Uno tuvo por capital a Toluca, otro a Actopan y un tercero a Cuernavaca, constituyendo esto el antecedente de la erección de los estados de Hidalgo y Morelos. El primero se creó con territorio del norte, el 16 de enero de 1869 y el segundo con territorio del sureste, el 17 de abril del mismo año. Las fronteras y la economía regional vuelven a verse afectadas básicamente con la pérdida de zonas azucareras y magueyeras de gran extensión, así como las ricas minas de plata de Real del Monte, en Pachuca.

Todavía, en 1917 vuelve a cercenarse al estado de México una franja aproximadamente de 2 000 kms., que se anexa al Distrito Federal en función de su crecimiento, completando de esta forma sus 16 delegaciones.

A partir de 1950 comienza a ser invadida la parte del estado colindante con la ciudad de México, surgiendo la zona conurbada que irá conformándose con la expansión del área urbana que penetrará hasta algunos municipios del estado.

Tres han sido, sin duda, las causas que han suscitado el surgimiento de la zona conurbada: a) el crecimiento del área urbana de la ciudad de México, b) el fenómeno de metropolización y c) los movimientos migratorios.

a) El crecimiento de la ciudad de México empieza a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, cuando “el área ocupada por la ciudad colonial que no había registrado expansión, se cuadruplica absorbiendo municipios aledaños, haciendas y ranchos periféricos, e invadiendo antiguos barrios indígenas”.⁵ Esto dio lugar a una diferenciación de la población en barrios, de acuerdo a los ingresos de las diferentes clases sociales. Para 1853 los límites de la ciudad de México eran: al norte la Garita de Santiago, al sur San Antonio Abad y la Garita de la Piedad, al este la de San Lázaro y al oeste Bucareli y San Cosme. Durante el porfiriato se registraron grandes cambios: de 8.5 km² con que contaba la capital aumentó a 40.5 km² en 1910; su crecimiento demográfico fue de 200 000 a 471 000 habitantes.⁶

Entre 1858 y 1883 se estructuró el sector norte con mejoramiento de barrios y aparición de nuevas colonias como Barroso, Santa María y Guerrero. De 1884 a 1900 se crearon once fraccionamientos en el noreste, con las colonias Morelos, La Bolsa, Díaz de León, Maza y Valle Gómez (con problemas de servicios y salubridad); en el poniente con las colonias San Rafael y Santa Julia; y en el sur la Limantour o Candelaria Atlampa y las de Indianilla e Hidalgo. Las colonias para clases altas, provistas de todos los servicios, se ubicaron en el sur-poniente de 1900 a 1910, entre ellas La Teja (que tomara los nombres de Paseo, Americana, Juárez y Cuauhtémoc), corría paralela a Paseo de la Reforma; la Condesa que unía a la ciudad con el municipio de Tacubaya, y la colonia Roma.

Causas de esta expansión fueron: la consolidación del suelo urbano y suburbano (áreas totalmente pantanosas se convirtieron en potreros, y a la desecación natural se agregó la de numerosas acequias), la gran movilidad de compra-venta que se dio con la desamortización de bienes de corporaciones civiles y eclesiásticas, las inversiones públicas y privadas que se centraron en gran parte en la ciudad de México, la construcción de vías de comunicación, la modernización tecnológica y desde luego la aparición de organismos de créditos con el establecimiento del sistema bancario.

El desarrollo de la ciudad provocó el desplazamiento hacia afuera del cinturón agrícola, encareciendo los abastos, al tiempo que disminuyó las áreas verdes y condujo a la desecación del fértil Valle de México.⁷

Quedó claramente perfilada el área de la ciudad, que corresponde a la parte habitada o urbanizada, que no incluye suelos de uso agrícola y que presenta una continuidad física. En general, sus límites no coinciden con los político-administrativos de la misma. Éste es “un fenómeno generalizado a una gran mayoría de ciudades en todo el mundo que tiende a manifestarse cada vez en forma más notoria”.⁸

De 1910 a 1930 la ciudad de México registró un crecimiento urbano que se circunscribía casi a los límites de la misma. De 1930 a 1950 el crecimiento de las delegaciones fue más rápido que el de la ciudad, cuando se inició la desconcentración de comercios y servicios del centro a la periferia. Entre 1950 y 1980 se acentuó el contraste de las tasas de crecimiento anual, mayor en la periferia que en el centro.

En la actualidad el área urbana de la ciudad de México ha rebasado los límites del Distrito Federal. Engloba por completo las delegaciones Venustiano Carranza, Cuauhté-

⁵María Dolores Morales: “La expansión de la ciudad de México en el siglo XIX. El caso de los fraccionamientos” en Alejandra Moreno *et al.*, *Investigaciones sobre la historia de la ciudad de México*, México, Cuadernos de Trabajo del Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, INAH, 1974, p. 71.

⁶*Ibidem*, p. 74.

⁷*Ibidem*, p. 94.

⁸Luis Unikel, *La dinámica del crecimiento de la ciudad de México*, México, Fundación para estudios de la población, Editorial SILROD, 1972, p. 5.

moc, Miguel Hidalgo, Benito Juárez, Azcapotzalco, Gustavo A. Madero, Coyoacán, Ixtacalco y a una parte de las ocho restantes, así como a los municipios contiguos pertenecientes al estado de México: Naucalpan, Tlalnepantla, Zaragoza, Ecatepec, Nezahualcóyotl, Chimalhuacán y otros más alejados como La Paz.⁹ Es decir, la mancha urbana comprende el Distrito Federal y 17 municipios, físicamente conurbados sobre una zona de 125 000 hectáreas cuadradas.

b) El concepto de metrópoli implica la existencia de una ciudad “central” con unidades político-administrativas contiguas, de características urbanas y una estrecha interdependencia socioeconómica entre ellas, por lo que surge un dominio de la ciudad central sobre su periferia involucrándola en su desarrollo. Tal es el caso de la ciudad de México que “induce a la rápida urbanización de las áreas vecinas, empieza a abarcar antiguos núcleos poblacionales y los integra a una nueva realidad socioeconómica más amplia que la unidad político-administrativa que le corresponde”.¹⁰

La metropolización ocurre no sólo en el Distrito Federal, sino que rápidamente empieza a extenderse en el estado de México, lo que hace que las relaciones entre ambas entidades se compliquen. Actualmente la ciudad de México es la metrópoli más grande y extendida del mundo; punto de atracción demográfica y de mano de obra por su desarrollo económico, político y cultural.

La zona metropolitana en su periferia abarca numerosas y pequeñas localidades aisladas, que sirven de sitio de trabajo o lugar de residencia de trabajadores, cuyas actividades quedan controladas por la metrópoli, al tiempo que permanecen marginadas del desarrollo nacional y regional en términos de bienestar social.

Este crecimiento de la zona metropolitana está directamente relacionado con la dinámica interurbana y rural-urbana. El área urbana de la ciudad de México penetra hacia los años sesenta física y demográficamente en forma definitiva en el estado de México.

La década de los cincuenta registró principalmente una expansión industrial en los municipios de Naucalpan, Ecatepec y Tlalnepantla y en menor escala un incremento demográfico. “De 1960 a 1970 el crecimiento poblacional alcanza un nivel muy elevado en el estado de México, de 18.6% anual”.¹¹ A partir de los años setenta quedaron integrados también a la zona metropolitana los municipios de Cuautitlán, La Paz, Huixquilucan, Tultitlán, Coacalco, Nezahualcóyotl, Chimalhuacán y otros.

El crecimiento desbordado de la zona metropolitana ha llevado a la siguiente reflexión:

La zona metropolitana de la ciudad de México que comprende las dieciséis delegaciones del Distrito Federal, cincuenta y tres municipios del estado de México y un municipio del estado de Hidalgo, demanda, de quienes son responsables de su desarrollo y crecimiento, acciones concretas que hagan frente a la problemática de transporte, vialidad, conservación ecológica, desarrollo urbano, abasto popular, seguridad pública, agua potable y drenaje entre los requerimientos más significativos.¹²

c) El rápido crecimiento poblacional de la ciudad de México se debe en gran parte al flujo continuo de migraciones internas. En su mayoría estos inmigrantes provienen de zonas de agricultura de subsistencia, localizadas cerca de la capital, “las cuales, en forma simultánea con el desarrollo urbano industrial de ésta, y probablemente como consecuencia del mismo, sufren efectos de descapitalización, desintegración de la economía campesina, sobrepoblación en términos de los recursos explotados en ellas, etc.”.¹³ La

⁹*Ibidem*, p. 6.

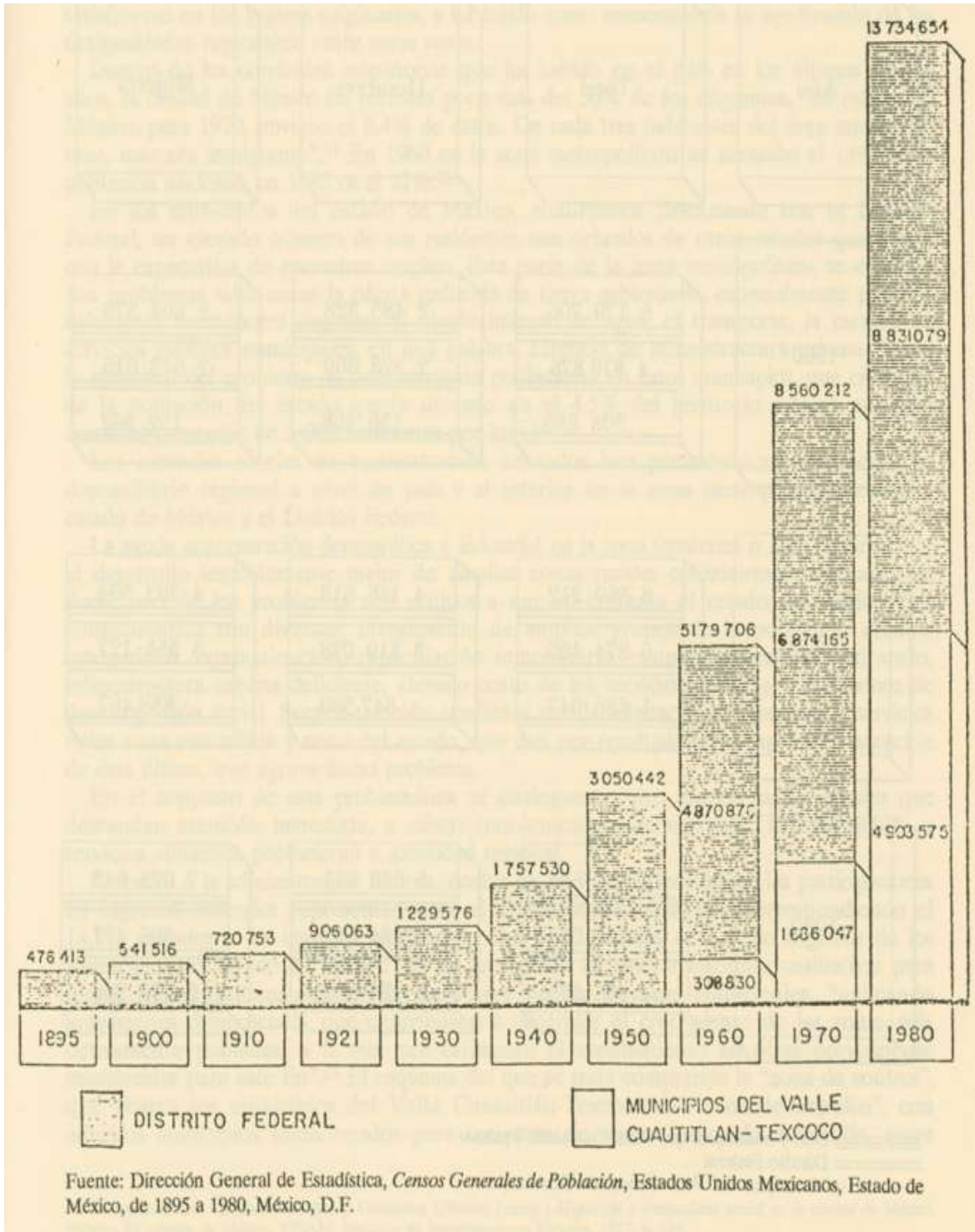
¹⁰Luis Unikel, *et al.*, *El desarrollo urbano de México: Diagnóstico e implicaciones futuras*, México, El Colegio de México, 1976, p. 117.

¹¹Luis Unikel, *La dinámica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹²Reunión de coordinación entre los gobiernos del Distrito Federal y el estado de México, presidida por el C. Miguel de la Madrid, presidente constitucional de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Francisco Noreña Casado, presentación de la reunión, México, agosto de 1985.

¹³Claudio Stern *et al.*, *Migraciones internas a la ciudad de México y su impacto sobre el mercado de trabajo*. [s.p.i.], p. 9

Población total del Distrito Federal y municipios del Valle de Cuatitlán-Texcoco, 1895-1980



**Población total por sexo
1960-1980**

Año	Total	Hombres	Mujeres
1960	5 179 706	2 485 328	2 694 378
	4 870 876	2 328 860	2 542 016
	308 830	156 468	152 362
1970	8 560 212	4 166 618	4 393 594
	6 874 165	3 319 038	3 555 127
	1 686 047	847 580	838 467
1980	13 734 654	6 658 811	7 075 843
	8 831 079	4 234 602	4 596 477
	4 903 575	2 424 209	2 479 366

D.F. y municipios del Valle Cuautitlán-Texcoco
 Distrito Federal
 Municipios del Valle Cuautitlán-Texcoco

Fuente: Dirección General de Estadística, *Censos Generales de Población, Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Estado de México, de 1895 a 1980*, México, D.F.

zona metropolitana absorbe dos tipos de población migratoria continua: jóvenes adultos de ambos sexos que no tienen perspectiva alguna de empleo en el campo, y trabajadores calificados y no calificados que se ven desplazados por ser sus ocupaciones ya obsoletas, o por carecer de recursos para ser competitivas.

La migración ha sido una respuesta a las demandas de salario y empleo que no pueden satisfacerse en los lugares originarios, y ha traído como consecuencia la agudización de las desigualdades regionales, entre otras cosas.

Dentro de las corrientes migratorias que ha habido en el país en los últimos treinta años, la ciudad de México ha recibido poco más del 50% de los migrantes. “El estado de México, para 1970, enviaba el 8.4% de éstos. De cada tres habitantes del área metropolitana, uno era inmigrante”.¹⁴ En 1960 en la zona metropolitana se asentaba el 14% de la población nacional, en 1985 es el 22%.¹⁵

En los municipios del estado de México, conurbados físicamente con el Distrito Federal, un elevado número de sus residentes son oriundos de otros estados que llegan con la expectativa de encontrar empleo. Esta parte de la zona metropolitana se enfrenta con problemas tales como la oferta reducida de tierra urbanizada, especialmente para los habitantes de menores ingresos, el abastecimiento de agua, el transporte, la escasez de servicios públicos municipales; en una palabra, carencia de infraestructura urbana. Es tal la magnitud del problema de concentración poblacional en estos municipios, que el 64.8% de la población del estado queda ubicado en el 4.5% del territorio estatal, con una densidad promedio de 5 082 habitantes por km².¹⁶

Los elevados niveles de concentración anotados han provocado una situación de desequilibrio regional a nivel de país y al interior de la zona metropolitana, entre el estado de México y el Distrito Federal.

La aguda concentración demográfica e industrial en la zona fronteriza o área conurbada, y el desarrollo sensiblemente mejor de amplias zonas rurales colindantes, constituye, sin duda, uno de los problemas más críticos a que se enfrenta el estado de México. Sus consecuencias son diversas: marginación de amplios grupos de la población urbana, inseguridad, contaminación, especulación inmobiliaria, ocupación irregular del suelo, infraestructura urbana deficiente, elevado costo de los servicios públicos y fenómenos de desintegración social. Surgen también conflictos con la asignación de recursos y servicios entre zona conurbada y resto del estado, que dan por resultado un rezago en la atención de ésta última, que agrava dicho problema.

En el conjunto de esta problemática se distinguen cuatro puntos fundamentales que demandan atención inmediata, a saber: reordenación administrativa, infraestructura y servicios, dinámica poblacional e identidad regional.

Respecto a la administración interna, dentro de los ingresos ordinarios, las participaciones en ingresos federales representan para el erario estatal el 85.9%, correspondiendo el 14.1% restante a los ingresos autónomos. Con la “Iniciativa de Ley de Ingresos de los Municipios del estado de México” se ha pretendido incorporar reformas cualitativas para lograr una transformación en la estructura de los ingresos municipales, “aplicando gravámenes diferenciales que contribuyan a controlar el crecimiento de las zonas más densamente pobladas, a la vez que estimulen el asentamiento en otras previamente establecidas para este fin”.¹⁷ El esquema del que se trata comprende la “zona de control”, que abarca los municipios del Valle Cuautitlán-Texcoco; la “zona de impulso”, con aquellos municipios seleccionados para ser parte de nuevos polos de desarrollo, entre

¹⁴Claudio Stern, Humberto Muñoz y Orlandina Oliveira (comp.) *Migración y desigualdad social en la ciudad de México*, México, El colegio de México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, 1977, p. 116.

¹⁵Reunión de orientaciones básicas...” *op. cit.*, [s.p.]

¹⁶*Plan de gobierno 1981/1987. Bases para una nueva estrategia de desarrollo*. Toluca, estado de México, 1981, [s.p.]

¹⁷Iniciativa de Ley de Ingresos del estado de México para el ejercicio fiscal de 1985” en *Revista del Tribunal Fiscal del Estado de México*, Toluca, Año VIII, núm. 22, sept-dic. de 1984, p. 120.

ellos, Amecameca, Atlacomulco, Jilotepec, Ixtapan de la Sal, Tenancingo, Valle de Bravo, Lerma, Toluca, así como la “zona de desarrollo normal”, que incluye los setenta y siete restantes. En los municipios de control se pretende gravar al 100% el valor catastral con el objeto de desalentar el crecimiento urbano en estas regiones. En los de impulso se busca estimular la construcción vertical y promover la vivienda en arrendamiento con diferentes incentivos fiscales, tales como reducción de impuestos por cinco años. En cuanto a los de desarrollo normal, se han establecido distintas tarifas para cada región y se mantienen tasas progresivas para obtener una mayor equidad en el pago de impuestos.

En cuanto a recursos y servicios, en la zona conurbada se ha procurado ante todo la racionalización del uso del agua, que viene en su mayor parte de la cuenca del Lerma y del sistema Cutzamala. Se han desafiado los obstáculos que representan la altura de la zona conurbada, el incremento poblacional de ésta y la ciudad de México, la política de tarifas y los hábitos de consumo. Sin embargo continúa una extracción desmesurada “que afecta nuestro equilibrio ecológico, la producción agropecuaria y la economía rural del estado”.¹⁸ Las fuentes alternas para continuar incrementando el abastecimiento de la zona se dificultan y se encarecen día con día, mientras se van agotando importantes mantos acuíferos del estado.

Entre los servicios, uno de los problemas más patentes es el de vialidad y transporte, cuya operación es sumamente compleja y sensible a las presiones inflacionarias. Una respuesta fue la creación de la COTREM (Coordinadora de transportes en el estado de México), en 1982, que presta servicios de largo recorrido y permitió abrir nuevas rutas que unieran a los municipios conurbados.

Por lo que toca a la dinámica poblacional, los movimientos migratorios en la zona conurbada han sido de gran importancia. En 1980, en Ecatepec, hubo un crecimiento poblacional medio anual de 16.6% y una distribución de habitantes donde el 59% procedían del Distrito Federal, y como lugar de su última residencia sólo el 12% nacieron en el propio estado.¹⁹ La población de los municipios del Valle Cuautitlán-Texcoco reportó, según el censo general de población y vivienda levantado en junio de 1980, la cantidad de 13 734 654 habitantes, lo que representa el 20.5% con respecto al total de la población nacional.²⁰ Dicha población observó su mayor crecimiento entre los años de 1960 y 1980 y convirtió a la zona en la de mayor atracción del país, con grandes volúmenes de inmigrantes procedentes principalmente de Puebla, Guanajuato y Veracruz.

A su lado vino el problema grave de vivienda. El FONHAPO (Fondo de habitación popular) financió en 1984 más de 6 000 viviendas populares; de éstas el 49.5% fueron ocupadas por personas procedentes del Distrito Federal y tan sólo un 10% por mexiquenses. Proporción similar ha ocurrido en 70 000 viviendas adicionales. Se ha empesado a revertir el proceso de concentración excesiva mediante medidas correctivas de control y economía, aunque han resultado insuficientes. La distribución de la población por municipios en el estado es como sigue:

Toluca	165 000	habitantes
Ecatepec	913 000	"
Tlalnepantla	958 000	"
Naucalpan	1 007 000	"
Nezahualcóyotl	1 443 000	"
El resto	3 069 000	" 21

¹⁸*Plan de Gobierno 1981-1987, op. cit., [s.p.]*

¹⁹*Reunión de coordinación...”, op. cit., [s.p.]*

²⁰*Distrito Federal y 17 municipios del Valle Cuautitlán-Texcoco. Breviario Demográfico, Toluca, Gobierno del estado de México/Departamento del Distrito Federal, Sistema Estatal de Información - Dirección General de política poblacional. 1985, [s.p.]*

²¹Fuente: Censos de Población y Estimaciones de DGE y SPP.

Tan sólo en el Valle Cuautitlán-Texcoco se asientan 900 000 habitantes por año a partir de 1980, lo que representa el 46% del crecimiento total del país.

Este conglomerado humano, por los diversos lugares de su procedencia y por su ubicación en el parteaguas que es la zona conurbada, presenta una falta de identidad regional, misma que le ha impedido enraizarse como “mexiquense”, porque de hecho está imbuido en la vida y el ritmo de la metrópoli, que lo absorbe pero no lo integra.

Conscientes el gobierno del estado de México y el Departamento del Distrito Federal de la necesidad de desconcentración de actividades económicas y de servicios, así como de la reordenación de la zona metropolitana, han precisado estrategias a corto y mediano plazo para:

1. Reducir las diferencias en los niveles de servicios y bienestar de la población entre el Distrito Federal y las diecisiete ciudades periféricas, donde proporcionalmente son más caros.
2. Restablecer una escala de referencias adecuada entre la población y el espacio que habita, reforzando la identidad regional.
3. Replantear las bases mínimas de bienestar y atender las necesidades prioritarias con la cooperación de la misma población.
4. Fijar lineamientos en la política de inversiones entre programas y proyectos de demandas sociales, de infraestructura y de descentralización.
5. Eliminar los subsidios de la zona metropolitana en un plazo de 15 a 25 años para contar con organismos públicos en condiciones financieras más sanas.
6. Atender la demanda de vivienda popular de la población de más bajos recursos, y reordenar los centros urbanos en la zona metropolitana (ocho en el Distrito Federal y seis en el estado) con el objeto de disminuir traslados de la población y lograr un mayor equilibrio regional.²²

Estos propósitos pueden reducirse a dos acciones denominadas “Inmigración Conurbada” y “Horizonte XXI”. La primera pretende contener y ordenar el crecimiento demográfico y la expansión del área urbana, así como dotar de mínimos de bienestar social a la población de la zona conurbada con el Distrito Federal; la segunda, busca dar nuevas opciones geográficas al desarrollo social, económico y demográfico del estado en centros estratégicos de crecimiento, que sin duda ayudarían a arraigar a su población.

De lo anterior se desprende que el problema de la frontera “móvil” entre el estado de México y el Distrito Federal surgió al crearse el segundo a costa de la integridad territorial del primero. A partir de entonces, el estado ha sufrido dos cercenamientos más en favor del crecimiento de la ciudad de México, que con la expansión de su área urbana se ha visto precisada a invadir territorio estatal, recorriendo su frontera ante la imposibilidad de circunscribirse a los límites fijados. Esto se explica por la necesidad histórica, heredada de la Colonia, de un sistema centralizador ejercido desde la capital del país, haciéndola crecer más tarde desmesuradamente y convirtiéndola en centro de atracción de mano de obra.

Gradualmente, de 1950 a la fecha, la zona fronteriza ha quedado convertida en zona conurbada y, con ello, ha perdido su función primaria de “tamiz en la organización del espacio accesible”, convirtiéndose, como ya se ha dicho, en un conglomerado de sobrepoblación carente de bienestar social y de identidad regional.

El crecimiento urbano de la capital junto con el fenómeno de metropolización ha tenido un impacto negativo en el equilibrio del desarrollo regional del estado de México, que se refleja en las cuestiones de orden administrativo, de infraestructura y servicios, de densidad y distribución poblacional y, sobre todo, de desarraigo.

²²“Reunión de orientaciones...”, *op. cit.*, [s.p.]

Niveles básicos de servicios

Entidad	Cobertura de la red		
	Agua potable ¹	Drenaje y alcantarillado ¹	Energía eléctrica ²
1. Nacional	70%	48%	74%
2. Zona metropolitana	90%	79%	95%
D.F.	92%	81%	97%
17 ciudades periféricas			
- Atizapán de Zaragoza	93	50	95
- Coacoalco	97	95	98
- Cuautitlán Izcalli	95	80	95
- Cuautitlán de R.R.	90	75	93
- Chalco	27	15	60
- Chicoloapan	46	14	81
- Chimalhuacán	25	12	70
- Ecatepec	83	70	96
- Huixquilucan	96	75	90
- Ixtapaluca	83	40	85
- La Paz	65	60	93
- Naucalpan	97	87	96
- Nezahualcóyotl	97	95	96
- Nicolás Romero	70	57	85
- Tecamac	55	41	88
- Tlanepantla	93	90	97
- Tultitlán	90	68	94

Fuente: ¹Comisión Estatal de Agua y Saneamiento (CEAS). 1985

²X Censo General de Población. 1980

**Población total, según sexo, por región
municipio y grupos quinquenales de edad*
1983**

Región, municipio y grupos quinquenales de edad	Tot al	Sexo	
		Hombres	Mujeres
Nezahualcóyotl	1 934 235	972 864	960 769
De 0 a 4	263 385	137 049	126 035
De 5 a 9	276 215	144 437	131 778
De 10 a 14	276 458	138 578	137 579
De 15 a 19	254 140	126 285	127 855
De 29 a 14	225 395	112 364	113 031
De 25 a 29	148 131	70 734	77 397
De 30 a 34	107 394	52 322	55 072
De 35 a 39	92 204	46 008	46 196
De 40 a 44	84 710	43 429	41 281
De 45 a 49	68 268	34 187	34 081
De 50 a 54	57 790	25 978	21 812
De 55 a 59	31 844	15 385	16 459
De 60 a 64	18 118	7 501	10 617
De 65 a 69	14 352	7 347	7 005
De 70 a 74	9 047	3 246	5 801
De 75 a 79	5 028	2 449	2 579
De 80 a 84	6 427	2 579	3 848
De 85 y más	5 329	2 986	2 343
No especificado			

*Sistema Estatal de Información. Proyecto en desarrollo. Datos preliminares.

**Población total, según sexo, por lugar de
residencia y de nacimiento
1983**

Región y municipio de residencia y entidad o país de nacimiento	Total	Sexo	
		Hombres	Mujeres
Nezahualcóyotl	1 934 235	972 684	960 769
Aguascalientes	5 524	2 042	3 482
Baja California Norte	903	—	903
Campeche	602	—	602
Coahuila	2 042	537	1 505
Colima	301	—	301
Chiapas	10 309	5 541	4 768
Chihuahua	3 718	1 471	1 977
Distrito Federal	454 467	229 975	224 492
Durango	2 278	838	1 440
Guanajuato	56 895	28 020	28 875
Guerrero	34 707	15 433	19 274
Hidalgo	43 836	22 691	21 145
Jalisco	20 454	9 625	10 829
México	892 268	458 068	433 598
Michoacán	102 838	45 594	57 244
Morelos	7 477	3 824	3 653
Nayarit	903	301	602
Nuevo León	773	472	301
Oaxaca	91 961	46 196	45 765
Puebla	78 584	39 817	38 767
Querétaro	8 958	4 255	4 703
San Luis Potosí	11 780	5 825	5 955
Sinaloa	1 139	838	301
Sonora	301	—	301
Tabasco	3 287	1 074	2 213
Tamaulipas	2 278	1 741	537
Tlaxcala	35 439	18 159	17 280
Veracruz	33 219	15 686	17 533
Yucatán	1 074	773	301
Zacatecas	16 247	7 371	8 876
Estados Unidos de Norteamérica	903	903	
Panamá	301	—	301
De países de Europa	602	301	301
De países de Asia	301	301	
No especificado	7 566	4 922	2 644

Población nativa, según sexo, por región y municipio de
residencia habitual y municipio de nacimiento
1983

Región y municipio de residencia habitual y municipio de nacimiento	Total	Sexo	
		Hombre	Mujeres
Nezahualcóyotl	892 268	458 068	432 598
Acambay	1 912	1 676	236
Almoloya de Alquisiras	472	236	236
Almoloya de Juárez	3 547	1 204	2 343
Almoloya del Río	236		236
Amatepec	602		602
Amecameca	1 505	903	602
Atizapán de Zaragoza	903	301	602
Atlacomulco	1 204	903	301
Atlautla	1 611	1 074	537
Axapusco	2 620	1 310	1 310
Colimaya	472	472	
Capulhuac	301	301	
Coatepec Harinas	2 107	903	1 204
Chalco	1 074	236	838
Chimalhuacán	301	ž	301
Ecatepec	4 296	2 449	1 847
Huchuctoca	537		537
Ixtapan del Oro	602	301	301
Ixtlahuaca	3 602	1 505	2 107

**Población total nativa y no nativa, según sexo, por región,
municipio y grupos quinquenales de edad
1983**

Región, municipio y grupos quinquenales de edad	Total		Sexo			
	Nativos	No nativos	Hombres		Mujeres	
			Nativos	No nativos	Nativos	No nativos
Nezahualcóyotl	892 268	1 034 401	458 068	509 874	433 598	524 527
De 0 a 4	242 500	20 584	125 447	11 301	116 752	9 283
De 5 a 9	231 069	45 146	122 283	22 154	108 786	22 992
De 10 a 14	199 687	76 771	102 243	36 335	97 143	40 436
De 15 a 19	106 012	147 225	50 704	74 979	55 308	72 246
De 20 a 24	37 898	185 455	21 227	90 234	16 671	95 221
De 25 a 29	14 653	132 876	7 778	62 354	6 875	70 522
De 30 a 34	11 838	94 718	5 801	45 984	6 037	48 734
De 35 a 39	10 316	81 351	4 621	40 850	5 695	40 501
De 40 a 44	11 349	73 060	5 223	38 206	6 126	34 854
De 45 a 49	7 477	60 490	4 190	29 997	3 287	30 493
De 50 a 54	5 329	42 461	1 912	24 066	3 417	18 395
De 55 a 59	4 320	26 686	2 880	11 667	1 440	15 019
De 60 a 64	3 482	14 636	1 139	6 362	2 343	8 274
De 65 a 69	2 449	11 903	1 310	6 037	1 139	5 866
De 70 a 74	1 074	7 973	537	2 709	537	5 264
De 75 a 79	1 009	4 019	472	1 977	537	2 042
De 80 a 84	903	5 524	301	2 278	602	3 246
De 85 y más	903	3 523	—	2 384	903	1 139
No especificado						

**Población total nativa y no nativa, según sexo, por región,
municipio y tiempo de residencia
1983**

Región, municipio y tiempo de residencia en años	Tot al		Nat ivos		No nat ivos	
	Hombres	Mujeres	Hombres	Mujeres	Hombres	Mujeres
Nezahual cóyotl	972 684	960 769	458 068	433 598	509 874	524 527
Menores de 1	23 512	22 072	1 505	1 204	22 007	20 567
De 1 a 5	102 602	101 073	10 976	10 870	91 325	89 902
De 6 a 10	117 614	122 878	8 226	7 046	109 152	115 531
De 11 a 15	133 547	150 307	11 414	12 919	122 133	137 388
De 16 a 20	126 412	129 162	9 885	9 820	115 624	119 342
De 21 a 25	31 659	23 881	3 653	2 384	27 770	21 497
De 26 y más	11 318	13 726	1 977	2 042	9 341	11 147
Siempre	419 797	393 716	409 895	387 313	9 902	6 403
No especificado	6 403	3 954	53		2 620	2 750





III. Sociedad urbana y política





Josefina Muriel*

La habitación plurifamiliar en la ciudad de México

I. La traza de la ciudad de México

La traza en la ciudad de México fue el territorio reservado dentro de la metrópoli azteca para los españoles,** con fines de seguridad. Para su separación de los barrios indígenas se marcó una delimitación primera que corresponde aproximadamente en el sur a las actuales calles de José María Izazaga y en el norte a las que hoy se denominan Belisario Domínguez y República de Venezuela, siguiendo después a Perú-Apartado. Por el oriente, las calles del Convento de Jesús María fueron el límite, en tanto que en el poniente lo eran San Juan de Letrán-Ruiz de Alarcón-Aquiles Serdán.¹ No había muralla de separación, sino líneas imaginarias, límites que fueron muy invariables. No se trató de un *apartheid* sino de una ciudad española que convivía con los indios de los barrios y ello ocasionó que los españoles se metieran a las tierras de indios y que éstos invadieran los solares de aquéllos. Por ejemplo, en 1524 se concedieron solares a los españoles en el sur, pero por orden real fueron revocadas en 1528, 1535 y 1542, se continuaron con poco éxito en el siglo XVII, sin embargo, fueron ya incontenibles en el XVIII.²

El crecimiento de la ciudad española se adentró en esos barrios, entre otras razones, por el incremento demográfico hispano, la escasez de solares, dentro de la traza, para las nuevas familias de nacidos aquí, la necesidad de establecer talleres (curtidores y tintoreros que empleaban mano de obra indígena), fuera de la traza y la comercialización de la propiedad urbana que ya tenía lugar entre éstos, según aparece en las escrituras notariales. Indios y españoles acrecentaban la tierra continuamente cegando canales, construyendo con o sin alineación oficial, formando calles y callejones desordenadamente. Por su parte los naturales también penetraban en la traza y vivían dentro. El caso más notable se dio cuando varios caciques se posesionaron de los terrenos adyacentes a la catedral y construyeron allí sus casas, problema que provocó un agudo pleito.³

Además de estas mutuas penetraciones, en el orden práctico hubo necesarias ampliaciones oficiales por parte del cabildo de la ciudad y los virreyes, hechos que nos demuestran la estrecha limitación de la traza para el desarrollo de la ciudad de México.

Conforme transcurrieron los años, las autoridades españolas fueron descuidadas y dejaron que las dos “ciudades” convivieran más abiertamente. Fue a causa del tumulto indígena de 1692 cuando se volvió a tomar conciencia del sentido protector que tenía la traza y se dieron radicales disposiciones (Ordenanza del Conde de Galve) que restablecieran una rígida separación entre ambas. Sin embargo, no era ya posible dividir ese estilo de vida en común existente. Así, la traza de hecho había desaparecido para el siglo XVIII, “aunque como elemento urbano subsistió hasta el XIX”.⁴

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**Español y criollo se denominan bajo el solo nombre de españoles.

¹Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *El gobierno de la ciudad de México en el siglo XVI*, México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1982, p. 20, 21 y 23.

²*Ibidem*, p. 123.

³Guillermo Porras Muñoz, “El cabildo en la república de españoles”. Ponencia presentada durante el VI Coloquio de Antropología e Historia del Colegio de Michoacán, Zamora, Mich., 10 de octubre de 1984.

⁴Edmundo O’Gorman, “Reflexiones sobre la distribución urbana colonial de la ciudad de México”, *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, México, 1938, t. IX, n. 4, 799-800.

Todo lo dicho nos demuestra que los límites de la traza fueron estrechos para el desarrollo de la capital de la Nueva España.

II. La tierra y sus pobladores

A los españoles, hombres y mujeres sobrevivientes de la guerra de conquista, se sumaron los pobladores que llegaron con sus familias. Hernán Cortés dio los primeros solares a los conquistadores que se asentaron por vecinos, tomó para sí los dos palacios de Moctezuma, y señaló solares para la iglesia y el hospital. Estableció una medida de acuerdo con los servicios prestados durante la guerra de conquista y, así, a cada poblador le concedió un solar y a cada conquistador dos.⁵ Tenemos noticias de que el gobierno de la ciudad los otorgó a partir del 8 de marzo de 1524⁶ y que en épocas posteriores los vendió.⁷

Las dimensiones de los solares fueron un tanto arbitrarias hasta 1537 en que se fijó definitivamente la medida de ciento cincuenta pies en cuadro. Los solares gratuitos se obtenían mediante petición del interesado ya fuese hombre, mujer o institución, así como por compra de los propietarios entre sí.⁸

También podía darse un solar al padre y otro al hijo. La ciudad fijó condiciones que se hicieron más severas en el transcurso del tiempo. Éstas fueron que lo pedido no resultara en perjuicio de tercero, de calles reales o del agua. Se exigió cercar y labrar “casa de cal y canto” en el término de seis meses, que luego se extendió a un año. Se prohibió rentarla hasta después de haber residido en ella cinco años. En ese lapso el solar no podía darse ni meterse por corral de otra casa. Se exigió además no sacar de él piedra o tierra. El incumplimiento de estas disposiciones era causa de pérdida del sitio donado.⁹

Con esto se pretendió una ciudad con casas unifamiliares y que su comercialización no fuera el único de la propiedad urbana. Los dueños de los solares se apresuraron a construir casa unifamiliares. En 1524 Rodrigo de Albornoz, Gregorio de Ávila y Rodrigo Vergallo levantaron las suyas; les seguirían los Guerrero, los Gómez, los Cervantes, los Aguileras, los Villanuevas,¹⁰ así como los Andrade, Jaramillos, Ávilas...¹¹

Todos edificaban sus casas, según sus posibilidades. La fiebre de construcción iniciada a principios de 1522 era tal, que Motolinía llegó a llamarla la séptima plaga, por los daños que los indios sufrieron por ello. Así dice: *caían edificios que deshacían en una parte para hacer en otras* [...] como van muchos, van cantando y dando voces y estas voces apenas cesaban de noche ni de día, por el grande fervor con que se edificaba la ciudad en los primeros años.¹² Y la ciudad surgió con tal grandeza que Cervantes de Salazar comenta, un cuarto de siglo después, “Todo México es ciudad, es decir, no tiene arrabales, toda es bella y famosa”.¹³

Así lo había asegurado el propio Cortés al emperador don Carlos al decirle que en menos de cinco años sería la ciudad más bella del mundo. Sus calles tenían una amplitud de catorce varas de ancho (11.60 m); eran rectas y soleadas.¹⁴ Las empezaron a empedrar

⁵Porrás Muñoz, *El gobierno...*, p. 23

⁶Cfr. *Guía de las actas del cabildo de la ciudad de México. Siglo XVI*, México, Departamento del Distrito Federal, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957.

⁷Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia Pública (en adelante AHSSA), Libro de títulos de la Ilustre Congregación del Salvador en que tiene recogidos a las pobres mujeres dementes. Escritura de venta, 20 de febrero de 1699.

⁸*Guía de las actas...* Acta del 23 de febrero de 1598 en que se concede merced de un sitio a Sebastián Rodríguez para vender menudencias y sacar el sustento de su familia. La ciudad se declara padre de los pobres y amparador de ellos al concedérselo.

⁹Porrás Muñoz, *El gobierno...*, p. 23.

¹⁰Diego Angulo, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, 3 v., México, Instituto de Estudios y Documentos Históricos, 1982, v. I, 456-471.

¹¹Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *México en 1554 y Título Imperial*, edición, prólogo y notas de Edmundo O’Gorman, México, Editorial Porrúa, 1972 (“Sepan cuantos...”, 25), diálogo II, p. 45-57.

¹²Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), *Memoriales o Libro de las cosas de la Nueva España y de los naturales de ella*, edición, notas y estudio de Edmundo O’Gorman, México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1971, p. 27.

¹³Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, diálogo II, p. 48.

¹⁴George Kubler, *Arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI*, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982, p. 76, 78, 81.

los vecinos desde 1532, obra que los virreyes Antonio de Mendoza en 1547 y Luis de Velasco en 1558¹⁵ continuaron y sus sucesores hasta el siglo XVIII.

El ayuntamiento formado por vecinos que amaban a su ciudad se preocupó siempre por su desarrollo ordenado, armónico y saludable, dictando para ello constantes disposiciones (hoy lo llamaríamos reglamentos de construcción) cuyo incumplimiento se castigaba con severas penas, según leemos en las *Actas de Cabildo*. Así, por ejemplo, se cuidó que las casas no invadieron las rúas, no las enlobreguecieran con su altura y dejaran circular al aire. Se prohibió tirar basura en ellas y en los canales que eran también hermosas vías de tránsito. “Cruzan sus anchas calles mil hermosas acequias que cual sierpes cristalinas dan vueltas y revueltas deleitosas”.¹⁶

III. La evolución habitacional

Para entender el desarrollo de la habitación plurifamiliar es importante dar como base el número de personas que vivían en esta ciudad. Aunque los cálculos varían, el que parece ajustarse más a la realidad es que entre 1522 y 1550 hubo en ella entre 50 000 y 100 000 habitantes europeos. Lo cual la hacía la ciudad más grande del mundo hispánico y mayor que muchas ciudades europeas.¹⁷

Miremos esto sólo como una base para entender la urgente necesidad que se tuvo, desde aquellos años, de dar habitación a una gran población formada por personas que desde esta ciudad promovían las inversiones en la agricultura, la ganadería, la minería y el comercio, así como las dedicadas a oficios mecánicos o artesanales, o bien a las obras religiosas, los servicios educativos, de salud pública y de gobierno. Los distintos oficios e intereses de esa concentración humana, que forman las ciudades, requirió un numeroso y variado tipo de alojamientos.

No es posible establecer una clasificación rígida que distinga a las diversas construcciones habitacionales porque las características de unas y otras se entremezclan dentro del amplio sentido plurihabitacional que tienen; intentemos diferenciarlas de acuerdo con sus objetivos para comprenderlas mejor.

1. Los edificios públicos y la habitación plurifamiliar

Las casas de Cortés fueron dos y se construyeron en los solares que el conquistador se adjudicó. Éstos eran veinticinco en el oeste de la plaza mayor y veinticuatro en la parte oriental de la misma.¹⁸ Todo lo cual le fue reconocido y confirmado por el emperador en 1529.¹⁹

En donde había estado el palacio de Atzayácatl, Cortés empezó a edificar su palacio a partir de 1524. Esta construcción abarcó las cuatro manzanas que forman el cuadrángulo comprendido dentro de las actuales calles de Tacuba, Isabel la Católica, Avenida Francisco I. Madero y Monte de Piedad. Semejaba entonces una enorme casa-fortaleza, con altos torreones en las cuatro esquinas y una amplia galería con arcadas en el piso superior de la fachada principal. Su función era múltiple pues no sólo se destinó para residencia del conquistador y su guardia, sino también para arsenal, taller donde armeros, espaderos, ballesteros y otros oficiales pudieran hacer las armas. Había también plaza donde los caballeros ejercitaban. El amplio edificio de dos pisos tenía numerosos cuartos,

¹⁵Porras Muñoz, *El gobierno...*, p. 121-122.

¹⁶Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁷Kubler, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁸*Ibidem*, p. 193-194.

¹⁹Beatriz Artega y Guadalupe Pérez San Vicente, *Cedulario cortesiano*, México, Editorial Jus, 1949 (Sociedad de Estudios Cortesianos), p. 137-140.

salones, patios, corredores, jardines, caballerizas, etcétera, por ello, y ante las escasas construcciones en la primera mitad del siglo XVI, fue ocupado por diversas personas.

En 1531, cuando Cortés regresó de España en compañía de su esposa doña Juana de Zúñiga, trasladó su residencia a su otro palacio en el lado oriental de la plaza, dejando sus antiguas casas para sede y residencia de la Segunda Audiencia Gobernadora. En 1535 también se alojó allí el virrey Antonio de Mendoza con su familia y séquito. De este modo, una parte del edificio se convirtió en residencia virreinal, otras fueron ocupadas por la Real Audiencia y los oidores con sus familias y cuyas habitaciones, en la parte poniente, dieron nombre a la calle “de los oydores”.

En este amplio edificio quedaron establecidos por entonces el Real Acuerdo, la Cárcel Real, el Correo Mayor y demás oficinas gubernamentales con alojamiento para sus más importantes servidores. A todo esto se añadía el que dentro del enorme predio había secciones comerciales y habitacionales.

Cortés tuvo en estas casas el doble interés de que sirvieran de defensa a la ciudad a la vez que casa de productos que le diera buenas rentas, puesto que le puso torreones, la dotó de un arsenal y a la que rodeó de tiendas que alquilaba a la Corona como oficinas y habitaciones que ocupaban sus representantes.

El edificio se conservó íntegro y majestuoso, mientras él vivió. Pero tras su muerte los intereses económicos prevalecieron sobre cualquier otra consideración de señorío o defensa, lo que importaba ya era tener mayores rentas que reclamaban tanto los descendientes del conquistador como las necesidades del hospital por él fundado. En 1611 se hizo en medio del palacio un gran pasaje comercial, el Mercado de la Alcaicería (hoy calle del 5 de mayo) que pretendía emular al famoso mercado de la seda de Granada, con lo cual el edificio quedó prácticamente dividido en dos.²⁰

Así, se fue perdiendo la dignidad de este gran inmueble que se convertiría paulatinamente en mera casa de productos con las características de condominio y accesorias y viviendas de renta. Condominio porque la Corona así como el Marquesado del Valle serían dueños de unas partes, el Hospital de Nuestra Señora, de otras, y el Convento de Jesús María de otras más adquiridas por compra, propiedad que comprendía parte de “los bajos” de las accesorias de la calle del Empedradillo, hoy Monte de Piedad.²¹ Otras partes del palacio también fueron enajenadas a particulares. Como habitaciones de renta funcionaban: las accesorias que daban al exterior y las interiores de la alcaicería. Las accesorias comprendían zaguán, tienda, trastienda, patio y cuarto-habitación para el comerciante y su familia. Además muchas tenían entresuelos que habitaban los comerciantes llamados flotistas, esto es, los que recibían las mercaderías que llegaban en la flota. Otras tiendas estaban comunicadas con los “altos”, casas que habitaban las familias de los comerciantes. Las tiendas proliferaron tanto que las había aun al pie de los torreones. Se calcula que en el siglo XVIII había setenta, sin contar las de la alcaicería. Completaban ese carácter plurifamiliar del edificio las seis casas particulares que había en él y una gran vecindad que pertenecía al Hospital de Nuestra Señora.²² Modelo a seguir en los edificios gubernamentales. Esta construcción sufrió graves daños con las inundaciones y sismos que hubo en la ciudad durante los tres siglos coloniales, por lo que llegó a tener un aspecto tan ruinoso que el virrey en 1756 obligó a sus dueños a repararlo totalmente, arguyendo la categoría que debía tener la ciudad de México.²³ Así ya reconstruidas las vecindades, las casas solas, los entresuelos y las accesorias, el edificio entero siguió en pie con ese carácter plurifamiliar que había tenido desde su nacimiento.

²⁰Manuel Toussaint, *Paseos Coloniales*, México, UNAM, Institutos de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1939, p. 323.

²¹José María Marroqui, *La ciudad de México*, 3. México, J. Aguilar y Vera, 1900-1903, v. II, p. 328-331

²²Lucas Alamán, *Disertaciones*, 3 v., México, Editorial Jus, 1942, t. II, p. 225.

²³Marroqui, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 31.

1.1 *Las casas reales palacio virreinal*

Hernán Cortés se adjudicó en calidad de solares las llamadas casas nuevas de Moctezuma que comprendían huertas y una casa de fieras y en ellos edificó para sí otro palacio. Al apropiárselas, no había aún calle marcada “todo estaba hecho paredones y cues y edificios antiguos”.²⁴ Todo esto lo mandó derribar sin permitir que persona alguna tomase la tierra y piedras que en él había, pues él las utilizaría más tarde en la construcción de su propiedad. Hizo los planos de la casa Luis de la Torre, según él mismo atestigua y la construcción fue obra de Juan Rodríguez Bejarano, “albañil”.*

La mano de obra fue proporcionada por los indios de Coyoacán que Cortés tenía en encomienda. El edificio iniciado en 1523 se levantó rápidamente y tanto que a él se cambió el conquistador con sus criados y otras personas antes de ir a España a “besar las manos del emperador” y casarse. Hechos que ocurren entre 1528 y 1530.²⁵ Estaba construido alrededor de tres patios con corredores y por entonces sólo era de un piso. Tenía “techos de terrado y rica viguería de caoba”.²⁶ Ya en esta primera época el edificio empezó a presentar características plurifamiliares. En la parte que caía a la calle de la Moneda se construyeron, en tiempo de don Hernando, una serie de casitas para albergue de los indios que trabajaban en la construcción. Ya muerto el conquistador, su hijo, don Martín, nuevo marqués del Valle, vendió el edificio al rey por escritura del 19 de enero de 1562.²⁷ El virrey Luis de Velasco, su familia y corte pasaron a ocuparlo y el 29 de mayo de 1563 se instaló allí la Real Audiencia con sus dos salas para lo civil una y otra para lo criminal.

Este edificio fue ampliándose y adecuándose a las necesidades del gobierno, creándose en él diferentes secciones habitacionales en las que los servidores de ellas vivían con sus familias. De aquí que un solo edificio reciba el nombre plural de “Casas reales”, y el singular de “casa real” a la sección donde el virrey, su familia y corte vivían.

Las casitas de indios de la encomienda cortesiana, citadas atrás, fueron sustituidas en 1572 por cincuenta tiendas de renta, construidas en la calle de Arzobispado (hoy de la Moneda) y “en la parte central que tenía un parque” y otras más en la calle del Correo Mayor.²⁸ En litografías del siglo XIX aún pueden verse las de la calle de la Moneda.

Esta existencia de apartamentos o casas habitadas por tan diversas familias, dentro del palacio de los virreyes, le dan ese carácter de edificio plurifamiliar que seguiremos constatando en la gran mayoría de los edificios gubernamentales.

1.2 *Las casas del cabildo*

Estas casas de la ciudad de México tuvieron asiento en seis solares situados frente a la Plaza Mayor, en el lado suroeste. Según parece fueron mandadas construir por Hernán Cortés. Como los solares dados para ello le habían sido arrebatados a la ciudad arbitrariamente, fue necesaria la real provisión del emperador don Carlos del 13 de diciembre de 1527 para devolvérselos. Esta provisión ordenaba además que en esos solares se hicieran “casas para el consistorio, cárcel, carnicería y tiendas para propios de la ciudad”.²⁹

El proyecto de las casas del cabildo se atribuye, según Kubler, al maestro Martí y su edificación al maestro Juan de Estrambasaguas.³⁰ Lo construido fue un hermoso edificio

²⁴“Provanza del marqués del Valle”, declaración de Bartolomé Sánchez, *Documentos de Hernán Cortés y su familia*, recopilación de Luis González Obregón, México, Archivo General de la Nación, 1935, v. xxvii, p. 335-336.

*En una ocasión se le cita como Rodríguez Bejarano y en otra como Rodríguez de Salas

²⁵*Ibidem*. Declaraciones de Luis de la Torre, Juan Bello y Pedro de Paz, v. xxvii, p. 320-327.

²⁶ Toussaint, *El arte colonial en México*, México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1936, p. 9.

²⁷*Ibidem*, p. 117-119

²⁸Efraín Castro Morales, *Palacio Nacional. Historia del edificio y su evolución arquitectónica*. México, Secretaría de Obras Públicas y Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, p. 40-45.

²⁹Luis González Obregón, *México viejo*, edición facsimilar, México, Manuel Porrúa, 1974, p. 394.

³⁰Kubler, *op. cit.*, p. 220-221.

de dos pisos con gran portada de piedra, portales a lo largo de la fachada norte y amplia galería en lo alto.³¹ Había en él, a más de las oficinas de gobierno ciudadano, habitaciones para el corregidor y su familia. Éstas ocupaban la esquina nororiental en el piso superior del edificio. También vivían en el edificio el alcalde de la cárcel y los guardias, lacayos, cocheros y sirvientes. Pero, además, como la ciudad tenía pocos ingresos y muchas obras que realizar siguiendo las disposiciones del emperador de que se construyeran “tiendas para propios de la ciudad”, desde que se edificó en el siglo XVI se le rodeó a la construcción de accesorias, comercios y casas solas para rentar, al igual como las había en el antiguo palacio de Cortés. Con entrada independiente en la sección sur y penetrando en el edificio se hizo un callejón, a los lados del cual se estableció el estanco de Cordobanes, el de la carne y “la platería”. Viniendo a la callejuela del este se hallaba la alhóndiga. En el lado norte, mirando a la Acequia Real, estaba el portal con numerosas tiendas las cuales tenían a la vez su bodega y trastienda o habitación de los comerciantes y sus familias. Las casas solas eran de gran amplitud con patio, sala, recámaras, cocina, cocheras, etcétera. Se encontraban alternadas entre las casa-tienda en las calles de 5 de febrero, Venustiano Carranza y la callejuela, hoy Avenida 20 de Noviembre.

El inmueble sufrió al correr de los siglos los embates del tiempo y de los hombres, a la vez que sus oficinas tuvieron modificaciones y ampliaciones de acuerdo con las crecientes necesidades de la ciudad. Para todas las obras que se necesitaran se acudía siempre al arquitecto que fuera el maestro mayor de la ciudad. En el siglo XVIII se encargó de la renovación total de las oficinas, las habitaciones interiores, las casas y tiendas del exterior al maestro mayor y veedor de arquitectura de esta ciudad, Ignacio Castera, quien nos dejó un magnífico plano que, al conservar la distribución antigua, nos permite conocer claramente la constitución de estos edificios oficiales en los que se conjuntaban a la vez el gobierno, el comercio y la habitación plurifamiliar.³² La reforma de Castera abarca desde la casa del intendente, la alhóndiga, las carnicerías y la cárcel de mujeres, en la que de tan chica sólo “cabían paradas”, adecuando todo a la funcionalidad que debía tener el edificio. Por ello suprimió el estanco de Cordobanes y lo paso al Parián; en cambio conservó en su totalidad las casas de comercio, tiendas y particulares que había en las calles de la Monterilla, San Bernardo, Callejuela y Diputación.

El plano que presentamos muestra ese sentido de unidad en lo plurifamiliar que existía en la colonia. El corregidor y su familia viven al lado de la sala del cabildo y a poca distancia de los presos, y la ciudad cuida los granos y las carnes que son el alimento básico para la vida humana y comparte el edificio con muchas familias y las rentas de sus casas son para servicio de toda la ciudad.

En las casas de los ayuntamientos ya sean de españoles o de indígenas encontramos situaciones semejantes. Por ejemplo, el Tecpan de Santiago con sus oficinas al frente, sala de audiencia, prisión, etcétera, tenía también hospedería para viajeros y habitación para el virrey y visitantes distinguidos, sección que constituían diecinueve departamentos.³³ Otros muchos ejemplares podrían citarse.

2. Las accesorias

Denominamos así a los cuartos con puerta directa a la calle, contruidos con un sentido de inversión para obtener rentas de ellos. Las hemos mencionado ya como parte de los edificios de gobierno, ahora las vemos multiplicarse en toda la ciudad en construcciones institucionales y particulares. Se encontraban en la parte baja de los edificios de hospitales, colegios, conventos y de vecindades, así como también en las grandes casas virreinales.

³¹ Angulo, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 45-57.

³² Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México (en adelante AHCM) *Fincas de la ciudad, 1712-1819*, v. 1087, exp. 17.

³³ Kubler, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 221.

Por el servicio que prestaban podemos subdividirlos, para entenderlos mejor, en accesorias habitacionales, en comerciales o casas-tienda y casas-taller.

En el mismo inmueble podían hallarse las dedicadas exclusivamente a casa habitación y la casa-tienda, pero diferenciadas por los arquitectos en los planos de sus edificios; así, por ejemplo, la que se señala en el plano de Antonio Velázquez para la vecindad de la calle de Las Gallas.³⁴

2.1 Las accesorias habitacionales

Estaban compuestas generalmente de uno o dos cuartos con una puerta y ventana que daban a la calle. Las hubo con corral o azotehuela y covacha. Cuando están unidas a las grandes vecindades usan los servicios comunes de éstas tales como excusados y lavaderos. La historia nos menciona las que existían en “los bajos” de muchas instituciones religiosas. Así, éstas darán nombre a las calles en que se encuentran: por ejemplo, calle de los Bajos de Balbanera,³⁵ calle de los Bajos de San Agustín³⁶ y calle de los Bajos de la Profesa.³⁷

Esta clase de habitación se extendió por toda la Nueva España; la encontramos en Puebla rodeando los conventos, haciendo con ellos casas-muro que los mantenían aislados y en los planos de algunos conventos que van a construirse las vemos ya indicadas. Por ejemplo, en el de Capuchinas de Oaxaca en 1748.³⁸

Estas accesorias-habitación daban a sus ocupantes una gran independencia por su acceso privado y deben haber tenido gran demanda porque aún quedan numerosos ejemplares de ellas, sobre todo en lo que correspondería a la parte oriental de la antigua traza. Como ejemplo pueden verse las que existen en la esquina de la calle de Las Gallas, hoy Mesones y Cruces, cuyo exterior ha conservado una institución bancaria a la que pertenecen; las de las calles de San Jerónimo y San Pablo y de otras muchas que a pesar de su total abandono siguen hablándonos de momentos mejores en sus existencias. En Querétaro son notables por su similitud con éstas las de la calle de Pino Suárez.

3. Las casas-tienda

Mezcladas con este tipo de accesorios habitacionales se encuentran también las casas-tienda, así las hallamos rodeando al Hospital de Terceros en el que había catorce accesorias frente a la calle de Santa Isabel después Ruiz de Alarcón y hoy Eje Lázaro Cárdenas; en la esquina una accesorias comercial ocupada actualmente por una botica; cinco grandes accesorias mirando a la calle de San Andrés (Tacuba) y otras cinco al Callejón de la Condesa.³⁹

En la citada casa de vecindad de la calle de las Gallas y Cruces, la esquina la ocupan accesorias casa-tienda y el resto accesorias habitación.

Al hacerse en 1756 el hospital para enfermos mentales llamado del Divino Salvador del Mundo, se construyeron hacia el exterior accesorias para renta y, hacia fines del siglo XVIII el arquitecto José Joaquín García de Torres lo reformó añadiendo cinco más que tenían luz en la trastienda por un gran ojo de buey que caía al patio del hospital.⁴⁰

Esto se hizo también, y muy intensamente, en todas las ciudades de provincia, como ejemplo de ello citaremos al Colegio de San Pantaleón en Puebla.

³⁴ Archivo General de la Nación, México (en adelante AGNM). Fototeca, negativo 4792.

³⁵ Marroqui, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 485.

³⁶ AGNM, *Justicia eclesiástica*, 1854, v. 171.

³⁷ Marroqui, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 118-119.

³⁸ AGNM, *Historia*, v. 98, exp. 2, f. 262.

³⁹ Marroqui, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 574.

⁴⁰ Cfr. Josefina Muriel, "El modelo arquitectónico de los hospitales para dementes", en *Retablo barroco a la memoria de Francisco de la Maza*, México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas. 1974.

La vida en la ciudad virreinal muestra con evidencia dos hechos: la constante necesidad de habitaciones en el restringido ambiente de la traza y el exceso de locales comerciales desde el siglo XVI. Aun en los bajos de la Real y Pontificia Universidad encontraremos accesorias de renta, e igual acontecía en los del Colegio de Porta Coeli en 1742.⁴¹

Alrededor del Hospital Real de los Naturales, los propios indios habían construido desde el siglo XVI accesorias-tienda para beneficio de su institución,⁴² y a principios del XIX habían erigido otras en los terrenos del camposanto.⁴³

3.1 Casas-tienda de los portales

El origen de todas ellas fue el permiso que la ciudad dio a los vecinos el 15 de abril de 1524 para hacer portales frente a los solares que tenían en la plaza, alargándolos así veintiún pies más al frente con la condición de prolongar casas-habitación sobre ellos y dejando la parte baja para el comercio. Así quedaron conjuntos plurifamiliares de casas-tiendas. Esto sucedió en el Portal de Mercaderes (esquina sur-poniente de la Plaza Mayor) que edificó Bernardino de Albornoz y que siglos después por herencia y enlaces matrimoniales, fue propiedad de los condes de Santiago.

El Portal de las Flores fue de don Juan Guerrero de Luna y doña Beatriz Gómez Dávila, quienes tenían sus solares en la parte sur de esa misma plaza junto al ayuntamiento. A ellos se les concedió el mismo permiso con la salvedad de que los portales quedaran para uso del ayuntamiento.

En los portales de Santo Domingo había igualmente habitaciones tipo casa-tienda. En general, salvo algunas variantes, todos estos locales constaban de portal, local comercial, trastienda y vivienda en los altos, todo lo cual conformaba un edificio plurifamiliar de renta y en régimen de propiedad privada.

Las casas-tienda que constituyeron el famoso Portal de Tejada fueron construidas por el oidor de este nombre en el siglo XVI. Estas tiendas que tan hermosamente ha descrito Cervantes de Salazar, se encontraban en el suroeste de la ciudad y semirrodadas por agua. Por lo que a ellas se podía llegar tanto por tierra como a través de las canoas que transitaban en la acequia y que atracaban en embarcaderos propios. Cada una de estas tiendas contaba además del portal y local comercial, con habitación que constaba de zaguán, patio, establo y cocina, las alcobas se encontraban en el piso superior.⁴⁴

4. Accesorias de taza y plato

Estas denominaciones aparecen en el siglo XVIII y se refieren a las casas-taller de los artesanos que en el siglo XVI se llamaban simplemente tiendas de artesanos. Estas accesorias se denominan de taza y plato porque están constituidas por dos partes superpuestas. Un piso bajo y un tapanco de madera al que se asciende por una escalera empinada. Véase, por ejemplo, las que aparecen en el plano del antiguo palacio de los condes de Santiago de Calimaya, hoy Museo de la Ciudad de México. Sus dimensiones podían variar. Las que rodean el Colegio de las Vizcaínas tienen una superficie de poco más de veinticinco metros cuadrados y una altura que rebasa los seis metros. La parte superior se ilumina por unas pequeñas ventanas o balcones al exterior del edificio y la parte baja sólo por la puerta.

En general este tipo de habitación familiar para artesanos carecía de servicios sanitarios propios, no tenía cocinas ni azotehuelas y la mayoría los tenía en común. Las accesorias de taza y plato se construyeron en casi todas las ciudades de la Nueva España. El

⁴¹Marroqui, *op. cit.*, v. III, p. 608.

⁴²Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, diálogo, p. 45-57.

⁴³AGNM, *Ayuntamiento*, v. 9, exp. 4, facsímil 70.

⁴⁴Kubler, *op. cit.*, p. 214-215.

conjunto más importante en provincia es sin duda el que constituyen las ciento cincuenta accesorias que edificó en Guadalajara el obispo Antonio Alcalde en el siglo XVIII para dar habitación digna de las familias de los trabajadores.

De ese tipo plurifamiliar de habitación artesanal existen en México las sesenta accesorias que por tres lados rodean al Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, las cuales forman una especie de muralla que aísla al colegio de toda comunicación con el exterior, dando a su interior una mayor intimidad, seguridad y silencio. Las accesorias de taza y plato forman las tres fachadas del edificio y le dan unidad, aunque no tuvieran nada que ver con la vida que adentro se desarrollaba.

5. *Las vecindades*

Conocemos informes de vecindades desde mediados del siglo XVI y constatamos que desde entonces se desarrollaron con fuertes respaldos económicos provenientes de las particulares de la minería, el comercio y la agricultura, así como de las instituciones, es decir, de las dotes de monjas y otras obras pías que administraban las cofradías.

Los donantes exigían siempre que el capital de la obra pía o de las dotes monjiles se conservara a perpetuidad, en inversión segura, bajo la responsabilidad moral de quienes lo administraran. Estas condiciones, frente a los riesgos que significaban las inversiones agrícolas mineras, hicieron que la mayoría de los capitales dedicados al sostenimiento de instituciones educativas, de salud y religiosas escogieran como inversión de preferencia la finca urbana.

Una casa de vecindad era una construcción con múltiples habitaciones que podían variar de acuerdo a los intereses del dueño y la demanda de los inquilinos. Así podían estar constituidas según la categoría de la construcción por: “accesorias”, “viviendas principales”, “cuartos” y “jacales”.⁴⁵ Es más, en una misma vecindad podían existir todas éstas, quedando en ese caso las accesorias habitacionales al frente y las viviendas principales en el piso superior; en el bajo interior los cuartos y, en el fondo, en sucios corrales sin ninguna condición higiénica, los jacales, que eran cuartos hechos de madera o adobe con techos de paja. Éstos en general los rentaban los indios que contra toda disposición se metían a vivir en la ciudad solapados por los rentistas.⁴⁶

Los cuartos y viviendas principales se hallaban en torno a patios rectangulares, cuyo número variaba de acuerdo a las dimensiones del terreno. La mayoría de las vecindades dentro de la traza tenían dos pisos, aunque también las había entresoladas. Fue común en ellas una amplia escalera al centro del primer patio, que, dividiéndose en dos partes, llevaba a los corredores de las viviendas principales. Las habitaciones de menor categoría, como lo eran los cuartos, compartían los lavaderos y los excusados denominados “lugares comunes” que se situaban en el fondo del último patio.

Para entender lo que eran dentro de la vida novohispana las casas de vecindad hay que considerar la información documental que de ellas existe y que nos revela su categoría. Por ejemplo, citaremos una de la calle de Zuleta, de ella los documentos nos dicen que tenían los pisos inferiores enduelados, los superiores enladrillados, los patios empedrados, las escaleras de cantería y las puertas y ventanas abracaladas, unas de cantería y otras de mampostería, así como escaleras, corredores y balcones tenían barandales de hierro forjado. Las azoteas eran apretiladas y los canales de agua de cantería.⁴⁷

Las viviendas principales tenían “baños de placer” con calentador de agua y además disfrutaban de las cocheras y caballerizas que para los carruajes de los inquilinos había en

⁴⁵AGNM, *Tierras*, v. 3005, exp. 1 Petición de que le satisfagan tierras, Mayorazgo de Guerrero, 1767-1770.

⁴⁶Archivo Histórico del Colegio de las Vizcafnas (en adelante AHCV) 5-v-8. Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento y Caridad. Propiedades.

⁴⁷AHCV. 2-III-7. Vecindad de la calle de Chiquis. 1764.

la planta baja.⁴⁸ En cambio, los cuartos carecían de baño. Por esta razón había tantos baños públicos en la ciudad. Por ejemplo, los baños de la Misericordia, los de La Pilita, los de Jardín, etcétera.⁴⁹

Para profundizar más la importancia arquitectónica y social de las vecindades, presentamos los planos de dos de ellas. El primero de 1799 fue obra del arquitecto Antonio Velázquez y se sitúa en el callejón de los Gallos, esquina con la calle del Corchero. Tenía tres tipos de habitaciones para personas de distinto nivel económico. Viviendas principales en la planta alta y en el piso bajo, accesorias y cuartos.⁵⁰ Es ésta, una vecindad con dos zaguanes de ingreso a dos patios alrededor de los cuales se agrupaban veinte cuartos interiores sencillos y dos con corralito. Al exterior se encontraban dos accesorias con corral y covacha, ocho accesorias habitacionales sencillas y en la esquina una accesoria comercial. En la parte superior, y mirando a las dos calles, construyó cinco viviendas exteriores con tres piezas cada una y nueve interiores, cuatro con tres piezas y cinco con dos, cada una contaba con balcones. Si sumamos el total de las viviendas tendremos que el edificio tenía cuarenta y siete viviendas en total.

La segunda vecindad que presentamos es la que proyectó el arquitecto Ignacio Castera en 1788 en la calle “que va de Loreto y la que va al Carmen”. Las casas eran propiedad del Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo.⁵¹ Este inmueble era una vecindad para personas de mayores recursos por la zona en que estaba situado. Un gran patio rectangular en la sección derecha ocupaba todo el largo del terreno, sólo interrumpido por las escaleras que iban al piso superior. Las diez viviendas que a él miran estaban formadas por sala, recámara y corral en donde estaban los servicios. Al frente coloca cuatro accesorias y tres zaguanes, uno para dar ingreso al patio y otros dos a los lados que daban entrada a las caballerizas y pajares. En la parte izquierda del terreno estuvieron distribuidas, en el frente del edificio hacia las dos calles, las doce accesorias que lo rodean. Alternadas con estas accesorias puso cocheras, cuartos de guarneses y rodeando los patios, caballerizas, bodegas y pajares, y solamente siete cuartos. Las dos secciones de esta casa de vecindad son muy diferentes, la del lado derecho se dedica exclusivamente a habitación y a la de la izquierda a los comerciantes, es por esta razón que aparece un elemento que no habíamos visto en otras partes: el cuarto del portero guardián de las bodegas. En cada una de las tres secciones del edificio hay a un lado del zaguán e inmediatamente antes de cada patio, el cuarto del portero. En los altos de este doble edificio nos presenta, en ambas partes, solamente “viviendas principales” de gran amplitud en las que hay antesala o asistencia, gabinete, dos o tres recámaras, cocina, despensa, azotehuela, lugares comunes y baños “de placer” privados, además de un elemento nuevo que en los planos antiguos no aparece: el comedor. Esta gran casa de vecindad tuvo una fachada neoclásica en la que los grandes espacios desnudos enmarcaban más aún la lineal cantería de los balcones con sus barandales de hierro y en la parte baja las grandes portadas de los zaguanes que rompían la monotonía de las multiplicadas puertas de las accesorias.

Existieron otras muchas vecindades de menor o igual categoría en toda la ciudad de México. Documentalmente las hemos encontrado en el barrio del Apartado, en la calle del Águila, lo mismo en el Callejón de Bilbao que en la calle del Relox, en el callejón de Dolores y en la Manchincuepa, que en la de Venegas o en la de Chavarría, en Donceles, en San Jerónimo, la Acequia, en Venero en Mesones; varias hechas por Guerrero y Torres; y los Migueles, en la calle de República de Nicaragua y más aún en los barrios indios como el de San Pablo donde los españoles tenían prohibido construir. Allí, donde la propiedad de la tierra por ley era sólo de indios, se encuentran ya desde el siglo XVI y

⁴⁸AHCV. 2-III-7. Vecindad de la calle de Zuleta. Las rentas de esta vecindad servían para dotar huérfanos.

⁴⁹Véase, Propiedades del Convento de Santa Catalina de Sena. Josefina Muriel, *Convenios de monjas en la Nueva España*, México, Editorial Santiago, 1946, p. 87.

⁵⁰AGNM, *Bienes nacionales*, let. 1719, cuaderno 5, folio 31.

⁵¹AGNM *Real Monte de Piedad*, v. 2, f. 338 y 339.

en el XVII construcciones que van desde jacales de adobe hasta sencillas casas de vecindad alquiladas a los indios. Unas hechas por españoles y otras por los propios indios que habían acreditado ya su propiedad de acuerdo al derecho novohispano vigente. Estas construcciones eran sólo jacales levantados en sus terrenos sin previa planificación de conjunto habitacional.⁵²

En ese movimiento de gran auge en las construcciones están ligados, en lo que respecta a las vecindades, dentro de la traza, los grandes arquitectos de México, como Lorenzo Rodríguez en las de la calle de la Perpetua, en 1766; en las de las casas del marquesado, en 1744, y en el mismo año en las de la calle de Cocheras. En las de la Plazuela de Juan Carbonero interviene Antonio Velázquez; en las del barrio de la Purísima, Manuel Herrera; en las de las calles de Mesones, en 1792, Antonio Guerrero y Torres; a más de los ya citados Castera y Antonio Velázquez. Lo cual nos indica la categoría que como edificios tuvieron las vecindades.

Éstas fueron centros no sólo de habitación plurifamiliar sino también de convivencia humana profundamente criolla, naciéramente mexicana y de ellos nos informa la literatura, mostrándonos a través de la vida en ellas las hondas raíces de nuestras tradiciones, puesto que fue allí, en esas vecindades, que vivió esa pujante clase media en todo ya tan lejana a lo español. Ésa que daría el carácter propio, el estilo y la personalidad al México que nacería en el siglo XIX. Así lo vieron artistas extranjeros como Pingret que en su obra *La Vecindad*, de la calle de Mesones, señaló dónde veía el alma de lo mexicano. Así lo vemos nosotros a través de la literatura del siglo XIX.

6. Las instituciones comunitarias de mujeres y la habitación plurifamiliar

Las instituciones comunitarias presentan diferentes modalidades en relación a la habitación plurifamiliar, de las cuales ya señalamos dos elementos: la de tener accesorias en el exterior de sus edificios y la de ser dueñas de las casas de vecindades. Ahora vamos a entrar a las propias instituciones, pero nos referiremos sólo a las femeninas, porque son las que presentan el aspecto plurifamiliar, que no se da en las masculinas.

Para realizar en forma particular las múltiples actividades permitidas, las monjas requirieron de amplias celdas que se transformaron en verdaderas casitas, que fueron construyéndose en patios, jardines, huertas y aun pasillos, sin previa planeación, llegando así a formar entre ellas calles, callejones y plazuelas adoquinadas con flores en las esquinas, fuentes e incluso capillas. No existe en México actualmente ningún conjunto de este tipo, pues fueron derribados durante el siglo XIX. El plano del Convento de Santa Clara de Querétaro, levantado por los franceses poco antes de su demolición, nos queda como único ejemplo de esas ciudades intramuros. En Arequipa, Perú, existe el convento de Santa Catalina que aún conserva esas características y es considerado como joya nacional.

Estas celdas particulares de los conventos femeninos constituyen un tipo *sui generis* de habitación plurifamiliar, cada una en sí y todas en su conjunto. Era frecuente que en una misma institución estuvieran la madre, las hijas o varias hermanas de aquélla, primas y tías, esto es, las mujeres de una familia (en el sentido amplio), a las que se agregaban las sobrinas en calidad de “niñas educandas”. Además hemos encontrado repetidamente noticias de que varios miembros de una familia ocuparan la misma celda y aun la heredaran a otras monjas de la misma familia.⁵³ Otras veces por el contrario ocupaban diferentes celdas.

⁵²AHCV. 5-v--8. Venta de Pedro de Porras, maestro gorrero, de una casa en el Barrio de San Pablo, 1635. Donación de un solar con jacales a la Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento.

⁵³Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia Pública (en adelante AHSSA, 18-9-10. Libro del arca del Convento de Jesús María. Venta de una celda que era de la madre Teresa de San José, definitiva a la madre Rosa de los Dolores. 18 de septiembre de 1721.

La forma de obtener la celda variaba: las monjas profesas podían comprar el uso de una celda ya existente, previo permiso del arzobispo.⁵⁴ Además eran heredables por dos generaciones,⁵⁵ pues el convento conservaba la nuda propiedad y con ellas el derecho de adjudicarlas a quien lo juzgara conveniente. El valor de las celdas de acuerdo a su tamaño y calidad oscilaba entre los cien y los mil pesos. Podían ser construidas por el propio convento o por las monjas profesas, pero aun en este caso, la propiedad era del convento de tal modo que la constructora sólo tenía el uso temporal de ella, no pudiendo venderla ni traspasarla a su arbitrio. En general, las celdas eran de dos tipos: casas agregadas y las construidas exprofeso. Las primeras eran inmuebles contiguos a los conventos que sus dueñas al ingresar anexaban cerrando puertas y ventanas a la calle y abriendo comunicaciones con los edificios monásticos. Así ampliaron sus edificios, entre otros, el gran Convento de la Encarnación al cual se le agregaron en calidad de celdas dos casas situadas en la calle de la Perpetua frente al edificio de la Inquisición, y otra en la esquina de la Encarnación y Santa Catalina, esto es, el actual ángulo sur-oriente que ocupa el edificio de la Secretaría de Educación Pública.⁵⁶ Al Convento de San Bernardo se le agregó igualmente una casa en la calle de don Juan Manuel.⁵⁷ Los ejemplos son incontables. Otras mujeres construían sus celdas exprofeso anexas o dentro de patios y jardines de los conventos. Ejemplo de ello es la que Manuel Tolsá proyectó para la marquesa de Selva Nevada cuando se enclaustró en el Convento de Regina Coelli de México. Construcción neoclásica que por fortuna aún existe. El arquitecto Ignacio Castera edificó en San Jerónimo una celda para las dos hijas de la propia marquesa, profesas allí.⁵⁸

Recién fundado el hermoso convento de Nuestra Señora de la Salud, en Pátzcuaro, Mich., don José Pimentel y su esposa Ana de Murga mandaron construir, dentro del edificio conventual, para su hija la madre María Ana Pimentel, en 1756, “una celda o casa conventual en toda forma con piezas, patios, baños y labrados de cantera en arcos, contraminos y puertas, enteramente como era su casa paterna”, dice la cronista. Lo que indica que la reprodujo en pequeño. En este mismo convento, don Ignacio Solórzano y doña Lagarda Ugarte, cuando profesó su hija la madre Faustina del Santísimo Sacramento que residía en el convento como educanda desde los siete años, mandaron construir una gran “celda o casa interior entresolada con cinco piezas comunicadas y dos patios, monja inmensamente rica dotó con su herencia y a perpetuidad las dotes de cinco monjas”.⁵⁹ En el convento de Jesús María de México, el capitán don Juan de Altamirano mandó construir en el año de 1710 una celda para su hija sor Antonia de San Juan, e igual haría otro criollo con su hija como veremos adelante.⁶⁰

La literatura y la historia nos ilustran claramente sobre lo que eran estas celdas monjiles. La famosa doña Juana de Maldonado y Paz, monja concepcionista de Guatemala,^{*} tenía una celda construida por “muchos cuartos, galerías y un jardín privado para pasear. Tenía una capilla regiamente adornada y un gabinete con organito y otros instrumentos musicales. Allí, se reunía con sus amigas monjas para hacer música”, verdaderos conciertos a los que incluso asistía el arzobispo.⁶¹

⁵⁴AGNM, *Bienes Nacionales*, leg. 213 exp. 43. Licencia que piden las reverendas madres Manuela de San Cayetano, Josefa de Santo Tomás y Francisca de San Ignacio, Petra de San Javier e Ildelfonsa del Sacramento para habitar una celda y a su muerte heredarla a su sobrina. 1711.

⁵⁵Marroqui, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 14

⁵⁶Muriel, *Conventos...*, p. 87

⁵⁷Marroqui, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 142.

⁵⁸Alicia Grovet y Josefina Muriel, *Fundaciones neoclásicas. La marquesa de Selva Nevada, sus conventos y sus arquitectos*, México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1969, p. 95-96.

⁵⁹Archivo del Convento de Nuestra Señora de la Salud de Pátzcuaro, Michoacán (en adelante ACNSSP). *Crónica en la que se refieren los sucesos más notables acaecidos en este Convento de Nuestra Señora de la Salud*. (manuscrito), capítulo XIII.

^{*}El Convento de la Concepción de Guatemala fue fundado en el siglo XVI por monjas que provenían de la Nueva España.

⁶⁰AGNM, *Bienes nacionales*, leg. 213, exp. 47.

⁶¹Angulo, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 41-42.

Si nosotros pensamos en la celda que sor Juana Inés de la Cruz compró para su uso personal en el convento de San Jerónimo, y ayudándonos con la imaginación en los retratos que le hicieron Miranda y Cabrera, convendremos en que fue un amplio sitio puesto que en él tenía una biblioteca con más de cinco mil volúmenes, aparatos científicos e instrumentos musicales, cómodas y estantes para guardar las preseas ganadas en concursos literarios y los regalos de sus amigos virreyes e intelectuales. Celda que contaba con cocina propia y en donde la esclava que tenía para su servicio personal le prepararía el sabroso chocolate y los deliciosos dulces que luego compartiría con sus distinguidos amigos en el locutorio o les enviaría de regalo, según ella misma cuenta.

Aun cuando ya no existe ningún edificio conventual original, conocemos los planos de algunas de las celdas que hubo en ellos. El más antiguo data de 1635 y se refiere a una del convento de San Jerónimo de México.

Del Real Convento de Jesús María conocemos algunas a través de sus planos. Estas celdas fueron construidas para damas prominentes de la sociedad virreinal cuyos nombres nos conservó el arquitecto Francisco Guerrero y Torres cuando levantó los planos de ellos por orden del arzobispo Alonso Núñez de Haro, en 1774, para ver la manera de suprimirlas y construir en su lugar una casa o internado para las niñas educandas.⁶² Nos dice que encontró en el fondo del convento una celda construida para las madres Fagoaga, esto es, para miembros de esta riquísima familia de comerciantes. La celda se componía de zaguán, capilla, patios y en él había cinco piezas, covacha, cocina y corral. Tenía una escalera de tres tramos que desembocaba en tres tramos de corredores, así como una vivienda alta con seis piezas. Tenía dos azotehuelas, una con lavadero cubierto y otra con arriates, esto es, un jardín privado en el piso superior. Había también otra celda hecha para la madre sor Antonia, hija del conde de Santiago, hombre de gran importancia y riqueza en aquel tiempo. Esta tenía zaguán, patio y ocho piezas divididas tanto en el piso alto como en el bajo. Se había construido otra para la madre Ana María de San José, hija del famoso minero Joseph de Borda, pero en la fecha que la visitó Guerrero y Torres, vivía en ella la madre Michaela de San Joaquín, hija del oidor de la Real Audiencia, don Clemente del Campo.

El proyecto de Guerrero y Torres fue aprovechar estas tres celdas, abriendo puertas, cerrando zaguanes, pintando y restaurando lo maltratado, a un costo de mil pesos, para dejar un edificio de tres patios capaces para que “con desagüe pudieran vivir cincuenta niñas colegialas con dormitorio, salas, capilla, cocina y locales necesarios a los servicios”. Así, en el plano completo del convento aparece ya una sección denominada Colegio de Niñas. Todo esto corresponde al movimiento organizado por los obispos para suprimir en todos los conventos la vida particular que se llevaba en las celdas y reduciendo a todas las monjas a la vida en común.

Al aplicarse las Leyes de Reforma, las calles interiores ya existentes se abrieron al exterior, constituyendo nuevas calles y jardines de las ciudades. Las celdas fueron convertidas en casas particulares o en vecindades, muchas de las cuales aún existen. Limitando los conventos como incrustados en ellos o rodeándolos en el exterior, existían casas y accesorias que las monjas habían construido para rentar. No formaban parte del edificio interior propiamente dicho, ni tenían comunicación alguna con él.

Otras instituciones femeninas, que también tenían características de habitación plurifamiliar, fueron el Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem y el Colegio de las Vizcaínas, fundados en el siglo XVII y XVIII respectivamente. En San Miguel de Belem su fundador, Domingo Pérez de Barcia, recogía a las madres de familia abandonadas o viudas con sus hijas para darles a ellas casa, comida y educación, viviendo todas juntas.⁶³ El colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola fue instituido para dar cobijo a las viudas y sus hijas, así como las

⁶²AGNM, *Historia*, v. 134, exp. 4. 1774.

⁶³Cfr. Josefina Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, México, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1974.

niñas que lo solicitaran.⁶⁴ El sistema educativo de estos dos colegios era la convivencia en cada vivienda de un pequeño número de niñas, máximo de diez, al lado de una mujer mayor para que como “madre” de ellas las educara y atendiera en todas las ciencias humanas y divinas. De aquí que en los dos colegios no existieran clases, ni dormitorios, ni refectorios comunes, sino sólo numerosas viviendas familiares y, en vez de maestras, se les llamaran madres o primeras de vivienda. Recordemos que a la madre se le considera la educadora por antonomasia. Así, ambas instituciones son un conjunto de familias que buscaban entre sí el bien común y sus edificios son por ellos esencialmente habitaciones plurifamiliares.⁶⁵

7. La “casa sola”. Residencias, palacios y las medias casas

Las casas solas, ésas a las que se ha llamado “medias casas”, como las grandes residencias y palacios, tienen elementos que las convierten en habitaciones plurifamiliares. Éstos son los entresuelos y las accesorias que aparecen en la gran mayoría de ellas, sin importar la calidad del inmueble o la categoría de sus dueños.

Los entresuelos de “bajo techo” son pisos intermedios entre el piso bajo y la planta alta o principal. Son construcciones que hacen crecer desmesuradamente las arquerías de los patios para darles cobijo y que dan lugar a escaleras secundarias dentro del patio principal. En las fachadas de los edificios se muestran a través de ventanas y balcones, en general más pequeños o de menor importancia que los del piso principal. De ello ha dicho Manuel Toussaint que son una de las características de las residencias “porque el noble señor no desdeña que su casa produzca lo más que pueda obtener”, llegando a rodearla de accesorias de todo tipo, según hemos señalado atrás.⁶⁶

Como ejemplo de ellas existen la casa del conde de Miravalle con sus accesorias y entresuelos y la del conde del Valle de Orizaba; igual ocurre con la del marqués del Jaral de Berrio, ejemplarmente conservada por el Banco Nacional de México; la de José de la Borda, en el enorme perímetro de una manzana, tenía accesorias y entresuelos; la de los condes de San Mateo de Valparaíso los conserva también, en tanto que la del conde de Santiago de Calimaya (hoy Museo de la Ciudad de México) carece de ellos, porque las altas accesorias de “taza y plato” que rodeaban al palacio no les dieron lugar; en la del conde de San Bartolomé de Xala, el entresuelo tiene tal importancia que semeja un tercer piso.

Si pusiéramos atención a las grandes residencias de provincia encontraríamos lo mismo. Por ejemplo, en Puebla existen, entre otras, la Casa del Alfeñique con sus accesorias de “taza y plato” y su entresuelo al que se llega por una hermosa escalera interior, distinta de la principal aunque colocadas ambas en el mismo patio; sin olvidar la “casa de los muñecos” que construyera el regidor Agustín de Ovando con sus entresuelos y accesorias, ni tampoco qué decir del famoso Colegio de San Pantaleón con iguales características.

Finalmente, mencionaremos las “medias casas” que son otra variante de la habitación plurifamiliar. En ellas también existieron entresuelos aunque lo más común fueron las accesorias. Manuel Toussaint las define como residencias coloniales partidas a la mitad. Ejemplo de ellas son las que el arquitecto Lorenzo Rodríguez construyó por encargo de los inquisidores en las calles de La Perpetua. Los dos pares de medias casas hechas en 1756 eran entresoladas. Las que hizo en 1766 fueron de dos pisos con accesorias al frente. Ahora bien, los entresuelos, accesorias y piso principal, realizados en una misma casa, las constituyen en edificio plurifamiliar, que en muchas ocasiones se transforma a la vez en condominio, porque el dueño vende separadamente las diferentes partes de ella, y esto ocurre desde el siglo XVI. Por ello es común que en las escrituras de compra-venta se diga

⁶⁴ Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, *El Real Colegio de Loyola*, México, Imprenta Días de León, 1889.

⁶⁵ Cfr. Josefina Muriel, *Los vascos en México y su colegio de las vizcainas*, México, CIGATAM, 1987

⁶⁶ Toussaint, *El arte colonial...*, p. 323-330.

que el inmueble se vende con sus entresuelos, accesorias, etcétera, o se aclare cuáles con las partes que de él se venden.

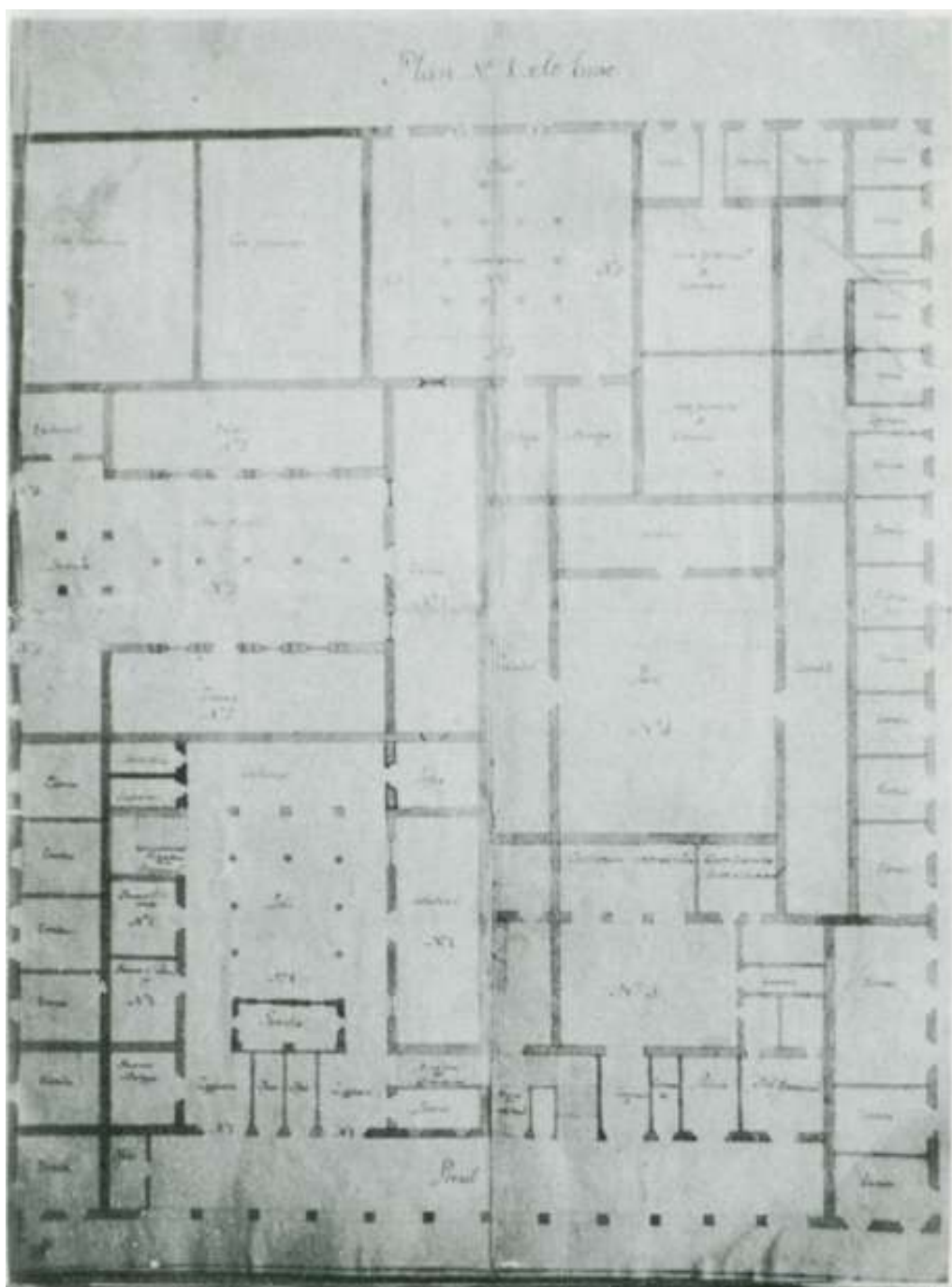
La ciudad de México iniciaría su vida independiente en 1821 con estos antecedentes habitacionales, a los cuales se le sumarían los que competen a los barrios de indios que desde entonces pasaron a constituir ya formalmente un todo en ella.

IV. Conclusiones

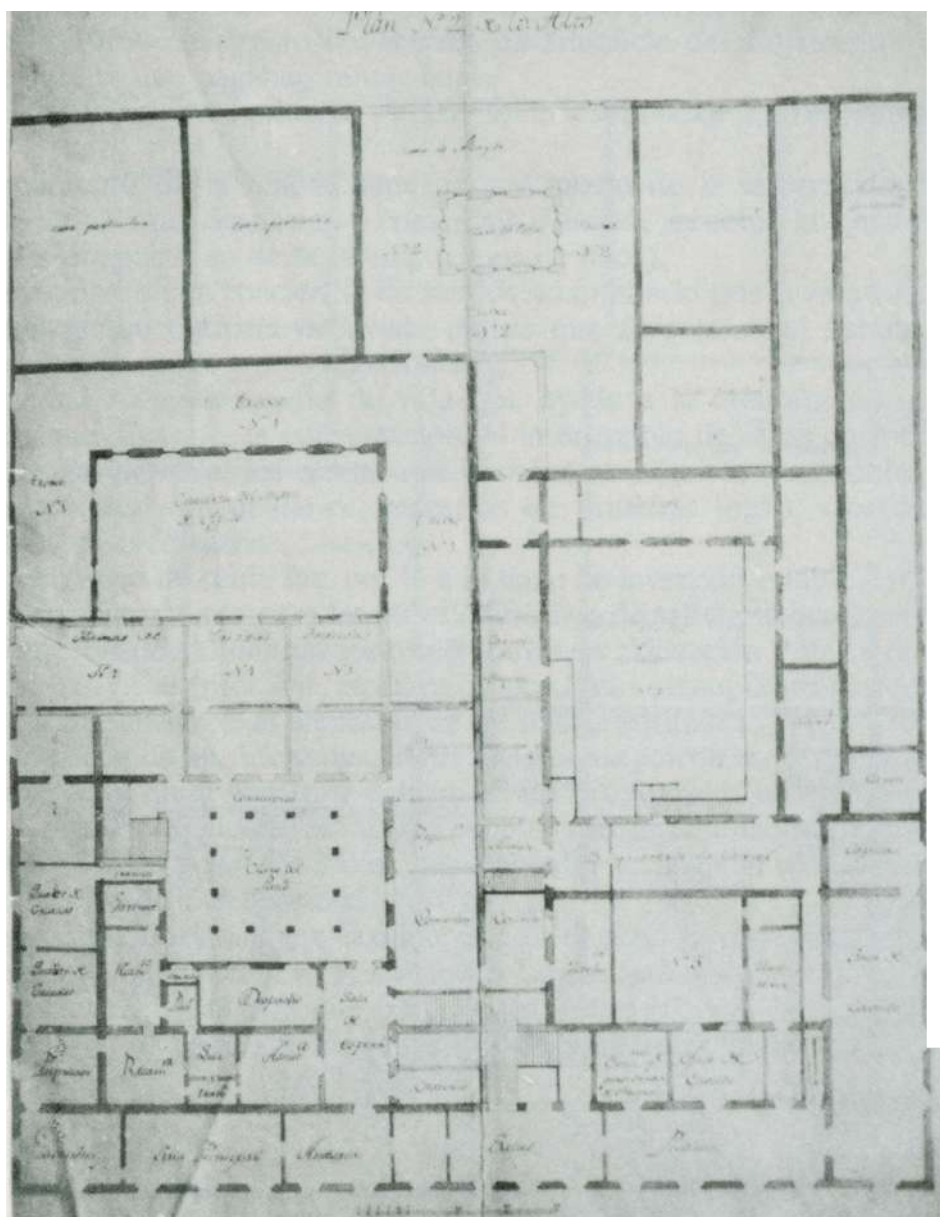
La presente investigación permite señalar algunas etapas del desarrollo de la habitación plurifamiliar en la Nueva España e indicar las causas que le dieron origen y propiciaron su auge hasta convertirla en el prototipo de las ciudades de México.

1. Cuando se trazó y comenzó a edificarse la ciudad de México y otras capitales de provincia, la habitación unifamiliar era la proyectada para ella. Los solares que se dieron, lo mismo en los pueblos fundados para indígenas que en las ciudades y villas para los españoles, fueron para construir en ellos casas unifamiliares.
2. El uso del suelo controlado por el ayuntamiento tuvo estas modalidades básicas: donación a los pobladores, renta para construcción, venta y concesión de ampliaciones gratuitas bajo condiciones benéficas a la ciudad.
3. La habitación plurifamiliar empieza a existir desde el siglo XVI cuando aparece la urgente necesidad de dar alojamiento a las autoridades que llegan de España y a los trabajadores hispanos que buscan sitio para establecer sus talleres y comercios. Había terrenos, pero faltaban viviendas.
4. La habitación se comercializa ante la excesiva demanda y la insuficiencia evidente de ella, conceptuándose entonces como inversión productiva, rentable y segura.
5. Los solares y las antiguas casas, desde la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, van acaparándose por los inversionistas institucionales y privados mediante compra herencia o legado. Las casas unifamiliares van disminuyendo paulatinamente en tanto que en forma paralela las construcciones plurifamiliares se multiplican.
6. Hubo un polifacético interés (económico, político, religioso y social) en construir para alojar a los artesanos y sus familias desde el siglo XVI, el cual se va definiendo arquitectónicamente en la creación de un prototipo de habitación para el trabajador y su familia en edificios plurifamiliares: accesorias de taza y plato en la ciudad de México y capitales de provincia, señaladamente en Guadalajara. Habitaciones que no se dan en propiedad, pues no se venden al trabajador, sólo se le alquilan.
7. Basándose en los informes que dan las listas de propiedades de las instituciones, los mayorazgos y algunas más, podemos afirmar que para principios del siglo XIX, la inmensa mayoría de los habitantes de la ciudad de México vivían en edificios plurifamiliares ocupando las distintas categorías de vivienda que había para ellos de acuerdo a su nivel económico y social.
8. Las razones que lo propiciaron fueron, entre otras, las siguientes:
 - a) El incremento demográfico y la inmigración española, a lo que se sumaron la centralización del gobierno y economía novohispanas. Hechos todos que hicieron de la ciudad de México la más poblada de Hispanoamérica (a la que sólo excedían, según Alejandro Humboldt, algunas capitales europeas como Londres, París, Dublín y Madrid. La ciudad de México tenía en 1803, 168 847 habitantes).
 - b) El espacio limitado que tuvo la ciudad desde su nacimiento cuya ampliación en el XVIII fue, desde luego, insuficiente en relación al crecimiento que la obligó a compactar la habitación dentro de ella.
 - c) Acaparamiento de la propiedad urbana por quienes podían comprar la tierra y construir para rentar. Me refiero señaladamente a los particulares (mayorazgos, títulos, comerciantes, mineros y hacendados), así como las instituciones religiosas, educativas, de salud y de beneficencia.

- d) A todas estas razones se suman una de orden jurídico y otra de orden social. La primera es la referente a no habitar en la zona indígena y la segunda es la significación de alto status social prepotente que significaba vivir en la ciudad española en vez del barrio indio.
- e) Finalmente añadiremos los importantes intereses económicos por ser la ciudad de México la metrópoli desde la cual se movía toda la economía novohispana.
9. Resultados socioeconómicos del sistema de habitación plurifamiliar en la época colonial:
- a) Un mejor aprovechamiento del terreno en beneficio del alojamiento de cientos de miles de personas que pagaban rentas bajas.
- b) Una distribución más equitativa y eficiente de los servicios públicos. Ejemplo del agua potable.
- c) Fortalecimiento de la unidad familiar por medio de la integración, la cercanía o proximidad de oficinas, despachos y comercios al hogar, así como la ejecución de trabajo femenino sin el abandono de la familia (esposo e hijos).
- d) La formación de una conciencia de sentido comunitario por la vida compartida entre los vecinos, que se traducía en ayuda mutua que favorecían el sistema de gremios, cofradías de todas clases y congregaciones.
- e) La vecindad se vuelve estilo de vida que ayuda a la creación de una conciencia criolla-mexicana. El trato, la conversación, el intercambio de ideas en todos los niveles, porque personas de todos los estamentos sociales, económicos y culturales habitaban en ellas: comerciantes, universitarios, maestros de primeras letras, sacerdotes del clero secular, etcétera, etcétera.
10. El sistema de casas de renta fue, por lo que tiene de inversión estable y segura, el apoyo económico más importante para las obras educativas de salud pública y servicios sociales, puesto que no existiendo ministerios o secretarías de Educación Pública ni de Salubridad y Asistencia, ni Dif ni Infonavit, etcétera, ni por tanto presupuesto para sostenerlas, las casas de renta financiaron el bienestar de los más necesitados.
11. Los novohispanos de las diferentes clases sociales aceptaron ese sistema como el mejor, según lo demostraron al construir dentro de sus propiedades una parte para rentar, lo mismo en las ciudades que en las villas o pueblos cercanos, como por ejemplo Tacubaya, Tlalpan, Xochimilco, y aun los indios para sostener su hospital de la ciudad de México lo rodearon de accesorias rentables.
12. Sin embargo, ese ideal humano-familiar que es el tener la privacidad de una casa sólo se manifestó elocuentemente al aplicarse las Leyes de Reforma. Numerosos inmuebles del clero se denunciaron para que particulares laicos tuvieran la posibilidad de poseer casa propia y aun las celdas de los conventos de monjas que pasaron a ser propiedad de distintas familias.



Planta baja de las Casas del Cabildo en donde se destacan las tiendas y casas particulares que lo rodeaban. Plano de Ignacio Castera, siglo XVIII. AGN



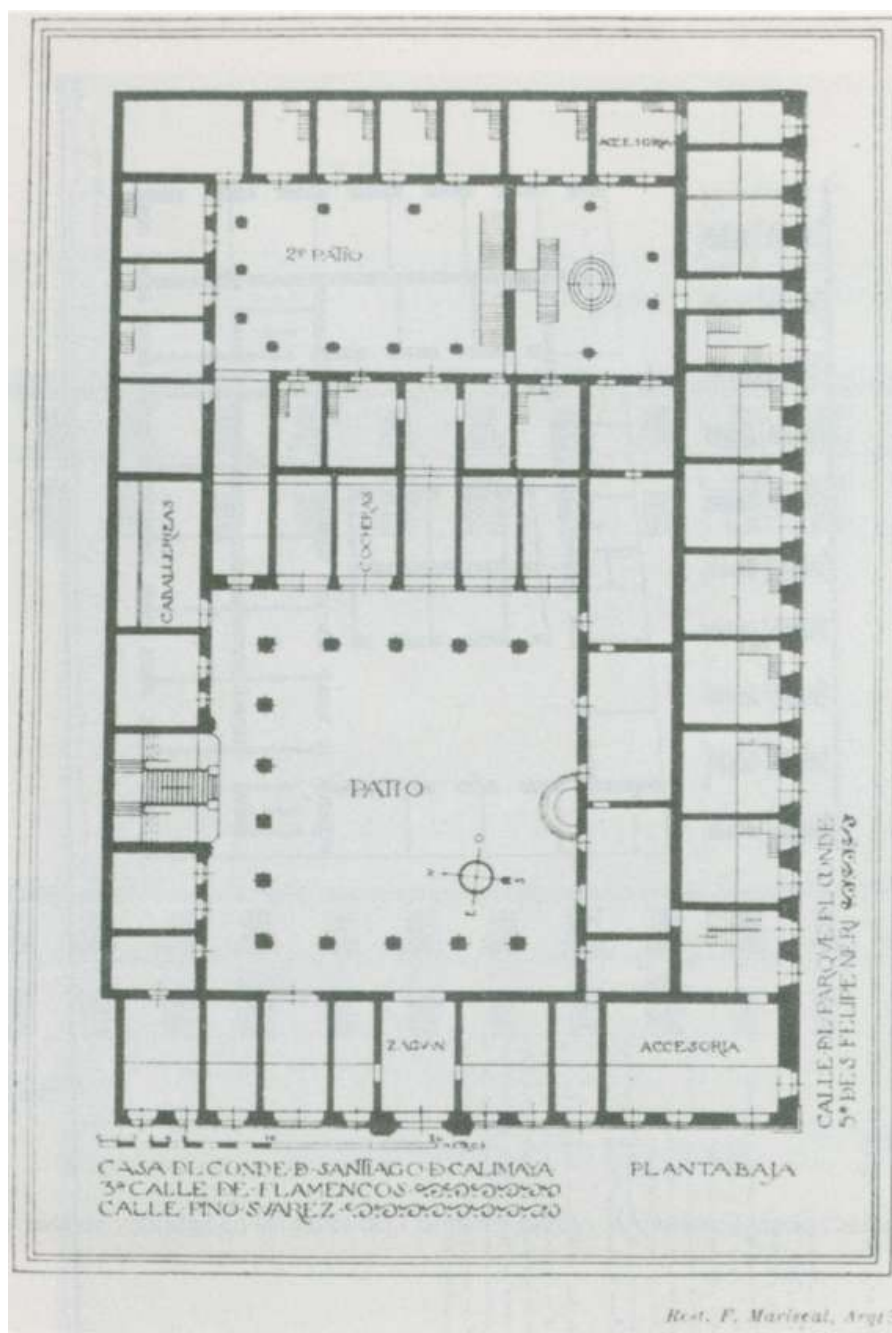
Planta alta de las Casas del Cabildo en la que se encuentra la casa del corregidor en ángulo inferior izquierdo; las oficinas del cabildo en el derecho y las casas particulares en la parte superior. Plano Ignacio Castera, siglo XVIII. AGN



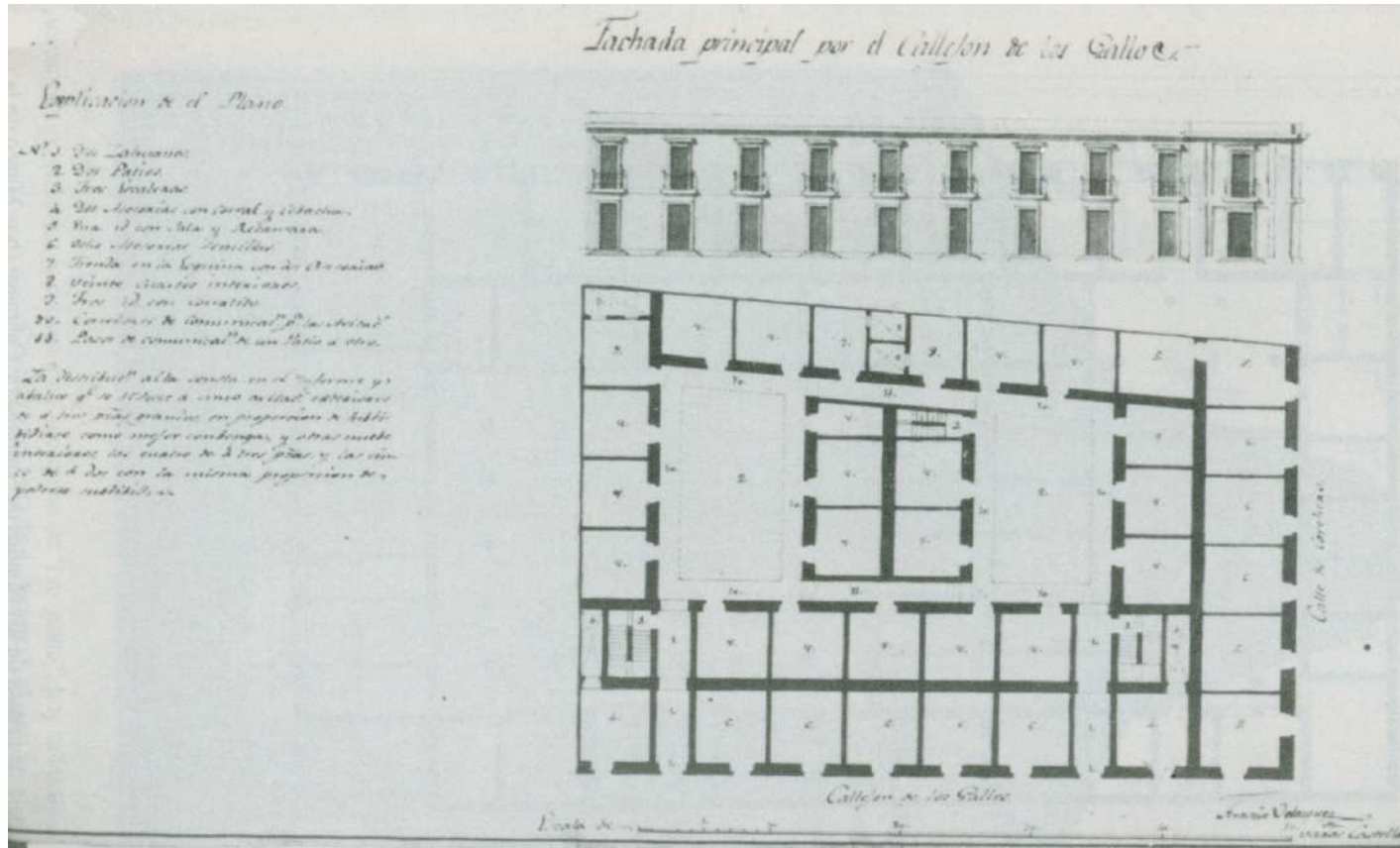
Gran casa de vecinos con accesorias habitacionales con la planta baja y amplios departamentos en la alta. Existente aún en la calle de San Pablo (fotografía de J. Amigo)



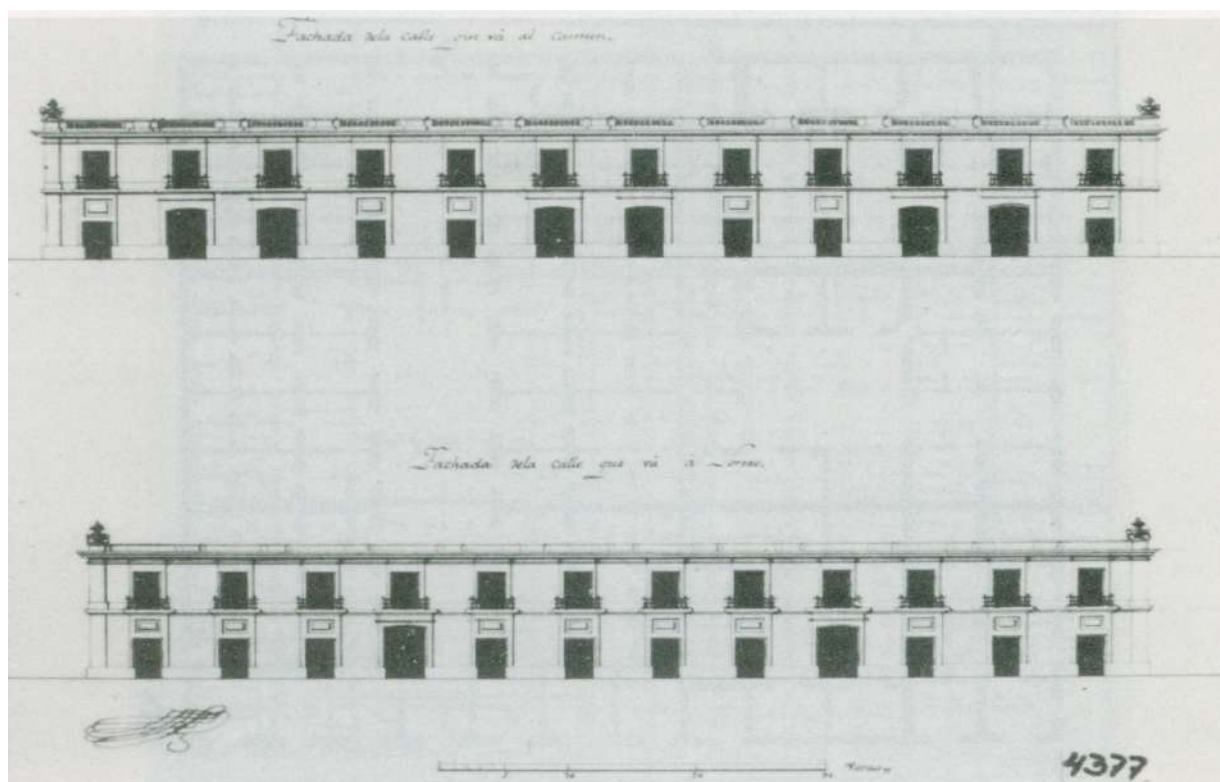
Accesorio tipo casa-tienda existente en la esquina de "Las gallas", hoy calles de Mesones y Las Cruces (fotografía de J. Amigo)



Planta baja de la casa de los Condes de Santiago de Calimaya (hoy Museo de la ciudad de México) en cuyo lado derecho se encuentran las accesorias de taza y plato con sus escalerillas a los tapanco (Rest. Arq. F. Mariscal)

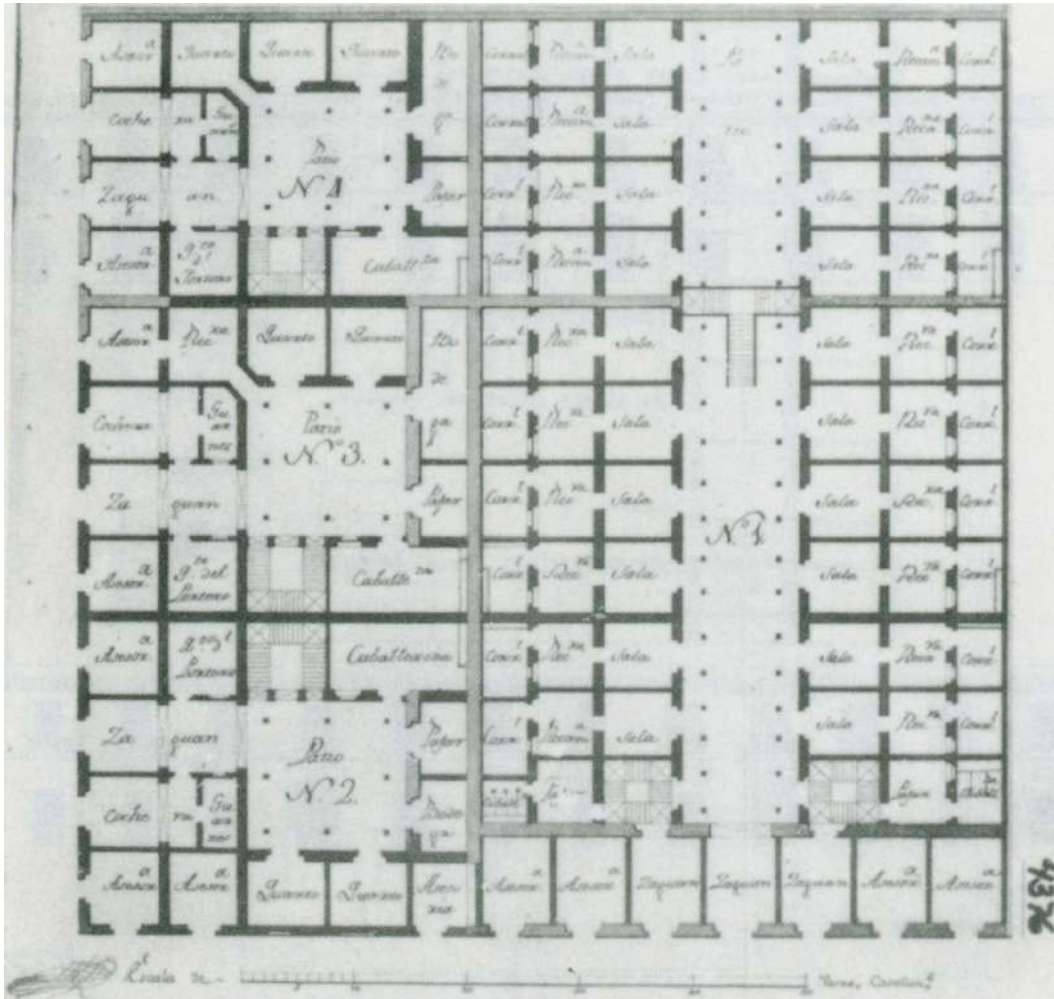


Plano y fachada de la casa de vecindad hecho por el arquitecto Antonio Velázquez en 1799. AGN

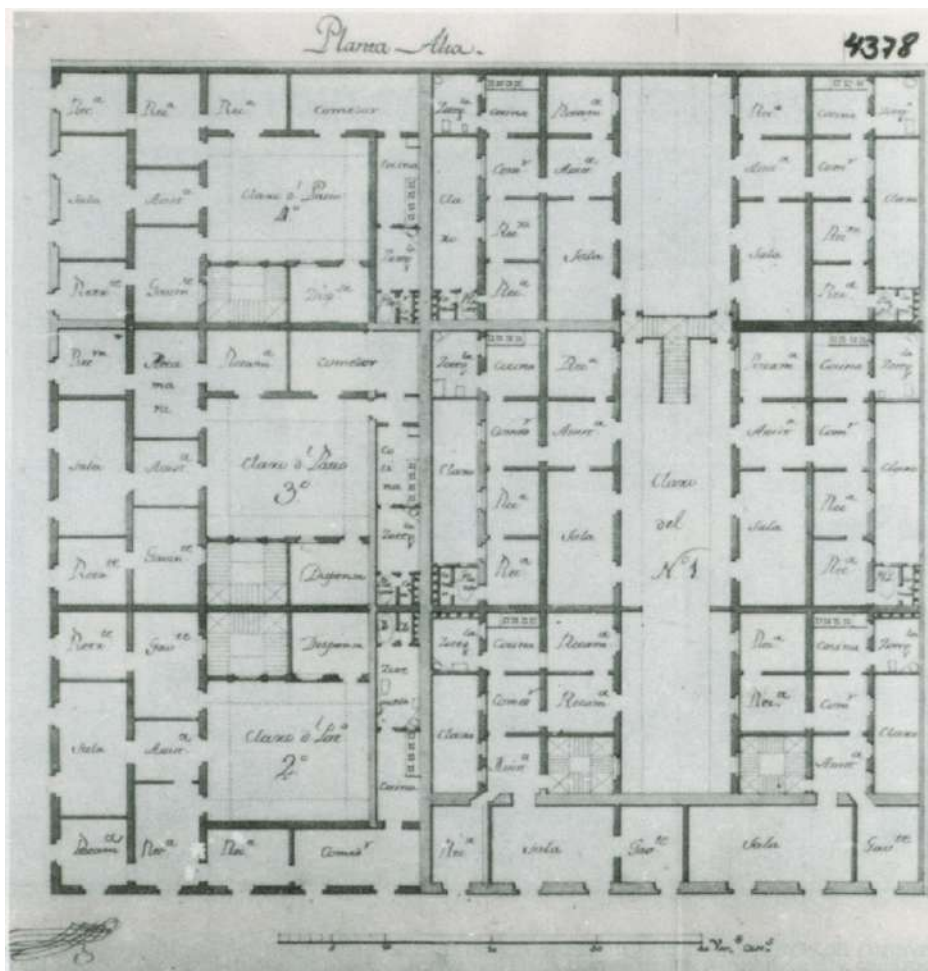


Fachada de la casa de vecindad en las calles del Carmen y Loreto. Arquitecto Ignacio Castera 1780. AGN

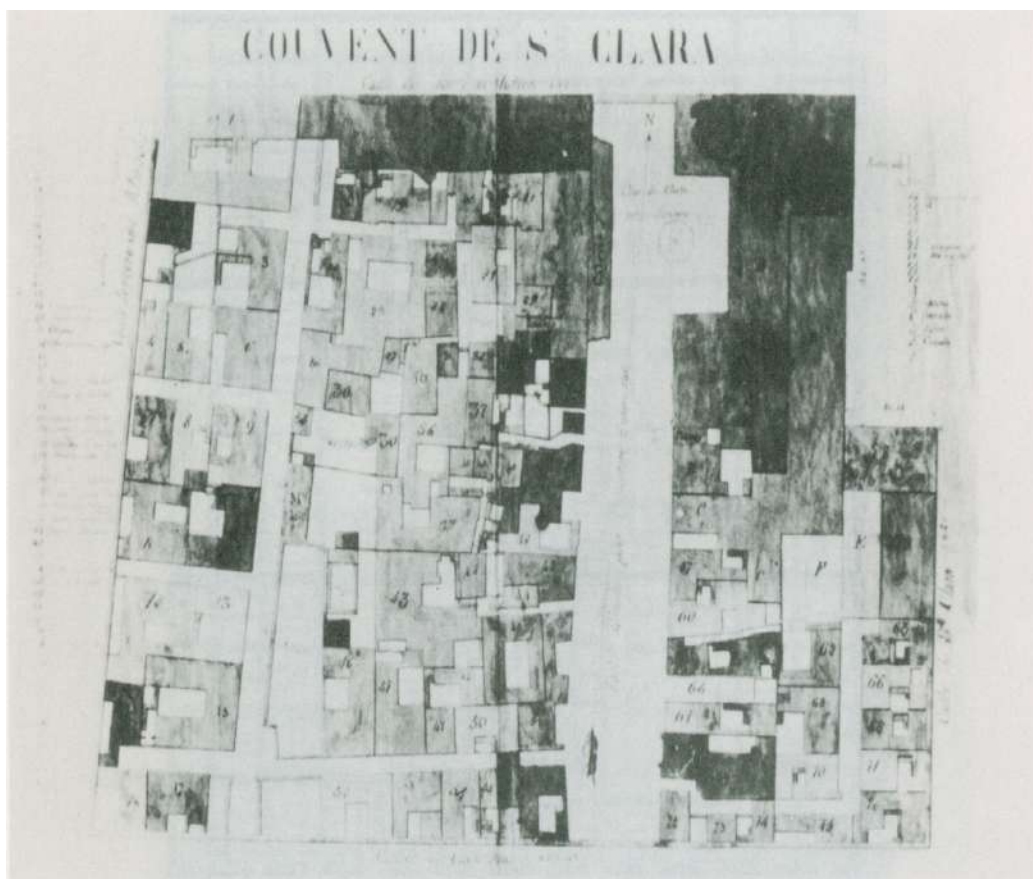
Planta Baja



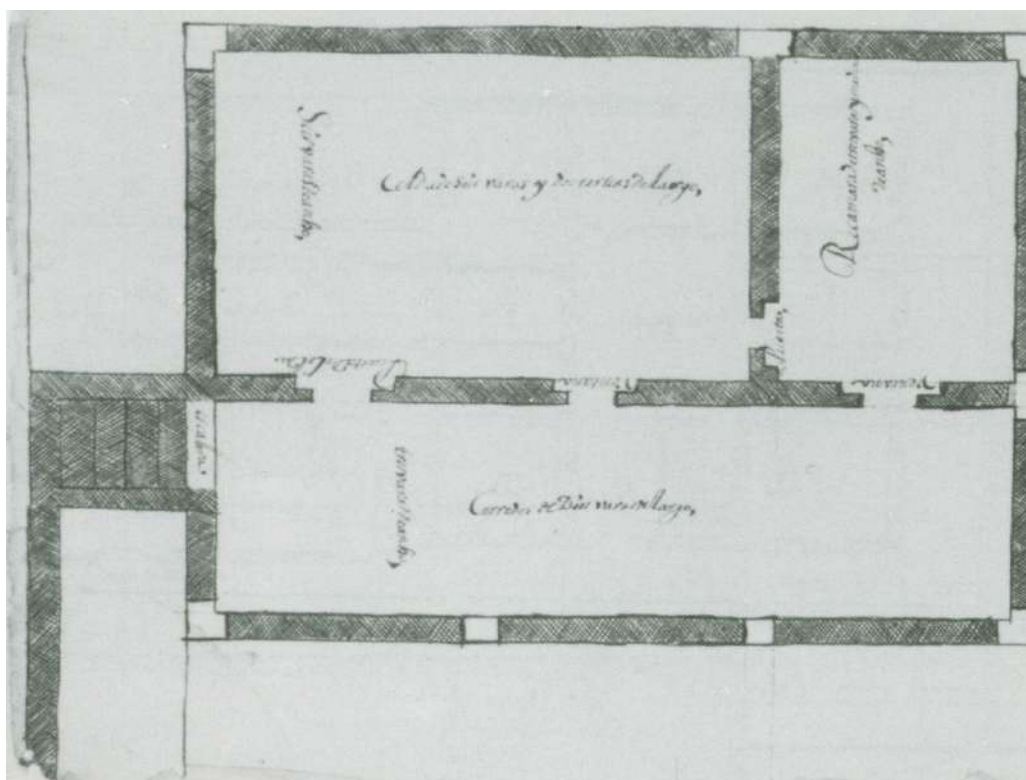
Plano de la planta baja de la vecindad proyectada por Ignacio Castera en 1780. AGN



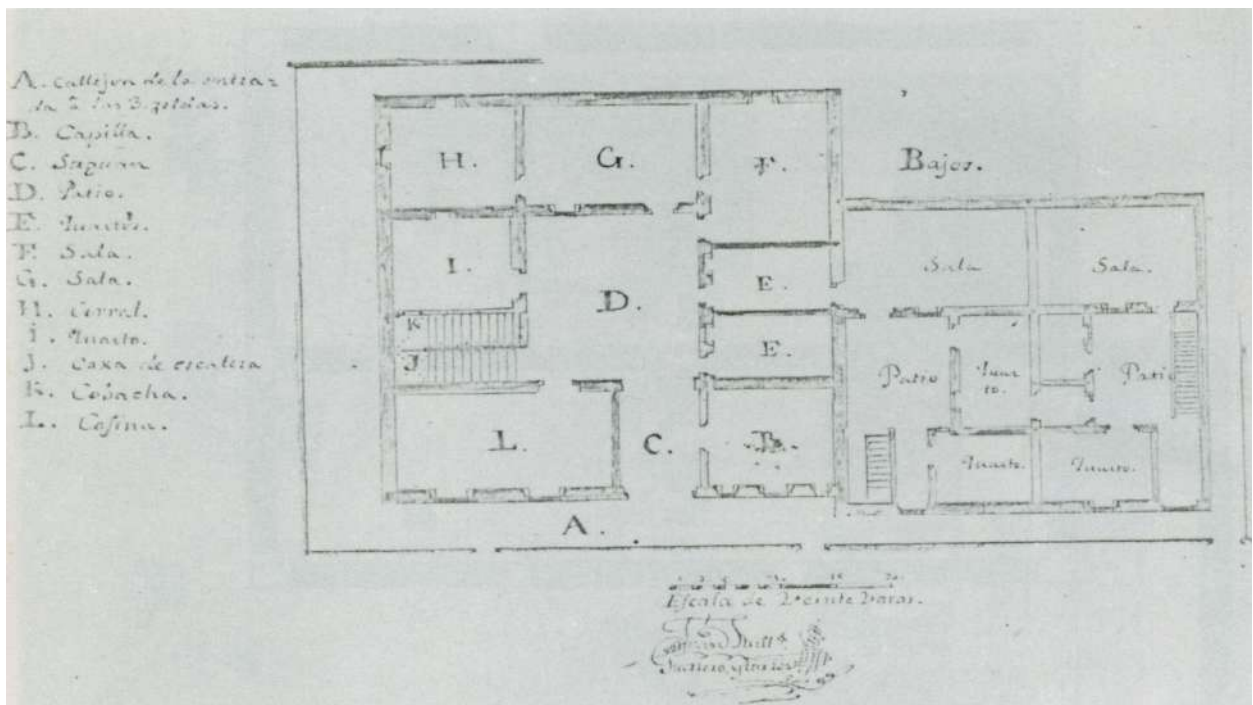
Plano de planta alta de la vecindad proyectada por Ignacio Castera en 1780. AGN



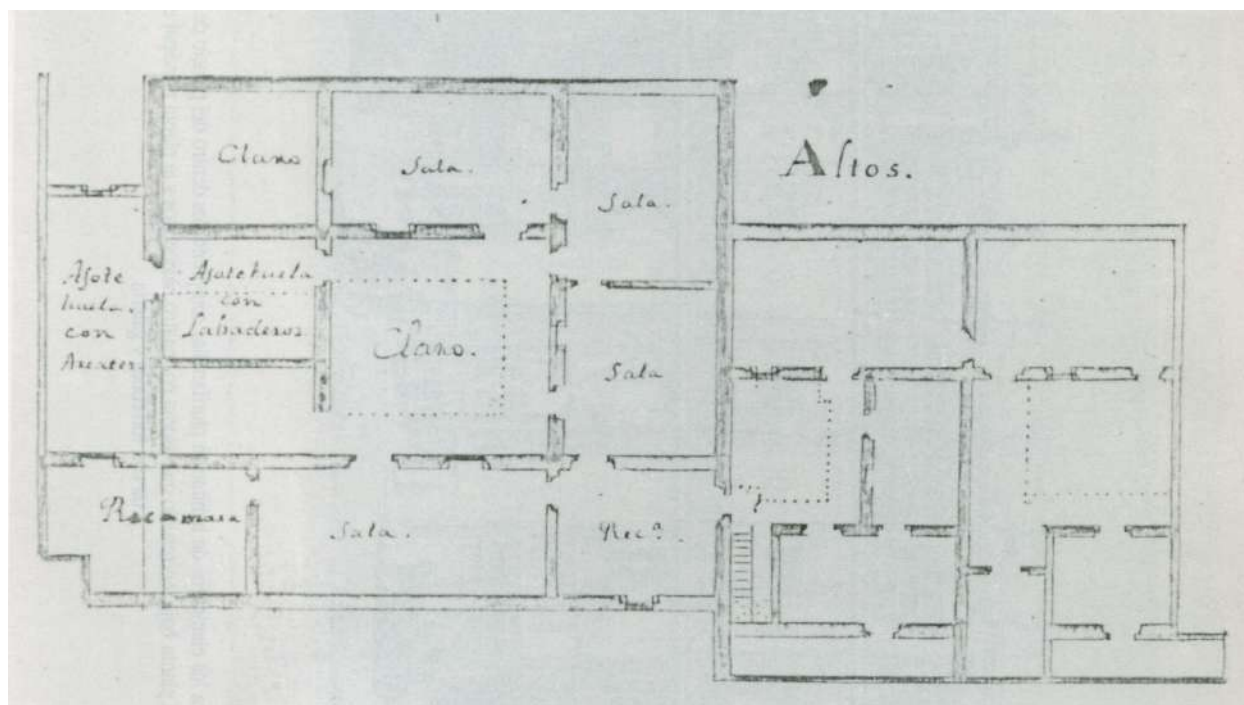
Plano del convento de Santa Clara en Querétaro en el que se distinguen las innúmeras celdas particulares cuya desordenada distribución dio lugar a calles, callejones y patios dentro del recinto conventual



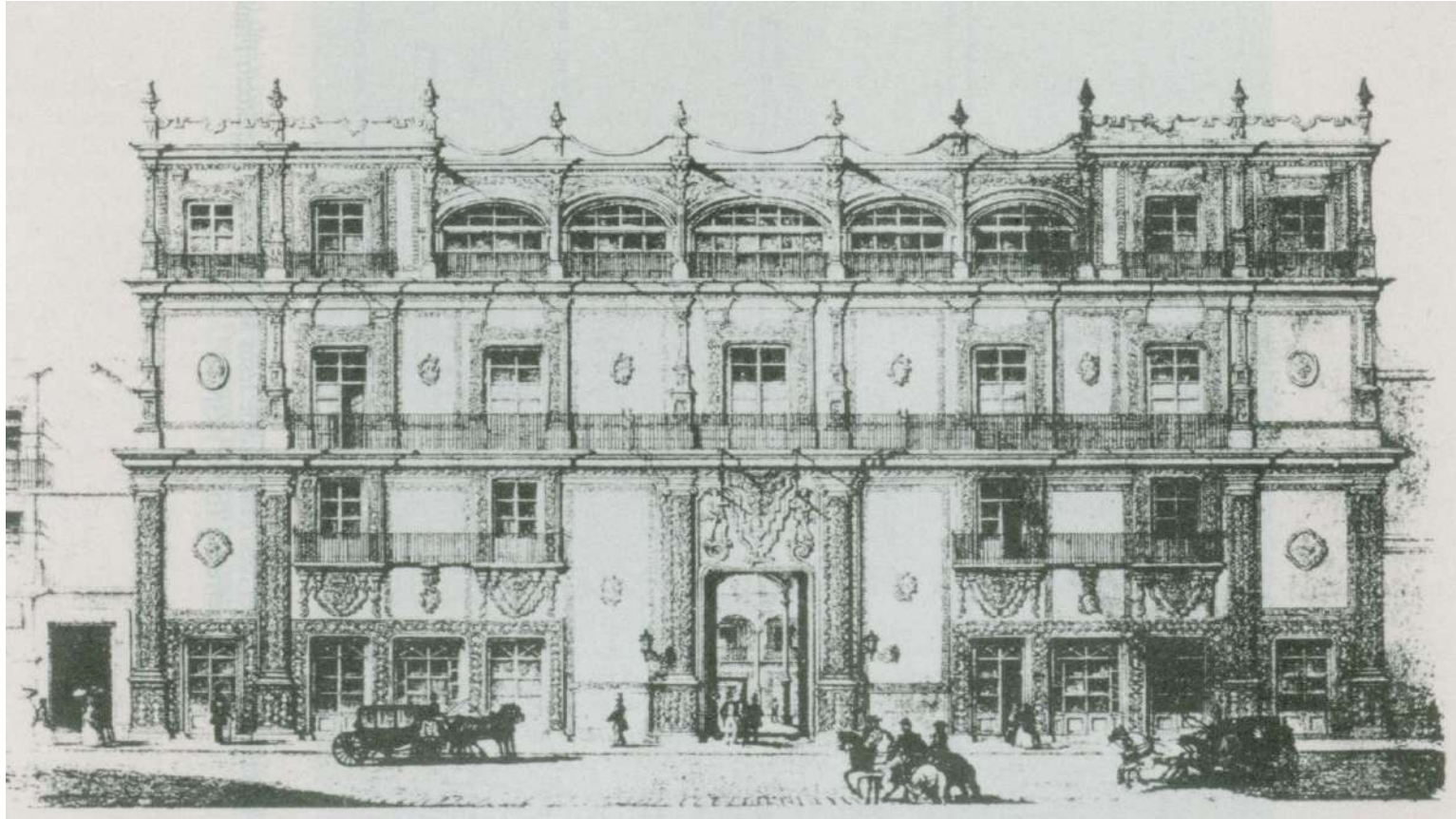
Plano de una celda de San Jerónimo existente en 1635 con terraza, amplia sala y recámara. AGN



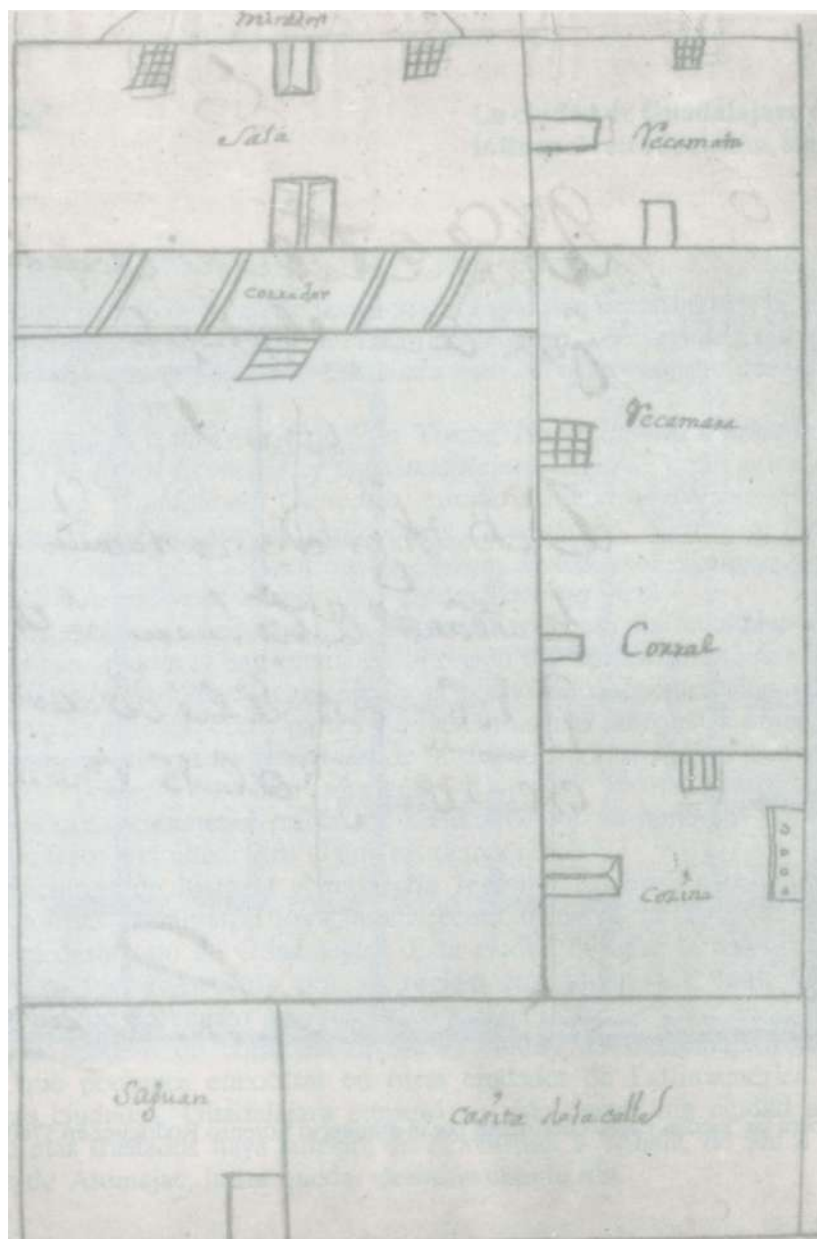
Plano de los bajos de las celdas monjiles existentes en el Real Convento de Jesús María en 1774. Arquitecto Francisco Guerrero y Torres. AGN



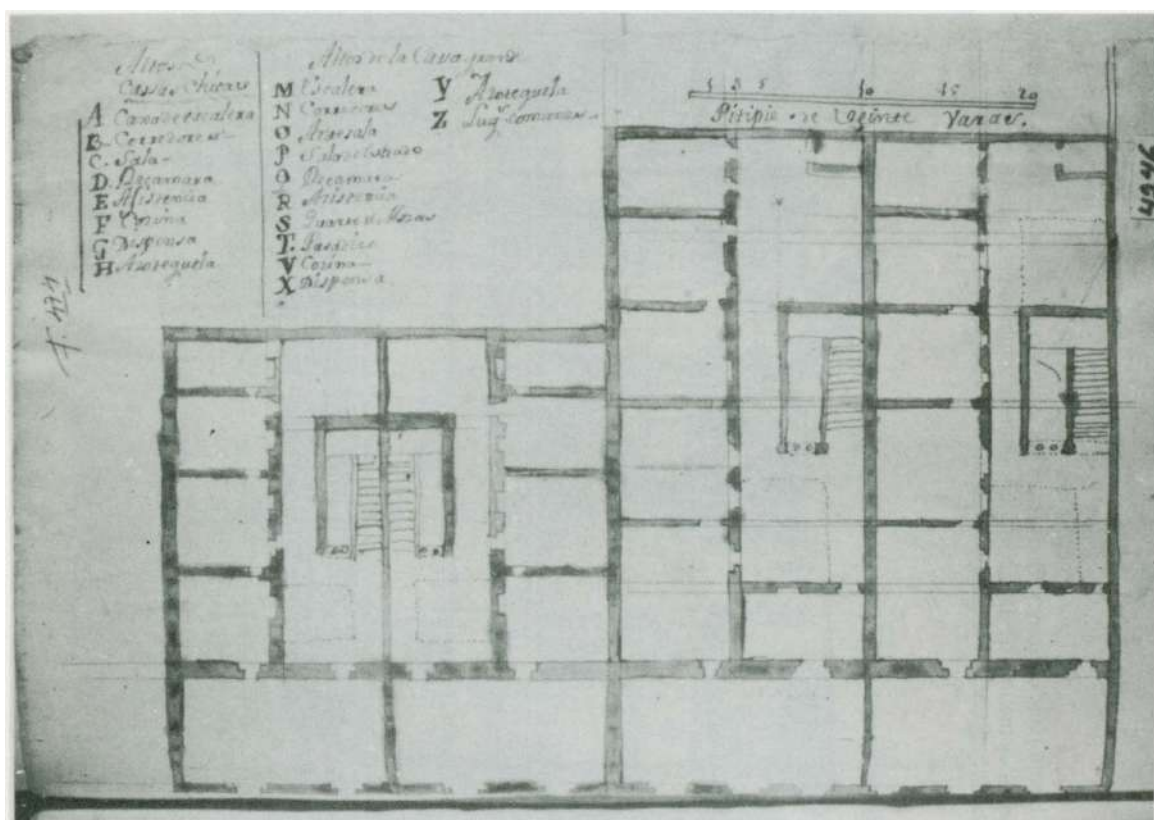
Plano de los altos de las celdas existentes en el Real Convento de Jesús María en 1774. Arquitecto Francisco Guerrero y Torres. AGN



Antigua litografía que muestra los elementos de habitación plurifamiliar comprendidos dentro del palacio de los marqueses del Jaral de Berrio: accesorias en la planta baja, entresuelo que asoma por cuatro balconcitos y la planta principal en el piso alto coronada con torreones y galería



La comercialización de la propiedad existió aun entre las personas de escasos recursos como lo muestra este plano de una casa de Tacubaya en la que aparece al frente una casita o accesoria de renta y la habitación de los dueños del predio al fondo y a la derecha. AGN



Plano para las "medias casas" construidas por el arquitecto Lorenzo Rodríguez en 1760. AGN



Carmen Castañeda*

La ciudad de Guadalajara y su área de
influencia en educación, siglo XVIII

Introducción

Eric Van Young ha señalado que una de las cuestiones que han destacado en la historia de la América Latina es el estudio de la evolución histórico-geográfica de regiones que cuentan con ciudades centrales.¹ Para la región de Guadalajara esto es cierto porque cuenta con varias investigaciones.

En primer lugar está el trabajo de Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth - Century Mexico. The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region*,² junto a los estudios de Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara Ganadera: estudio regional novohispano*,³ de Richard B. Lindley, *Haciendas and Economic Development, Guadalajara, Mexico, at Independence*, de Linda Greenow, *Credit and Socioeconomic Change in Colonial Mexico*,⁴ y de Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: aspectos demográficos*.⁵

Todas estas investigaciones responden a las exigencias conceptuales señaladas por Eric Van Young, pues en ellas sus autores han estudiado la región de Guadalajara tomando en cuenta el espacio geográfico, las fronteras regionales y el hecho de que esa región efectivamente alcanzó una especie de sistema, cuyas partes interactuaron más entre ellas mismas que fuera del sistema. Además estudiaron las relaciones de la ciudad de Guadalajara con su área rural adyacente; los dos primeros estudios mediante el análisis de las estructuras agrarias principalmente, los dos siguientes a través del análisis de los movimientos de crédito y las relaciones de parentesco y el último por el análisis demográfico.⁶

Estas investigaciones de historia y geografía regional tuvieron mucho que ver con historia urbana porque examinaron los cambios económicos de la región de Guadalajara en relación con el desarrollo de Guadalajara. Esta ciudad durante la colonia, como otras ciudades centrales, fue abastecida por su región con alimentos, materias primas e inmigrantes; además fue un centro administrativo y comercial.

Si revisamos el proceso de colonización de la ciudad de Guadalajara veremos que siguió patrones que podemos encontrar en otras ciudades de Latinoamérica. En primer lugar, como otras ciudades, Guadalajara empezó su vida como una ciudad ambulante y quizá sea la que más traslados haya sufrido, de Nochistlán a Tonalá, de ahí a Tlacoatlán y después al Valle de Atemajac, hasta quedar definitivamente ahí.

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¹Eric Van Young, "Hinterland y mercado urbano: el caso de Guadalajara y su región", trad. de Marco A. Silva, en *Revista Jalisco*, núm. 2, jul.-sep., 1980, pp. 73-95.

²Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth - Century Mexico. The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California, Press, 1981, 388 p.

³Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara Ganadera: estudio regional novohispano, 1760-1805*, Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1976, 458 p.

⁴Richard B. Lindley, *Haciendas and Economic Development, Guadalajara, Mexico, at Independence*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983. XVI + 156 p.

⁵Linda Greenow, *Credit and Socioeconomic Change in Colonial Mexico. Loans and Mortgages in Guadalajara, 1720-1820*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983 (Dellplain Latin American Studies: 12).

⁶Thomas Calvo, "Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: aspectos demográficos" en *Encuentro*, vol. I, núm. 4, jul.-sep., 1984, pp. 5-16.

La frecuencia con que eran abandonados los sitios que se habían elegido para construir las ciudades y que fueran transplantadas las mismas ciudades, son medidas, como lo ha señalado Richard M. Morse, que demuestran la incertidumbre del establecimiento de ciudades en América Latina.⁷

Guadalajara encontró pronto el remedio para esa incertidumbre al adquirir funciones administrativas. En 1542 llegó a Guadalajara la cédula real que le dio el título de ciudad.⁸ En los primeros años era “amparo y defensa de todo este reino [Nueva Galicia] y de Nueva España y puesto para entrar en las serranías, [donde] hay gentes bárbaras”,⁹ y en 1560 llegó a desempeñar tres funciones que originalmente le tocaron a Compostela: “lugar de morada de la Real Audiencia, capital civil del reino de Nueva Galicia y sede del obispado”.¹⁰

¿Estas funciones atraerían gente a Guadalajara? Desde esos años, ¿Guadalajara empezaría a tener un área de influencia? ¿Cómo se podría averiguar el área de influencia de Guadalajara? Thomas Calvo ha utilizado las fuentes demográficas del siglo XVII y ha encontrado el área de atracción de la población que llegaba a Guadalajara.¹¹

Ahora, en esta ponencia, quiero presentar los resultados que he obtenido en la investigación del financiamiento de un colegio seminario de Guadalajara y del origen geográfico de sus estudiantes para dibujar el área de influencia de Guadalajara durante el siglo XVIII.

Guadalajara durante el siglo XVIII:

En la primera mitad de este siglo, los cronistas dibujaron a Guadalajara como el “centro donde terminan las líneas de todas las poblaciones de los reinos de Galicia, Vizcaya” y de las provincias de Sonora, Sinaloa y Ávalos. Escribieron sobre la multitud de productos que conducían a Guadalajara “para su comercio, los moradores de las ciudades, villas y pueblos, reales de minas y puertos marítimos de las costas del mar Sur”.

De suerte que cuanto por necesario pueda ofrecerse y deleitoso, tanto se halla en la plaza de dicha ciudad en todos tiempos, sin que en ésta se echen de menos, ni los caldos [vinos, vinagre y aceite] de Castilla, con todos los géneros y especies de tejidos de linos, sedas, oro y plata que en el mundo entero, por medio de la Europa se comercia, ni cuanto la Batavia [hoy Djakarta] y Japón por medio de las Islas Filipinas se contrata.¹²

Estos cronistas hablaron todavía más de la actividad comercial de la ciudad, sobre todo de sus portales, que daban “lugar y sombra a los comerciantes y fruterías”, y que ahí se encontraban las casas y tiendas donde vivían los mercaderes. En resumen, los portales de las ocho principales calles del centro de la ciudad estaban “poblados de comerciantes, sin los que en las fronteras de dichos portales también comercian”.¹³

⁷Richard M. Morse, “Las ciudades latinoamericanas y el proceso de colonización” en *Las ciudades latinoamericanas*, 1. *Antecedentes*, México: SepSetentas 96, 1973, pp. 79-121.

⁸José Cornejo Franco, *Guadalajara*, 2a. ed., México: Litógrafos Unidos. 1959 (Monografías de Arte. 7), pp. XV y XVI.

⁹Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, arzobispo (ed.), *Colección de documentos históricos inéditos o muy raros, referentes al Arzobispado de Guadalajara*, Guadalajara: Tip. y Lit. succs. de Loreto y Ancira. 1922. 6 vols., t. I, pp. 207-222. “Carta del Obispo Maraver al Rey de España”.

¹⁰Peter Gerhard, *México en 1742*, México: José Porrúa e hijos, succs., 1962. p. 37.

¹¹Calvo, *op. cit.*

¹²Anónimo. 1738. *Instrumentos y autos originales hechos sobre la fundación del convento de religiosas recolectas agustinas de la Gloriosa Santa Mónica de esta ciudad de Guadalajara*. Guadalajara: Tip. de Rodríguez, 1857, pp. 1-4 por Juan B. Iguñiz. *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos: relatos y descripciones de viajeros y escritores desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, coleccionados y anotados por... Guadalajara: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, S.A., 2 vols. t. I, 1586-1867, pp. 57-65.

¹³Matías de la Mota Padilla, *Historia de la conquista del Reino de la Nueva Galicia*, Guadalajara: Tall. gráficos Gallardo y Álvarez del Castillo, 1920. p. 543.

Para controlar ese comercio Guadalajara tenía la alhóndiga, que recibía “todas las semillas para el consumo anual de la ciudad”, y aduana que controlaba “la cuenta y registro de todos los géneros y frutos que le entraban para su comercio”.¹⁴

Otra actividad que los mismos cronistas destacan es la administrativa, cuando describen que en Guadalajara es “mayor el concurso” de personas “porque como corte, es la ciudad patria común a cuantos están vecindados en el reino y de cuantos comercian fuera de él y tienen negocios que litigar o seguir”. Unos asuntos se arreglaban en la Real Audiencia que estaba compuesta de 57 funcionarios, cuyos sueldos no bajaban de “ocho mil pesos”. Estas personas despachaban los negocios de cámara y gobierno, los de los juzgados de bienes de difuntos, de provincia y de tierras, y los de los asientos de naipes, pólvora y vinos y los de las alcabalas.¹⁵

Guadalajara cumplía en el ayuntamiento o cabildo de la ciudad otra función administrativa, la de “sus juzgados de gobierno y justicia”, atendidos por veinte funcionarios que se entendían de “la recaudación de propios de la ciudad”; de la paga de salarios a los funcionarios; de las “incumbencias de la república”, o sea “del aseo de sus calles, del peso de carne y pan, alhóndiga y demás bastimentos, evitar regatones y cuidar los ejidos”.

Los oficiales reales tenían también funciones administrativas. Atendían los negocios relacionados con la real contaduría:

Los quintos de la plata, oro y perlas, administración de real azogue, papel sellado, rendimientos, salinas y recaudación de reales tributos, alcabalas, medias anatas, valores de oficios vendibles y renunciables, arrendamientos de otros, regulación de mesadas, pagamentos a ministros y demás conciernientes.¹⁶

Los vecinos del Obispado de Nueva Galicia también venían a Guadalajara, y al Real Tribunal de Cruzada donde se expendían “las bulas y demás incidencias para la recaudación de su importe”, ya al juzgado eclesiástico “en el superior gobierno” del obispo o en el de su provisor y vicario general; ya al juzgado de capellanías y obras pías; así como al cabildo eclesiástico para lo concerniente a la “administración de diezmos, sus remates y recaudación”. Estos negocios eclesiásticos, más “el servicio de la iglesia catedral” eran atendidos por unas cincuenta personas.¹⁷

El comercio y las funciones administrativas convertirían a Guadalajara durante el siglo XVIII en una ‘patri común, llena de litigantes y gente foránea que la harían populosa’.¹⁸ Para las primeras décadas de ese siglo, Guadalajara empezó a sacudirse la pachorra demográfica de los siglos XVI y XVII y se convirtió en una ciudad con un “crecido vecindario”. En el padrón de 1738 se registraron 8 018 personas, españoles, mestizos y mulatos que vivían en 1 541 casas, sin contar a los eclesiásticos, a los religiosos y a los colegiales.

Para 1760 la ciudad ya tenía 2 779 familias con 11 294 personas que vivían en 2 551 casas y 258 jacales.¹⁹ Un testimonio del aumento de población en Guadalajara lo dejó el obispo Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco en 1767 cuando informó que “la ciudad se ha aumentado tanto que sin reconocer el padrón, vendría cualesquiera en conocimiento de que pasa de 24 000 almas, basta el ver sus calles llenas de gente, los concursos a los templos [...] el consumo tan grande que hace de víveres”.²⁰

¹⁴José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Americano, descripción general de los reynos y provincias de la Nueva España, y sus jurisdicciones*. 2 vols., 1746-1748. México: Edit. Nacional, 1952 (ed. facsim), pp. 205 y 206.

¹⁵Mota Padilla, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 544.

¹⁷*Loc. cit.*

¹⁸Anónimo. 1738, *op. cit.*, p. 4

¹⁹Biblioteca Nettie Lee Benson. Colección Latinoamericana Universidad de Texas en Austin. “Curatos que tiene este Obispado de Guadalajara Nuevo Reyno de la Galicia...”, de la visita del obispo fray Francisco de San Buenaventura a su diócesis concluida el 7 de septiembre de 1760.

²⁰Archivo General de la Nación. AGN. *Ramo de Temporalidades*. t. 69. “Informe del obispo de Guadalajara en 1767 pidiendo el Colegio de Santo Tomás para ayuda de parroquia y colegio de clérigos”.

Los padrones de 1770, que el mismo obispo Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco mandó que se formasen, registran 22, 394 personas de más de dos años en Guadalajara, lo que significa que en diez años la población de Guadalajara se había duplicado. Con los datos de estos padrones y los libros de la última visita al obispado, el canónigo doctoral Matheo Joseph de Arteaga formó en 1770 su *Descripción de la Diócesis de Guadaluaxara de Indias*.²¹ El canónigo Arteaga informa de las ciudades, villas y pueblos que tenía el obispado, así como los curatos, doctrinas y misiones, los pueblos que había en cada curato, las familias y personas.

El canónigo Arteaga describe a la ciudad de Guadalajara como “una de las más hermosas y fértiles de América”. En primer lugar informa de la función administrativa que en el aspecto civil era desempeñada por la Real Audiencia, compuesta por un presidente, cuatro oidores y un fiscal (los funcionarios principales), así como por un alguacil, un secretario de cámara, un contador y un tesorero; y por el cabildo de la ciudad, que se componía de los alcaldes ordinarios y doce regidores.

En el aspecto eclesiástico, las funciones administrativas eran desempeñadas en 1770 por el obispo fray Antonio Alcalde, por el cabildo eclesiástico, integrado por el deán, arcediano, chantre, maestrescuela, tesorero, seis canónigos, cuatro racioneros y un secretario. La iglesia catedral contaba con maestros de ceremonias, pertigueros, sacristán mayor, sacristán menor, maestro de capilla, dos sochantres, siete cantores, seis capellanes de coro, doce músicos y ocho niños acólitos del Colegio de Infantes.

En los ocho conventos de Guadalajara vivían 161 religiosos, once en Santo Domingo, 66 en San Francisco, dieciocho en San Agustín, diecisiete en El Carmen, diecisiete en La merced, ocho en San Juan de Dios, trece en San Miguel de Belén y once en la Congregación de San Felipe Neri. En los cuatro conventos de monjas, Santa María de Gracia, Santa Teresa, Jesús María y Santa Mónica, había un total de 152 religiosas.

El Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, que era el único que había en la ciudad, además de rector y vicerrector, tenía siete catedráticos; dos maestros de gramática, uno de filosofía, uno de teología escolástica y otro de teología moral, el canónigo lectoral que leía sagrada escritura y el catedrático de lengua mexicana. Estaban matriculados en este Colegio Seminario veinticuatro estudiantes mercenarios y 46 porcionistas.

Los colegios de niñas albergaban a 64, diez estaban en el Colegio de San Juan de la Penitencia y 54 en el Colegio de San Diego.

Según el padrón de 1777, Guadalajara tenía 21163 habitantes,²² y de acuerdo al Censo General de la Intendencia, elaborado entre 1791 y 1793 por el Dr. José Menéndez Valdés, visitador de la Intendencia, Guadalajara contaba con 24 249 personas. La “distinción de clases” que presenta este censo para la ciudad de Guadalajara es la siguiente:

Capellanes ordenados	114
Religiosos sacerdotes	58
Laicos, novicios y donados	69
Criados de conventos	16
Monjas	209
Colegiales	156
Criadas de colegios y conventos	140
Colegiales y estudiantes	254
Empleados en Real Hacienda	63
Escribanos reales numerarios	12
Barberos y peluqueros	39
Jornaleros de varios oficios	891
Médicos, boticarios y cirujanos	12

²¹Biblioteca Pública de Toledo, España. Colección de Manuscritos Borbón. Lorenzana. Ms 45. 78 fojas.

²²Jean-Pierre Berthe. "Introduction a l'histoire de Guadalajara et de sa région". en *Villes et Régions en Amérique Latine*, R C P 147, París: Institut des Hautes Études del' Amérique Latine, 1970, p. 71.

Militares	163
Comerciantes	292
Mineros	22
Hacenderos y labradores	225
En la Real Cárcel (hombres)	215
En la Real Cárcel (mujeres)	27
Fabricantes de algodón y obrajeros	457
Tratantes	139
Varilleros	72
Tributarios	458
Sacristanes	4
Notarios (de parroquia)	3
Sin oficio determinado	20 139
Total:	24 249 ²³

Este desarrollo de la población fue quizá aún más acelerado entre 1790 y 1803, si se acepta que Guadalajara tenía 34 697 habitantes para 1803, como lo certificó el notario real Fernando Cambre el 10 de octubre de 1803, "por los padrones recientemente hechos".²⁴

A pesar de los años de malas cosechas y epidemias entre 1760 a 1800, Guadalajara experimentó un incremento demográfico, debido más a la constante migración a la ciudad que a la natalidad.²⁵ Este incremento estuvo acompañado por una intensa actividad burocrática y comercial y, por supuesto, por un aumento en el abastecimiento de productos agrícolas y ganaderos. La producción de telas de algodón y lana también se desarrolló en estos años.²⁶

No hay que olvidar que Guadalajara durante la Colonia era básicamente una ciudad administrativa y comercial, en la que los funcionarios y empleados, eclesiásticos y civiles vivían de sus sueldos y los comerciantes de sus ganancias. Había otros vecinos que se dedicaban a la agricultura y ganadería en los pueblos cercanos a Guadalajara, de cuyos productos se abastecía la ciudad. También existía cierta actividad artesanal para satisfacer las demandas cotidianas de los habitantes.

En las cuatro últimas décadas del siglo XVIII en Guadalajara se establecieron varias instituciones propias de una ciudad. En 1776, la Real Audiencia concedió licencia para una primera fábrica textil, establecida por siete ricos comerciantes. Esta fábrica empleaba a mucha gente y sería muy útil en Guadalajara, ya que los talleres familiares y los obrajes que tenía no eran suficientes para ocupar a la población.²⁷

En 1786, la reforma administrativa del territorio de la Nueva España trajo la división de la Nueva Galicia en dos intendencias, la de Guadalajara y la de Zacatecas. La Intendencia de Guadalajara abarcó aproximadamente los territorios de los actuales estados de Jalisco, Nayarit y Aguascalientes.

El 9 de noviembre de 1792, con la inauguración de la Real Universidad de Guadalajara se culminaron muchos esfuerzos que habían hecho las autoridades de Guadalajara, principalmente el Ayuntamiento, para conseguir la fundación de una institución donde los estudiantes pudieran obtener grados sin necesidad de ir a la ciudad de México.

Meses después de este acontecimiento, a principios de 1793, Mariano Valdés Téllez Girón, hijo del famoso impresor Manuel Antonio Valdés que editaba las *Gazetas de*

²³José Menéndez Valdés. *Descripción y Censo General de la Intendencia de Guadalajara, 1789-1793*. Estudio preliminar de Ramón Ma. Serrera. Guadalajara: UNED, 1980, p. 161.

²⁴Berthe. *op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁵Eric Van Young, "Hinterland y mercado urbano: el caso de Guadalajara y su región", p. 76.

²⁶Carmen Castañeda. "Sobre una fábrica textil u obraje establecido en Guadalajara en el siglo XVIII" en *Boletín del Archivo Histórico de Jalisco*, vol. IV, núm. 1. ene.-abr.1980, p. 13.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 15.

México, instaló un taller de imprenta en una casa enfrente de la plaza de Santo Domingo. Mariano Valdés había solicitado a la Real Audiencia el permiso para abrir una imprenta y “el privilegio exclusivo perpetuo para que ningún otro pudiese imprimir en la ciudad sin su autorización”.²⁸ La Real Audiencia le había concedido el permiso, pero el privilegio lo solicitó al rey, quien por cédula del 10 de agosto de 1793 se lo concedió por diez años.²⁹

Esta imprenta, al principio, tuvo “muy poco quehacer, ocupándose sólo en imprimir algunos convites, conclusiones para actos literarios y una que otra novena”³⁰ pero, con el tiempo, las actividades de la Real Universidad exigieron muchos trabajos tipográficos.

El 3 de mayo de 1793 empezó a funcionar el Hospital Real de San Miguel en el nuevo edificio que había mandado construir el obispo Alcalde en un terreno que había cedido el ayuntamiento. Muchos beneficios traería para la salud pública de la población de Guadalajara este hospital, atendido por los betlemitas, y que tenía una mayor capacidad para albergar enfermos.

Otra función, sin duda una de las más importantes de este periodo, fue la del Real Consulado de Comerciantes de Guadalajara que promovieron el intendente Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, la Real Audiencia y el obispo Alcalde. El establecimiento del Consulado en 1796 significó que la ciudad había adquirido una mayor importancia comercial, que se explica, entre otras cosas, por el mejoramiento de las vías de comunicación a lo largo del siglo XVIII; por la disposición de la ruta Guadalajara-México por San Juan de los Lagos y por la Piedad-Irapuato-Celaya: por el establecimiento de una comunicación periódica con México en 1794, “por medio de un coche de cuatro asientos con doce mulas de tiro que recorría el camino en doce días”; y por la apertura del puerto de San Blas que vio a ser desde 1770 la base del comercio hacia las provincias de Sonora y California.³¹

El consulado siguió una política de desarrollo económico que se tradujo en el mejoramiento de las rutas, en la construcción de puentes y en la creación de la feria de San Juan de los Lagos, cuyo privilegio para celebrarla se obtuvo en 1797.

No obstante las oposiciones de la universidad y de los comerciantes de México, se pudo fundar en Guadalajara la Real Universidad y el Real Consulado. Estas conquistas de la ciudad de Guadalajara “frente al centro ocurren en fechas en que el desarrollo económico y demográfico de la Nueva Galicia es mayor, y cuando la política anticorporativa de los borbones ha debilitado considerablemente el poder de los comerciantes y de la Iglesia en México”.³²

La oposición de la Real Universidad de México a la fundación de la Universidad en Guadalajara y la del Consulado de México a la creación del Consulado de Guadalajara “muestran la resistencia del centro a ceder privilegios y perder su posición monopólica y la lucha de las áreas periféricas [como Guadalajara] por desbaratarlos y absorberlos para sí”.³³

En el periodo de 1779 a 1800, además de la Real Universidad, se establecieron seis escuelas de primeras letras y se reabrió el Colegio Seminario de San Juan. Todas estas instituciones educativas más las que se habían fundado anteriormente y que continuaban atendiendo a la población escolar, como eran el Colegio Seminario Tridentino de Señor San José y los tres colegios para niñas, así como las dependencias administrativas y el desarrollo económico de Guadalajara en los sectores agrícola, ganadero y comercial ayudaron en el siglo XVIII a “la formación de una estructura espacial que se articula

²⁸José Toribio Medina. *La imprenta en Guadalajara de México. (1793-1821). Notas bibliográficas*. Santiago de Chile: Imp. Elzeviriana. 1904, p. vii.

²⁹Juan B. Iguiniz. “La imprenta en la Nueva Galicia 1793-1821. Apuntes bibliográficos” en *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología*, t. III, 1911, p. 254.

³⁰Luis Pérez Verdía. *Historia particular del estado de Jalisco, desde los primeros tiempos que hay noticia hasta nuestros días*, 2a. ed. Guadalajara: Imp. Gráfica. 1951, t. I, p. 478.

³¹Berthe, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

³²Alejandra Moreno Toscano y Enrique Florescano. *El sector externo y la organización espacial y regional de México (1521-1910)*. México. INAH. 1974, p. 16.

³³*Loc., cit.*

alrededor de la ciudad de Guadalajara, como lo muestra la atracción que ejercen sus centros educativos en una vasta zona”.³⁴

Uno de los centros educativos que durante el siglo XVIII atrajo estudiantes y dinero a Guadalajara fue el Colegio Seminario Tridentino de Señor San José. Por el examen de los mecanismos de su financiamiento y el análisis del origen geográfico de sus estudiantes se podrá apreciar el área de influencia en educación de la ciudad de Guadalajara.

El financiamiento de un colegio citadino

La ciudad de Guadalajara estableció durante el siglo XVI varias instituciones educativas: en 1550 una escuela de castellano para los indígenas, en 1570 un colegio para niños, al año siguiente un colegio para niñas, en 1586 los estudios de latinidad en el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús y en 1593 una escuela de leer y escribir en este colegio. Después de esta última fecha, pasaron cien años para que la ciudad pudiera establecer en 1689 estudios de filosofía y teología y en 1696 un convictorio en el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús.

Por los mismos años del establecimiento de este Colegio Seminario de San Juan Bautista, el obispo fray Felipe Galindo Chávez decidió fundar un seminario, pues sabía que en el obispado de Guadalajara había un “número excesivo de ministros y mancebos de acomodados españoles e hijos de hombres principales, conquistadores y pobladores [...] que no tenían] cómo poderse criar y educar”.³⁵

Consciente de esta carencia “en la educación de la juventud y dirección de sus costumbres, en especial para los puestos eclesiásticos y en que tanto conviene obrar y promover santa y buena disciplina”,³⁶ Galindo y Chávez escribió al rey el 5 de enero de 1696, antes de llegar a su diócesis, para comunicarle la idea de fundar un colegio seminario como los que había en los demás obispados de América. Señalaba la gran falta que hacía por la existencia de “muchas misiones”. Pedía al rey que recomendara al presidente y oidores de la Audiencia de Guadalajara que ayudaran a la fundación.³⁷

Este proyecto respondía a lo indicado por el Papa Inocencio XII en las bulas que había extendido a fray Felipe Galindo y Chávez con motivo de su ordenamiento como obispo. Las bulas demandaban expresamente la fundación de un seminario de acuerdo con los decretos del Concilio de Trento, el cual indicaba en la sesión 23, capítulo 18, *De Collegio puerorum in singulis Cathedralibus instituendo* (Sobre la institución de colegios para niños en cada una de las catedrales), que debían establecerse “seminarios o colegios donde se críe la juventud conforme a la grandeza y capacidad de cada obispado”.³⁸

Tanto el Concilio de Trento como las leyes reales disponían que “la consignación y paga de dichos seminarios o colegios” se hiciera sobre las rentas eclesiásticas pertenecientes a los preladados, “las mesas episcopal y capitular, prebendas y beneficios, así de sacerdotes seculares como regulares, hospitales y otras obras pías y comunidades”.³⁹

El 10 de marzo de 1696 el obispo Galindo tomó posesión de su diócesis y el 9 de mayo expuso al cabildo eclesiástico

lo conveniente que era dar principio a la fundación del colegio seminario [...] por] la mucha inopia que hay de ministros, por las muchas conversiones nuevas en las grandes provincias del Nuevo Reino

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁵Archivo del Seminario Mayor de Guadalajara.ASG. *Colección de decretos, órdenes y prevenciones relativas al gobierno económico y administrativo del Colegio Seminario Conciliar Tridentino de Señor San José, dadas por los ilustrísimos señores obispos.* (En adelante *Colección*), “Decreto del obispo fray Felipe Galindo y Chávez, erigiendo el Seminario”. 9 de septiembre de 1696, folios 10 al 12 vuelta.

³⁶*Ibid.* “Tramitación de la fundación del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José”. folio 1.

³⁷*Ibid.* “Real cédula sobre la pretensión de fundar el Seminario en Guadalajara”. folio 1 vuelta y 2.

³⁸*Ibid.*, folio 10 vuelta.

³⁹*Ibid.*, folio 10 vuelta y 11.

de León, la fertilísima Coahuila, las de Nayarit y Californias, fuera de las que cada día [en] las nuevas poblaciones se aumentan.⁴⁰

Agregaba que las rentas del obispo de Guadalajara daban “bastante disposición para la fundación de dicho colegio”. Los capitulares estuvieron de acuerdo con el obispo y comisionaron a dos canónigos y al mayordomo de la iglesia para que vieran cuánto importaría “la regulación del 3% de todas las rentas eclesiásticas del obispado para la congrua [renta] del seminario”.⁴¹

El rey dio su licencia para la fundación del seminario por cédula del 6 de junio de 1696 y pidió a la Real Audiencia de Guadalajara que apoyara ese establecimiento.⁴² El obispo recibió esta cédula y enseguida se reunió con los clérigos, a quienes les informó que

en ejecución del decreto del [...] Concilio de Trento, cédulas y órdenes de su Majestad, de fundar, y erigir en esta dicha ciudad un colegio seminario, donde la juventud de este dicho obispado tenga educación y enseñanza, así en las buenas costumbres, latinidad y ciencias, como en las lenguas mexicanas para la administración de los beneficios de él,

nombraba para que señalaran la renta necesaria para la fundación del colegio seminario al licenciado Antonio de Miranda y Villayán, canónigo, juez provisor y vicario general y de testamentos, capellanías y obras pías del Obispado de Nueva Galicia, por lo que tocaba a los capitulares, y por lo que correspondía al clero, al licenciado Pedro de Arcarazo. Por su parte, el cabildo designó al canónigo doctoral Jacinto de Olivera y Pardo.⁴³

Estos señores indicaron quiénes estaban obligados a dar parte de sus rentas para el sostenimiento del colegio seminario:

todos los curas seculares y regulares, los sacristanes, todos los oficiales que por alguna razón [...] tuvieran o gozaran], los vicarios, los jueces eclesiásticos, los curas beneficiados, los padres ministros de doctrinas, los hospitales, las cofradías, el obispo que debería dar el 3% según su cuarta [es decir la cuarta parte de los diezmos], y el cabildo según su renta.⁴⁴

Las rentas eclesiásticas dieron un total de 4 500 pesos para el sostenimiento del colegio seminario. La distribución que se hizo fue la siguiente:

Obispo de Guadalajara	500 ps. = 11%
Cabildo Eclesiástico de Guadalajara	400 " = 8.8%
Hospitales Reales Guadalajara y Zacatecas	200 " = 4.4%
Sacristías Guadalajara y Zacatecas	75 " = 1.6%
Curatos Seculares	2 110 " = 46.8%
Doctrinas franciscanas, Xalisco y Zacatecas	500 " = 11.1%
	400 " = 8.8%

⁴⁰ Archivo del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Guadalajara. A C E G. VII Libros de Actas Capitulares L A C, foja 311 vuelta, 9 mayo 1696.

⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁴² José Eucario López, *Cédulas Reales referentes a la Nueva Galicia. Extractos e Índices*, Guadalajara (mecanoescritos), núm. 1110, 6 jun. 1696.

⁴³ A S G. Colección. "Auto de nombramiento", folios 4 al 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* "Auto de repartimiento de las rentas del Colegio", folios 7 al 8 vuelta. Francisco Alemán y Juan B. Iguñi. *Biblioteca Histórica Jalisciense*. Guadalajara: Imp. Lit., y Enc. de José M. Iguñiz, 1909. "Documentos sobre la fundación y repartimiento del Seminario Conciliar Tridentino de Señor San José", t. I, p. 87-93, 12 jul. y 1 de ago. 1696.

Doctrinas, Tonalá y San Pedro
de Anasco, de agustinos 315 " = 7.4%
TOTAL 4 500 ps.

La aportación de los curatos seculares representó casi un 50% del total de las rentas eclesiásticas destinadas para el colegio seminario.

Los curatos seculares que empezaron a contribuir para el sustento del colegio seminario fueron los siguientes:

Curatos Seculares	Contribución	Curatos seculares*	Contribución
1. Guadalajara	50 pesos	20. Ramos	25 pesos
2. Zapopan	40	21. Monterrey	100
3. Tequila	140	22. Saltillo	60
4. Chimaltitlán	25	23. Monclova	15
5. Compostela	30	24. Mazapil	70
6. Valle de Banderas	20	25. Fresnillo	70
7. San Sebastián	15	26. Monte Grande	25
8. Hostotipac	15	27. Pánuco	25
9. Guachinango	30	28. Zacatecas (Sacristía)	50
10. Ameca	60	29. Xerez	70
11. Purificación	25	30. Tlaltenango	100
12. Cocastlán (?)	10	31. Xalpa	40
13. El Tuito	15	32. Nochistlán	80
14. Juanacatlán	25	33. Tlacotlán	30
15. Lagos	200	34. Tecpatitlán	30
16. Jalostotitlán	60	35. Hostotipaquillo y Barrancas	25
17. Teocaltiche	90	36. Ojo Caliente	25
18. Aguascalientes	250		
19. Sierra de pinos	80		

*Los curatos seculares están localizados en el mapa 1

La contribución que daba cada uno de los curatos seculares a fines del siglo XVII era proporcional a la importancia económica de la población a la que pertenecían, pues sus rentas procedían de los diezmos.

Para averiguar cuáles eran las fuentes económicas de donde provenían los diezmos, localicé las principales actividades económicas a la que se dedicaban las poblaciones donde estaban los curatos, y encontré que los curatos que más contribuían para el sostenimiento del colegio vivían de los productos agrícolas y ganaderos, y los que menos aportaban eran los curatos de poblaciones dedicadas a la minería:

Agricultura		Ganadería		Minería	
Aguascalientes	250	Lagos	200 pesos	Zacatecas	140
Tequila	140	Tlaltenango	100	Sierra de Pinos	80
Monterrey	100	Teocaltiche	90	Mazapil	70
Xerez	70	Nochistlán	80	Fresnillo	70
Saltillo	60	Jalostitlán	60	Guachinango	30
Ameca	60	Xalpa	40	Ramos	25
Guadalajara	50	Tecpatitlán	30	Hostotipaquillo	25

Zapopan	40	Chimaltitlán	25	Pánuco	25
Tlacotlán	30	Valle de Banderas	20	Hostotipac	15
Compostela	30	El Tuito	15	San Sebastián	15
Juanacatlán	25			Ojo Caliente	15
Monclova	15				
	915		660		520

Fuente: Mapa general de la Nueva España para mediados del siglo XVII que aparece en: François Chevalier. "La formación de los grandes latifundios en México (Tierra y Sociedad en los siglos XVI y XVII)", en *Problemas Agrícolas e Industriales de México*, vol. VIII, núm. 1, ene.-feb.-mar., 1956, México, 291 p.

Si pensamos en las regiones a las que pertenecían estos curatos podremos tener un cuadro todavía más completo del área de influencia de Guadalajara y al mismo tiempo de la situación de esa área. Por ejemplo, las parroquias de tierra caliente y una parte del suroeste de Jalisco aportaban un 11% del total, los curatos del noroeste en poblaciones ricas contribuían con un 39% y los curatos del centro que se encontraban en "una región agrícola esencial, con un balance equilibrado entre ganadería y cultivos" daban un 49% del total.⁴⁵

Este panorama permite apreciar el área de la cual Guadalajara extraía capitales para sostener un colegio. Enseguida había que ver si Guadalajara afirmó su influencia en esa área. El examen del análisis del origen geográfico de los estudiantes que concurrieron al colegio seminario durante el siglo XVIII dará la respuesta.

El origen geográfico de los estudiantes

El 9 de septiembre de 1696, el obispo Galindo expidió el decreto de fundación del Colegio Seminario Conciliar Tridentino de Señor San José y comunicó a sus diocesanos que "para tener ministros y maestros era necesario criarlos en un colegio seminario", cuyo establecimiento traería "dos utilidades: educar a la juventud apartándola de los riesgos en que está siempre la mocedad: y crear ministros para lo de adelante [...] que caminen de la modestia a la obediencia de sus prelados y a la ciencia de sus maestros; de *virtute in virtutem*".⁴⁶

El Colegio Seminario Tridentino de Señor San José recibió, desde su fundación (23 de diciembre de 1699), una renta anual, producto del 3% de los beneficios señalados por el Concilio de Trento para el sostenimiento de los seminarios. Con esa renta podía sostener a dieciocho colegiales pobres o mercenarios, construir el edificio del colegio y pagar a los ministros y maestros.⁴⁷

El colegio seminario tenía otro ingreso por concepto de las colegiaturas que pagaban los estudiantes porcionistas, alumnos ricos que eran admitidos pagando a razón de 120 pesos cada año "por su sustento y casa".⁴⁸

Sobre el origen de los alumnos de los colegios seminarios, el Concilio de Trento había prescrito que los seminaristas debían ser "de la misma ciudad y diócesis, o a no haberlos en éstas, de la misma provincia".⁴⁹

Por las matrículas de los alumnos del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José se pueden conocer los lugares de origen de 778 porcionistas y de 172 mercenarios. Agrupados los 950 lugares de origen de esos estudiantes resultó un total de 130 poblaciones principales que localicé en el mapa y trece poblaciones, principalmente haciendas, que no están localizadas en el mapa pero que aparecen en el cuadro junto a la población principal a la que pertenecían.

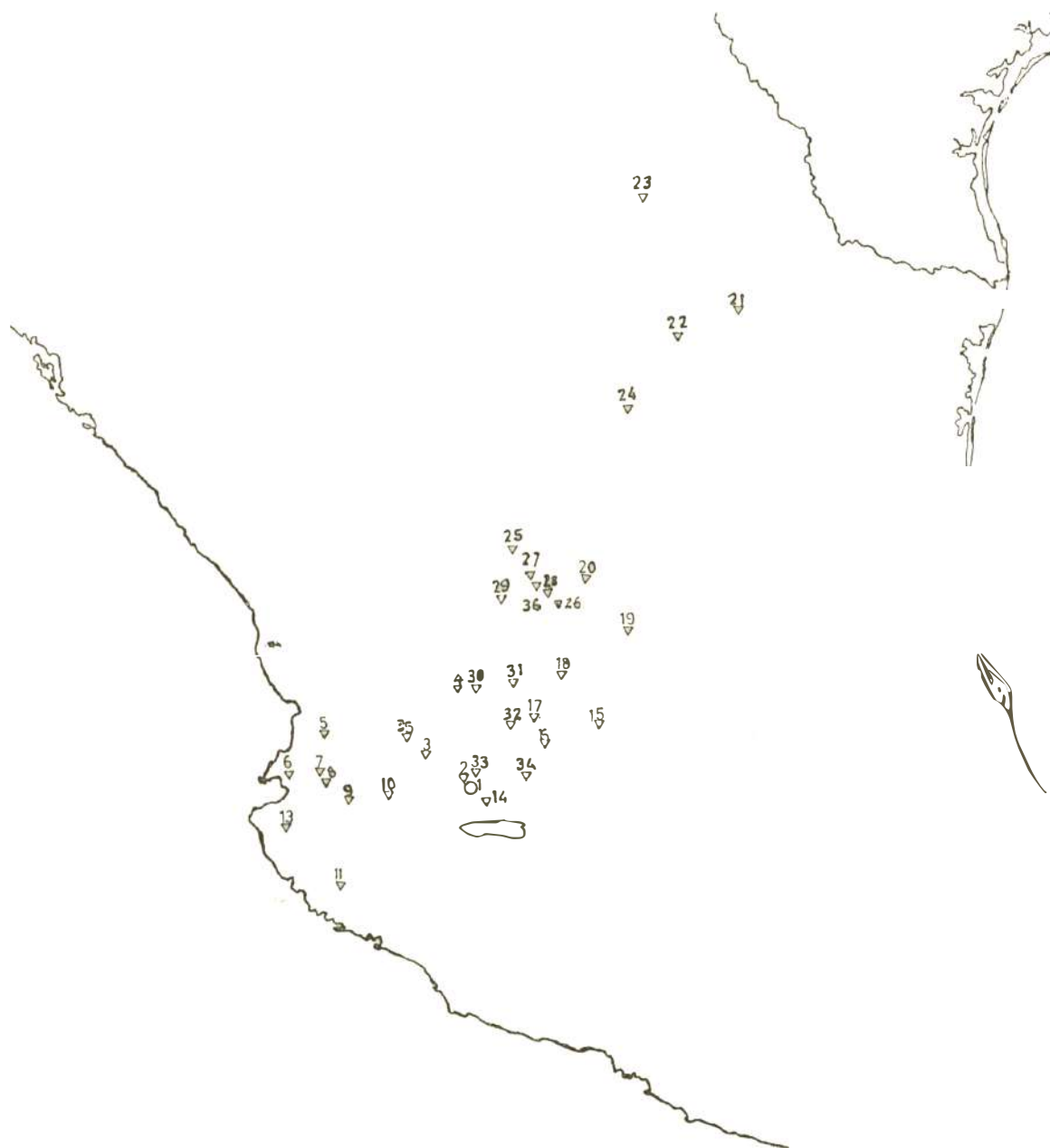
⁴⁵Calvo, *op. cit.*, p. 10

⁴⁶Alemán e Iguíniz, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-93.

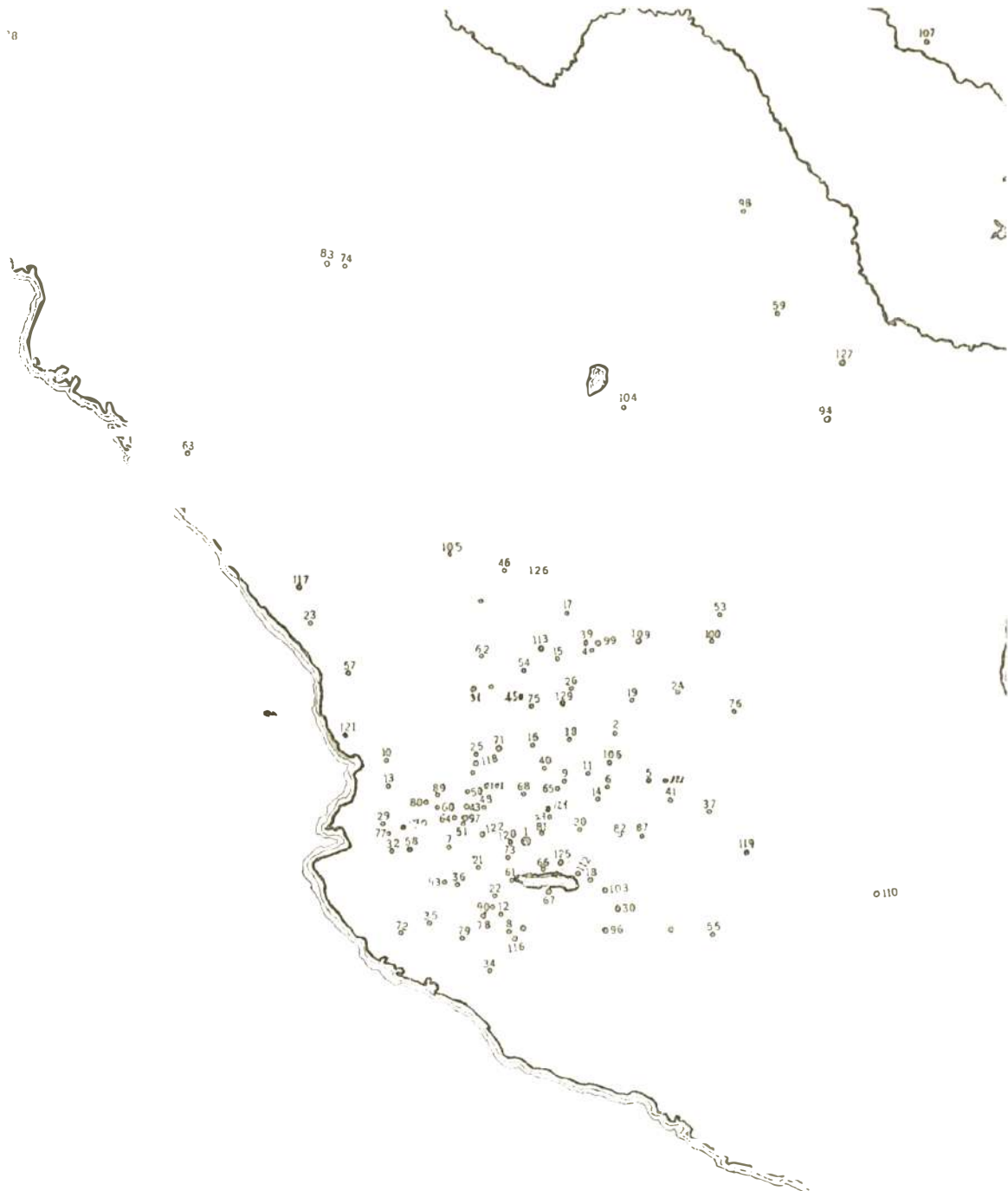
⁴⁷A S G. *Colección*, folios 10 al 12 vuelta.

⁴⁸Ibid. *Constituciones 1699*, folios 18 al 19 vuelta. Cap. II. *De los colegiales, su número, elección y calidades*.

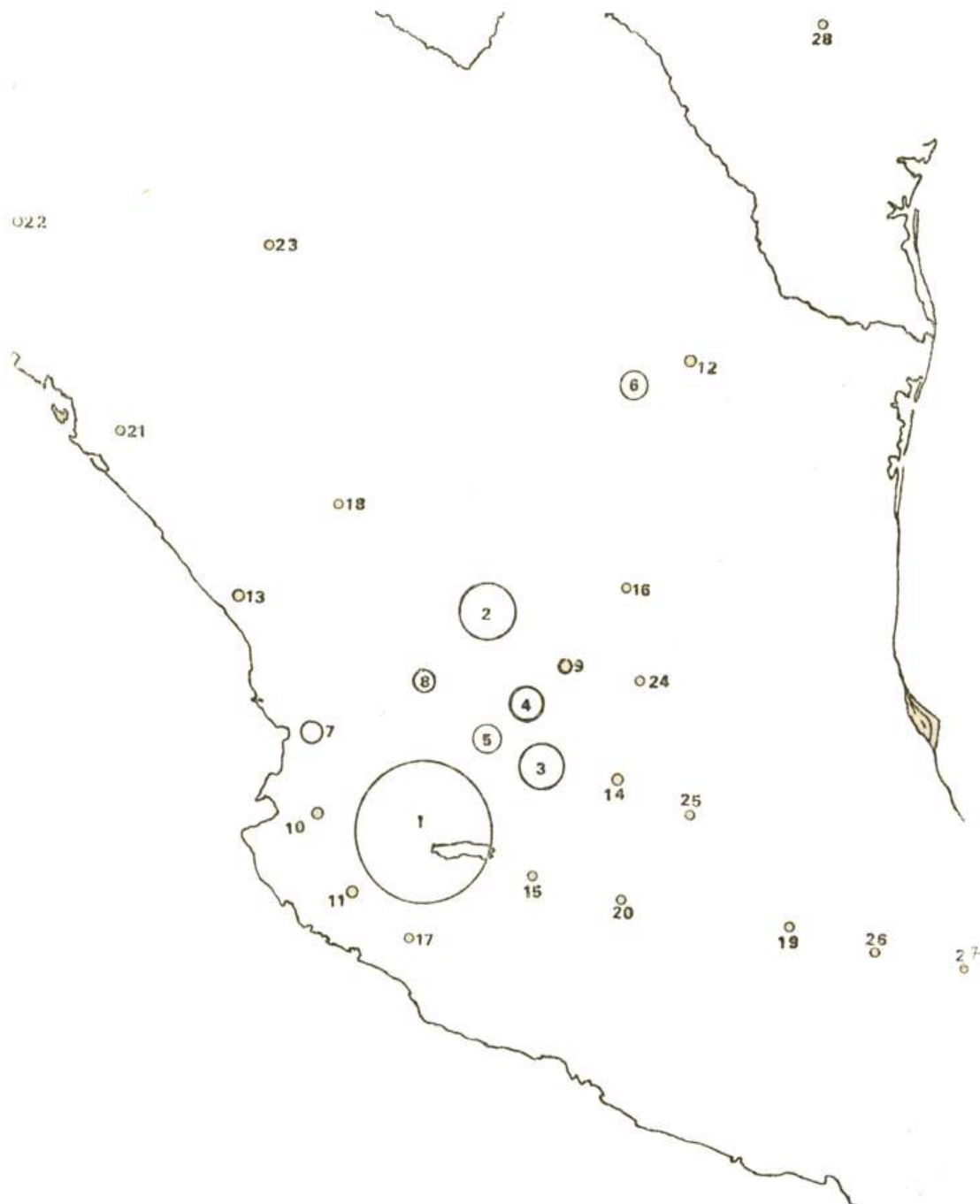
⁴⁹El Sacrosanto y Eucuménico Concilio de Trento, trad. de Ignacio López de Ayala, 3a. edic., Madrid: Imp. Real, 1789, p. 287.



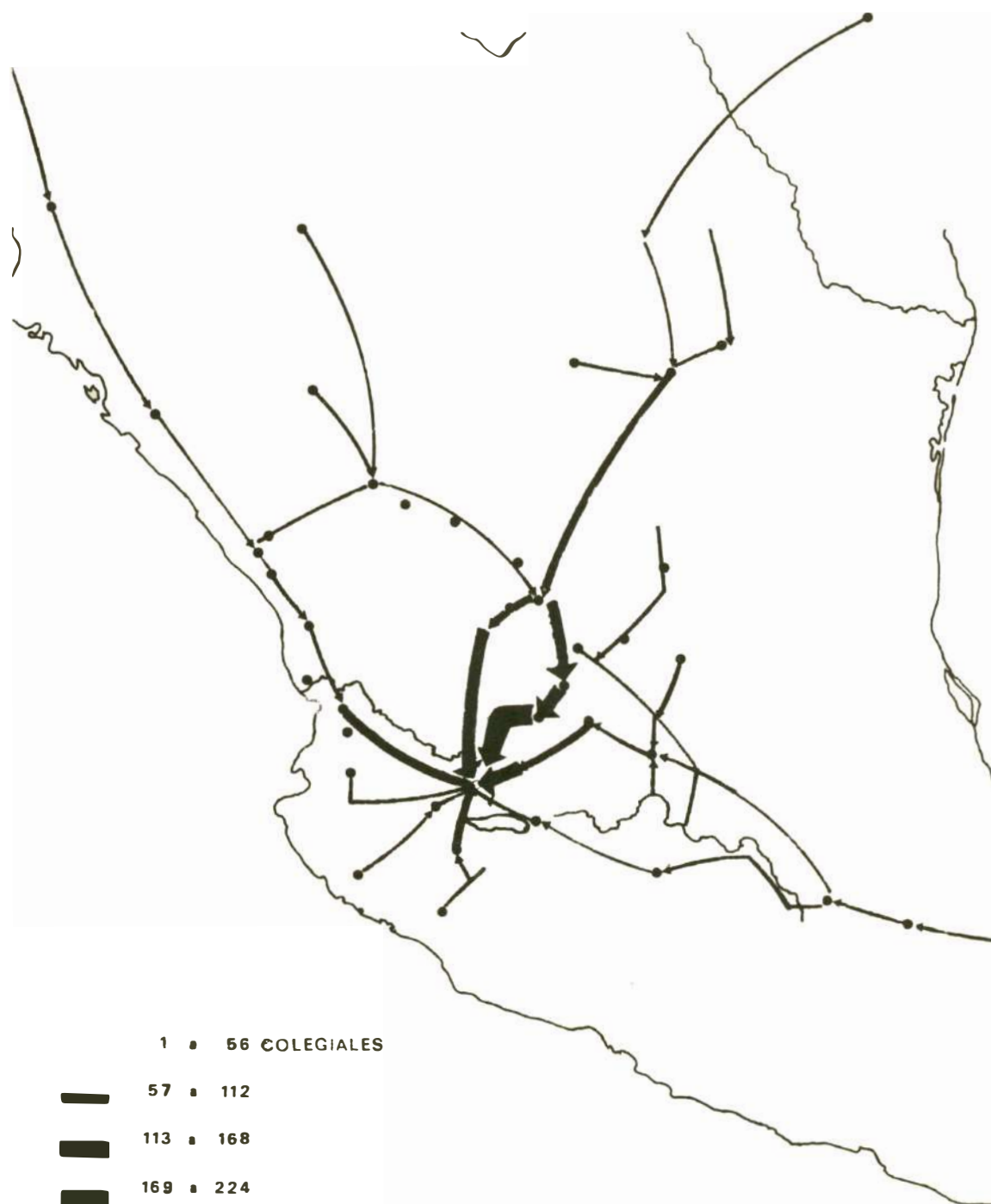
Mapa 1. Curatos seculares del Obispado de Guadalajara que contribuían para el sostenimiento del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, 1699.



Mapa 2. Origen geográfico de los colegiales del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, 1699-1800.



Mapa 3. Regiones de procedencia de los colegiales del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, 1699-1800.



Mapa 4. Procedencia de los colegiales del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, 1699-1800.

**Lugares de origen de los colegiales del Colegio
Seminario de Señor San José. 1699-1800.***

Lugares	Porcionistas	Mercenarios	Total
1. Guadalajara	79	57	136
2. Aguascalientes	52	10	62
3. Villa de Santiago de Saltillo	33	7	40
San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala	(1)	(1)	
4. Zacatecas	37	2	39
5. Lagos o Santa María de los Lagos	25	5	30
Ciénega del Rincón o Ciénega de Mata		(2)	
6. San Juan o Nuestra Señora de San Juan de los Lagos	24	3	27
7. Ameca	16	7	23
Hacienda de San Antonio	(1)		
8. Zapotlán el Grande	18	2	20
9. Nochistlán	19	3	22
10. Tepic	17	5	22
11. Teocaltiche	21		21
Tepusco	(1)		
12. Sayula	15	6	21
Hacienda de Huelotitlán	(1)		
13. Compostela	14	7	21
14. Xalostotitlán	13	5	18
15. Xerez	17	1	18
16. Tlantenango	16		16
17. Fresnillo	15	1	16
Montañas de San Mateo	(1)		
18. La Barca	14	1	15
Hacienda San Antonio	(1)		
19. Asientos de Ibarra	13		13
20. Tecpatitlán	12		12
Puesto de Nuestro Señor de la Cañada. Hacienda de la Llave.	(1)		
21. Cocula	11	1	12
22. Zacoalco	10	2	12
Santa Ana	(2)		

*Para poder localizar las 130 poblaciones que aparecen en el mapa utilicé las siguientes obras y mapas: Peter Gerhard. *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*. Cambridge, England: University Press. 1972. 476 p. Peter Gerhard. *México en 1742*. México: José Porrúa e Hijos. 1962. 46 p. Cuarto Centenario de la fundación del Obispado de Guadalajara, 1548-1948. Guadalajara: Artes Gráficas, S.A., 1948. 292 p. (El mapa del primitivo obispado de Guadalajara del Ing. José R. Benítez). Monumenta Mexicana. Vol. IV (1590-1592). Roma: *Apud "Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu"* 1971. (El mapa de Guad., Zac., Nay., Dgo., Sin.) *Atlas. Caminos de México*. 3a. edic. México: Compañía Hulera Euzkadi. 1967. Recientemente verifiqué la ubicación de las poblaciones localizadas en la obra de Peter Gerhard. *The North Frontier of New Spain*. Princeton. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1982. 454 p.

Nota: Los colegiales de las poblaciones sin número están comprendidos con los de la población principal.



Lugares	Porcionistas	Mercenarios	Total
23. Rosario	11		11
24. Sierra de Pinos	10	1	11
25. Bolaños	10	1	11
26. Villa Nueva=Villa Gutiérrez del Águila Tayahua	10 (1)	1	11
27. Cuquío San Felipe Atenguillo	8 (2)	3	11
(28). España	9	1	10
29. Real de Minas de San Sebastián	6	2	8
30. Zamora	8		8
31. San Andrés del Teúl	7	1	8
32. Mascota Talpa	6 (1)	2	8
33. San Gregorio del Mazapil	7		7
34. Colima	6	1	7
35. Autlán	6	1	7
36. Tecolotlán	5	2	7
37. Guanajuato	6		6
38. Xalpa	6		6
39. Real de Pánuco (Zacatecas)	6		6
40. Juchipila Hacienda San Pedro	6 (1)		6
41. León	6		6
42. Ciudad de México	5	1	6
43. La Magdalena Hacienda San Andrés	5 (1)	1	6
44. Villa de Santiago de la Monclova=Coahuila (47)	9	1	10
45. Monte Escobedo o San Andrés del Astillero	5		5
46. Sombrerete	5		5
48. Tequila	4	1	5
49. Monterrey Valle de Santiago Guaxuco	7 (3)	1	8
50. Hostotipaquillo	3	2	5
51. Ahualulco	2	3	5
52. Durango	4	1	5
53. Santa María de las Charcas	4		4
54. San José Huejúcar	4		4
55. Valladolid	2	2	4
(56). Caracas		3	3
57. Acaponeta	3		3
58. Guauchinango	3		3

Lugares	Porcionistas	Mercenarios	Total
59. Real de Minas San Pedro Boca de Leones	3		3
60. Ixtlán (Ahuacatlán)	3		3
61. Jocotepec	1	2	3
62. Huexuquilla	3		3
63. Culiacán	3		3
64. Etzatlán	1	2	3
65. Mesticacán	2		2
66. Chapala	2		2
67. Tizapán	2		2
68. Real del Mezquital	2		2
69. San Felipe de Linares	1	1	2
70. Querétaro	2		2
71. Real y Minas de Santa Rosa	2		2
72. Purificación	2		2
73. San Martín de la Cal	2		2
74. San José del Parral	2		2
75. Colotlán	2		2
76. San Luis Potosí	2		2
77. Real y Minas de Hostoticpac		1	1
78. Tapalpa		1	1
79. Tuxcacuesco		1	1
80. Ahuacatlán		1	1
81. Tonalá		1	1
82. Ayo el Chico		1	1
83. Huejotitlán (Ciénega de los Olivos)		1	1
(84). Cartagena de Indias		1	1
85. Puebla	1		1
86. Orizaba (no aparece en el mapa)	1		1
87. San Pedro Piedra Gorda	1		1
88. San Antonio de la Huerta (Sonora)	1		1
89. Xala	1		1
90. Atoyac	1		1
91. Maravatío	1		1
92. Alamos (Sinaloa)	1		1
93. Tenamaxtlán	1		1
94. Valle de San Mateo del Pilón (Nuevo León)	1		1
95. Valle de Pesquería Grande (Nuevo León)	1		1
96. Periban	1		1
97. Yzatlán	1		1
98. Sabinas (Nuevo León)	1		1

Lugares	Porcionistas	Mercenarios	Total
99. Real de Veta Grande (Zacatecas)	1		1
100. El Venado	1		1
101. Atemánica (Tequila)	1		1
102. Sonora		1	1
103. Ixtlán (Zamora)	1		1
104. Parras	1		1
105. Nombre de Dios	1		1
106. Villa de la Encarnación (Lagos)	1		1
107. San Antonio de Béjar	1		1
108. Real del Catorce	1		1
109. Real de Santa María de los Ramos	1		1
110. Atitalaquia	1		1
111. Real de Comanja (Lagos)	1		1
112. Ocotlán	1		1
113. Valparaíso (Fresnillo)	1		1
114. Santiago Papasquiaro	1		1
115. Tamazula (Siánori)	1		1
116. Zapotiltic	1		1
117. Real de Copala	1		1
118. Chimaltitán (Bolaños)	1		1
119. Celaya	1		1
120. Hacienda de Huastla (Tala)	1		1
121. Senticpac	1		1
122. Labor de Rivera	1		1
123. Quintanilla	1		1
124. Hacienda de Contla (Cuquío)		1	1
125. Zapotlán del Rey (La Barca)	2		2
126. San Sebastián Sain Alto	2		2
127. Mojarras	1		1
128. El Plateado (sin localizar)	1		1
129. Mecatabasco o Tabasco (Juchipila)	1		1
130. Real de Xolapa (Hostoticpac)	1		1
	778	172	950

Las 130 poblaciones principales, localizadas en el mapa 2, así como las trece poblaciones menores que aparecen con la población a la que pertenecían son los lugares de origen, tal vez de nacimiento, de 950 colegiales que se inscribieron en el Colegio Seminario de Señor San José durante el siglo XVIII e indican varias cosas. Primero, que el obispo de Guadalajara y el rector del Colegio Seminario tomaron muy en cuenta el criterio señalado por el Concilio de Trento para la admisión de niños a los seminarios, pues la mayoría de los colegiales venían de poblaciones del obispado de Guadalajara, aunque también se recibieron algunos del obispado de la Nueva España.

Los catorce estudiantes que eran “extranjeros”, nueve porcionistas y un mercenario de los reinos de España, tres mercenarios de Caracas y uno de Cartagena de Indias, ingresaron al Colegio Seminario porque eran parientes de obispos o canónigos de Guadalajara.

Otra cosa que pone en claro los lugares de origen es la existencia de población española, ya que era requisito señalado en las constituciones del Colegio Seminario que no se admitiera a un estudiante de “mal linaje”. También es probable que las 130 poblaciones hayan tenido escuelas de primeras letras donde los niños pudieran aprender a leer y a escribir, pues no se recibía a colegiales que no tuvieran esos conocimientos elementales.

Llama la atención conocer que Guadalajara fue la población que aportó el mayor número de estudiantes al Colegio Seminario, casi la misma cantidad que la suma de los estudiantes que vinieron de Aguascalientes, Saltillo y Zacatecas. Es más sorprendente porque Guadalajara no tenía la población de Zacatecas durante el siglo XVIII.

La localización de 130 poblaciones, entre ellas ciudades y villas principales, reales de minas importantes, haciendas y poblaciones menores, también indica en qué lugares había actividad económica durante el siglo XVIII puesto que había familias que tenían posibilidades para enviar a sus hijos a estudiar a Guadalajara: aunque un 40% de las poblaciones, exactamente 53, sólo pudieron enviar a un joven al Colegio Seminario y un 15% de las poblaciones enviaron entre dos o tres estudiantes: lo que quiere decir que únicamente la mitad de 130 poblaciones podían enviar un mayor número de estudiantes.

Con el objeto de poder observar la influencia que pudo ejercer el Colegio Seminario de Señor San José a través de sus alcances geográficos, agrupé las 130 poblaciones localizadas en el mapa 3 en veintiocho regiones.

Regiones* de donde procedían los colegiales del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José.
1699 a 1800

- | | |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. Guadalajara y su región = 294 | 14. Guanajuato y su región = 14 |
| a. Guadalajara 126 p y 72m = 198 | a. Guanajuato 6p |
| b. Zapotlán 20p y 2m = 22 | b. Bajío de Guanajuato 8p |
| c. Ahualulco 33p y 16m = 49 | |
| d. Chapala 22p y 3m = 25 | 15. Bajío Zamorano 10p |
| 2. Zacatecas y su región 105p y 6m = 111 | 16. El Salado y su región 7p |
| 3. Los Altos 75p y 14m = 89 | 17. Colima 6p y 1m = 7 |
| 4. Aguascalientes 52p y 10m = 62 | 18. Durango y su región 6p y 1m = 7 |
| 5. Juchipila y su región = 57 | 19. Valle de México 6p y 1m = 7 |
| a. Juchipila 12p | |
| b. Teocaltiche 42p y 3m = 45 | 20. Valladolid y su región 4p y 2m = 6 |
| 6. Saltillo y su región 49p y 8m = 57 | 21. Culiacán y su región 4p |
| 7. Tepic y su región 36p y 13m = 49 | 22. Álamos 2p y 1m = 3 |
| 8. Bolaños y su región 42p y 1m = 43 | 23. Parral 2p y 1m = 3 |
| 9. Asientos y Pinos 13p y 11p = 24 | 24. San Luis Potosí 2p |
| 10. Costa de Jalisco 14p y 5m = 19 | 25. Querétaro 2p |
| 11. Autlán y su región 15p y 4m = 19 | 26. Puebla 1p |
| 12. Monterrey y su región 17p y 2m = 19 | 27. Orizaba 1p |
| 13. Sur de Sinaloa 15p | 28. San Antonio de Béjar 1p |

p = porcionista
m = mercenarios

*Según los criterios de regionalización señalados en el libro de Ángel Bassols Batalla. *La división económica regional de México*. México: UNAM, 1967, 264 p.

Las regiones de donde procedían los estudiantes del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José indican que de toda la región de Guadalajara, con Zapotlán, Ahualulco y Chapala,

vino el mayor número de estudiantes al Colegio Seminario, con un total de 294 colegiales. Esta afluencia al Colegio Seminario se extiende principalmente por la cercanía de las poblaciones de esas regiones a Guadalajara y por la existencia de caminos que las comunicaban con la capital tapatía.

Hubo dos regiones que aportaron un buen número de estudiantes al Colegio Seminario: Zacatecas y los Altos, regiones que fueron económicamente prósperas en el siglo XVIII: la primera esencialmente minera y la segunda ganadera. De Aguascalientes, Juchipila, Saltillo y Tepic, principalmente regiones agrícolas, y de Bolaños, Asistentes y Pinos, regiones mineras importantes, salieron también numerosos jóvenes para estudiar en el Colegio Seminario de Señor San José durante el siglo XVIII.

De otras regiones distintas de Guadalajara, como Parral o Álamos, vino uno que otro estudiante al Colegio Seminario. Igualmente fueron muy raros los casos de colegiales que venían de lugares donde había seminarios o colegios, por ejemplo, Puebla o México.

Para delimitar con mayor precisión los alcances geográficos del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José elaboré el mapa 4, tomando como base los caminos que llegaban a Guadalajara durante el siglo XVIII. Agregué las cantidades de estudiantes que venían desde el lugar más lejano hasta el más cercano a Guadalajara.

El mapa 4, que muestra la procedencia de los colegiales del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José de 1699 a 1800, revela que la ciudad de Guadalajara era el principal foco de atracción educativa en una región muy extensa que comprendía el occidente y el norte de la Nueva España.* En ese mapa se destacan con más precisión las zonas de donde venían los estudiantes a seguir una carrera a Guadalajara. La "corriente" más gruesa de estudiantes correspondía a las zonas del norte. Empezaba en Saltillo, seguía en Zacatecas, recogía más estudiantes de Bolaños, Asientos y Pinos. Pasaba por Aguascalientes y Juchipila, y en los Altos terminaba de sumarse otro buen número de estudiantes.

La oportunidad de educarse en el Colegio Seminario de Señor San José estaba en gran medida determinada por el origen económico de los estudiantes, por esto las poblaciones con actividades económicas importantes fueron los principales lugares de origen de los estudiantes y al mismo tiempo los que más se beneficiaron de los servicios educativos que ofrecía Guadalajara.

El área de influencia de Guadalajara

La ciudad es un lugar donde se entrecruzan los procesos sociales. Durante la Colonia, la gente venía a Guadalajara, en forma ocasional o permanente, para relacionarse con otra gente (para comprar o vender; arreglar asuntos en la Real Audiencia y en el obispado, rezar, estudiar, etc.). Por lo tanto, para estudiar a la ciudad de Guadalajara es necesario identificar esos procesos sociales que la envuelven (como lo han hecho, para la época colonial, Van Young, Serrera, Lindley, Greenow, Calvo y Castañeda) y las funciones que ha ejercido.⁵⁰

En nuestro caso, la función educativa de Guadalajara -ahora con los datos disponibles del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José-⁵¹ además de contribuir al estudio de la ciudad permite conocer y delimitar su área de influencia. El Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, establecido en Guadalajara en 1699, tuvo como una de sus finalidades satisfacer la demanda educativa de la población criolla de la ciudad de Guadalajara y del reino y obispado de Nueva Galicia.

*Ver Alejandra Moreno Toscano y Enrique Florescano. *El sector externo y la organización espacial y regional de México, 1521-1910*. México: INAH, 1974, pp. 15 y 16.

⁵⁰David Herlihy, "Urbanización y cambio social" en Jerzy Topolski, et al., *Historia Económica. Nuevos enfoques y nuevos problemas*. Barcelona: Edit. Crítica, 1981, p. 111-143.

⁵¹Que se encuentran en el *Libro secreto de asientos de matrículas del Colegio Seminario de Señor San José* y en la *Colección*, cit. del ASG.

En el mecanismo para sostener este colegio, Guadalajara, por medio de sus autoridades eclesiásticas, va a dejar sentir su influencia al recabar un 87% de las aportaciones de los curatos y doctrinas del obispado y sólo un 13% de Guadalajara. La localización de los curatos permite apreciar un área que corresponde al obispado de Guadalajara y que va desde el curato de Purificación en Tierra Caliente al sur hasta la de Sierra de Pinos al este. Toda esta área denota una concentración en la región al norte y noreste de Guadalajara que corresponde a poblaciones de una mejor situación económica.

En el dibujo de esta área se puede apreciar de dónde provenía el dinero que recibía un colegio de Guadalajara. También muestra la relación que va a tener con su región y el papel de ciudad dominante que le va a caracterizar durante la época colonial.

Esta primera delimitación del área de influencia de Guadalajara al empezar el siglo XVIII se puede comparar con el área que cubre el origen geográfico de los estudiantes del Colegio Seminario de todo el siglo XVIII. Esta segunda área rebasa los límites de la primera, que correspondía al obispado, aunque denota una concentración dentro de las fronteras de la diócesis.

Al comparar el origen geográfico de los estudiantes de este colegio con el de los estudiantes de las universidades de Castilla, que ha estudiado Richard L. Kagan,⁵² encontré las mismas tendencias. Las universidades de Castilla recogían a la mayoría de sus estudiantes de la misma diócesis o provincia donde estaban localizadas; de igual manera el Colegio Seminario de Señor San José reclutaba a la mayor parte de los estudiantes del obispado de Guadalajara. Kagan encontró que las áreas rurales, pobres, analfabetas y atrasadas no podían aportar estudiantes a las universidades; igualmente los lugares de origen de los estudiantes del colegio seminario de Guadalajara corresponden a poblaciones con buena situación económica, lo cual quiere decir que la influencia de Guadalajara se extendía sobre todo donde había riqueza.

Otra cosa más muestra el origen geográfico de los estudiantes y es que el área de influencia de Guadalajara se sale de los límites del obispado del mismo nombre, pues el Colegio Seminario atrajo a estudiantes de toda la Nueva España y del extranjero.

Fernand Braudel ha dicho que “todos los bienes materiales e inmateriales arriban a las ciudades por las rutas”.⁵³ La localización de los caminos que llevaban a Guadalajara durante el siglo XVIII más la suma de los estudiantes que llegaban por esos caminos dan una idea de la migración estudiantil a Guadalajara, acompañada por la migración de capitales y de familias.

Para conservar esta área de influencia que se veía amenazada por el éxodo constante de los estudiantes a la ciudad de México:

A México ocurren cuantos pretenden la profesión de las letras, como que en México reside la única Universidad del reino [...] Éste es el motivo porque [...] sólo México se halla en auge y todos los demás [...] padecen notable debilidad [...]. Siempre es para México la utilidad, porque no hay quien quiera residir de asiento en el lugar en donde adquiere el caudal, porque siempre necesita a México para un todo, para la educación de sus hijos y para lograr conveniencias.⁵⁴

La ciudad de Guadalajara recurriría al establecimiento de una universidad, institución que retendría a los estudiantes y le ayudaría en la defensa de sus intereses regionales.

⁵²Richard L. Kagan, "Universities in Castile" en Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society*, London: Oxford University Press, 1975, t. I.

⁵³Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II*. México: FCE, 1976, t. I, p. 418.

⁵⁴Mota Padilla, *op. cit.*, p. 350-351.





Rodney D. Anderson*

Race, Class and Occupation: Guadalajara in 1821

In the fall of 1821, the newly appointed city commissioners of Guadalajara undertook a city-wide census (*padrón*) at the request of state authorities. When the first city election under the new republican government took place in December, 1821, the city government took a second census. Today nearly all the first and a substantial portion of the second padrones survive in the city's municipal archives. The padrón represents the most complete of all the extant censuses taken of Guadalajara in the nineteenth century, and would be the last to provide important data on race and social status.¹

Two related sets of data form the basis for this study. One is a systematic sample of every tenth household, taken from the 1821 padron and supplemented by data from the 1822 padron where 1821 material was not available. The second set is a full count of all individuals for whom racial designation is available.² While race was given for not quite one-half of the city's households, they proved to be reasonably representative of the city as a whole.³ The padrones of 1821 and 1822 were taken, for the most part, household by household for each of the city's 24 wards (*cuarteles*) and contained data on each resident's marital status, occupation, and age. In addition numerous cuarteles noted the individual's *calidad*, or race/ethnic designation, and the birthplace, usually referred to as the *patria*. Thus, the padrones provide an astonishingly rich and valuable picture of urban life in early modern Mexico.⁴

This paper will examine the socio-economic characteristics of the various racial groups. Of particular interest is the relevance of the Guadalajara data to the issue of caste versus class in late colonial Mexico. Recent studies by David A. Brading on Guanajuato, John K. Chance and William Taylor on Antequera, Patricia Seed on Mexico City, and Celia Wu on Querétaro have differed in their conclusions from earlier works by Magnus Mörner and Lyle N. McAlister, although they also differ from each other.⁵ Chance and Taylor

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¹For the decree ordering the padrón, see the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Guadalajara (hereafter, AHM), caja 1123, legajo 41, expediente 230, dated October 8, 1821. On the election of the alcaldes, see Luis Pérez Verdía, *Historia particular del estado de Jalisco desde los primeros tiempos de que hay noticia, hasta nuestros días*, 3 vols. (Guadalajara, 1952), vol. 3, p. 244. The padrones are found in legs. 39 and 41bis, and one un-numbered legajo entitled "Varios padrones, 1821". A new numbering system has since been initiated but a conversion index is available.

²A systematic sample was taken from 19 *cuarteles* (wards) in 1821 and 5 *cuarteles* in 1822 in order to complete the survey of the entire city. The sample was coded by cuartel, with the data filed by individual, by household, and by family. The full count was done by hand of those individuals for whom race/ethnic data was given. Full racial/ethnic data were taken from *cuarteles* 3, 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, and 23. Partial data were taken from *cuarteles* 7 and 17.

³Each of the parishes of the city as they existed in 1821 is represented in the full count by race. In addition, the full count by race comes reasonably close to a number of socio-economic characteristics of those *cuarteles* which did not give racial data; for example, in the proportion of don and doñas, in the marital status for women heads of households, and in the portion of various occupations to the total employed.

⁴To date only limited use of the padrones has been made. See Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 312, 355; and Sherburne F. Cook, "Las migraciones en la historia de la población mexicana. Datos modelo del occidente del centro de México, 1793-1950", in Bernardo García Martínez, ed., *Historia y sociedad en el mundo de habla española* (Mexico City, 1970), pp. 355-377. See also Rodney D. Anderson *Guadalajara a la consumación de la Independencia: Estudio de su población según los padrones de 1821-1822*, trans. Marco Antonio Silva (Guadalajara, 1983).

⁵David A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge, 1971), and the same author's "Grupos étnicos, clases y estructura ocupacional en Guanajuato (1792)," *Historia Mexicana*, 21 (1972), pp. 476-477; John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Estate and Class in a Colonial City: Oaxaca in 1792", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19 (1977),

argue that the large number of individuals labeled creole who performed low-status jobs in Antequera indicates that race was no longer as significant a factor in determining one's life chances as were economic or class criteria.⁶ They state: "By the end of the colonial period the complexity and range of variation within the economic class structure rivaled that of the status hierarchy embodied in the *sistema de castas*, if indeed the latter had not been overtaken in this respect".⁷

This position came under attack on methodological and empirical grounds from Robert McCaa, Stuart Schwartz, and Arturo Grubessich. They argued that Chance's and Taylor's own data showed creoles were still considerably over-represented in elite and higher artisan occupations, while mestizos and mulattoes were under-represented there and over-represented in the artisan and lower-status service occupations.⁸ In a recent study Celia Wu essentially supported McCaa, Schwartz, and Grubessich.⁹ Patricia Seed, however, has called the caste versus class controversy a "non-debate" because she believes it incorrectly focuses on stratification rather than class, on degree of change rather than kind of change, and on distribution and consumption rather than the "social totality".¹⁰ Moreover, she disagreed with Taylor and Chance that creoles should be considered an "ambiguous middle layer".¹¹ She found that in Mexico City the creoles' "most notable characteristic was their employment as merchants and shopowners", resembling in this "their parent group, the peninsulars, more than any other racial group".¹²

It is my contention, however, that to understand the "social totality" of class, the social distances *within* racial categories must be measured more finely in order reasonably to compare distances *between* racial categories. At least for Guadalajara in 1821, when the city's large creole population is viewed in its social totality, as Seed recommends, we find that a large sub-group of creoles is virtually indistinguishable from non-Spaniards in terms of wealth, social status, and other socio-economic criteria.

In the three-quarters of a century prior to the census of 1821 Guadalajara underwent significant population expansion and economic growth. Throughout the first two centuries of its existence, Guadalajara was primarily a religious, administrative, and commercial center of relatively modest population, supported economically by the abundant agricultural resources of the surrounding countryside. After the mid-eighteenth century, the wealth from the recently discovered Bolaños silver mine, along with a significant and sustained increase in population, vastly increased the city's commerce and encouraged agricultural expansion in its hinterland. The resulting pressure on the region's small farmers, particularly Indian corn producers, probably added to the already substantial migration of rural people to Guadalajara in search of improved economic opportunities.¹³ From a

pp. 454-487; John K. Chance, "The Colonial Latin American City: Preindustrial or Capitalist?", *Urban Anthropology*, 4 (1975), pp. 211-228; Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62 (1982), pp. 569-606; Celia Wu, "The Population of the City of Querétaro in 1791," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 16 (1984), pp. 277-307. For earlier works see Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967); Lyle N. McAlister, "Social Structure and Social Change in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 73 (1963), pp. 349-370; Woodrow Borah, "Race and Class in Mexico," *The Pacific Historical Review*, 23 (Nov. 1954), pp. 331-342. For an important revision of his earlier work, see Magnus Mörner, "Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with Special Regard to Elites," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 63 (1983), pp. 335-369.

⁶Chance and Taylor, "Estate and Class," pp. 482-486.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 485.

⁸McCaa, Schwartz and Grubessich, "Race and Class in Colonial Latin America: A Critique," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21 (1979), pp. 422-429.

⁹Wu, "The population of Querétaro," pp. 302-305.

¹⁰Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race," p. 571, and her Appendix I, pp. 602-604.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 579.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³On eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century economic growth, see Richard Lindley, "Kinship and Credit in the Structure of Guadalajara's Oligarchy, 1800-1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1976), pp. 24-36. On agricultural expansion in the Guadalajara region, see Eric Van Young, "Urban Market and Hinterland: Guadalajara and its Region in the Eighteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 59 (1979), pp. 593-635.

population of barely 10,000 in 1760, the city had grown to nearly 40,000 according to the official figures for the 1821 padrón, no doubt aided by the flight to the cities during the violence of the insurgency. One-third of the city's inhabitants in 1821 were listed as having originated elsewhere than Guadalajara.¹⁴

With the broadening of the market, the expansion of credit, and the increased labor supply, the city's traditional commercial interests were augmented by light industry, particularly in cotton and woolen textiles, but also including tanning, milling, baking, and wax manufacturing. Textile manufacture remained generally a cottage craft but the other light industries were undergoing the transition from artisan crafts to more capital-intensive modes of production under the domination of elite mercantile families such as the Villaseñores and Cañedos.¹⁵

For the purpose of this paper, the relevant question is: to what extent the transition to a more modern economic structure involved the demise of the system of estates on which the post-conquest economy had been based? While the data from one census alone cannot establish the process of class formation and estate deterioration, the census-takers on their rounds unwittingly collected several key pieces of information which may aid in refining the question itself. First, they provided a racial designation for approximately 45 percent of the city's population. Second, they designated an occupation for a significant portion of the population. Race, I would suggest, no longer provided an adequate definition of the parameters of class, except at the very top of society, where socio-economic status "created" the ethnic designation of "español".

Occupation, however, while providing a much more accurate means to measure class, suffers from several weaknesses common to nineteenth-century census data.¹⁶ For one thing, pre-industrial producers also tended to be distributors ("dealers"). Indeed, it is the separation of these two functions which characterizes the transition from a craft to an industrial economy. Miguel Esteban Ramírez, for example, was listed as a "platero" in the regular census of 1821 and a "comerciante" in a separate count of heads of households. More importantly, the census data do not differentiate either between masters and journeymen, or skilled craftsmen and semi-skilled industrial workers of the same occupation. "Obrajeros", for example, could have been weavers in a large *obraje*, skilled journeymen working under a master craftsman in the latter's shop, or "cottagers" working in their homes either independently or for a particular retail establishment. Not even apprentices were indentified as such. In other words, the occupation *per se* does not indicate where in the production process the individual fell, and it disguises the movement from a skilled to semi-skilled trade, a critical aspect of class formation.

Happily, the census takers provided us with a critical piece of data which enables us, if not to overcome, at least to mitigate these difficulties. They designated social standing using the don and doña with sufficient discrimination to point out status variations within

¹⁴For a discussion of the various estimates of the city's population, see Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la independencia*, pp. 44-48. On migrants to Guadalajara, see Cook, "Las migraciones en la historia de la población mexicana," pp. 355-377.

¹⁵Lindley, "Kinship and Credit," pp. 30, 40-44. For a detailed discussion of the division of labor for Guadalajara in 1821, and its craft versus industrial characteristics, see Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la independencia*, pp. 108-112.

¹⁶W.A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information on Occupation," in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays on the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (London, 1972), pp. 226-310; Michael B. Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," *The Journal of Inter-Disciplinary History*, 3 (1972). For an interesting look at the historiography of social classification based on occupational title, see J.A. Bansk, "The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century England as seen through the Census," in Richard Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth-Century Censuses for England and Wales* (London, 1975), pp. 179-223. Also useful and important are: Peter Knight, *The Plain People of Boston* (New York, 1971), Appendix E, pp. 149-156; and Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 355-357. For Latin America, especially in the late nineteenth century, see Mark D. Szuchman and Eugene F. Sofer, "The State of Occupational Stratification Studies in Argentina: A Classification Scheme," *Latin American Research Review*, 11 (1976), p. 166. For a survey of Mexican historiography on this issue, see María Teresa Huerta, "Estructuras de clases y de trabajo," María Teresa Huerta et al. eds., *Balance y perspectivas de la historiografía social en México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 109-198.

Table 1
Racial Composition of Guadalajara in 1821 by Sex and Social Status
of All Individuals Given a Racial Designation *

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Español						
don/doña	1 879	44.0	2 394	56.0	4 273	24.1
no don/doña	1 939	46.6	2 218	53.4	4 157	23.4
Indio ¹	3 396	48.7	3 579	51.3	6 975	39.3
Mestizo ²	875	49.7	887	50.3	1 762	9.9
Mulato ³	153	43.1	202	56.9	355	2.0
Coyote	90	47.9	98	52.1	188	1.1
Others ⁴	13	48.2	14	51.8	27	0.2
Total	8 345		9 392		17 737	

¹Four indios were also don.

²Two mestizos were also don.

³One mulato was also don.

⁴The "others" were twelve *castizos* and fifteen *negros*

*Source: *Cuarteles* 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23

specific occupations. Of all persons in Table 1, 22.5 percent of the males and 21.1 percent of the females were awarded a don or doña. Most were Spanish, only five sampled individuals with the don/doña being non-Spanish. Of those labeled "Spanish" (meaning creoles as well *peninsulares*), 50.7 percent were given the honorific don/doña.¹⁷

Chance attempted to use the diagnostic don/doña in a limited way, but neither Seed nor Wu found reliable data or appropriate means to determine status differences between crafts.¹⁸ As Table 2 indicates, however, the Guadalajara data provide a specific means to

¹⁷In order to test the consistency with which the title was used, the padrón samples for cuarteles 3 and 9 were compared to a full count of all heads of household for the same cuarteles but done by different alcaldes. The sampled padrón for cuartel 3 gave 54.3 percent don/doña to the heads of household and the full count 54.9 percent. For cuartel 9 the figures were 10.7 percent and 10.0 percent, respectively.

¹⁸John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, 1978), pp. 160-166; Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race," pp. 578-579, note 35; Wu, "Querétaro in 1791," p. 293.

determine at least where the *alcaldes* placed particular occupations on a scale of social status or “honor”.¹⁹

Moreover, in this study the allocation of a *don* has been used to resolve the problem of distinguishing the masters from their journeymen within various occupations. Individuals given a *don/doña*, but who practiced a low-status trade, are assumed to be masters. By way of verification, the proportion of lower-status artisans awarded the *don/doña* title correlates reasonably closely with the ratio of masters to journeymen calculated from the number of masters voting in *gremio* elections and the number of journeymen counted in our sample.²⁰

The occupation data adjusted by status (*don/doña*) are used here to construct a six-category, multi-dimensional view of the social order in which race can be compared to other social and economic factors. The results are not classes *per se*, but a rough hierarchy of social stratification.²¹ Lower-status artisans, for example, are automatically placed in category three whenever they are *dons*. Various other adjustments in status have been made based on the same criteria.²² Category one--high elites, and category two--auxiliary elites, both comprise just under nine percent of all employed persons (Table 3). By contrast, Richard Lindley estimates that the elite of Guadalajara in 1800 was approximately three percent of the population, or about two hundred families.²³ This suggests that category one is too large, the result perhaps of failing to include either a wealth or power factor.

If the number of servants employed by each household is introduced as a surrogate for household wealth (Table 4), the categories are altered dramatically. The number of category 1 households with two or more servants drops to 3.4 percent of all households, and category 2 (auxiliary elites) to less than one percent. Indeed, more than half of category 1 households had no servants whatsoever, and the same applies for nearly three-quarters of category 2 households.

At 16 percent of all employed persons, category 3--high-status artisans and all masters--is quite a bit smaller than category 4--lower-status artisans--which accounts for 42.3 percent of all employed persons. Surprisingly, perhaps, the laborer-service category accounted for less than a quarter of the employed individuals of our sample, and only 13.8 percent of employed males.²⁴ However, we need to remember that in pre-industrial urban economies the unskilled and domestic service categories are smaller and the manufacturing sectors larger than they would become in a more industrialized time.²⁵

¹⁹The highest status artisans and craftsmen --the *plateros*, *pintores*, and *barberos*-- were those with complex trade skills (*pintores*) or in which the cost of owning a shop and the difficulty of entering the profession (*platero/barbero*) combined to insure elevated status for both masters and journeymen. The lower-status artisans had jobs in which either the journeyman artisan had a reasonable chance of becoming a master, but without prospect of great rewards (*carpineros*, *zapateros*, *sombrereros*); in which an early form of “sweating” had already begun (*panaderos*, *curtidores*); or in which, as with the *obrajeros*, the craft was divided between cottagers and “sweat shops” (*obrajes*).

²⁰AHM, caja 1124, leg. 42, exp. 73.

²¹Mörner, “Economic Factors and Stratification,” pp. 336-337.

²²*Comerciantes* without *dons* were put in category 4; *labradores* without *dons* in category 4; *policia* in category 5, or in 2 if *dons*; *arrieros* in 5, or in 3 if *dons*.

²³Lindley, “Kinship and Credit,” pp. 45-48. Category 1 includes high government officials, all clergy, *hacendados*, and those *labradores* and *comerciantes* given the *don/doña*. Category 2 --auxiliary elites-- includes professionals (lawyers, military officers, doctors, etc.), most clerical occupations and minor government officials, and such miscellaneous groups as *boticarios*, *barberos*, *cajeros* and *impresores*.

²⁴When only heads of households are considered, the socio-economic structure is as follows: category 4, 47.9 percent; category 5, 10.9 percent, and category 6, 2.0 percent. Category 3 also includes all lower-status artisans awarded the *don/doña*, the assumption being that they were masters and owned their shops, and therefore their individual status brought them above the general status of their profession. Category five include the service occupations such as domestic servant, cooks and transport workers (*cargadores*, *arrieros*), and common laborers such as the *jornaleros* and *gañanes*.

²⁵For example, see Sam Bass Warner, Jr., “If All the World were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930,” *The American Historical Review*, 74 (1968), pp. 30-31. For U.S. and Canadian cities of the mid-nineteenth century, see Stuart Blumin, Laurance Glasco, Clyde Griffen, Theodore Hersberg, and Michael Katz, “Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities,” paper presented at the Organization of American Historians, Chicago, April, 1973; and Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 52-53.

Table 2
All Occupied Individuals by Race and Social Status:
The full Count *

OCCUPATION	Number Employed	Español		Indio %	Casta %
		% don/doña	% no don/doña		
High public officials	16	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ecclesiastical officials	8	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Doctors	14	92.9	7.1	0.0	0.0
Hacendados	14	92.9	7.1	0.0	0.0
Military officers	71	87.3	8.5	4.2	0.0
Lawyers	7	85.7	14.3	0.0	0.0
Scribes	34	85.3	11.8	2.9	2.9
Administrators	13	84.6	0.0	7.7	7.7
Notaries	12	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
Merchants:					
female	12	75.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
male	391	67.0	21.2	10.0	1.8
Small shop keepers:					
female	6	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
male	17	64.7	23.5	5.9	5.9
Silversmiths	60	53.3	38.3	5.0	3.3
Seamstresses	278	52.5	33.1	10.8	2.9
Pork merchants	11	45.5	18.2	9.1	27.3
Musicians (<i>músicos</i>)	17	35.3	23.5	29.4	11.8
Painters	29	34.5	27.6	20.7	17.2
Tailors	141	31.9	33.3	14.2	19.9
Barbers	34	29.4	38.2	8.8	8.8
Carpenters	108	27.8	23.2	29.6	19.4
Blacksmiths	45	22.2	24.4	31.1	22.2
Soldiers (<i>soldados</i>)	101	20.8	33.7	25.7	19.8
Brokers (<i>corredores</i>)	32	18.8	12.5	56.3	12.5
Wheelwrights	29	17.2	34.5	37.9	10.3
Saddlers (<i>silleros</i>)	34	11.8	44.1	29.4	8.8
Tanners	47	11.8	17.0	61.7	12.8
Laundresses	20	10.0	25.0	40.0	25.0
Tallow chandlers	21	9.5	57.1	23.8	9.5
Mule skinners	51	7.8	21.6	60.8	9.8
Rebozo weavers	41	7.3	48.8	39.0	4.9
Bakers:					
female	8	50.0	12.5	12.5	25.0
male	87	6.9	23.0	48.2	20.7
Servants:					
female	392	5.4	25.3	45.7	23.7
male	294	4.8	22.5	48.6	24.2
Butchers (<i>camiceros</i>):					
female	4	0.0	0.0	25.0	75.0
male	36	5.6	22.2	47.2	25.0
Coach drivers (<i>cocheros</i>)	45	4.4	13.3	20.0	62.2
Hatters	68	4.4	20.6	55.9	19.1



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Cotton weavers:					
female	77	0.0	14.3	48.1	37.7
male	686	2.5	24.9	60.0	12.5
Shoemakers:					
female	11	0.0	9.1	90.9	0.0
male	315	2.2	15.9	67.6	14.3
Cooks:					
female	58	1.7	19.0	53.5	25.9
male	27	3.7	14.8	11.1	70.4
Masons (<i>albañiles</i>)	105	1.0	6.7	71.4	21.0
Tortilla makers	316	0.3	6.0	85.8	7.9
Yarn makers:					
female	117	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
male	6	0.0	28.6	54.5	12.4
Carriers (<i>cargadores</i>)	26	0.0	19.2	19.2	61.5
Laborers (<i>operarios,</i> <i>obreros</i>)	67	0.0	11.9	73.1	14.9
Agricultural workers (<i>gañanes</i>)	18	0.0	27.8	59.9	12.4
Charcoal sellers	30	0.0	10.0	86.7	3.3
Sarape weavers (<i>saraceros</i>)	15	0.0	33.3	40.0	26.7
Stones masons	19	0.0	5.3	12.4	10.5
Adobe makers	12	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Total listed above	4 613				
Miscellaneous unlisted	988				
Total occupied persons identified by race	5 601	20.6	22.1	42.7	14.7
Total unoccupied	9 318	26.9	24.3	34.4	14.4
Total occupied and unoccupied persons identified by race	14 919	24.5	23.5	37.5	14.5

*Source: *Cuarteles* 3, 5, 7, 9 10, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23

Table 3
Socio-Economic Status of All Employed Persons, by Sex:
Guadalajara, 1821 (Sample)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Elite	97	10.8	2	0.8	99	8.6
2. Auxiliary elite	91	10.1	5	2.0	96	8.3
3. High-status artisan	155	17.3	29	11.5	184	16.0
4. Low-status artisan	419	46.7	68	26.8	487	42.4
5. Laborer-service	124	13.8	147	58.1	271	23.5
6. Unclassifiable	12	1.3	2	0.8	14	1.2

Table 4
Socio-Economic Status of All Employed Heads of Households,
Guadalajara, 1821 (Samples)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES	HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS		No.	NUMBER OF SERVANTS		
	No.	%		%	No.	%
1. Elite	72	14.3	16	3.2	17	3.4
2. Auxiliary elite	31	6.2	6	1.2	3	0.6
3. High-status artisan	94	18.7	7	1.4	8	1.6
4. Low-status artisan	241	47.9	0	0.0	3	0.6
5. Laborer/service	55	10.9	3	0.6	2	0.4
6. Unclassifiable	10	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

On the other hand, lower-status individuals are almost certainly under-represented in nineteenth-century censuses.²⁶ Does the smaller laborer-service category represent under-numeration rather than the lack of laborers *per se*? We know, for example, that in 1816 the city of Guadalajara hired from 26 to 50 “peones” daily to do the common labor at various construction projects and yet no “peones” as such appear in the census manuscript for 1821. Probably a combination of factors was at work. First of all, the city’s division of labor reflects at least the remnants of its once-dominant craft economy. There were more persons calling themselves artisans (and who would have been called so by the census-takers) and who likely had some training or experience as such, than there were unskilled workers. Yet by 1821 it is also likely that many of those craftsmen were taking unskilled work where they could find it in order to survive. This would have been particularly true for those crafts which in recent years had become increasingly “casual” trades, harboring a large number of artisans whose trade simply could not provide them with more than a few days work per month. Such occupations included the weavers (obrajeros), who were the most numerous of the craftsmen, as well as the bakers and the tanners, all trades most heavily under competition from larger, elite-owned establishments. Moreover, a certain portion of the unskilled and service functions of the city were performed by Indians migrating daily, or perhaps less often, from the nearby villages such as Tetlán and Mesquitán. The agricultural seasons would play a role here, providing temporary unskilled workers when planting and harvesting were over, workers either likely to have been missed by the census-takers or counted in their home villages instead.

Nonetheless, if we add to the unskilled-service sector a portion of the trades most likely to be “casualized” (weavers, bakers, etc.), all the *soldados* (generally conscripted from that sector), and 80 percent of all males over fourteen not given an occupation (likely unskilled), we still only end up with a figure of approximately 17 to 18 percent of the labor force.²⁷ Even if we estimate an additional 6 to 8 percent as representing those persons not counted by the census-taker, the final figure is no more than a quarter of the male labor force, at most, far less than would be the case in the more industrialized cities of the late nineteenth century.

To what extent did racial designations affect an individual’s placement in this ranking? Clearly, as Table 5 shows, the impact is significant. The españoles monopolized the two elite categories, dominated the higher-status artisan category, and appeared far less frequently in the lower-status artisan and unskilled/servant categories. Just as clearly the Indians dominated the lower-status artisan and laborer/servant categories in an absolute sense (compare rows), and were over-represented as well in terms of their relative numbers (compare columns).

Nonetheless, there are some surprises. Patricia Seed, for example, found that in Mexico City the mestizos were far more often laborers or servants than were creoles.²⁸ Since the Guadalajara figures do not separate creoles from peninsulares, it is even more remarkable that mestizos were hardly more likely to be laborers or servant than the Spaniards (16.5 percent of all Spaniards compared to 17.9 percent of all mestizos). Mestizos in fact were significantly more over-represented in the high-status artisan category than were the Spaniards (28.2 percent of all mestizos vs. 18.4 percent of all Spaniards). While it is true that a mestizo was also more likely to be a lower-status artisan than in any other category, the proportion of mestizos in that category was only just representative of their proportion in the population being surveyed. That is, the mestizos constituted 8.7 percent of all low-status artisans in the

²⁶Frederick J. Shaw, “The Artisan in Mexico City (1824-1853),” in Elsa Cecilia Frost, *et al.*, eds., *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 399-400. The contemporary statistician, Victoriano Roa, quoted Baron von Humbolt to the effect that one-sixth of the population probably escaped counting; Victoriano Roa, *Estadística del Estado Libre de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1825; facsimile edition, 1981), p. 11.

²⁷Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la Independencia*, p. 111.

²⁸“Social Dimensions of Race”, p. 581.



Table 5
Socio-Economic Status of All Employed Persons, by Race, Guadalajara, 1821 (Sample)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES	ESPAÑOL	INDIO	MESTIZO	MULATO	COYOTE	OTHER	ROW TOTAL
1. Elite							
No.	27	1	1	0	0	0	29
% of row	93.1	3.4	3.4				6.3
% of column	12.7	0.5	2.6				
2. Auxiliary elite							
No.	30	0	0	0	0	0	30
% of row	100.0						6.6
% of column	14.2						
3. High-status artisan							
No.	39	9	11	0	0	2	61
% of row	63.9	14.8	18.0			3.2	13.3
% of column	18.4	4.8	28.2			100.0	
4. Low-status artisan							
No.	78	112	19	5	4	0	218
% of row	35.8	51.4	8.7	2.3	1.8		47.7
% of column	36.8	59.3	48.7	45.5	100.0		
5. Laborer/service							
No.	35	64	7	6	0	0	112
% of row	31.3	57.1	6.3	5.4			24.5
% of column	16.5	33.9	17.9	54.5			
6. Unclassifiable							
No.	3	3	1	0	0	0	7
% of row	42.9	42.9	14.3				1.5
% of column	1.4	1.6	2.6				
Column total	212	189	39	11	4	2	457
% of row total	46.4	41.4	8.5	2.4	0.9	0.4	100.0
Total population							
No.	655	459	145	24	10	3	1 296
% of row total	50.5	35.2	11.2	1.9	0.8	0.2	100.0

city, and 8.5 percent of all occupied people. Moreover, it seems likely that if those Spaniards of low status, i.e, those not awarded the don or doña, were separated from the don españoles, the former would indeed resemble the *castas* and even the *Indios* more than they resembled their better-off español “cousins”.

In order to test this hypothesis further, I have separated the non-don/doña Spaniards from those awarded the title, and compared them both to the other racial groups by residence, family size and type, and the number of servants as a surrogate for wealth. In order to see more clearly the comparisons, the following discussions are based on a full count of all individuals listed in the census for whom a racial designation was given.

Servants. Of the 1156 households headed by male Spaniards in the full count, 299 employed a total of 612 servants. However, when this figure is broken down into don and no-don households, we find that 285 of the 617 don households (46.2 percent) employed servants, but only 14 of the 539 no-don Spanish households were able to afford help (2.6 percent). This is hardly better than the three Indio and two casta households which also employed servants (0.5 percent).

Size of household. The size of households in Guadalajara varied positively by social standing and race. Español-headed households averaged 5.7 persons, while casta and Indio households averaged 5.0 with little difference between them. However, when the Spaniards are separated into don or no-don groups, the don households average just over six persons while the non-don households are closer to five (5.2), just slightly larger than the Indio (5.1) or casta (4.9). Simply put, neither the poorer Spaniards nor the Indian or other racial groups could afford to support as many household members as could the better off don or doña Spaniards. Household size is therefore a function of economics rather than race.

Household type. The type of household was also affected directly by socio-economic indicators. Don-headed households were larger because they were more complex. Not only did they employ more servants, but they were also more likely than their no-don Spanish counterparts to have relatives staying with them, to be three-generational, and to have boarders. In almost every aspect, the non-don Spaniards more closely resembled the other racial groups, a conclusion supported by studies of other Latin American countries.²⁹ Such studies indicate, for example, that the development of a market-oriented economy tends to encourage larger, more complex elite families while non-elite households decline in numbers of nuclear family members.³⁰

Residence. In what way did one’s residence in a particular section of the city affect one’s social status, that is, the likelihood of bearing the title don/doña? The correlation here is clear. The higher the proportion of non-españoles in any particular cuartel, the more likely it was that the españoles residing there would not be awarded the don or doña (Table 6). Yet while the correlation is clear, the meaning is not. Exactly what is measured in Table 6? Is it residential segregation by wealth, in which large numbers of poor Indios, castas, and criollos lived and worked side by side in the same neighborhoods, and were considered of roughly equal status? If so, then not race but economic circumstance determined residential patterns.

On the other hand, an equally plausible interpretation is that the figures show precisely that race was a significant factor in allocating status. To live in a neighborhood predominately Indian or casta carried with it a stigma, a social penalty: one lost the right to the don or doña. Perhaps the reverse was also true, so that for a Spaniard of modest means who lived in a better-class neighborhood the don or doña may have come much easier despite the lack of wealth. If so, then obviously the process of social mobility for a criollo was a process of spatial-residential mobility as well.

A third interpretation has to be considered. Perhaps the poor criollos were not really Spaniards fallen on hard times but the latest generation of upwardly mobile Indians,

²⁹See similar conclusions in Katz, *The People of Hamilton*, p. 235; Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (London, 1980), pp. 32-33.

³⁰Ann Hagerman Johnson, “The Impact of Market Agriculture on Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Chile,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 58 (1978), p. 648; and Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, “Household Composition and Headship as Related to Changes in Mode of Production: São Paulo, 1765 to 1846,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22 (1980), p. 80.

mestizos, or mulattoes, whose “race” had been determined by social criteria not readily obvious from the census data. While at first glance it might seem unlikely that a time of political and economic turmoil would favor such upward mobility, the fact remains that the census of 1793 shows 39.5 percent of the population as español, while the padrones of 1821 show 46.4 percent español. The proportion of the increase which came from migration remains to be determined, but it is not likely that the Spanish fertility rates accounted for the increase in that racial category between 1793 and 1821. In fact the españoles tended to be single in greater proportions than either Indios or the castas.³¹ Perhaps, therefore, the increase in the Spanish presence in the poorer cuarteles did not represent social mobility so much as the liberalization of the definition of race with the coming of independence. Since the lower estates no longer were required to pay tribute, the economic incentive on the part of the state to define race (*calidad*) no longer existed as strongly as it once had.³²

In conclusion, at least in Guadalajara by 1821 the estate system had been seriously eroded if not precisely replaced. Although the census data cannot explain why or how this situation came to be, its impact nonetheless seems clear. While race remained associated with social position and status, it no longer guaranteed either, if it ever had. Moreover, the fact that those españoles without the don or doña affixed to their names so closely resembled the non-españoles in terms of their poverty, their jobs, their place of residence, and the size and composition of their households, strongly suggests that at least for criollos economic factors were more important than race in determining one’s life chances. In other words, the creoles’ life expectations depended no more on their good fortune to be born “español” than it did on their less than good fortune to be born poor.

Race, of course, was still considered important by the residents of the city. Had contemporary social scientists polled the population on such matters, almost certainly a higher status would have been assigned to the designation “español” as compared to “Indio” or “casta”. The fact that so few Indios or castas were awarded the don and doña confirms this. Yet the association of such large numbers of creoles with an equally large number of Indios, mestizos, and mulattoes in almost all matters of everyday life suggests that racial privileges in urban Mexico were giving way to more “modern” determinants of opportunity and prospect.

Table 6

**Cuarteles Ranked in Order of Highest Percentage of Indio/Casta Residents (column 3)
Compared to the Percentage of Españoles Without the Don/Doña (column 5).**

CUARTEL NUMBER	POPULATION no. (1)	INDIOS no. (2)	CASTAS % (3)	ESPAÑOLES no. (4)	WITHOUT DON/DOÑA % of All Españoles (5)
22	539	432	80.2	105	98.1
20	1 534	1 062	69.2	365	76.8
9	2 930 ¹	2 005	68.4	657	72.8
18	1 597	961	60.2	363	57.1
14	1 465	728	49.7	418	56.7
5	833 ²	363	43.6	289	61.9
3	1 422	591	41.6	328	39.5
23	2 279	587	25.8	644	39.2
15	1 195	334	23.5	38	04.4

¹No race given for 22 individuals

²No race given for 3 individuals

³¹Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la Independencia*, pp. 142-43.

³²On this point see Patricia Seed’s excellent discussion of “social race,” in Seed, “Social Dimensions of Race,” pp. 573-74, 591-92, 601-02.



Donald F. Stevens*

Conditions and Convictions: Social Aspects of Political Factionalism in Early Republican Mexico City

Historians have long debated the relationship between political convictions and social conditions in nineteenth-century Mexico. Some have speculated that political positions coincided with social divisions; others have argued that they did not. Each position has a long tradition. The proposition that social and political characteristics are not closely related has two main variations. For close to fifty years historians have elaborated on hypotheses that the social background of politicians was unrelated to ideology because stated political programs were sported frivolously to mask individual ambition. Politicians were merely opportunistic caudillos who used “the then- fashionable labels of liberalism and conservatism... to cover their personal rivalries”.¹ In this tradition, politics provided an avenue of social mobility for those eager to pillage the treasury. There would be no correlation between social and political divisions, according to this thesis, because caudillos adopted ideologies to hide their true intentions, and could alter, exchange, or drop these pretenses as the occasion demanded. Social stratification, then, was not a real obstacle to individual ambition since violence enabled the caudillo to improve his personal economic position. Entry into the political elite was possible for those of any social background, even the most humble.

The tradition that political ideology was unrelated to social characteristics has a second and more recent variation. Since the late 1960s, ever larger numbers of historians of Latin America have proposed that the family rather than the individual is the appropriate unit of analysis.² Recent studies of investment and business interests have noted the tendency of families to diversify their investments, suggesting that those owning substantially the same kinds and amounts of property were likely to have been equally divided on political matters, and that there would be no clear social or property contrasts among political factions. In any event, such studies argue, politicians were more likely to act in the interest of extended family and diversified businesses rather than narrow individual or political interests.³ Thus political conflicts were incidental rather than substantial.

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¹Jacques Lambert, *Latin America: Social Structure and Political Institutions* (Berkeley, 1967), p. 156. See also William H. Beezley “Caudillismo: An Interpretative Note”, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 11 (1969), pp. 345-352; Merle Kling, “Towards a Theory of Power and Political Instability in Latin America,” *Western Political Quarterly*, 9 (1956), pp. 21-35; Eric R. Wolf and Edward C. Hansen, “Caudillo Politics: A Structural Analysis,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9 (1967), pp. 168-179. Antonio López de Santa Anna, president of Mexico on eleven separate occasions, has been the principal example of this phenomenon. For instance, see Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (New York, 1979), pp. 332-333; Frank N. Samponaro, “Santa Anna and the Abortive Anti-Federalist Revolt of 1833 in Mexico,” *The Americas*, 40 (1983), pp. 95-107; Leslie Byrd Simpson, “Santa Anna’s Leg,” in his *Many Mexicos* (Berkeley, 1941), pp. 202-226; Fernando Díaz Díaz, *Caudillos y caciques; Antonio López de Santa Anna y Juan Alvarez* (Mexico City, 1972); and Wilfred Hardy Callcott, *Santa Anna: The Story of an Enigma Who Once Was Mexico* (Norman, 1936).

²See the review essay by Elizabeth Kuznesof and Robert Oppenheimer, “The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: An Historiographical Introduction,” *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), pp. 215-234. Diana Balmori, “The Family and Politics: Three Generations (1790-1890),” *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), pp. 247-257, concludes (p. 256): “In nineteenth-century Latin America political institutions were less important than families and many political structures were in fact the institutionalization of a dimension of family activity.”

³For general trends, see John E. Kicza, “The Role of the Family in Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,” *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), pp. 235-246. The risks of clear identification of family business with distinct political factions are evident from studies of families that did not diversify: the Martínez del Río and the Sánchez Navarro

This recent trend in family history is in part a reaction to another, older tradition in which political positions were thought to coincide with the broader social divisions of class or status, or with geography. For at least thirty years, some historians have emphasized occupational groups as the key to political divisions. On the one hand, those who had prospered under Spanish rule --wealthy landowners, monopolistic merchants, and the upper ranks of the ecclesiastical and military hierarchies-- are supposed to have provided the basis for conservative support. The lower clergy and military, professionals, and merchants who were victims of monopoly, on the other hand, allegedly supported the liberals.⁴ But research on the occupations of Mexican politicians has provided few clues to the origins of political divisions. Richard Sinkin, in his pioneering quantitative study of mid-nineteenth-century Mexican politics, found that 67 percent of the delegates to the convention that wrote the liberal Constitution of 1857 were either lawyers or military men.⁵ Recent research on Mexican politicians of the early nineteenth century closely parallels Sinkin's earlier results. Over 64 percent of the 208 presidents and cabinet ministers studied who served between 1824 and 1867 were either lawyers or military officers, and differences among radicals, moderates, and conservatives were relatively minor.⁶ Despite the traditional wisdom, occupation is not a reliable guide to political divisions.

In much the same way, regional interpretations have been developed to explain political divisions. David Brading offered the most precise modern explanation of the geographical origins of early republican political conflict more than ten years ago, suggesting that differences between liberals and conservatives might be related to regional variation in social structure. He proposed the existence of two regions which gave rise to competing liberal and conservative politicians: a central conservative core surrounding Mexico City, the administrative seat of both the Aztec empire and the colony of New Spain, and a "Liberal Crescent", consisting of "a vast arc of territory stretching from Guerrero, through Michoacán, Jalisco, part of Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosí to Veracruz".⁷ Over the years, Brading's hypothesis has enjoyed wide acceptance as an explanation of the relationship between early republican politics and society, despite the fact that the hypothesis has not been confronted with the available evidence. In fact, comparison of the birthplaces of presidents and cabinet ministers from 1824 to 1867 does not confirm the hypothesis as originally stated. Table 1 compares the politics of presidents and cabinet ministers born in Mexico City and the region that is now the states of Mexico, Hidalgo, and Puebla. More liberals than conservatives were born in the region Brading specified as the conservative core. Even restricting the definition of the conservative core to the boundaries of Mexico City provides no more than a slight conservative majority of 51 percent. Liberals as well as conservatives were born in the core region.

families each suffered major losses when the liberals finally defeated the conservatives in the 1860s; see David W. Walker, *Kinship, Business, and Politics: The Martínez del Río Family in Mexico, 1823-1867* (Austin, 1986), and Charles H. Harris, III, *A Mexican Family Empire: The Latifundio of the Sánchez Navarro, 1765-1867* (Austin, 1975).

⁴Jesús Reyes Heróles, *El liberalismo mexicano*, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1956-61), vol. 2, pp. 107-111; François Chevalier, "Conservateurs et libéraux au Mexique: Essai de sociologie et géographie politiques de l'indépendance à l'intervention française," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 8 (1964), pp. 457-474; Michael P. Costeloe, *La primera república federal en México (1824-1835): un estudio de los partidos políticos en el México independiente* (Mexico City, 1975), pp. 438-439.

⁵Richard Sinkin, "The Mexican Constitutional Congress, 1856-1857: A Statistical Analysis," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 53 (1973), pp. 2-3; and see also the same author's *The Mexican Reform, 1855-1876: A Study of Liberal Nation-Building* (Austin, 1979), pp. 31-54.

⁶More moderate liberals were lawyers (40 percent of the moderates compared with 28 percent of the radicals and 26 percent of the conservatives). About 40 percent of the moderates and conservatives held military commissions, but only 28 percent of the radicals were army or militia officers; Donald Fithian Stevens, "Instability in Mexico from Independence to the War of the Reform" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984). Although rough occupational categories do not reveal major differences among radicals, moderates, and conservatives, important differences were found in career patterns and varieties of military experience.

⁷D.A. Brading, "Creole Nationalism and Mexican Liberalism," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 15 (1973), p. 185. Brading restates a hypothesis that goes back at least as far as Henry Bamford Parkes, *A History of Mexico* (Boston, 1938), p. 180.

Table 1
Political Affiliation of Presidents and Cabinet Ministers
(1824-1867) Born in Brading's "Conservative Core" and in Mexico City

	"Conservative Core" (inc. Mexico City)	Mexico City
Liberals	28 (55%)	18 (49%)
Conservatives	23 (45%)	19 (51%)
Total	51	37

Source: D.F. Stevens, "Instability in Mexico from Independence to the War of the Reform" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984).

Notes: "Conservative Core" includes birthplaces in what are now the City of Mexico and the states of Hidalgo, Mexico, and Puebla.

Table 2
Political affiliation by Birthplace:
Expanded Categories

	Mexico City	Other Regions	Total
Radicals	5 (12%) (14%)	36 (88%) (26%)	41
Moderates	13 (27%) (35%)	36 (73%) (26%)	49
Conservatives	19 (22%) (51%)	68 (78%) (48%)	87
Total	37	140	177

Source: See Table 1.

Drawing distinctions between moderate and radical liberals, however, helps to clarify the relationship between birth in Mexico City and political factionalism.⁸ As Table 2 illustrates, only a minority of each group was born in Mexico City but the percentages of conservatives and moderates are roughly twice as high as the percentage of radicals. Twelve percent of the radicals, 27 percent of the moderates, and 22 percent of the conservatives were born in Mexico City. Conservatives were the largest single group connected by birth to the city of Mexico. Of those presidents and cabinet ministers born in the national capital, about half (51 percent) grew up to be conservatives. Most of the remainder (35 percent) became moderates and only a small minority (14 percent) radicals. The vast majority of the radicals (88 percent) were born in the provinces. Thus, there is some evidence to support the traditional identification of radicals with the provinces and conservatives with the national capital, but the identifications are not as strong or complete as has been thought. While the detail of Brading's hypothesis has not been confirmed, the fundamental relationship between region and politics is clearly complex and worthy of further study.⁹

The relationship between a regional social structure and the social origins of politicians from that region is problematic, given the potential ecological fallacy.¹⁰ That is, we can imagine a connection between the social characteristics of a region and groups from that region, but aggregate data may obscure the connections between these variables at the individual level. Even if conservatives were more likely to be born into the area of high elite concentration in Mexico City, that does not mean that they were more likely to be members of that elite itself. Data aggregated at a regional level may hide rather than reveal the relationship between variables at the individual level. The relationship between political and social positions in Mexico City can be examined by studying the relationship between individual politicians and social stratification in the national capital. The 1848 census of Mexico City provides the opportunity to examine the social variation among the politically active members of the elite.¹¹ Of approximately 200 individuals who held office as president or cabinet minister between Independence and the Wars of the Reform and French Intervention, 52 were listed in the census.¹² A few examples will illustrate the possibilities of linking conventional political information to the evidence from the census.¹³

José María Jauregui, a 53-year-old native of Veracruz, acted as Minister of Justice for a few weeks during the chaotic days during the United States invasion of Mexico in 1847, but little is known about his political opinions. Either he was fairly modest or the census taker was perfunctory, for his occupation is listed in the census as merely "employee". Jauregui and his twenty-year-old wife were childless and had no domestic servants in the household. They shared a modest apartment, the same three rooms Jauregui had occupied for the last nine years in a house owned by the Hospital de Jesús, to which they paid eight pesos a month in rent.

⁸Most historians of nineteenth-century Mexico recognize a distinction between moderates and "democratic liberals" or "puros". For a more detailed treatment of how I have applied these categories, see Stevens, "Instability in Mexico," Chapters 4-6 and Appendix.

⁹The strong relationship between moderate liberals and the national capital is particularly intriguing. Perhaps the common experience of birth in the nation's largest, wealthiest, and most powerful city gave many moderate liberals and conservatives a common ground not shared by the radicals.

¹⁰On the ecological fallacy see the classic statement by William S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals", *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), pp. 351-357. For a more recent treatment of the significance of this problem and suggested remedies, see Laura Irwin Landbein and Allan J. Lichtman, *Ecological Inference*, Sage University Paper series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, no. 07-010 (Beverly Hills, 1978).

¹¹Padrón Municipalidad de México (1848), Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento (Mexico City), v. 3408-3409.

¹²These 52 are listed in an appendix to this paper. The census usually lists the address, portion of the dwelling occupied, the names of heads of household and residents, age, marital status, origin, occupation, length of residence, rent paid or value of the property if the resident is the owner, and the name of the owner of the property. Some of those carrying out the census consistently failed to note some of the information, especially the names or numbers of residents other than the head of household.

¹³There remainder of the biographical information included in these sketches is taken principally from *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, 4th ed. (Mexico City 1986). The examples included the three households with fewest servants and the three households with the most servants.



Juan Pablo Anaya, born in Lagos, Jalisco in 1785, had joined the insurgents when Hidalgo took Guadalajara in November of 1810 but was involved in little combat. He seconded the Plan of Iguala in 1821 and was raised to General de Brigada in 1823. By 1848 he was an elderly military officer and political moderate who had served briefly as Minister of War in 1833. He and his wife had lived alone for almost a year at Monte Pío number 1, which they rented from a private landlord, Don Mariano P. Castro, for 15 pesos per month.

Miguel María Arrijoja, born in the city of Puebla in 1807, would make his reputation as a radical and later serve as Minister of Foreign Relations for a month in 1855 during the administration of Juan Alvarez. In 1848, he was employed in the government and living at Santa Brígida y Letrán number 1 with his wife, a daughter, and three sons, but no servants. The family had occupied the house for about five years, paying a rather substantial 90 pesos a month in rent to the convent of Santa Brígida.

Juan Rondero was a merchant born in Puebla in 1802. In 1847 he had served half a year as Minister of Hacienda. A political moderate, Rondero was evidently prosperous, living with his wife, five children, two employees, and ten household servants in a house he owned, valued at \$14,000 pesos. The house sheltered not only Rondero's large family, his employees, and his numerous servants, but a number of others as well; but he was not so prosperous that he was averse to the additional income gained by renting portions of the house to others for a total of 30 pesos per month.

A prominent lawyer and political radical born in Orizaba, Veracruz in 1803, José Bernardo Couto had received his law degree at the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Mexico City. Later he represented his home state many times in the national legislature, and was appointed to the post of Minister of Justice in 1845. By 1848, Couto had been living for seven years in a large house at Acequia number 7 with his wife and four children. Couto was apparently quite well-off, since the family was attended by 14 servants. In an age when 90 percent of the city's elite rented their residences, Couto owned his own home, which was valued at \$22,500.

Luis Gonzaga Cuevas was known as a political conservative with considerable experience in government. Born in Lerma in the state of Mexico in 1800, he also received his law degree from the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Mexico City. He made a profession of the Foreign Service; by 1848 he had already served seven terms either as Minister of Foreign Relations or as Minister of Government. He would later serve as Minister of Foreign Relations for Félix Zuloaga and the conservatives during the War of the Reform. In addition to his government service, Cuevas managed his investments; his occupation is listed in the census as "propietario".

Table 3
Frequency of Household Sizes for National Political Elite,
Mexico City, 1848

Household Size	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
2 - 5	7	16.2	16.2
6 - 8	11	25.6	41.9
9 - 11	11	25.6	67.4
12 - 7	8	18.7	86.0
18 - 23	6	14.0	100.0
Statistics: Mean =	10.4		
Median =	10.0		
Mode =	7.0		
Std. Dev. =	5.4		
Minimum =	2.0		
Maximum =	23.0		
N =	43		

Sources: See appendix.

Table 4
Analysis of Covariance: Household Size by Politics, Political Endurance, and Marital Status, with Age of tenant and Years in residence held constant

Grand mean= 9.97			Unadjusted	Adjusted for
Variable + Category	N		Dev'n Eta	Independents + Covariates Dev'n Beta
Politics				
0 Unknown	6		1.53	1.18
1 Radical	6		-3.64	-2.59
2 Moderate	9		0.36	-0.26
3 Conservatives	17		0.56	0.64
			0.32	0.24
Political endurance				
0 Up to 3 Months	12		-1.47	-2.62
14 to 11	13		-0.05	-0.37
212 Plus	13		1.41	2.79
			0.23	0.44
Marital status				
1 Single	8		-2.47	-4.18
2 Married	25		0.95	1.51
3 Widowed	5		-0.77	-0.87

Statistics	Sum of		Mean		Signif
Source of variation	Squares	DF	Square	F	of F
Covariates	17.264	2	8.632	0.366	0.696
Age	4.446	1	4.446	0.189	0.667
Years	16.268	1	16.268	0.691	0.413
Main effects	290.210	7	41.459	1.760	0.135
Politics	46.921	3	15.640	0.664	0.581
Endurance	124.241	2	62.120	2.637	0.089
Marital status	114.264	2	57.132	2.426	0.107
Explained	307.474	9	34.164	1.450	0.215
Residual	659.499	28	23.554		
Total	966.974	37	26.134		

N=38, Multiple r squared=0.318. Multiple r=0.564.
Sources: See appendix



He lived with his wife and three young children at Montealegre number 9, along with 15 servants and their two children. The family enjoyed the attentions of a doorman, a housekeeper, a cook, a coachman, a footman, and numerous specialized maids. Despite the evident luxury of abundant household servants and his profession as a property-owner, Cuevas did not own the building where he lived. It belonged to a Don José María Cuevas, almost certainly a close relative, to whom he paid only 60 pesos per month in rent.

These examples suggest both the wealth of information that can be gleaned from the census and the complexity of any relationship between social conditions and political convictions. There was considerable variation between these individuals in their political positions, in the size and composition of their households, in the numbers of servants they employed, in their length of residence and political service, in their regional origins, in the value and ownership of their dwellings. But studied together, these variables can provide a clearer indication of the relationship between society and politics in mid nineteenth-century Mexico.

An anecdotal approach can suggest possibilities, but quickly becomes bogged down in the fascinating facets of particular cases; the examples cited earlier are only six of several dozen candidates. Clearly a multivariate statistical analysis is in order to distinguish among the effects of the different variables and to attempt to describe the essential structure beneath the delicate ornamentation of the individual experiences, and the complex interrelationships between multiple variables. For example, we could use household size as a proxy for social class. The size of household is generally a good indication of its social status. Historians and sociologists of the family have found a remarkable degree of consistency in the size of the average household over the last several centuries. From England to Latin America, the mean size of the household has remained fairly constant at about five, while varying somewhat with social class and economic means. The more prosperous have generally had large households, and the lower classes smaller.¹⁴ By this standard, most of the households of the mid-nineteenth-century political elite were large. Of the 43 politicians whose households were enumerated in the census, more than 80 percent had six or more members, and more than half had 9 or more people living under the same roof. At the same time, there was considerable variation among this political elite with households ranging in size from 2 to more than 20. Even if household size is closely correlated with social class, we would still expect the number of people living under the same roof to vary not only according to social status, wealth, or political philosophy, but with a number of other factors which reflect the stage in the life-cycle of the head of household, and factors such as age and marital status. We would not want to confuse the effects of these other factors with those bearing directly on the question of social stratification and political ideas. For example, middle-aged married couples will usually have larger households on average than single young men or elderly widowers. We would expect these variables --age and marital status-- to be independent of social class and politics. In the same way, those prominent politicians who achieved a greater degree of success might be expected to have larger households than those with similar ideas who were not as successful in holding high office.

Such complications call for an approach which can separate the effects of the different variables. Analysis of covariance is a statistical technique that compares the effects of independent categorical divisions (called "factors") of a group on a continuous dependent variable measured at the interval level (in this case household size). At the same time, analysis of covariance adjusts for continuous variables (called covariates). This provides a correction for interval level independent variables considered peripheral to this study: the age of the tenant and the number of years the family has occupied the dwelling. In other

¹⁴For Latin America, see Elizabeth Kuznesof and Robert Oppenheimer, "The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: An Historiographical Introduction," *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), pp. 215-234 and the works cited therein. For England, see the essays by Peter Laslett, Richard Wall, and W.A. Armstrong, in Laslett, ed., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), especially pp. 126, 154, 207.

words, by distinguishing among the effects of the factors and covariates, analysis of covariance can determine whether conservatives, moderates, or radical liberals tended to have distinctly different size households without regard to their ages, marital status, political durability, or length of residence in 1848.¹⁵

Table 4 displays the results of this analysis of covariance in multiple classification analysis format, permitting the comparison of means of subgroups as deviation from the “grand mean” for all groups, 9.97 members per household. The results are presented showing both “unadjusted” and “adjusted” deviations. The column labeled “unadjusted deviation” at the center of the table shows variations in group means before considering the effects of the covariates and other independent variables. Deviations “adjusted” for independent variables and covariates appear in the column at the right side of the table. The “adjusted” figures show variation in the group means after taking into account the effects of the other factors and covariates; they avoid confusing the effects of multiple variables. For the independent variables studied in this table, the adjusted deviations refine the size of the deviations but do not change the relative positions of the groups. These results confirm the speculation that household size varied with politics, success, and marital status. Single men tended to have substantially smaller households with more than four fewer residents than the overall average. Married men averaged households slightly larger than the grand mean, while widowers tended to have somewhat smaller households.

The factor “political endurance” divides the renters into three groups of nearly equal size depending on the total number of months during his political career that each occupied a ministry or the presidency. The ability to maintain a long political career at the cabinet level is linked to socio-economic status, as indicated by the size of the family. Those who held a prominent position for a total of 12 months or more had an average of nearly three additional members resident in their households. Those with relatively average careers (totaling from 4 to 11 months in office) fall very close to the mean household size. The least prominent or enduring politicians averaged nearly three persons less than the mean and more than five residents less than the households of the most politically prominent. These results show a positive correlation between political endurance and household size; those presidents and cabinet ministers who served the longest terms tended to have the largest households.

Radicals, moderates, and conservatives were all members of a social elite with households larger than the rest of the population, but the average size of their households varied between groups. After taking into account the effects of these other variables, there is some evidence that political convictions varied with social status. Moderates averaged households only slightly smaller than the mean for the elite as a whole, while conservatives tended to have slightly larger households. Both moderates and conservatives averaged households of about ten members, while radicals averaged smaller households by two to three members. Radicals tended to have considerably smaller households of between seven and eight residents, much closer to the average of the population as a whole. The variation among the mean sizes of the households of the political elite is consistent with the thesis that their ideas varied with social status and that the radicals were likely to be less prosperous than the moderates or the conservatives.

The correlation between politics and household size raises other important questions. Those whose political positions could not be readily determined averaged the largest households, an observation that is difficult to explain. Part of the anomaly may result from the inadequacy of household size as a proxy for social status. Since households were composed of both family members and servants, the aggregate number of persons housed under a single roof may confound indications of social status with other preferences. A

¹⁵The results presented in the following tables were calculated by subprogram ANOVA of SPSSX, release 2.1, using a classical experimental approach. Interaction effects were not statistically significant. See SPSS Inc., *SPSSX User's Guide* (New York, 1986), pp. 450-463.

larger household might indicate only a desire to gather more family members under the same roof, or it may indicate the necessity of crowding more of the family together to save on housing costs. At the same time, a large household may indicate that the family enjoyed the services of numerous domestic servants, or a large household might require that the housekeeping chores be carried out by numerous family members working at home, a potentially degrading inconvenience in an elite

Table 5
Frequency Distribution of Household Servants for National Political Elite, Mexico City, 1848

Number of Household Servants	Frequency	Cumulative Percent	Percent
0	3	7.0	7.0
1-2	11	25.6	32.6
3	10	23.3	55.9
4-6	13	30.2	86.1
7-15	6	13.9	100.0

Statistics: Mean=	4.1
Median=	3.0
Mode=	3.0
Std. Dev.=	3.4
Minimum=	0.0
Maximum=	15.0
N=	43

Sources: See appendix.

society that devalued manual labor. The number of servants in the household might be a better indication of wealth and social position than household size alone.

Silvia Arrom has suggested that the number of live-in servants is “perhaps the best single indicator of status in nineteenth-century Mexico”.¹⁶ From her analysis of the 1848 census, Arrom concluded that the upper class regularly employed at least three live-in servants in each household. This upper class may have constituted as much as 4 percent of the population of the capital and included the wealthy nobles, miners, and merchants, and the top levels of the governmental, ecclesiastical, and military bureaucracies. The next 18 percent of the population she describes as intellectuals, clerks, professionals, and more modest businessmen, clergy, and military, as well as the most prosperous artisans and shopkeepers, who were still part of the *gente decente*. This “middle class” lived quite comfortably and enjoy the services of one or two live-in servants.

The data in table 5 show that the households of the political elite varied considerably in the number of domestics they employed. Very few had no live-in servants at all, roughly one-quarter lived “middle class” lives with one or two household servants, and the rest of the political elite --more than two-thirds of the total-- maintained conspicuously upper-class households with three or more servants. This would place most elite politicians among the top 4 percent of the population of Mexico City. Since the national capital was the center of wealth and privilege in Mexico, this would probably mean that most of the political elite were part of an even smaller and distinctly prosperous percentage of the

¹⁶Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford, 1985), p. 7.

Table 6
Analysis of Covariance: Number of Domestic Servants by
Politics, Political Endurance, and Marital Status, with age of
tenant, Years in residence and Family size held constant

Grand Mean=3.71				Adjusted for
Variable+Category	N	Unadjusted		Independents
		Dev'n Eta		+Covariates
				Dev'n Beta
Politics				
0 Unknown	6	-0.21		-1.27
1 Radical	6	-2.71		-2.32
2 Moderate	9	0.85		-0.13
3 Conservatives	17	0.58		1.33
		0.43		0.48
Political Endurance				
0 up to 3 months	12	-1.38		-1.03
14 to 11	13	-0.10		-0.84
212 Plus	13	1.37		1.79
		0.39		0.45
Marital Status				
1 Single	8	-1.46		-1.42
2 Married	25	0.41		0.59
3 Widowed	5	0.29		-0.68
		0.27		0.30

Statistics	Sum of		Mean		Signif
Source of variation	Squares	DF	Square	F	of F
Covariates	39.629	3	13.210	2.282	0.102
Age	10.257	1	10.257	1.772	0.194
Years	2.297	1	2.297	0.397	0.534
Family	30.244	1	30.244	5.224	0.030
Main effects	111.872	7	15.982	2.761	0.027
Politics	45.988	3	15.329	2.648	0.069
Politics Endurance	46.105	2	23.052	3.982	0.031
Marital status	15.312	2	7.656	1.322	0.283
Explained	151.502	10	15.150	2.617	0.023
Residual	156.314	27	5.789		
Total	307.816	37	8.319		

N=38, Multiple r squared=0.492. Multiple r=0.702.
Sources: See appendix.

Table 7
Political Groups by Owner of Residence

	Self- Owned	Rented from Private Landlord	Rented from Church	Total
Unknown	2 (20%) (33%)	3 (30%) (21%)	5 (50%) (16%)	10
Radical	1 (11%) (17%)	2 (22%) (14%)	6 (67%) (19%)	9
Moderate	1 (10%) (17%)	1 (10%) (7%)	8 (80%) (25%)	10
Conservative	2 (9%) (33%)	8 (35%) (57%)	13 (56%) (41%)	23
Total	6 (11.5%)	14 (26.9%)	32 (61.5%)	52

Sources: Rental categories from Padrón Municipalidad de México (1848), Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento (Mexico City), v. 3408-3409. For an explanation of political categories see: Stevens, "Instability". An appendix to this paper provides a list of individuals included in this table, their classifications, and locations in the padrón.

Table 8
**Frequency Distribution of Monthly Rents Paid by National
Political Elite, Mexico City, 1848**

Amount of Monthly Rent	Frecuency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
7-25	7	15.2	15.2
26-40	11	23.9	39.1
41-50	11	23.9	63.0
51-75	11	23.9	86.9
76-125	6	13.0	99.9

Statistics: Mean = 48.1
 Median = 46.0
 Mode = 60.0
 St. Dev. = 25.3
 Minimum = 7.0
 Maximum = 125.0
 N = 46

Source: See appendix.

Mexican population as a whole. Half of these politicians were probably merely wealthy, enjoying the attentions of between three and six servants. The most affluent fourteen percent of the total lived extravagantly in households served by seven or more domestics. At the top end of the scale, the most opulent had a dozen or more housekeepers, cooks, scullions, chambermaids, nursemaids, doormen, coachmen, footmen, valets, and others to attend to their comfort. These figures indicate considerable social stratification among the political elite. While most of the political elite were very well-off, a substantial portion lived lives that were notably less luxurious and might be described as merely middle class. Even among those with the ability to hire several specialized servants there was substantial variation.

Table 6 addresses the question of whether the political factions varied in the average numbers of servants in their households. As before, the table includes covariates and factors to account for other sources of variation due to age, years in residence, marital status, and political durability. This table adds family size as a covariate so that the average numbers of servants in each group will not be affected by variations in the size of families. The grand mean for the 38 cases without missing data is 3.7 servants per household. As before, the numbers indicate greater prosperity for the politically durable and the married. The elite politicians who held office for a year or more in their careers had nearly 50 percent more servants in their homes than the average. Single men averaged fewer servants than either widowers or married men.

Once again, when these other factors are taken into account, the political factions vary in social status. Conservatives averaged the greatest number of servants in the home. At a mean of five, the average number of servants in conservative households is 36 percent higher than the grand mean, placing the conservatives well into the fraction of the total population that Arrom's figures indicate was a tiny upper class. Moderates tended to have an average number of domestics not much below the grand mean, placing them toward the lower end of the upper 4 percent of the population. Those whose politics could not be determined and the radicals employed the fewest servants. Radicals had 62 percent fewer domestics than the grand mean, placing them in the social stratum where one to two household servants were common, the group commonly described as "middle class". Although they were still part of the *gente decente*, the radicals were living in conditions less lofty than the economic and social stratum of the conservatives.

The census data permit yet another attempt to test the relationship between social and political divisions. In mid-nineteenth-century Mexico City few families even among the social and political elite owned their own homes. Of the former or soon-to-be presidents and cabinet ministers resident in the city in January of 1848, nearly 90 percent were renters. Two-thirds of the total rented from the Church, or more precisely from various convents, monasteries, hospitals, schools, parishes, chapels, churches, and pious funds. One quarter rented from private landlords. Only about twelve percent (six of 52) owned their residences.¹⁷ The relationship between landlord type and political categories is not strong but the direction of the relationship is intriguing. Liberals, who supported proposals to require the Church to sell its property to private individuals, were more likely to rent from the Church than were conservatives, who defended the Church's right to own property. A large majority of the liberals (80 percent of the moderates and 67 percent of the radicals) paid rent to ecclesiastic corporations. In contrast, only a little more than half the conservatives rented from the Church, while the other half rented from private owners or owned their own homes.¹⁸

Like the other indicators of social status, rent varied considerably within the elite. Table 8 indicates that most of the rents paid by the national political elite fell into the range between \$25 and \$75 per month. Since nearly 90 percent of the elite rented rather than

¹⁷Of these six, two were conservatives, two moderates, one a radical, and one I have not been able to classify; see Appendix.

¹⁸See Table 7.

owned their homes, we would expect these variations in rent would be positively correlated with status; the greater a family's wealth, the more they would spend on housing to enjoy the comforts of money, entertain friends, and impress acquaintances. Rents paid by the political elite in 1848 varied from a low of \$7 per month paid by Luis Arroyo (a thirty-year-old unmarried conservative) to a high of \$125 per month paid by Ignacio Trigueros (a forty-four-year-old married conservative). Certainly other factors enter into the equation besides income: family size, years of residence, age of housing, location, and taste, for example. Of these variables, most can be accounted for statistically, but location does not seem to have had a significant impact on the rental cost of housing among the elite. Nearly all of the political elite (88.5 percent) lived in the area within a few blocks of the Zócalo, but the rents of those who lived on the fringes of the capital were not significantly lower than the average.¹⁹ The literature from the period suggests an additional variable which would influence the rent paid for a house in Mexico City. Houses in Mexico City were expensive and hard to find for outsiders. Even during the boom years at the end of the eighteenth century, little new housing was constructed in Mexico City. There is little reason to believe that there was much improvement in the supply of housing after independence, given the deleterious effects of instability and war which not only hampered the economy but brought more migrants to the city as well. Shortages of housing were common in nineteenth-century Mexico.²⁰

Preferential renting at below-market rates may have been one way families helped to mitigate these circumstances. The experiences of one of Mexico City's most famous new residents illustrate the problems of new arrivals in the city. Frances Calderón de la Barca, the wife of the first Spanish ambassador to Mexico, arrived in late 1839 to find that rents for houses in Mexico City were "extremely high," adding that in the capital there was "nothing tolerable to be had under two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, unfurnished".²¹ This is a sum roughly twice the highest rent paid by a member of the political elite in 1848, and one suspects that the landlords of Mexico were suggesting rents far beyond the normal, assuming the new ambassador would pay. Securing a residence required not only appeasing the owner, but at times the previous tenant as well. Among other expenses, Madame Calderón de la Barca noted "the extraordinary custom of paying a sum called *traspaso*, sometimes to the amount of fourteen thousand dollars, taking your chance of having the money repaid you by the next person who takes the house." After weeks of looking for a suitable home she was ready to explain the problems she faced, noting in her journal, "As to prices, I conclude we pay for being foreigners and diplomates [*sic*]"²²

The Calderóns' search for a suitable residence might not have been a unique experience. Internal migrants as well as international migrants had imperfect knowledge of the housing market in Mexico City, and migrants to the capital from the Mexican provinces faced an additional obstacle, a step increase in the amount they would need to spend on housing. Once again this fact did not escape the observation of Madame Calderón. Sometime later, while on a tour of the provinces, she noticed that the rents

¹⁹Forty-six of 52 lived in the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 13th, and 14th *cuarteles*. The rents of those six who lived further from the Zócalo averaged \$43, about the same as the overall average (see Appendix). Although the edge of the city was partially inhabited by Indians living in shacks, there were also substantial houses for the elite. The first Spanish ambassador to Mexico, for example, settled in a house north of the Alameda park. See Frances Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico: The Letters of Fanny Calderón de la Barca, with New Material from the Author's Private Journals*, edited and annotated by Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher (New York, 1966), p. 697, fn. 2.

²⁰Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, "Construction and Contractors: A Methodological Approach to the Study of Architectural Styles in Mexico City," *Latin American Research Review*, 10 (1975), pp. 128-129; Alejandra Moreno Toscano and Carlos Aguirre Anaya, "Migrations to Mexico City in the Nineteenth Century: Research Approaches," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 17 (1975), pp. 27-42.

²¹The comments on the costs of housing do not appear in all published versions of her letters, but were part of the tenth letter, written 25 February 1840. The most convenient edition of the work containing these lines is *Life in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1982), p. 101. The edition most frequently cited by historians, the Fishers' edition of *Life in Mexico*, does not contain this material.

²²*Life in Mexico*, p. 102.

Table 9

**Analysis of Covariance : Rent by Politics, Political Endurance,
Regional Origin, and Owner of Dwelling, with Age of tenant, years
in residence, Family size, and Servants held constant**

Variable+ Category	Unadjusted N	Dev'n Eta	Adjusted for Independents + Covariates Dev'n Beta	
Grand mean = 45.79				
Politics				
0 Unknown	6	4.54	9.06	
1 Radical	6	0.54	17.13	
2 Moderate	9	0.65	-7.04	
3 Conservative	17	-2.14	-5.52	
			0.11	0.42
Political Endurance				
0 up to 3 months	12-8.5	12.84		
14 TO 11	13	3.36	10.74	
212 plus	13	4.52	1.11	
			0.26	0.43
Regional origin				
1 Mexico City	16-7.66-11.85			
2 Provincial	22	5.57	8.62	
Owner of Dwelling				
1 Private	14	-7.00	-12.96	
2 Church	24	4.09	7.56	
			0.24	0.45

Statistics	Sum of	DF	Mean	F	Signif
Source of variation	Squares		Square		of F
Covariates	2 596.701	4	694.175	1.967	0.129
Age	0.726	1	0.726	0.002	0.963
Years	10.925	1	10.925	0.033	0.857
Family	783.017	1	783.017	2.373	0.136
Servants	975.197	1	975.197	2.955	0.098
Main effects	7 462.882	7	1 066.126	3.230	0.013
Politics	1 986.113	3	662.038	2.006	0.138
Promscal	2 352.044	2	1 176.022	3.563	0.043
Native	3 179.627	1	3 179.627	9.634	0.005
Owner	2 576.399	1	2 576.399	7.807	0.010
Explained	10 059.584	11	914.508	2.771	0.016
Residual	8 580.732	26	330.028		
Total	18 640.316	37	503.792		

N=38, Multiple r squared=0.540. Multiple r=0.735.
Sources: See appendix.



were much lower outside Mexico City. From the capital of the state of Michoacán she wrote: "Living and house-rent is so cheap here, that a family who could barely exist upon their means in Mexico, may enjoy every luxury in Valladolid".²³ Those with kin and other social connections, the natives of Mexico City, and its long-term residents may well have had an advantage in securing housing through better knowledge of the market and preferential treatment by landlords, and the same market may have worked against outsiders.²⁴

These variables are examined in Table 9, which displays mean house rents for social and political groups, controlling for the effects of the covariates age, years in residence, family size, and the number of domestic servants. The factors which affected the rents paid include the origin of the head of household. The results indicate that natives of Mexico City did enjoy a comparative advantage in the housing market in their natal city. Elite politicians of provincial origins tended to pay \$54 per month in rent while those born in the capital paid only about \$34, amounting to almost a 50 percent increase in rent for provincial politicians in otherwise equal social circumstances. Those who rented from the Church also paid a premium amounting to almost 50 percent, since those who paid rents to private landlords averaged \$33 at the same time those renting from the Church paid a mean rent of \$53 per month. Other things being equal, the best housing deals in the national capital were enjoyed by natives of the city who rented from private individuals rather than the Church.

The widest variations in house rent are associated with variations in political positions. Moderates and conservatives paid rents that were nearly equivalent and roughly 15 percent less than the average for all groups. Only about \$1.5 per month separated the average rents of these two groups, a difference equivalent to about three percent of the average monthly rent. This similarity in social conditions between the conservatives and the moderate liberals stands in contrast to the social distance between them and the more extreme liberals. The radicals paid rents considerably higher by more than \$17 per month, a sum that is 37 percent higher than the mean. The difference is especially pronounced between the rents of the radicals and the rest; with an average monthly house rent of \$62.9, radicals paid 56 percent more than the average of conservatives (\$40.2), and 63 percent more than that of the moderates (\$38.7). Given that radicals tended to have smaller households and fewer servants than the moderates or the conservatives, it seems more likely that the higher rents radicals paid took a larger bite out of the household budget than the relatively lower amounts paid by moderates and conservatives. Those who were most determined to alter the distribution of property in Mexico were those whose personal situations demonstrated to them the existence of a link between the conservative policies and the economic advantages of their political opponents.

These articulations between social strata and political divisions in nineteenth-century Mexico have long been the subject of speculation, but seldom the object of investigation. Previously little direct evidence has been brought to bear on the question raised by generations of historians who have suggested links between social conditions and political convictions. Earlier investigations have examined two proxies for social class, occupation and regional origins. Of these, occupation is the more superficial. The political factions of post-independence Mexico were not readily distinguishable by the professions of their leaders; most of the liberals as well as the conservatives tended to be lawyers or military officers. Differences in regional origins may have been more significant. Historians have traditionally linked conservatives to the economic and social elite resident in Mexico City, but the hypothetical articulation between the social stratification of the capital and the political fissures evident in the political conflict of the time has been marred by a potential

²³*Life in Mexico*, p. 509.

²⁴The role of the family in distributing economic resources is well known. On kinship and housing choices see Linda Greenow, "Microgeographic Analysis as an Index to Family Structure and Networks," *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), pp. 278-279.



APPENDIX

<u>Last names</u>	<u>First names</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Politics</u>	<u>Rent/ Value</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Cuartel</u>	<u>Manzana</u>
Alegría	Mariano	Provincial	Married	43	Conservative	\$27	Church	11	104
Anaya	Juan Pablo	Provincial	Married	63	Radical	\$15	Private	14	131
Anievas	Ignacio	Mexico City	Widower	29	Conservative	\$10	Private	13	122
Arriolja	Miguel María	Provincial	Married	41	Radical	\$90	Church	29	219
Arroyo	Luis	Mexico City	Single	28	Conservative	\$7	Private	26	186
Barrera	Ignacio de la	Mexico City	Married	49	Santanista	\$50	Church	1	6
Canseco	Manuel María	Mexico City	Single	49	Conservative	\$39	Church	14	139
Ceballos	Juan	Provincial	Married	37	Moderate	\$30	Church	5	43
Cervantes	José María	Provincial	Widower	32	Conservative	\$60	Church	5	49
Couto	José Bernardo	Provincial	Married	45	Radical	\$22,500	Self	11	92
Cuevas	Luis Gonzaga	Provincial	Married	48	Conservative	\$60	Private	14	130
Díaz de la Vega	Rómulo	Mexico City	Married	44	Conservative	\$27	Private	11	93
Diez de Bonilla	Manuel	Mexico City	Married	48	Conservative	\$30,000	Self	1	4
Durán	José María	Mexico City	Married	48	Unknown	\$33	Church	14	135
Elguero	José Hilario	Mexico City	Single	33	Conservative	\$40	Church	1	5
Espinosa de los Monteros	Juan José	Mexico City	Widower	80	Moderate	\$30	Church	9	79
Fernández del Castillo	Pedro	Provincial	Married	49	Conservative	\$42	Private	14	129
Fonseca	José Urbano	Mexico City	Married	56	Moderate	\$40	Church	1	2
Garay	Antonio	Provincial	Married	42	Unknown	\$50	Church	5	41
García	José	Mexico City	Single	33	Conservative	\$10	Church	1	4
García Aguirre	Manuel	Mexico City	Widower	50	Conservative	\$12,000	Self	1	13
García Conde	José	Mexico City	Married	47	Moderate	\$41	Church	1	5
Gochicoa	Francisco	Mexico City	Single	23	Radical	\$25	Private	5	47
Gómez Pedraza	Manuel	Provincial	Married	59	Moderate	\$85	Church	1	4
Gorostiza	Manuel Eduardo	Provincial	Married	49	Radical	\$60	Church	14	129
Herrera	José Joaquín de	Provincial	Widower	56	Moderate	\$46	Church	14	125
Hierro Maldonado	Juan	Provincial	Single	46	Conservative	\$100	Church	1	4
Iglesias	José María	Mexico City	Single	25	Radical	\$53	Church	7	61
Jáuregui	José María	Mexico City	Married	53	Unknown	\$8	Church	1	5
Jorrín	Pedro	Provincial	Single	36	Unknown (missing)		Self	3	30
Lafragua	José María	Provincial	Single	35	Moderate	\$46	Church	7	63
Larraínzar	Manuel	Provincial	Married	39	Conservative	\$60	Private	3	77



Lerdo	Miguel	Provincial	Married	36	Radical	\$90	Church	1	1
Lombardini	Manuel	Mexico City	Married	46	Santanista	\$26	Church	2	16
Marín	José Mariano	Mexico City	Married	36	Unknown	\$80	Private	24	189
Marín	Teófilo	Mexico City	Single	23	Conservative	\$41	Church	17	150
Ortiz Monasterio	José María	Mexico City	Married	48	Unknown	\$7	Church	1	10
Otero	Mariano	Provincial	Married	31	Moderate	\$60	Private	7	62
Palacio	Lucas	Provincial	Married	34	Moderate (missing)		Self	1	5
Pavón	José Ignacio	Provincial	Married	57	Conservative	\$30	Private	13	122
Pérez de Lebrija	Agustín	Mexico City	Married	60	Unknown	\$61	Private	9	79
Piña y Cuevas	Manuel	Mexico City	Married	44	Conservative	\$5	Church	14	125
Rodríguez Puebla	Juan	Mexico City	Married	50	Radical	\$35	Church	14	131
Rondero	Juan	Mexico City	Married	46	Unknown	\$14,000	Self	5	47
Sagaceta	Gabriel	Mexico City	Married	39	Conservative	\$83	Church	14	124
Salas	Mariano	Mexico City	Married	51	Conservative	\$60	Church	1	12
Suárez Iriarte	Francisco	Mexico City	Married	44	Radical	\$60	Church	1	1
Trigueros	Ignacio	Provincial	Married	43	Santanista	\$125	Church	14	131
Vélez	Pedro	Provincial	Widower	61	Moderate	\$5	Church	1	6
Villamil	José Lázaro	Provincial	Married	40	Unknown	\$5	Private	5	50
Zaldívar	José María	Mexico City	Single	28	Conservative	\$16	Private	15	140
Zubieta	Pedro	Provincial	Widower	43	Unknown	\$5	Church	1	1

SOURCES: Padrón Municipalidad de México (1848), Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento, v. 3408-3409. D. F. Stevens, "Instability in Mexico from Independence to the War of the Reform" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984).

ecological fallacy. The traditional capital was, in fact, the birthplace of a preponderance of conservative politicians, and home to a disproportionately large number of colonial New Spain's and republican Mexico's wealthy and powerful families. Yet this essential connection between the social and the political elites has not been demonstrated conclusively before. Lacking crucial evidence, the arguments linking social strata to political factions have been only speculative, and the hypothesis of a connection between region and politics has been subject to the appropriate logical qualification that the ecological fallacy might apply. There was no systematic evidence linking conservative politics to the economic elite.

The evidence examined here is subject to three significant limitations and qualifications. First, is the data examined here in any sense representative of a large group? Roughly two hundred men dominated the executive offices of the national government between independence and the Wars of the Reform and French Intervention. The individuals included in this study were not selected at random; the sample is stratified, consisting of only elite executives. It may be that different results might characterize a political elite selected on the basis of legislative, local government, or other experience. Roughly one-quarter of the national executive elite were residents of the national capital in 1848 when the census was taken. In some ways, the data comprise a fortuitous sample; some of the elite had died before 1848, others were living elsewhere, and several residents were not adequately enumerated by the census taker. Enough crucial data were missing to reduce the number of cases used in the analysis of variance from 52 to 38. Despite these limitations, these three dozen individuals comprise nearly 20 percent of the men who served as presidents or cabinet ministers during the period.

Second, the study is also limited geographically. In a country as varied as Mexico, it may well be that different patterns applied in other regions. The relationship between social conditions and political convictions in the provinces would certainly be worth investigating, but in many ways a study of the elite in Mexico City has its advantages. The national capital drew ambitious politicians from the outlying states and may be more representative of the nation as a whole than any other single city or state. At the same time, there is no reason to slip back into the facile assumption that the individuals who migrated from a particular state were representative of any particular class there. Nor can the general patterns found in this study explain every individual case. Radicals in general may have come from a lower social stratum and may have felt greater economic pressures from an expensive and arbitrary housing market in the national capital, but one of the examples cited earlier in this paper is a conspicuous contradiction to this generalization. José Bernardo Couto was a radical but he lived well, served by 14 domestics in an expensive house that he owned rather than rented. Wealthy radicals certainly existed but they were not as common as prosperous moderates and plutocratic conservatives. The condition of any individual is not a refutation of the general trends and multivariate analysis presented here. Statistical anomalies will always exist, but the idiosyncratic example does not invalidate the generalization.

Third, this research is also limited in its ability to examine the family beyond the immediate household. Much of the speculation here, suggesting that many prosperous families paid what seem to be unreasonably low rents as a result of social connections, is subject to empirical verification. Investigation of the family business relationships between landlords and tenants might well require a modification of this conjecture, but evidence from other historical and anthropological studies suggests that the hypothesis is at least reasonable. Kinship can substantially affect access to the housing market and the location of residences.

Subject to these qualifications and limitations, the data examined here lead to the conclusion that the social differences were politically significant. The political factions of mid-nineteenth-century Mexico did vary in wealth and social position. The national political elite was drawn from the middle and upper classes, placing them among the top



20 percent or so of the population of the country. Within this strata, the factions occupied different positions in that hierarchy. Political radicals occupied the lower rungs of the social elite; they were more likely to live middle class lives with smaller households and fewer servants than the upper class. Conservatives held the uppermost social positions with the largest households and greatest profusion of household servants. Moderates tended to occupy the intermediate social space; their lives were neither so opulent and pampered as the conservatives', nor as unpretentious and prosaic as the radicals'.

On the basis of these variables the social hierarchy seems clear and direct, but the rents these families paid for housing do not correspond directly to their social positions. Moderates and conservatives tended to have larger households and more servants, but they paid lower monthly rents than the radicals. Ownership also had a significant impact on house rent. The Church tended to charge rents that were substantially higher, in equal circumstances, than the rents charged by private landlords. Part of this differential may be due not to the deviation of the Church from prevailing market rates, but to family members granting their relatives preferential access to housing. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that prevailing rents were probably higher in general in the capital than in the provinces. According to a contemporary observation, an income that permitted a life of luxury in the provinces was not sufficient in Mexico City. Together these circumstances put additional pressure on the household budgets of those outsiders who migrated from the provinces to take up positions in the national political elite. Family connections and long-term residence probably meant that the natives of the city got the best deals. This argument suggests another intriguing hypothesis: the Church may not have been as great an obstacle to the operation of market forces in the capital as were the actions and preferences of private landlords. If private landlords tended to discriminate by renting at discount rates to kin and business associates, the rents charged by the Church might have been higher, but more accurate indicators of the actual market for rental housing. Nevertheless, ownership of about half of the property in the city made ecclesiastical corporations a convenient target for radicals seeking to alter the distribution of property. None of this need imply that liberals were solely or even predominantly concerned with their own private circumstances, but neither were the social and political realms entirely separated. Political convictions correspond to social conditions.





Carlos Contreras Cruz

La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX: espacio y población

Introducción

En la historiografía nacional sobre el porfiriato predomina el planteamiento de que el aumento de la inversión extranjera, el desarrollo de los ferrocarriles, la abolición del sistema de alcabalas, el uso de nuevas fuentes de energía, así como el desarrollo y diversificación de las estructuras financieras y monetarias dio como resultado un crecimiento económico sin precedentes y una ampliación de la base demográfica que produjeron profundas transformaciones en la estructura socioeconómica nacional. En este contexto, se reconstituyó la hegemonía de la ciudad de México al mismo tiempo que la vieja zona de asentamiento urbano del altiplano, fuente principal del esplendor colonial, quedó rezagada del crecimiento económico. La ciudad de México jugó un papel fundamental en el proceso de desarrollo económico y en la centralización política del régimen porfirista. El crecimiento demográfico, el desarrollo ferroviario, la ampliación de los servicios financieros y bancarios, así como el incremento de la planta productiva hicieron de la ciudad de México el principal centro económico y político del país.

Bajo esta perspectiva cabe preguntarse que sucedió con la ciudad de Puebla, antiguo emporio colonial, durante las últimas décadas del porfiriato. ¿El proceso de crecimiento urbano sufrió modificaciones después del periodo de estancamiento y destrucción a que se vio sometida la ciudad y sus habitantes durante la primera parte del siglo XIX?

Caos y destrucción urbana en la primera mitad del siglo XIX

La ciudad de Puebla sufrió en el transcurso de la primera mitad del siglo XIX una serie de percances y destrucciones que alteraron su fisonomía. El inicio de la guerra de independencia dio por resultado el levantamiento por distintos rumbos de fosos y murallas destinadas a salvaguardar la ciudad del posible asedio insurgente: en 1811 se iniciaron los primeros trabajos para abrir zanjas y fosos con objeto de cerrar las principales entradas a la ciudad. Eduardo Gómez Haro transcribe la orden del intendente don José Moreno y D. según la cual “la construcción de paredes y puertas, deberían de ser del espesor de una vara cuando menos y de una altura que no excediera a tres, y con escalones que proporcionaran la observación de la parte exterior y facilitaran el uso del fusil”.¹ Durante esa década se construyó y reconstruyó la defensa de la ciudad con el consabido deterioro de las finanzas municipales. Todavía en 1819, el comandante general don Ciriaco del Haro

¹Eduardo Gómez Haro, *La ciudad de Puebla y la Guerra de Independencia*, Puebla, Imprenta de “Arte Tipográfico”, p. 97. La lista formada por el Ayuntamiento era la siguiente: “Fosos, Santa Mónica, Calle Sacristía, Esquina Casa del Agua, de la pulquería del Arco Chico, esquina espalda de Las Recogidas, los de la esquina de la calzada y del temascal de San Antonio; los de San Antonio y esquina de las Garitas; Pulquería del Arco Grandes, esquina del Obraje de Lomba, esquina Cruz de Loza, esquina Salitería, esquina Plaza de San Pablito, esquina de San (...), calle de Moscoso, esquina Mesón Loza, dos de esquina de Espíndola, esquina de la calle del Padre Avila, esquina de Quintanilla, Parral esquina Ramos, esquina de la Calavera, esquina Andrade, esquina Villarreal, esquina de La Troje, esquina de la pulquería del Gato, calle Arbolitos, esquina Carmen, esquina Cabezas, Camarín, esquina calle Jacal, esquina de las Bacas, esquina del Agua Escondida, esquina Puente Ancho, esquina Puente Ovando, esquina de San Roque, Parian, pulquería de La Madre, (“muralla de 100 varas de largo, construida con muy poca piedra y la mayor parte de tierra o arena que es lo mismo que nada”)”. AAP *Expedientes sobre Servicio Militar*, T. 118, Lej. 1294, 1813, ff. 67-70.

mandó componer los viejos parapetos pues “jamás es ociosa ninguna precaución porque ella, no sólo asegura la paz de los vecinos, sino que embaraza cualquier tentación que la malicia intente”.²

Al caos provocado por la apertura de zanjas y fosos se sumó las continuas destrucciones que sufrieron algunas zonas de la ciudad debido a los distintos sitios a que fue sometida Puebla durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX. El primer sitio lo llevaron a cabo las tropas de don Nicolás Bravo y don José Joaquín de Herrera a principios de julio de 1821; del 3 al 10 de julio de 1824 los generales Mariano Arista y Gabriel Durán sitiaron a la ciudad defendida por el gobernador Patricio Furlong y don Guadalupe Victoria; Santa Ana envió al general Luis Quintanar con fusiles, hombres y 30 piezas de artillería entre el 10. de junio y el 31 de julio de 1834. En enero de 1845 nuevamente Santa Ana atacó la ciudad con una fuerza de 13 mil hombres que fueron obligados a retirarse por la acción del general Ignacio Inclán; tres sitios sufrió la ciudad en 1856, los dos primeros iniciados en enero al mando de don Antonio Haro y Tamariz y don Ignacio Comonfort con duración de 8 y 41 días respectivamente, el tercero, tuvo lugar entre el 28 de octubre al 6 de diciembre y fue comandado por don Joaquín Orihuela y don Miguel Miramón. El que ejecutó al ejército francés al mando del general Forey del 16 de marzo al 17 de mayo de 1863, y por último, el que decidió la caída del Imperio y el triunfo de la República del 8 de marzo al 2 de abril de 1867 al mando del general Porfirio Díaz.³

De los distintos sitios merece mención especial el asalto francés de 1863. Para enfrentar la invasión francesa la ciudad se fortificó y redobló sus defensas.⁴ El resultado de la contienda fue la destrucción parcial de parte de la ciudad, sobre todo en el lado poniente en el cual manzanas enteras quedaron arruinadas. Un buen número de iglesias, edificios públicos y casas en general se vieron afectadas. Un año después, en 1864, la ciudad aún no se restablecía y cuando el emperador Maximiliano y su esposa visitaron la ciudad de Puebla se manifestaron profundamente conmovidos al ver el estado de ruina en que se encontraban varios edificios.⁵

Las guías y relatos de viajeros presentaban a la ciudad invadida de una ola creciente de asaltos, de bandidos y de marginados que merodeaban la región y alteraban el orden público. Además, se referían con frecuencia a la pobreza de la ciudad y de sus habitantes. Poinsett en 1822 dice que “en medio de todo este esplendor [refiriéndose a las construcciones coloniales] erraban indios miserables y semidesnudos que nos miraban boquiabiertos”, “todas las casas son de piedra, amplias y cómodas; no hay ni una sola que indique que allí mora la pobreza y, sin embargo, fue donde vimos mayor número de seres escuálidos y miserables, vestidos con harapos, enseñando sus lacras y deformidades para despertar compasión”. Para Ward, “la Puebla tenía, en aquel entonces, una población de *lazzaroni* tan numerosa como la de la capital”. Más de una década después, madame Calderón de la Barca se refiere a la “extrema impresión de malestar” que “producen las calles, donde, a pesar de que...es día de fiesta, no vemos sino grupos de campesinos o de

²Gómez Haro, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³*Ibid.*, p. 180-183. Cf. también Enrique A. Cervantes, *Bosquejo del desarrollo de la ciudad de Puebla*, México, 1938, p. 13. Múltiples referencias se encuentran en las obras de: Antonio Carrión Coronel, *Historia de la ciudad de Puebla de los Angeles*, Puebla, editorial José M. Cajica Jr., 1970, t. II y Enrique Cordero y Torres, *Historia compendiada del estado de Puebla*, Puebla, publicaciones del grupo literario “Bohemia Poblana”, 1965, t. II.

⁴Según Hugo Leicht, “los fuertes que además de Guadalupe y Loreto en el norte, entonces se construyeron y figuraron en el sitio de 1863 son las siguientes: al poniente: *Demócrata* (Santa Ana), *Señor de los Trabajos*, *Iturbide* (penitenciaria); al sur *Morelos*, incluyendo Calera del Parral, *Hidalgo* (Carmen), *Ingenieros...* es el único para que no se utilizaron edificios existentes, al oriente, *Zaragoza* (Remedios) e *Independencia* (Misericordia)”. *Las Calles de Puebla*, Puebla, Junta de Mejoramiento Moral, Cívico y Material del Municipio de Puebla, 1980, p. 219.

⁵Cf. *Breve noticia del recibimiento y permanencia de SS.MM.II* en la S.f.p. 13 y ss. Para otras referencias sobre la destrucción de casas y edificios: José de Mendizábal “Evolución Topográfica de la ciudad de Puebla” en *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica “Antonio Alzate”*, México, Imprenta del Gobierno Federal en el ex-Arzobispado, tomo VIII, 1894-1895, pp. 255-269. Gral. Jesús González Ortega, *La Defensa de Puebla*, con notas bibliográficas de B. Vicuña, Mackena, e introducción de Daniel Moreno México, B. Costa - AMIC. Editor, 1978, 141 págs. Tirso Rafael Córdoba, *El sitio de Puebla*, introducción, biografía y notas de Daniel Moreno, Puebla, Editorial de José M. Cajica Jr., 1970, 358 págs.

mendigos”. En 1863 se escribía que “quién se atreva a salir a los alrededores de Puebla sin contar con una escolta o con alguna protección especial, puede estar seguro que perderá su dinero, su caballo, su chaqueta, su camisa, sus pantalones y con ellos también la vida”. A una pregunta sobre las barricadas erigidas en la ciudad, la respuesta fue que “se encontraban listas para cualquier caso de emergencia”, bien podían servir para la guerra o como defensa en contra de las bandas montadas que de repente atraviesan la ciudad causando destrozos”. Estas descripciones pueden ser exageradas y las podemos encontrar en otras regiones del país, sin embargo, son fiel reflejo de los problemas que afrontaba la ciudad de Puebla a mediados del siglo XIX.⁶

Finalmente, la crisis demográfica que afectó a la ciudad entre mediados del siglo XVIII y mediados del siglo XIX tuvo como consecuencia directa la disminución o cuando menos el estancamiento del número de casas que se erigían sobre el espacio urbano. En la excelente obra de *Puebla Sagrada y Profana* se hace mención que para el siglo XVIII había un total de 3 595 casas que formaban la planta básica de la ciudad. (“se entiende las principales, a las que se agregan como cuatrocientos o quinientas accesorias, y no entrando las casillas o chozas de los naturales...”). Casi un siglo después, *El Album Mexicano de 1849* menciona la existencia de 3 066 casas con un valor de nueve millones trescientos mil pesos. Además, las fincas rústicas alcanzaban un total de 49 unidades que disponían de 170 caballerías, 10 fanegas y 7 y medio almudes de sembradura. Por tanto el valor total de la propiedad situada en la ciudad y sus inmediaciones debió ascender a un poco más de los diez millones de pesos.⁷ El estancamiento y el despoblamiento urbano tuvieron un fiel reflejo en la magnitud del espacio ocupado por la ciudad. Pues los límites urbanos de la ciudad colonial de finales del siglo XVIII permanecieron casi intactos durante el siglo XIX. El número de manzanas que constituían los dieciséis cuarteles menores en que estuvo dividida la ciudad durante este periodo pasaron de 305 a 301 manzanas entre 1832 y 1856-1863

La modernidad porfiriana

A finales del siglo XIX la ciudad de Puebla se verá sometida a cierto proceso de recuperación y modernización con respecto al periodo de estancamiento de la primera mitad del siglo. Este proceso giró en torno a la acción de varios elementos entre los que se pueden resaltar; el auge de las construcciones, sobre todo públicas, que a partir de 1880 alteraron la planta arquitectónica de la ciudad, al desarrollo de las comunicaciones que integraron el espacio y conectaron a la ciudad con la capital del país y con las principales ciudades del interior del estado, y el impulso en la dotación de ciertos servicios urbanos que después de 1907 le dieron a una ciudad una nueva fisonomía. En su conjunto, estos elementos fueron modificando lentamente el paisaje de acuerdo a las pautas vigentes en la sociedad mexicana de finales de siglo.

En cuanto a la reconstrucción urbana podemos decir que la planta territorial de la ciudad se mantuvo sin cambios entre los años de 1856/1863 y 1900/1910. El número de manzanas registradas en 1902 apenas llegaba a 333 y el número de fincas urbanas censadas en 1911 por la Asamblea de propietarios poblanos, ascendió a 3 600 con un valor de treinta millones de pesos.⁸ A diferencia de la ciudad de México parece no haber

⁶J.R. Poinsett. *Sobre México* (1822), México, Editorial Jus, 1973 p. 83-84. Henry George Ward, *México en 1827*. México, FCE 1981, p. 468, Madame Calderón de la Barca *La vida en México durante una estancia de dos años en ese país*. México, Editorial Porrúa, 1981, p. 468, Jesús Monjarás, *México en 1863, testimonios germanos sobre la intervención francesa*, México, Septentius, 1974, p. 150-151.

⁷Fray Juan de Villa Sánchez, *Puebla Sagrada y Profana...* p. 45 y *Album Mexicano*, Puebla 1849.

⁸Enrique Juan Palacios, *Puebla, su territorio y sus habitantes*, México, Departamento de Talleres Gráficos de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1917, p. 265.

existido en Puebla un proceso de creación de fraccionamientos y colonias a finales del porfiriato que fueron la base de la ampliación del espacio urbano.⁹

Después del largo periodo de sitios y destrucciones que sufre la ciudad, comienza en la década de los ochenta un incesante proceso de construcciones públicas que embellecen y modifican el paisaje urbano. Entre las principales obras destacan: la construcción del actual Palacio Municipal, cuyas obras se iniciaron en 1897 y terminaron en 1901; la edificación de la Casa de Maternidad, la reconstrucción del antiguo Colegio de San Idelfonso en 1894 para alojar la Escuela de Artes y Oficios del estado y el Hospicio de Pobres, la penitenciaría del estado que se comenzó a edificar en 1844 en lo que fuera el Colegio de Jesuitas de San Javier y que fue destruido en 1863, se vio por fin terminado en 1891, por último, a partir de 1908 se inició la construcción del mercado central conocido como “La Victoria”. Este proceso también se dio en las construcciones privadas. Un observador de la época se refería al “sinnúmero de casas en construcción” que había por toda la ciudad de la manera siguiente: “Ha llegado a tal grado el furor por construir casas que es raro pasar por alguna calle donde no se encuentre alguna finca en construcción. Hasta hace poco tiempo se veían gran número de casas en ruinas, debido a los estragos de los sitios que sufrió Puebla, y nadie pensaba en reconstruir, pero hoy que ha aumentado el censo y que el gobierno expidió un decreto hábil haciendo grandes concesiones a los que construyen o reedifican fincas, se nota que hay un verdadero afán por construir...”¹⁰ Así, la vieja fisonomía de corte colonial le fue sucediendo otra de rasgos afrancesados típica del porfiriato.

En cuanto al desarrollo de los transportes y las vías de comunicación, Puebla estaba comunicada hacia finales del siglo con la ciudad de México a través de cuatro “corridos diarios” que proporcionaban el Ferrocarril Mexicano y el Ferrocarril Interocéánico. A través de estas líneas los poblanos podían dirigirse también a Veracruz. Además de las principales líneas, cruzaban el territorio poblano el Ferrocarril del Sur que ligaba los distritos de Tepeaca, Tecamachalco y Tehuacán con la ciudad de Oaxaca. De la ciudad de Tehuacán existía a su vez un ramal, el de Esperanza, que se unía al Ferrocarril Mexicano que iba de la ciudad de México a Veracruz. Asimismo, existía el ferrocarril a Matamoros que pasaba por los distritos de Cholula, Atlixco y Matamoros, hasta vincular a Puebla con el estado de Morelos. Hacia el norte, el ferrocarril oriental unía a la capital estatal con la sierra norte de Puebla, llegando hasta la ciudad de Teztlán. El periodo de mayor expansión de los ferrocarriles por territorio poblano se dio en los años de 1880 a 1890. Para fines del porfiriato recorrían el estado cerca de mil kilómetros de vías férreas, mientras que para 1882/1883 sólo había un total de 275 kilómetros.

Por su parte, la ciudad y sus alrededores contaban con dos sistemas paralelos de transporte que al decir de un observador, “movilizaban un promedio de 46 mil personas mensualmente”.¹¹ Uno era el ferrocarril industrial que unía a la ciudad de Cholula, Huejotzingo y la zona de fábricas. Para 1902 se habían construido más de 50 kilómetros de vía y el material rodante constaba de “27 coches para pasajeros, 30 plataformas, carros de carga y 200 mulas”. Su papel era relevante pues sus líneas tocaban “más de treinta fábricas y haciendas”.¹² El otro, era un sistema de tranvías conocido como Ferrocarril Urbano de Puebla que disponía de

⁹Según Enrique Cordero y Torres fue hasta 1911-1920 que la ciudad creció en 76 manzanas. Diez años después llegó a haber 49 manzanas nuevas. Es hasta la década de los treinta cuando comienza a manifestarse la extensión de la periferia con la creación de las colonias “Hogar del empleado” “Amor” y “Santa María”. *Crónicas de mi ciudad Puebla-México* (s/e) 1966. p. 11. Por otro lado, en el caso de la ciudad de México, su planta se cuadruplica entre los últimos años del siglo XIX y los primeros del XX. Entre las principales causas estaban (además del crecimiento de la población, el desarrollo del transporte y la recuperación política, económica y cultural de la capital): el impacto de la desamortización que puso en movimiento el mercado de bienes raíces y la consolidación del suelo urbano y suburbano que permitieron, finalmente, la creación de numerosas colonias. Al respecto véase, María Dolores Morales, “La expansión de la ciudad de México en el siglo XIX: el caso de los fraccionamientos”, en Alejandra Moreno Toscano (coord.) *Ciudad de México, ensayo de construcción de una historia*. México, Sep-Inah, 1978, Col. Científica no. 61, p. 189-200.

¹⁰*Boletín Municipal*, órgano especial de la Asamblea de Concejales, tomo X, Puebla de Zaragoza, 25 de mayo de 1890, no. 29, p. 3.

¹¹Manuel Caballero, *Primer Directorio del estado de Puebla...* México, Tipografía de E. Dublán y Comp., 1891-1892, p. 9.

¹²J.R. Soutwork, *El estado de Puebla, su historia, comercio, minería e industria. Sus elementos naturales* (en inglés y español), México, s.e., 1901, tomo VII, p. 60.

una red de 24 kilómetros. El servicio era proporcionado por 46 vagones de pasajeros, 6 plataformas de carga y 3 carrozas fúnebres. Su tracción de “sangre” utilizaba un total de 180 mulas y proporcionaba empleo a 150 trabajadores.¹³ Se brindaba servicio a la población citadina a través de varias líneas; “circuito Estaciones, Carmen - San Francisco, Santiago - Panteón La Piedad, Estaciones - La Luz, Panteón Municipal - Fábricas y Rancho Colorado - San Felipe”. En un sentido similar estaban dispuestos los caminos municipales cuya extensión alcanzaba en 1906 alrededor de cincuenta kilómetros.¹⁴ El nivel general de las comunicaciones alcanzó una mayor integración si tomamos en cuenta el crecimiento de las vías telefónicas y telegráficas.

El desarrollo de los ferrocarriles a partir de 1880 modificó sustancialmente el perfil urbano. La ciudad de Puebla se vio comunicada de manera rápida y directa con los principales núcleos de población del interior del estado y con la ciudad de México. Además, el sistema de transporte fue vital para movilizar a la población y a la fuerza de trabajo. La zona donde se ubicaba la mayor parte de la industria textil, comúnmente llamada “fábricas” quedó integrada a la zona urbana a través del ferrocarril industrial y del ferrocarril urbano.

Sin embargo, el impulso modernizador del porfiriato no había resuelto el problema de la dotación de servicios urbanos y la creciente insalubridad en que vivía la población. El excelente trabajo de Samuel Morales Pereira. *Puebla, su higiene, sus enfermedades*,¹⁵ nos proporciona una idea global del estado de la ciudad al comenzar el nuevo siglo: “no hay banquetas ni empedrado, siendo de advertir que en esto, como en otras, Puebla en vez de adelantar, se ha atrasado en el transcurso de los años”. En efecto, en 1900 el treinta por ciento de las calles carecía de banquetas; por su parte, el ayuntamiento reconocía en 1906 que de un total de 376 mil metros de calles, casi el cuarenta por ciento estaba sin pavimentar.¹⁶ Por su parte, Francisco de Velasco, presidente municipal de la ciudad entre 1907 y 1910 sostenía que “la ciudad había conservado los mismos albañales, pavimentación y cantidad de aguas potables que en 1887” y que en relación a ese año, la ciudad “en vez de mejorar había empeorado 20 años después”. A partir de 1907, la administración municipal puso en marcha una serie de acciones encaminadas a dotar de mejores servicios urbanos a la población. Las obras abarcaron pavimentación y adoquinado de calles, así como el mejoramiento del sistema de drenaje y alumbrado, para lo cual el cabildo tuvo que contratar varios empréstitos. Al finalizar su periodo y hacer un balance el presidente municipal declaraba satisfecho que “estaban concluidas prácticamente las obras de alcantari-lado, aguas y pavimentación, comenzadas las del mercado; terminadas también las de paseos y jardines [...] edificios de bomberos, calzadas a las fábricas, al parque de Guadalupe y Bosque de la Malintzi, las de Cholula y San Martín; las reformas de tranvías, de instalaciones eléctricas, y del alumbrado en postes ornamentales, dentro de la zona central...”.¹⁷

En resumen, la ciudad de Puebla había pasado de un periodo turbulento a otro donde los vientos modernizadores del porfiriato habían modificado lentamente el paisaje urbano, dando la impresión de haber entrado en un periodo de sostenido florecimiento en el cual las clases propietarias llegaron a sentirse “embriagadas por el vértigo de lo que se llamaba el progreso”. Parecería que los principales esfuerzos de los años ochenta y noventa estuvieron encaminados más a la reconstrucción de la ciudad y a la creación de una red de transporte que resolviera las necesidades de movilidad de la población y de la fuerza

¹³“Noticia de los ferrocarriles existentes en la municipalidad”. AAP *Expedientes de estadísticas*. Expediente no. 6, Letra N, 196, t. 465.

¹⁴Cf. Atenógenes N. Carrasco, *Directorio y Guía de la ciudad (contiene cuanto pueden necesitar los viajeros y hombre de negocios)* Puebla, Imprenta de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios del Estado, 1902, p. 103-105.

¹⁵Samuel Morales Pereira. *Puebla, su higiene, sus enfermedades*, México, Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1888, p. 13-15.

¹⁶“...cuestionarios relativos a descripciones de las ciudades, villas y pueblos del municipio”, AAP, *Expedientes de Estadística*, Expediente no. 6, letra B, bis 1906, t. 465, s.n.f.

¹⁷Francisco de Velasco, *Mis proyectos y mi gestión en el ayuntamiento de Puebla de 1907 a 1910*. Puebla, Imprenta “El Escritorio”, 1912, p. 88-89.

de trabajo que necesitaba la planta productiva de la ciudad y sus alrededores, que a la solución de los problemas que enfrentaba la recuperación demográfica de finales de siglo.

Parece que el siglo XIX se cierra para la ciudad de Puebla con la aparición de nuevos signos, problemas que a decir del propio Velasco se debían: “en primer lugar a las malas condiciones financieras de los habitantes de la costa, que eran los que daban mayor contingente a la población flotante; en segundo, a la crisis industrial que ya se iniciaba, haciendo estragos en Puebla, por ser ésta eminentemente industrial; en tercero, a la competencia de Cuernavaca, Cuautla, Tehuacán y Veracruz; y por último, a los alicientes que ofrecía para la inmigración México saneado, hermosado, y con facilidades adquiridas para la industria”.¹⁸ Por su parte, Luis Casarrubias, al hacer un balance del comercio poblano en 1910 consideraba que su reducción se debía en parte a que “la capital de la república tiene en la ciudad de Puebla un mercado de gran importancia, pues además de las importaciones considerables que los comerciantes poblanos hacen de México, por una moda que se llama de buen gusto, gran número de mercancías que podían comprarse en Puebla son importadas directamente de la capital de la república, por los particulares absorbiendo así el mercado metropolitano elementos de riqueza de nuestra plaza”.¹⁹

El estancamiento demográfico de principios de siglo

Hemos visto,²⁰ que las primeras décadas del siglo XIX muestran un nuevo periodo de estancamiento de la población de la ciudad de Puebla. Los padrones de población de 1830 y las estimaciones de Javier de la Peña²¹ presentan una población que oscila entre los 40 y 45 mil habitantes. La paulatina disminución de la población fue acompañada de un proceso de despoblamiento que en los distintos padrones de la época se expresa en frecuentes alusiones a edificaciones “sin población” o “en ruinas”. Así, el plano por manzana de *La Guía de Forasteros de 1852*²² se refiere con insistencia en que en seis de los dieciséis cuarteles menores que dividían a la ciudad había calles con “aceras en ruinas” o bien que sólo “hay vestigios que hubo edificios”. Ante esta situación la Comisión de Tierras y Aguas en unión del encargado de policía decidieron poner freno en 1835 a los actos “ociosos e inmorales” que se suscitaban en los “matorrales de calles abandonadas y casas en mal estado” poniéndolas en venta o arriendo y, en último de los casos, mandando clausurar el espacio correspondiente.²³ Este hecho influyó de manera determinante en la distribución geográfica de la población interior de la ciudad. Los cuarteles ubicados en la parte central de la ciudad, que comprendía la vieja zona de asentamiento español, concentraba en un número reducido de manzanas a la mitad de la población (50.08%). Veamos al respecto el comportamiento de algunos cuarteles centrales: el cuartel menor dieciséis con 129 manzanas estaba habitado por casi ocho mil personas siendo por ello el cuartel más poblado al aglutinar el 18% del total de la población. Por su parte, el cuartel noveno menor con 18 manzanas proporcionaba asentamiento al 15% de los habitantes de la ciudad. Por el contrario, los cuarteles de la periferia, algunos de los cuales habían fungido desde la colonia como Barrios de Indios, mostraban una tendencia opuesta. En el poniente, el Barrio de Santiago (cuartel menor 14o.) y el cuartel menor onceavo con 24 y 23 manzanas respectivamente representaban las zonas más despobladas con sólo el 2.2 y el 1.5% de la población urbana. Al oriente, trasponiendo el río de San Francisco, la zona comprendida por Barrio de Xonaca (cuartel menor 8o.) y el Barrio de la Luz (cuartel 7o.)

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁹*Mi Patria Chica*, Puebla (París-México), Librería de la Viuda Ch. Bouret, 1910, p. 30

²⁰Véase el trabajo de Miguel Ángel Cuenya, *Demografía de Puebla, 1750-1850* (mecanoscrito).

²¹Padrón de Población de 1830, AAP *Expedientes de Estadística*, tomo 138-144, Lej. 1441-1454 y *Puebla Sagrada y Profana*... p. 125.

²²*Guía de Forasteros de Puebla para 1852*, Puebla, Imprenta de Juan N. Valle, 1851, pp. 247-289. Este plano es según Hugo Leicht, el mismo de 1832 con muy pocas variaciones, *op. cit.*, p. XVI.

²³“Sobre averiguación de las calles que se han cerrado y las que aún deban cerrarse”. AAP *Expedientes sobre asuntos varios*, t. 204, Lej. 2392, 1835, ff. 158-162.



Cuadro I
Ciudad de Puebla
Población por estado civil, 1830

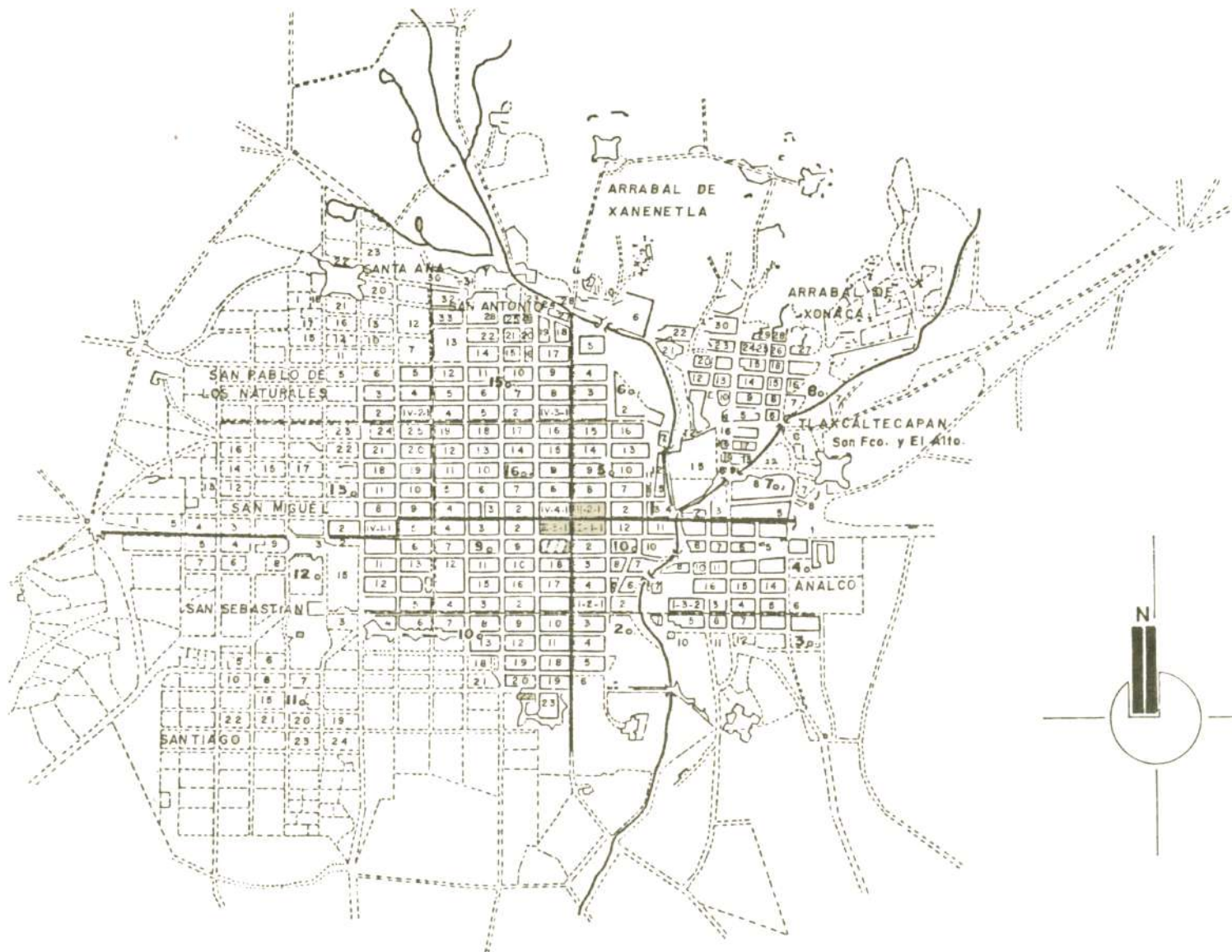
Cuartel	Núm. Manzana	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Totales	%
1o.	11	551	555	69	327	447	687	242	192	343	266	3 679	8.18
2o.	6	254	235	29	166	141	302	96	81	36	36	1 376	3.06
3o.	12												
4o.	17	409	407	30	164	126	129	188	95	102	95	1 745	3.88
5o.	17	676	546	121	451	487	730	94	644	379	39	4 167	9.27
6o.	12												
7o.	22	319	314	31	105	111	90	57	47	154	150	1 378	3.07
8o.	30	176	181	34	189	121	165	120	124	211	244	1 965	4.37
9o.	18	1 005	975	135	729	1 021	1 257	395	318	505	366	6 697	14.90
10o.	23	873	873	106	328	525	601	800	872	212	302	5 492	12.22
11o.	24	133	134	10	50	28	57	72	49	72	57	661	1.47
12o.	13	181	187	71	97	51	89	101	82	118	182	1 159	2.58
13o.	25	469	469	225	44	240	337	218	167	177	137	2 483	5.52
14o.	23	136	138	24	73	42	46	159	188	91	95	992	2.21
15o.	13	984	972	136	505	617	779	424	275	294	206	5 192	11.17
16o.	19	1 187	1 203	153	913	868	1 236	749	453	664	543	7 969	17.17
TOTAL	305	7 553	7 389	1 174	4 141	4 816	6 505	3 715	3 587	3 358	2 718	44 956	100.00
		16.80	16.44	2.61	9.21	10.71	14.47	8.26	7.98	7.47	6.05	100.0	

Fuente: Padrón de Población de 1830, AAP, *Expedientes de Estadística*; t. 138/144, lej. 1441/1454 A) casados, B) casadas, C) viudos, D) viudas, E) solteros, F) doncellas, G) niños menores de 5 años, H) niñas menores de 5 años, I) niños menores de 15 años y J) niñas menores de 15 años.



Mapa de la ciudad de Puebla, 1856-1863
Cuarteles menores y barrios

SOCIEDAD URBANA Y POLÍTICA



con 30 y 22 manzanas registradas disponían del 4.37% y del 3.07, respectivamente. (Cf. cuadro I y mapa).

Para estos años desconocemos el volumen de la población de los alrededores de la ciudad. Una idea aproximada para los años de 1832 y 1838 se puede deducir de algunos padrones de pueblos y molinos.²⁴ De estos resúmenes parciales cabe resaltar que los pueblos de San Felipe Hueyotlipan y San Pablo Xochimehuacan tenían una población similar a la de otras unidades poblacionales de menor importancia. Así, la hacienda de La Noria tenía una población ligeramente superior a San Pablo Xochimehuacan y éste apenas sobrepasaba el número de habitantes del Molino de Santo Domingo. Por su parte, la villa fabril de La Constancia Mexicana se había convertido en un importante lugar de asentamiento de la población y su volumen de habitantes era apenas ligeramente menor a los pueblos de San Felipe Hueyotlipan y San Jerónimo Caleras.

Por otra parte, los brotes epidémicos fueron permanentes a lo largo de la primera mitad del siglo XIX. Las grandes epidemias de cólera registradas en 1813, 1833 y 1850 fueron las más importantes. En 1814 la Junta de Sanidad al hacer un recuento de los habitantes afectados hacía mención de 7 125 defunciones. Un informe de finales de los años veinte indica que entre 1823 y 1827 se registraron en las cuatro parroquias de la ciudad y en los hospitales un total de 10 046 muertes. Finalmente, en 1833 los registros del cementerio de San Javier dieron fe en sólo cinco meses de un total de 3 037 personas afectadas por el cólera morbus. Además de estas grandes epidemias había que considerar la acción permanente de la viruela, el sarampión, la fiebre tifoidea y la escarlatina.

En este periodo de estancamiento de la ciudad y de crisis demográfica, la administración municipal reforzó una serie de mecanismos, algunos de origen colonial, con el fin de asegurar el control de la población urbana. Además de las disposiciones tendientes a controlar a los llamados “vagos holgazanes y mal entendidos” y a movilizarlos ante la “falta de brazos en las fábricas, en los talleres y en las haciendas de labor”, el ayuntamiento utilizó con regularidad a los “presos pobres” para que trabajaran en las diversas obras de carácter urbano y militar. El control de la población tuvo una clara expresión en la distribución de la ciudad en cuarteles, desde la colonia, ésta era una forma de asegurar que el ejercicio del poder estuviera delimitado territorialmente. En 1821, cuando se estableció en sus funciones a los jueces menores de paz (ante alcaldes de barrio) sus obligaciones quedaron claramente delimitadas: “hacer que los niños fueran a las escuelas, denunciar a los ociosos y mal entretenidos, rondar de noche, aprehender a los que se hallaren en infraganti delito...”²⁵ Otro mecanismo de la época fue la reglamentación de procedimientos y prácticas ligados con el acceso al empleo que influyeron sobre la población trabajadora, principalmente en los sectores más numerosos y menos calificados.²⁶

La recuperación de la población, 1892-1910

Ahora bien, después del estancamiento demográfico que se extendió durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX, siguió un corto periodo de recuperación que fue plenamente palpable a partir de la década de 1880. Las últimas dos décadas del siglo XIX representan el punto culminante de la recuperación demográfica, pues mientras en 1888 el *Boletín Municipal*

²⁴AAP *Padrón de San Gerónimo Caleras*, t. 1831, *Padrón de San Pablo Xochimehuacán, 1831, Padrón del Pueblo de San Felipe Hueyotlipan*, 1831, *Padrón Molino de Santo Domingo y Rancho Posadas* 1938. Todos en el tomo 145, lejs. 1458, 1456, 1457, 1475, *Padrón Fábrica de La Constancia Mexicana en tierras del Molino de Santo Domingo*, t. 146. lej. 1742, 1838. Y *Padrón Hacienda de La Noria* (incluye hacienda La Noria, rancho Agua Azul, Molino de Enmedio, molino de Mayorazgo y Molino de Amatlán, t. 147, lej. 1474, 1838.

²⁵Hugo Leich, op. cit, p. XXXV.

²⁶Sobre estos mecanismos y para la ciudad de México, véase Alejandra Moreno Toscano, “Los trabajadores y el proyecto de industrialización, 1810-1867”, en *La clase obrera en la historia de Puebla, de la colonia al imperio México*, Siglo XXI, Editores, 1980, p. 326-332

registró a 72 743 habitantes, para 1892 la población ascendió a 91 295 personas con lo cual se duplicó el nivel existente en 1830. Por el contrario, a medida que comienza a transcurrir el nuevo siglo el ritmo de crecimiento de la población se ve paulatinamente frenado; así mientras en 1900 la población subió a un total de 98 191 habitantes, para 1910 apenas logró rebasar la cifra de 100 mil habitantes. En efecto, la dinámica del panorama demográfico entre 1884 y 1900 la tasa de crecimiento anual promedio de la población de la ciudad (1.4%) fue más elevada que la registrada por las ciudades de México (0.9%), Veracruz (1.00%) y Mérida (0.6%). En cambio, entre 1900 y 1910 el ritmo anual de crecimiento fue apenas del 0.2% viéndose superado principalmente por las ciudades de México (3.2%), Veracruz (5.4), Guadalajara (1.7%) y Monterrey (2.6%).²⁷

Por otra parte, si tomamos en cuenta las principales ciudades mexicanas con más de 25 mil habitantes en 1910 observamos que la tasa de crecimiento anual promedio para el periodo 1895-1910 fue para Puebla de apenas el 0.5% situándose muy por debajo de las principales ciudades norteamericanas (Torreón, Chihuahua y Monterrey) y del altiplano nacional (México y Guadalajara).²⁸

El crecimiento acelerado de la población durante las últimas décadas del siglo XIX se registró en la misma planta física de mediados de siglo, generando cambios en el uso demográfico del espacio que contrastan con el panorama anterior. En 1830 la población se aglutinaba en el centro de la ciudad, mientras la periferia se sometía a un proceso de continuo despoblamiento. Por el contrario, para el periodo de 1900-1910 la distribución de la población en el espacio urbano mostró modificaciones sustanciales. Dos hechos bastan para constatar este cambio: en primer lugar, la distribución de la población se hizo más homogénea entre los distintos cuarteles menores en que estaba dividida la ciudad, atenuándose las grandes desigualdades en la ubicación geográfica de la población entre mediados y finales del siglo XIX. En segundo lugar, el centro de la ciudad dejó de ser el núcleo fundamental de asentamiento de la población urbana, pues entre 1892 y 1910 los cuarteles centrales sólo llegaron a concentrar entre el 27 y 28% de la población, proporción inferior a la registrada en 1830. El proceso de recuperación de la población dio un nuevo papel de asentamiento urbano a la zona periférica, sobre todo a la ubicada hacia el poniente de la ciudad que se convirtió en el sector de mayor crecimiento llegando a concentrar en 1892 el 37.38% de la población total. Igual sucedió con algunos de los cuarteles periféricos coincidentes con los barrios de Santiago, Xonaca y La Luz (cuarteles menores 11o., 7o. y 8o.) que proporcionaban vivienda al 29% de la población entre 1900 y 1910. (Cf. cuadro II).

Bordeando el perímetro urbano existían una serie de unidades productivas agrícolas e industriales que cumplían funciones de zonas de asentamiento. De acuerdo a los Censos Nacionales de Población, el núcleo más importante corría a lo largo del río Atoyac en el poniente de la ciudad. Estaba constituido por las grandes fábricas textiles y en torno a ellas residía casi el 72% del total de la población circundante de la ciudad de Puebla en 1910 (3 302 de habitantes). Sobresalían las fábricas de La Covadonga (628 personas), Mayorazgo (513), Santo Domingo (402) y La Independencia (351) que a su vez aportaban el 41% de la población total de las once grandes fábricas textiles registradas en el último censo del porfiriato. A pesar de encontrarse totalmente disperso, este sector constituía el núcleo de población más importante del municipio de Puebla después de la capital estatal.

Aunque entre 1905 y 1909 había dentro del municipio de Puebla 3 haciendas, entre 30 y 33 ranchos, 1 pueblo (San Baltazar) y entre 12 y 15 terrenos anexos a las fábricas y molinos, el Censo Nacional de 1910 sólo hace mención de la población de 3 haciendas y 12 ranchos donde habitaban 1 023 personas que representaban el 22% de la población

²⁷Alejandra Moreno Toscano, "México" en R. Morse, *Las ciudades latinoamericanas. Desarrollo Histórico*, México, Sepsetentas, 1973, vol. II, p. 174-175.

²⁸Cf. Fernando Rosenzweig, "El desarrollo económico de México de 1877 a 1911", *Trimestre Económico*, vol. XXXIII, núm. 3, (127), julio-septiembre de 1965, p. 419-420.



Cuadro II
Cuadro Municipio de Puebla
Población aproximada por cuarteles, 1900-1910

Cuarteles menores	ABSOLUTOS							RELATIVOS		
	1892 Total	H	1900 M	Total	H	1910 M	Total	1982 %	1900 %	1910 %
1o.	4 439	2 655	3 319	5 974	2 392	2 989	5 381	4.86	6.08	5.32
2o.	2 708	2 595	2 857	5 452	2 692	2 944	5 636	2.96	5.55	5.57
3o.	3 434	2 676	3 831	6 507	2 500	3 932	6 432	3.76	6.63	6.35
4o.	2 217	1 841	2 035	3 876	1 841	1 938	3 779	2.42	3.95	3.73
5o.	5 874	3 002	4 532	7 534	2 770	3 781	6 551	6.43	7.67	6.47
6o.	3 277	2 164	1 619	3 783	1 729	1 762	3 491	3.58	3.85	3.45
7o.	4 150	4 336	4 655	8 991	4 073	4 336	8 409	4.54	9.16	8.31
8o.	6 791	2 086	2 535	4 524	2 161	2 681	4 842	7.43	4.61	4.78
9o.	6 952	2 561	3 901	6 462	2 094	3 167	5 261	7.61	6.58	5.20
10o.	3 758	3 266	2 855	6 121	3 525	3 512	7 037	4.11	6.23	6.95
11o.	1 218	3 230	4 556	7 786	3 740	5 121	8 861	13.27	7.93	8.75
12o.	2 524	2 207	2 426	4 633	3 045	3 414	6 549	2.76	4.72	6.38
13o.	6 288	1 960	2 799	4 759	1 680	2 524	4 204	6.88	4.85	4.15
14o.	13 155	3 174	3 940	7 114	2 981	3 670	6 651	14.40	7.25	6.57
15o.	2 645	2 851	3 506	6 357	2 842	3 368	6 210	2.89	6.47	6.13
16o.	7 565	4 037	2 281	8 318 ¹	5 130	5 356	10 486	8.28	8.47	10.36
otras ² zonas	3 400	—	—	—	814	728	1 542	3.72	—	1.52
	91 295	44 644	53 547	98 191	46 009	55 223	101 232	100.00	100.00	100.00

Fuente: "Censo del estado de Puebla, 1900" *Boletín de Estadística del Estado de Puebla*, Puebla, III época, t. I, no. 1, 15 de enero de 1901, y AAP, *Expedientes de Estadística*, exp. no. 22 (relativo a elecciones extraordinarias de poderes del Estado), t. 515, 1911, f. 5 *Boletín municipal* t. XII, no. 33, julio 1892.

¹El cuartel menor 16 incluía en 1900 la población de las fábricas de La Covadonga, Economía, Constanca, Patrimonio, Santo Domingo y La Marfa; y los ranchos de San Cristóbal, de Calve, Buenavista, Zapata y Posadas.

²Esta cantidad corresponde a las secciones 35, 42, 51, 76 y 132 que no se encuentran integradas a ningún cuartel. Las secciones 134, 135, 136, 137 y 138 integradas a los cuarteles menores 6o., 12o. y 14o. corresponden al Molino de Santa Bárbara y el Cristo, Rancho El Pópulo, Agua Azul, Molino de Enmedio, Fábrica Amatlán y Hacienda La Noria, Rancho Posadas, y Fábrica La Economía y Hacienda El Molino de Santo Domingo. Sobre la transformación de sección en cuarteles hemos utilizado el *Boletín Municipal*, cfr. tomo VIII, no. 8 y 9, febrero de 1888.

ubicada en los alrededores de Puebla. A diferencia de la zona fabril, las fincas rurales venían perdiendo su carácter tradicional de núcleos de población pues se trataba de pequeñas unidades con una población muy reducida, que salvo los ranchos de Las Animas, El Cristo y la Hacienda de El Gavillero, apenas disponían de un promedio de 33.73 habitantes por finca.

Más allá de la ciudad, en el distrito de Puebla, se encontraban los pueblos de San Felipe Hueyotlipan y San Jerónimo Caleras que junto con la Resurrección y San Miguel Canoa formaban una zona vinculada a la ciudad de Puebla a través del ferrocarril urbano y de la amplia red de caminos municipales. Estos núcleos de población no sólo funcionaban como fuente de aprovisionamiento y reserva de mano de obra, sino también como lugar de residencia de ciertos sectores de la clase obrera.

El proceso de recuperación de la población debió, sin duda, permitir al aparato productivo porfiriano transitar sin grandes problemas de fuerza de trabajo y con niveles salariales muy bajos.

Conclusión

En la ciudad de Puebla, el periodo de transición de la vida colonial al México independiente se dio en el marco de un fenómeno generalizado de estancamiento urbano. La lucha insurgente y posteriormente la invasión extranjera agudizaron los problemas de la sociedad poblana de la época, así, la destrucción y el nulo crecimiento urbano aunado al despoblamiento y a las epidemias fueron hechos definitivos que caracterizaron a la ciudad de mediados de siglo.

La Puebla colonial de gran esplendor por su traza arquitectónica y su preponderante papel en el sistema colonial urbano, perderá dinamismo en el transcurso de las primeras siete décadas del siglo XIX y pasará a ocupar un plano secundario en el proceso de crecimiento urbano del porfiriato. Sin embargo, ello no impidió que la ciudad participara, sobre todo después de 1880, en el proceso de modernización y de cambio de la fisonomía urbana que experimentaron las principales ciudades del país. Sabemos que durante el porfiriato la consolidación del estado oligárquico, la pacificación nacional y la plena incorporación al mercado mundial abrieron las puertas al progreso tecnológico creado en otras latitudes: la energía eléctrica, los ferrocarriles, el teléfono y el telégrafo fueron fundamentales para darle al impacto modernizador una magnitud sin precedente en la historia de la humanidad.



Carlos Macías Richard

**La restauración de un vínculo: las familias Pérez
Gálvez y Rul, 1830-1870**

Antecedentes

El 16 de mayo de 1804 los coroneles malagueños Antonio Pérez Gálvez y Diego Rul asumieron una representatividad singular que, por razones de parentesco, les confirió su habilidad y el azar. Como cónyuges de las hijas del conde de Valenciana, don Antonio Obregón Alcocer, signaban un testimonio de transacción ante el escribano del real de minas de Guanajuato. Recogían virtualmente el prestigio del conde, quien había sido alcalde mayor, magistrado municipal¹ y actor privilegiado de la reciente bonanza minera. Iniciaban, en suma, la separación legal de uno de los mayores capitales de la región centro-norte del país.

Diego Rul, poseedor de una gran fortuna personal, falleció víctima de sus títulos. En calidad de conde y teniente del Regimiento de Caballería Provincial de Guanajuato, cayó en un enfrentamiento insignificante durante el año de 1811.² El señor Pérez Gálvez, por su parte, experimentó el fenómeno de la movilidad social, tan común entre los españoles de la época. Paso de Andalucía a Guanajuato sin mayores fondos, para terminar viéndose en un enredoso conflicto, a causa del supuesto rapto de la señorita Gertrudis Obregón. En 1808, un documento notarial se refirió a él como “agraciado conde y caballero de la Orden de Santiago”; por ese tiempo, se postuló asimismo como miembro de la Legión del Príncipe y (segundo) conde de Valenciana y de Pérez Gálvez.³

Sobre el fondo del anecdótico, la historia familiar de los descendientes de don Antonio Obregón reveló el nuevo emplazamiento de la nobleza, tocada por la decadencia minera de la primera parte del XIX. Así como las contingencias políticas de mediados del siglo generarían tendencias de fraccionamiento agrario, en forma similar, durante la Revolución de Independencia, la minería languideció mientras florecía la concentración del suelo. Todo indicó que la posesión de la tierra confería mayores garantías al capital.

Poco antes de morir, Rul adquirió del conde de Regla las haciendas de Tetiilas, Ciénega Grande y Cieneguilla, en Zacatecas, entre otras. Tan sólo la primera tuvo una dimensión de 169 leguas cuadradas y un valor estimado en 784 mil 560 pesos.⁴ En tanto que entre las propiedades más significativas que compró Pérez Gálvez se encontró la hacienda Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, en Nuevo León,⁵ misma que décadas después cobraría celebridad a causa de las tentativas para su confiscación. Todavía en la postrimería de la década de los veinte, este segundo Conde de Valenciana permanecía --a decir del diplomático e itinerante inglés Henry Ward-- consagrado al empeño de incrementar la crianza y venta de ganado y la explotación de la preciada sal, en una hacienda que, andando el tiempo, se vería envuelta en líos de límites.⁶

¹Brading, 1983, pp. 387-389.

²AGN,RA, caja 147, exp. 57.

³AGN,RA,caja 61, exps. 30-31.

⁴AGN,RA, caja 5 AM/1, exp. 1.

⁵AGN,RA, caja 61, exp. 36.

⁶Ward, 1981, pp. 612-613.

Cierto es que aparte de las hijas del primer conde de Valenciana, Gertrudis e Ignacia, había un presunto heredero del título, Antonio, el hermano de ambas. D. Brading lo descalifica bajo el argumento de su irresponsabilidad y desinterés en la sucesión, como lo revela la información de que en sólo dos años derrochó 92 mil pesos, por concepto de desembolsos personales y préstamos.⁷ Además la murmuración local --que finalmente tuvo razón-- de una hija mestiza, pese a que nunca contrajo matrimonio, debió haber influido en la presumible desheredación que le impuso su madre. Aun así, es posible que haya mantenido algún tipo de participación en la minería de Guanajuato, pues en su testamento lega por lo menos 120 mil pesos a su hija, a la que reconoce hasta 1833.⁸

Hacia 1844 los miembros de ambas familias ya habían retornado, no por casualidad, a la unión en la segunda generación: Juan de Dios Pérez Gálvez contrajo nupcias con su prima Victoria Rul, lo cual fue suficiente para impedir la procreación y la subsistencia de este último apellido. La misma suerte corrió su hermana Francisca, al enviudar prematuramente en 1825. Ambos habían sido los beneficiarios de la fortuna creada por el primer conde y consolidada por el “cazafortunas” malagueno: los “instituye por sus universales herederos (...) a los referidos sus hijos (...) para que los líquidos que quedaren los hayan, gozen, como ya sucede, y hereden por iguales partes con la bendición de Dios y la mía”, señalaba el testamento de 1829.⁹

También hacia 1844 se habían afirmado en ellos las tendencias de invertir en la compra de terrenos, principalmente en el altiplano mexicano. Aunque ello no quiere decir que hayan abandonado totalmente el interés en la minería; por lo contrario, por ser un tema ligado a este grupo, será abordado separadamente.

La expansión económica bajo la dirección de Juan de Dios tuvo su correspondencia geográfica. El establecimiento de casas comerciales en San Luis Potosí, Ciudad de México y Guanajuato indicó la búsqueda de eficiencia administrativa en haciendas como Guanamé, valuada en 302 670 pesos; Soledad, en 190 966; Potosí, en 191 527; y el grupo formado por Mezquite, Salada, Norias y Vergel, con una extensión de 352 mil hectáreas, valuadas en 387 965.¹⁰

Juan de Dios llegaría a ser senador y vicepresidente del Banco Nacional de Amortización, además de contribuyente distinguido del ejército expedicionario de Santa Anna en la guerra de Texas y contra el movimiento del general Mariano Paredes.¹¹ Murió en 1848 durante un asalto en Querétaro, en el transcurso de un viaje de México a San Luis Potosí. Francisca, viuda desde años atrás, se habituó sin dificultad a la dirección enérgica de las propiedades.

La disolución de las haciendas

...la Casa de Pérez Gálvez jamás se manchó con la torpe compra de un palmo de terreno eclesiástico; por eso los fértiles campos de sus inmensas propiedades enviaban fielmente a los pastores de la Iglesia la décima parte de las cosechas, que por beneficio de Dios anualmente rendían ...¹²

En un denso elogio fúnebre, impreso en 1868, el párroco de la ciudad de Guanajuato -y posterior obispo de San Luis Potosí- Ignacio Montes de Oca, exaltó a su manera la particularidad benefactora de su prima Francisca Pérez Gálvez. En él abundaron frases apologéticas del tipo de “virtuosa mujer” y “matrona cristiana (que) permanece hasta la muerte en el casto estado de viudez”.

⁷Brading, 1983, p. 411.

⁸AHG, *Protocolo* 1833, ff. 143-149.

⁹AHG, *Protocolo* 1829, ff. 61-64.

¹⁰AGN, RA, caja 27 AN/8, f. 3.

¹¹Informe, 1841, p. 13.

¹²Elogio Fúnebre, 1868, p. 15.

Pero quizá la mayor virtud de doña Francisca se relaciona con su completa dedicación y la búsqueda de una administración eficiente de sus propiedades. Entre otras cosas, de ella se derivó un hábito de autoridad típico: el paternalismo fue un rasgo notorio en su trato con los subordinados. Es común encontrar, en los documentos relativos a varias de sus hacienda, consentimiento para segundas nupcias, solicitudes de padrinzagos o asistencia múltiple.¹³

El periodo de doña Francisca al frente (1848-1868) encontró obstáculos no presentados con anterioridad a la familia, en medio de situaciones convulsas y amenazas recientes. Además de la posesión de las haciendas mencionadas a la mitad del siglo, podía jactarse de haber multiplicado sus fondos en tres estados de la República y de haber fortalecido los medios de colocación de los productos agrícolas. Tan sólo en Guanajuato, tal vez porque su residencia habitual se ubicó en la capital de la entidad -aunque los desplazamientos eran continuos y permanecía en sus inmuebles de Aguascalientes, San Luis y México-, la organización comercial que logró fue muy eficiente. La llamada casa de Guanajuato abrió sucursales en Silao, Acámbaro y la ciudad de México, y fue valuada en el año de 1850 en 48 277 pesos. Sin embargo, el verdadero capital lo reportaban las haciendas rústicas Las Flores, Rocha, San Luisito, Santa Ana, Copal y San Bernardo y la hacienda de beneficio San Francisco. Otros terrenos de adquisición reciente fueron las haciendas de Bocas y Cruces.¹⁴

I

Un signo llama la atención del sistema productivo adoptado en las haciendas mencionadas. Se trata quizá del germen de un fenómeno tendiente a su desintegración, insinuado por lo menos en tres formas.¹⁵

1. Se ha establecido que la situación más obvia de la subdivisión se ha presentado históricamente como efecto de la herencia; es decir, la integridad rústica sobrevive mientras subsiste la concentración familiar o, por lo menor, una sucesión centralizada.¹⁶ Pues bien, si hasta el relativo auge promovido por doña Francisca no había existido una clara dispersión familiar, a partir de 1856 (doce años antes de su muerte, cuando la continuidad Pérez Gálvez se volvió imponderable) la evidencia obligó a la propietaria a proceder con mayor racionalidad económica. Sustituyó sus tradicionales administradores y concedió el arrendamiento y la dirección a sus primo y sobrino Manuel y Miguel Rul, así como a varias personas de su entera confianza.¹⁷

Descontando el curioso proceso familiar que se inició con desavenencias y culminó en su mayor acercamiento entre doña Francisca y su sobrino Miguel, puede sostenerse que la concesión a los Rul constituyó su primer paso para la disolución de las haciendas. Finalmente, al otorgarle a él mismo la titularidad de sus bienes, se cerraría un ciclo generacional y se iniciaría el fraccionamiento.

2. Otro factor vital que provocó la división fue de carácter externo. Se ha señalado el caso de la señora Pérez Gálvez como uno de los más significativos durante el periodo de ajuste de cuentas inmediatamente posterior al Imperio. El objeto material de acción punitiva liberal contra doña Francisca fue su hacienda Soledad, un fundo localizado en Nuevo León. Si como señaló el decreto gubernamental le fueron confiscadas aproximadamente 58 mil hectáreas en 1867,¹⁸ ello quiere decir que la hacienda era inmensa; pues tan

¹³AGN,RA, caja 17 AM/1, f. 10.

¹⁴AGN, RA, caja 36 AM/2 inventario de las propiedades en Guanajuato, 1850, AGN, RA, caja 120, leg. 3, exps. 105-107.

¹⁵Estras tres modalidades fueron desarrolladas en una ponencia de J. Bazant y en los comentarios respectivos de E. Florescano y de F.J. Schryer. Moreno, 1982, pp. 33-46

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁷AGN, RA, caja 17 AM/1, f. 21. AHESLP Protocolos, Notario Isidro Calvillo, 1869, ff. 63-64.

¹⁸Dublán y Lozano, 1877, vol. 10, f. 259.

sólo la dimensión de uno de los seis lotes en que se disolvió, en 1870, fue de 32 mil hectáreas, como será explicado adelante.

Antes de describir el destino ulterior de la hacienda Soledad, es decir, las modalidades de su venta, es conveniente argumentar las razones de la supuesta confiscación. Dos motivos fueron claves. El principal lo constituyó la pública intervención de la propietaria en el recibimiento de Maximiliano en Guanajuato, durante su visita en 1864; a pesar de que ella no formó parte de la comisión de bienvenida, así la integraron su apoderado Guillermo Brockmann y su tío Demetrio Montes de Oca --padre del célebre obispo potosino--, quienes expresaron palabras de adulación al visitante. Aun más, no dejó de ser revelador (según se desprende de una información de la *Gaceta Oficial*) que los trabajadores mineros de los yacimientos de la señora fueron especialmente quienes mostraron “un extraordinario júbilo” ante la visita. Y es seguro que entre la “multitud de personas decentes” que asistieron a la recepción se encontró la señora Pérez Gálvez.¹⁹

Otro motivo de la confiscación tuvo su origen no tanto en la elocuencia como en la proyección de cierto acontecimiento. En el texto de una transacción sobre derechos hereditarios, entablado por Miguel Rul y sus sobrinos --hijos de Dolores--, en 1864, se concluyó por actualizar los antiguos títulos de la familia: el título de conde de la casa Rul quedaría con Miguel; el de Valenciana, correspondería al sobrino Manuel Alvarez Rul.²⁰ El Imperio iniciaba por esa fecha su breve periodo.

La respuesta liberar ocurrió en febrero de 1868. “A consecuencia de los acontecimientos que tuvieron lugar el año de 1864”, un decreto impuso la ocupación de 40 mil hectáreas, que serían repartidas de la manera siguiente: 18 mil “para cada uno de los siete pueblos de la parte meridional del estado”, 26 mil “al general Pedro Martínez”; y 14 mil “entre jefes y oficiales”.²¹

3. Pese a todo, las mayores preocupaciones para la permanencia intacta de las grandes extensiones provinieron, al parecer, de un fenómeno demográfico. Francisca Pérez Gálvez fue una de las propietarias que más resintió la doble inercia de la erección de villas en sus terrenos y el denuncio de fundos supuestamente desocupados. Por lo que se refiere a Bocas, en 1852 se consumó el propósito de los campesinos residentes de Ahualulco --al parecer arrendatarios desplazados de la hacienda- de desprenderse de los límites de la posesión de doña Francisca. La superficie deslindada fue un poco más de 4 sitios, o 7 040 hectáreas.²²

En cambio, la señora Pérez Gálvez hubo de recurrir en reiteradas ocasiones a las más diversas instancias, para defender los límites de la hacienda de Cruces. El punto de San Juan Salinillas, situado en un extremo, había sido denunciado en 1848 por un grupo de campesinos; simultáneamente, varios mineros habían solicitado la adjudicación de parcelas salinas, con el argumento de permanecer ociosas. Los abogados de la señora expusieron ante el congreso local y el senado que las aguas y los terrenos salinos no podían juzgarse con el Código de Minería, ya que su naturaleza era otra. Pero las réplicas fueron en vano. Mediante un decreto expedido a principios de 1851, el saldo de litigio fue la creación de San Juan Salinillas y la satisfacción de la mayoría de los denuncios, superficie que en total sumó 33.5 kilómetros cuadrados.²³

Otro tanto ocurrió con la hacienda Mezquite, cuando el señor Matías Espinosa de los Monteros denunció ante el juzgado de Fresnillo, Zacatecas, el margen de la laguna La Quemada, “calculando las ventajas que podría sacar de ella- elaborando sal, porque sus aguas son salinas”. Sólo que aquí la propietaria procedió con astucia. Considerando que la disposición de las autoridades estatales era satisfacer la mayor cantidad de denuncios

¹⁹Antúnez, 1964, ff. 97-98.

²⁰ANDF, Notario Ramón de la Cueva 169, vol. 1039, año 1864, tomo II, ff. 579-581.

²¹Dublán y Lozano, 1877, vol. 10 p. 259.

²²AGN, RA, caja 120, leg. 4. Glosa manuscrita sin numerar, 1876, Y caja 120, leg. 3, exps. 108-113.

²³AGN, RA, caja 107, leg. 1 ff.3-6. Y caja 147, exp. 597.

--como sucedió con éste en una primera instancia-, los abogados recurrieron al Ministerio de Hacienda y lograron contrariar el decreto estatal.²⁴

La anulación de las ocupaciones del Mezquite de alguna manera se relacionaron con el desconocimiento del gobernador Manuel González Cosío, por parte de la legislatura y el gobierno central, ya que se anticipó su intención de disolver el Congreso estatal.²⁵ La inestabilidad política contribuyó a olvidar por un tiempo el asunto, hasta que una efímera disposición del presidente Santa Anna distrajo los ímpetus denunciatorios.

Artículo 1. Toda Congregación de familias establecidas con cualquier título o carácter, en terreno perteneciente a dominio particular, no podrá erigirse ni solicitar se le erija en población políticamente organizada, sin que primero haga constar el expreso y libre consentimiento del propietario del terreno...²⁶

Cierto, apenas tres años después fue expedido un decreto que derogó el anterior, sin embargo, la señora Pérez Gálvez no afrontó en adelante conflictos de esa naturaleza.

II

El profuso testamento de la señora Pérez Gálvez es revelador de su ascendiente personal.

A las mandas forzadas del arzobispado y a las bibliotecas públicas, un peso de plata cada una. A los presos pobres de las cárceles de Belem y de la Diputación, 600 pesos cada día de la Ascensión. A los trabajadores de Guanajuato, un hospital de pobres. A los parientes paternos residentes en Málaga, 50 mil pesos, “cuando el heredero quiera vender buenamente la hacienda Soledad”. A los litigantes sobrinos Alvarez Rul, 80 mil pesos, y “para seguro(...)quedará hipotecada la hacienda del Mezquite”. A la prima y cuñada, viuda compañera de tribulaciones, 75 semanarios de por vida. A la prima política Ma. de Jesús Azcárate, “300 pesos mensuales de los productos de la hacienda de Bocas”. A la sobrina Angela, los muebles de la casa 10 de la calle de Santa Clara, en Ciudad de México... Y así.²⁷

El 18 de junio de 1866, a las cinco y media de la tarde, doña Francisca asentó los detalles de su testamento, “no firmándolo por estar enferma de la vista”. En él nombró a Miguel Rul “por mi único y universal heredero”; también anticipó la reestructuración de los negocios: “le doy el poder y facultad que de derecho se requiera y sea necesario para que después de mi fallecimiento se apodere de mis bienes, los inventarie y venda en almoneda o fuera de ella”.²⁸

Propósitos píos aparte, el testamento reconcilió la masa de bienes con el único polo familiar subsistente del conde de Valenciana. Pero no sólo eso. Vislumbró las dificultades prevalecientes para la permanencia y promovió el deslinde, como pudo interpretarse en los casos de las haciendas Soledad, Bocas y Mezquite.

Soledad. Un año después de su muerte, en 1869, pasados los amagos oficiales contra la hacienda, es decir, “con motivo de los trastornos que sufrió en años pasados”, Miguel inició su división en lotes, como “determinó la finada señora Pérez Gálvez”.²⁹ La cláusula catorce del testamento estableció que del producto, 50 mil pesos irían a los parientes de España;³⁰ un codicilo notarial efectuado meses después abrió la posibilidad de que el heredero sólo remitiera la mitad.³¹ Como era de preverse, el legado se remitió observando la segunda letra.

²⁴AGN, RA, caja 107, leg. 3, f.3. Y caja 107, leg. 7, ff. 8-11.

²⁵González Navarro, 1983, p. 189.

²⁶Dublán y Lozano, 1877, vol. 6, p. 620.

²⁷ANDF, Notario Ramón de la Cueva 169, vol. 1043, año 1866, ff. 52-54..

²⁸*Ibid.*, ff. 57-58.

²⁹AHESLP, *Protocolo*, Notario Isidro Calvillo, 1869, ff. 380-383.

³⁰ANDF, Notario Ramón de la Cueva, 169, vol. 1043, año 1866, f. 55.

³¹El Codicilo dice textual: “está autorizado su albacea para rebajar a la mitad del legado de 50 mil pesos... en favor de sus parientes de España”, ANDF, Notario Ramón de la Cueva 169, vol. 1043, año 1866, f.59.

Así, llama la atención la forma en que se vendió la hacienda. Se emitió una especie de convocatoria con las condiciones siguientes.

La casa escoge sus compradores, de manera que no se entenderá como pública la invitación. Se vende como se posee y los lotes según están determinados, tengan o no cualquier inconveniente las líneas que se han trazado para evitar la decisión*.

No se venderá hasta tener reunidos el número de compradores bastantes para cada serie por el orden en que se han marcado.

Los títulos que pudieran segregarse, por estar en cuadernos separados, se darán al comprador que tome el lote que lleve el nombre del título, y él dará copias a sus compañeros de adquisición.

El pago se verificará en San Luis Potosí. La quinta parte del precio se pagará, o sea el 20% se pagará al contado. Dos quintas partes, o sea 40%, se pagarán a cuatro años. Y las otras dos quintas partes restantes a siete años.³²

La diligencia con que se condujo el sobrino heredero impidió una desmembración similar a la ocurrida en San Juan Salinillas y en Aqualulco años atrás. Apenas emitida la convocatoria, una ola de denuncias de baldíos, efectuados por vecinos del lugar, aparecieron en el juzgado de distrito de Monterrey.³³

Ninguno de ellos prosperó. A mediados de 1870 ya se habían vendido los primeros seis lotes, a un costo promedio de 18 mil pesos y con una superficie de 32 mil hectáreas cada uno.³⁴ Con todo, Miguel Rul no debió haber vendido la totalidad ya que aún se encuentran documentos de ese terreno a su nombre, en el periodo 1878-1899.³⁵

Bocas. Se trata del caso más representativo. Esta hacienda potosina la adquirió Juan de Dios Pérez Gálvez en 1844.³⁶ Originalmente contaba con una superficie ligeramente superior a 41 sitios de ganado mayor, es decir 72 mil hectáreas; sin embargo, el desprendimiento del pueblo de Aqualulco, en 1853, la redujo a 65 mil.³⁷

A raíz de la sucesión de doña Francisca en favor de Miguel Rul, éste procedió a dividirla apresuradamente en 1869, creando tres unidades: la mayor, donde se encontraba el casco, que conservó el nombre de hacienda de Bocas, se limitó a 25 mil hectáreas; el extremo, que dominó hacienda San Antonio de Bocas, quedó con 23 mil; y el terreno menor, el Rancho de Bocas, con 17 mil.³⁸

Posteriormente, Miguel entabló negociaciones con los hermanos Agustín y Francisco Farías, comerciantes de Saltillo y, al cabo de pocos meses, les vendió el casco o hacienda de Bocas en 120 mil pesos, más 60 mil de muebles, semoviente y sementeras.³⁹ Es posible que un indicador del deliverado apresuramiento sea el que, un año después de la operación, el representante del vendedor todavía recolectaba las rentas que los arrendatarios le debían.⁴⁰ No obstante, lo relevante es que el heredero de la señora Pérez Gálvez hizo de los dos terrenos sobrantes sus más eficientes propiedades agrícolas.

Respecto a la hacienda zacatecana Mezquite, baste decir que con la adjudicación por parte de los cuatro sobrinos Alvarez Rul, el fundo dejó de ser la unidad presente en los archivos como lo fue hasta 1867.

*Lo cual indica que no se aplicó la disposición literal antes mencionada. Incluso, la prescripción siguiente revela la intención de presentar el fraccionamiento como un hecho consumado, al reunir al número de compradores completo.

³²AHESLP, *Protocolo*, Notario Isidro Calvillo, 1870, f.83

³³Entre otros, los vecinos Julio Morales, Francisco Alvarez y Nemesio Medellín denunciaron la desocupación para solicitar que se les adjudicara. AHESLP, *Protocolo*, Notario Isidro Calvillo, 1870, ff. 22-28.

³⁴*Ibid.*, f. 83.

³⁵AGN, RA, caja 126, tres exps.

³⁶AGN, RA, caja 120, leg. 3, exp. 106.

³⁷AGN, RA, caja 120, leg. 4, exp. 1.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹AHESLP, *Protocolo*, Notario Isidro Calvillo, 1870, Número del documento 50, exps. 16-22, Anexo I incluido en el índice inicial.

⁴⁰AHESLP, *Protocolo*, Notario Isidro Calvillo, 1871, f. 141.

En la otra rama familiar, Manuel Rul procedió, al testar, de una manera parecida. Sólo que en él la agricultura intensiva se erigió como objetivo fundamental en sus haciendas aguascalentenses, Cieneguilla, Saucillo y Labor de los Padres. Quiero decir, aquí se dio el fraccionamiento no por la amenaza de decretos confiscatorios, ni por la exclusiva razón hereditaria, sino al parecer por la búsqueda de una mayor racionalidad económica, generada *grosso modo* por las “fuerzas del mercado (...) y la demanda de nuevos productos”.⁴¹

Un párrafo de su testamento resulta muy revelador.

...en mi hacienda llamada del Saucillo tenía proyectada después de algunos años, una toma de agua... pero que lo grande y costoso de la obra así como los malos tiempos y otras causas, la han impedido hasta ahora... También declaro que para la mejor administración y mayores productos de ambas haciendas (Saucillo y Cieneguilla), resolví hacer en ellas algunas divisiones, erigiendo otras tantas haciendas o fincas independientes según mis albaceas se hallan perfectamente instruidos en el todo y pormenor de ambos proyectos, que quiero se lleven a cumplida ejecución en bien de mis propios herederos... Ordeno y mando que ella (la división hereditaria) se aplase hasta la cumplida realización de tales proyectos...⁴²

Minería. El declive de la reforma

I

Más que por simpatía política al Emperador, los mineros guanajuatenses mostraron en la recepción de 1864 una fase más en su búsqueda de concesiones. Tiempo atrás había fracasado sus reiteradas demandas de trato especial ante el gobierno liberal. El mayor desaire había ocurrido tres años atrás, cuando los representantes mineros Guillermo Brockmann, Demetrio Montes de Oca, Gonzalo de Pavía y Gregorio Jiménez, solicitaron a la extemporánea Diputación de Minería la fijación de un precio de la maquila para el beneficio de los metales. La respuesta del gobernador Manuel Doblado no abrió ningún resquicio a la negociación. Sostuvo que las atribuciones concedidas a la diputación por las antiguas ordenanzas eran incompatibles con las instituciones de la época. Y fue más allá; señaló que el establecimiento de un precio atacaría la libertad de industria, una de las libertades garantizadas por la Constitución de 1857.⁴³

En suma, lo que los mineros no consiguieron con los liberales, lo suplicaron al Imperio. Las primeras palabras de Demetrio Montes de Oca, durante la principal ceremonia, fueron elocuentes: “Señor: este mineral de tanto renombre se encuentra hoy agobiado bajo el peso del infortunio, pero ya se siente rico con la grande esperanza de la protección poderosa y sabia de Vuestra Majestad”.⁴⁴

La grande esperanza de la protección poderosa y sabia de Vuestra Majestad o la confianza en la revocación de la libertad de empresa. Elementos ambos de una posible revitalización minera.

II

Guanajuato hacía tiempo había abandonado el nivel preponderante en la producción minera. La larga fase de decadencia incluyó el escaso éxito de una compañía extranjera y el repetido fracaso de las desagües, a cambio sólo de una breve prosperidad debida a los trabajos llevados a cabo por Juan de Dios Pérez Gálvez.

⁴¹Moreno, 1982, p. 46.

⁴²ANDF, Notario Ramón de la Cueva 169, vol. 1039 tomo II, año 1864, f. 578.

⁴³Antúnez, 1964, pp. 96-97

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 98



Genealogía

Antonio Obregón y Alcocer=Guadalupe Barrera
1722-1786 1737-1809 aprox.

Antonio Pérez Gálvez=Gertrudis
-1832 -1831

Antonio=?
-1834 aprox.

Diego Rul=Ignacia
-1811 -1828 aprox.

Dolores
(reconocida en 1833)

Fransisca=Lorenzo Noriega
1793-1868 -1825 aprox.
-sin descendencia-

Juan de Dios=Victoria
-1848 -1855 aprox.
-sin descendencia-

Manuel= Ma. Jesús Azcárate
1795-1864 -1880

Angela=Federico Ludert

Miguel=Josefa Cordero
-1897=Mariana Olmedo
-1935

Dolores=Manuel Alvarez del Mazo
-1866

Manuel

Carlos

Francisco

Antonio

El primer gran intento por reestructurar las minas correspondió a la Compañía Anglo-Mexicana, la cual después de una negociación con Antonio Pérez Gálvez, en 1825, tomó en avío las minas Valenciana, Rayas, Mellado y Cata. La compañía corrió con mala fortuna, pues tan sólo Valenciana perdió 800 mil pesos en nueve años. Posteriormente, formó sociedad, para aviarla, con Juan de Dios Pérez Gálvez, de 1834 a 1836, y aunque en ese periodo se obtuvo una utilidad de 26 mil pesos, ésta abandonó los trabajos.⁴⁵

Dentro del decaimiento de la minería de la entidad, uno de los personajes que la impulsó con relativo vigor fue Juan de Dios Pérez Gálvez. De 1840 al año de su muerte, 1848, dos de sus minas alcanzaron considerables niveles de explotación, La Luz y Valenciana. La Luz constituyó la mina más productiva desde la década de los cuarenta, al punto de que para 1846 la deuda de avío de 76 mil pesos se liquidó a Pérez Gálvez y éste se incorporó a ella como su principal accionista. En ese mismo año la importancia de La Luz le otorgó su segregación de la capital y su erección de cabecera municipal. Valenciana, por otra parte, no obstante que tuvo problemas de desagüe frecuentemente, logró una utilidad líquida en el periodo mencionado de 442 mil pesos. Otras minas, como Cata y Mellado, tuvieron también buenos ciclos, aunque su volumen de producción fue notablemente inferior.⁴⁶

La etapa posterior a la muerte de Pérez Gálvez fue de franca decadencia. A la escasez de semillas y forrajes que caracterizó las décadas cincuenta y sesenta se agregó la semiparalización del trabajo minero. Valenciana permaneció virtualmente inundada hasta 1869, fecha en que Miguel Rul emprendió nuevas labores.

Durante los años en que Rul actuó al frente de los negocios se transformó la situación. Comisionó al ingeniero Francisco Glenie para los trabajos de desagüe y en pocos años se logró sostener simultáneamente su explotación. Hacia 1884 alcanzó su completo desagüe y obtuvo una altísima extracción con valor de 2 millones 284 mil pesos.⁴⁷

Siendo el propietario minero más poderoso de Guanajuato, Rul promovió la construcción del ferrocarril en la entidad, al tiempo que financió la colocación de rieles, de ramales que conectarían a sus fundos mineros.⁴⁸ Al morir, en 1897, era el principal directivo de la Cámara Minera de Guanajuato.⁴⁹

Siglas

AGN, RA.	Archivo General de la Nación, fondo Rul y Azcárate
AHSLP	Archivo Histórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí
AHG	Archivo Histórico de Guanajuato
ANDF	Archivo de Notarías del Distrito Federal

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⁴⁵Orozco, 1921, pp. 28-30

⁴⁶Antúnez, 1964, pp. 231-233

⁴⁷AGN, RA, caja 34, leg. 1

⁴⁸AGN, RA, caja 6, leg. 1865, exp. 18

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John E. Kicza*

Migration to Late Colonial Mexico City: Reasons and Patterns

In colonial Mexico, much as in the national period, internal migration contributed greatly to the growth of cities. There was a constant but variable flow of persons from the countryside and small towns into the major cities. Nonetheless, to date we know rather little about the character of the participants and the process.¹ Until recently we have lacked the detailed reconstruction of individual family lives and the analysis of aggregate data which are necessary for reliable statements about migration of this sort. This study offers an overview of movement to Mexico City in the late colonial period according to the occupation and social and ethnic classification of the participants in an effort to lay out the salient patterns and steps in the larger phenomenon.

Relatively little is known, overall, about the pace and character of population growth in Mexico City during the colonial period. However, government censuses and estimates of informed observers, when combined with an appreciation of larger social and economic developments, can provide a broad understanding of the city's population trends from about 1750 into the national period. Richard Boyer and Keith Davies have collected such population figures in their useful book.² The city was enormous; easily the largest city in the Americas around 1800, it dwarfed other cities in the colony, being roughly twice as large as Puebla and three times as large as Guanajuato according to the 1793 census. The capital grew notably between 1750 and 1840.³ In 1742 the city was estimated to have 98,000 people, while the 1790 census placed the figure at almost 113,000 inhabitants. A decade later, Humboldt estimated the population at 137,000, and in 1805 the city's Consulado stated the population to be about 130,000. The Hidalgo and Morelos revolts, of course, precipitated massive migration to the capital, but only for short periods. The well known 1811 census placed the population at almost 169,000, but already by 1813 estimates reduced the figure to well under 150,000, perhaps as low as 130,000. Epidemics that swept the capital in that year and the pacification of some regions helped to lower the number of inhabitants. But by the early 1820s, the city's population was well over 150,000 again, reaching 200,000 by the late 1830s. Famine in the countryside periodically swelled the city's population for at least a year or two until conditions improved, for municipal grain warehouses and the hope of at least occasional employment or charity drew many of the afflicted into the capital.

But famine, disaster, and warfare were by no means the sole or even primary forces impelling people to migrate to Mexico City in the late colonial period, though they certainly caused temporary increases of some magnitude. Most permanent migrants to the capital were attracted by the distinctive, sometimes unique, qualities of this metropolis. The major arguments in this paper are twofold: that Mexico City possessed special characteristics generally not shared by the important provincial centers, and that many persons moved to the city because of the economic and sometimes social opportunities

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¹An important compilation of writings on this issue is David J. Robinson, ed., *Migration in Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge, 1989).

²Richard E. Boyer & Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th-Century Latin America: Statistics and Sources* (Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 41-44.

³Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708-1810)* (Mexico City, 1969), p. 171.

that it afforded to those in their occupation or social position, not because of deteriorating conditions in the countryside.

Though in sum comprising only a few individuals in each generation, provincial families that had made a large fortune almost invariably migrated from their home base to the capital no later than the second generation after making their wealth. This was due to the unrivaled social and economic preeminence of Mexico City. It contained nearly all of the wealthy, established families of the colony, perhaps a hundred or so in number, which typically intermarried and sometimes entered into joint business ventures.⁴ They often held business interests not just in the capital but scattered throughout the colony. These enterprises were diversified but run in a complementary fashion whenever possible and might even be organized into a vertically integrated operation. As the financial and business center of the colony and its primary market and consuming entity, Mexico City provided these family concerns with advantages not to be found elsewhere in the society. The capital's importance as the primary civil and ecclesiastical administrative and judicial center of the colony was yet another attraction, not so much for the bureaucratic positions available, since few offspring of elite families entered the government, the Church, or the legal profession, but for the opportunity to socialize with and even co-opt important officials. Finally, the social and cultural world of the capital was unmatched by that of any provincial city in Mexico, nor probably by that of any other colonial capital in the Spanish empire. As a result of these combined factors, any family in the provinces that gained enormous wealth through mining, commerce, or commercial agriculture felt strongly impelled to move its residence and center of business operations to Mexico City, even though the source of its wealth, such as a mine or a complex of estates, would not be transferred or necessarily transformed.

Merchants throughout the colony, whether independent or affiliated with a large merchant house, aspired to base themselves in Mexico City. Most who eventually did so were employees in major commercial firms of the capital who had been stationed in a branch operation in the provinces, sometimes for a number of years. Having demonstrated their business aptitude and developed a network of contacts during this often extended apprenticeship, these employees --some peninsulars, some creoles, but almost always sons, nephews, or cousins of the director-- were now invited back to the headquarters in Mexico City to assume supervisory positions. Here they needed to prove their capacity again and at a higher level, but with greater resources and the potential for many helpful contacts in and out of the business world. The most successful among them would ultimately take over merchant houses, while others would remain high-level managers or establish a large retail store in the city affiliated with a wholesale firm.

Sometimes these men had wed while in the provinces, and in such cases they might endeavor to transfer the family's business to the capital with them.⁵ Typically the enterprise itself, whether mine, shop, estate, or processing plant, could not match the scale of operations of major businesses in Mexico City and hence was likely to fail unless upgraded in some form. But this is exactly what was pursued. The new businessman in the city would manage his wife's family holdings while simultaneously supervising some or all of the business of the wholesale house. Later, if the effort was successful, this property would be combined with the estate of an established family of Mexico City, through marriage, sale, or business agreement, and this person and his spouse's family would attain permanent affiliation with one of the eminent families in the colony.

Understandably, it was more difficult for a merchant not already connected to a Mexico City wholesale firm to make a successful move from the provinces to the capital, but such attempts were regularly made and did sometimes work out. Here again, the merchant

⁴ John E. Kicza, "The Great Families of Mexico: Elite Maintenance and Business Practices in Late Colonial Mexico City," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62 (1982), pp. 429-457.

⁵ John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, 1983), pp. 80-81.



moving to the capital was often already married into a prominent provincial family and used their accumulated resources as well as his own in the effort to establish himself. Thus this family and not just the lone individual would merge into metropolitan society.

The career of Bruno Pastor Morales exemplifies this pattern. Born in Spain, he migrated to Valladolid, Michoacán as a youth, quickly establishing himself in commerce first as a *cajero* in a store and then as the owner of a business with heavy interest in commodity trading. He married into a landed family of the province and took over management of its business affairs. He then moved himself and his family to Mexico City, where he once again prospered in provincial trading, still with considerable emphasis on commodity exchange. Eventually he was held in such high regard among the city's merchants that he was elevated to captain of the commercial regiment of the militia. Later in life, after the death of his wife, he resolved to become a priest. But even then he continued to operate rural estates and to deal in commodities, managing his store in the capital in the name of his three children, whom he had designated as its owners.⁶

Members of two professional groups --lawyers and priests-- flocked to Mexico City in great numbers, initially to gain their education and also to obtain attractive employment in their fields. The allure of the capital to these men perhaps equalled that extended to merchants. Mexico City contained the most prestigious *colegios* in the colony and was the site of the sole university until Guadalajara received a university in 1791. The colonial and ecclesiastical governmental hierarchies situated there offered both lucrative employment and patronage. As the largest urban entity and business center of the society Mexico City offered many employment possibilities outside of the bureaucracies. Very cosmopolitan in character and the locus of high culture and scholarship in the colony, the capital appealed to those interested in artistic and scholarly pursuits.

My continuing research into the career patterns of lawyers and clerics in late colonial Mexico, and particularly in Mexico City, reveals the attraction of the capital to members of these professions. In 1760 a Colegio de Abogados was created in the Audiencia of Mexico. Any lawyer who wished to practice within its jurisdiction had to belong and was subject to close scrutiny upon applying. Some membership lists from the late colonial and early independence periods exist. They reveal that in 1804, 80.2 percent of the 258 member lawyers resided in Mexico City; for 1812, the figure is 62 percent of the 305 members, while in 1824, 76.1 percent of the 318 members lived in the capital. Yet other lawyers resided in towns and villages in close proximity to Mexico City, such as Tacuba, Coyoacán, and Xochimilco.

The employment possibilities for clerics in the city were just as great. The 1790 census of the city enumerated 640 ordained priests. These included 26 members of the cathedral chapter, 97 curates, vicars, and clerical sacristans, 66 priests and chaplains in the colleges for boys and girls, with perhaps another 50 to 60 serving as instructors in them, and about 30 employed as chaplains in hospitals and houses of charity. Dozens of others were employed as functionaries in the archiepiscopal hierarchy, the Inquisition, and the like. Scores of others made a living from chaplaincy endowments.

Regulations permitted only persons classified as Spaniards to enter these professions, but the capital supplied members to both professions in far greater numbers than its share of the Hispanic population in Mexican society would warrant. My preliminary surveys indicate that perhaps 40 percent of the lawyers and priests in greater Mexico City were natives of it. When it is appreciated that most lawyers and priests came from middle-level professional and commercial families of Mexico City and from established propertied and commercial families from the provinces, the dominance of Mexico City is easier to understand.

⁶Archivo de Notarías del Departamento del Distrito Federal (hereafter cited as AN), José Antonio Burillo, Aug. 26, 1784; Jan. 14, 1792; Jan. 16, 1793; Dec. 30, 1793.



With this information as background, let us turn to the dynamics of migration to Mexico City by lawyers and clerics born in the provinces. All indications are that most of these persons came to the capital initially to attend one of its colegios or perhaps later its university, and then remained in the city for most of their careers. Late colonial Mexico City had eight schools for boys, seven colegios and a seminary. Collectively they educated perhaps 800 young men a year in all grades. My research has not encountered a single native of Mexico City who went elsewhere for his education at either the colegio or university level, but instead a large and continual influx of provincial youths into the capital's schools. Very few priests and lawyers in either the provinces or the capital attended colegios in provincial centers, and those who did went to school in such places as Puebla, Valladolid, Guadalajara, and Guanajuato. Some youths began at colegios in provincial cities but then transferred to one in the capital. Far and away the most prestigious and popular schools in the city were the colegios of Todos Santos and of San Ildefonso and the Seminary. By no means did all students at the Seminary pursue clerical careers, and many lawyers and government officials graduated from it.

Provincial families deliberately sent one or more sons to Mexico City's colegios because of the quality of education they could receive there, the range of contacts and type of reputation they could attain only in the capital, and sometimes with the intention that the child would remain as a professional to give luster to the reputation of the larger family and to represent its interests before the agencies, jurisdictions, and important enterprises there, sometimes as its lead man in anticipation of a move by the large family to the capital.⁷ One cannot overstate the advantages available to the student who could demonstrate his abilities and develop a range of contacts with his peers in school, but more importantly with his professors and with the many clerical and judicial authorities with whom he could expect to come into contact. An examination of career patterns among many of these professionals shows clearly that while aptitude mattered, it was only one factor in determining the character and success of a career, the others being the reputation of the individual's family and the sponsorship and patronage that he received from leading members of the capital's professional and governmental hierarchies. And these facts were well appreciated and largely accepted by all involved.

Any family with ambitions that its son become something beyond a provincial lawyer or priest was well advised to situate him in the capital's schools and introduce him to its leading officials as soon as possible. Several businessmen who moved from the provinces to Mexico City during their careers noted in wills and other documents that they relocated their businesses to the capital specifically to send their sons to the colegios there and help establish them in professional careers. A number of families of prominence in late colonial Mexico City gained their initial presence there by such a move or through a member of the family establishing himself in the professions with the larger family eventually following, typically without abandoning its holdings or all of its connections in the provinces.

The careers of two sets of brothers from the provinces who relocated in Mexico City and achieved very successful professional careers illustrate the process of migration and the social and career possibilities it afforded. The brothers Flores Alatorre, from a prominent Aguascalientes family, came as youths to study in Mexico City. Already cousins of the third Conde de Peñasco, their family ties grew even tighter when the Conde married their sister. Once established as important professionals, they openly represented the interests of the Peñasco family. Besides becoming a lawyer, Doctor José Félix joined the Church and made his career in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He served first as the curate of the parish of La Soledad de la Santa Cruz in Mexico City, already an auspicious beginning. With his legal training, he next became a judge of the Court of Chaplaincies

⁷This statement is based on the assertions made by candidates for admission to the Colegio de Abogados in their applications, and by their fathers in wills and other such documents in notarial and judicial archives.

and Pious Works of the Archbishopric, while simultaneously serving as a *catedrático* of canon law at the university. After a term as vicar-general of the Archbishopric, he was elevated to the cathedral chapter. His brother, Licenciado Juan José, started his legal career as lawyer for the poor for the Audiencia of Mexico and advanced rapidly up the ladder in the legal profession. Along the way he was elected rector of the College of Lawyers. In the last years of the colonial period he was designated an oidor, first in Guadalajara and then in Mexico City. After independence, he became a minister of the Mexican Supreme Court.⁸

From a wealthy landed family of Puebla, Licenciado Francisco Ignacio and Doctor Luis Gonzaga González Maldonado both pursued successful judicial careers, the former across the globe serving the crown and the latter locally in Mexico City. Both were educated in the colegios and the university of Mexico City. Francisco Ignacio served with distinction as an oidor of Manila, a royal prosecutor in Guadalajara, oidor of New Spain, royal prosecutor for the Casa de Contratación in Spain, and finally back again as an oidor in Mexico City, where he died in 1800. Doctor Luis Gonzaga remained in the capital after completing his education and obtained the post of attorney for the parcialidad of San Juan Tenochtitlán, one of the two Indian districts in Mexico City; he also held a chair in the university. During this period he was very active in the pulque trade, producing the intoxicant on his estate and leasing *pulquerías* in which to sell it. He later acquired the office of *regidor perpetuo* of the city, then renounced it in his old age to become a cleric. There was at least one other González Maldonado brother, José Mariano, who managed the family's landed interests back in Puebla and never moved to the capital.⁹

The employment possibilities in the capital for lawyers and clerics were multiple. The membership lists of the College of Lawyers show that about a third of all lawyers residing in Mexico City were regularly employed in the colonial or municipal administrations. An additional 15 percent or so of lawyers were also clerics, and these almost invariably were situated as curates in or near the capital or employed in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁰ Yet other priests and lawyers serviced the many institutions and organizations of the capital, while others represented their families in the city, as their legal and business representatives or as chaplains.

A word should be said about another occupational group: the colonial bureaucrats in Mexico City. They numbered several hundred, most of whom were creoles, and among these many were from greater Mexico City. At the highest ranks of the judicial and fiscal hierarchy far more peninsulars could be found, but whether creole or peninsular by birth, a royal official employed in Mexico City typically remained there his entire career and adulthood. Even the high judicial and fiscal officers would only leave the capital if they were promoted to Spain, and only a minority of them were, normally after extended tenure in Mexico City. These officials were comparable in most aspects to lawyers and priests: some were wealthier and held more prestigious posts than others, but overall they were respected and lived comfortable lives.¹¹

Still other types of professionals were attracted to Mexico City. All of the physicians that I have identified in Mexico City after 1760 were creoles, and all had received their medical education at the university in that city. Once graduated, they sought affiliation

⁸AN, Juan Manuel Pozo, Oct. 16, 1791, and Jan. 12, 1799; *Gazeta de México* (hereafter cited as GN), Feb. 26, 1793; *Diario de México* (hereafter cited as DM), Dec. 6, 1805, and Aug. 1, 1813; Félix Osores, *Noticias bibliográficas de alumnos distinguidos del Colegio de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Ildefonso de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1908), vol. 1, pp. 234, 236-237.

⁹AN, José María de Torija, July 23, 1784; Burillo, Sept. 28, 1784; GM, Jan. 30, 1787, and April 23, 1800; Osores, *Noticias*, vol. 1, p. 284.

¹⁰Biblioteca Nacional, "Lista de los abogados que se hallan matriculados en el Ilustre y Real Colegio de México," 1804, 1812 and 1824.

¹¹Linda J. Arnold, "Bureacracy and Bureaucrats in Mexico City: 1742-1835" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1982), Chapter 4, *passim*; John E. Kicza, "Business and Society in Late Colonial Mexico City" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), Chapter 9, *passim*.

with one of the sixteen hospitals in the city and a place on the medical faculty of the university, posts which carried both status and an assured income. Only the least prestigious physicians had private practices, and they can be found advertising their services in the city's newspaper. Just as with lawyers and doctors, the capital attracted prospective physicians through its highly esteemed colegios and university, and its many institutions and organizations provided a substantial income and a good reputation to those who belonged. Finally, even those without such affiliations found the large population and active business life of the city a source of sufficient business to maintain themselves.¹² The social and cultural advantages of the city need not be enumerated again.

Surgeons were still differentiated from medical doctors in their training and social standing in this era. Many did base themselves permanently in Mexico City, but they came to the city through different avenues than physicians, and few received their training in the medical facilities of the capital. Whereas the physicians encountered were creoles, most of the surgeons were peninsulars, generally trained at surgical colleges while still in Spain and coming to Mexico as naval or army surgeons. Once in Mexico, they often passed at least a few years in a port town or sometimes a provincial center before coming to the capital. Here again, the most capable and fortunate obtained permanent positions at one of the capital's hospitals, and might even become members of the surgical training faculty there, but they did not receive salaries comparable to physicians. Whereas the physicians of Mexico City could mingle easily with other professionals, surgeons were considered the social equals of artisans and small shopkeepers, and some of the locally born surgeons were considered to be of mixed blood. While the son of a physician might enter the university and become a cleric or a lawyer, a surgeon's son was more likely to become a craftsman or shopkeeper.¹³

Yet other professional groups existed in Mexico City, many of whose members migrated there because of the career possibilities. The ecclesiastical and lay institutions of the city and its many wealthy families provided patronage to a community of architects, sculptors, and artists. Most in the late colonial period were born in Mexico, but a substantial minority were peninsular in origin. Except for a few artists and architects who were trained in Spain and then dispatched to Mexico to teach at the Academy of San Carlos or to realize a specific project, the artistic community was trained in Mexico City. Youths from anywhere in the colony who contemplated a career in art typically entered an academy in the capital or apprenticed themselves with one of the masters there.¹⁴

A similar pattern is noticeable among performing artists. The city supported perhaps 50 actors, singers, dancers, and musicians annually in just its major theater, the Real Coliseo. Youths migrated to the capital to be trained in a specific performing art, most them staying on, since only Mexico City offered many employment possibilities to persons with such skills. There was an additional immigration of seasoned performers from throughout the empire and from Spain itself to perform in the city's theater sometimes just for a season under contract, sometimes for their entire career. Leading artists could demand high salaries and living and performing conditions tailored to their desires. The lead singer, dancer, actor, and actress of the Real Coliseo commanded annual salaries of between 3,000 and 4,000 pesos, when shopkeepers, craftsmen, and low-level professionals might expect annual incomes of 300 to 500 pesos.¹⁵ In 1808 the head of the Coliseo informed the Viceroy that he could not persuade Antonia Rodríguez, a valued actress from Havana, to come up to Mexico City from Veracruz to perform for that season. Viceroy Iturrigaray ordered an element of his lancers to go to Veracruz to get her, but she

¹²Kicza, "Business and Society," pp. 418-424.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 424-427.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 430-433.

¹⁵Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter cited as AGN), *Historia*, vol. 473, fols. 28-30; DM, March 18, 1806; March 28, 1807; April 14, 1816.



wrote the Viceroy a letter procrastinating and claiming that the 4,000 pesos she was promised for the season was too little.¹⁶

A small but interesting group in late colonial Mexico City were the 50 to 100 non-Spanish Europeans who lived there in any given year. These foreign immigrants were invariably Catholics, though a few had converted while still in Europe, and generally came from parts of Europe that either were under the rule of the Spanish king or traditionally had maintained close ties to Spain. But though Catholic, quite Hispanized, and anxious to be accepted into colonial society, these immigrants were always viewed as distinctive outsiders by the Hispanic elements of Mexico City, were considered suitable only for certain specialized occupations, and experienced limited social horizons. But this is not to say that these Europeans constituted a self-conscious community. They had little to do with each other in business, did not live intentionally with or near each other, and did not join the same social or fraternal organizations. Overall, few of the foreigners were related, while shared national origins seemingly played no important role in their lives.

In both 1795 and 1809, when international conflicts impelled the government to carry out surveys of the foreign population of Mexico City, the largest number of foreigners were Italian, 43 percent in 1795 and 58 percent in 1809. In both cases, the second largest group was the French, with 37 percent in 1795 and 28 percent in 1809. A scattering of immigrants originated in such areas as Malta, Switzerland, Flanders, Germany, and Ireland. All these foreigners were male, with the exception of one woman, the German wife of a Flemish machinist who worked for many years in Mexico, usually in the mining industry. These foreigners were usually unmarried when they came to Mexico, journeying typically when they were still young men, many having spent some time in Spain before venturing to the colonies.¹⁷

Most foreigners in Mexico City came initially as servants or cooks for government or Church officials, or for military or maritime officers who were transferred from Spain to the colony, a much lesser number as commercial representatives of Spanish firms. Those who came as servants often mentioned that they decided to remain in Mexico when their employer moved to another colony or returned to Spain. While a number of such people were already in Mexico City, others were in provincial centers and relocated only later to the capital. Few still pursued employment as servants, though some hired on as cooks in the houses of important personages. Most went into business for themselves, capitalizing on their one quality not shared by creoles or Indians: amiliarity with current European taste and fashion. Some became restaurateurs or tavernkeepers, others went into fashion and design as dressmakers, hairdressers, perfumers, hatmakers, and tailors. A scattering worked as skilled craftsmen in such fields as metalworking and bookbinding, while a few had been recruited in Europe for their specific skills with machinery or in the arts, including a painter, a chorus master, and a dance master.

Once based in Mexico City, European immigrants generally lived out their lives there. A large number married local women, and their children seemed to do well, getting good educations and sometimes employment in the professions and the government. While many of the immigrants made decent and even comfortable livings, none approached having significant wealth. Few held jobs that native-born citizens could compete for, so there was little reason for resentment against them. They enjoyed no power either as individuals or as a group and had no special prestige. Few were ever addressed as “don”, even in this late period, when the honorific was far more common than in early colonial times.

Information on the lives and social patterns among the lower classes and the Indians of Mexico City is much scantier than on these other groups. The best information to date on their migration to late colonial Mexico City comes from two articles produced by the

¹⁶AGN, *Historia*, vol. 468, unpaginated, March 18, 1808.

¹⁷AGN, *Historia*, vol. 452 (1809) and 503 (1795).

Seminario de Historia Urbana of INAH, one by Alejandra Moreno Toscano and Carlos Aguirre, the other by Jaime Rodríguez Piña, and the excellent unpublished dissertation of Michael Scardaville.¹⁸ The two articles derive their findings from the 1811 census of Mexico City, while Scardaville's dissertation is distilled from the criminal records of the capital. Enrique Florescano's study of maize price trends has noted that eight major food shortages afflicted central Mexico between 1741 and 1811.¹⁹ John Tutino has noted the simultaneous population growth within Indian villages and expansion of Spanish haciendas in the last half of the eighteenth century.²⁰ These phenomena were the driving forces behind the large migration to Mexico City after 1750. Another contributing factor was the expansion of Mexico City's economy during much of the same period, as the city's commercial, manufacturing, and processing sectors expanded notably. The construction and service jobs provided by population and economic growth lured yet further migrants. Scardaville reasonably estimates that one-half to two-thirds of the city's population growth after the mid-eighteenth century can be attributed to migration.²¹ In the 1811 census, 38 percent of the city's population was made up of migrants, though the percentage was artificially elevated because of the ongoing insurrection in the provinces.²² Scardaville's examination of over 2,500 cases in the criminal records indicates that women made up fully half of the migrants and perhaps a good number more. About half of all migrants in these records were under 30 years of age when they came to Mexico City and an additional 24 percent were between 30 and 39 years of age. More than a third of the migrants were single when they moved.²³

The aforementioned studies of the 1811 census confirm the origins of the migrants indicated in the criminal records. Most came from the Puebla and Jalapa regions to the east, Querétaro and the Bajío to the north, Toluca and Morelia to the west, and Cuernavaca and Cuautla to the south, with an additional influx of Indians from Oaxaca. Those who were professionals, administrators, commercial employees, or artisans typically came from important regional centers located at some distance from Mexico City: Puebla, Jalapa, Morelia and Querétaro, for example. Unskilled laborers generally came from nearby the capital, in the zones east and north of the Valley of Mexico. The remainder were likely to come from the Cuernavaca and Oaxaca jurisdictions to the south.

This occupational differentiation, of course, corresponds closely to ethnic distinctions. Most Spaniards and mixed-bloods who migrated to the capital came from provincial centers outside of the Valley of Mexico but still within the confines of central Mexico, while Indians came largely from the greater Valley of Mexico and the heavily Indian provinces from the south.²⁴ Indications are that many Indians from the more distant areas went first to provincial centers before moving to Mexico City. Very few migrants came to Mexico City from either coast or from the desert North, and certainly not from south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The only people from the Yucatán that I have encountered in late colonial Mexico City were a very few professionals, government functionaries, and commercial agents, all from the Hispanic social sector of that region.

¹⁸Alejandra Moreno Toscano & Carlos Aguirre, "Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México durante el siglo XIX: Perspectivas de investigación," Seminario de Historia Urbana, INAH, *Cuaderno de Trabajo*, núm. 4 (Mexico City), pp. 1-25; the same authors have published a more refined version of this article as "Migration to Mexico City in the Nineteenth Century: Research Approaches," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 17 (1975), pp. 27-42; Jaime Rodríguez Piña, "Las vecindades en 1811; tipología," Seminario de Historia Urbana, INAH, *Cuaderno de Trabajo*, núm. 11 (Mexico City, 1976), pp. 68-96; Michael E. Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor: Mexico City in the Late Colonial Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977).

¹⁹Florescano, *Precios del maíz*, Chapter 9, *passim*.

²⁰John M. Tutino, "Creole Mexico: Spanish Elites, Haciendas, and Indian Towns, 1750-1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1976), pp. 287-288.

²¹Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor", p. 53.

²²Moreno Toscano & Aguirre, "Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México," p. 5.

²³Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor," p. 57.

²⁴Moreno Toscano y Aguirre "Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México," p. 6-9; Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor", pp. 57-60.



The effects of this large migration on employment patterns in Mexico City were mixed. It had a negligible impact on the commercial and professional spheres of employment, for few persons in these fields migrated to the capital without a good prospect of employment, and most migrants were uneducated and socially ineligible for these positions. Some expansion of commercial activity certainly resulted from the population growth, but it was probably minimized by the poverty of many migrants, even after they had gained employment. The artisan guilds were sorely hurt by the influx of migrants. Already weakened in the late colonial period by an upsurge in competition and a new government attitude against such restrictive institutions, craft guilds found that they could not control production or prices against the many independent craftsmen now in the city.²⁵ These often impoverished craftsmen would solicit customers in the streets or in ramshackle huts, or be recruited into unauthorized workshops where capitalists supplied them with tools and raw materials and then marketed the finished goods. A number, certainly, became workers in the large royal tobacco factory on the outskirts of the city, a facility that employed great numbers of both men and women. But many migrants often found employment as street vendors and unskilled service workers. A study of some of the rooming-houses of the city in 1811 reveals the activities of some of these people. They were employed as *cargadores*, *sombrereros*, *pintores*, *carboneros*, *aguadores*, *porteros*, *cocheros*, *herrerros*, *alfareros*, and *bordadores*. Occupations filled by migrant women include *costureras*, *lavanderas*, *tortilleras*, and *atoleras*.²⁶ It is my impression that relatively few recent migrants were taken on as domestic servants. Servants in Mexico City households often remained attached to their employers for many years, were from the city itself, and were frequently married to other servants, lacking as they did certain skills and social and cultural graces, especially as others with these qualities were available. Thousands of these impoverished migrants lived in the streets or in shacks within the city and on its outskirts. Lacking regular employment, a number turned to vice, crime, or begging, and the jails and charitable institutions of the capital were sorely pressed to deal with the great increase in population, especially as more migrants came exactly when famine or insurrection threatened the larger society.

Perhaps what is most notable is that the migration of so many poor to Mexico City did not cause even more strain and disruption than it did. One reason, besides the innovativeness, adaptability, and family resources of these migrants themselves, may have been that the city remained in good times and had an important commercial, administrative, and manufacturing center, attracting even better-off people from the provinces and creating new jobs and branches of human activity beyond what already existed. In these and other aspects the reasons and patterns of migration to Mexico City in the late colonial period bear a striking resemblance to those of the modern era.

²⁵Jorge González Angulo Aguirre, *Artesanado y ciudad a fines del siglo XVIII* (Mexico City, 1983), pp. 103-121, *passim*.

²⁶Rodríguez Piña, "Las vecindades en 1811," pp. 91-94.





Barbara A. Tenenbaum*

Murals in Stone. The Paseo de la Reforma and Porfirian Mexico, 1873-1910

Legend has it that Emperor Maximilian decided one morning that he wanted an avenue which would run directly from his Alcázar de Chapultepec to the Palacio Nacional downtown. He named his new road the Calzada de la Emperatriz in honor of his wife, the Empress Carlota.¹ Many historians have claimed that Maximilian planned the new boulevard in emulation of the transformation of Paris then taking place under the direction of his patron, Emperor Napoleon III, and the latter's construction manager, Baron Haussman.² In fact, Maximilian was hardly an uncritical admirer of the new Paris. During a trip to the "city of lights" in 1856, the Austrian prince watched the construction of the Avenue de l'Imperatrice (now Avenue Foch), which probably inspired him in the naming of his calzada. In other ways, as he confided to his brother, the Emperor Franz Joseph:

The City of Paris produced upon (me) an unfavourable impression... even our modest Vienna has more of the quality of an imperial city, which is utterly lacking in Paris... Just as the First Empire took as its model the Rome of the Caesars, so the second edition takes pleasure in a stiff imitation of the same style. On all sides one has an impression of the transitory; it is all very brilliant, but unmistakably intended for the moment alone. Nowhere does one obtain the idea of anything lasting.³

Indeed, the Emperor of Mexico wanted the new boulevard strictly for his personal convenience. He entrusted Francisco Somera, the well known urban developer, with all the details concerning its construction. Somera was the obvious choice. From, 1850 to 1866 he served as regidor on the Mexico City Ayuntamiento in charge of both roads and canals, as well as sewers and pavement, and in 1856 he sat on a committee studying the flood problem in the Valley of Mexico. In 1862 he reorganized the Obrera Mayor in the capital, then controlled by lay administrators, into the Dirección General de Obras Públicas, staffed with civil engineers and architects from the Academia de San Carlos. During the Empire Somera became city chief magistrate (alcalde), and then head of the Treasury Committee of the Ayuntamiento, which set rates for property taxes. Meanwhile, he had been carefully buying urban real estate since 1858. In that year Somera began to lay the groundwork for the subdivision of the city to be known as the "colonia de arquitectos", and because of his standing in the government he provided better urban services more rapidly to residents of his areas than to other city dwellers. But he had no intention of being the Baron Houssmann of Mexico City; unlike his French counterpart, he speculated in land in order to enrich himself. For example, in 1866 he sold part of the section which lies in the trapezoid formed by present-day Gómez Farías, Sullivan, and Miguel Schultz streets' and Avenida Insurgentes, to the imperial government as an adjunct

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¹Salvador Novo, *Los pascos de la ciudad de México* (Mexico City, 1980), pp. 35-36.

²Mauricio Gómez Mayorga, "La influencia francesa en la arquitectura y el urbanismo en México," in Arturo Arnáiz y Freg and Claude Bataillon, eds., *La intervención francesa y el imperio de Maximiliano cien años después, 1862-1962* (Mexico City, 1965), p. 185. Gómez Mayorga flatly states that "Maximilian wanted to make Mexico City into a little Paris".

³Egon Caesar Conte Corte, *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico* (New York, 1968), pp. 51-52; David H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, 1958), p. 98; Howard Saalman, *Haussman: Paris Transformed* (New York, 1971), figure 25.

to the new calzada. The government paid him 29, 816 pesos for an area of 32 000 square varas (.93 pesos/square vara), the highest figure he would receive in this entire career.⁴

The avenue was ready in 1865, but after the Empire fell and the Republic was restored two years later, Benito Juárez wanted nothing to do with it. His successor, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, revived interest in the calzada, appropriately renamed Paseo de la Reforma, and encouraged civic leaders to formulate plans for its beautification. The curious assortment of both liberals and former conservative figures who took up the task falls into two distinct groups –the “francophile progressives” and the “nationalist mythologizers”.

Although Maximilian had scorned the “new” Paris precisely because of its modernity and lack of tradition, the “francophile progressives” embraced it as the center of civilization, culture and progress. One of the admirers of such urban splendor was Ignacio Cumplido, founder of the Mexico City liberal daily, *El siglo XIX*. He had Paris in 1848, and again in 1860 after much of the reconstruction had taken place; his admiration for the city developed into a desire to see its beauties replicated in Mexico.⁵ In 1873 when he became the member of the ayuntamiento in charge of boulevards, Cumplido took advantage of the opportunity to see to it that the area on both sides of the Paseo would be lined with trees in emulation of the Champs d’Elysées.⁶

The famous railroad entrepreneur, Antonio Escandón was another “francophile progressive”. Escandón, brother of the highly successful moneylender and entrepreneur Manuel Escandón and son-in-law of the slightly less successful but perhaps more notorious moneylender and entrepreneur Eustaquio Barron, had actively promoted the development of the railway during the Empire. He spent those years combing the capitals of Europe for investors to fund his dream and in so doing became quite at home in London and Paris. In accordance with his entrepreneurial outlook, Escandón saw the redesign of Paris not in terms of the greening of the city so dear to the heart of Napoleon III, but as a way to produce new commercial space. The creation of the spectacular star (L’Étoile), formed by the juxtaposition of seven or eight avenues with the Arc de Triomphe at its center, opened a wealth of possibilities for him. The Étoile symbolized the Paris of Napoleon III, the power of the centralized state, and the new privileged position of its servitors, the haute bourgeoisie.⁷ Mexico, in contrast, barely had a civilian governing class, and few if any people living there in 1873 could have considered themselves haute bourgeois. However, Escandón believed that the construction of a new, beautiful city would stimulate the birth of that class within the country. As he envisioned it, Mexico City would have many toiles, to be called glorietas, where important streets met the Paseo de la Reforma. Furthermore, the task of designing the new capital would be considerably easier than it had been in Paris, for the urban landscape was still to be fully articulated in the Mexico City of the 1870’s. To get that process underway, Escandón gave the city a monument to Christopher Columbus in 1873 to adorn the first of the glorietas and commemorate the opening of his railroad in that year.⁸ The next phase in the development of the avenue was to plan for other statues to grace the remaining glorietas. This task was enthusiastically undertaken by those interested in the new avenue as a vehicle for their ideas –the “nationalist mythologizers”.

⁴María Dolores Morales, “Francisco Somera y el primer fraccionamiento de la ciudad de México, 1840-1889”, in Ciro F.S. Cardoso, *Formación y desarrollo de la burguesía en México, siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1978), pp. 188-230

⁵Cumplido wrote to his friend León Ortigosa, September 5, 1851, “I wish that in your trip through Europe, you take advantage of the time as you please and enjoy the magnificent spectacle of the Exposition and how much more those truly civilized countries present;” *Correspondencia de Ignacio Cumplido a León Ortigosa en la Biblioteca del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey* (Monterrey, 1969), p. 44.

⁶Novo, *Los paseos*, p. 38.

⁷Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris: The Defeat of Town Planning 1850-1970* (London, 1970), p. 169; Pinkney, *Napoleon III*, pp. 62-64; Saalman, *Haussman*, pp. 14-15.

⁸José María Marroqui, *La ciudad de México*, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1900), vol. 1, p. 647. For more on Escandón, see Tenenbaum, “Development or Sovereignty: Intellectuals and the French Empire,” in Charles Hale and Roderic Camp (eds.), *The Intellectuals and the State in México* (Mexico City and Los Angeles, in press).

The first leader of the group was Vicente Riva Palacio, son of General Mariano Riva Palacio, a former governor of Mexico State, and María Dolores Guerrero, the only child of martyred President Vicente Guerrero. Vicente Riva Palacio, too, had a distinguished career, serving as an alternate to the Constitutional Convention of 1857 and then as secretary to the ayuntamiento until the beginning of the civil war. Félix Zuloaga imprisoned him for his liberal politics, and Miramón ordered him transferred to solitary confinement. In 1861 he was elected a federal deputy and began his career in journalism as a member of staff of the newspaper *La Orquesta*, and beginning this same year he also wrote a series of plays with Juan Antonio Mateos. When the French invaded in 1862, Riva Palacio outfitted a band of guerrillas and went to Puebla to serve under general Ignacio Zaragoza, and later fought alongside general Jesús González Ortega. After Juárez set up a capital in exile at San Luis Potosí, Riva Palacio helped edit a newspaper there called *El Monarca* and later served as the republican governor of the state. Next he became governor of Michoacán and founded another newspaper, *El Pito Real*, where he published his stirring song, “Adios Mamá Carlota”. In August, 1867 he bid farewell to his troops and returned to his former position on the editorial board of *La Orquesta*, also becoming that year a magistrate of the Supreme Court.

As the República Restaurada began, Riva Palacio became a strong supporter, together with Ignacio Altamirano, of the idea that Mexico needed a national literature. In keeping with this he wrote his first novel, the romantic *Calvario y Tabor*, which exalted the national soldier, “el chinaco”. However, he soon turned his attention to the colonial period, with special emphasis on the social problems of the Church during that time. In 1870, Riva Palacio went to Europe where his stay in Spain seems to have exerted a special fascination. Upon his return to Mexico, he ran for the Presidency of the Supreme Court, but after José María Iglesias, the candidate favored by President Lerdo, defeated him for that position, Riva Palacio joined the political opposition and founded a new newspaper, *El Ahuizote*. Some have credited Riva Palacio’s literary efforts in that daily as having been instrumental in hastening Lerdo’s fall from power. As a reward, Porfirio Díaz named him Minister of Development.⁹

While in this post from 1876 to 1880, Riva Palacio embarked on an ambitious program to beautify Mexico City in general and the Paseo de la Reforma in particular. As he noted in the *Memoria del Ministerio de Fomento 1877-1878*:

Public monuments exist not only to perpetuate the memory of heroes and of great men who deserve the gratitude of the people, but also so awaken in some and strengthen in others the love of legitimate glories and also the love of art, where in those monuments one of its most beautiful expressions is to be found. To create recreational areas or boulevards, is to distract members of society with licit diversions within reach of all and allow them to mingle while avoiding the isolation and the vices which are common in population which lack those means of communication.¹⁰

With this introduction, Riva Palacio opened a competition of the best “monument dedicated to Cuauhtémoc and to the other leaders who distinguished themselves in defense of the nation in the period”. He also indicated that he planned two other monuments to stand in the gloriets --one to honor Hidalgo and the other heroes of the Independence, and the second to pay homage to Juárez, the other patriots of the Reform, and those who distinguished themselves during the War against the French (referred to as “the Second Independence”). Eventually Riva Palacio changes his mind and divided the third statue into two --one for Juárez and the Reform, the other for Zaragoza and the heroes of the War against the French.¹¹

⁹Clementina Díaz y de Avando, “Prólogo”, in Vicente Riva Palacio, *Cuentos del General* (Mexico City, 1968), pp. ix-xx.

¹⁰*Memoria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, 1876-1877*, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1877), vol. 3, pp. 353-354.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 358.

Only two statues were eventually mounted on the Paseo de la Reforma. The first, an homage to Cuauhtémoc, was planned in 1876 and finally unveiled in 1887. Riva Palacio's selection of Cuauhtémoc (or Cuauhtemotzin as he was called) as his first subject for public veneration is particularly fascinating. For one thing, Mexico City already had a monument to the last Aztec emperor, a bust which had been unveiled on the Paseo de la Viga on August 13, 1869, the anniversary of the conquest of Tenochtitlán. In the customary tributes given on that occasion, the speakers followed the standard themes of the long-standing creole cult of the Aztecs. This reverence toward the Aztecs had begun in the seventeenth century, notably with the research of the Jesuit Manual Duarte on the Aztec god Quetzalcóatl which has customarily been attributed to Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, professor of mathematics at the University of Mexico. Sigüenza y Góngora constantly compared the noble Aztecs with the royalty of the Greco-Roman world in his writings, and even connected them with the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and the Christians, espousing the belief that the god Quetzalcóatl was really Saint Thomas the Apostle. The Jesuit priest Francisco Javier Clavijero amplified the same themes in his *Historia antigua de México* published in Bologna in 1780, although he never accepted Sigüenza's belief in the Quetzalcóatl-Saint Thomas identification. Clavijero thought that the Conquest was God's punishment for the sins of the Aztecs, but stressed that Aztec polytheism was superior to the Greek or Roman varieties.¹²

By linking Quetzalcóatl with Saint Thomas, creoles in New Spain sought to disassociate themselves from the "motivation" and gift of the Spanish Conquest –the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. If Saint Thomas had indeed come to the New World and been transformed into Quetzalcóatl in Mexico, Viracocha in Peru, and into other dieties elsewhere in the region, then Christianity had been revealed to the New World centuries before the coming of the Spaniards. The revelation of the faith at such an early date put the Western Hemisphere on equal terms with Spain and was poignant evidence of creole equality with peninsulares at home and in Europe.

Only a few years later the Dominican Fray Servando Teresa de Mier gave these ideas which fueled creole nationalism even greater virulence and political significance. In 1794, he delivered a sermon linking the miraculous appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe with the missionary work of Saint Thomas. In 1813, while in England, he published his *Historia de la revolución de Nueva España, antiguamente Anáhuac*, proclaiming in this work that Spain had contributed nothing to Mexico. His arguments were continued in the writing of Carlos María Bustamante, and eventually the theories of these two polemicists found a home in liberal political thought.¹³

The speakers at the unveiling of the bust of Cuauhtémoc in 1869 emphasized three major themes. They continued in the Mier-Bustamante tradition, speaking of the Spaniards as blood thirsty villains and Cuauhtémoc as a hero. For example, Gerardo María Silva described Cortés as a leader "whose laurels if they had not been stained by so many vile betrayals... would have made him a hero, but history and legend do not grant such a title except to those who have fought for their country or have liberated the land from their country or have liberated the land from the monsters who oppress it, and not to those very monsters who have desolated it with their cruelties".¹⁴ No mention here of human sacrifice, Aztec brutality, and oppressive tribute collections. In keeping with their glorification of the Aztecs the speakers branded as traitors those Indians who fought against them and sided

¹²Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (Rutgers, 1971), pp. 192-193, 292-299. For a brilliant discussion of the evolution of the creole cult see Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1812*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Chicago, 1976).

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 317-320; Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora* (New Haven, 1968), Chapters 1 and 7.

¹⁴*Discursos pronunciados el día 13 de agosto de 1869 en la inauguración del busto de Cuauhtemotzin erigido en el Paseo de la Viga* (Mexico City, 1869), p. 50.

with the Spaniards, such as the Tlaxcalans.¹⁵ From here it was but a short leap of logic to identify Cuauhtémoc and the Aztecs as representatives of the entire Mexican nation. For example, the speakers took care to link Cuauhtémoc with other national heroes of later periods. In his address, Antonio Carrión noted that “the public spirit of the Mexicans which was extinguished with the breath of Cuauhtémoc, certainly did not remain dead forever, but stayed dormant for three hundred years to rekindle itself again in Dolores on the night of September 15”.¹⁶ And as Felipe Sánchez Solís closed his speech, he noted, “The Cuauhtémoc represented in this monument will always stand before his people.... the fatherland of Cuauhtémoc will be one of the first nations in the world”.¹⁷

Despite the public support for the cult of the Aztecs, such ideas about the pre-Columbian past and the Conquest were by no means universally accepted in 1867, least of all by Vicente Riva Palacio himself. In an address given in the Alameda of Mexico City on September 16, 1871, the soon-to-be leader of the “nationalist mythologizers” spoke of the conquest in quite different terms. He described the indigenous rulers of America before Columbus as “monarchs, who without more law than their caprice, bloody and terrible most of the time, governed the ancient people of the Americans, (and) fell to the energy of the soldiers of Cortés, Pizarro, and the Almagros; the monarchy disappeared to give way to the colony”. Furthermore, he believed that the New World was the continent predestined for democracy and republicanism due to “amalgamation of conquerers and the conquered”.¹⁸ But by the time he announced the competition for the statue of Cuauhtémoc, Riva Palacio had undergone a startling ideological about-face and had become a champion of the creole cult of the Aztecs. Although there were undoubtedly many reasons for this, it seems likely that as Riva Palacio became increasingly involved with the creation of a national patriotic literature, he began to look at the past for heroes rather than for truth. This tendency fit the requirements of the time, for the men of Tuxtepec who had made Díaz President wanted to create something unique to proclaim their new epoch, as those of Ayutla had made the Reform.

So work on the statue began. Riva Palacio assembled a blue ribbon committee including the English graphic artist and design teacher at the University of San Carlos, Juan Santiago Baggally; the future architect of the Cafe Colón and of the renovations of the Iturbide Palace, Emilio Dondé Preciat; the former “First Imperial Architect” who converted the ruins of Chapultepec into a palace for Maximilian, the builder of the monument to the “niños héroes” of 1847 and the Hotel Gillow, Ramón Rodríguez Arangoity; the former architect of the city of Mexico, Manuel Gargollo y Parra; and, of course, Riva Palacio himself.¹⁹ Francisco M. Jiménez y Arias, an engineer, won the competition and received a prize of one thousand pesos. Riva Palacio obviously preferred Jiménez’ designs, for he was also awarded the commission for the monument to Hidalgo in Chihuahua, and for the relief monument in honor of the cosmographer Enrico Martínez which was to stand in the Palacio Nacional.²⁰ It is easy to understand why Jiménez was able to write winning proposals. In his submission for the Cuauhtémoc contract, he noted that to do the subject justice

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 35. Both Carrión and Sánchez Solís were minor historians, but each continued his interest in Indians; Carrión eventually published *Indios célebres de la Revolución*, and Sánchez Solís became one of the compilers of the *Anales de Cuauhtlilan* in a bilingual edition with Spanish and Nahuatl texts.

¹⁸Vicente Riva Palacio, *Discurso cívico pronunciado en la Alameda de México en el aniversario del glorioso grito de independencia el día 16 de septiembre de 1871* (Mexico City, 1871), pp. 8-9.

¹⁹*Diccionario Porrúa de la historia, biografía y geografía de México*, 3rd. edition (Mexico City, 1971), pp. 382 and 1915.

²⁰*Memoria de Fomento 1876-1877*, p. 356; *Memoria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, 1877-1882*. (Mexico City 1885), vol. 3, p. 340.

no style of architecture would be more suitable than a rebirth which would include those beautiful details which today are seen in the ruins of Tula, Uxmal, Mitla, and Palenque, conserving as much as possible the general character of the architecture of the ancient inhabitants of this Continent, architecture which contains richness and detail so beautiful and appropriate that they can be borrowed to develop a characteristic style which we can call the national style.²¹

Riva Palacio, himself in search of a national literary style for Mexico, saw in Jiménez a kindred spirit and perhaps in his concept the solution to the same problem in the visual arts.

The statue was originally proposed was to contain three bronze figures –Cauhtémoc (four meters high), Cacamatzin, King of Texcoco (2.8 meters high) and Cuitláhuac, identified in the proposal as “chief of the priests and Aztecs who led the struggle on the Noche Triste” (2.8 meters high). The total budget for the proposed statue came to \$512,032, approximately twenty percent of the amount which the ayuntamiento of Mexico City collected in taxes for the year 1877. Nevertheless, Jiménez left the description of the actual statue and its pedestal rather vague while promising that it would “not only take the character of Aztec architecture, but that of the ruins of various parts of the country in order to show architectural advances in all the parts which compose the Mexican republic”.²² When the plans next appeared as part of the *Memoria del Ministerio de Fomento, 1877-1882*, they had altered considerably. By then, Riva Palacio was no longer involved in the project. In 1880 Riva Palacio and others proposed that the Ministry of Development sponsor a Universal Mexican exposition for the same year in which foreign nations could exhibit their products and Mexico its own. Unfortunately, Porfirio Díaz saw the Exposition as a political ploy by some members of his administration to gain the 1880 presidential nomination for themselves, and so he killed the idea, citing budgetary restrictions. When the projects was rejected, Riva Palacio resigned from the Ministry on May 17, 1880.²³

Díaz took over the Development Ministry on December 1, 1880 when he stepped down from the presidency, and held it until June 1881. He was succeeded by Carlos Pacheco, who also handled all of Díaz’ business affairs in Mexico City. Díaz and Pacheco probably exercised considerable influence over the design of the statue. As a result, the plans which Jiménez presented on December 19, 1881 differed substantially from those originally conceived four years before. Because of “budgetary reasons”, the “sculptural part” of the monument was cut by more than fifty percent. Although Jiménez did not refer to the changes specifically, the itemized budget present some clues. The new design omitted the two secondary statues of Cuitláhuac and Cacamatzin and two of the four bas-reliefs. The lion’s share of the budget cuts came from the \$44,637 reduction in the amount allotted for sculpture. The changes significantly altered the meaning of the status.²⁴

The monument was finally unveiled on August 21, 1887, but by that time Jiménez, its designer, had died, and Riva Palacio, its promoter within the government, was in unofficial exile as Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain and Portugal. Pacheco had commissioned Miguel Norea, professor of sculpture at the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes, to fashion the statue, and Gabriel Guerra to do the two remaining bas-reliefs. Norea and Guerra remained true to the “national style” Jiménez and Riva Palacio had envisioned. The ayuntamiento of Mexico City organized rather elaborate festivities to inaugurate the monument. The “festividad cívica” was dedicated to “the memory of the heroic defender of the capital of Mexico during the conquest, the Immortal Cuauhtémoc, last ruler of the

²¹*Memoria de Fomento 1877-1882*, vol. 3, pp. 332-333.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 332.

²³Díaz y de Ovando, “Prólogo”, pp. xx-xxi. For a different version of these events, see Ralph Roeder, *Hacia el México moderno: Porfirio Díaz*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 119-125.

²⁴Donald Coerver, *Porfirian Interregnum: The Presidency of Manuel González of Mexico 1880-1884* (Fort Worth, 1979), p. 45; *Memoria de Fomento, 1877-1882*, vol. 3, pp. 332-339.

Nation, who valiantly preferred to see homes destroyed before he would accept a peace with the opprobrium of slavery”.

At 8 a.m. on the morning of August 21, 1887, civil and military leaders, the Ayuntamiento, workers' societies, students, and invited commissions representing various communities gathered at the second glorieta of the Paseo de la Reforma. Upon the arrival of President Díaz, soldiers fired a 21-gun salute and military bands played the National Anthem. Then licenciado Alfredo Chavero, author of the first volume of the liberal history which Riva Palacio edited, *México a través de los siglos*, gave his address. After the First Magistrate of the Supreme Court unveiled the monument and another 21-gun salute was fired, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso delivered an address in Nahuatl. Francisco Sosa, Eduardo del Valle, and Amalio José Cabrera each recited poems, Demetrio Mejía read a prose selection, and the bands played. Afterwards the assembled guests sang the National Anthem once more and the President departed to another 21-gun salute.²⁵

The new monument evoked the same sentiments expressed at the unveiling of the bust of Cuauhtémoc in 1869. As described by Francisco W. González in his article published in *El Monitor Republicano*, the standard identification of the Aztecs as the symbolic representation of the entire nation was stated and amplified.²⁶ But it was Francisco Sosa, Riva Palacio's successor as the leading proponent of official nationalism, who was most explicit about identifying Mexico solely with its Aztec past. In his pamphlet written on the occasion of the unveiling, Sosa noted “our government is paying a debt of gratitude owed by the Mexican people for over three centuries by inaugurating the magnificent monument which will honor permanently the last of the Aztec emperors to whom goes the credit as the first and most illustrious of the defenders of the nationality founded by Tenoch in 1327”. Sosa ended his essay with the observation that “the current government of the republic deserves sincere applause for having proceeded to complete a monument and repaying... a debt of gratitude contracted over three centuries ago”.²⁷

What Sosa did not say was how the government planned to use its version of the Cuauhtémoc cult for its own benefit. By building such a public commemoration, by eliminating the other two figures and concentrating solely on Cuauhtémoc, and by putting the monument at such a prominent location, the Porfirian proponents of an official liberal “national” history for the country sought to inculcate their view of the past and create public support for their domination of the present and future.

The design of the statue itself has a very important story to tell. As shown in Figure 1, the base of the statue was a replica of the pyramid of the sun from Teotihuacán (a), topped with designs from the Zapotec and Mixtec buildings at Mitla in Oaxaca (b). The middle portion contains a structure supposed to resemble the Temple of the Inscriptions at the Maya site of Palenque in Chiapas (c), but supported by columns reminiscent of those from Tula in the state of Hidalgo, thought to be the Tollán which the Aztecs believed was the center of the Toltec empire (d). The column formed by these structures made the pedestal for the statue of Cuauhtémoc on top, draped in a garment concocted from the pictographs in the codices, but which could easily have passed for something Socrates might have worn.²⁸ The statue vividly proclaims the government's decision that Mexico would henceforth identify itself officially with its Indian heritage.

This message is strongly conveyed in the bas-relief carved into one side of the base. The work by Gabriel Guerra known as “The torment of Cuauhtémoc” depicts his torture by fire at the hands of the Spaniards. The specific inclusion of this particular scene in the

²⁵*El Monitor Republicano*, August 20, 1887, p. 3.

²⁶*El Monitor Republicano*, August 24, 1887, p. 1.

²⁷Francisco Sosa, *Apuntamientos para la historia del monumento de Cuauhtémoc* (Mexico City, 1887), p. 3 and p. 27.

²⁸*El Monitor Republicano*, August 20, 1887, pp. 2-3.

monument itself takes a position: by making Cuauhtémoc into a hero, it makes the Spaniards who tortured him villains. There will never be a monument to Cortés.²⁹

Cuauhtémoc, however, is not simply a hero; he is also a martyr. As Francisco W. González noted in his essay:

In Cuauhtémoc we do not see the last descendant of the Aztec kings...we view in him the hero of the fatherland... Cuauhtémoc conquered, Cuauhtémoc imprisoned and enchained, Cuauhtémoc powerless to defend his throne by means of arms, defended it suffering valiantly the wicked and terrible torments which the inhuman conquistadores applied to him to extract from his the renunciation of his rights, sealing with such heroic sacrifice the most solemn protest against usurpation, which later should produce its greatest and most precious fruits.³⁰

González concluded his statement with the familiar *de rigueur* linkage of the martyrdom of Cuauhtémoc with the insurrection of Hidalgo. He stated that “the seed of the heroic sacrifice of Cuauhtémoc came to flower in the year 1810 under the hoe of the immortal cura of Dolores”, thus seconding another theme of the 1869 evocation of the Aztec cult. Equally interesting is the subtle way in which González evokes the symbolic power of Jesus Christ by giving the impression that it took the noble Aztec not three centuries for his resurrection from the dead.³¹

The statue also revealed that Porfirians intended to assert that the rulers of Tenochtitlán henceforth would represent the entire Mexican nation. Although the statue does include elements from other Indian groups --the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Maya-- these are shown as mere forerunners or supporters of the Aztecs, the pedestal from which the latter triumphantly rose. Through this identification not just with the Indian as opposed to the Spanish past, but specifically with the Aztecs *per sé*, the Porfirians proclaimed themselves heirs to their predecessors' imperial legacy. Their official version of Mexican history was to run neatly down the Paseo de la Reforma as exemplified in the proposed statues, as Cuauhtémoc flowed into Hidalgo into Juárez into Zaragoza into, of course, the current occupant of the recently renovated Chapultepec castle, Porfirio Díaz, another hero in the war against the French and clearly its triumphal product. But the official historians not only used the symbolism of the Aztecs to validate Díaz stewardship of the country; they also intended to use the selection of Cuauhtémoc and the veneration of the Aztecs to re-confirm the power of Mexico City itself and its right rule the nation by inheritance. Guerra's frieze of Cuauhtémoc's torture at the hands of the Spaniards bears the inscription, “To the memory of Cuauhtémoc and of the warriors who heroically struggled in defense of their country”. Yet historians tell us that the Aztecs ruled over the majority of the population of Mexico in a tyrannical fashion and that more Indians fought against Cuauhtémoc than with him. Therefore the statue pays tribute to someone who “heroically struggled” against the majority of Mexico, but ironically the public veneration of Cuauhtémoc serves to legitimize him as the personification of Mexican identity and his capital of Tenochtitlán as its ancient seat of power.

But the instance on Cuauhtémoc as their first ancestor also permitted the Porfirians to claim their right over state revenues as the Aztecs had once taken them by force. The Aztec empire, the most centralized indigenous state Mexico had ever known, received hefty amounts of revenue of goods from outlying conquered territories as tribute to the might and terror of Aztec power. The statue thus delivers the symbolic coup to political and fiscal federalism and proclaimed the primacy of the central state as embodied in and ruled by Mexico City. Liberalism was to be wedded to centralism now that the latter's original conservative proponents had been defeated three times, Indeed, as early as 1873,

²⁹Esther Acevedo de Iturriaga and Eloisa Uribe, *La Escultura del Siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1980), Fig. 219, p. 42.

³⁰*El Monitor Republicano*, August 23, 1887, p. 1

³¹*Ibid.*

most of the conservatives were either dead, exiled, or like Escandón and Somera, active collaborators in the new order.

True to the programme embodied in their monument, the Porfirians quickly began their assault on what remained of Mexican federalism. Although the liberal Constitution of 1857 had strongly supported freedom of internal trade and Francisco Zarco had claimed that the state alcabalas “make the well being of the people impossible”, governments since had never been able to enforce article 124, which ordered that eleven alcabalas and internal tariffs cease by June 1, 1858. Nor had they been able to enforce any of the laws passed subsequently affecting internal trade. The Porfirians opened their war on the state alcabala in October, 1877, a few months after Riva Palacio announced the proposed construction of the monument to Cuauhtémoc. The struggle began in earnest, however, near the end of the term of Manuel González in 1884, when the state of Veracruz called a meeting of governors to discuss the matter. According to the results of a survey put together by the representatives to that meeting, the alcabalas remained in place because they supplied up to 68 percent of state revenue, and the greatest beneficiaries of the tax were the major cities. On November 22, 1886, fifteen legislatures accepted the proposition that states could not tax foreign products nor keep goods from entering or leaving their territories. Although this was a step forward, most states continued to collect alcabalas, much to the annoyance of those like Veracruz which had abolished them. The issue dragged on until May 30, 1895, when Minister of Finance José Ives Limantour finally abolished the alcabala effective July 1, 1896, and with it the financial independence of the states from Mexico City.³²

Although no journalist writing at the time discerned and discussed the government's motives for building this expensive monument to Cuauhtémoc, neither were they naive enough to read any indigenista messages in its design. On the face of it, the honoring of an Indian—the first such official act since the Conquest—could have been seen as a way to inspire the Indians living at the time to lift themselves out of their degraded state. After all, the statue was a heroic representation of what Indians had once been and could be again—strong, intelligent, leaders of nations—a kind of social Darwinism in stone which promised greatness perhaps to the lucky few. But the homage to Cuauhtémoc and the Indian, or at least the Aztec, past occurred at the very time Indians and their mestizo descendants were being deprived of their lands through increased use of the Reform laws, new legislation, and economic development. Furthermore, through the centuries, those creole thinkers interested in glorifying the Indians of antiquity, such as Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora and the liberal ideologue José María Luis Mora, concerned themselves with royal Indians like Cuauhtémoc rather than with contemporary Indians living at the time. Therefore, the Greek details on Cuauhtémoc's costumes and his white features are quite deliberate, and the drawings which appeared in the newspapers look equally white, if not more so. And it is hardly accidental that the “descendant” of Cuauhtémoc is the creole priest Miguel Hidalgo.³³

The Norwegian anthropologist Karl Lumholtz, who spent five years researching Mexican Indians between 1890 and 1898, has left historians some evidence of Díaz' attitudes toward the Indian population. Lumholtz, himself a believer in Darwinism, noted in the preface to his two-volume *Unknown Mexico*:

In the present rapid development of Mexico it cannot be prevented that these primitive people will soon disappear by fusion with the great nation to whom they belong. The vast and magnificent virgin

³²Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna de México*, 9 vols.; *El Porfiriato, Vida económica*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1972), pp. 904-918, 1234.

³³Keen, *Aztec Image*, pp. 192-193; Hale, *Mexican Liberalism*, pp. 218-220. Another example of this is the design by Antonio Peñafiel for the Mexican exhibit at the Columbian Exhibition held in Madrid in 1892, which looks more like an ersatz Grecian temple than any that Moctezuma would have recognized. See Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archeology* (New York, 1980), p. 153.

forests and the mineral wealth of the mountains will not much longer remain the exclusive property of my dusky friends; but I hope I shall have rendered them a service by setting them this modest monument and that civilised man will be the better for knowing of them.³⁴

Lumholtz had three separate interviews with Díaz during his five years in Mexico. According to his report of the last one, Díaz commented, “the Indians are good people if one explains matters to them, but they have been so cheated and imposed upon that they have become distrustful. During the French intervention, nearly all the soldiers of the Liberal party were Indians”. Lumholtz told Díaz that the Cora and the Huichols had asked him to request that the President issue an order that their land never be given to whites. Díaz responded by asking, “Are there any among them who can write?” When the anthropologist supplied names, Díaz promised, “Then I will write to them”.³⁵

But the Indians needed far more than a letter from their President to save their lands. In 1883, the government approved a law calling for the survey of the unoccupied state-owned lands known as *terrenos baldíos*. The decree provided that the companies doing the work could claim as much as a third of the land they measured if they settled at least one person for each 500 acres. By 1892 the surveyors had taken control of thirty million acres, while over forty million went to other private companies and individuals, and in 1894 Congress eliminated the provisions requiring colonists.³⁶ The government, of course, favored their policy and claimed that Mexico’s real land problem lay in illegal seizures by Indians. In addition, the Indians lost lands previously used to grow corn and beans to crops favored by capitalists export agriculture, such as sugar in Morelos and henequén in Yucatán.

Although the Paseo de la Reforma brought many specific messages to the Mexican people, it was also built for foreign consumption. With it, the Porfirians intended to give Mexico a real capital city in every sense of the word. As Francisco González pointed out, “the Avenue of our most grateful memories, which begins with the truly notable work of Tolsá (the statue of Carlos IV) and ends in the castle of the ancient Mexican monarches (Chapultepec), today converted into a recreation place for the leaders of the Republic, made lovely with the natural beauties of the soil and with national and foreign artistic creations, will later become one of our priceless treasures, which will provoke envy in other countries”.³⁷ In fact the government had embarked on its campaign of beautification for Mexico City precisely in order to attract capital. But it could not complete the project single-handedly. Therefore, Francisco Sosa proposed that each state donate two life-size statues of its patriots to be placed on the grassy areas on each side of the avenue.³⁸ It was as if the rest of the republic was once again paying tribute to its capital as it had done centuries before.

The Paseo de la Reforma fulfilled its promise. As *The Mexican Financier* noted on September 9, 1998 in an article entitled “Municipal Embellishments”:

On the world-famed Paseo de la Reforma... [the] unveiling of that colossal figure [of Cuauhtémoc] the other day gave Mexico one of its noblest works of art on this continent. Thus in many ways the wise rulers of the Municipality are adding to the attractions of capital...the money expended in these notable works of municipal embellishment has been most sagaciously invested, for by beautifying the city, travellers will be brought here to sojourn during the winter months and the spirit of civic pride

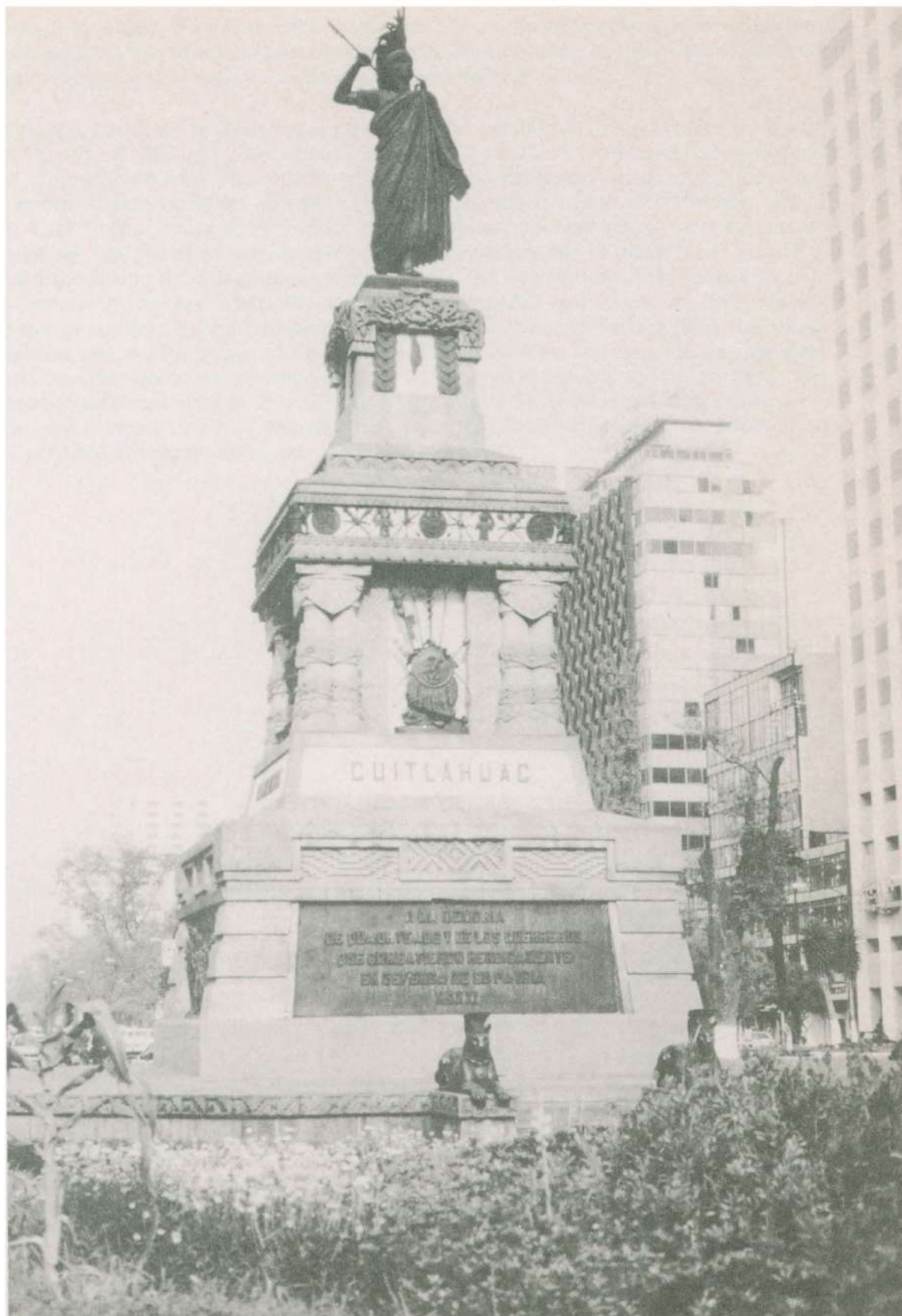
³⁴Karl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico: A Record of Five Years Exploration among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre, in the Tierra Caliente of Tepic and Jalisco, and among the Tarascos of Michoacán*, 2 vols. (Glorieta, New Mexico, 1973), vol.1, pp. xvi-xvii.

³⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 457-459.

³⁶Charles Cumberland, *México: The Struggle for Modernity* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 198-204; Michael Meyer and William Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 2nd edition (New York, 1983), pp. 458-464.

³⁷*El Monitor Republicano*, August 23, 1887, p. 1.

³⁸For complete details on his plan, and the list of eventual statues which were all male and all political or military leaders, see Francisco Sosa, *Las estatuas de la Reforma* (Mexico City, 1900).







and enthusiasm evoked. We believe in the future of this City, in the ability of its rulers to make it one of the most beautiful capitals of the world. [Such a city] has demonstrated its right to ask of capitalists the money needed to carry out great works of permanent utility.³⁹

Work on the Paseo de la Reforma continued and it became the choicest site for a new series of mansions built by the crucial moneymen of the day--Manterola, Scherer, Solrzano, Braniff, Aburto, and others--who all built residences there. A trolley line opened, operated first by mules and then by electricity, which ran to Chapultepec, and in 1889 the Café Colón designed by Emilio Dondé Preciat, opened across from the statue and became the "in place" for the industrialists and the financiers to make their deals.⁴⁰

Work on the Paseo de la Reforma continued with the installation of the Indios Verdes statues commemorating two more Aztec emperors, Ahuitzotl and Itzcatl, in 1902. But by the time the monument to the Independence, the Angel, was unveiled in 1910, the Paseo de la Reforma was on the verge of losing its privileged position for financial negotiations. The revolutionaries would sweep away some of the foreign capitalists and create their own and somewhat different system. But the silent function of the avenue--the teaching of a nationalist and centralist view of Mexican history in murals of stone--goes on undisturbed either by political or seismic upheaval.

³⁹*The Mexican Financier*, September 9, 1887, pp. 360-362.

⁴⁰Salvador Novo, *Los paseos*, p. 41.



Jean Pierre Bastian *

Disidencia religiosa protestante y rebelión maderista en el norte de México, 1880-1911

Estudios recientes sobre las raíces de los levantamientos populares en México durante los años 1910 y 1911 han prestado atención a la existencia de un vínculo entre ideología religiosa protestante y movilización de sectores sociales antioligárquicos. Elena Azaola Garrido¹ ha subrayado la importancia del presbiterianismo de Ignacio Gutiérrez en la coalescencia del movimiento antiporfirista en Tabasco. Raymond T. Buve² ha notado el papel del Instituto Metodista Mexicano de Puebla en la formación de intelectuales populares como José Rumbia, mentor y principal intelectual en el gobierno de Antonio Hidalgo en Tlaxcala. Francois Xavier Guerra³ ha observado que en el norte, de tradición liberal, las tasas de población protestante eran superiores al resto del país en 1910. Por su lado, Deborah Baldwin ha mostrado claramente que el movimiento orozquista de Chihuahua tenía lazos estrechos con la organización protestante congregacional como espacio de reclutamiento de jefes revolucionarios.⁴ Hasta ahora la explicación de este fenómeno ha sido interpretado especialmente por Baldwin, quien logró una explicación de mayor precisión, como una convergencia entre cambios económicos, origen social e ideología protestante, lo cual permitió “racionalizar la participación protestante en la revolución y ofrecer oportunidades prácticas de rebelión”,⁵ Baldwin como Azaola Garrido se refieren a Max Weber y al lazo entre modernización de algunos sectores sociales y adopción de un credo religioso más racional. Baldwin en particular interpreta el protestantismo como “una ideología de transición” al capitalismo. Sin embargo, me parece que hasta ahora no se ha logrado contestar a las preguntas del cómo y por qué esta ideología se convierte en algunos casos “en el motor de una movilización social; es decir cómo se transforma en una ideología política”.⁶ Vale la pena plantearnos la pregunta tomando en cuenta que tres de los jefes (y muchos de sus seguidores) de las rebeliones antiporfiristas entre diciembre de 1910 y mayo de 1911 eran protestantes: Orozco en Chihuahua, Zenteno en Tlaxcala, Gutiérrez en Tabasco, y uno, Cándido Navarro en Guanajuato, eran de origen protestante. Entender el papel de una ideología religiosa disidente en una rebelión social y política puede permitir reconstruir la visión del mundo de algunos de los sectores sociales que estuvieron en la raíz de los levantamientos. Como lo ha planteado Alan Knight “la correlación entre protestantismo y rebelión, no debe ser descartada,[...] al contrario podría representar la cara religiosa de la disidencia política”.⁷

Para contestar a las preguntas del cómo y por qué una ideología religiosa disidente se estructura en ideología política centraré este estudio sobre la difusión del protestantismo

* El Colegio de México

¹Elena Azaola Garrido, *Rebelión y derrota del magonismo agrario*, México, Sep. 80, 1982.

²Raymond Th. Buve, “El movimiento revolucionario de Tlaxcala (1910-1914) sus orígenes y desarrollo antes de la gran crisis del año 1914 (La rebelión arenista)”, *Anuario Universidad Iberoamericana, 1981-1983*, México, 1984, p. 141-181.

³Francois Xavier Guerra, “Territorio minado (más allá de Zapata en la Revolución Mexicana)”, *Nexos*, Mayo 1983, no. 65, p. 39.

⁴Deborah J. Baldwin, *Variation within the vanguard, Protestants and the Mexican Revolution*, Tesis, The University of Chicago, 1979.

⁵Deborah J. Baldwin, “Broken traditions mexican revolutionaries and protestant allegiances”, *The Americas*, October 1983, no. 2, pp. 233.

⁶Azaola Garrido, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁷Alan Knight, “Intellectuals in the Mexican Revolution”, comunicación en la VI Conferencia de historiadores mexicanos y norteamericanos, Chicago, 10 de septiembre de 1981, mimeografiado, p. 25.

en el norte de México entre 1880 y 1911; analizaré el tipo de ideología que se elaboró e interpretaré la participación de los protestantes en la resistencia al porfirismo y en la rebelión maderista.

Difusión del protestantismo en el norte de México

Las primeras sociedades misioneras protestantes norteamericanas principiaron sus actividades en México a partir de 1872. Encontraron adeptos en un eje Veracruz-ciudad de México-Zacatecas, en pueblos y ciudades donde existían intereses económicos ingleses o norteamericanos y en regiones rurales donde habían ocurrido conflictos agudos entre las comunidades pueblerinas y las haciendas en expansión. Los talleres de las líneas del ferrocarril como Orizaba, Ver., o Apizaco, Tlaxcala, ciudades mineras como Pachuca, Guanajuato y Zacatecas, y pueblos con industria textil como Talpan o Miraflores (estado de México), fueron sedes de las primeras congregaciones. La región de Chalco, estado de México, donde además de las actividades de Plotino Rhodakanati hubo brotes de cisma católico desde 1867 fue un semillero de adhesiones al metodismo. De igual manera el distrito de Acayuca, Hidalgo, donde Francisco Islas líder de la lucha contra las haciendas, se había convertido al metodismo en 1876, fue receptor al protestantismo. Fuera de estos espacios el campo fue reacio a la nueva ideología religiosa con la excepción de distritos de tradición liberal como Zitácuaro, Michoacán, o Pisaflores, Hidalgo. Ciudades “clericales” como las del Bajío, opusieron una resistencia viva a los misioneros quienes fueron a menudo perseguidos y aun asesinados. En general esta penetración se hizo con el apoyo y la protección del gobierno de Lerdo de Tejada y de los liberales quienes no se convirtieron al nuevo credo religioso. Los primeros líderes mexicanos de las congregaciones protestantes fueron más bien exsacerdotes católicos quienes habían participado en el cisma de los padres constitucionalistas y artesanos cuyo estatus social se encontraba amenazado por la industrialización progresiva.⁸

En el norte, durante la década de los 1870, el movimiento se encontró limitado a la región de Monterrey donde una docena de congregaciones surgieron y la región de Zacatecas donde los presbiterianos recibieron un fuerte apoyo de parte de los liberales, en particular del exgobernador Cosío y de uno de sus colaboradores en el negocio de las minas de sal de Villa de Cos; Juan Amador, anticlerical feroz, convertido al protestantismo en 1868.⁹ Los reclutas del movimiento eran trabajadores de las minas de los pueblos de Fresnillo, Tecolote, Catorce, Chalchihuites, San Juan del Mezquital y San José de Guadalupe entre otros. Era una población eminentemente móvil como lo anotaba un misionero en la ciudad de Zacatecas: “la mayoría de los miembros pertenecen a la clase de los muy pobres y esta clase es muy nómada. Parecen estar siempre en movimiento (*on the move*) o listos para serlo cuando el empleo o su espíritu inconstante los empujan”.¹⁰ Entre 1877 y 1887 la congregación presbiteriana de aquella ciudad, pasó de 73 a 900 miembros tanto por el auge liberal minero como por el apoyo del gobernador Aréchiga quien les vendió el templo de San Agustín. Sin embargo, para 1897, con el declive de la minería zacatecana, la congregación presbiteriana se encontraba reducida a la mitad. Los miembros habían emigrado más al norte, en particular hacia la región lagunera, en plena expansión económica.¹¹

⁸Sobre la difusión del protestantismo en el centro del país, me refiero a mi estudio presentado en el marco del Seminario de Tesis de Doctorado bajo la dirección de la doctora Josefina Vázquez en el Centro de Estudios Históricos de El Colegio de México, presentado el 14 de febrero de 1985 bajo el título de “Disidencia religiosa protestante y revolución mexicana, 1872-1920”, mimeografiado 216 p.

⁹Pitkin to Mission Board Secretary, Villa de Cos, December 3, 1872, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 51, 1872-1874, fol. 39 AE, 7 de junio de 1876, p. 1, Juan Amador, “Despertador de los fanáticos, extracto de los retratos de varios papas, en Florencio Varga”, *Verdadera historia de los pontífices o sea refutación del cuaderno intitulado “Despertador de los fanáticos, extracto de los retratos de varios papas”*, Guadalajara, Imprenta de Dionisio Rodríguez, 1867.

¹⁰Thomas E. Wallace to Mission Board Secretary, Zacatecas, October 5, 1878, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 53, 1878-1882, fol. 57.

¹¹Report for 1896, Mexico Mission of the Presbyterian Church, Statements and Statistics, 1896, *El Faro*, English Supplement, Mexico, D.F., Presbyterian Press, 1897, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 70, 1896.

Ahí, desde 1880, el pueblo de San Pedro de las Colonias, tuvo una fuerte congregación presbiteriana que osciló entre 80 y 280 miembros, de 1882 a 1910, según las recesiones debidas a las sequías obligaban a los miembros a emigrar hacia regiones más propicias. San Pedro, como el pueblo vecino de Matamoros, eran antiguas colonias de soldados del ejército republicano juarista quienes habían desarrollado pequeños ranchos algodoneros en las llanuras del río Nazas. Si algunos rancheros conformaron la base de las congregaciones presbiterianas de la región, la mayoría de los miembros eran trabajadores eventuales disponibles para cualquier empleo en la agricultura, la minería o la industria.¹² Sus salarios y empleos fluctuaban con los altibajos económicos. En tal contexto, las congregaciones protestantes representaban asociaciones que podrían otorgar la solidaridad de una sociedad mutualista: en caso de crisis económica, servían de red de contacto para buscar trabajo, o alojamiento cuando uno se desplazaba y además ofrecían los servicios educativos de sus escuelas primarias y superiores.

El desplazamiento de muchos miembros de las congregaciones zacatecas hacia el norte fue un potente medio de difusión del nuevo credo.¹³ La constante migración de trabajadores de un lado y del otro de la frontera norte entre 1880 y 1910, fue otro potente medio de atracción de una población móvil y *anómica* hacia una nueva religión más afín con una cierta racionalización del trabajo. En particular, las grandes compañías norteamericanas como las empresas ferrocarrileras mostraron muy a menudo interés por trabajadores con un estilo de vida estricto de un punto de vista ético (monogamia, antialcoholismo-educación). Y hostiles a las fiestas religiosas católicas que frenaban la producción.¹⁴

El tercer foco de concentración de congregaciones protestantes fueron los estados de Coahuila y Nuevo León, tanto en los pueblos mineros del norte como en las regiones agrícolas modernas de Viezca y Parras, Coahuila, y Linares y Montemorelos, Nuevo León, además de las ciudades capitales.¹⁵

En fin, la sierra madre occidental, al oeste de Chihuahua y al este de Sonora, fue una región de proliferación de congregaciones religiosas disidentes entre una población semi ranchera y semi minera en un eje trazado desde Cumpas, Sonora, hasta Parral y Santa Bárbara, Chihuahua, pasando por Sahuaripa y Tacupete, Sonora. Tomasáhic, ciudad Guerrero y Batopilas, Chihuahua. El distrito de ciudad Guerrero fue ejemplar al respecto.

En esta región de la Sierra Madre Occidental, existía una sólida tradición liberal mezclada con un anticatolicismo virulento. Este es uno de los factores que puede explicar por que el oeste del estado de Chihuahua fue un bastión congregacionalista, y en particular el distrito de Guerrero. William Beezley describe una zona como de transición entre las comunidades rancheras y el distrito de la Sierra, compuesto de pueblos indígenas y pueblos mineros.¹⁶ Cuando el misionero James D. Eaton llegó a la ciudad de Chihuahua en 1883, una de las primeras y únicas familias en darle una acogida entusiasta y prestar su casa para cultos congregacionalistas fue la del coronel Ignacio Orozco, ferviente liberal que había combatido con Benito Juárez.¹⁷ En aquellos cultos, narra Eaton, asistían con frecuencia un grupo de hombres, tíos y primos de la familia, quienes habían llegado para

¹²Annual Report of the Presbyterian Church in Mexico for the year 1900. México, Presbyterian Press, 1901, p. 27.

¹³Henry Thompson to Missions Board Secretary, Saltillo, october 25, 1883, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 55, 1883, fol. 80. Report of Zacatecas Mission, 1884, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 55, 1884, fol. 445.

¹⁴T.F. Wallace to Mission Board Secretary, San Pedro de las Colonias, october 20, 1891, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 60, 1891, fol. 49; Annual Report Zacatecas Mission, 1892, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 61, 1892, fol. III. Isaac Boyce to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, January 18, 1894, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 63, 1894, fol. 1.

¹⁵EF, abril 15, 1893, p. 61.

¹⁶William H. Beezley, *Insurgent Governor Abraham Gonzalez and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua*, Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1973, p. 9.

¹⁷James D. Eaton, "The Story of General Orozco, A Hero of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1911", *The Congregational and Christian World*, 26 of august of 1911, p. 287, Los otros contactos de Eaton en la ciudad de Chihuahua en 1883 fueron un gendarme fiscal llamado Sabino Carrasco y su esposa quienes habían sido convertidos por los presbiterianos en San Luis Potosí, y don Celso Gómez quien había sido gobernador sustituto y en cuya casa celebraron cultos en febrero de 1885. James D. Eaton "La obra evangélica en el estado de Chihuahua", *ACI* enero 6, 1910, p. 3 y 4. Sobre Pascual Orozco ver igualmente Michael C. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915*, Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1967, p. 15.

negocios a la capital desde sus pueblos de la sierra, y tenían curiosidad de oír “lo que los protestantes tenían que decir”. Varios de estos hombres provenían de San Isidro (Distrito de Guerrero), donde se organizó una de las primeras congregaciones del Estado, fuera de la capital. Estos miembros eran un conjunto de jefes de familias, entre ellos el presidente municipal, Pascual Orozco y su esposa Amada Vázquez, la familia Molinar, Albino Frías y su familia. Lazos de parentesco se tejieron dentro de la pequeña congregación donde se habían bautizado todos los hijos de aquellas familias en particular cuando Pascual Orozco, hijo, se casó con Refugio Frías.¹⁸ Los miembros de aquella congregación gozaban de una gran autoridad en su pueblo y contaban con una sólida red de relaciones profesionales en la misma región.¹⁹ En el pueblo vecino de ciudad Guerrero, el nuevo credo había tenido un éxito similar de tal modo que para 1898 el informe misionero subrayaba el crecimiento de la congregación a cuyos cultos asistían unas 150 personas.²⁰ Unos años más tarde, para 1906, otro misionero informaba que había tenido cultos en 10 pueblos fuera de ciudad Guerrero, donde la gente era “hardy, enterprising and unusually liberal religiously”.²¹

Entre estos puntos se encontraban pueblos mineros como Temosáchic, Santo Tomás, San Pedro, Numiquipa y centros agrícolas rancheros como El Valle de San Buenaventura. La respuesta había sido tan favorable en el distrito que en diciembre de 1900 una convención de sociedades de jóvenes congregacionistas se había celebrado en Ciudad Guerrero recibida por el propio alcalde.²² Obreros mineros, como José de la Luz Blanco, de Tomasáchic, rancheros como Teófilo Romero de San Buenaventura “quien había sido próspero en sus cosechas”, y arriero reconvertido más tarde en agente de estación de ferrocarril como Pascual Orozco, hijo, de San Isidro, eran típicos de aquella membresía.²³ Aquella red de congregaciones permitía tejer lazos regionales o fortalecerlos. Ofrecían también el acceso a la educación primaria y superior. El propio Pascual Orozco había sido educado en la escuela primaria congregacionista y por eso mandó a su esposa e hijos a Chihuahua al Colegio Chihuahuense para que tuvieran la educación que le había sido negada y en particular para que aprendieran inglés.²⁴

Es interesante notar que aquellas congregaciones no habían surgido en las regiones mineras tradicionales del estado de Durango y tampoco en las extensas haciendas del centro del mismo estado, del centro y norte de Chihuahua, y de San Luis Potosí. El protestantismo era una religión ligada al proceso de modernización económico, la cual había reclutado sus adeptos entre los trabajadores migrantes de las minas, de los ranchos, de la industria textil y de la agricultura capitalista. Ni los peones acasillados, ni la pequeña burguesía y burguesía urbanas se habían interesado por el mismo credo, y aun menos las élites oligárquicas. Para 1910, contaba esta disidencia religiosa con tasas notables de adeptos según las estadísticas oficiales: 2.02% en Coahuila, 1.39% en Chihuahua, 1.27% en Nuevo León, 3.39% en Sonora.²⁵

Pero lo que hacía su fuerza a partir de los primeros años del siglo XX, era la nueva generación de protestantes hijos de los trabajadores migrantes que habían tenido acceso a una movilidad social rápida a través de los servicios educativos de las misiones norteamericanas. De hecho, en el norte de México las distintas sociedades protestantes (presbiterianos, metodistas, bautistas y congregacionistas) no ofrecían sólo una red de templos. Ponían a disposición de los sectores sociales populares convertidos, las escuelas primarias que se

¹⁸Todavía en octubre de 1911 James Eaton y Jesús Valencia celebraban cultos en la casa del coronel Orozco en San Isidro, *ET*, octubre 14, 1911, p. 223.

¹⁹F. X. Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 48

²⁰*MH*, April 1898, p. 144

²¹*MH*, July 1906, p. 437

²²*MH*, January, 1901, p. 17

²³Sobre José de la Luz Blanco y Pascual Orozco, información en James D. Eaton, “The Story of General Orozco”, *op. cit.*, p. 287. Sobre Teófilo Romero, Case, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁴James D. Eaton, “The Story of General Orozco”, *op. cit.*, p. 287. *EM*, agosto 1, 1911, p. 235; *ET*, marzo 29, 1913, p. 203. *ET*, agosto 1, 1909, p. 171, *ET*, noviembre 15, 1889, p. 262.

²⁵Citado por François Xavier Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

encontraban en la mayoría de los casos al lado de sus templos. Los mejores alumnos tenían acceso a las escuelas secundarias, preparatorias, normales, comerciales y teológicas que se encontraban en las ciudades. Entre 1890 y 1910 el Colegio Palmore de Chihuahua (donde estudiaron los hijos de Pascual Orozco), el Colegio Internacional de Guadalajara, el Colegio Fronterizo y la Escuela Internacional de Monterrey, las escuelas normales metodista, presbiteriana y bautista de Saltillo, el Colegio Wesleyano de San Luis Potosí, el Seminario y Colegio presbiteriano de Coyoacán, D.F., entre otros; formaron los líderes de las congregaciones norteamericanas como también decenas de jóvenes cuyas familias por espíritu liberal aceptaban que frecuentaban escuelas protestantes. La red de educación protestante daba acceso a una educación superior a hijos de familias cuyos ingresos económicos modestos o el estatus social les prohibía la entrada a las escuelas frecuentadas por la oligarquía porfirista.²⁶

Sin embargo, la red religiosa educativa, como también el origen social no son suficientes para explicar los lazos que muchos protestantes tejieron con la rebelión. Por eso ahora es necesario reconstruir la visión del mundo que elaboraron los miembros de las congregaciones protestantes entre 1880 y 1910.

Liberalismo y protestantismo

Las leyes liberales fueron decisivas para otorgar el espacio jurídico necesario a la congregación del protestantismo en México. La separación de la Iglesia y del Estado, la libertad de cultos como también el fortalecimiento del poder liberal a partir de 1869, fueron condiciones juzgadas como favorables para que las sociedades misioneras norteamericanas emprendieran actividades en México. A su llegada, éstas retomaron a su cargo la mayoría de las congregaciones afiliadas al cisma mexicano y se expandieron bajo la constante amenaza de persecuciones católicas, con la protección del Estado al cual tuvieron que recurrir muy a menudo.²⁷ Desde un principio el deseo del Estado liberal de restringir las actividades de la Iglesia al único terreno religioso lo llevó a la confrontación constante con intereses políticos clericales. También la situación objetiva en la cual se encontraban las congregaciones protestantes en cuanto disidencia anticatólica, contribuyó a una alianza entre protestantes y liberales. Muchos exsoldados de Juárez conformaron cuadros o apoyos al protestantismo en sus regiones respectivas.²⁸ Pero los dirigentes liberales tuvieron una actitud mucho más matizada frente a la expansión misionera norteamericana en México.

Defendían la libertad del culto y la libertad de conciencia, sin embargo, compartían en algo la acusación lanzada por la Iglesia y los conservadores que veían a estas sectas como una avanzada de la conquista silenciosa norteamericana. Habían razones históricas para alimentar tal sospecha desde la pérdida de Texas y el lejano norte del país, como también por la invasión de 1847. Por eso durante la década de los años 1870, el apoyo liberal fue reservado y siempre en los estrictos límites de la tolerancia y de la lucha contra el

²⁶Por ejemplo Lombardo Toledano estudio en la escuela primaria congregacional El Progreso de Parral, Chih., y luego en el Colegio Palmore metodista de la capital del estado, Enrique Krauze, *Caudillos culturales de la revolución mexicana*, México, Siglo XXI, 1976, p. 40 y 121.

²⁷El misionero William Butler nombraba 58 personas asesinadas entre 1873 y 1892 por ser protestantes, William Butler, *México in Transition*, New York, Western Methodist Book Concern, 1892, p. 301. Carta de Max Phillips a Porfirio Díaz, Ciudad de México, 8 de abril de 1877, *Archivo del General Porfirio Díaz*, México, editorial ELEDESA, 1956, tomo 21, p. 65-66. Ver además Archivo Porfirio Díaz, Universidad Iberoamericana, entre muchas cartas: Simón M. Díaz a Porfirio Díaz, Marzo 26, 1886, Legajo 11, caja 7, doc. 003053-5. Carta de Henry Thompson, Milton Greene y Hubert Brown a Porfirio Díaz, México, octubre 8, 1887, legajo 12, caja 20, doc. 008741 y legajo 12, caja 20, doc 009948, y dos decenas de otras cartas.

²⁸La mayoría de los liberales citados por periódicos protestantes son exsoldados juaristas quienes consiguieron lotes de tierra con la secularización de los bienes del clero y quienes fueron muy activos en la lucha contra la intervención francesa. Por ejemplo, José Rescendes, coronel durante los años de Juárez (1866) dueño de una pequeña plantación de café en La Mesa, cerca de Jacala, Hid. *Annual Report of Mission Work by the Reverend William Wallace for 1893*, Tlalpan, January 21, 1894, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 70, 1894. Por su parte Francisco Islas había sido uno de los defensores del Plan Ayutla y había pertenecido al grupo de liberales encabezado por Ignacio Ramírez, *ACI*, Diciembre 15, 1890, p. 187.

“fanatismo”.²⁹ Así, Ignacio Manuel Altamirano defendió constantemente a los protestantes en el periódico *Siglo XIX* en su calidad de liberal y de amigo de la tolerancia y de la civilización.³⁰ Por su lado, José María Vigil consideraba que los protestantes “tenían una buena influencia como contrapeso a las influencias clericales”.³¹

La persecución a los protestantes se recrudeció constantemente en los momentos de crisis política y de cambio de gobierno, en particular en los años de 1876, 1880 y 1884. El antiprottestantismo se mezclaba con el antiliberalismo y era un instrumento apropiado para llegar a otros fines como lo hizo ver el *Monitor Republicano* en el caso de una persecución en Querétaro en mayo de 1876: “Los verdaderos culpables son hombres de cierta posición bien conocidos en esta ciudad y que abusando de la ignorancia y credulidad del bajo pueblo se sirvieron de él como instrumento tomando como pretexto la implantación del rito protestante para llevar adelante ciertas miras políticas y para satisfacer rencores personales”.³² La toma de poder de Porfirio Díaz, inquietó en algo a los misioneros norteamericanos que no tardaron sin embargo en constatar que ya “parecía tomar un tinte más decididamente liberal”, que lo esperado.³³

A pesar del liberalismo oficial durante el gobierno de Manuel González, los incidentes antiprottestantes recrudecieron, aun cuando las circulares gubernamentales llamaban a los gobernadores a hacer respetar las Leyes de la Reforma.³⁴ Uno de los puntos claves por parte de la Iglesia católica, apoyada por intereses conservadores, fue el reinicio de las procesiones públicas. Protestantes y liberales coincidieron de nuevo para denunciar tales actos violatorios de la constitución. *El Monitor Republicano* escribía en agosto de 1884 que la “infracción de las Leyes de Reforma estaba consentida o tolerada por las autoridades encargadas de su ejecución”.³⁵ En 1886, *El Faro*, periódico presbiteriano, copiaba un artículo del *Gramo de Arena*, de Morelia, Michoacán, demostrando que la política de la entonces administración era “fiel reflejo del deseo de los conservadores en materia de política”. Añadía: “el sufragio es hoy una farsa parecida a la que representó al partido conservador en las épocas de Santa Anna y Maximiliano, no hay libertad de prensa y la intolerancia gana terreno (...) el clero ha recobrado y aumentado su propiedad raíz, los conventos se levantan desafiando la ley de su extinción y los conservadores ocupan los puestos públicos”.³⁶ La reacción a la “tolerancia” del gobierno de Díaz culminó en julio de 1887. *El Monitor Republicano* comentaba: “haciéndose ya intolerable la audacia e insolencia del bando de las sotanas, ha comenzado a levantarse contra ellas una reacción en la prensa de toda la República”.³⁷ Se denunciaba en varios puntos del país la violación de las Leyes de Reforma por parte de la Iglesia con apoyo de la autoridad política como en León, Guanajuato, y en la ciudad de México.³⁸ Esta reacción contra la colusión de la Iglesia y de las autoridades políticas desembocó en una manifestación de todos los elementos liberales de la capital del 18 de julio de 1887. Recorrieron las calles de la

²⁹Ver los artículos de Tiburcio Montiel en *ES*, Marzo 2, 1874, p.1, *ES*, Marzo 11, 1874, p. 1., y *ES*, Marzo 35, 1874, p. 1. *MR*, febrero 18, 1875, p. 3, *MR*, Junio 12, 1874, p. 1.

³⁰*ES*, Marz 27, 1870, p. 1.: *ES*, Abril 24. 1870, p. 2; *ES*, Junio 19 1870, p. 1. *ES*, junio 10, 1870, p. 1.; *MR*, mayo 31, 1876, p. 2.

³¹José María Vigil, “La propaganda protestante”, *MR*, febrero 1, 1879, p. 1. Ver también José María Vigil, “Catolicismo y protestantismo”, *El Porvenir*, noviembre 23, 1875, p. 1, artículo reproducido en *AE*, diciembre 8, 1875, p. 1, donde precisa: “aplaudimos sin reserva la propagación del protestantismo en México porque vemos que ello es el único medio de que termine una crisis harto peligrosa; los pueblos necesitan armonizar sus tendencias; una sociedad no puede ser retrógrada y monárquica en la iglesia, progresista y liberal en la plaza pública”.

³²*MR*, mayo 9, 1876, p. 1.

³³Merryl N. Hutchison to Mission Board Secretary, Mexico City March 3, 1877, PCBFM’MCR, vol. 52, 1875-1877, fol. 154.

³⁴Por ejemplo: circular suscrita en México el 11 de abril de 1881 por el secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Gobernación, Carlos Díaz Gutiérrez, recomendando a los gobernadores de los estados que con motivo de las amenazas que han sufrido los protestantes no se violen las leyes que protegen derechos tan sagrados como la libertad de conciencia, *Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado de Puebla*, 17 de abril de 1881, p. 114-116.

³⁵Citado por el *Diario Oficial*, septiembre 27, 1884. p. 1; *EF*, mayo 1, 1887, Refacción Política.

³⁶La oposición conservadora, *EF*, mayo 15, 1886, p. 78.

³⁷*MR*, julio 2, 1887, p. 1.

³⁸*MR*, julio 12, 1887, p. 3.; *MR*, agosto 1, 1887, p. 2.

capital y se reunieron en el Panteón de San Fernando sobre la tumba de Juárez. Ahí se sucedieron los discursos de Guillermo Prieto, Ignacio Mariscal y otros liberales recordando a Juárez quien “de una masa anónima de esclavos hizo un pueblo”.³⁹ Sobre la tumba de Juárez, José María Iglesias, Blas Barcárcel, Juan José Baz, Ignacio Manuel Altamirano y Sóstenes Rocha firmaron un ocurso presentado al ayuntamiento de la capital “contra las manifestaciones religiosas externas”.⁴⁰ *El Monitor Republicano* poco después constató que continuaba “la conspiración del clericalismo” y denunciaba la “política de conciliación” que tenía como consecuencia “que no sólo los de creencias distintas de los católicos, sino todos los liberales temen ser víctimas de la rabia fanática”.⁴¹

Por primera vez los liberales se reconocían aliados de los protestantes en la lucha contra el “bando clerical”, “el partido de las sotanas” y contra “el gobierno ciego con las adulaciones que le prodigan los enemigos de la libertad y de nuestras instituciones”.⁴² De hecho, unos meses después, Ignacio M. Altamirano entraba al servicio del periódico presbiteriano *El Faro* como editor y corrector, trabajando con sueldo pagado por la misión presbiteriana norteamericana durante todo el año de 1888. Para que el mismo Altamirano, que a principios de los años 1870 repetía en el *Siglo XIX* “no soy protestante”, haya aceptado trabajar para la prensa protestante tuvo que ser decisiva la reacción liberal y protestante de julio de 1887.⁴³

Los actos cívico-religiosos protestantes

Antes de 1887 sólo algunos, entre ellos muchos protestantes, habían acostumbrado ir a depositar coronas al monumento a Juárez en el Panteón de San Fernando. A partir de 1887 cuando la prensa liberal organizó aquella manifestación de resistencia a la política de conciliación, los protestantes iniciaron las fiestas cívico-religiosas en sus templos y escuelas. Estas fiestas no se redujeron al 18 de julio sino que se extendieron al 16 de septiembre, 5 de febrero, 21 de marzo y 5 de mayo. Tomaron estos eventos más amplitud en la medida en que la prensa liberal y por supuesto la prensa protestante tuvo que callar sus críticas del régimen de Díaz.⁴⁴

Leyendo los principales periódicos protestantes, aparece claramente la rápida evolución de una prensa crítica a una prensa acallada. Desde 1886, Pedro Aguirre, editorialista de las “Refracciones políticas” de *El Faro*, subrayaba la ausencia de libertad en las elecciones legislativas (de 1886), el exagerado centralismo, el favoritismo de la burocracia, la conveniencia que los funcionarios públicos sean removidos periódicamente “porque la experiencia demuestra que las personas cuando se perpetúan en el poder tienden al despotismo”.⁴⁵ Para abril de 1892 el mismo periódico constataba con amargura: “encuéntrese de tal manera informada la opinión pública, son tan numerosos los clubes políticos que diariamente se instalan para apoyar al señor Díaz y son tan pocos los enemigos de la

³⁹MR, julio 16, 1887, p. 3; MR, julio 19, 1887, p. 1; discurso de Guillermo Prieto del 18 de julio de 1887, reproducción de ET, junio 1, 1903, p. 174.

⁴⁰EF, agosto 1, 1887, p. 119

⁴¹MR, agosto 26, 1887, p. 1; MR, septiembre 3, 1887, p. 1.

⁴²MR, septiembre 3, 1887, p. 1.

⁴³John Milton Greene to Mission Board Secretary, Mexico City, July 16, 1889, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 58, 1889, fol. 58; Fifth Annual Conference of the Mexico Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, San Luis Potosí, February 13, 1889. PCBFM-MCR, vol. 69, México Minutes 1889-1899. Además Altamirano fue profesor en la escuela metodista “Hijas de Juárez”, ACI, enero 1, 1889, p. 5; ACI enero 7, 1904, p.3. Su colaboración estrecha no duro más que el año 1888 pues después fue alejado por el gobierno como cónsul general en Barcelona.

⁴⁴Sobre fiestas cívicas religiosas ver EF, octubre 1, 1887, p. 149; EF, julio 15, 1888, p. 117 y 119, EF, octubre 1, 1888, p. 151. García Cantú también nota el carácter de “crítica abierta del porfiriato” de los actos conmemorativos del 5 de mayo y 18 de julio celebrados por los obreros en el Panteón de San Fernando; Gastón García Cantú, *El Socialismo en México, Siglo XIX*, México; ERA, 1869, 3a. ed., 1980, p. 112-113. Ver también ACI, febrero 15, 1888 p. 31; ACI, agosto 1, 1888, p. 117; ACI, octubre 1, 1888, p. 146; ACI noviembre 1, 1888, p. 163.

⁴⁵EF, junio 15, 1886, p. 94; EF, agosto 1, 1886, p. 118; EF, febrero 1, 1887, p. 14; octubre 1, 1887, p. 148, EF, diciembre 1, 1887, p. 183.

actual administración, que la verdad toda lucha electoral es imposible; aun los conservadores apoyan”.⁴⁶

Frete a tal situación, los últimos editoriales críticos siguieron atacando los jefes políticos quienes “apenas si indirectamente emanan de la voluntad del pueblo y son autoridades a menudo déspotas y no pocas veces ignorantes de hasta donde llega la órbita de sus facultades”; aun en septiembre de 1892 se recomendaba que contra una autoridad “la primera en violar las leyes y los derechos de todo hombre había que proceder contra ella en el orden puramente legal procurando su destitución o su desprestigio y si por la vía legal nada se conseguía, entonces había que proceder conforme a la conciencia”.⁴⁷ Por última vez, en mayo de 1893, el editorialista Abraham Franco se atrevió a enfatizar que “el elemento oficial nos agobia, nos mata porque es un intruso en la iniciativa individual, un obstáculo del espíritu de asociación”, y se lamentaba “somos niños en las prácticas democráticas, ignoramos cómo podrá ser una convención ferrocarrilera o algodонера, no olvidamos que sólo en los países atrasados, el gobierno es el que todo lo puede”.⁴⁸ A partir de 1893, una vez la prensa protestante acallada por presiones que desconocemos, o por autocensura, el único espacio donde se pudo mantener viva la resistencia solapada al régimen fueron los actos cívico-religiosos donde protestantes, liberales y masones convergían muchas veces en el único espacio posible ofrecido por la escuela protestante pueblerina.

Así, en la ciudad de Chihuahua el 16 de septiembre de 1888 “las dos congregaciones protestantes se reunieron en la capilla metodista para rendir homenaje a la memoria del cura Hidalgo y los otros patriotas de la Independencia; asistían un número considerable de individuos de fuera y el licenciado José Eligio Muñoz, uno de los miembros del congreso constituyente de 1857 pronunció el discurso oficial”.⁴⁹ En estos actos donde se rescataban las figuras de Hidalgo, Juárez y Morelos, se pronunciaron también entre 1888 y 1894 discursos críticos al régimen como el de Doroteo García, pastor y maestro metodista en Silao, Gto., denunciando la colusión del gobierno y de los hacendados: “Se habla de inauguraciones, de finanzas, de créditos y se hace todo sin el consentimiento, sin la aprobación del único beneficiado o perjudicado, el pueblo (...); se habla de agricultura, de su incremento pero favor de decir quiénes son los agricultores: ¿el pueblo?, mentira, irrisión; son unos cuantos que anhelan ya el monopolio de la agricultura”.⁵⁰ Cuando ya las críticas no pudieron formularse más, durante los actos, se exaltó aún más la figura de Juárez “encarnación del derecho, del derecho y de la justicia que tienen que vencer a la opresión, a la fuerza y a la infamia”;⁵¹ Juárez era un símbolo mesiánico que aquellos protestantes lectores de la Biblia podrían rescatarlo como un Cristo nacido en cuna humilde, elevado hacia el trono, quien había “recorrido la escala social” no en provecho suyo sino entregando su vida para el pueblo.⁵² Entre 1894 y 1910 la referencia mesiánica a Juárez se volvió una crítica solapada al régimen. Andrés Osuna, pastor y maestro metodista en Saltillo en 1891 hacía claramente mención en días como aquellos a la situación similar a la de Egipto, cuando el pueblo judío estaba bajo el dominio del faraón.⁵³ El antiguo simbolismo mesiánico estaba recuperado por aquellos protestantes leyendo la historia de México según los paradigmas bíblicos. La Independencia se parecía a la salida de Egipto, el largo camino a través del desierto era la lenta marcha hacia el

⁴⁶ *EF*, abril 1, 1892, p. 54.

⁴⁷ *EF*, julio 1, 1892, p. 101, *EF*, septiembre 15, 1892, p. 141.

⁴⁸ *EF*, mayo 1, 1893, p. 70.

⁴⁹ *EF*, octubre 15, 1888, p. 159; *EF*, octubre 15, 1888, p. 236. La mayoría de los pastores protestantes eran miembros de logias masónicas, *ICI*, agosto 15, 1893, p. 138; *ET*, octubre 15, 1893, p. 231; *EF* febrero 15, 1897, p. 28 y muchos de los fieles como en Orizaba, Hidalgo y Platón Sánchez, Ver., *ACI*, diciembre 27, 1900, p. 413.

⁵⁰ Doroteo García, “Patria”, *ACI*, septiembre 15, 1894, p. 151.

⁵¹ Doroteo García, homenaje a Juárez, *ACI*, julio 15, 1895, p. 115. Ver también el discurso de Pedro Flores Valderrama pronunciado en el Panteón de San Fernando, el 18 de julio de 1895, *ACI*, agosto 1, 1895, p. 126-127.

⁵² *EM*, julio 30, 1891, p. 2; *EF*, julio 16, 1909, p. 455; *ICI*, julio 15, 1895, p. 115, *ET*, mayo 15, 1904, p. 111; *ET*, marzo 15, 1906, p. 61 y 69.

⁵³ *EM*, septiembre 24, 1891, p. 2-3.

triumfo de Juárez. La llegada del pueblo mexicano al Sinaí, era el momento de la Reforma cuando Juárez-Moisés dio al pueblo las leyes “divinas” plasmadas en la Constitución de 1857. Desde entonces el pueblo se encontraba de nuevo en el desierto en la larga marcha hacia la tierra prometida donde manaría leche y miel.⁵⁴ Tales relatos eran críticas solapadas al régimen porfirista que impedía “la liberación del pueblo” y eran llamados no sólo a una lectura subversiva de la historia patria, sino llamados a organizar la resistencia contra los sacerdotes, la Iglesia y sus aliados.⁵⁵

Los actos cívico-religiosos fueron la verdadera religión protestante mexicana de aquellos años y es interesante notar que en los periódicos protestantes aparecen constantemente los largos discursos patrióticos de pastores y maestros durante las fiestas cívico religiosas. Claro que dominaban también en aquellos discursos un anticatolicismo alimentado por las numerosas cartas pastorales episcopales llamando a la población a llevar un boicot contra los protestantes.⁵⁶ Éste convivía bien con el anticlericalismo moderado de muchos liberales. También está claro que la mayoría de los discursos no tuvieron la claridad de análisis político y social que mostró el magonismo posterior. Aun se podrá constatar como en el caso de los discursos del pastor José Rumbia, en Orizaba, que el magonismo contribuyó a radicalizarlos.⁵⁷ Sin embargo, las ceremonias cívico-religiosas sirvieron para mantener viva la resistencia y en este sentido fueron un eslabón para la convergencia futura de protestantes, liberales y magonistas a partir de 1900.

Resistencia liberal y protestantismo

La progresión del protestantismo en el distrito de Ciudad Guerrero, Chih., es ejemplo del paralelismo entre adhesión al protestantismo, anticatolicismo y defensa del liberalismo. Los periódicos protestantes eran muy leídos en pueblos liberales del norte del país como en Cusihiuriachic, Chihuahua, pueblo minero donde *El Faro* tenía 91 suscriptores, “más que cualquier otro periódico”, en 1889.⁵⁸ Entre las primeras familias que ingresaron en la iglesia congregacional de la ciudad de Chihuahua, en 1884, se encontraba la familia del coronel Ignacio Orozco, exsoldado del ejército juarista. Sus parientes de San Isidro de las Cuevas no tardaron en interesarse por el nuevo credo durante sus visitas a la capital y llegaron a crear una congregación en la labor de San Isidro en 1886. Ahí el pastor Francisco Padierna sostuvo contienda pública con el cura de ciudad Guerrero “para cotejar las biblias romana y protestante, para ver si estaban de conformidad”. La esposa del pastor creó una escuela primaria “para niños de ambos sexos cuyos padres manifestaron alto aprecio”.⁵⁹ Entre estos padres estaban la familia de Pascual Orozco y de Albino Frías. En todo el distrito las congregaciones protestantes se fortalecieron durante la década de 1890. El órgano de prensa del congregacionalismo en México, *El Testigo*, reflejó el pensamiento de aquellos protestantes sobre la necesidad de educar a las masas, la crítica solapada a las reelecciones de Díaz y el fortalecimiento de la educación cívica para preparar al pueblo.⁶⁰ Las fiestas cívico-religiosas se redoblaron cuando se creó el

⁵⁴Ya para septiembre de 1873, el exsacerdote Felipe de Jesús Pedroza, convertido al congregacionalismo, escribía: “Hidalgo como Moisés salvó a su pueblo...Hidalgo es el Cristo de la Independencia de México...Hidalgo es redentor del pueblo mexicano”, *Lanza de San Baltazar*, septiembre 18, 1873, p. 1; sobre esta interpretación ampliada ver *ACI*, septiembre 15, 1891, p. 137.

⁵⁵*EM*, noviembre 7, 1889, p. 176; *EM*, octubre 11, 1888, p. 163.

⁵⁶*EF*, marzo 1, 1888, p. 38, excomulgación de los lectores de *El Faro* por el obispo de Sonora. Carta pastoral de Ramón Camacho obispo de Querétaro, *EN*, octubre 13, 1889, p. 157. Advertencia del obispo de Sinaloa contra los protestantes, *ET*, mayo 15 1891, p. 95; por obispo de Tulancingo, Hid., *ACI*, junio 15, 1887, p. 93, Circular del obispo de Puebla, *ACI*, septiembre 1, 1887, p. 135; *ACI*, abril 1., 1891, p. 54; circular del obispo de Zacatecas, *EF*, setiembre 1, 1907, p. 133.

⁵⁷*ACI*, septiembre 13, 1906, p. 302-303.

⁵⁸*EF*, agosto 15, 1889, p. 126, También en Hermosillo, Son., los lectores de *El Faro* eran numerosos y les valía la excomuniación del obispo, *EF*, marzo 1, 1888, p. 38. *El Faro* se publicaba con un tiraje de 2500 ejemplares. También el *Abogado Cristiano Ilustrado* salía en 3000 ejemplares, *EF*, diciembre 15, 1901, p. 186, *AIMEM*, 1908, p. 92.

⁵⁹*ET*, julio 11, 1887, p. 110; *ET*, noviembre 15, 1889, p. 262.

⁶⁰*ET*, enero 15, 1892, p. 14-15; *ET*, abril 15, 1892, p. 92; *ET*, septiembte 15, 1894, p. 214; *ET*, septiembre 15, 1896, p. 203; *ET* noviembre 15, 1896, p. 264.

Obispado de Chihuahua en 1893 y cuando la política de conciliación alcanzó al distrito, con la visita del obispo; el jefe político no permitió arcos ni coronas, sin embargo, hubo repique a vuelo; lo que llamó la atención como lo anota *El Testigo* “es que unos de los señores más ilustrados y que se manifestaron más liberales le adoraron la mano y otros le rendían su sombrero”.⁶¹ En el año de la coronación de la Virgen de Guadalupe, el 15 de septiembre de 1895, fue celebrado por las congregaciones protestantes congregacionalistas con más fervor que nunca. El canto del ejercicio patriótico religioso refleja en algo el espíritu combativo: “las armas tomemos que ya comenzó, preséntanse ya, resuena guerrera la voz de Jehová, conflicto terrible Satán provocó, las armas tomemos que ya comenzó”.⁶² Las denuncias redoblaron en torno a la colusión de la Iglesia y del Estado para mantener sojuzgado al pueblo. Como lo escribía el pastor José María Ibáñez en 1897, “el ideal que los evangélicos prosiguen está de acuerdo con los principios de la constitución de 1857; trabajan con su ejemplo y con los medios a su alcance para que se cumplan debidamente esas leyes, están identificados con el glorioso partido liberal en el fiel acatamiento a nuestras leyes e instituciones políticas; no se puede ser romanista y liberal, admirar a Juárez que separó Iglesia y Estado y enemigo de las Leyes de Reforma”.⁶³ Al mismo momento *El Testigo* abría una sección cívica donde se hacían estudios sobre la constitución, y ponía en guardia a sus lectores: “la tendencia a la centralización de asuntos políticos es demasiado fuerte y hay que vigilar y atacar todo paso en esa dirección, o la democracia estará perdida para siempre, o se recobrará sólo a costa de sangrientas luchas”.⁶⁴

Este periódico circulaba entre las familias protestantes de Chihuahua, Sinaloa y Sonora y muestra cómo un anticatolicismo efervescente compaginaba con una crítica al antidemocratismo del gobierno de Díaz. El clero era el enemigo de la Patria porque según los protestantes se oponía a la instrucción del pueblo y porque la prensa clerical “trataba de probar que Juárez no era digno de las manifestaciones de admiración y gratitud” como lo hacía *El Propagador* de Chihuahua que “comparaba a Juárez con Iturbide y ensalzaba a éste”.⁶⁵ A la misma vez se consideraba que las reelecciones de Díaz no eran elecciones como lo manifestó el mismo periódico protestante en torno a la votación del primero de enero de 1900; “ya saben todos que no se trataba de una elección sino solamente de una candidatura con el objeto especial de persuadir al general Díaz de que el pueblo desea que continúe en el poder”.⁶⁶

La segunda región del norte donde los protestantes alcanzaron cierta visibilidad social fue el estado de Coahuila. En un principio los protestantes había recibido el apoyo activo del gobernador Evaristo Madero quien había contribuido generosamente para la creación de la Escuela Normal Bautista de Saltillo que llevaba desde 1884 su nombre. A partir de 1887 el partido clerical había recobrado fuerza y el gobernador electo en 1888, Garza Galán, había encontrado un sólido apoyo con una política de conciliación. Como lo notaba el misionero Isaac Boyes: “El clero muestra una actividad y una agresión desconocida por muchos años. Han inaugurado hace unos años un colegio jesuita que hoy cuenta con cientos de estudiantes que provienen de las familias acomodadas e influyentes en el estado. En las ciudades fuera de la capital se saca a los santos en procesiones en las calles y en el campo. Las iglesias están llenas como nunca antes y no por las mujeres y las clases ignorantes sino por los hombres más inteligentes e influyentes de la capital, abogados, médicos, diputados y empleados del gobierno quienes antes pasaban por liberales”.⁶⁷ Esta situación duró y se reforzó con la tercera elección de Garza Galán en

⁶¹*ET*, diciembre 1, 1893, p. 271, *ET*, enero 1, 1895, p. 9.

⁶²Ejercicio patriótico religioso, *ET*, septiembre 15, 1895, p. 209-212.

⁶³*ET*, febrero 15, 1897, p. 45.

⁶⁴*ET*, diciembre 1, 1897, p. 272; Sección Cívica, estudios sobre la constitución, *ET*, marzo 15, 1897, p. 70.

⁶⁵El romanismo y la patria, *ET*, septiembre 15, 1894, p. 216; *ET*, septiembre 1, 1899, p. 196-197.

⁶⁶*ET*, febrero 15, 1900, p. 37.

⁶⁷Henry Thomson to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, october 25, 1883, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 55, 1883, fol 80, Isaac Boyce to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, october 11, 1887, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 57, 1886-1887, fol. 354.

1892. Sin embargo, para junio de 1893 un movimiento revolucionario encabezado por los Madero en unión con los estudiantes de derecho y medicina del estado “exiliados” en la Ciudad de México, triunfó del gobernador.⁶⁸ En las elecciones de 1894 fue electo el nuevo gobernador Miguel Cárdenas quien desarrolló una política educativa apoyándose en los protestantes. Él mismo tenía dos tías miembros de congregaciones y siempre acogió con mucha simpatía las actividades llevadas por las distintas sociedades religiosas protestantes.⁶⁹ Andrés Osuna, pastor y maestro metodista entre 1890 y 1898, fue encargado de la dirección de educación primaria antes de dirigir la escuela de 1898 a 1909. Bajo su conducción las tres escuelas normales protestantes con que contaba la ciudad fueron un semillero de maestras empleadas luego por el estado. Para 1901 se estimaba que de 120 estudiantes y maestros normalistas, 20 eran miembros militantes de congregaciones protestantes. Entre ellos se contaban a José María Cárdenas, director del archivo del estado, Isabel Olivares y Rubén Moreira, profesores de la normal, Gregorio Osuna, inspector escolar, Manuel Vitela, ingeniero encargado de las obras públicas de la ciudad. De los 280 000 habitantes del estado se estimaba que para 1902 unos 10 000 eran protestantes. Los maestros de escuela protestantes eran activos animadores de estas fiestas cívico-religiosas donde se reafirmaba la necesidad de un gobierno democrático, la demanda de una educación popular y se exaltaba a Juárez.⁷⁰

Cuando el 30 de agosto de 1900, Camilo Arriaga lanzó su “Manifiesto al partido liberal”, denunciando el clericalismo e invitando a los liberales a una convención para febrero de 1901, el programa liberal correspondía a las reivindicaciones que los protestantes planteaban desde el año de 1887: “contener los avances del clericalismo y conseguir dentro del orden y de la ley la vigencia efectiva de las Leyes de Reforma”,⁷¹ No se sabe cuantos protestantes participaron del congreso de San Luis, pero sí dominaron ahí los discursos anticlericales. Los protestantes respondieron positivamente a la invitación a fundar clubes liberales.

En febrero de 1901, el pastor Miguel Magdaleno incitaba a los jóvenes cristianos a trabajar en unión del Club liberal: “tal vez en algunos surge la idea de no tomar parte en el movimiento de reforma liberal, por la razón de que la obra que estamos haciendo produce también estos resultados; pero considerando que son dos instituciones independientes que luchan una por la adquisición de la libertad humana y la otra por la libertad espiritual, sin embargo, hay que convenir que las dos necesitan el mismo individuo y por lo tanto las dos andan juntas”.⁷² El club liberal de Batopilas, Chih., fue fundado por el pastor Ignacio M. López. Los protestantes participaban en la fundación del club de Atlajomulco, Jalisco, y en actividades liberales como en Santa Bárbara, Chih., en Pachuca y Tezontepec, Hidalgo, así como en Zitácuaro, Mich.⁷³

Como lo ha mostrado James D. Cockroft, el movimiento del liberalismo mexicano pasó por un proceso de diferenciación interna a partir de 1900 en particular con la radicalización de intelectuales de sectores medios inferiores. Ya se precisaron las reivindicaciones

⁶⁸Isaac Boyce to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, march 22, 1892, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 61, 1892, fol. 28. Isaac Boyce to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, June 6, 1893, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 62, 1893, fol. 42.

⁶⁹Isaac Boyce to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, October 22, 1894, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 63, 1894, fol. 34. *Annual Report of the Mexican Mission of the Presbyterian Church for the year 1897*, Mexico City, Presbyterian Press, 1898, p. 4. William Wallace, *Annual Report Saltillo Station, 1897*, PCBFM-MCR vol. 70, 1897.

⁷⁰Field Report, Mexico Mission Saltillo Station for the year ending December 31, 1898, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 70, 1898, dice: “Two of the professors who assist him (A. Osuna) are members of the Presbyterian church and 8 or 9 of the students are evangelical christians so forming a strong nucleus of evangelical christianity with the public school system of the state”. *Annual Report of the Mexican Mission of the Presbyterian Church for the year 1898*. México City, Presbyterian Press, 1899, p. 9 y 11. *EF*, junio 15, 1902, p. 92-93; *EM*, mayo 15, 1906, p. 82 y 87; *ACI*, octubre 31, 1901, p. 450; *EM*, septiembre 24, 1891, p. 2-3. Field Report, Saltillo Station till December 1901 by William Wallace, PCBFM-MCR, Report 1901 vo. 256.

⁷¹Citado por James D. Cockroft, *Precursores intelectuales de la revolución mexicana*, México, Siglo XXI. 1971, 4a. ed., 1978, p. 90.

⁷²*ET*, febrero 15, 1901, p. 42.

⁷³*ET* junio 1, 1901, p. 121; *ET* octubre 1, 1901, p. 218. Annual report of the northern Mexican mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1900, citado por Balwin, *op. cit.*, p. 182. *ACI*, ABRIL 20, 1901, p. 128, *EM*, junio 1, 1902; *ACI*, septiembre 26, 1901, p. 410.

en materia agraria y laboral. La mayoría de los protestantes no superaron en aquel momento la vieja lucha anticatólica y las demandas de respeto de las Leyes de Reforma. La represión que desató de inmediato el régimen de Díaz tuvo como efecto, como lo subraya Cockroft, “definir los campos políticos en forma más precisa”.⁷⁴ Sin embargo, en lo que toca a los protestantes, la afirmación que hace Cockroft de que los protestantes “como los moderados de clase alta, los anticlericales tradicionales y los masones” empezaron a apartarse del movimiento, parece errónea.⁷⁵ Es cierto que surgieron tensiones entre algunos clubes que llevaron su anticlericalismo hasta su lógica atacando toda religión incluyendo al protestantismo. Pero no por esto los protestantes se apartaron del movimiento. Entre ellos el club liberal de Zacatecas había emitido el 5 de mayo de 1901 una regla pidiendo “para llevar a efecto la educación liberal del pueblo” que los liberales “deben abstenerse de toda participación en los actos o ceremonias de cualquier culto”; se hacía una clara alusión a los actos cívico-religiosos protestantes que habían canalizado hasta entonces en muchas poblaciones la unión de protestantes, liberales y masones. Los metodistas contestaban que “este club representaba un solo grupo y no formaba la *vox populi* en la gran organización liberal de la República y por lo tanto no tenía el derecho de eliminar de su seno a un respetable número de protestantes que constituyen parte integrante de muchos clubes”.⁷⁶ Con la represión, ellos no dejaron de seguir en el movimiento tal como lo denuncia un artículo de mayo de 1902 del periódico católico *La Patria*, a través de su corresponsal en Matehuala; éste afirmaba que “los clubes políticos que hay establecidos en el país están compuestos en su mayoría de ministros protestantes”, lo que confirma por lo menos que en Matehuala el club liberal integraba a varios protestantes.⁷⁷

Despectivamente, el señor Manuel González Romero apoyaba la crítica del corresponsal de Matehuala explicando el lazo de los protestantes con el movimiento liberal por su origen social: “es natural que así sea cuando el protestantismo en nuestra república no ha arraigado sus doctrinas en las dos primeras escalas que forman parte de nuestro grupo social sino en el último que corresponde a los jornaleros en donde por su manera de ser y por las condiciones en que vive no puede llevar sobre sí otro atavío que el muy honrado pero siempre humilde traje de camisa y calzoncillo y sombrero de palma; y si de este grupo se saca como es muy común un individuo para utilizarlo en algún cargo provechoso para ameritar algún culto no se le deja en su primitivo ropaje, sino con el adecuado para distinguirlo”.⁷⁸ De manera irónica y despectiva el periodista de *La Patria* describía con exactitud el origen social de los intelectuales populares protestantes. Pero más allá del ropaje, pasaba por desapercibido tanto la educación recibida en las escuelas superiores protestantes como la experiencia de liderazgo popular y la experiencia en oratoria pública adquirida en los templos protestantes. Tanto la tradición liberal continuamente rescatada como la experiencia y educación lograda hacía de estos intelectuales populares, un cuerpo capaz de acompañar la lucha liberal desencadenada por el movimiento de Camilo Arriaga. Pero es muy probable que su educación religiosa les alejó de una comprensión radical de las transformaciones a buscar y les hizo más acompañantes que dirigentes del movimiento liberal. Es cierto que en cuanto a problemas laborales la mayoría no rebasa el mutualismo como respuesta. Andrés Osuna fue miembro fundador de por lo menos tres sociedades mutualistas en la ciudad de Saltillo. En Chihuahua, Angel Delgado, miembro de la iglesia congregacionalista de la ciudad era presidente en 1906 de la “Confederación mutualista mexicana” que agrupaba doce círculos y sociedades de trabajadores. En Parral, Chih., el

⁷⁴Cockroft, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁷⁵*Ibidem*, p. 97.

⁷⁶*ACI*, septiembre 5, 1901, p. 385.

⁷⁷*ACI*, mayo 21, 1902, p. 169. Unos ciudadanos de Matehuala mandaban una carta a *ACI*, diciembre 13, 1900, p. 397, en la cual denunciaban “los que se burlan de las leyes y explotan al pueblo con previo permiso de la autoridad “por parte del señor cura”.

⁷⁸*ACI*, junio 5, 1902, p. 184.

pastor Andrés R. Salas era el orador principal de la celebración del segundo aniversario de la sociedad de obreros “Miguel Hidalgo”, en 1909, con un discurso sobre el mutualismo que según él “hacia desaparecer el pauperismo y había matado el analfabetismo en medio de las clases menesterosas”.⁷⁹ En Río Blanco, Ver., el pastor José Rumbia y el grupo metodista estaban en favor de una organización obrera de tipo mutualista y se sabe que fueron los líderes del Partido Liberal Mexicano que lograron convertir el Gran Círculo de Obreros Libres en una sociedad obrera con reivindicaciones radicales.⁸⁰ De manera general se puede constatar que los protestantes no manifestaron una conciencia política radical y rara vez participaron en acciones violentas magonistas afuera de la huelga de Río Blanco de 1907 y de la insurrección de Viezca, Coah., de 1908, donde el pastor de la congregación presbiteriana fue uno de los líderes.⁸¹

Quizás el ascenso social relativo de los pastores y maestros protestantes pueda explicar su endeble comprensión de los problemas sociales; ellos eran hijos de familias proletarias o marginadas de las cuales habían salido adelante por la educación, mientras los dirigentes magonistas provenían más bien de familias de clase media empobrecidas.⁸²

Pero cuando los líderes intelectuales del movimiento liberal estuvieron en exilio, los actos cívico religiosos encabezados por los protestantes siguieron con redoblada intensidad entre 1904 y 1910. La gran convención nacional protestante reunida en Guadalajara en julio de 1905 abrió sus sesiones con un discurso de bienvenida en nombre del partido liberal.⁸³ Las fiestas del centenario del natalicio de Juárez prestaron el espacio para una redoblada participación de líderes protestantes en los actos públicos, pero siempre con los temas recurrentes del anticatolicismo y del respeto a las Leyes de Reforma como lo hizo Mariano Irigoyen en Ciudad Guerrero pidiendo honrar a Juárez no con monumentos y estatuas sino acatando esas leyes.⁸⁴ En este espíritu crearon, en 1907, un club liberal en Torreón “con el exclusivo objeto de velar por la observancia de las Leyes de Reforma” cuando según ellos se falsificaba la historia de Juárez en las escuelas del país y se edificaba un convento en el centro de la Ciudad Lagunera.⁸⁵ Sin embargo, al mismo momento el pastor congregacionalista de Ciudad Guerrero “reunía los domingos en la tarde los ciudadanos deseosos de estudiar cuestiones cívicas”⁸⁶ y rebasaba el mero anticlericalismo en una acción de educación política.

Antireeleccionismo y rebelión maderista

La entrevista de Díaz con el periodista norteamericano Creelman, del *Pearson's Magazine*, del 17 de febrero de 1908, abrió el espacio para la organización de partidos opositos al régimen. Los reeleccionistas empezaron a organizarse para apoyar a Díaz en la elección de 1910, mientras la oposición creó clubes antireeleccionistas, en un principio para apoyar a Bernardo Reyes. Una vez éste último mandado a Europa, el movimiento antireeleccionista apoyó a Francisco I. Madero y cobró mayor fuerza después de la convención de abril de 1910 donde Francisco I. Madero y Francisco Vázquez Gómez fueron nombrados candidatos a la presidencia; poco después Madero fue arrestado en San Luis Potosí y salió en exilio en octubre de 1910. Las elecciones no fueron una sorpresa con el triunfo de Díaz.

⁷⁹ Andrés Osuna, *Por la escuela y por la patria, autobiografía*, México Casa Unida de Publicaciones, 1943, p. 76; *ET*, abril 1, 1906, p. 74; *ET*, enero 8, 1910, p. 13.

⁸⁰ Bernardo García Díaz, *Un pueblo fabril del porfiriato, Santa Rosa, Veracruz*, México, sep/80, 1981, p. 87-92.

⁸¹ Charles Petran, Mexico Mission Report from Saltillo Field for the year 1910, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 258, Annual Report 1900-1910.

⁸² Cockroft, *op. cit.*, p. 69

⁸³ *ET*, junio 15, 1905, p. 141.

⁸⁴ *ET*, mayo 1, 1906, p. 98. *ET*, mayo 15, 1905, p. 163; *ET*, marzo 15, 1906, p. 69.

⁸⁵ *EF*, abril 15, 1907, p. 59

⁸⁶ James Demarest Eaton, *Life under two flags*, New York, Barnes and Co., 1922, p. 258.

Durante este periodo los protestantes entraron en actividad en varios puntos del país, pero en particular en el norte. En el distrito de Guerrero, Chih., el pastor Jesús Grijalva creó un club maderista en 1909 en el cual participaban la mayoría de los miembros de la congregación. En la ciudad de Chihuahua, Braulio Hernández, maestro de escuela y congregacionista de Zaragoza, Chih., había sido simpatizante del Partido Liberal Mexicano con Abraham González. Él y González organizaron en julio de 1909 el centro antireeleccionista “Benito Juárez” en apoyo a la candidatura de Madero. En la misma ciudad se creó también un club antireeleccionista femenino cuya presidenta era miembro de la congregación protestante. Un misionero asegura que por lo menos otros dos pastores eran activos en la oposición a Díaz.⁸⁷ El discurso del 15 de septiembre de 1909, del pastor Jesús J. Valencia, de Parral, Chih., reflejó la efervescencia que animaba las congregaciones protestantes del estado:

La libertad de los oprimidos es una causa justa, porque es la causa de la humanidad, Dios creó al hombre enteramente libre pero los autócratas han tiranizado al infortunado obrero; siendo evidente que el absolutismo coarta las libertades cívicas y el clericalismo las de la conciencia. Para dar mayor realce a la obra de los héroes de nuestra patria bástenos por hoy considerar las serias dificultades que el partido llamado demócrata encuentra en la actual contienda electoral para ejercitar ampliamente sus derechos como ciudadanos, y esto que hoy camina al amparo de una constitución llamada del 57, dada por una República Constitucional cuyas autoridades pretenden cumplir y hacer cumplir.⁸⁸

En Coahuila también la lucha política se desarrollaba con el trasfondo de la contienda entre clericalismo y anticlericalismo. En septiembre de 1908, un excura, después pastor metodista, Antonio Valiente y Pozo, había sido invitado a dar conferencias anticlericales en el Teatro Morelos. Frente a la oposición del clero, el presidente municipal tuvo temores por una carta pastoral del obispo que ponía bajo excomunión a todo fiel que fuese a las conferencias y éstas tuvieron que darse en el Colegio Metodista. Entre el millar de gente que lo vinieron a escuchar “por lo menos la mitad eran católicos liberales, abogados y hombres jóvenes e inteligentes.”⁸⁹ Andrés Osuna tomó parte en la organización del Partido Democrático, pronunció varios discursos públicos “con el objeto de animar al mayor número de personas a que tomaran parte en la nueva organización”.⁹⁰ Era amigo de Francisco I. Madero y lo apoyó cuando llegó a Saltillo para organizar su partido, tomando parte en el programa de unas de las asambleas generales. Pagó estas actividades políticas con su despido de la dirección de educación pública del estado, cuando, para suceder al gobernador Miguel Cárdenas, Díaz impuso a Pragedis de la Peña en contra de Venustiano Carranza. Osuna prefirió exiliarse a Nashville, EUA, por la presión política en su contra que “los directores de la Política de los Científicos de la Ciudad de México habían preparado de acuerdo con ciertos personajes de la nueva administración de Coahuila”.⁹¹ Salió en septiembre de 1909. Sin embargo, en agosto de 1910 regresó de vacaciones y fue con su hermano Gregorio a visitar a Carranza donde “se pusieron de acuerdo para que en caso de que formalizara un movimiento serio para acabar con la dictadura del General Díaz, estábamos dispuestos a cooperar en la forma que fuera necesaria”. También pasó por San Luis Potosí donde tuvo una amplia conferencia con Francisco I. Madero, que

⁸⁷Eaton to Mission Board Secretary, december 1910, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions ABCFM Archive, citado por Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Eaton to Mission Board Secretary of the Women's Board, february 1914, ABCFM Archive, citado por Baldwin *op. cit.*, p. 181, William H. Beezley, *op. cit.*, p. 15, y 35. Eaton *op. cit.*, Archive, citado por Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 171. Alden Buell Case, *Thirty Years with the Mexicans: in Peace and Revolution*, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917, p. 118.

⁸⁸Jesús J. Valencia, La grandiosa obra de los héroes de la patria, *ET*, septiembre 15, 1909, p. 213. Este discurso tenía en exego la cita siguiente muy reveladora: “Yo amo al pueblo y en él me glorifico; el pueblo sabe estrangular tiranos y odia tanto a Caifás como al judío que sentencia lavándose las manos” (Chocano).

⁸⁹Thomas F. Wallace to Mission Board Secretary, Saltillo, September 21, 1909, PCBFM-MCR, vol. 254, 1909, fol. 44

⁹⁰Osuna, *op. cit.*, p. 99-100.

⁹¹Osuna, *op. cit.*, p. 107-108. Se le consideró peligroso por sus amplias relaciones y sus actividades masónicas.

tenía “la ciudad por cárcel”.⁹² El discurso del joven Aarón Sáenz, miembro de la congregación presbiteriana de Saltillo y de la “Sociedad Juan Calvino”, al mismo tiempo que estudiante en el Ateneo Fuente, expresó el sentir de los jóvenes protestantes en julio de 1909 sobre la necesidad de apoyar la democracia: “Calvino se compara con aquel humilde alcalde de Guelatao, que luego fue el ilustre presidente de nuestra Patria. Así Calvino fue gobernante no sólo de aquella ciudad sino de una república entera. De él hemos aprendido a ser republicanos y a él debemos la forma de gobierno en nuestra iglesia la más adaptada a nuestras convicciones y más conforme a nuestras costumbres”.⁹³ En noviembre de 1909, su hermano Moisés Sáenz, brillante graduado de la escuela normal de Jalapa después de largos estudios en el seminario presbiteriano de Coyoacán, D.F., estaba contactado por Palavicini y Madero para ser jefe de redacción del *Antireeleccionista*, clausurado por Díaz el 30 de septiembre de 1909.⁹⁴

En Zacatecas también Elías Amador, expastor y miembro de la congregación presbiteriana, y su hijo Juan Neftalí, se afiliaron al partido antireeleccionista laborando activamente por él.⁹⁵ Aunque es difícil reconstruir la participación exacta de los protestantes en la oposición a Díaz entre 1908 y noviembre de 1910, cabe constatar que tanto el ideal democrático propagado a través de los actos cívico-religioso y la instrucción cívica como el anticatolicismo fueron elementos que los empujaron a participar en el movimiento antireeleccionista. El papel activo de varios de ellos en el centro y sureste del país lo confirma.⁹⁶

Cuando Francisco I. Madero, en exilio, lanzó el Plan de San Luis y llamó a la insurrección, varios de los pastores y laicos protestantes comprometidos en la campaña antireeleccionista no encontraron otra salida que involucrarse en la rebelión armada. El distrito de Guerrero fue uno de los centros más activos de la insurrección; Pascual Orozco, miembro de la familia fundadora del protestantismo en Chihuahua, encabezó el movimiento armado en el cual como lo apuntaron varios misioneros “los protestantes fueron numerosos”.⁹⁷ El pastor de Ciudad Guerrero, Jesús Grijalva con otros cuarenta hombres se unió a Orozco contra las tropas federales y José de la Luz Blanco, otro de los oficiales de Orozco, era miembro de la congregación protestante de Tomasáchic. La congregación de Las Cuevas, Chih., se levantó también en armas.⁹⁸ En enero de 1911 Braulio Hernández entraba en la lucha con un manifiesto que denunciaba la política sangrienta de Díaz con un análisis sistemático de las represiones del régimen e incluía críticas expresadas por los protestantes durante sus actos cívico-religiosos: menosprecio de la constitución en las escuelas, contribuir “a la degeneración moral del pueblo permitiendo las bárbaras corridas de toros y las peleas de gallos”, para manchar la reputación de Benito Juárez.⁹⁹

En Coahuila, Gregorio Osuna, miembro de la congregación metodista, organizó con Pablo González las fuerzas de voluntarios maderistas. Juan Neftalí Amador tomó cuerpo

⁹²Osuna, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁹³Aarón Sáenz, En honor de Calvino, *EF*, julio 30, 1909, p. 128.

⁹⁴Francisco I. Madero a Félix F. Palavicini, noviembre 13, 1909 *Archivo de Don Francisco I. Madero, Epistolario 1900-1909*, México D.F., ediciones de la Secretaría de Hacienda, 1963, p. 486. Francisco I. Madero a Moisés Sáenz, noviembre 22, 1909, *Ibidem*, p. 505.

⁹⁵*El Pueblo*, agosto, 1916, p. 1.

⁹⁶Por ejemplo la labor de Ignacio Gutiérrez, miembro de la iglesia presbiteriana en Tabasco; Cf. José Coffin, *El general Gutiérrez*, México, Consejo Editorial del gobierno del estado de Tabasco, 1980, México, tipografía *El faro*, 1912. Jean-Pierre Bastian, “Metodismo y rebelión política en Tlaxcala”, 1874-1920, Actas I congreso de estudios socio-históricos sobre Tlaxcala, Tlaxcala, octubre 16-18, 1985.

⁹⁷Long so Mission Board Secretary, March 1911, ABCFM Archive, citado por Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Howland to Mission Board Secretary August 1911. ABCFM Archive citado por Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 186. *ET*, septiembre 28, 1912, p. 310, Eaton, The Story of general Orozco, *op. cit.*, p. 287, Wright to Mission Board Secretary, december 1910, ABCFM Archive, citado por Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁹⁸[No hay texto, nota de los editores]

⁹⁹Braulio Hernández, El partido revolucionario de México acusa a Porfirio Díaz ante la gente honrada del mundo y ante los ciudadanos mexicanos que desean dejar a sus hijos una herencia de honor y libertad, Cañon de Peguis, Cuchillo Parado, Distrito de Iturbide, Chihuahua, enero de 1911, Archivo Carlos A. Salas López, Folder Partido Católico, citado por Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, “El manifiesto revolucionario de Braulio Hernández”, mimeo., 3 p.

en la lucha armada “en un sitio de honor al lado de Madero” y fue encargado por éste último de “estudiar los intereses internacionales de la revolución”. Por su parte, el pastor presbiteriano Isabel P. Balderas de Concepción del Oro, salió a la lucha con un buen número de miembros de su congregación.¹⁰⁰ En Monterrey Gregorio A. Velásquez, pastor presbiteriano, director de un colegio comercial, ponía a disposición de los maderistas sus instalaciones y luego explicó claramente su trayectoria de apoyo al maderismo, similar al itinerario de buen número de intelectuales populares protestantes: “las enseñanzas de mi padre contra Porfirio Díaz, mi educación democrática, los acontecimientos de mi vida, las circunstancias que me rodearon, mis continuos trabajos para levantar y mejorar al pueblo, mis notorias luchas contra la prensa del cientificismo en Monterrey encarnada en el “Pilato” de Reyes Spíndola, mi cariño al maderismo propagando sus ideales en un círculo no muy pequeño de que siempre estuve rodeado, mi buena voluntad para hospedar en mi colegio y proteger cuando era necesario a los revolucionarios maderistas, serían datos suficientes para que se conociera quien soy yo”.¹⁰¹ En marzo de 1911, el misionero Wallace de Saltillo entendía correctamente el sentido de la lucha desatada: “tal como ven las cosas aquí en el norte, esta revolución es un movimiento que es de todo el pueblo mexicano para asegurar sus derechos y libertades constitucionales... no se parará hasta que hayan derribado al gobierno de Díaz”.¹⁰² La toma de Ciudad Juárez por las tropas de Orozco encaminó la salida de Díaz fuera de México a fines de mayo. Poco después Francisco I. Madero entraba en la ciudad de México. La prensa protestante callada durante tanto años acogió el triunfo de Madero como la victoria de la democracia sobre la tiranía.¹⁰³ Los protestantes se revelaron en un principio, activos participantes del proceso electoral. Prueba de su activa participación en el movimiento antireeleccionista anterior, fue la presencia de varios pastores y maestros de escuelas protestantes en la convención del Partido Constitucional Progresista reunida en la ciudad de México en agosto de 1911. Entre ellos estaban Elías Amador y su hijo Juan Neftalí, abogado, los profesores Adrián y Antonio Gutiérrez de San Luis Potosí y varios otros representando sus clubes respectivos.¹⁰⁴ Madero, en su gira, era recibido con entusiasmo en las instituciones educativas protestantes de Puebla y Saltillo. En Concepción del Oro el pastor Balderas le dio el abrazo y lo recibió en nombre de toda la población de este pueblo minero.¹⁰⁵ Al mismo momento, varios líderes protestantes asumían tareas estatales. El profesor Rodolfo R. Ramírez era nombrado director de educación pública en Guanajuato; en Sonora el profesor Jesús G. Pérez asumía el cargo de oficial primero de instrucción primaria, mientras en Pachuca, Hidalgo, el profesor Andrés Manning dirigía el colegio del estado.¹⁰⁶ Pino Suárez escogía como secretario privado a Teodomiro Vargas, miembro activo de la congregación presbiteriana de Mérida, Yucatán. Algunos gobernadores mostraron simpatías redobladas hacia los protestantes como Venustiano Carranza en Coahuila, Abraham González en Chihuahua, Alberto Fuentes en Aguascalientes, cuya esposa era miembro de la congregación bautista, Antonio Hidalgo en Tlaxcala cuyo secretario particular y mentor era el expastor metodista José Rumbia, el licenciado Benito Juárez en Oaxaca.¹⁰⁷ Este apoyo se daba tanto en reconocimiento a la actitud antiporfirista asumida por los protestantes como por el anticatolicismo que animaba a estos gobernadores. En un momento en el cual renacía el partido católico a la sombra de la democracia, los actos cívico-religiosos protestantes

¹⁰⁰EF, junio 9, 1911, p. 396; Isaac Boyce to Mission Board Secretary Saltillo, mayo 1912, BCFM-MCR, vol. 259, 1911.

¹⁰¹El Pueblo, abril 15, 1915, p. 3.

¹⁰²Roberth Speer to Charles D. Hilles. Secretary to the President of the USA. New York, Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA. abril 8, 1911, Cita varios extractos de cartas de misioneros in *Documents on the Mexican Revolution*, Gene Z. Hanrahan ed., Documentary Publications, Salisbury, N.C. 1978, vol. II, part 1. p. 247.

¹⁰³EF, junio 21, 1911, p. 336; EF, julio 14, 1911, p. 444-445; ACI, junio 15, 1911, p. 371. ACI, junio 1, 1911, p. 337, 338.

¹⁰⁴EM, septiembre 1, 1911, p. 265; EF, julio 20, 1917, p. 463. El Pueblo, agosto 11, 1916, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ACI, septiembre 21, 1911, p. 600; EM, febrero 10, 1912, p. 69; noviembre 17, 1911, p. 733; EF, septiembre 1, 1911, p. 553.

¹⁰⁶ACI, junio 15, 1911, p. 370; ACI, octubre 19, 1911, p. 671. ET, diciembre 7, 1912, p. 388. ET, enero 4, 1913, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷William Wallace to Mission Board Secretary, june 10, 1915, PCBFM-MCR, 1915, *El Bautista*, enero 18, 1912, p. 65; ACI, enero 11, 1912, p. 19, ACI, febrero 1, 1912, p. 69.

seguían también con redoblada intensidad con la participación de las autoridades estatales como en Pachuca, Hidalgo, y en Guanajuato entre otros.¹⁰⁸ La lucha entre anticlericales liberales y católicos no había terminado y la política ambigua de Madero con la Iglesia como su ausencia de radicalismo en cuanto a la educación y la reforma agraria, iba a llevar a varios protestantes a apartarse del maderismo, y a otros a ser más reservados frente al espacio limitado que se les abría.¹⁰⁹

Conclusión

El protestantismo se difundió en el norte del país a la par con las transformaciones económicas profundas que afectaron el paisaje social. Los miembros fueron reclutados entre los trabajadores migrantes quienes estaban a merced de las recesiones que les obligaba a buscar otras fuentes de trabajo. Las congregaciones sirvieron de espacio de solidaridad de tipo mutualista pero también les proporcionaron la educación para sus hijos. De las escuelas primarias, secundarias y superiores surgieron intelectuales populares que se volvieron críticos del régimen porfirista. En esta resistencia a la coalición de intereses entre oligarquías del Estado e Iglesia Católica, los actos cívico-religiosos animados por las congregaciones protestantes de manera sistemática entre 1887 y 1910 fueron un espacio privilegiado de educación cívica popular y de convergencia entre liberales, protestantes y masones antiporfiristas. Sin embargo, la organización de un movimiento político radical no surgió de aquellos sectores sino más bien de intelectuales de clase media empobrecida que superaron el anticlericalismo para plantear las demandas radicales en cuanto a reforma agraria y problemas laborales. Los intelectuales populares protestantes fueron sin embargo aliados del liberalismo magonista y cuando los intelectuales radicales se encontraron en exilio o en la cárcel, los actos cívico-religiosos siguieron como espacios de resistencia al régimen. Por eso, cuando en 1909 apareció la perspectiva de una contienda electoral para la elección de 1910, se encontraron varios líderes de las congregaciones protestantes del norte del país (como del centro y del sureste) para involucrarse al lado de los intereses antireeleccionistas. Con la represión de Díaz y su reelección, estos mismos líderes protestantes y sus congregaciones se involucraron en la lucha armada desatada por Madero. El triunfo maderista permitió a unos cuantos acceder a cargos públicos y la mayoría apoyó el nuevo gobierno. La ideología religiosa protestante no fue “una ideología de la transición” aunque está claro que surge a la par con los cambios económicos. Fue más bien un espacio para reestructurar el antiguo liberalismo anticlerical juarista vencido por la política de conciliación de Díaz. Este liberalismo exacerbado explica cómo una ideología religiosa se transforma en ideología política antioligárquica a lo largo del porfiriato, y ésta en la raíz de la movilización de algunos sectores sociales del norte del país.

Fuentes

ARCHIVOS:

PC BFM-MRC Presbyterian Church in the USA, Board of Foreign Missions, Mexico Church Records, 1872-1910.

¹⁰⁸*ACI*, septiembre 21, 1911, p. 634, *ACI*, octubre, 1911, p. 671; *EF*, septiembre 22, 1911, p. 600; *EF*, octubre 6, 1911, p. 630. *EM* octubre 15, 1911, p. 315.

¹⁰⁹Varios líderes “protestantes de origen, van a entrar en la lucha contra el maderismo a apartir de fines de 1911 y principios de 1912 entre ellos cabe citar a Benigno Zenteno en Tlaxcala, Pascual Orozco, José de la Luz Blanco y Braulio Hernández en Chihuahua, Cándido Navarro en Guanajuato”.



- ABCFM* American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1890-1911.
Annual Report of the Presbyterian Church in Mexico, Mexico, Presbyterian Press, 1898-1906.
- AIMEM* *Actas de las Conferencias Anuales de la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal en México*, México, Imprenta Metodista, 1884-1920.
- Archivo Porfirio Díaz*, Universidad Iberoamericana. Cartas, 1886-1895.

Hemerografía

- EF* *El Faro*, 1885-1919
- ACI* *El Abogado Cristiano Ilustrado*, 1877-1919
- ET* *El Testigo*, 1887-1914
- AE* *La Antorcha Evangélica*, 1873-1877
- ES* *El Siglo XIX*, 1870-1874
- MR* *El Monitor Republicano*, 1870-1887
- El Porvenir*, 1875
- El Pueblo*, 1914-1918
- La Lanza de San Baltazar*, 1873-1886
- El Bautista*, 1910-1911-1912
- MH* *The Missionary Herald*, 1895-1910
- The Congregationalist and Christian World*, 1910-1918
- EM* *El Evangelista Mexicano*



**Dolores Pla B. y
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Extranjeros en la ciudad de México: 1895-1930

Los distintos gobiernos que se sucedieron a lo largo del siglo XIX consideraron necesario estimular el crecimiento de la población, y uno de los puntos más importantes de su política fue el de alentar la colonización extranjera, especialmente la europea. Con este fin se implementaron leyes y decretos, se abrieron oficinas para estudiar y promover la colonización y fueron otorgadas concesiones a compañías privadas para que la llevaran a cabo. A los inmigrantes se les ofrecieron toda clase de facilidades para establecerse en zonas rurales del país: exención de impuestos, de servicio militar, se prometía que se les asignarían tierras a muy bajo precio y con facilidades de pago y se les brindaba la posibilidad de naturalizarse mexicanos. Era más de lo que cualquier campesino mexicano podía esperar. Sin embargo, los resultados de esta política oficial fueron --en términos generales-- poco satisfactorios, pues nunca se logró hacer de México un país atractivo a la inmigración masiva.

Al iniciarse el siglo XX, según el censo de 1900, nuestro país contaba con una población de un poco más de trece y medio millones de habitantes (13 607 292), de apenas 57 598 eran nacidos en el extranjero.¹ A pesar de los esfuerzos, la población extranjera solamente había aumentado del 0.39% en 1895, al 0.42 en 1900.

Funcionarios y gobernadores porfiristas denunciaron e hicieron responsables a las compañías privadas de malos manejos y del fracaso de la colonización. Estas compañías solamente habían especulado con los terrenos sin beneficiar en nada a la nación. Además, al despojar de sus tierras a los legítimos propietarios, contribuyeron a aumentar las tensiones sociales existentes en el país. Aunque la rapiña de las compañías fue cierta, la explicación del fracaso de la colonización reside, más bien, en las propias condiciones económico-sociales del país. México era un país predominantemente agrario, en el que la concentración de la riqueza hacía casi imposible la movilidad social de los campesinos; padecía además un lento crecimiento industrial y los salarios eran muy bajos. Estas condiciones no solamente desalentaban a la inmigración extranjera, sino que motivaban la emigración del campesino mexicano hacia los Estados Unidos, que era el mismo punto al que se dirigía la emigración masiva europea que se verificaba por esa época. México sólo alcanzó a recibir una parte insignificante de esa emigración masiva, calculada en más de 22 millones de europeos. Los países de América Latina que más inmigrantes recibieron fueron Argentina y Brasil.

De los pocos extranjeros que llegaron a México un número importante se concentró en el Distrito Federal, con lo que a la frustración causada por la escasa presencia de extranjeros en el país, se sumaba la de que los que llegaron no se establecieron, como se había pensado y deseado, en zonas rurales. La predilección de los inmigrantes extranjeros por el medio urbano puede mostrarse con el hecho de que en 1900 el D.F. albergaba apenas el 3.88% de la población nacional, en tanto que era el lugar de residencia del 23% del total de la población nacida en el extranjero residente en el país. Esta tendencia a

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¹ Para este trabajo, los datos referentes a extranjeros que se recabaron en los censos de población de 1895, 1900, 1910, 1921 y 1930, corresponden al rubro "lugar de nacimiento" y no al de "nacionalidad".

concentrarse en la capital persistió: para 1910 el porcentaje de nacionales residentes fue de 4.75 y el de extranjeros del 22.23; en 1921 fue de 6.32 y 25.18 respectivamente, y para 1930, de 7.4 y 26.74.

Esta significativa concentración de extranjeros en el D.F. explica el interés que reviste el que nos acerquemos al conocimiento de ellos. Además, habría que decir que los censos y archivos nos permiten hacer algunas observaciones acerca del comportamiento de esta población en tres periodos de la historia nacional: finales del porfiriato, la revolución y los primeros gobiernos postrevolucionarios.

El porfiriato

Durante el porfiriato se favoreció la entrada al país de inversiones extranjeras, como se sabe, acaparaban la casi totalidad de la infraestructura, el petróleo, la banca, las minas, ciertas industrias, el comercio de importación-exportación y el comercio al mayoreo. Este último sector estuvo controlado principalmente por alemanes, franceses y españoles. Por otro lado, las inversiones mexicanas únicamente eran mayoría en la agricultura, las artesanías, las viviendas y el comercio al menudeo. En este último ramo también había extranjeros, se trataba de inmigrantes turcos, judíos y chinos que no se habían dedicado a la agricultura, como eran los planes del gobierno mexicano, sino a un sector que les ofrecía mayores ventajas.

Del total de inversiones hechas en el año de 1910, más de la mitad eran de origen extranjero. Hay que detenerse en ese dato significativo; mientras que para ese año las inversiones extranjeras alcanzaban el 67% del total, la población de ese mismo origen no llegaba ni al 1% (0.76%). Con estos datos se puede comprender mejor la formación de una élite de extranjeros, su cercanía al grupo gobernante y su influencia económica y social.

En 1895 vivían en el D.F. 9 003 personas nacidas en el extranjero. Su procedencia era la siguiente:

	porcentajes	totales
Europa	82.33	7 413
América	16.87	1 519
Asia	0.58	53
Otras procedencias	0.19	18

Para 1900 el número de nacidos en el extranjero había ascendido a 13 239 y se distribuían de acuerdo a su procedencia, como sigue:

	porcentajes	totales
Europa	77.88	10 311
América	20.72	2 744
Asia	1.2	161
Otras procedencias	0.17	23

Para finales del porfiriato, en 1910, se registran 25 872 nacidos en el extranjero que se distribuían así:

	porcentajes	totales
Europa	73.3	18 967
América	17.67	4 573
Asia	7.	1 808
Otras procedencias	2.	524

Un primer acercamiento a estos tres censos permite observar que de 1895 a 1910, el número de extranjeros en el D.F. crece constantemente. Entre ambas fechas el aumento es de un 187.3%. Durante este periodo la población extranjera también había aumentado notablemente en el resto del país. De 57 588 que eran en 1900 pasaron a 116 347 en 1910, lo que significaba un aumento del 102%.

Todos los grupos de inmigrantes crecieron, pero no a un mismo ritmo. Los europeos, que sin lugar a dudas fueron mayoría aplastante, disminuyeron su importancia relativa de 82.33% a 73.3%; mientras que los asiáticos aumentan del 0.58% al 7%. Los americanos, por su parte, oscilan del 16.8% al 20.72%, para colocarse finalmente en un 17.67%.

Por lo que respecta a la población europea en estos años, encontramos que en 1895 se compone como sigue:

	porcentajes	totales
España	55.63	4 124
Francia	22.12	1 640
Alemania	8.03	596
Inglaterra	5.59	415
Italia	5.66	420
Otras procedencias	2.94	218

Para 1900 es:

	porcentajes	totales
España	61	6 302
Francia	16.2	1 671
Alemania	7.9	785
Inglaterra	6	642
Italia	5.78	596
Otras procedencias	3.22	333

Para 1910 es:

	porcentajes	totales
España	64.46	12 227
Francia	10.59	2 009
Alemania	6.88	1 305
Inglaterra	5.13	974
Italia	3.93	747
Otras procedencias	8.90	1 705

Lo primero que destaca en esta información, es el predominio de los europeos occidentales. Seguidamente es notoria la gran mayoría de españoles que mantienen un constante incremento, absoluto y relativo; durante todo el periodo los franceses que les siguen en importancia numérica, aunque muy de lejos, si bien aumentan en números absolutos, disminuyen su importancia relativa, lo mismo sucede con los alemanes. Los ingleses aunque aumentan en números absolutos, oscilan en su importancia relativa, lo mismo sucede con los italianos

Otro dato interesante es el aumento de los inmigrantes considerados en el rubro "otras procedencias", que se incrementa por un notable aumento de inmigrantes procedentes de: Austria, Holanda, Dinamarca e Islandia, Suiza y Turquía europea, básicamente.

Por lo que respecta a la inmigración americana, para el periodo 1895 a 1910, encontramos el siguiente comportamiento:

	porcentajes	totales
1895:		
Norteamérica	90	1 368
Guatemala	2.43	37
Otras procedencias	7.50	114
1900		
Norteamérica	77.15	2 117
Cuba	12.57	345
Guatemala	2.22	61
Otras procedencias	8.05	221
1910		
Norteamérica	66.58	3 045
Cuba	17.58	804
Guatemala	4.94	226
Otras procedencias	10.89	498

Los inmigrantes norteamericanos constituyen la mayoría y crecen constantemente en números absolutos, sin embargo, en términos relativos pasan de representar el 90% a sólo el 66.58%. Ello se debe a la presencia de los cubanos, importante y en aumento desde 1900, y también al aumento constante, aunque modesto de los procedentes de otros países americanos.

Por lo que respecta a los inmigrantes de origen asiático para el mismo periodo, encontramos las siguientes procedencias:

	porcentajes	totales
1895		
China	81.13	43
Japón	18.86	10
1900		
China	72.04	116
Japón	9.31	15
Arabia	18.63	30
1910		
China	81.96	1 482
Japón	13.93	262
Turquía asiática	4.09	74

Sin duda en este caso lo más notable es el importante aumento de la población china. Buena parte de los extranjeros europeos y norteamericanos residentes en la ciudad de México durante el porfiriato, se establecieron definitivamente en el país, algunos se casaron con mexicanas y muchos de ellos se naturalizaron mexicanos, pero siguieron siendo considerados como extranjeros. La conservación de su carácter de extranjeros fue favorecida por ese racismo que forma parte de la ideología de la clase dominante mexicana que, a cambio del desprecio al indígena, admiraba todo lo europeo. El

extranjero era el depositario de todas las virtudes que no tenía el indígena: trabajadores, honestos, inteligentes, fuertes, aptos para el desarrollo de las técnicas modernas y ágiles para los negocios. Razones por lo que los residentes franceses, ingleses, etcétera, no sintieron ningún interés por asimilarse, por el contrario tendían a conservar sus diferencias culturales, debido a que ellas contribuían a mantener su situación de privilegio.

Revolución

Los inmigrantes que llegaron a México a partir de la segunda década del siglo, encontraron un país convulsionado por la revolución. La lucha armada (de 1910 a prácticamente 1920) afectó en varios sentidos a la población extranjera residente. Les causó pérdidas económicas debido al abandono de trabajadores que se incorporaron a la revolución; daños a sus propiedades a causa de ataques armados de los contingentes en pugna; padecieron también la imposición de préstamos por alguno de los bandos; sufrieron agresiones de bandidos y del pueblo que en algunos casos fueron fatales.² Debido a estos factores se registró un descenso en el número de nacidos en el extranjero residentes en el país. La mayoría de los extranjeros asesinados fueron norteamericanos (550), le siguieron los árabes, chinos y españoles.³ Algunos de los muertos eran inversionistas o latifundistas que durante el porfirismo habían gozado de privilegios y protección y que en la revolución fueron atacados por el pueblo que mezclaba sus sentimientos nacionalistas con el odio de clase.

El censo de 1921, a pesar de que sabemos que no es muy preciso, muestra necesariamente las tendencias de la población extranjera en el país durante el periodo revolucionario. A nivel nacional el número de personas nacidas en el extranjero disminuye de 116 347 a 108 433, es decir disminuye en un 6.8%. Por lo que respecta al Distrito Federal, durante el mismo periodo, se ve disminuir drásticamente el proceso de crecimiento de los 15 años anteriores, y si bien se da un discreto aumento al crecer la población de origen extranjero de 25 872 a 27 307, éste apenas significa el 5.54%.

Para 1921 la composición de la población nacida en el extranjero que habita en el Distrito Federal es como sigue:

	porcentajes	totales
Europa	72.3	19 745
América	19	5 191
Asia	8.3	2 285
Otras procedencias	0.3	86

Estos datos ponen de manifiesto que en números absolutos hay un discreto aumento de europeos, americanos y asiáticos, sin embargo, en términos relativos los europeos disminuyen al pasar de representar el 73.3% al 72.3%, mientras los americanos pasan de representar el 17.67% al 19% y los asiáticos del 7% al 8.3%. Los asiáticos, pues, siguen en aumento.

En cuanto a la población nacida en Europa, encontramos la siguiente composición:

	porcentajes	totales
España	68.53	13 533
Francia	10	1 975
Alemania	8.48	1 675

²Archivo General de la Nación. Fondo Gobernación. Periodo Revolucionario. Comprende información de 1909 a 1919, en la que abundan las reclamaciones, protestas y denuncias de extranjeros.

³Apud Moisés González Navarro, *Población y sociedad en México (1900-1970)*, t. II, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974, p. 77.



Inglaterra	3.83	758
Italia	3.58	708
Otras procedencias	5.55	1 096

De tal suerte, franceses, ingleses, italianos y los incluidos en el rubro “otras procedencias”, disminuyen su número en términos absolutos y relativos, mientras alemanes y españoles ven aumentar los propios aunque sea modestamente.

El incremento de alemanes pudo deberse a su salida de los Estados Unidos durante la Primera Guerra Mundial. En marzo de 1917 se reportó la llegada de los alemanes procedentes de Estados Unidos, de donde, bajo sospechas de ser traidores habían sido despedidos de fábricas, negocios y oficinas públicas. También salieron hombres de negocios que veían peligrar su vida. La prensa mexicana dio publicidad al hecho, censurando de paso la actitud del gobierno norteamericano y viendo con simpatía a los alemanes. Esta posición reflejaba los últimos conflictos entre el gobierno norteamericano y el mexicano, conflictos que se habían suscitado debido a su intervención, abierta y velada, de los norteamericanos en los asuntos internos de México. Las intromisiones norteamericanas tenían la finalidad de proteger sus intereses económicos y de conservar su influencia sobre la política mexicana puestos en peligro por la revolución. Se decía que los inmigrantes alemanes procedentes de los Estados Unidos eran gente adinerada y que se dirigían hacia el centro del país. Esta corriente migratoria se dispersó por toda Hispanoamérica.⁴

La otra parte de esta inmigración estuvo formada por personas de distintas nacionalidades, generalmente recién llegadas a los Estados Unidos, que evadían la obligación de cumplir con el servicio militar, puesto que en ese momento hacerlo significaba ir a combatir a Europa. No todos los inmigrantes se sentían lo suficientemente obligados con su nuevo país como para perder la vida por él y prefirieron huir hacia México. Ellos, al igual que los alemanes, pudieron ingresar al territorio nacional sin dificultad, incluso los que carecían de documentación. Esto fue posible debido a la tolerancia de los inspectores mexicanos de migración que los veían con simpatía por los motivos antes señalados. Se llegó a dar el caso de que se consultara si estas personas podían ser consideradas como refugiados políticos.⁵

Es muy posible que parte de esta inmigración no fuera registrada oficialmente, los datos que de ella tenemos ha sido recopilada, principalmente a través de entrevistas a informantes judíos. Por lo que respecta a los inmigrantes de origen americano encontramos las siguientes procedencias:

	porcentajes	totales
Estados Unidos	55.31	2 873
Cuba	17.68	918
Guatemala	6.95	361
Argentina	3.06	159
Otras procedencias	15.41	889

Observamos entonces que los nacidos en los Estados Unidos disminuyen tanto en términos absolutos como relativos, pero se siguen conservando como el grupo ampliamente mayoritario, a pesar de que en general aumenta la población nacida en otros países americanos y particularmente los mencionados.

⁴Jalisco, *Diario de la tarde*, Guadalajara, Jal., 20, 22 y 31 de marzo de 1917.

⁵El inspector de migración de Matamoros consideró que los que huían del servicio militar de los Estados Unidos no eran simples inmigrantes y preguntó si se les podía dar la categoría de refugiados políticos. *AGN. Fondo Gobernación. Periodo revolucionario*, caja 10, expediente 25.

Por lo que respecta a los extranjeros nacidos en países asiáticos encontramos la siguiente composición:

	porcentajes	totales
Turquía ⁶	59.73	1 365
China	29.05	664
Japón	10.63	243
Otras procedencias	0.56	13

Lo que llama la atención al respecto es la aparición importante de los turcos y la disminución también importante, en términos absolutos y relativos, de los chinos. Los japoneses, por su parte, aunque disminuyen en términos relativos, en números absolutos permanecen casi inalterables.

Es posible observar que durante el periodo revolucionario los extranjeros propietarios procedentes de países industrializados fueron momentáneamente ahuyentados del país, en tanto que chinos, sirios, libaneses y judíos, insertos en el comercio al menudeo, permanecieron y aprovecharon la favorable coyuntura económica que les proporcionó la lucha armada.

Estos inmigrantes que llegaron al país a partir de la década de 1910, encontraron condiciones favorables para su inserción económica ya que a consecuencia de la guerra civil el comercio y la industria se encontraban en mal estado, y algunas redes de aprovisionamiento se habían interrumpido. La situación fue agravada porque con la Primera Guerra Mundial se cortaron las importaciones de algunos artículos que suplir y había desaparecido la competencia que significaban los productos norteamericanos y europeos. Más adelante, el aliciente fundamental para el desarrollo de la producción lo constituiría un mercado interno en franca expansión. En resumen, había un amplio campo para la industria y el comercio.

La inmigración en la década de 1920

Durante la década de 1920 llegaron al país grupos de inmigrantes procedentes de Europa Oriental, árabes y asiáticos. Se trataba en general de inmigrantes que originalmente se dirigían hacia los Estados Unidos y que tuvieron que desviarse hacia otros países debido a la política migratoria cada vez más restrictiva de ese país. En el año de 1907 se prohibió el ingreso de los enfermos de tracoma y en 1917 se decretaron leyes que prohibían la entrada a personas con deficiencias físicas, mentales o de instrucción, y a los económica y políticamente indeseables.⁷

Las leyes mexicanas no eran muy rigurosas en este sentido y bastaba con pagar una multa para ingresar al país. Los informes de los agentes aduanales mexicanos los reportaban y solamente se pedía autorización para imponer una multa de \$200.00.⁸

La imposición de cuotas en Estados Unidos que determinaban por nacionalidad el número de inmigrantes, obligó a las que quedaban fuera de ellas a buscar otro país. México era el más cercano y además ofrecía la posibilidad de servir de trampolín para ingresar más adelante a los Estados Unidos. En la *American Immigration Quota Act* de 1921 se preveía no aplicar la cuota a los inmigrantes con un año de residencia en México. Esta disposición fue enmendada en 1922, aumentando el periodo a cinco años y, finalmente, en 1928 fue abolido todo privilegio para los residentes en México. Cuando se

⁶En el censo de 1921 se toma como lugar de nacimiento a Turquía, pero como nacionalidad aparece la sirio-libanesa.

⁷M. Wischnitzer, *To dwell in safety, the story of jewish migration since 1800, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948, p. 142.*

⁸En el año de 1913 la multa a enfermos de tracoma ascendía a \$200.00 y en los informes no se le daba a este padecimiento una significación especial como impedimento para entrar al país. AGN: *Fondo Gobernación, Periodo revolucionario*, caja 32, expediente 17 y caja 116, expedientes 8, 9 y 10.

les cerró esta posibilidad, muchos de los que cumplían sus cinco años de residencia, decidieron permanecer definitivamente en el país.

Esta inmigración fue posibilitada por la política migratoria mexicana que durante mucho tiempo no tuvo restricciones. A partir de 1926, con la Ley de Migración, se inició la tendencia a reducirla. Esta política, durante el gobierno de Obregón, limitó el ingreso de asiáticos y amplió el catálogo de enfermedades que eran motivo de rechazo (incluía a enfermos contagiosos, epilépticos, locos o con algún defecto físico que los imposibilitara para el trabajo). No se aceptaba a menores de edad, ancianos y mujeres solas, a los analfabetos, toxicómanos y personas sin capital. En la legislación de 1928 se estableció el impuesto al inmigrante y se fijaron los términos de inmigrante-trabajador, colono⁹ y turista. De 1926 a 1931, la inmigración se restringió aún más y la selección casi se basó en criterios raciales; se rechazó a negros, chinos, indobritánicos, sirios, libaneses, armenios, palestinos, árabes y turcos. Los que quisieron entrar tenían que demostrar poseer un capital mínimo de diez mil pesos.

Durante la crisis de 1929 se aplicó el artículo 65 de la Ley de Migración, el cual prohibía temporalmente la entrada a extranjeros. Estos cambios en la política migratoria mexicana correspondían a las nuevas condiciones del país. Ya no se creía, como en el porfiriismo, que la inmigración era necesaria: la mano de obra nacional era abundante y barata e incluso excedía los requerimientos de la industria. Entonces, según el criterio oficial, la llegada de los extranjeros no era deseable ya que podría contribuir a acentuar la insuficiencia de empleos. Pero, con todo y política migratoria restrictiva, la inmigración durante la década de los 1920 siguió aumentando. Este crecimiento se explica en buena medida por el hecho, ya aludido, de que por ese entonces los Estados Unidos, principal punto de acción para los inmigrantes, les cerraban sus puertas. También influyó que México atravesara por una época de recuperación económica y ofreciera oportunidades de movilidad social.

El censo de 1930 muestra, a nivel nacional, un notable aumento del número de extranjeros, se alcanza la cifra de 140 590, con lo que se supera en un 20.66% la alcanzada en 1910 y en un 29.65% la de 1921. Por lo que respecta al Distrito Federal, el número de población nacida en el extranjero pasa de 27 307 a 37 598 entre 1921 y 1930, lo que significa un incremento del 26.74%.

Para 1930 la procedencia de los extranjeros que viven en el Distrito Federal es como sigue:

	porcentajes	totales
Europa	70.1	26 358
América	17.93	6 742
Asia	11.55	4 345
Otras procedencias	0.4	153

Con respecto al censo anterior llama la atención lo siguiente: aunque en términos absolutos los europeos se incrementan, en términos relativos ven disminuir su importancia de un 72.3% a un 70.1%, y lo mismo sucede con los americanos que pasan del 19% al 17.93%. Por su parte los asiáticos logran un incremento al pasar de 8.7% al 11.55%.

Por lo que respecta a la población nacida en Europa hay cambios significativos en su composición. Ahora encontramos:

	porcentajes	totales
España	57.89	15 259
Alemania	8.82	2 325

⁹*Inmigrante-trabajador* es el extranjero que se va a dedicar temporal o definitivamente a los trabajos corporales mediante un salario. *Colonos* son los que vienen a radicarse en una región determinada para dedicarse, por su cuenta, a la agricultura o la industria. *Apud* Moisés González Navarro, *op.cit.*, p. 34-36.

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Francia	6.91	1 823
Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas	6.89	1 817
Polonia	4.9	1 292
Italia	2.98	787
Inglaterra	2.75	726
Otras procedencias	8.83	2 329

Seguramente lo más importante al analizar esta composición es la irrupción de europeos orientales. rusos y polacos pasan a representar casi el 12%, mientras, a excepción de los alemanes, los europeos de las demás procedencias ven disminuir su importancia relativa.

Respecto a los inmigrantes de origen americano encontramos las siguientes procedencias:

	porcentajes	totales
Estados Unidos	57.89	3 903
Cuba	14.89	1 004
Guatemala	5.85	395
Argentina	2.69	182
Otras procedencias	18.65	1 258

Observamos, entonces, que hay un aumento en términos absolutos de prácticamente todas las procedencias de América, sin embargo, los norteamericanos logran un incremento en términos relativos, mientras Cuba, Guatemala y Argentina sufren una disminución.

Respecto a la población nacida en países asiáticos encontramos lo siguiente:

	porcentajes	totales
Siria	41.35	1 797
China	17.76	772
Arabia	11.89	517
Líbano	8.95	389
Turquía	8.58	373
Japón	7.59	330
Otras procedencias	3.84	167

Lo que se pone en primer plano es la diversificación de los lugares de procedencia y un claro predominio de los sirio-libaneses. La irrupción en el plano nacional de inmigrantes sirios, libaneses, polacos y rusos, tuvo una pronta respuesta en la opinión pública mexicana. No se trataba de la emigración europea tan deseada décadas atrás; la gran mayoría de los recién llegados no se dedicó a la agricultura; no traían grandes capitales y casi todos se dedicaron al comercio ambulante. Lo peor de todo ello es que compitieron con éxito con los comerciantes establecidos, mexicanos y extranjeros. Un nuevo elemento se integró a la tradicional lucha entre grupos comerciantes: la xenofobia.

En las primeras décadas del siglo hubo una lucha muy fuerte entre los comerciantes establecidos y ambulantes por el control del mercado interno. Testimonio de ello es la existencia de agrupaciones que defendían sus intereses, cada una con sus propios argumentos de defensa y ataque. Unos y otros acudían a las instancias más altas (gobernadores, secretarios de Estado y presidencia) para protestar o pedir protección.¹⁰

¹⁰ AGN. *Fondo Gobernación, Periodo revolucionario*, caja 64, expediente 1. Se trata de un grueso expediente que contiene quejas y peticiones de los agentes viajeros agrupados en la sociedad mutualista de agentes y exagentes viajeros de la República Mexicana, dirigido al secretario de Estado y despacho de Gobernación, el 9 de diciembre de 1912.



La pugna se centraba en la cuestión: libertad de tránsito de mercancías y de empresas en todo el territorio nacional, contra la conservación del monopolio de plazas de provincia en manos de comerciantes locales. Los comerciantes ambulantes (algunas veces bajo la forma de agentes viajeros) alegaban a su favor que la competencia era necesaria para sanear la economía, cuestión que redundaría en beneficio del público consumidor.

Los comerciantes establecidos defendieron la legitimidad de su exclusividad sobre los mercados locales, argumentando que su posición era el producto de años de esfuerzo y de trabajo. Alegaban a su favor que el pago de impuestos eran en beneficio de toda la nación, en tanto que los comerciantes ambulantes, que eludían esta obligación, defraudaban al fisco.

Uno de los rasgos más importantes que revistió esta lucha entre los comerciantes para la década que estamos tratando, fue la xenofobia. Los comerciantes locales encontraron en la nacionalidad un recurso a su favor para atacar a sus competidores; transformaron un conflicto meramente comercial en una aparente defensa de los intereses nacionales. De esta manera buscaban encontrar más aliados en su lucha contra los comerciantes extranjeros al identificar su interés particular con el de todos los mexicanos.



Alicia Gojman Goldberg*

Inmigración de judíos a México en el siglo XX. Estudio de caso. La naturalización de extranjeros

El presente trabajo forma parte de una investigación más amplia que sobre la comunidad judía de México estamos llevando a cabo. El propósito del mismo es analizar y explicar el desarrollo e integración de esta minoría étnica a la sociedad mexicana contemporánea. La primera parte, que se refiere a la inmigración de los judíos a nuestro territorio, se ha llevado a cabo mediante la búsqueda de fuentes secundarias y primarias, como son el Archivo General de la Nación, el de Relaciones Exteriores, así como los testimonios de la primera generación de inmigrantes, desde fines del siglo pasado hasta mediados del presente.

Así que esta ponencia forma parte de un trabajo más amplio que pretende analizar, como primer apartado, el impacto y la influencia de la presencia de inmigrantes judíos dentro del contexto nacional. En particular en esta parte que se va a presentar, se han analizado los expedientes que en el Archivo General de la Nación aparecen en el ramo de *Gobernación*, en la *División General de Gobierno, Sección de Naturalización de Extranjeros*. Como muestra se analizaron los expedientes de solicitud de naturalización de los años de 1925 a 1927, de donde se extractaron los expedientes de los inmigrantes judíos, siendo éstos un número aproximado de 280 expedientes. De ahí se extrajeron varios rubros que más adelante presentaremos, que son un total de trece puntos de donde se concluyó la estadística porcentual de las diversas características básicas de estos inmigrantes; para que en la conclusión final de este trabajo se puedan utilizar para determinar el papel que dentro de la sociedad mexicana del siglo XX ha desempeñado esta minoría étnica.

El trabajo consta de tres apartados que son:

1. Movimientos migratorios en el mundo a partir del siglo XIX. Las migraciones judías.
2. La inmigración a México.
3. El análisis de los expedientes de naturalización de extranjeros en México, de 1925 a 1928.

Movimientos migratorios

A partir del siglo XIX una gran ola de movimientos migratorios se dio sobre todo en Europa y Asia. Esta fue llamada, según Rupert B. Vance, la época “Dorada” de la migración, fenómeno único de la historia de la humanidad que no se había dado con anterioridad, ni se volvería a dar después.¹ Más de 60 millones de europeos abandonaron sus hogares para lanzarse al otro lado del océano, hacia lo que llamaron los “tres mundos nuevos”: Norteamérica, América Latina y Australia.

Estos movimientos se debieron a varios factores de tipo económico, político y religioso, los cuales se podrían resumir en general en los siguientes puntos:

- a) Las continuas guerras en los países europeos.
- b) El consecuente servicio militar obligatorio.

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¹Rupert B. Vance, "Prerequisites to immigration elements of national policy", University of North Carolina, in *Selected Studies of Migration since World War II*, Milbank Memorial Fund.

- c) La crisis de desocupación industrial.
- d) Las malas cosechas y el empobrecimiento agrícola.
- e) La intolerancia religiosa y política.

Todas estas causas obligaron a que grandes núcleos de población emigraran hacia países donde pudieran encontrar fuentes de trabajo y una mayor libertad religiosa. Estos movimientos ocurrieron en lo que ahora se considera como una época sin política migratoria, es decir, la población decidía emigrar y los gobiernos lo permitían; y, por el otro lado, los países que los recibían, no estaban en el plan de “escoger” a los inmigrantes y de fijar las cantidades de entrada al país. Esto aunado a que había una gran falta de organización en todo el proceso.² Alemania fue uno de los países donde la emigración masiva se inició desde fines del siglo XVIII; otros fueron Rusia, Austria, Hungría, España, Inglaterra, Siria, Líbano y Polonia. La mayor ola de migración se registró entre los años de 1880 y 1914 y dentro de este movimiento se inscribe la emigración judía.

Las causas que motivaron esta emigración se encuentran dentro de las causas generales, sobre todo son de índole económica, demográfica, política y religiosa. En cada caso depende del país de origen y esto determinó a su vez la dirección de la emigración. Sobre todo estos grupos se dirigieron hacia países que les ofrecían mejores condiciones de vida.

Los movimientos migratorios masivos de judíos partieron de Europa central, a raíz de las guerras napoleónicas y de la consecuente reestructuración de los países europeos. El principal movimiento fue el de los judíos alemanes, cuya corriente se incrementó entre los años de 1840 y 1860, periodo de la contrarrevolución en los estados germánicos y el Imperio Austro-Húngaro; siendo la más significativa la de 1870, año en el que como resultado de la Guerra Franco-Prusiana principió la emigración de judíos franceses. Algunos historiadores han relacionado la inmigración en gran escala de judíos alemanes con la revolución de 1848 y han atribuido la migración en masa de los países de Europa Oriental a los *Pogroms* rusos de 1881 y a las leyes de mayo de 1882.³ Aunque no todo es totalmente cierto, lo que no cabe duda es que en el año de 1848 hubo un fuerte impulso en busca de libertad; y en Austria, especialmente, surgió un movimiento llamado “hacia América”, organizándose muchas sociedades para promover la emigración hacia los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. No obstante fueron pocos los judíos que partieron hacia allá o a Inglaterra como resultado de la revolución, y algunos de los que lo hicieron terminaron por regresar.

Las migraciones judías de Europa Oriental estaban en plena marcha desde 1860 y se acrecentaron después de 1869. Debido a la atracción de la Revolución Industrial norteamericana después de la Guerra Civil, a la mayor facilidad y rapidez de los viajes por mar, al hecho de que las propias compañías de navegación enviasen a sus agentes para gestionar la inmigración, y a las nuevas facilidades acordadas por las organizaciones de beneficencia judías para apoyar a los inmigrantes; el número de éstos hubiese ocurrido sin duda, inclusive sin el violento cambio político que significó la ascensión al trono del zar Alejandro III. En realidad, aquél fue el periodo del crecimiento vertiginoso de la “nueva inmigración”, proveniente de Austria, Hungría, Italia y Rusia. Este movimiento migratorio asumió proporciones tan vastas que casi es posible compararlo con las migraciones bárbaras al final de la antigüedad. En los 24 años anteriores a la Primera Guerra Mundial, es decir, en menos de una generación, un 34% de la población judía de Europa emigró de un continente al otro.

A estas migraciones es necesario añadir las incontables multitudes que se trasladaron de un país al otro dentro de Europa misma. Hasta 1914 no había en el mundo limitaciones para la emigración e inmigración, salvo en casos muy especiales como los

²*Ibidem.*

³Haim Avni, *Un pueblo en marcha: las migraciones judías internacionales a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX*, (inédito).



enfermos, criminales o anarquistas. Hasta ese año el promedio de las migraciones en condiciones libres era de:

1840- 1880	5393
1881- 1900	38225
1901- 1914	114 460. ⁴

Estas migraciones estaban dirigidas básicamente hacia países en franco desarrollo económico. Aun en los años de guerra se señala que la inmigración era de 15 000 personas anualmente, lo que significa que en esos años peligrosos, las necesidades eran tan urgentes que las personas arriesgaban todo para escapar del infierno europeo.

Apenas concluida la guerra la inmigración judía aumentó, así nos encontramos con 150 000 inmigrantes en el primer año (considerando la llegada a los Estados Unidos, Palestina y Sudamérica); y de no haber sido por las medidas restrictivas dictadas inmediatamente, la emigración hubiera aumentado. Gran Bretaña adoptó su Acta Antiextranjera en el año de 1903 y tras algunos años de vacilación, los Estados Unidos siguieron su ejemplo. En 1924 después de algunos años de debates, se promulgó en los Estados Unidos el primer sistema de cuotas asignando porcentajes especiales a los distintos países.

Un año después, es decir, en 1925 el segundo sistema de cuotas se dio en este país, lo que interrumpió bruscamente la inmigración. Esto afectó principalmente a los países de Europa oriental, de donde provenía el 95% de los inmigrantes judíos.

De 1926 a 1930, la inmigración decayó bruscamente, de más de 150 000 personas en el primer año después de la guerra y de un promedio anual de más de 85 000 durante los primeros cinco años, a menos de 35 000 por año.⁵

Los Estados Unidos, que hasta fines del siglo XIX habían recibido cerca del 90% de todos los judíos inmigrantes, admitieron de 1931 a 1935 un número inferior al 8% o sea menos de 4 000 inmigrantes por año. En el mismo lustro Palestina admitió un promedio de 30 000 por año y cerca de dos terceras partes de todos los inmigrantes judíos. De cerca de 4 millones de inmigrantes judíos, los Estados Unidos acogieron más de dos tercios, o sea el 71.5%, le sigue Palestina que en todo el periodo recibió aproximadamente un décimo o sea el 9.7%; en tercer lugar figura Argentina con cerca del 5% de todos los inmigrantes judíos; y los demás países admitieron apenas contingentes reducidos de judíos, entre ellos México.

En los años más trágicos de 1926 a 1942, los Estados Unidos recibieron 224 000 inmigrantes judíos, mientras que Palestina admitió 268 000. Gran Bretaña y Estados Unidos, las dos grandes democracias del mundo, abrieron paso así a las políticas antiinmigratorias de la mayor parte de los países del hemisferio occidental y del resto del mundo. A fines de la década de los veinte y a principios de la década siguiente, los judíos de Polonia, Hungría y Rumania buscaban en vano vías de escape. Sólo Francia favoreció la inmigración durante la década de los veinte, pero en los años más críticos se hizo más selectiva.

Con el advenimiento de Hitler al poder, la búsqueda de vías de escape se hizo doblemente apremiante. El presidente Roosevelt ordenó a sus cónsules en el extranjero que interpretasen las leyes en la forma más liberal posible y mucho antes del *Anschluss* de 1936 fusionó a Austria en la cuota asignada a Alemania. Las comunidades judías de todo el mundo empezaron a preocuparse seriamente por encontrar puertos de asilo para los *ghettos* europeos, pero las grandes negociaciones internacionales no pasaron mucho más allá de la mera conversación. Conferencias internacionales especiales, como las convocadas en Evian, Francia, en 1938 y en la Bermudas en 1943, degeneraron en sociedades de libre debate. La actitud predominante fue quizá expresada por el representante de Australia

⁴ Yaacov Lestchinsky, *Nos caminhos da diáspora*, Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Judaicos, Sao Paulo, 1974, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 6

que dijo que “su país no tenía problema racial propio y no quería crearlo admitiendo a una gran número de judíos”.⁶

Durante los años de 1933 a 1941 el número de refugiados judíos deportados llegó a ser de 1 400 000 a 1 800 000 lo que constituyó, por tanto, del 8.4% al 10.5% de la población judía del mundo, calculada en 16 700 000.

En relación con la población judía de Europa (calculada en cerca de 9 000 000), los refugiados forman de un 15.5% a un 19.5% del total. En otras palabras, de cada 13 o 10 judíos en el mundo y de cada 7 o 5 judíos europeos hay un refugiado, proporción no igualada en cualquier otro grupo en el mundo occidental.⁷

Aparte del prolongado cierre de las fronteras de Palestina a una inmigración judía en gran escala, y por el “Libro blanco” de 1939 hasta la creación del Estado de Israel en 1948, todas las naciones perseveraron en su política fundamentalmente restrictiva.⁸

Inmigración a México

Desde el año de 1865 llegaron a México representantes de organismos europeos y norteamericanos con el propósito de estudiar las condiciones mexicanas para una posible colonización e instalación de refugiados. Estas visitas aumentaron durante el porfiriato, después de la revolución y luego a raíz del nazismo.⁹

Así varias organizaciones judías se dedicaron a investigar las posibilidades que México ofrecía a los inmigrantes y sobre todo la viabilidad de una colonización agrícola en algún lugar de la república.¹⁰ Se hicieron algunos intentos para tal propósito pero los resultados fueron infructuosos. Ejemplo de ello fueron los esfuerzos realizados en Baja California, Tabasco, Jalisco, Durango y otros lugares.¹¹

La política porfirista otorgó una serie de facilidades para estimular al incipiente capital nacional y atraer al extranjero. Esta política atrajo a capitalistas del exterior entre ellos judíos europeos (ingleses y franceses) y estadounidenses, quienes invirtieron en sectores económicos con algunas actividades, como la construcción de ferrocarriles. Estos inversionistas no se establecieron en forma permanente en el país.

En 1908 se elaboró la Ley de Inmigración de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, en la cual se empezó a hacer una selección de la inmigración. Y para 1910 según el censo de población eran inmigrantes extranjeros de origen europeo el 50%, el 47% provenía de los Estados Unidos y el 3% restante de países asiáticos. A México llegaron tres corrientes migratorias de judíos según su lugar de origen y éstas son las siguientes:

1. La corriente ashkenasita
2. La corriente sefaradita.
3. La corriente de Siria.

Los judíos que llegaron de Europa oriental formaron la inmigración ashkenasita; los de habla ladina formaron el segundo grupo y generalmente venían de Turquía, Grecia o los Balcanes. Y el tercer núcleo provenía de Damasco o Alepo, en Siria.

Se les llama ashkenasitas a la primera corriente porque su origen es germánico y sefaraditas a todos los descendientes de los judíos españoles.

⁶*Proceedings of the Intergovernmental Committee, Evian July 6th to 15th, 1938, Verbatim Record of The Plenary Meetings of the Committee, Resolutions and Reports, July 1938.*

⁷Arieh Tartakover *Los refugiados judíos*, México, 1943, p. 3.

⁸Baron W. Salo, *La época moderna*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Paidós, 1965, pp. 158-168.

⁹M. Rabi Zielonka, *The Jews in Mexico*, reprinted from the year books, Central Conference of American Rabbis, v. XXXIII, 1923.

¹⁰Entre ellas se encontraban las siguientes: Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) Industrial Removal Office (IRO), American Jewish Committee, American Joint Distribution Committee (JOINT), Bnai Brith.

¹¹Corinne Krause, *The Jews in Mexico, a History with special emphasis on the period from 1857 to 1930*, University of Pittsburg, 1970, pp. 224, 249, 252.

En proporción al número de inmigrantes que llegaron a costas americanas, el número de los que llegaron a México fue muy pequeño. Sin embargo, este pequeño número de inmigrantes fue un fiel espejo de los movimientos migratorios judíos de principios de siglo.

Los primeros inmigrantes judíos llegaron a México a partir de 1880, en su mayoría de Europa central y occidental, a veces directamente y en otros casos por los Estados Unidos. Estos inmigrantes que llegaron lo hicieron con una gran cautela y sin identificarse plenamente. La época virreinal y el desarrollo de la intolerancia hacia cualquier otra religión que no fuera la católica, provocó ese tipo de reacciones. Los viejos odios y supersticiones representaron fuertes obstáculos para una inmigración en gran escala hacia el país. En el año de 1859 se dio la Ley de Tolerancia de Cultos, la cual abrió nuevas perspectivas a los inmigrantes no católicos. Así del Imperio Ruso llegaron algunos entre los años de 1880 a 1889. En esta época se inició la inmigración de los judíos provenientes del Imperio Otomano; entre 1890 y 1905 de Siria en especial y entre 1905 a 1910 de Turquía y Grecia.

A causa de los *pogroms* de 1903 a 1906 se produjo un nuevo éxodo de judíos rusos y se canalizaron esfuerzos para que vinieran hacia México, ya que los Estados Unidos empezaban a restringir la entrada. El presidente Díaz mostró entusiasmo por esta inmigración masiva de judíos, pero no se les otorgaron concesiones territoriales ya que se favorecía más la inmigración individual que la colectiva.

La inmigración de judíos del Imperio Otomano se incrementó en la primera década del siglo XX por la propaganda difundida en Constantinopla para atraer judíos turcos a México; y por el establecimiento en aquel país del servicio militar obligatorio.¹²

Durante los gobiernos de los presidentes Alvaro Obregón (1920-1924) y de Plutarco Elías Calles (1924-1928), las puertas del país permanecieron abiertas para los extranjeros. Desde 1921 se presentaron proyectos de registro de entrada y salida de nacionales y extranjeros.¹³ Así en su informe de 1925 el presidente Calles decía:

Se ha exigido que los inmigrantes además de otros requisitos que deben cumplir exhiban la suma de 200 pesos cada uno y los fondos necesarios para llegar al punto de su destino dentro del territorio nacional. Se ha establecido el sistema de tarjetas de identificación que se extienden generalmente a los turistas, de los que se lleva un registro especial y se tiene en estudio un nuevo sistema de tarjetas de esa clase que indefectiblemente dará mejores resultados que el actual.¹⁴

Y en su informe del 1 de septiembre de 1927 agregaba:

De manera especial y como fuente de conocimientos oportunos se ha organizado la compilación y clasificación de los datos relativos a personas que entran y salen de la República, de tal manera que para los fines inmediatos de la administración se disponga de una estadística al día. Esta labor cuya base ha sido la formación de un Censo General de Extranjeros, es la mejor orientación para que el gobierno vaya fijando nuevos lineamientos en su política de migración...¹⁵

A partir de auge petrolero en Tampico, hacia 1921 muchos extranjeros ingresaron a México. Algunos lo hacían sólo por el interés de lograr la naturalización para con ella poder luego solicitar la entrada a los Estados Unidos.

En 1926 se emitieron leyes migratorias restrictivas reforzadas en 1930 como producto de la crisis económica mundial de 1929. A partir de 1926, se autorizó a la Secretaría de Gobernación para decidir la entrada de inmigrantes, en ella se pedía que los que llegaran

¹²*Ibidem*, pp.83-87.

¹³Moisés González Navarro, *La colonización en México, 1877-1910*. El Colegio de México, 1980, p. 58

¹⁴*Los Presidentes ante la Nación, 1821-1966*, México, Cámara de Diputados 1966, v. III, Informe de presidente Plutarco Elías Calles, el 1 de septiembre de 1925.

¹⁵*Ibidem*, Informe del 1 de septiembre de 1927.

al país poseyeran un capital suficiente para su sustento y el depósito de fondos necesarios para su repatriación. Se estimuló la entrada de inversionistas con un capital mínimo de 20 mil pesos, sobre todo para negocios agrícolas e industriales. Se insistió en la prohibición de la inmigración polaca ya que los que se encontraban en el país se dedicaban “exclusivamente al comercio ambulante”.¹⁶

Se encuentra en el AGNM, 1937, una solicitud para que emigraran 15 000 judíos polacos a México, la cual también fue denegada, aludiendo que eran malos elementos para el país.¹⁷

A partir del año de 1934 la política migratoria respondió en gran medida a los postulados del Partido Revolucionario Institucional plasmados en las campañas presidenciales y donde se postulaba un gran nacionalismo.¹⁸ Las medidas migratorias estaban estrechamente relacionadas con las normas y restricciones tomadas por el gobierno norteamericano, además de las condiciones del país.

Dos años después, en 1936, se dio a conocer la Ley General de Población en donde se prohibía el ejercicio de profesiones liberales a los extranjeros, sólo cuando fuera necesario para el país. Asimismo se introdujo una cuota de inmigrantes que era variable anualmente y dependiente de la posibilidad de asimilación racial y cultural para evitar que esos movimientos poblacionales se convirtiesen en factores de desequilibrio social.¹⁹

La Secretaría de Gobernación debía aplicar las medidas necesarias para lograr la asimilación de tales grupos a la sociedad mexicana y entre ellas estaba la de la naturalización en plazo corto, es decir, el aprender el idioma del país, el tener acceso a centros de educación y después de cinco años de estancia, de concederles los derechos de residencia definitiva, obteniendo la categoría de “inmigrados”.

La Ley de Extranjería y Naturalización de 1886 que estuvo vigente hasta el año de 1934 proponía los siguientes elementos para lograr la naturalización de extranjeros:

1. El derecho de los extranjeros a vivir en el país.
2. El considerarles mexicanos por el hecho de adquirir bienes raíces en México.
3. El ser colonos contratados por el gobierno.
4. El tener hijos nacidos en el país,
5. El declarar que no se quería conservar su nacionalidad u omitir hacer la manifestación relativa.²⁰

Durante el gobierno del presidente Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940), se presentó un cambio en la política demográfica del país y se confió en el crecimiento natural de la población, más que en la inmigración extranjera. Excepcionalmente en los años de 1938-1940, México recibió una gran cantidad de inmigrantes de diversas nacionalidades, especialmente alemanes y españoles que ingresaron al país en calidad de asilados políticos, unos por ser perseguidos por la política antisemita del régimen nazi, y los otros por apoyar la república española.

A pesar de las cuotas restrictivas y diferenciales, en situaciones excepcionales como fue el caso de los refugiados provenientes de los países afectados por las dictaduras fascistas, la ley se modificó para aceptar a los sobrevivientes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, que querían refugiarse en México, entre los cuales llegaron aproximadamente uno 800 judíos.²¹

¹⁶González Navarro, *op. cit.*, p. 43

¹⁷AGNM Cárdenas 546. 6/97. Solicitud de una colonización polaca en México que fue rechazada por el secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, E. Hay.

¹⁸Osorio Marbán, pp.336-375, p. 385-601 y 909-964.

¹⁹T. Peña de la Moisés, "Problemas demográficos y agrarios" en *Problemas agrícolas e industriales de México*, II, p. 158.

²⁰C. Echanave, *Manual del extranjero*, México, Porrúa, 1974, pp.267-281.

²¹Sara H. Lesser, *A history of the Jewish Community of Mexico City, 1912-1970*, New York University, 1972, p. 78.

Según las estadísticas se naturalizaron entre los años de 1928 y 1952, 30 560 extranjeros, como mexicanos, de los cuales 13 453 eran europeos y lo hicieron sobre todo entre los años de 1939 y 1952.²²

De los años de 1921 a 1929 se registró sin embargo la mayor oleada de judíos hacia México, quienes en su mayoría venían de Europa oriental, entre 1921 a 1925 de Polonia primordialmente, y entre 1926 a 1929 de Rusia. Hasta el año de 1925 continuó también el ingreso de judíos provenientes del Imperio Otomano.

La invitación del presidente Calles atrajo a muchos inmigrantes, así en 1925 se registró la mayor cifra. Entre 1921 y 1924 ingresaron 1 850 judíos de Europa central y en 1925 fue de 2 131 decreciendo a 1 000 para los tres años siguientes y para 1929 sólo se admitieron a 875 personas, en su mayoría familiares de los ya establecidos.

Se calcula que ingresaron a la República Mexicana alrededor de 9 000 judíos de origen ashkenasita y 6 00 sefaraditas. Siendo 21 000 en total para fines de la década de los treinta.²³

Estados Unidos había establecido sus cuotas a raíz de la presión obrera ante la crisis económica, la desocupación y la saturación demográfica. De 3% que originalmente era, del total de extranjeros de cada nacionalidad, se redujo al 2%.²⁴

Naturalización de extranjeros de origen judío, 1925-1927

Al analizar la sección de Naturalización de Extranjeros en la Dirección General de Gobierno, del Ramo *Gobernación*, en el Archivo General de la Nación, se tomaron los casos de inmigrantes judíos que solicitaron su naturalización como mexicanos entre los años de 1925 a 1927; lo que nos arrojó un total de 280 expedientes aproximadamente. De ellos se analizaron los varios rubros que aparecen en cada uno, lo cual no llevo al análisis de trece en total que arrojaron porcentajes en cada caso y que nos han servido para detectar con más fidelidad la situación de estos inmigrantes y su posible adaptación a la sociedad mexicana moderna.

Los temas fueron los siguientes:

1. El origen de los inmigrantes.
2. Fechas de entrada al país.
3. Lugares de emigración o salida.
4. Puertos de entrada a México.
5. La edad de los inmigrantes.
6. Inmigrantes que portaban pasaportes u otros documentos.
7. Los barcos en los que llegaron al país.
8. Su ocupación al solicitar la naturalización.
9. Su estado civil.
10. Los lugares de residencia en la República Mexicana.
11. El capital declarado al momento de la naturalización.
12. Las relaciones con parientes o conocidos.
13. Los barrios donde se concentraron estos inmigrantes, según las ciudades donde se establecieron.

De acuerdo con los expedientes revisados, los judíos que se naturalizaron en estos años ingresaron al país desde 1892 hasta 1926. Ello nos demuestra que en algunos casos la naturalización fue posterior a los cinco años de estancia en el país y, en otros, como los que habían llegado en 1926, su naturalización se dio antes de esos cinco años, es decir, se

²²*Anuario Estadístico* de 1939, p. 208, 1951-1952, p. 186 y 1957, p. 169.

²³Krauze, *op. cit.* pp. 159 y 180:183

²⁴*Ibidem*, p. 158

dio al año de su llegada a México. Aunque en este último caso fueron los menos, podemos señalar aquí dos hechos interesantes: el primero es que el gobierno en estos años les daba la facilidad para su naturalización en corto plazo siempre y cuando reunieran los requisitos señalados anteriormente, cosa que no sucedería a partir de año de 1934, cuando estos procedimientos en muchos casos se hicieron más lentos; y, en segundo lugar, los mismos inmigrantes se tomaban algún tiempo, a veces mayor al fijado para solicitar su carta de naturalización, probablemente por falta de presión por un lado y por querer convencer de que era realmente México el lugar donde seguirían viviendo.

Los años en los cuales hubo mayor afluencia de inmigrantes a nuestro país, fueron en primer lugar el año de 1921, cuando llegaron el 26.95%; en segundo lugar en 1920 con un 12.19% y en tercer lugar en 1919 cuando de los 280 inmigrantes llegó un 7.31%. Cuando menos llegaron, fueron en los últimos años del siglo XIX y los primeros del XX, con un 0.81%. (cfr., tabla del apéndice).

El origen de estos inmigrantes era sobre todo de judíos de Europa oriental, de Rusia y de Polonia los cuales sumaban el 40%, sabemos que el final de la Primera Guerra Mundial se renovó la violencia contra los judíos y que desde 1918 se desató la violencia en Galitzia y Lemberg, ciudades polacas. En Ucrania se había levantado un movimiento popular que aspiraba a conquistar la independencia; y en el marco de la lucha del ejército rojo contra el ejército polaco, se dio una ola de asesinatos que llegaron hasta el aniquilamiento sistemático de comunidades enteras y por ende se dio una emigración masiva.

En el Imperio Turco los judíos que se alinearon a los turcos dominados por griegos (1919-1922), sufrieron los ataques de éstos últimos; pero no fue mejor su situación en la Turquía europea, ni en Rodas que pasó a poder de Italia.

Por estas causas emigraron muchos judíos de origen turco hacia México, siendo el 19.95% de todos los inmigrantes en esos años. Les seguían en orden de importancia los alemanes con un 10.73% y los austriacos, rumanos y húngaros con un 5.87%, 5.26% y 4.58% respectivamente. (cfr. apéndice).

Los lugares por donde lograron escaparse estas personas fueron sobre todo por Francia, por París o por el Puerto de Saint Nazaire; por Austria, por Retchnitz y Bochinia; en tercer lugar por Ucrania hacia Europa, por Smirna y Budapest.

Al llegar a México el puerto que recibió más inmigrantes fue Veracruz con un 76.99% de los mismos, luego el estado de Tamaulipas, es decir por Tampico y Laredo con un 7.62% en total y en tercer lugar a través de Sonora con un 5.89%, que probablemente eran los que no se podían quedar en los Estados Unidos.

La edad de los naturalizados fluctuaba entre los 15 y los 59 años. El porcentaje mayor se da entre los que tenían de 20 a 29 años con un 52.6%, en segundo lugar aparecen los de edad de 30 a 39 años con un 33.3%. Esto nos indica que la mayoría de estos inmigrantes eran gente joven, que eran los que más fácilmente se podían desplazar de un lugar a otro y que más se arriesgaban a emprender la aventura hacia tierras desconocidas, en busca de mejores condiciones de vida.

De todos estos inmigrantes sólo el 42.27% traía alguna identificación, es decir, pasaporte o cualquier otro documento. De este 42.2%, un 62.5% traía pasaporte emitido por algún cónsul europeo; sobre todo franceses y algunos alemanes, y el 37.5% traía otro tipo de documentación como eran actas de nacimiento o alguna matrícula escolar.

El Puerto de Veracruz desde mediados del siglo XIX ya recibía alrededor de 300 barcos anualmente. De los 20 barcos que localizamos en estos años, y que condujeron inmigrantes a la República Mexicana, los que venían con más frecuencia eran los buques franceses, entre ellos, el *Champagne*, el *Lafayette* y el *Espagne*; le seguían los holandeses entre los que se encontraban el barco *Frisia*, el *Ibisia* y el *Hollandia*. En tercer lugar aparecen las naves alemanas de nombre *Prinz Wilhelm*, *Holsatia* y *Cecilia*. Generalmente los inmigrantes viajaban en tercera clase, ya que por sus escasos recursos o porque el viaje les había

sido pagado por alguna institución de beneficencia, no podían aspirar a nada mejor. Estas organizaciones también preferían ayudar a más inmigrantes aunque éstos tuviesen que viajar incómodamente. Así nos dice uno de ellos: “ El trayecto era largo y penoso, duraba como 30 días hasta que veíamos algún puerto americano, la comida era insuficiente y de mala calidad”.²⁵

De las ocupaciones que se detectaron que ya realizaban los inmigrantes cuando solicitaron su naturalización fueron alrededor de 16, de donde podemos destacar que el 67% eran comerciantes, el 7% empleados de diversa índole y el 5% se dedicaban a la agricultura. Aunque hubo personas que llegaron ya con una profesión como la de ingenieros, profesores o médicos.²⁶ Otras actividades desempeñadas fueron la de artesanos, es decir, joyeros o peleteros y técnicos como plomeros o carpinteros en un pequeño porcentaje. De lo anterior podemos concluir que la gran mayoría eran o comerciantes ambulantes o pequeños comerciantes y que los industriales eran solamente un 1% de esta población. (cfr. apéndice)

Al llegar a México los inmigrantes se dirigían sobre todo a la capital donde se encontraban las instituciones de beneficencia o de ayuda para los recién llegados. Algunos decidían quedarse a radicar ahí, ya sea por el apoyo que recibían de parientes, o por haber encontrado una habitación en casa de algún correligionario.

Por las entrevistas orales realizadas con inmigrantes de esta generación sabemos que salieron a probar fortuna por toda la República. Pero los resultados que obtuvimos con la revisión de este archivo nos arrojaron datos concretos sobre su localización y el mayor porcentaje se localizó en el Distrito Federal, donde habitaban el 61.05% de estos inmigrantes, y en segundo lugar en Tampico con un 7.8%, y en tercer lugar en la ciudad de Monterrey, Nuevo León, con un 6.7%. Lo anterior nos da la pauta de que probablemente las campañas xenofóbicas que se dieron con mayor énfasis a partir del año de 1921, en muchos estados de la República Mexicana, repercutieron en la salida de los judíos de estos lugares con dirección a la capital, donde se sentían más protegidos por las autoridades.²⁷ Sin embargo, aunque en números pequeños, encontramos inmigrantes de origen judío en más de doce estados de la República, predominando sobre todo los del norte como Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, Baja California, Coahuila, Chihuahua y Sonora; ello quizá se deba a la cercanía con los Estados Unidos, a donde algunos todavía tendrían esperanzas de poder emigrar.²⁸

El 56.09% de los que arribaron a costas mexicanas, tenían relaciones o referencias de personas que ya se encontraban aquí; esto lo hacían manifiesto al solicitar su carta de naturalización, haciendo mención de sus nombres, ocupaciones y parentesco. Así como del capital que tenían al hacer su solicitud.

Si bien tenemos conocimiento de que la mayoría tenían el dinero para su entrada al país, es también evidente que su capital era muy reducido o nulo. Por tal motivo nos sorprende que ya para estos años de 1925 a 1927 contaran con un pequeño capital que iba desde los 100 pesos hasta los 50 000. El mayor porcentaje se refiere a aquellos que contaban con un capital que fluctuaba entre los 1 000 a los 9 000 pesos, es decir, un 42.85% y en segundo lugar se encontraban los que tenían un ahorro de 10 000 a 19 000 que significó el 26.75%; y sólo un 2.89% contaban con más de 40 000 pesos.

Lo anterior indica que estos inmigrantes al dedicarse en su mayoría al comercio ambulante, llevaron a cabo una actividad que no era común y tal vez sí necesaria y que llenaron un hueco dentro del incipiente desarrollo económico del país, logrando en un lapso bastante corto de tiempo acumular un pequeño capital.

²⁵Entrevista de historia oral a un inmigrante. Agosto de 1985.

²⁶Ver apéndice.

²⁷Alicia Gojman G., *Los movimientos nacionalistas de la clase media en México en el siglo XX*, 45 Congreso de Americanistas, Bogotá, Colombia, julio, 1985.

²⁸Entrevista con N. Backal de Hermosillo, Sonora, enero de 1984.

El último rubro que analizamos fue el de la localización dentro de ciertas áreas de las ciudades donde se establecieron, sobre todo en el Distrito Federal donde se concentraron por lo general en el centro de la ciudad en las calles de Honduras, Correo Mayor, Capuchinas, Justo Sierra, Mesones, Academia, Soledad y Corregidora. Tenían sus negocios en la parte baja y muchos de ellos habitaban en los altos. Aunque algunos ya tenían también sus casas en la Colonia Roma o Condesa en las calles de Chiapas, Colima y Guanajuato. Este mismo fenómeno se da también en los estados, donde los localizamos en el centro de las ciudades capitales.

Por otro lado, pudimos detectar que según el lugar de origen vivían en ciertas calles, desempeñando actividades similares como fue el caso de los originarios de Siria que se concentraban en las calles de Honduras, y los que provenían de Rusia o Polonia en las calles de Justo Sierra o Correo Mayor.

Conclusiones

1. La inmigración abierta de judíos a México se dio hasta los primeros años del siglo XX, entendiéndose por esto que llegaron a unas condiciones de libertad de cultos y sin temor a declararse públicamente como judíos. Los que llegaron en la época colonial a la Nueva España fueron solamente los conversos “judaizantes” que ni remotamente podían pensar en declararse públicamente como judíos, por las leyes imperantes y la presencia del Tribunal de la Inquisición. Y los que llegaron a mediados del siglo XIX, tampoco se pronunciaron abiertamente como judíos, tanto por la ley que declaraba a la católica como la única religión oficial como sus posibles derivaciones en persecuciones religiosas. En ese siglo, llegaron judíos en la corte de Maximiliano, así como inversionistas franceses e ingleses que nunca formaron una comunidad judía abierta y que una vez concluidos sus contratos regresaron a sus países de origen.

2. La inmigración de judíos en el siglo XX fue diferente, ya que sus móviles fueron otros, sobre todo por las pésimas condiciones económicas política y religiosas en sus países de origen. El judío que llegó a principios de siglo, proveniente de Siria o algún otro lugar del Imperio Otomano eligió a México como un lugar que le brindaba seguridad física y posibilidades de desarrollo económico. Como su idioma, además del árabe, era el francés, el aprendizaje del español y la adaptación al país le resultó más sencilla. Esto también se dio en el caso de los judíos sefaraditas. Los que llegaron de la Europa oriental, que arribaron al país un poco más tarde lo hicieron en la mayoría de los casos por el problema de la cuota implantada en los Estados Unidos y en un principio mantenían la esperanza de poder pasar hacia el país del norte. Como las condiciones en el país les fueron favorables y se dificultaba el paso por la frontera, decidieron establecerse definitivamente en México.

3. Fue hasta el presente siglo cuando en el año de 1912 se formó una comunidad judía en México, con pequeños grupos o instituciones según el país de origen y por ende de sus tradiciones.

4. La inmigración de judíos a México no fue muy numerosa, y eso se debe a dos razones fundamentales: a) en primer lugar, por las restricciones que el gobierno mexicano fue estableciendo a partir de la política antiinmigratoria declarada por Inglaterra y luego por los Estados Unidos. El no tener una planeación de la inmigración, es decir, no admitir colonizaciones agrícolas, pero tampoco fomentar mucho el desarrollo comercial e industrial del país; b) y en segundo lugar, los comisionados de las mismas instituciones judías que vinieron a México para auscultar las posibilidades de una emigración masiva de judíos hacia nuestro país, que dieron informes poco alentadores en ese sentido. Esto por supuesto cambió con el ascenso de Hitler al poder, donde como ya se dijo se dieron casos de excepción.

5. La violencia antijudía se desató después de la Primera Guerra Mundial, lo que provocó una emigración de judíos hacia el continente americano, sobre todo de Rusia y Polonia, que al no poder entrar a los Estados Unidos en esos años, de 1919 a 1921 pasaron a México, esperando conseguir sus cartas de naturalización en un plazo breve y así mediante ellas emigrar de nuevo.

6. Con la gran actividad desarrollada desde mediados del siglo pasado en el Puerto de Veracruz, es lógico suponer que por este puerto hayan llegado la mayoría de los inmigrantes, los cuales de ahí se distribuían a diferentes lugares de la república.

7. Al no tener México una política migratoria definida, no se exigían a los inmigrantes papeles de identificación o pasaportes, así que algunos los traían y otros no. Esto motivó que en la época del presidente Calles se elaborara un censo general de extranjeros y que se establecieran los requisitos concretos para admitirlos en el país.

8. Como los inmigrantes en su mayoría provenían del continente europeo es por ello que los barcos que hacían las travesías eran sobre todo franceses, holandeses y alemanes que además traían mercancías hacia América y llevaban correspondencia, haciendo con ello diversas transacciones comerciales.

9. El oficio más común entre los inmigrantes judíos fue el de comerciantes ambulantes, característica sui géneris de este grupo que no deseaba arraigarse a ningún lugar, ni tener bienes inmuebles por temor a las persecuciones. Y por otro lado, no fueron agricultores por no haberles permitido ningún gobierno adquirir tierras y mucho menos cultivarlas.

10. Como se pudo observar también el número de profesionistas era muy pequeño, y esto se debe en primer lugar a la pobreza en sí, y por otro lado al establecimiento del *numerus clausus* en las universidades, el cual limitaba la entrada de los estudiantes judíos a estas instituciones.

11. Aunque generalmente se dirigían primero a la capital para buscar ayuda y orientación de sus correligionarios, es evidente que un gran número se dirigió hacia la provincia, de donde tuvieron que salir por las campañas xenofóbicas o nacionalistas que se desataron sobre todo a partir de 1921.

12. La edad de los inmigrantes nos revela que éstos eran jóvenes y que en un gran porcentaje llegaban solos y que después de algún tiempo mandaban por la familia o por la novia.

13. Los inmigrantes que llegaron a principios de siglo lo hicieron buscando mejores oportunidades de vida, seguridad para sus personas y un mejor desarrollo económico. Llegaron a un país que los recibió sin grandes trabas y les ofreció todas las oportunidades para desarrollar sus capacidades sobre todo en el ámbito económico, social y cultural. La integración de estos inmigrantes no fue sencilla, sobre todo para aquellos que desde el idioma todo les era ajeno, pero que pusieron todo de su parte para lograrlo en corto plazo.

FECHAS DE ENTRADA AL PAÍS

Año		Año	
1892	0.81 %	1914	2.43 %
1900	0.81 %	1915	0.81 %
1902	0.81 %	1916	2.43 %
1904	4.87 %	1917	4.87 %
1905	1.62 %	1919	7.31 %
1906	2.43 %	1920	12.19 %
1907	3.25 %	1921	26.95 %
1908	0.81 %	1922	4.065 %
1910	1.62 %	1923	4.87 %
1911	0.81 %	1924	0.81 %
1912	3.25 %	1925	1.62 %
1913	4.065 %	1926	2.43 %

ORIGEN DE LOS EMIGRADOS

Rusos	19.95%
Turcos	19.95%
Polacos	18.85%
Alemanes	10.73%
Austriacos	5.87%
Rumanos	5.26%
Húngaros	4.58%
Lituanos	3.93%
Griegos	2.98%
Palestinos	2.98%
Norteamericanos	2.98%
Checos	0.97%
Franceses	0.97%

PUERTOS DE SALIDA (LUGARES)

París	Bucarest
Damasco	Saint Nazaire
Beirut	Smirna
Hungría	Estados Unidos
España	La Habana, Cuba
Retchnitz, Austria	Hamburgo
Bochinia, Austria	Puerto Rico
Ucrania	El Salvador
Puerto Llano, Rusia	

PUERTOS DE ENTRADA AL PAÍS (LUGARES)

Puerto (lugar)

Veracruz	76.99 %	Ciudad Juárez	2.91 %
Sonora	5.89 %	Baja California	0.89 %
Tampico	3.81 %	Tapachula	0.89 %
Laredo, Tamps.	3.81 %	Villa Acuña	0.89 %
Texas	2.91 %	Salina Cruz, Oax.	0.89 %

INMIGRACIÓN DE JUDÍOS A MÉXICO

421

BARCOS EN LOS QUE LLEGARON

(En orden de importancia)

España o Espagne (francés)
Frisia (holandés)
Prinz Wilhelm (alemán)
Champagne (francés)
Monterrey (norteamericano)
Celandia
Cuba
Lafayette (francés)
Cecilia (alemán)
Holsatia (alemán)

Spardaan
Ibisia y Hollandia (holandés)

Landero
Kui (japonés)
Frandre (francés)
Flandes (holandés)
Siboney (francés)
México (norteamericano)
Otro barco americano

EDAD DE LOS NATURALIZADOS

15-19 años	3.5 %
20-29 años	52.6 %
30-39 años	33.3 %
40-49 años	7.01 %
50-59 años	3.5 %

PERSONAS CON PASAPORTE U OTRO TIPO DE DOCUMENTOS (42.27%)

Con pasaporte	62.5% (de los anteriores)
Otros	37.5% (de los anteriores)

OCUPACIÓN EN MÉXICO AL NATURALIZARSE

comerciantes	67 %	profesores	1 %
empleados	7 %	pianistas	1 %
agricultores	5 %	hogar	1 %
ingenieros	5 %	carpinteros	1 %
sastres	3 %	joyeros	1 %
estudiantes	3 %	médicos	1 %
industriales	1 %	peleteros	1 %
militares	1 %	plomeros	1 %

ESTADO CIVIL AL NATURALIZARSE

Solteros	50.7 %
Casados	47.8 %



Divorciados 1.44 %

CAPITAL DECLARADO

100 a 900	12.8 %
1,000 a 9,000	42.85 %
10,000 a 19,000	26.75 %
20,000 a 29,000	8.26 %
30,000 a 39,000	2.89 %
40,000 a 49,000	2.89 %
50,000 o más	4.08 %

RELACIONES DE LOS NATURALIZADOS CON PARIENTES O CONOCIDOS EN EL PAÍS

50.09 % tenían relaciones o referencias de personas en el país

LUGAR DE RESIDENCIA EN MÉXICO

México, D.F.	61.05 %	Yucatán	1.61 %
Tampico	7.8 %	Chihuahua	1.61 %
Monterrey	6.76 %	Sonora	1.61 %
Baja California	5.78 %	Puebla	0.82 %
Veracruz	3.3 %	San Luis Potosí	0.82 %
Culiacán	2.4 %	Gómez Palacio	0.82 %
Michoacán	2.4 %	Cananea	0.82 %

CONCENTRACIÓN EN LAS CALLES DE LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO

Honduras	La Santísima
Correo Mayor	Donceles
Capuchinas	República del Salvador
Justo Sierra	Academia
Mesones	Soledad
Uruguay	Isabel la Católica



**Carmen Llorens F. y
Luis Méndez B.**

Burocracia, sindicalismo y seguridad social en México

Introducción

Abordar el estudio de la burocracia en México -generalmente repudiada como sector laboral ineficiente y pasivo, o en su otro extremo, considerada unilateralmente como clase política detenidora del poder- abre un importante campo a la investigación histórica. Para nuestro caso particular, este esfuerzo pretende como objetivo, el conocimiento de las condiciones laborales de los trabajadores al servicio del Estado, su particular ubicación jurídica, sus formas de organización y de lucha y su especificidad política, tomando como hilo conductor el problema de la seguridad social que, directa o indirectamente, se constituye desde la época colonial en la preocupación que vertebra la acción social y política de los empleados públicos en su contradictoria relación con la autoridad.

Consideramos que a través del concepto de seguridad social, es posible dar cuenta también de la evolución del aparato de Estado en México, principalmente a partir del movimiento armado de 1910.

El concepto de seguridad social no es unívoco, está determinado históricamente. Ha variado a través de los tiempos, perdiendo a veces su significación original y respondiendo a diversas circunstancias y factores de orden económico, político y social. Históricamente, la seguridad social surge a fines del siglo pasado como una respuesta a los efectos de la industrialización y como instrumento de mediación política para el mantenimiento y reproducción de la fuerza de trabajo. La tendencia a la universalidad, la generalización de la protección y la ampliación de la cobertura más completa a todas las eventualidades que pueden alterar el nivel de vida del trabajador y su familia, se presentan como las condiciones mínimas, que en determinado momento nos permiten hablar de la existencia de un régimen de seguridad social. Desde esta perspectiva, podemos distinguir diversas formas de protección social, algunas de las cuales se fundamentan en la idea de ayuda, como es el caso del mutualismo, la caridad, la beneficencia y la asistencia; y otras, en el deber y el derecho, ubicándose aquí la previsión, el seguro y la seguridad social.¹

La acción del mutualismo al igual que la de otros sistemas de protección, que recurren a la noción de ayuda, como la caridad y la beneficencia alcanzaban a un reducido grupo de personas, y las prestaciones a que daban lugar -entierro, socorro a viudas y huérfanos- tenían un alcance limitado, acorde a un modelo de desarrollo económico precapitalista. No obstante, estas primeras formas de protección tuvieron una gran trascendencia en el campo de la seguridad social, dado que sirvieron de base a otros sistemas más amplios que encontraron en ellas una fuente de inspiración. Todos estos conceptos, apenas esbozados, no son ajenos a nuestro país. El desarrollo de los diversos sistemas de protección social que preceden el surgimiento de la seguridad social, se expresan en el proceso histórico de México en forma similar a otros países, aunque con diferencias que reflejan las particularidades del propio proceso de industrialización de la nación, sobre todo a finales del siglo XIX. Asimismo, y por lo que se refiere al régimen de seguridad

¹F. Netter, *La Seguridad Social y sus Principios*, México, IMSS, 1982, 357 p.

social de los servidores públicos, éste no puede ser visto como un simple paliativo del Estado hacia sus trabajadores. Su surgimiento, desarrollo y consolidación, no son ajenos al movimiento sindical, que a partir del México posrevolucionario comienza a generarse entre los trabajadores al servicio del Estado, ni a los intentos que lleva a cabo el país por configurar su proyecto de nación.

La seguridad en México: una aproximación a su historiografía

El estudio de las instituciones de seguridad social en nuestro país no ha sido homogéneo para todas las épocas, dando por resultado que haya periodos de nuestra historia mucho más estudiados que otros. Nos encontramos así, con un abundante material bibliográfico sobre todo a partir del periodo colonial, y con escasa información con respecto a la etapa de Independencia-Reforma, e inclusive para el porfirismo o la Revolución de 1910. Por otra parte, en lo que se refiere a las instituciones de asistencia y seguridad social contemporáneas, la producción historiográfica es más numerosa, pero se encuentra generalmente supeditada a intereses institucionales.²

En la mayoría de las fuentes de carácter oficial sobre la materia, se considera que el desarrollo de la seguridad social en México obedece a un proceso lineal e ininterrumpido, pálido reflejo de lo que aconteció en países industrializados principalmente del centro de Europa. Desde esta perspectiva, el surgimiento de la seguridad social y en particular del régimen de seguridad social de los servidores públicos, se concibe vinculado al proyecto de nación avanzado, liberal, federalista, modernista y secular, que se va formando a través de los movimientos de Independencia, Reforma y Revolución.

Las fundaciones hospitalarias, las cajas de comunidades indígenas, los pósitos y los montepíos, se citan a lo largo de la historia del país, como los primeros esbozos de una previsión social. Sin embargo, se tiende a no diferenciarlos ubicándolos como parte de un mismo proceso. Una revisión de las instituciones de previsión y asistencia más representativas a partir del periodo colonial, refleja por una parte la finalidad política y religiosa, más que de beneficio social de algunas de éstas, así como lo limitado de sus alcances. Por otra parte, no todas las instituciones de previsión y asistencia mencionadas, llegaron a tener igual importancia en el contexto económico, político y social de la época. Así por ejemplo, en la Colonia los hospitales se desarrollaron no únicamente al calor de la protección virreinal o de la labor evangelizadora realizada por el clero, sino paralelamente al sistema económico imperante en la época y en este sentido intentaron dar respuesta a las necesidades de los núcleos de población que surgían junto con el fomento de la minería.³ Aunque resulta difícil medir el impacto social de estas instituciones, algunas intentaron rebasar el marco restringido impuesto por la época y buscaron ofrecer no sólo asistencia o auxilio en el caso de enfermedad o defunción, sino también protección contra el desempleo, como en el caso de las cofradías. Otras intentaron llevar a la práctica nuevos esquemas de organización comunal vinculados al sistema económico predominante, tal es el caso de los hospitales-pueblo que se desarrollaron en el centro del país durante la Colonia. Sin embargo, el marco jurídico que regulaba a dichas instituciones fue disperso y heterogéneo; la atención que brindaban no se generalizó y se limitó a beneficiar a sectores minoritarios de la población. Tal es el caso de los montepíos, cuyos beneficios sólo alcanzaron a empleados y funcionarios públicos de alta jerarquía.

Por otra parte, cabe resaltar que la mayoría de las instituciones de previsión y asistencia heredadas de la Colonia cayeron ante los embates del liberalismo y de una sociedad que iniciaba a mediados del siglo XIX, un acelerado proceso de secularización, aspecto que tendió a minar el sustento económico de dichas instituciones propiciando su decadencia.

²Sobre la Historiografía de la Seguridad Social en México véase Rosa María Meyer. *Instituciones de Seguridad Social*, México, INAH, 1978, 250 p.

³Josefina, Muriel. *Hospitales de la Nueva España*. México, Jus, 1959-1960, t, II, p. 264.

Esta aproximación a la historiografía de la seguridad social, no pretende agotar el tema y más bien apunta a la necesidad de profundizar en una revisión más exhaustiva sobre la materia, a fin de ubicar el surgimiento de la seguridad social en México desde una perspectiva histórica.

Burocracia, sindicalismo y seguridad social. De la Colonia al porfiriismo

El desarrollo de la seguridad social en México, no ha sido ajeno a los cambios políticos, económicos y sociales que han contribuido a conformar al país. El resultado de un primer acercamiento al estudio del marco jurídico y de las condiciones laborales de la burocracia, refleja que los cambios operados en dichos aspectos, no se dieron en forma aislada. Durante la Colonia, las formas de protección y asistencia a las clases desposeídas adquieren un sentido peculiar a través de la beneficencia, la cual se expresa no como una función exclusiva de un Estado en formación, sino como una labor de Iglesia amparada por el concepto de caridad. El cooperativismo predominante en la sociedad colonial y el tipo de organización política y administrativa contribuyeron, en parte, a conformar un marco jurídico disperso y heterogéneo con respecto a las instituciones de previsión y asistencia de la época. Asimismo, el crecimiento de la burocracia estuvo determinado, en parte, por factores externos que daban respuesta a las necesidades de control y dominación de la Metrópoli sobre colonias. El aparato de dominación colonial se sustentó en gran parte, en una burocracia que gozaba de prebendas y privilegios especiales. La provisión de puestos públicos provenía de España, y la mayoría de éstos se hicieron vitalicios y hereditarios. Si bien los altos puestos gubernamentales se encontraban acaparados por los españoles peninsulares, la existencia de puestos comprables permitió al criollo abrirse paso dentro de la estructura política y administrativa del momento, de tal manera que “a mediados del siglo XVIII, las 2/5 partes de los cargos públicos de la Nueva España estaban bajo su control”.⁴

La estructura interna del personal de la administración pública estaba formada por los ramos eclesiásticos, militar y civil. Tanto el clero como el sector militar, constituían en la Colonia y durante gran parte del siglo XIX, jerarquías privilegiadas con respecto al sector civil.

Las reformas políticas y administrativas llevadas a cabo por los Borbones en el siglo XVIII, orientadas a recuperar las atribuciones que los Habsburgo habían delegado en cuerpos y grupos, contribuyeron a la ampliación de la administración pública en su conjunto, con la creación de nuevos estancos, impuestos y monopolios manejados por el gobierno de la Nueva España. No obstante, la profusa reglamentación expedida durante esta época, no fue posible crear un cuerpo de funcionarios eficiente y honesto, y la concepción patrimonialista de los cargos públicos no sólo se vio reforzada, sino que fue heredada por el siglo XIX.

Por otra parte, la necesidad de prestar ciertas garantías a una burocracia en constante aumento determinan, en parte, el establecimiento a partir del siglo XVIII de los montepíos, instituciones de previsión obligatoria creadas bajo el patrimonio del gobierno colonial para proteger de la miseria a las viudas y huérfanos de los empleados públicos de los cargos civil y militar.

En la Nueva España se establecieron entre otros: el Montepío Militar (1761); el Montepío de Ultramar o Montepío de los ministros de Audiencia, Tribunales de Cuentas y Oficios de la Real Hacienda (1763) y el Montepío de los Empleados en las Escribanías de Cámara, de las Reales Audiencias y en otras Reales Oficinas (1776). Cada montepío se sujetaba a su propia reglamentación, sus fondos se constituían a través de descuentos sobre el sueldo del trabajador y también de recursos provenientes del erario público y del ramo eclesiástico. En cuanto al monto de pensión, ésta variaba desde la cuarta parte del

⁴Diego López, Rosado, *La Burocracia en México. Epoca virreinal*, México Secretaría de Comercio, 1980, p. 171.



Cuadro 1
Montepíos (siglo XVIII)*
Esquema general de prestaciones

Sujetos de derecho	Constitución del fondo	Administración del fondo	Beneficios Pensiones
Funcionarios y empleados del orden civil y militar, principalmente de alta jerarquía	Cuota de ingreso (un mes de sueldo, descontable en un año)	Órgano de gobierno: junta composición: 5 miembros (representantes del ramo, de los funcionarios y un director, nombrados por el virrey), duración en el cargo, 4 años	Pensiones en el servicio
Viudas, huérfanos y madres	Diferencias por ascenso (un mes de sueldo)		Montepíos en favor de viudas y huérfanos
Las pensiones no constituyen un derecho sino que son acordadas graciosamente por el gobierno, el cual puede revocarlas, suspenderlas o disminuirlas	Vacantes (tres meses de sueldo de las plazas vacantes por muerte)	Atribuciones:	Pensiones vitalicias, por eminentes servicios prestados a la patria
Pérdida de derechos: (por cargo o comisión, enjuiciamiento, pérdida de la nacionalidad, cambio de domicilio, ausencia del país durante más de seis meses, 50% de la pensión, los hijos hasta los 25 años o al adquirir empleo, las hijas al casarse o tomar estado religioso)	Descuento forzoso sobre el sueldo, variable de acuerdo al montepío	Administración del fondo y pago de pensiones	Monto: variable de acuerdo al montepío. Generalmente, cuarta parte del sueldo, o 75%. En el cálculo sólo se considera el sueldo base
	Ingresos provenientes de algunos ramos del erario público, que tenían fines piadosos	Si bien la junta tenía autonomía con respecto a la administración metropolitana, sus facultades se veían limitadas por la autoridad real	Los familiares obtienen el derecho de descuento al año

*Cada montepío se sujetaba a reglamentación especial. Para la elaboración del cuadro, se consideraron las características comunes en los principales montepíos existentes en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII que funcionaban como seguros.

**Para los empleados de menor jerarquía en la administración pública, se establece en 1776 el Montepío de los Empleados de las Escribanías de Cámara, de las Reales Audiencias y de otras Reales Oficinas.

***Como ejemplo, la media annata eclesiástica, entre otros.

suelo hasta el 75% de éste, sin incluir en el cálculo comisiones o sobresueldos. El pago de la pensión era considerado como una gracia o merced real y no como un derecho. Asimismo, sus beneficios eran limitados, principalmente a favor de funcionarios de cierta jerarquía en el ramo civil o militar.

La dirección de los montepíos, estaba formada por juntas representadas por la burocracia y por autoridades políticas generalmente nombradas por la Metrópoli. (Cuadro número 1)

El pago de pensiones figuraba en la deuda pública interna, durante gran parte del siglo XIX representó un peso importante en los egresos del gobierno. Sin embargo, el marco jurídico que regulaba el pago de las pensiones era disperso y heterogéneo. Para principios del siglo XIX, el beneficio se hallaba restringido a sólo los casos de suprema vejez o incapacidad absoluta, y los intentos promovidos por el gobierno para ejercer una acción más directa en cuanto al manejo de las pensiones no había logrado consolidarse.

A raíz de la Independencia, la nueva organización política presuponía la necesidad de un cambio en la estructura administrativa del país. Si bien durante gran parte del periodo se mantuvieron los rasgos del sistema político y administrativo heredado de la Colonia, se dieron cambios tendientes a lograr una mayor centralización y definición de las facultades administrativas, legislativas y judiciales del aparato político en su conjunto, facultades que durante la Colonia habían sido delegadas en cuerpos. Sin embargo, los vaivenes políticos de la época y el estancamiento económico del país, repercutieron sensiblemente en el sector burocrático de la época con bajos salarios e inestabilidad en el empleo.

Socialmente, al consumarse la Independencia, la burocracia se convirtió en el principal instrumento de movilidad social para sectores que durante la Colonia habían gozado de menos privilegios, como los criollos. Esta circunstancia favoreció a lo largo del periodo lo que el liberal José María Luis Mora definió como la empleomanía. En opinión de Mora era ésta una de las principales causas de inestabilidad política que vivía el país, “si la administración mexicana no procura eficazmente disminuir el número de plazas y empleados, reducir a una justa proporción los sueldos de éstos y vigilar escrupulosamente su conducta, el país se convertirá en un centro de facciones y proyectos revolucionarios que se reproducirán sin cesar y pondrán en riesgo por muchos años su tranquilidad interior”.⁵

La problemática referida se reflejaba, en parte, en el peso que tenían en el gasto público los gastos administrativos, éstos incluían también el pago de sueldos y pensiones a burócratas. A principios del siglo XIX, los gastos administrativos representaban el 88.4% del total de egresos del gobierno federal.

Por otra parte, durante casi todo el siglo XIX la guerra civil permanente y las frecuentes intervenciones extranjeras propiciaron un régimen de excepción para un sector de la burocracia: los militares.

En 1827, los gastos de guerra representaban el 72% del presupuesto total de los egresos de la federación y hasta finales del siglo XIX siguieron absorbiendo más del 40%.⁶ Este aspecto contribuyó, en parte, a que durante el siglo XIX las condiciones salariales del personal militar contrastaran con las del personal civil y que su número fuera casi tres veces mayor que el de los empleados de la rama civil. En su conjunto, el sector burocrático estaba formado a mediados del siglo XIX, por 97,851 servidores públicos, de los cuales 65,178 eran militares.

Salvo algunas disposiciones aisladas, a principios del siglo XIX no existía de hecho ningún ordenamiento jurídico que regulara plenamente las relaciones entre el gobierno de la Nueva España y sus servidores públicos. Asimismo, y en el marco del mutualismo de la época, en 1875 se constituye la primera Asociación Mutualista de Empleados Públicos, tal vez, el antecedente más lejano de organización formal del movimiento sindical de los trabajadores al servicio del Estado.

⁵José María Luis Mora, *México y sus Revoluciones*, México, Porrúa, 1965, t. I, p. 90-92.

⁶Diego López Rosado, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

Sin embargo, estos primeros intentos de organización no pudieron sobrevivir en el contexto de la dictadura porfiriana. Por otra parte, las condiciones internas creadas por la aparente paz porfiriana, favorecieron no sólo el desarrollo y la modernización de la administración pública, sino también el crecimiento de la burocracia. El flujo de capital extranjero permitió que se reanudaran las actividades agrícolas, mineras e industriales del país. Este, vivió un periodo de superávit de 1895 a 1910 que le permitió hacer frente a sus gastos, pagar con regularidad la deuda pública y emprender las obras públicas indispensables para apoyar el desenvolvimiento económico del país.

Esta situación propició en parte, la emergencia de una burguesía o clase media constituida por: empleados públicos, profesionistas, ejército, negociantes, e industriales. Asimismo, comparativamente con el ejército, el personal administrativo del ramo civil contó con mejores condiciones, ya que el primero fue objeto de un proceso de reestructuración y reducción, mientras que el personal administrativo aumentó y mejoró sus percepciones. Sin embargo, hasta principios de siglo, dos terceras partes del presupuesto del erario federal siguieron destinándose al pago de remuneraciones y haberes del ejército. Este representaba en 1895 el 55.81%, en 1900 el 60.5% y en 1910 el 57.4% con respecto al total de los servidores públicos en el país.⁷

Para el historiador Francisco Bulnes, la clase media que se desarrolla a partir del porfirismo cargó con el pecado de ser hija original del presupuesto público y no de una revolución industrial, “era un empleado público, recto, juicioso, leal a todos los gobiernos constituidos. Procreaba tranquilamente, educaba a sus hijos con ideas decentes, esperaba la vejez con la esperanza de que lo sostendría la nación a quien había servido y que al morir su familia quedaría al amparo del Estado del que recibía la pensión llamada Montepío”.⁸

En cuanto al régimen de protección social que el gobierno otorgaba a los servidores públicos, pese a que prevaleció una situación anárquica sobre la materia, en 1896 el gobierno de Porfirio Díaz reconoce la necesidad de reorganizar el sistema de pensiones: “Uno de los servicios administrativos más necesitados de que se simplifique su mecanismo, depurando y refundiendo previamente la legislación relativa es, sin duda, el ramo de montepíos, pensiones y retiros concedidos a las clases pasivas, civiles y militares”.⁹ Sin embargo, para este momento, el beneficio pensionario no es concebido aun como un derecho del servidor público, sino como una gracia vinculada a los servicios prestados a la nación, “los legisladores deben conceder en su oportunidad pensiones y recompensas proporcionadas a los servicios y merecimientos que las motiven”.¹⁰ En lo fundamental, la iniciativa porfirista no pretendía una reforma sustancial del sistema pensionario, se consideraba que esto debía reservarse a esfuerzos posteriores. La Revolución de 1910, vino a obstaculizar la situación general del país. Durante los primeros regímenes posrevolucionarios el beneficio pensionario continuó limitado a un grupo reducido de servidores públicos.

En el México postrevolucionario

La lucha revolucionaria de 1910 marcó el inicio de una nueva etapa en la historia de nuestro país. Los cambios jurídicos, políticos y sociales originados a raíz de dicho movimiento repercutieron sensiblemente en las condiciones laborales, y en formas de lucha de la burocracia. La administración pública se vio sensiblemente modificada en su estructura y funcionamiento, ante las nuevas facultades que la Constitución de 1917 otorgó al Ejecutivo quien a partir de dicho momento amplió su esfera de acción. Sin

⁷ *Idem*, p. 332.

⁸ Francisco, Bulnes. *El verdadero Díaz*, México, Eusebio Gómez editor, 1920, p. 47.

⁹ “Iniciativa sobre Montepíos, pensiones y retiros”. abril 9 de 1896, en *Memoria de la Secretaría de Hacienda*, p. 396.

¹⁰ *Idem*.

embargo, a pesar de este nuevo marco jurídico durante las primeras décadas del México posrevolucionario, el país encontró serias dificultades para su consolidación política y económica. Los primeros regímenes se enfrentaron a una realidad nacional que había heredado parte del esquema porfiriano, pero que al mismo tiempo tenía enfrente el reto del legado revolucionario. El caudillismo se perfiló durante gran parte del periodo como la única alternativa viable, sólo que tuvo que contar con el apoyo de las fuerzas obreras y campesinas que había liberado la Revolución. Gradualmente, la necesidad de transformar en acciones concretas el ideario social y económico contenido en la Constitución de 1917, se convirtió en requisito fundamental para la legitimación de los primeros gobiernos. La reforma agraria orientada hacia la configuración de la pequeña propiedad, al saneamiento de las fianzas nacionales y la creación del marco institucional que permitiera al país iniciar la obra de reconstrucción nacional definieron, en parte, el proyecto nacional del momento. Por otra parte, el proletariado mexicano empezaba a hacer sentir su presencia en la sociedad, a través de una gran variedad de sindicatos y agrupaciones obreras que compartían ideologías que iban desde el mutualismo hasta el anarcosindicalismo.

Asimismo, los trabajadores al servicio del Estado empezaban a tener una activa participación en las filas del movimiento obrero de la época. Sin contar todavía con organizaciones sindicales propias, la Unión de Carteros de la ciudad de México, los trabajadores de la Casa de Moneda, la Asociación de Telefonistas Mexicanos y los trabajadores Tranviarios, participan en la fundación de la Casa del Obrero Mundial en el año 1912, mientras que los trabajadores de los Establecimientos Fabriles y Militares -hoy industria militar- se incorporan como combatientes en los Batallones Rojos.

La política de reconstrucción nacional promovida por los regímenes emanados de la Revolución, actuó como principal estímulo en la expansión y el crecimiento de la burocracia. El auge de la explotación petrolera, el impulso dado a la educación, la creación de infraestructura y la reforma agraria, entre otros aspectos, apuntaron en dicho sentido.

Asimismo, a partir de la Revolución de 1910 la estructura interna del sector burocrático se vio gradualmente modificada. Si bien durante algún tiempo el sector militar mantuvo su papel preponderante con respecto a la rama civil, esta tendencia comenzó a revertirse a partir de los años 20 con la institucionalización y profesionalización del ejército promovida por la administración callista.

Para 1930, se podía observar un acelerado crecimiento de este sector. De acuerdo al Censo de Funcionarios y Empleados Públicos de ese año, cerca del 1% de la población del país lo constituían los empleados y funcionarios públicos. Sin embargo y a pesar de estos cambios, la inestabilidad política por la que atravesaba el país junto a la falta de recursos, siguió repercutiendo sensiblemente en las condiciones laborales de los trabajadores del Estado.

Frente a las conquistas del sector laboral en su conjunto, se encontraban desprotegidos y sin estabilidad en el empleo. Aun cuando se señaló la conveniencia de reglamentar en forma especial su situación particular, lo cierto es que quedaron excluidos de las medidas de protección social establecidas en el artículo 123 constitucional para los trabajadores asalariados. Por otra parte, el recién iniciado movimiento sindical de los trabajadores estatales era fuertemente atacado por varios funcionarios gubernamentales que veían en la unidad de los empleados públicos un peligro. A pesar de esto, la década de los años 20 vive el surgimiento de los primeros sindicatos de trabajadores del Estado: en 1922 el de Maestros en el estado de Veracruz y en 1924 la Unión de Empleados de Aguas Públicas en el Distrito Federal, entre otros.

La lucha sindical iniciada por los servidores públicos y la vinculación de este sector al aparato político y administrativo del Estado, que iniciaba en estos años un acelerado proceso de expansión impulsaron, en parte, la necesidad de ampliar el esquema de protección social de los trabajadores al servicio del Estado.

La ley General de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro de 1925

El 6 de junio de 1925, una comisión integrada por Maximiliano M. Chaubert, Miguel S. Macedo, Fernando de la Fuente y Mario Guasp, presentan al titular de la Secretaría de Hacienda, Alberto J. Pani, el proyecto para la creación de la Dirección General de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro.

La iniciativa se presentaba en el marco de condiciones difíciles para los servidores públicos, que se habían visto afectados por las medidas de racionalidad administrativa impuestas por el propio Pani, a fin de disminuir el desnivel presupuestal que afectaba a la administración callista. El proyecto que creaba la Dirección de Pensiones, venía a poner orden en lo que hasta entonces había sido un marco jurídico disperso y heterogéneo en cuanto al sistema de protección social de los trabajadores del Estado. Asimismo, la pensión no se considera sólo como una gracia que otorga el Estado, sino como “una de las condiciones aceptadas por la Administración Pública y los funcionarios que la sirven, y que es origen de mutuos derechos y obligaciones”.¹¹

El sistema de pensiones propuesto, eliminaba restricciones y hacía extensivos los beneficios a los familiares del servidor público al establecer la transmisión de pensión a los deudos del pensionista. Sus beneficios se harían llegar a todos los trabajadores de la rama civil, dejando al margen de éstos al ejército que a partir de este momento sería protegido por leyes especiales. Los beneficios de la nueva ley no incluían sólo pensiones, se establecía también que las cantidades sobrantes del fondo se emplearían en facilitar a los trabajadores la adquisición de casas y el establecimiento de pequeñas empresas agrícolas e industriales.

Sin embargo, el esquema de prestaciones contemplado por la Ley de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro de 1925, tendió a identificarse con el proyecto económico y de creación de instrucciones puesto en marcha por la administración callista, orientado fundamentalmente a apoyar la creación de la pequeña propiedad privada y a la expansión de la pequeña burguesía nacional. Dichos aspectos limitaron, en parte, los alcances de la Dirección de Pensiones, la cual se definió más como una institución de crédito y ahorro. Por otra parte, la ley excluyó de sus beneficios a los altos funcionarios, trabajadores por honorarios y eventuales; la devolución de descuentos para el trabajador y sus familiares no incluía el pago de intereses; los préstamos a corto plazo tenían que ser garantizados con prenda o fianza; y el arrendamiento de vivienda a los funcionarios públicos se obtenía con 3 años de servicios y sólo durante el tiempo en funciones. (Cuadro número 2)

Desde su expedición, la Ley de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro fue objeto de duros ataques por parte de algunos sectores de la burocracia, así como de diversas reformas tendientes a ampliar su cobertura y esquema de prestaciones. Cabe señalar que los intentos por conformar un esquema de seguridad social de los servidores públicos tuvieron un antecedente previo a la creación de la Dirección de Pensiones Civiles, con la constitución del 15 de junio de 1922 de la Confederación Nacional de Administración Pública (CNAP), “institución de carácter exclusivamente profesional, que pretende la realización de altos fines sociales y económicos, y que se ha establecido conforme a las leyes de la República para promover la prosperidad de quienes se consagran al servicio del Estado”.¹²

El surgimiento de la CNAP fue promovido por altos funcionarios de la administración pública y entre sus objetivos se planteaba el establecimiento de una sociedad mutualista orientada a dar protección a los servidores públicos en lo referente a: indemnización, en caso de cesantía, hasta por cuatro meses de sueldo; auxilio a los deudos en caso de

¹¹*Ley General de Pensiones Civiles y de Retiro. Exposición de Motivos.* Diario de Debates de la Cámara de diputados, diciembre de 1925.

¹²Acciones gremiales de la burocracia: la Confederación Nacional de la Administración Pública”, en Omar Guerrero Orozco; *Introducción a la Administración Pública*, México, UAM 1985, Colección de Textos Universitarios en Ciencias Sociales p. 321.

Cuadro 2

Cobertura	Cuotas	Prestaciones	Avances	Limitaciones
<p>– Funcionarios y empleados de la Federación y del Distrito y Territorios Federales, encargados de un servicio público (no militar)</p>	<p>– Sistema Bipartita. Descuento forzoso sobre los sueldos de los funcionarios de acuerdo a una cuota progresiva: teniendo como base el 3% a la edad de 18 años, hasta el 9.90% a los 55 años. Además del 10% del primer sueldo mensual en caso de ingreso o reintegro al servicio. Subvención del Estado: 3,000 pesos durante los tres primeros años de vigencia de la Ley. Del cuarto en adelante, contribución "Voluntaria" no menor al 5% de las aportaciones de los trabajadores en el año anterior.</p>	<p><u>Pensiones</u></p> <p>– Cobertura: Funcionarios a los 60 años de edad y 15 de servicio.</p> <p>• Deudos del funcionario (cónyuge, hijos, padres, nietos y hermanos del pensionista)</p> <p>– Montos</p> <p>• Funcionarios: 1.5% del producto disfrutado en los 5 años inmediatos anteriores multiplicado por el número de años de servicio. Deudos: 50% de la pensión. Cuota para los inhabilitados por causa del servicio: 50% del sueldo en disfrute. Por causa ajena al servicio: 1% del sueldo promedio de los cinco últimos años, multiplicado por el tiempo de servicios.</p> <p><u>Jubilaciones</u></p> <p>Retiro obligatorio a los 65 años de edad, sólo en casos excepcionales se podrá continuar hasta los 70 años.</p> <p><u>Préstamos a corto plazo</u></p> <p>Préstamos quirografarios a trabajadores con más de 5 años de servicio, garantizados con prenda o fianza, hasta por 3,000 pesos amortizables, en 30 meses, interés anual mínimo del 9% (destinado a establecer o explotar pequeñas industrias)</p> <p><u>Vivienda</u></p> <p>– Préstamos Hipotecarios Destinados a la compra de casa habitación o a su construcción de 5,000 a 15,000 pesos con 5 y 10 años de servicio respectivamente, amortizables a 10 años, interés anual mínimo del 9%. Construcción de casas habitación para venta, precio tope 5,000 pesos, amortizables en 10 años. Compra o construcción de departamentos para arrendamiento a funcionarios con 3 años de servicio, sólo durante el tiempo en funciones. Exención fiscal alas fincas y terrenos, propiedad de la Dirección de pensiones destinadas a construirse.</p> <p><u>Sociales</u></p> <p>– Gastos de funeral: El importe de 60 días de pensión.</p> <p><u>Regimen voluntario</u></p> <p>El funcionario podrá continuar gozando de los beneficios de la ley, aun después de separarse del servicio, dejando la totalidad de los descuentos en el Fondo de Pensiones y pagando la misma cuota decenal que cubría al separarse de su cargo.</p> <p><u>Devolución de descuentos</u></p> <p>Devolución de descuentos al funcionario y sus familiares sin intereses.</p>	<p>– Se fija la obligación por parte del Estado de contribuir a la seguridad y bienestar de sus servidores. – Se da coherencia a su esquema de beneficios principalmente pensionarios, disperso y heterogéneo. – Se eliminan restricciones, facilitando la transmisión de los beneficios pensionarios de los familiares del trabajador. – Se protege el poder adquisitivo del trabajador, procurando que el monto de las pensiones concedidas no exceda sus posibilidades económicas e incorporando como nueva prestación los préstamos a corto plazo. – Se buscan efectos adicionales que permitan apoyar el saneamiento financiero del Estado así como el proyecto de reconstrucción nacional posterior a la Revolución de 1910 mediante: el establecimiento de un sistema pensionario más sano y el apoyo al fomento de la pequeña propiedad agrícola e industrial.</p>	<p>– Sus beneficios no incluyen a los altos funcionarios, trabajadores por honorarios y eventuales. – La contribución de los trabajadores es superior a la del Estado la cual se establece más con un carácter "VOLUNTARIO". – Se deja sin protección: algunas necesidades urgentes como la atención de su salud y la de sus familiares. – Restricciones en algunos de sus beneficios: Los funcionarios que ingresan al servicio habiendo cumplido 45 años de edad no gozarán del beneficio de retiro voluntario; en el rubro de viviendas, el beneficio sólo se conserva durante el tiempo en funciones, y los préstamos a corto plazo sólo se obtendrán en fianzas. – No se contemplan prestaciones de carácter socio-cultural a excepción de los gastos de funeral. – La devolución de los descuentos no incluyen los intereses.</p>

defunción, asesoría legal, bolsa de trabajo, artículos básicos y vivienda así como “desarrollo intelectual y físico” para sus asociados.

La Confederación Nacional de Administración Pública (CNAP) se proponía también reforzar el espíritu gremial de sus funcionarios del Estado, “nadie que viva el momento actual, ignora la fuerza representativa de la asociación; la preeminencia de las clases sociales en el mundo entero depende ahora de su solidaridad; la CNAP ofrece esta oportunidad única para que los miembros de la administración pública constituyan la más poderosa de las asociaciones existentes en el país, y una de las más florecientes para el porvenir”.¹³

La inestabilidad política que vivía el país con los cambios de gobierno en los años posrevolucionarios, originó que muchos empleados públicos se acogieran a los beneficios de la Confederación.

La CNAP, estaba compuesta por varios cuerpos colegiados integrados por personajes de la época. A la cabeza de su Consejo Técnico se encontraba el entonces rector de la Universidad de México, Antonio Caso, quien fungía como presidente del mismo y entre sus miembros honorarios figuraba el presidente de la República, Alvaro Obregón. La creación de la CNAP fue acompañada también -en los primeros meses de 1922- por la creación de un ambicioso plan que preveía el establecimiento de una entidad académica destinada a formar altos funcionarios del gobierno: la Escuela de Administración Pública. Se consideraba que en poco tiempo la Escuela de Administración Pública podría ofrecer al Ejecutivo “un amplio contingente de servidores en quienes se reúnan competencia, honorabilidad, noción de deber, y concepto de la responsabilidad”.¹⁴

Tanto las acciones de la CNAP como las de la Escuela Superior de Administración Pública, tuvieron una acción limitada y se orientaron a beneficiar sólo a un determinado sector de la burocracia. No obstante constituyeron en su momento, proyectos de avanzada en la conformación de un esquema de seguridad social de los servidores públicos, así como en su profesionalismo.

La lucha sindical: hacia nuevas formas de organización

En la década de los años 30, los servidores públicos cuyas necesidades fundamentales no habían sido resueltas con la Ley de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro de 1925, continuaron en estos años su lucha por mejorar sus condiciones sociales y laborales. En 1931 se aprueba el proyecto de Ley Federal de Trabajo, que en lo general salvaguardaba los derechos obreros plasmados en el artículo 123 constitucional. Sin embargo, en dicho ordenamiento nuevamente quedan excluidos los trabajadores públicos, al estipularse en su Artículo 2 “que las relaciones entre el Estado y sus servidores, se regirán por las leyes de servicio civil que se expidan”.

Entre 1932 y 1935, se organizan nuevos sindicatos en algunas dependencias del gobierno como: los Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, el Departamento Central y Salubridad, entre otros, que pugnan por la expedición de un estatuto que garantizara sus derechos. La intranquilidad permanente y la presión ejercida por las nacientes organizaciones sindicales propician, en parte, que el gobierno de Abelardo L. Rodríguez expida el 12 de abril de 1934, el Acuerdo sobre Organización y Funcionamiento del Servicio Civil. En su exposición de motivos el acuerdo establecía la intención del Ejecutivo de abdicar a “la facultad constitucional que tengo de nombrar y remover libremente a todos los funcionarios y empleados de la administración [...] instituyo[...] un régimen interno que fija las normas para la admisión y nombramiento de los servidores del gobierno; se señalan sus derechos y obligaciones[...] y establece en su favor la garantía de que a partir de la fecha del presente acuerdo y hasta el día último de este año en que terminará mi ejercicio,

¹³ *Idem*, p. 322.

¹⁴ “La Escuela de Administración Pública”, en Omar Orozco Guerrero, *op. cit.*, p. 324

nadie será removido de su empleo sin causa debidamente comprobada ante las comisiones del Servicio Civil”.¹⁵

Por primera vez se logra regular la relación contractual entre los empleados públicos y el Estado; se limita el derecho presidencial de nombrar y remover libremente a sus empleados; se estipula la permanencia en el puesto de trabajo y se legaliza el derecho a la asociación de los trabajadores. Sin embargo, el carácter temporal del acuerdo -que sólo tuvo vigencia hasta noviembre de 1934- siguió causando intranquilidad entre los trabajadores al servicio del Estado.

Durante la administración del general Lázaro Cárdenas, la situación del empleado público seguía siendo difícil: bajos salarios, inestabilidad, carencia de derechos mínimos. Sólo en 1936, es despedido el 60% del personal empleado en las dependencias del gobierno federal. A pesar de ello el movimiento sindical de los servidores públicos seguía creciendo. Sin embargo, su impetuoso desarrollo no había permitido aún homogeneizar su lucha alrededor de un programa común. Carecían de una orientación precisa en cuanto a sus objetivos y sólo coincidían en la resolución inmediata de los problemas que afrontaban: reconocimiento a su personalidad jurídica, derecho a la organización, inamovilidad en el puesto, derecho al ascenso y mejores condiciones económicas. Con el fin de superar esta limitación, empiezan a ensayarse formas de organización que agrupan a varios sindicatos y uniones de empleados públicos. Así, surge la Alianza de Infanterías de Servidores del Estado; el Ala Izquierda de Empleados Federales, la Unión Nacional de Empleados de Gobierno y la Alianza de Organizaciones de Trabajadores del Estado (AOTE), esta última constituida el 8 de julio de 1935.

Desde su nacimiento, la AOTE se integra como miembro activo del Comité Nacional de Defensa Proletaria, organización que desembocará posteriormente en la creación de la confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM), de la cual formará parte. La fuerza y la presencia de dicha organización al interior del movimiento sindical de los burócratas, la llevó a proponer la realización de un congreso cuyo objetivo se orientaba a lograr la unidad de los sindicatos, uniones y alianzas de trabajadores públicos de la época. Es así que en agosto de 1936 se constituye la Federación Nacional de Trabajadores del Estado (FNTE). Desde su inicio se integra a la naciente CTM y adopta su lema: “Por una sociedad sin clases”. Se pronuncia por la incorporación de la burocracia a la Ley Federal del Trabajo y rechaza la pretensión de algunos legisladores interesados en expedir una Ley de servicio civil que impediría -entre otras cosas- la existencia de una organización sindical, y por tanto, su independencia del Estado. En su programa de lucha la FNTE pugnaba por: el reconocimiento de su personalidad jurídica; derecho a la libre organización; derecho a huelga; firma de contrato colectivo, e inclusión en la Ley Federal del Trabajo. En materia de seguridad social, su declaración de principios planteaba: el establecimiento de escalafón; seguro de accidentes del trabajo, desocupación, vejez y muerte; jornada de 40 horas y establecimiento de instituciones de crédito y servicios médicos para los trabajadores. En suma, la nueva federación exigía un tratamiento igual al resto de los trabajadores, según lo estipulado en el artículo 123 constitucional y en su ley reglamentaria.

El Estatuto de los Trabajadores al Servicio de los Poderes de la Unión y el Nacimiento de la FSTSE

Hasta este momento -1936- el movimiento sindical de los trabajadores del Estado se hallaba inmerso en la actividad y en la ideología del movimiento obrero en su conjunto. Los esfuerzos del gobierno por separarlos -concretizados fundamentalmente en su no consideración dentro de la legislación laboral vigente- no habían sido suficientes para evitar esta unión a la que sólo le faltaba la formalidad jurídica legalizarla. De aquí que la

¹⁵“Acuerdo sobre Organización y Funcionamiento del Servicio Civil”, Diario Oficial de la Federación, 12 de abril de 1934.

Cuadro 3
Ley del Instituto de Seguridad Social y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado (D.O., 30 de diciembre de 1959)

Cobertura		Cuotas	
<p>-Los trabajadores (no menores de 18 años) del servicio civil de la Federación, del Departamento del Distrito Federal y de los territorios federales.</p> <p>-Los trabajadores de los organismos públicos que por ley o por acuerdo del Ejecutivo Federal sean incorporados a su régimen.</p> <p>-Los pensionistas de las entidades y organismos públicos.</p> <p>-Los familiares derechohabientes tanto de los trabajadores como de los pensionistas.</p>		<p>-Sistema bipartita:</p> <p>-Descuentos forzosos sobre los sueldos de los funcionarios: 8%(2% para seguro de enfermedades no profesionales y maternidad; y 6% para cubrir servicios de reeducación y readaptación de inválidos, servicios culturales y de mejoramiento del nivel de vida del trabajador y sus familiares, capacitación y prestaciones económicas).</p> <p>-Aportación del Gobierno Federal, 12.5%(6% para seguro de enfermedades no profesionales y maternidad; 0.75% para cubrir seguros de accidentes de trabajo y enfermedades profesionales; y 6% para servicios de reeducación y readaptación de inválidos, servicios culturales y de mejoramiento del nivel de vida del trabajador y sus familiares, capacitación y prestaciones económicas).</p>	
Prestaciones			
Número	Seguros	Prestaciones	
<p>Se establecen con el carácter obligatorio 14 prestaciones:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Seguro de enfermedades no profesionales y de maternidad. Seguro de accidentes de trabajo y enfermedades profesionales. Servicios de reeducación y readaptación de inválidos. Servicios que eleven los niveles de vida del servidor público y de su familia. Promociones que mejoren la preparación técnica y cultural y que activen las formas de sociabilidad del trabajador y de su familia. Créditos para la adquisición en propiedad, de casas o terrenos para la construcción de las mismas, destinadas a la habitación familiar del trabajador. Arrendamiento de habitaciones económicas pertenecientes al Instituto. Préstamos hipotecarios. Jubilación. Seguro de vejez. Seguro de invalidez. Seguro por causa de muerte. Indemnización global. 	<p><u>-Seguro de enfermedades no profesionales:</u></p> <p>-Licencia con goce de sueldo si continúa la incapacidad, licencia sin goce de sueldo hasta por 52 semanas y subsidio en dinero (50%) del sueldo al ocurrir la incapacidad.</p> <p><u>-Seguro de maternidad:</u></p> <p>La mujer trabajadora, la esposa del trabajador o del pensionista y la concubina.</p> <p>-Asistencia obstétrica, ayuda para la lactancia en especie hasta por 6 meses y canastilla de maternidad al nacer el hijo.</p> <p><u>-Seguro de accidentes de trabajo y enfermedades:</u></p> <p>-Profesionales:</p> <p>-Se establece el seguro de accidentes de trabajo y enfermedades profesionales en favor a los trabajadores de acuerdo a lo establecido en este rubro por el Estado Jurídico de los Trabajadores del Servicio de los Poderes de la Unión y las leyes del Trabajo.</p> <p>-Se consideran como accidentes de trabajo los que se realicen en las circunstancias y con las características que especifican la Ley Federal del Trabajo, así como aquellas que ocurran al trabajador al trasladarse directamente de su domicilio al lugar que desempeñe su trabajo, o viceversa.</p> <p>-La calificación técnica de los accidentes y enfermedades del trabajador será realizada por el Instituto. En caso de inconformidad podrá designar un perito técnico-médico para que dictamine.</p> <p>-En caso de accidente o enfermedad profesional, el trabajador tendrá derecho a las siguientes prestaciones:</p> <p>-Asistencia médica, quirúrgica, farmacéutica, hospitalización y aparatos de prótesis y ortopedia.</p> <p>-Licencia con goce de sueldo íntegro cuando el accidente o enfermedad incapaciten al trabajador para desempeñar sus labores; pensión en caso de incapacidad permanente e indemnización equivalente a cinco anualidades si la pensión anual resulta inferior a 600 pesos.</p> <p>-En caso de muerte a consecuencia de un riesgo profesional: pensión del 100% en el primer año, 10% en el segundo año hasta llegar al 50%.</p> <p><u>-Indemnización global:</u></p> <p>-A los trabajadores que sin tener derecho a pensión, se separan definitivamente del servicio.</p> <p>-Monto: 6% de 1 a 4 años de servicio; más 2 meses del sueldo base, de 10 a 14 años de servicios.</p>	<p><u>-Jubilación:</u></p> <p>-A los 30 años o más de servicio e igual tiempo de contribución al Instituto, sin límite de edad.</p> <p>-Monto: 100% del sueldo regulador.**</p> <p><u>-Vejez:</u></p> <p>-A los 55 años de edad y 15 años de servicio.</p> <p>-Monto: Del 40% al 100% del sueldo percibido en los últimos 3 años.</p> <p>-La pensión no podrá ser inferior a 12 pesos diarios ni exceder del 100% del sueldo regulador. Tiempo de trámite 15 días a partir de la baja.</p> <p><u>-Invalidez:</u></p> <p>-A los trabajadores que se inhabiliten física o mentalmente por causas ajenas al servicio; a los 15 años de servicios. Trámite 15 días a partir de la baja.</p> <p>-Monto: Igual al de vejez.</p> <p><u>-Muerte:</u></p> <p>-En caso de muerte por causas ajenas al servicio, cualquiera que sea su edad a los 15 años de servicio.</p> <p>-A la viuda, a los hijos hasta 18 años, en caso de ser dependientes económicamente o estar inhabilitados física o mentalmente, la concubina (si tuvo hijos o vivió 5 años antes del deceso); el esposo siempre que la esposa trabajadora o pensionista fuera mayor de 55 años o estuviera capacitado para trabajar o dependa económicamente de ella y ascendientes dependientes económicamente del trabajador o pensionados, 5 años antes del deceso.</p> <p>-Monto: La misma que en la pensión de incapacidad.</p> <p>-Cada seis años se hará una revisión de las cuantías de las jubilaciones y pensiones para mejorarlas en caso de aumento en el costo de la vida.</p> <p align="right">*También asistencia médica, química y farmacéutica, hospitalización y aparatos de prótesis y ortopedia. **Sueldo regulador: el promedio de los sueldos disfrutados en los cinco años inmediatos anteriores.</p>	

Protección al salario	Salud	Vivienda	Sociales
<p>-Préstamos a corto plazo: -A los trabajadores de base, de confianza y supernumerarios: -A los 6 meses de servicio, mediante garantía, de 4 a 6 meses de sueldo. Descuentos no mayores al 50% del sueldo, pagaderos en 18 meses. Interés máximo del 8%. -No se concederá nuevo préstamo mientras permanezca insoluto el anterior. Posibilidad de renovación al transcurrir la cuarta parte del plazo, más el pago de una prima de renovación. -Establecimiento de almacenes y tiendas para "facilitar a los trabajadores pensionistas y familiares derechohabientes la adquisición a precios económicos de alimentos, ropa y artículos para el hogar señalados en un <u>cuadro básico</u> que establezca el reglamento respectivo". -Elaboración de estudios, por el Instituto, a fin de determinar las condiciones económicas de los trabajadores y sus familias.</p>	<p>-Asistencia médica, quirúrgica, farmacéutica y hospitalaria que sean necesarias desde el comienzo de la enfermedad y durante el plazo máximo de 52 semanas. -En caso de enfermos ambulantes cuyo tratamiento médico le impida trabajar, el tratamiento de una misma enfermedad se continuará hasta su curación. -La asistencia médica, quirúrgica, farmacéutica y hospitalaria se hace extensiva para los familiares del trabajador y del pensionista y a la mujer trabajadora. -Se establece un Reglamento de Servicios Médicos.</p>	<p>-Adquisición o construcción de casas para ser vendidas a precios módicos a los trabajadores. Plazo para cubrir el precio del inmueble, 15 años. -Adquirir o urbanizar terrenos destinados a construir unidades habitacionales en favor de los trabajadores. -El trabajador entrará en posesión de la habitación sin más formalidades que la firma del contrato respectivo. -En caso de verse imposibilitado a continuar pagando los abonos de 5 años -entrega del remanente- producto de la subasta pública del inmueble, una vez pagado el crédito. -Pago de sólo el 50% de los gastos notariales por el trabajador. -Beneficio extensivo a los pensionistas. -Préstamos hipotecarios para la: -Adquisición de terrenos en los que deberá construirse la habitación del trabajador. -Adquisición o construcción de casas que habilite el trabajador. -Para mejoras o reparación de las mismas. -Para redención de gravámenes sobre los inmuebles. -Elaboración de tablas para determinar las cantidades máximas que puedan ser prestadas a cada trabajador según su sueldo; las amortizaciones quincenales no deben sobrepasar del 50% del sueldo del trabajador. Monto: límite máximo 100,000 pesos, no excediendo del 80% del valor comercial fijado por el Instituto al inmueble. -Posibilidad de que el trabajador designe un perito, para el avalúo, además del asignado por el Instituto. -Exención fiscal para las casas adquiridas o construidas por los trabajadores.</p>	<p>-Atención a la necesidades de educación, alimentación, vestido, descanso y esparcimiento. -Establecimiento de: centros de capacitación y extensión educativa; guarderías y estancias infantiles; centros vacacionales; campos deportivos; almacenes y tiendas. -Adquisición o urbanización de terrenos destinados a construir servicios sociales en favor de los trabajadores. -Gastos de funeral (60 días de pensión).</p>
Avances		Limitaciones	
<p>-Se amplía integralmente el esquema de seguridad social del Estado. Junto a los beneficios pensionarios que lo protegen en caso de invalidez, vejez o muerte se advierte el propósito del estado de cuidar la salud y el poder adquisitivo de los trabajadores; mejorar su alimentación y vivienda y elevar su nivel sociocultural. -El sistema de contribución al Instituto se divide en forma más equitativa entre las entidades, organismos públicos y los trabajadores, quedando a cargo de estos últimos sólo el pago del 8% de sus salarios. -El seguro de accidentes de trabajo y enfermedades profesionales queda totalmente a cargo del Estado; el de enfermedades no profesionales y de maternidad se cubre en tres cuartas partes por las aportaciones de las entidades públicas y sólo una cuarta parte por el trabajador, en tanto que se mantiene el sistema bipartita para el pago de las cuotas de jubilaciones, pensiones y demás prestaciones. -Se reducen los requisitos en algunos rubros, se incrementan montos y se disminuyen los intereses en pensiones y jubilaciones y préstamos hipotecarios. -Los gastos de funeral no se descuentan posteriormente a los beneficiarios. -Se establece la "pensión móvil" al establecerse la revisión -cada 6 años- de la cuantía de las jubilaciones y pensiones. -La conservación del derecho a las prestaciones durante 2 meses, teniendo como mínimo 6 meses de servicio.</p>		<p>-Se excluye de sus beneficios a los trabajadores por honorarios y eventuales. -Los intereses en el rubro de préstamos a corto plazo e hipotecario son superiores a los fijados en el mercado. -Falta de precisión de la responsabilidad del Instituto en el rubro de riesgos del trabajo, dejando la calificación de éstos a la legislación laboral sobre la materia.</p>	

inclusión de los trabajadores públicos en la Ley Federal del Trabajo apareciera como una de las principales demandas del movimiento. No fue así extraño que la CTM desarrollara una intensa labor encaminada a apoyar y superar las dificultades que impedían organizarse a los burócratas. En su quinto Consejo Nacional, dicha central acordó formar el Comité de Unificación y Organización de los Trabajadores del Estado, acción que culminó con la inclusión de la FNTE en la central obrera.

Paralelamente, la CTM -favorecida por la política obrerista de Cárdenas trabajaba intensamente por incluir dentro de sus filas a los sindicatos que agrupaban a los trabajadores del campo. La intención era clara: consolidar una gran central que amparara tanto al obrero industrial como al trabajador de servicios y al campesino. Sin embargo, esta estrategia obrera iba a chocar con la estrategia gubernamental del cardenismo. Su proyecto de reforma política -del que surgiría el Partido de la Revolución Mexicana- hacía imposible permitir que una sola central, la CTM, absorbiera todo el poder que deviene del control total de los trabajadores. Es así que los sindicatos campesinos serán organizados posteriormente alrededor de la Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC) y los trabajadores del Estado en el sector popular. A partir de dicho momento fueron considerados trabajadores de excepción sobre los cuales había que legislar de forma particular. Era el Estado -no los trabajadores- quien determinaría cuál sería la naturaleza de su organización, naturaleza que respondería a los intereses de un aparato estatal que requería de una organización de los trabajadores que le fuera funcional a sus necesidades.

La política cardenista, con respecto a los servidores públicos, encontró una resistencia limitada en la CTM, quien en franca contradicción con el gobierno declaraba que “es labor de traición al proletariado de México, el pretender aislar a los trabajadores al Servicio del Estado del resto de sus hermanos de clase so pretexto de impedimento de orden administrativo o por consideraciones de orden político”.¹⁶

Sin embargo y ante las condiciones del momento, la CTM acaba por aceptar la obligada sujeción de los empleados del gobierno perdiendo a los sindicatos afiliados a la FNTE. Libre el camino, después de un año de discusión en la Cámara, en diciembre de 1938 es aprobado el Estatuto de los Trabajadores al Servicio de los Poderes de la Unión. Legislación particular que desde entonces regirá las relaciones laborales establecidas entre el Estado y sus trabajadores.

Un mes antes de su aprobación y de acuerdo a lo dispuesto en su artículo 4o transitorio, la Secretaría de Gobernación publica la convocatoria para constituir lo que por decreto será la Central Unica de los Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado, el 1o de noviembre de 1938 se declara formalmente constituida la Federación de Sindicatos de Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado (FSTSE). Sin embargo, el surgimiento de ésta marcaba serias limitaciones al futuro desenvolvimiento del movimiento sindical de los servidores públicos, al no permitir la contratación colectiva, ni admitir la existencia de sindicatos minoritarios, entre otros aspectos. Tal como lo afirma Javier Freyre Rubio, “con estos hechos, los trabajadores fueron obligados, primero a organizarse bajo el control del Estado [...] después a aceptar la organización impuesta por él mismo[...] y, por último a ser miembros del PRM”.¹⁷

Hacia un régimen de seguridad social de los servidores públicos: 1947-1959

El periodo de la posguerra marcó el inicio de cambios importantes en la estructura administrativa del país y en las condiciones sociojurídicas de los servidores públicos. A partir de 1940, la administración pública fue objeto de modificaciones acordes con el papel del Estado como principal promotor del desarrollo económico del país. Los sectores

¹⁶*Excelsior*, 6 de diciembre de 1959.

¹⁷Javier Freyre Rubio, *Las organizaciones obreras y burocráticas contemporáneas. Análisis Comparativo, 1934-1976*. UNAM, México, 1980, p. 250.

medios del país y dentro de éstos la burocracia, se vieron favorecidos por la política de industrialización puesta en marcha por el Estado, la creación de infraestructura y la ampliación de los servicios públicos. En cuanto a la estructura interna de la burocracia, la preponderancia del sector civil respecto al militar, iniciada en los años 20, continuó su proceso de consolidación. Sin embargo, el problema del mejoramiento de las condiciones laborales y del esquema de prestaciones sociales del servidor público, continuaban sin resolverse de manera satisfactoria.

A principios de los años 40, la Dirección General de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro enfrentaba serios problemas de financiamiento para atender los servicios y prestaciones que ofrecía a los trabajadores del Estado y sus familias. La adecuación del marco jurídico que regía el esquema de prestaciones sociales de los servidores públicos surgió como una necesidad impostergable. Es así que el 30 de diciembre de 1947, se expide una nueva Ley de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro.

En la exposición de motivos de dicho ordenamiento se expresaba que: “la falta de una concepción unitaria de un sistema general de protección al trabajador público, producía no sólo discrepancias fundamentales en la selección de los riesgos y de su cobertura, sino situaciones de franca desigualdad entre los mismos trabajadores al servicio del Estado, pues mientras unos podían disfrutar de beneficios, los demás quedaban sin protección alguna”.¹⁸ Asimismo, se reconocía la necesidad por parte del Estado de “proteger al equipo humano que utilizaba en la realización de sus actividades”, ya que el empleado público “como todo trabajador, está sujeto al desgaste orgánico ocasionado por el tiempo, a la pérdida de facultades útiles al servicio, o a la incapacidad prematura”.¹⁹

Con respecto a los beneficios pensionarios, el nuevo ordenamiento establecía importantes cambios al elevar el monto de las pensiones y la cobertura de los riesgos protegidos. La Ley de 1947, concedía especial importancia a la extensión de dichos beneficios a la familia de los trabajadores; ampliaba el monto y reducía los intereses de otras prestaciones como los préstamos a corto plazo e hipotecarios, y concedía especial importancia al problema de la vivienda, no sólo mediante la adquisición de casas destinadas a ser enajenadas a los trabajadores, sino mediante la adquisición y urbanización de predios por parte de la propia Dirección de Pensiones, a fin de construir colonias para los trabajadores.

En los momentos en que fue expedida la Ley de 1947, se consideraba que la ampliación del esquema de prestaciones del servidor público originaría un efecto moralizador en la administración pública, “posible afán de lucro rápido [...]se atenúa con el pensamiento tranquilizador de que, llegado el caso, acudirá en su auxilio la previsión oportuna del Estado”.²⁰

El establecimiento de un mejor esquema de prestaciones redundaría también en la formación de un personal burocrático más eficiente y productivo: “La burocracia es la maquinaria a través de la cual el Ejecutivo realiza su programa[...]Cuando el Ejecutivo se preocupa de aceitar esa[...] maquinaria, de darle seguridad y tranquilidad, indiscutiblemente que esa maquinaria potente habrá de dar mejores frutos y mejores resultados”.²¹

La Ley de 1947 trajo importantes avances en cuanto al marco jurídico de la seguridad social de los trabajadores al servicio del Estado. Sin embargo, subsistían limitaciones que no habían sido superadas. Se había avanzado en una mayor cobertura y se había incrementado los montos de algunas de las prestaciones, pero poco se había avanzado en la consolidación de un régimen de seguridad social integral, que no sólo garantizara al servidor público un retiro decoroso, sino que atendiera otras necesidades como las referidas a su salud y la elevación de su nivel sociocultural.

¹⁸Ley de Pensiones Civiles y de Retiro de 1947. Exposición de Motivos. *Diario de Debates de la Cámara de Diputados*, marzo 1947.

¹⁹*Idem*.

²⁰*Idem*.

²¹*Idem*.

Estas limitaciones serán superadas -al menos jurídicamente- el 5 de diciembre de 1959. Al conmemorarse el XXI aniversario de la promulgación del Estatuto Jurídico de los Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado, el entonces presidente de la República, Adolfo López Mateos, dio a conocer el proyecto de ley para la creación del Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado (ISSSTE), en sustitución de la antigua Dirección de Pensiones Civiles de Retiro creada en 1925.

El nuevo marco jurídico de la seguridad social de los servidores públicos hacía más explícita la obligación del Estado de contribuir al bienestar de sus trabajadores; pero sobre todo, sentó las bases para la creación de una institución moderna, orientada a proteger íntegramente a sus trabajadores. (Cuadro número 3)

Fue un gran avance, no cabe duda. Sin embargo, su costo político fue muy alto. A cambio de un avanzado sistema de seguridad social que protegía íntegramente al trabajador y a su familia, la organización sindical de los servidores públicos vio elevadas -ahora a rango constitucional- las limitaciones a sus derechos sindicales consignadas en el Estatuto Jurídico del 38.

Junto a la aprobación de la iniciativa de Ley que le dio vida al ISSSTE, se decretó también la creación del apartado “B” del artículo 123 constitucional, que en contra del espíritu de los legisladores del 17, consideró a todos los empleados al servicio del Estado como trabajadores de excepción.

Mientras que la Ley Federal del Trabajo -reglamentaria del Apartado “A”- se establece explícitamente que el objeto de las agrupaciones de trabajadores, es luchar por la firma, revisión y cumplimiento de la contratación colectiva; en la Ley Federal de Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado -reglamentaria del apartado “B”- se dice de manera por demás ambigua que los sindicatos de burócratas tienen por objeto “el estudio y defensa de sus intereses comunes”. (Artículo 67)

Los servidores públicos entonces, no podrán celebrar contrato colectivo, limitándose al mejoramiento de sus condiciones de trabajo, las cuales serán fijadas cada seis años por los titulares de las dependencias gubernamentales, aceptando escuchar a los sindicatos (Artículos del 87 al 91)

En lo que respecta a las peculiaridades que tiene el “derecho” de asociación profesional de los trabajadores públicos, la Ley dispone en sus Artículos 67 y 68, que los empleados de cada una de las dependencias gubernamentales sólo podrán constituir un sólo sindicato, y en el Artículo 78 se afirma que los sindicatos no tendrán más opción que la de agruparse en la única central reconocida por el Estado: la FSTSE.

Con esto, es por demás claro que se impide la posibilidad de organización plural, al no permitirse la formación de grupos disidentes organizados al margen del sindicato; por otro lado, se elimina cualquier intento de formación de otras centrales que significarían la dispersión del sindicalismo burocrático y, por tanto, la pérdida de control por parte del Estado.

En cuanto al “derecho” de huelga, el Artículo 94 dispone que sólo se le dará reconocimiento legal a este tipo de movimientos, cuando se violen de manera general y sistemática los derechos consagrados en el Apartado “B”. Esto es, se limita la huelga a las condiciones generales de trabajo. Otro tipo de causales como la demanda de mejores salarios, conflictos intergremiales, solidaridad con otros sectores de trabajadores, etc., caerían en la ilegalidad. Es más, hasta donde sabemos, los mismo Estatutos de los sindicatos ni siquiera la contemplan.

Además, cabe señalar que aun con lo dispuesto, es por demás improbable el surgimiento de huelgas en el sector público, dado que según se establece, los funcionarios del gobierno pueden violar las condiciones generales de trabajo, cuidándose, eso sí, de no hacerlo de manera general y sistemática.



Un gran avance en seguridad social y una organización sindical férreamente controlada y subordinada, son los resultados de un conflictivo proceso de relación entre los trabajadores públicos y su patrón el Estado.

Con las medidas adoptadas por las autoridades, que le otorgaron a la burocracia un lugar específico, una organización particular y una legislación especial, se determinó la naturaleza de su organización sindical: ser funcionales al Estado... a los dictados de las políticas impulsadas por el aparato estatal.

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• **María Luisa Tarrés***

La clase media en la ciudad de México

Uno de los sectores de la sociedad mexicana menos estudiados en los últimos veinte años es el de las clases medias. Esta omisión es incomprensible no sólo cuando se piensa que este grupo es un producto social del crecimiento económico, de la urbanización o de la modernización que caracteriza al país desde 1950, sino si se considera de que es en las capas medias donde se han originado actores sociales y políticos que, desde el Estado o la oposición, han participado en la gran transformación que significa el paso de una sociedad agraria a una industrial y urbana

Curiosamente este sector, que ha recibido tan poca atención, en la actualidad plantea serias interrogantes respecto a la capacidad integradora del sistema político y ofrece, al mismo tiempo, la posibilidad de analizar acciones autónomas que surgen en el interior de la sociedad. Si se acepta esta perspectiva, los sectores medios se transforman en un grupo privilegiado para observar, desde la sociedad, la formación de actores colectivos.

A excepción de Loeza (1983, 1984, 1985), quien ha subrayado la importancia del sector en la historia política del país y ha sistematizado su participación a partir de la revolución, no hay investigaciones empíricas actuales que permitan ir más allá de intuiciones más o menos perspicaces.

Algunos de los trabajos que se dedicaron al tema por los años sesenta centraron su atención en problemas ligados a la movilidad social (CEPAL, 1960) y en la definición conceptual y empírica de las clases medias (Delhumeau y González, 1971; González Cosío, 1971). Otros más recientes han destacado el liderazgo de grupos provenientes de este grupo social en algunas movilizaciones campesinas (Fernández, 1979, Tarrés, 1983), o su papel en las acciones emprendidas por los grupos empresariales (Arriola, 1981 Guadarrama, 1986). Existen también investigaciones que han descrito la acción de los sectores medios en el contexto de las movilizaciones de los gremios de los maestros (Loyo, 1979), de los médicos (Pozas, 1977) y del movimiento universitario de 1968 (Zermeño, 1978). Sin embargo, en estos estudios el objetivo es destacar la acción de una categoría específica de manera que las referencias al sector en su conjunto o son secundarias o inexistentes. Es interesante subrayar que la mayor parte de estos trabajos concluyen que estos grupos, que se han movilizad para buscar una mayor participación económica o política, desaparecen de la escena una vez que las han obtenido; conclusión que no hace sino confirmar la capacidad de integración del Estado como elemento de explicación del comportamiento de los actores colectivos, sean éstos populares o de otros sectores sociales (Zapata, Tarrés, 1982).

Durante los últimos años y especialmente después de la puesta en marcha de la reforma política, el comportamiento de este sector ha mostrado algunos cambios. Así, el abstencionismo electoral, que parecía ser una de sus características intrínsecas, ha perdido terreno y se ha transformado en un apoyo a los partidos de oposición, especialmente al Partido de Acción Nacional, y a veces se ha expresado en conductas de protesta colectiva. Este comportamiento ha sido interpretado en ocasiones como una forma de rechazo a las prácticas autoritarias del gobierno y en otras como una reivindicación por la democratización de la política. También se ha afirmado que el comportamiento de las clases medias

*El Colegio de México

es fundamentalmente defensivo y en esta medida constituiría una reacción a las políticas restrictivas que ha desarrollado el gobierno frente a la crisis.

Estas interpretaciones, que han aparecido en el debate público, tienen todas algo de validez aunque no consideran que el problema es más limitado y también más complejo. En efecto, si bien la oposición se manifiesta en estos grupos como un malestar cotidiano, su cristalización no es generalizada ni en los resultados electorales ni en acciones suficientemente extendidas o permanentes que permitan asegurar que existen actores colectivos, definidos por su oposición al sistema actual. Durante las elecciones de 1985, cuando se eligieron diputados y senadores de representación federal, el PAN logró el 15.48% del total de votos emitidos a nivel nacional, aumentando así en un uno por ciento el número de votos a su favor con respecto a las elecciones presidenciales de 1982.**

Una mirada rápida a los resultados generales muestra que es en algunos distritos electorales de la ciudad de México y en ciertas ciudades de provincia donde el PAN logra sus más altas votaciones (González Casanova, 1985), por lo que podemos afirmar que esta oposición electoral no es del todo generalizada y que se circunscribe a algunos lugares.

Sucede algo similar cuando se observan las protestas y movilizaciones colectivas pues están muy localizadas en ciertas ciudades o regiones (Martínez Assad, 1985). Este hecho lleva a pensar que su significado no está ligado necesariamente a reivindicaciones de clase o de categoría sino a cuestiones regionales, o bien, de oposición a un centralismo que entra en contradicción con la sociedad local.

En estas circunstancias, gran parte de estas movilizaciones se explican por la necesidad de los grupos involucrados en ellas para presionar y obtener mejores posiciones en el sistema político o mejorar su capacidad de negociación, sin considerar en el análisis el hecho de que se trata de un sector social que se está consolidando a nivel de la estructura social y que ha comenzado a definir sus demandas y a reivindicar una mayor participación en un sistema electoral que apenas comienza a funcionar. Por otra parte, una explicación de este tipo tampoco ayuda a comprender por qué es ahí y no en otro lugar donde se produce este tipo de comportamiento, no caracteriza al actor colectivo que se moviliza, ni los significados de su acción.

Nosotros nos proponemos, en esta ocasión, tratar de comprender las condiciones que propician la aparición de comportamiento de oposición y la conformación de actores colectivos entre los sectores medios urbanos a partir del estudio de un caso, el de la población que vive en Ciudad Satélite. Esta población nos parece de particular interés para abordar este problema ya que como testigo y participante del proceso de desarrollo estabilizador y del crecimiento de la ciudad de México, muestra y resume algunas características estructurales y culturales de este grupo social y al mismo tiempo presenta un comportamiento de oposición electoral que se ha mantenido en las elecciones federales de 1982 y 1985. En efecto, en las elecciones federales para diputados, el distrito electoral XVIII del estado de México logra elegir al primer diputado federal panista en 1982 y su representante es un habitante de Ciudad Satélite; en 1985 este comportamiento electoral se repite, cuando, después de múltiples negociaciones con el Colegio Electoral y de protestas públicas, el gobierno vuelve a aceptar su derrota en este distrito. El caso de Ciudad Satélite no es representativo del país o de la ciudad de México ya que no existe hasta el momento otro distrito electoral, compuesto esencialmente por sectores medios, que presente un comportamiento electoral similar. Desde un punto estrictamente metodológico Ciudad Satélite presenta características atípicas pues su población, además de tener un comportamiento consistente de oposición electoral ha desarrollado una organización comunitaria que, durante 28 años, ha realizado acciones permanentes. En este sentido, Ciudad Satélite debe ser considerado como un caso de ruptura, donde se muestran y señalan las condiciones en que los sectores medios se organizan y logran una cierta

**Fuente: Comisión Federal Electoral

autonomía respecto de la lógica estatal. A través de su análisis podremos, quizás, entender cómo estos sectores se conforman en actores colectivos, en qué condiciones aparecen conductas de este tipo y cuáles son los significados implícitos de su acción, pero no podremos generalizar a otros casos. En este sentido, su interés es analítico. Desde otra perspectiva sin embargo, se puede afirmar que el grupo que vive en este fraccionamiento es típico de aquella clase media que a partir de los años sesenta se inserta en el desarrollo del país, posee un proyecto de movilidad social y es actor del proceso de modernización de la ciudad. Desde este punto de vista resulta interesante describir la conformación de organizaciones que, como las que existen en Ciudad Satélite, han permanecido por más de veinticinco años en un grupo cuya historia está inserta en un esquema regido por el cambio.

Nuestra hipótesis general es que el comportamiento de oposición de los habitantes de Ciudad Satélite no obedece a la acción de los partidos políticos sino que tiene sus raíces en la comunidad, en la biografía de sus habitantes y en la red de relaciones que se han creado cotidianamente entre éstos y sus interlocutores estatales. En el caso de Ciudad Satélite no existen lazos políticos orgánicos con otros grupos de interés o con categorías sociales que plantean posiciones similares a nivel nacional. Prueba de ello son las dificultades que tienen Acción Nacional para penetrar la comunidad más allá de una simpatía política y para establecer no sólo sus organismos partidarios sino lo que ellos llaman “organizaciones intermedias”, diseñadas para captar adeptos a partir de actividades socio-educativas o de tipo cultural.

La historia de la población de Ciudad Satélite nos muestra que es a nivel social más que político, donde se encuentran las bases de la oposición. La población ha creado desde sus comienzos una identidad colectiva a nivel comunitario que se ha mantenido desde la fundación de la Asociación de Colonos en 1960 hasta nuestros días. Es allí donde la población aprendió las bases del ejercicio dramático, marcó sus diferencias en relación a los aparatos gubernamentales y entró en contacto con la Iglesia que le proporcionó, de alguna manera, las bases ideológicas que permitieron la generalización de las ideas del bien común y del espíritu comunitario que allí se trata de practicar. No hay que dejar de señalar que es en la comunidad donde también se pueden encontrar los límites de su acción.

De la lucha por los servicios a la oposición electoral

a) Los hechos: bases sociales y orígenes de la comunidad

Es difícil imaginar que las familias reunidas en los jardines de las casas unifamiliares o que las señoras que van a buscar a sus hijos a las escuelas particulares sean las mismas personas que participan en acciones y protestas organizadas contra las autoridades municipales y federales. Sin embargo, en este mundo comunitario y pulcro, donde viven alrededor de 60 000 personas, desde hace exactamente veintiocho años, es donde se vienen gestando las bases de una oposición social y política.

En sus comienzos, por el año de 1957, este grupo era joven y la mayoría provenía de ciudades de provincia o del Distrito Federal donde ocupaba departamentos ubicados en barrios que decaían. Otros, gracias a las políticas de educación impulsadas por el Estado habían logrado obtener un título profesional y buscaban los símbolos materiales que consolidaran esta nueva posición social.

El proyecto urbano de Ciudad Satélite, imaginado por el arquitecto Mario Pani, constituyó un medio para que este grupo viera realizada su aspiración a una vivienda propia. Pero para que este proyecto se hiciera realidad, además de las ideas desarrolladas por Pani y su Taller de urbanismo, cuya tradición acerca de la planificación urbana se encuentra en las clases que impartió desde 1930 en la UNAM el arquitecto José Luis

Cuevas, tuvieron que darse una serie de circunstancias. En primer lugar, está la acción y el interés del licenciado Miguel Alemán que proporcionó el apoyo político y las tierras del rancho Los Pirules, propiedad de su familia, donde se ubicaría el fraccionamiento (Maldonado, 1984). También el proyecto implicó la participación de grupos importantes como la ICA (Ingenieros Civiles Asociados) y el Banco Internacional-Inmobiliario, cuyo director, Bernardo Quintana, se destacó como el constructor de las grandes obras de infraestructura del país. Quintana financió al taller dirigido por Pani para que realizara no sólo estudios relacionados con el diseño urbano de Ciudad Satélite sino también los estudios de factibilidad del sistema de ahorro y préstamo que impulsaba en ese momento el Banco Internacional Inmobiliario para financiar la construcción de grandes unidades de habitación. En la puesta en marcha del proyecto participaron también políticos del estado de México, entre los que destaca Salvador Sánchez Colín que mantenía estrechas relaciones con Alemán y en ese momento era gobernador del estado. Ellos proporcionaron el apoyo político que requería la implementación del proyecto a nivel estatal y local.

Estas circunstancias permitieron ubicar el proyecto en el estado de México, a 14 kilómetros al norte del Distrito Federal. El fraccionamiento ocupó una superficie cercana a las 600 has. que se dividieron en 16 200 lotes. La ciudad fue concebida como una solución integral a los problemas de crecimiento de la ciudad de México. La idea consistía en crear “una ciudad fuera de la ciudad”, autosuficiente y autónoma, con límites físicos y demográficos, que impidieran la repetición de los problemas que estaban conociendo las grandes urbes latinoamericanas (Pani, 1957).

Ninguno de los creadores de este proyecto, que por cierto se sujetó a las estrictas normas de las ciudades satélites-jardines definidas por los urbanistas ingleses Howard, Parker y Unwin, pudo imaginar su desarrollo posterior, tanto en lo que respecta a su impacto en el crecimiento de la ciudad de México hacia el norte, como en lo que se refiere al proceso social y político que se gestaría en la zona. Ciudad Satélite constituyó una de las primeras experiencias de instrumentación de las políticas de descentralización que se diseñaron en la época pero también fue una respuesta a los incentivos que otorgaba el estado de México a quienes se establecieron en su territorio. Así, desde el punto de vista político-administrativo, este proyecto no sólo contenía las normas más modernas de diseño interno sino que además era concebido como una iniciativa que llevaba a la práctica las políticas gubernamentales a nivel federal y estatal.

Por otra parte, tanto el diseño como los precios de las primeras casas indican que el objetivo era acoger a grupos de ingreso medio para los cuales un préstamo fue indispensable para tener acceso a una casa o terreno propios. Si bien esta meta se cumplió en las primeras etapas y posteriormente con la construcción de casas de interés social en un área de la ciudad, es claro que las leyes del mercado y la acción de las empresas inmobiliarias (especialmente Austroplan y Seguros América) fueron borrando rápidamente la idea de favorecer a estos grupos de ingreso al construir privadas y conjuntos “de calidad media hacia arriba” (Entrevista 3). En este proceso influye, además, el hecho de que el regente Uruchurtu había creado una serie de reglamentos que limitaban la construcción de vivienda en el Distrito Federal, lo que aumentó la demanda e hizo del fraccionamiento “uno de los más grandes éxitos conocidos desde el punto de vista comercial” (Entrevista 1).

Este proceso fue, sin embargo, paulatino. Los primeros habitantes pertenecientes a estratos de ingreso medio, poseedores a veces de un título profesional fueron atraídos por la idea de tener una casa propia y compraron casas pareadas, de interés social o construyeron en lotes pequeños. El lugar era aislado y si bien contaba con servicios de agua, gas y electricidad, así como una infraestructura de primera calidad, carecía de teléfonos, comercios, atención médica, escuelas y transporte. Las mujeres y los niños quedaban solos durante el día ya que los hombres salían a trabajar temprano a la ciudad o hacia las nuevas industrias que se instalaban en Naucalpan o Tlanepantla. Como muy

pocos de los vecinos tenían automóvil, los hombres partían juntos y dejaban uno o dos coches para que las mujeres hicieran la compras, llevaran a los niños a la escuela o los utilizaran en caso de emergencia médica.

El aislamiento propició los primeros encuentros entre vecinos y las primeras acciones conjuntas destinadas a resolver los problemas cotidianos. “Las mujeres fueron las más activas, pero no se puede dejar de señalar que los hombres también contribuían. El correo, por ejemplo, era entregado por un vecino empleado de la Secretaría de Comunicaciones que todas las tardes subía a su bicicleta a hacer el reparto de correspondencia” (Entrevista 1).

Es importante entender que este primer grupo de vecinos desarrolló lazos estrechos y una red de relaciones sociales lo bastante fuerte como para que hoy en día constituya aún el núcleo social más visible de la comunidad tanto, por su influencia en la toma de decisiones como por su ideología comunitaria.

La sensación de desvalimiento frente a las autoridades y las fraccionadoras que comenzaban a construir en la ciudad sin respetar las normas del diseño original produjo la necesidad de unificarse, aunque, por ello tuvieron que pasar alrededor de tres años y la intervención de algunos personajes claves.

El arquitecto Pani, que según algunos entrevistados tenía conflictos con el vendedor del fraccionamiento, se unió a los habitantes del lugar para darles a conocer los propósitos de su diseño¹ y defender con ellos el uso del suelo destinado a servicios comunitarios y religiosos al cual los fraccionadores querían dar otro fin.² Sin embargo, a pesar de la presencia de Pani, no siempre se tuvo éxito en las reivindicaciones. Así, por ejemplo, el lugar que ocupa actualmente un gran almacén comercial estaba destinado en el proyecto original a una iglesia donde se conjugaran todas las prácticas religiosas (Entrevista 2). Pero a pesar de algunos fracasos, los habitantes, gracias a su relación con Pani, lograron conocer la ubicación de los espacios comunitarios en el diseño de la ciudad y sus primeras acciones estuvieron orientadas a ocuparlos levantando arcos de fútbol en terrenos baldíos o cerrando terrenos con cascajo y palos usados (Entrevista 3). Estos terrenos actualmente son canchas deportivas, clubes sociales o bibliotecas construidas con los mejores materiales y de acuerdo a las normas más modernas.

Otro personaje clave en la organización de los pobladores fue y sigue siendo, sin duda alguna, el sacerdote del lugar, quien llegó junto con los primeros colonos. Actualmente dirige la parroquia San Felipe de Jesús, una de las más ricas desde el punto de vista financiero pero también de las más activas y lúcidas respecto a la definición de sus actividades. “El párroco al llegar encontró un jacalón donde hasta ese momento hacía misa un canónigo de la Catedral”. (Entrevista 4). Pero gracias a “Miguel Alemán, quien era muy católico, tenía en cuenta la religiosidad del pueblo mexicano y pidió al arzobispado que mandara sacerdotes a Ciudad Satélite que recién comenzaba, se pudo comenzar a desarrollar una actividad religiosa en forma regular” (Entrevista 3). Este sacerdote caracteriza de la siguiente manera a la población con que se encontró: “más bien de clase media baja, aunque había algunos profesionistas. Muchos de ellos no estaban favorecidos con la especulación ya que compraron casas en 80 000 pesos que al año costaba 120 000 y a los cinco años 500 000 pesos. Veinte años después su valor era de más de tres millones de pesos. Varios de los que compraron en un principio ponían aluminio en las ventanas, vendían al doble y se compraban una casa más grande en el mismo fraccionamiento, utilizando todos los medios al alcance, hipotecas, préstamos para vivienda, préstamos bancarios, etc. Fue así como muchos de ellos pasaron de clase media

¹Cabe señalar que, para Pani, el proyecto no fue sólo un negocio ni se limitó a una actividad estrictamente profesional. Estaba convencido de que Ciudad Satélite era una “solución que...tiene a organizar una sociedad futura, sin segregaciones, sin particularismos” y que “su diseño urbano pretende reforzar el espíritu de asociación que existe en muchas de nuestras ciudades menores” (Pani, 1957, p. 2).

²Estas reuniones se hicieron con carácter privado debido, justamente, a los conflictos entre el vendedor y Pani.

baja a clase media. La práctica de vivir del préstamo y de la hipoteca se generalizó tanto en la población que todos ellos recuerdan que durante muchos años se autodenominaron “la ciudad del hipo”. Junto a este grupo social vivía otro “más culto, con educación superior muy joven. Todos ellos iban camino a mejorar y el hecho de que ambos grupos interactuaran hizo que el nivel general se elevara” (Entrevista 8). Aunque según otro entrevistado estos grupos “una vez que satisficieron sus necesidades no supieron qué hacer y muchos de ellos se dedicaron a consumir y a imitar a la clase alta, o, a lo que ellos creen que es la clase alta” (Entrevista 3).

Frente a este grupo social “disperso, católico por nacimiento pero no practicante, afectado por la educación laica, sin tradición ni mecanismos de control religioso, se tuvo que recurrir a acciones novedosas”. La acción católica se consideró “un medio tradicional que la generación anterior había rechazado debido a que durante la época del Maximato había tenido mucha fuerza y había sido perseguida por el gobierno” (Entrevista 8).

“Es que decir Acción Católica durante los años 50, 60, era decir oposición al gobierno” (Entrevista 4). Se tuvo, en consecuencia, que imaginar acciones nuevas tales como las reflexiones para la conversión, el movimiento familiar cristiano, cursos de cristiandad, jornadas de vida cristiana, etc. Además, la iglesia se dedicó a organizar clubes deportivos, representaciones teatrales, coros, actividades sociales, y a participar prácticamente en todas las reuniones donde se discutían los problemas del fraccionamiento. Esta red que se origina alrededor de la iglesia tiene una función central en el desarrollo posterior de los acontecimientos ya que el sacerdote, además de realizar su labor de apoyo religioso jugará un papel de activista en la organización de la comunidad.

b) La acción colectiva

Durante tres años la población se quejaba debido a que llevaba una vida cotidiana incómoda pero no lograba materializar su malestar en un proyecto conjunto. La ocasión la proporcionó la empresa fraccionadora que decidió construir grandes edificios haciendo caso omiso de las normas establecidas por el diseño. Se dejaron atrás las reivindicaciones individuales para enfrentarse con las empresas fraccionadoras que pretendían violar los reglamentos de una zona definida como residencial. Esta fue la primera de una serie de acciones que presentan características similares. Las hubo contra el Fovi que construyó las casas de interés social, o contra la empresa de ventas que comenzó a construir privadas de 10 o 15 casas, en áreas destinadas a casas solas. Estas protestas se realizan incluso en 1985 y, en general, están destinadas a proteger el uso de la tierra y a evitar una subdivisión excesiva de los lotes.

La primera movilización colectiva tiene importancia para comprender la formación del grupo y la definición de las relaciones que éste desarrolla con los actores que participan en ella. Esta acción se caracteriza por ser defensiva y por representar la primera ocasión en que el grupo percibe como un bloque único de adversarios a los fraccionadores y a ciertas autoridades estatales. La mayor parte de la población sostiene la opinión que proporciona uno de los entrevistados frente a este proceso: “Los fundadores de Ciudad Satélite querían que aquí se desarrollaran muchos núcleos urbanos normados, pero los fraccionadores le dieron en la torre a cuanto ejido, parcela, pueblo o campo encontraron. El gobierno del estado de México dio permisos para fraccionar o construir a cualquiera, dio todas las facilidades” (Entrevista 2). Otro más nos dice: “Pani y su proyecto fue sobrepasado por la acción de las fraccionadoras y del gobierno estatal” (Entrevista 3).

Esta primera acción fue motivo para que el 4 de octubre de 1960 se fundara la Asociación de Colonos de Ciudad Satélite. Sus luchas, desde entonces, se han centrado fundamentalmente en la obtención de servicios, en la defensa de la ecología de la región y en un ideal de bienestar que ellos mismos han ido creando a través de la acción y que constituye una de las ideas poco precisas, pero constantes que presiden las reivindicaciones.

Dependiendo de los problemas, los colonos han recurrido a diferentes formas de presión y acción. Estas incluyen desde la negociación directa hasta plantones callejeros, marchas, ocupación de terrenos, etc.

Cabe señalar que, a pesar de esta imagen unitaria, la acción de la Asociación no ha sido siempre lineal. Los conflictos por su control han sido importantes, sobre todo porque durante quince años, a partir de 1965, la Asociación logra establecer un convenio con las autoridades municipales para controlar y autoadministrar los servicios de la ciudad. Gracias a este acuerdo se formó una Junta de Servicios donde además de los colonos, participaron el gobierno estatal, la empresa fraccionadora y la Delegación. A cambio de la autoadministración, los colonos quedaron exentos del pago del 70% de sus impuestos prediales, el cual se destinó a la Junta de Servicios que lo administro con fideicomiso. De esta forma, pudieron terminar obras de infraestructura, y realizar obras de mantenimiento y servicios. Es interesante hacer notar que entre las razones que se dan para la firma del convenio en que se ceden los derechos de administración a los colonos, el gobierno admite que “por tratarse de un fraccionamiento de *primera categoría los municipios están imposibilitados* de proporcionar los servicios municipales que implica esa categoría pues significan un alto costo de mantenimiento, conservación y operación”.³

Es claro que este convenio fue la respuesta del Estado a un grupo de colonos organizados que lo presionaba y que en su lucha ponía de manifiesto la relación que había entre algunos personeros del gobierno estatal y los fraccionadores. La entrega de la administración de los servicios fue el comienzo de un enfrentamiento que no siempre pudo ser negociado. En efecto, en 1972 los habitantes de Ciudad Satélite traspasan los límites de su localidad y organizan la Asociación de Fraccionamientos del Estado de México que reunió a 19 fraccionamientos que a través de protestas y movilización evitaron que el ejido Santa Cruz del Oro fuera expropiado para construir una unidad habitacional gigantesca. Argumentando que ello agravaría los problemas de escasez de agua del municipio y del norte de la ciudad de México lograron que este terreno se destinara a la construcción del Parque Municipal Naucalli. Esta Federación además obtuvo que se concretaran otras reivindicaciones como fueron la creación de un sistema de transporte colectivo hacia la ciudad de México, la promesa de construcción de planteles para escuelas secundarias, preparatorias y centros universitarios así como la perforación de pozos para abastecer de agua a la población. Estos logros se alcanzaron al precio de largas negociaciones y gracias a la acción permanente de los colonos, que, liderados por la Asociación de Ciudad Satélite, salían los sábados y domingos a protestar contra las autoridades pero también contra los cientos de fraccionadores que sin tener en cuenta el problema de la escasez de agua seguían construyendo bajo la mirada benevolente del municipio y del gobierno estatal.

La asociación, sin embargo, comienza a ser el blanco de las políticas estatales cuando, al cumplirse los quince años de autogestión, las autoridades municipales vuelven a hacerse cargo de la administración de los servicios de Ciudad Satélite. El costo que tuvo que pagar la comunidad por sus acciones se percibe algunos años más tarde cuando en 1982 es nombrado candidato a diputado por el PRI, el licenciado Julio Zamora Bátiz, antiguo presidente de la asociación. Esta maniobra no tiene los resultados que el gobierno estatal esperaba ya que Zamora Bátiz es derrotado por Armando Gordillo quien obtiene el 50.21% de los votos.⁴

Gordillo que es un antiguo residente de Ciudad Satélite comenzó a militar en el Partido de Acción Nacional tan solo tres meses antes de la elección. A partir del momento en que Gordillo es nominado, la política comienza a ser una actividad pública

³Declaración del gobierno del estado de México, aparecida en el convenio celebrado entre el gobierno del Estado, la Asociación de Colonos de Ciudad Satélite A.C., el Banco Internacional Inmobiliario, S.A., y el Fraccionador. Reproducido en *Ciudad Satélite 1972-1974* publicado por la Asociación de Colonos, Editores Asociados, mayo 1974, México. El subrayado es nuestro.

⁴Comisión Federal Electoral

en Ciudad Satélite. Los colonos comienzan a crear una forma diferente de hacer política; se trata de apoyar a un vecino, a un candidato salido de las bases, más que a un militante del PAN y de dar apoyo al director del semanario local que los mantenía informados de lo que sucedía en la ciudad y en otros fraccionamientos del área. Por su parte, Gordillo quizás por ser neófito en el juego político y por lo tanto también en la lucha electoral, cambió las reglas del juego tradicionales e hizo una campaña dirigida a los grupos organizados de la comunidad, habló con las mujeres, con los clubes de leones, de rotarios y deportivos. La gente votó por él, sobre todo porque lo conocían pero también por que se trataba de un igual y no hablaba como político: “él (Gordillo) ni siquiera sabía hablar bien en público y lo decía frente a todo mundo”(Entrevista 10). Es decir, el candidato provenía del interior del grupo, lo conocía y orientó su campaña hacia problemas locales, desempeñándose como miembro de la comunidad, de manera que su elección no fue necesariamente el resultado de un apoyo masivo al PAN.

La politización de esta comunidad y su apoyo al PAN comienza más tarde y como reacción a una decisión del gobierno del Estado de México. Una vez elegido el diputado, el 8 de julio de 1982, el gobierno estatal que se enfrenta a las elecciones de diputados locales redistribuye el territorio que corresponde a los distritos electorales locales y Ciudad Satélite es dividida en dos por la autopista México-Querétaro. El gobierno dividió así a un electorado que le era desfavorable y sin medir las consecuencias lo unificó alrededor del recién elegido proporcionando un elemento de cohesión a toda la comunidad. Aquellos que votaron por “él” vecino o conocido afirmaban “nos pueden dividir físicamente pero ahora estamos más unidos que nunca”. La acción del gobierno crea así un comportamiento inesperado ya que al redistribuir el territorio electoral une a sus habitantes frente a una amenaza que proviene del exterior. El Partido de Acción Nacional, en ese momento, sale fortalecido.

Por otro lado, el dirigente comunitario, que en tres meses se había transformado en militante panista, fue ideologizando sus posiciones en la medida en que inmediatamente tuvo que pasar a formar parte de los altos mandos de ese partido, pero, también porque su acción se enfrentó a un sistema político difícil de penetrar desde la oposición. De ser un pequeño empresario católico, dispuesto a servir al vecindario, se ha transformado en un militante conservador que ha hecho crítica del sistema social y político del país su misión. Tanto su discurso como su acción a nivel comunitario están fundamentados en una crítica moral en la que la sociedad y el sistema político actual no tienen remedio, por lo que se plantea como necesario un cambio radical.

Al parecer, esta orientación tuvo eco pues en julio de 1985, en las elecciones para diputados federales, fue elegido por el XVIII distrito, Amado Olvera Castillo, candidato de Acción Nacional en esa ocasión. La elección de Olvera Castillo tuvo un carácter diferente. Por un lado, su campaña fue más tradicional y por otro el PRI, dada la sorpresa que le produjo el resultado de las elecciones precedentes, desarrolló una intensa campaña y tuvo cuidado de que su candidato proviniera de los sectores medios locales. Los resultados de esta elección no son claros debido a la intervención y al fraude de que fue objeto.

Los resultados publicados al día siguiente de la elección y posteriormente por la Comisión Federal Electoral dieron el 39.13% de los votos al PAN y el 40.75% al PRI. El triunfo del PRI no fue aceptado por su adversario quien logró demostrar su mayoría en el Colegio Electoral y su descontento en manifestaciones de protesta realizadas en el municipio.⁵

La comunidad de Satélite, frente a la incertidumbre, se ha marginado de la discusión y muchos entrevistados presentan actitudes temerosas en relación al futuro de la autonomía de sus organizaciones.

⁵Las entrevistas realizadas sugieren que el PRI no aceptó abrir las urnas durante la sesión donde se discutió el caso, “porque había más votos en las cajas, que electores en las listas” y de que ambos partidos negociaron esta diputación por otra, donde la incertidumbre respecto a los resultados era semejante. Estas afirmaciones, que quizás tienen algo de realidad, se incluyen aquí pues iluminan sobre el estilo que está tomando la política local.

Resumiendo podemos afirmar que la transformación de los habitantes de Ciudad Satélite, en miembros de la oposición política, es un proceso en el que intervienen tanto las características socioeconómicas y culturales de estos grupos sociales como las estrategias de las autoridades gubernamentales, quienes a través de mecanismos tradicionales, pretenden controlar a una población urbana, con un alto nivel de escolaridad, que ha practicado la organización comunitaria y que por razones de su historia ha estado siempre ligada a una iglesia liberal, cercana a su vida cotidiana.

Una primera interpretación de la acción de los sectores medios en Ciudad Satélite

Se puede adelantar la hipótesis de que las organizaciones de vecinos, además de canalizar las reivindicaciones por nuevas formas de gestión urbana y las luchas encaminadas a obtener servicios o a mejorar su calidad, constituyen un instrumento para las nuevas capas medias para lograr su integración de una manera original en el sistema político. Por lo tanto, las organizaciones de vecinos pueden ser estudiadas como un medio de expresión y de politización de esas nuevas categorías sociales.

La politización de este sector puede ser analizada como una etapa más del proceso de movilidad social que caracteriza por sobre todo a las capas medias que se integran al desarrollo a partir de 1950-60, pero también como el resultado de sus acciones colectivas. Esta conjunción de movilidad social y participación, difícil de encontrar en el resto de los grupos medios de la sociedad mexicana, puede constituir, en este caso, el eje de la explicación de su politización.

En principio, las acciones colectivas de este sector se centran en la defensa de un estilo de vida dentro del cual sobresalen dos dimensiones: una necesaria para la reproducción del grupo (servicios, vivienda, espacios verdes o esparcimiento) y otra, que tiende a satisfacer las exigencias del proyecto de movilidad social. En otras palabras estas reivindicaciones contienen una dimensión socio-económica orientada a mejorar las condiciones de vida y una dimensión socio-cultural impuesta por una ideología de clase y por la movilidad social.

Sin embargo, para comprender cómo se politiza la acción de estos grupos, es necesario tener en cuenta al menos dos procesos que la enmarcan y que permiten entenderla mejor: su relación con el Estado y la construcción de una identidad colectiva.

a) El estado como centro de referencia de la acción: oposición y dependencia

Los fraccionadores privados pueden, sin duda, construir casas pero carecen de la capacidad de realizar proyectos de construcción de infraestructura vial o para crear las condiciones urbanas que permitan desarrollar nuevas actividades (industrias, grandes centros comerciales, ciudades, etc.) si no se cuenta para ello con el apoyo o la aprobación estatal. La intervención estatal se vuelve, así, indispensable para conciliar la necesidad de nuevas viviendas, apoyar a los constructores y realizar grandes desarrollos urbanos.⁶ Lo importante de este proceso es que una vez que los fraccionamientos o los grandes asentamientos urbanos están contruidos, sus propietarios que por esta nueva calidad pasan a formar parte del sector privado, se ven obligados a referir su acción al aparato gubernamental. Cualquiera sea el contenido de la acción de estos colonos, el Estado se vuelve a largo plazo, la instancia mediadora que interviene para solucionar los conflictos que surgen entre ellos y los fraccionadores, así como el único capaz de asegurar el abastecimiento de servicios.

⁶ Al respecto ver Manuel Castells, "Vers une théorie sociologique de la planification urbaine", *Sociologie du Travail*, 1960, 4, quien señala: "La industria sin control social había subordinado la ciudad a la industria y había creado una gran desigualdad entre el poder de compra individual y la organización social de consumo colectivo (vivienda, equipo sociocultural)... El aparato de Estado debe en consecuencia intervenir directamente".

El Estado permite y ayuda a crear las condiciones para que este grupo lleve un determinado estilo de vida. La acción de los colonos, a través de todo su proceso de organización, se refiere siempre al Estado o a sus instancias administrativas, aún cuando sus relaciones no siempre son cordiales y las reivindicaciones, como lo hemos visto en el caso de Ciudad Satélite, se logran a menudo a través de acciones de protesta que toman la forma de plantones callejeros o de movilizaciones masivas.

En todo caso, llama la atención constatar que estas capas, que, en general, son muy conservadoras en su trabajo y en su vida privada, realizan acciones con las que logran grandes transformaciones ya sea a nivel de su reproducción, ya sea a nivel de su proyecto de movilidad. Su acción colectiva es radical cuando define al Estado como adversario y a su relación con él de oposición. Sin embargo, el hecho de que el Estado constituya la instancia necesaria para conseguir sus fines los hace dependientes como actores. Esta relación contradictoria de oposición y dependencia frente al Estado marca la acción que desarrollan esta nuevas capas medias urbanas.

b) *La construcción de una identidad colectiva entre las capas medias en ascenso*

Es necesario hacer notar que la mayor parte de los residentes de este fraccionamiento vive un proceso de movilidad social ascendente y representan y son un producto del modelo de desarrollo estabilizador. Entre ellos existe un alto porcentaje de inmigrantes provenientes de las clases medias provincianas así como un grupo importante que a través de los negocios, el comercio o la educación profesional logró ascender en forma espectacular, a veces, en el espacio de una generación.⁷

Se trata, en consecuencia, de un sector que, por razones geográficas o socio-económicas, carece de una red de relaciones sociales, o rechaza la anterior. Así, la mayor parte de los colonos se encuentra en búsqueda de una identidad cuando llega al lugar, la cual deberá construir a partir de la inserción en las redes sociales que ofrece el vecindario.

La construcción de una identidad social a través de la inserción en una red de relaciones sociales nueva constituye tanto un rompimiento con los modelos tradicionales de la provincia o de un estrato social inferior, como la creación de las condiciones que permitan ser aceptado por el grupo de vecinos. En este proceso de rompimiento y creación hay ganadores y perdedores. Así, entre los habitantes suele comentarse el caso de algunas familias cuya integración no fue posible: se trataba de familias “que tenían dinero y carecían de educación” como el caso de unos comerciantes de La Merced o, de familias que no pudieron afrontar los gastos del pago de la hipoteca o de las escuelas particulares. Algunos se han ido, otros se han marginado de la vida social interna.

El grupo de alguna manera creó una norma de aceptación y para conformarse a ella es y fue necesario llevar un determinado estilo de vida aunque muchas veces esto significó vivir en un permanente endeudamiento social a través de la acumulación de objetos simbólicos, normalmente materiales y de consumo conspicuo. A través de este mecanismo logran a *nivel individual* un status y un reconocimiento social por parte de los demás.

A *nivel colectivo*, la búsqueda de una identidad se ha expresado en la organización de todo tipo de grupos comunitarios, vecinales, religiosos, clubes asociaciones deportivas, de caridad, etc. los cuales tenían como fin crear las redes y la estructuras necesarias para lograrla. Es interesante notar que esta identidad colectiva no se presenta solo en relación a actividades, intereses o ideología definidas sino que también se expresa en organizaciones por calle y por circuito, A un *nivel general* esta búsqueda se tradujo en una lucha por la apropiación colectiva del mayor número posible de servicios y ventajas para la comunidad, un grupo privilegiado y minoritario dentro del estado de México. Esta última característica

⁷Las entrevistas que hemos realizado hasta ahora a dirigentes comunitarios así lo comprueban; habría que verificar si es ésta una característica de esta categoría o si es compartida por el resto de la población.

permeara tanto la acción como la ideología de esta población que, con excepción quizás, de las obras de caridad, casi nunca a establecido una relación directa con la realidad socio-económica del municipio o del país. Su referencia constante es la movilidad social y la defensa de sus privilegios.

En consecuencia, la relación oposición-dependencia con las autoridades gubernamentales así como la acción orientada a construir una nueva identidad individual y colectiva constituyen los procesos que permiten explicar, de alguna manera, la base sobre la cual se desarrolla la politización de la participación entre estas capas medias de ascenso.

La participación: nuevos actores y nuevos significados de la acción

Podemos admitir que entre los grupos medios las reivindicaciones de las asociaciones de vecinos por más y mejores servicios están motivadas por un ideal de bienestar que el grupo ha ido construyendo a través de una historia. Este ideal constituye un elemento que une a los residentes de Ciudad Satélite. Pero más allá de esta representación las acciones colectivas han ido creando nuevos actores, han definido y redefinido relaciones y han producido nuevos significados, como lo veremos enseguida:

a) Los intelectuales y la redefinición de las relaciones con la autoridad

La población que vive en este fraccionamiento posee un nivel educacional superior al promedio del país y existe entre ellos un alto porcentaje de profesionales. Estos últimos han desempeñado un papel importante en la organización de las acciones y sobre todo en la racionalización de las demandas. Este grupo ha sido capaz no sólo de traducir sino de transformar las reivindicaciones sociales en propuestas técnicas. Se trata de un grupo de arquitectos, ingenieros y abogados que en forma voluntaria ha puesto sus conocimientos al servicio de la comunidad y que conoce las leyes y el mundo de administración.

Varios de estos arquitectos e ingenieros son los mismos que habían colaborado en el proyecto del arquitecto Pani, otros también habían trabajado en las empresas constructoras de modo que conocen las ideas originales respecto del uso del suelo y de las normas de construcción. Por ello son capaces de identificar los obstáculos que en distintas ocasiones han constituido una amenaza para la comunidad. Conscientes de los ideales del proyecto inicial, este grupo se convirtió en un grupo de expertos en problemas urbanos, capaces de enfrentarse en términos de igualdad con las autoridades locales y estatales y plenamente legitimados por sus conocimientos técnicos.

Con el tiempo, las propuestas presentadas por este grupo a las autoridades para la solución de los problemas que los afectan no tendrán una contrapropuesta, pues el municipio no posee ni el presupuesto ni la planta de profesionales capaz de evaluarlas o ofrecer otras opciones. Así, los funcionarios municipales o estatales quedan en una situación de desventaja y el grupo de expertos de la *Asociación de Colonos* se transforma en el mejor conocedor de los problemas de la comunidad y a veces también de algunos aspectos relacionados con el municipio. De esta manera, las capas medias de Ciudad Satélite logran transformar sus demandas en problemas técnicos, legitimarse frente a las autoridades como expertos y definirse frente a ellas con situación de superioridad. Pero la capacidad técnica de estos intelectuales no sólo tiene efectos ante las autoridades, también incide en la ideología de los miembros de la comunidad pues el nivel educacional y el hecho de poseer un cierto tipo de profesión se convierte en uno de los criterios implícitos para ser elegido miembro de las directivas.

En resumidas cuentas, los grupos con mayor educación obtienen una posición privilegiada en la comunidad y logran que el conocimiento al igual que los símbolos de consumo material, sean reconocidos como un factor de prestigio y autoridad. Es importante señalar

que estos grupos han logrado también redefinir las relaciones que se establecen con la administración pública y con los representantes del gobierno.

b) *La Iglesia y la conformación de la solidaridad de grupo*

El proceso de construcción de una identidad colectiva implicó la formación de diversos grupos alrededor de intereses muy concretos. Además de los intelectuales que logran una legitimidad alrededor de las propuestas técnicas, existe un grupo muy importante de gentes cuyas actividades están organizadas alrededor de la Iglesia católica. La Iglesia logra centrar su acción en una población católica por nacimiento pero que no participaba en forma activa. Esta conversión a la práctica religiosa se instrumenta a través de una serie de actividades orientadas a canalizar los intereses de las diferentes categorías de edad y sexo de la población, dando lugar a una de las tasas de participación en actividades eclesiales más altas del país. En efecto, la asistencia a misa rebasa el 35% de la población de Ciudad Satélite, proporción que sólo había logrado la ciudad de Zamora, Michoacán, y que se acerca al de poblaciones europeas muy católicas. También el promedio de 8000 hostias que se distribuye semanalmente constituye una cifra muy alta en el país.⁸ La acción de la Iglesia local es moderna e innovadora ya que integra dimensiones sociales y dimensiones propiamente religiosas; su preocupación se sitúa en el largo plazo, lo que comparativamente con otras instituciones, le da más libertad de acción. En efecto, otras instituciones ideológicas son mucho más frágiles, pues están sujetas a coyunturas de la vida política, que les dificultan llevar a cabo proyectos de largo plazo.

Si bien la acción de la Iglesia es muy concreta y se podría asimilar a un cierto activismo social, éste posee una organización que la lleva a formar católicos convencidos y con una misión en la sociedad. En un principio sus actividades estuvieron estrechamente ligadas a la formación de redes sociales entre los jóvenes y las mujeres. En los primeros años la Iglesia tuvo a su cargo la organización de los deportes y logró una movilización de hasta 7000 personas de la región a estos eventos. También se preocupó de la cultura y en 1965 crea ARDECUSA, una asociación civil, financiada por los feligreses, cuyo propósito es fomentar el arte, la cultura y el deporte entre los vecinos. Esta asociación promueve concursos literarios, escuelas de pintura, artesanía, baile y en el último año hasta cursos de “tapp” y jazz; pero sobre todo ARDECUSA ha sido una promotora de obras de teatro. Hasta diciembre de 1985 llevaban presentadas 150 obras. Tanto en teatro como en otras áreas de la cultura, la actividad de la Iglesia se ha expandido por toda la región a través de la organización de competencias y concursos anuales.

Las parroquias centran su trabajo en grupos de jóvenes, diferenciados generacionalmente; así se encuentran aquellos de la generación de los años cincuenta, los de los sesenta y actualmente existe el proyecto de conformar “la generación de dirigentes del año 2000”. La formación de este grupo comprende desde la capacitación en el uso de computadoras hasta la lectura de poesía, pasando naturalmente por la preparación religiosa y por la formación de una actitud crítica ante la sociedad.

Las actividades socioculturales organizadas alrededor de la Iglesia se complementan con numerosas acciones religiosas que se realizan de acuerdo a las necesidades y a los intereses de los feligreses. Existen pequeños núcleos de gente que se preocupan de los niños y de los jóvenes a quienes se les enseña catecismo y se inicia en la vida cristiana a través de *Jornadas y Reflexiones* que organizan varias veces al año. Los adultos, además de participar en el *Movimiento Familiar Cristiano*, lo hacen en los encuentros conyugales, en actividades caritativas y en el centro bíblico, éste es, quizás, el núcleo más interesante. Está organizado de acuerdo a niveles de conocimiento y cuenta con un plantel de 42 profesores seculares reclutados entre los mismos alumnos. Este centro proporciona educación

⁸ Información proporcionada por monseñor López, Parroquia de San Felipe de Jesús.

bíblica a 1 500 personas semanalmente y da servicio a otras regiones del país. Además es un lugar de encuentro, de discusión y es claro que juega una función social e ideológica latente. A través de él se constituyen redes sociales que se definen por la vecindad,⁹ pero sobre todo por la identificación con la religión. Estos lazos sociales son fuertes y son reforzados por la revista *Familia Satélite* dirigida por el Consejo Parroquial y financiada a través de donativos hechos por los fieles, anuncios de los comerciantes católicos de la comunidad y por un pago voluntario del lector.

La Iglesia logra unir el discurso religioso con la realidad socio política de la comunidad y del país por medio de la revista. Es allí donde se puede apreciar con mayor claridad el contenido del mensaje transmitido por ella. Este consiste en una preparación religiosa, en una visión crítica de la sociedad y en el refuerzo de la participación social.

Las consecuencias de la acción de la Iglesia en la formación de redes sociales así como en la ideología comunitaria son claras: el bien común como fin, la solidaridad y la vida de grupo constituyen los elementos que esta institución ha incorporado al comportamiento y la ideología de este sector de capas medias.

c) *Los inmigrantes y la defensa de la naturaleza*

Como vimos anteriormente, un porcentaje alto de los residentes de Ciudad Satélite proviene de provincia y es claro que encontró en el fraccionamiento la paz y la vida provinciana que el Distrito Federal les había negado. Si bien es cierto que estos residentes no han jugado un papel como grupo dentro de las actividades de la comunidad, han logrado transmitir a sus miembros la idea de que Ciudad Satélite ofrece ventajas en términos de tranquilidad y de que es necesaria la defensa del medio ambiente y la conservación de la naturaleza. Es cierto que estas ideas encuentran un medio propicio para prosperar, ya que para muchos, conservar la naturaleza, significa poseer mayores espacios verdes y por lo tanto un aumento de la plusvalía de sus propiedades.

Sin embargo, el cálculo no es tan simple ni tan cínico. Esta ideología ecologista, que contiene elementos de utopía comunitaria, encuentra un asidero en la realidad pues la ciudad está rodeada por un gran cinturón industrial, el anillo periférico que la divide en dos y en el interior del fraccionamiento se encuentra ubicado el mayor centro comercial de la zona norte de la ciudad de México, lo que significa un tráfico constante hacia el lugar. Las ideas por defender y conservar la naturaleza encuentran un medio propicio pues el fraccionamiento se encuentra constantemente amenazado. Las luchas por conseguir que el ejido El Oro Santa Cruz fuera transformado en Parque Nacional fue el momento más importante para los grupos que sostienen esta idea; sin embargo, ella ha premiado el comportamiento de la comunidad ya que ésta ha incorporado hábitos y ha creado tradiciones como la de plantar arboles y cuidar jardines, mantener la limpieza y defender los espacios comunitarios que tratan de evitar que las agresiones del exterior produzcan deterioros irreversibles.

d) *La Asociación de Colonos y la democracia como práctica entre iguales*

La práctica de la democracia en el interior de la Asociación de Colonos ha traspasado sus fronteras y se ha extendido a otras actividades de la comunidad. El espacio democrático creado en el interior de la Asociación constituye uno de los valores más apreciados por sus miembros y directivos. Esta práctica se presenta a diferentes niveles y constituye un mecanismo de socialización para la comunidad.

La Asociación está estructurada a través de representantes de doce distritos en los que ha sido dividida la ciudad. Cada representante realiza regularmente reuniones vecinales

⁹Varios de los grupos están organizados de acuerdo a la vecindad, la cual se define por el circuito donde se encuentra la casa.

por calle, con el fin de enterarse y tomar nota de los diversos problemas que atañen a la vida de la colectividad. Cada habitante, además puede ir en forma individual a reportar quejas o proponer soluciones al jefe de distrito, quien tiene la obligación de comunicarlas a los niveles ejecutivos de la Asociación.

Los problemas tratados por los miembros de los distritos se discuten en reuniones a más alto nivel. Es interesante destacar que la mayor parte de los problemas que se plantean en los niveles más altos, van siempre acompañados de algún tipo de solución, generalmente técnica. En este proceso han intervenido los vecinos que sufren el problema y los representantes del distrito. Existe un rechazo generalizado a aquellos vecinos que plantean quejas sin proponer soluciones, lo que asegura una intensa participación en todo tipo de actividades.

La democracia priva también a nivel de las elecciones del cuerpo directivo de la Asociación que se renueva cada dos años. Sus miembros son voluntarios y no reciben remuneración por un trabajo que a veces requiere de mucha dedicación. En las elecciones generalmente se presentan dos planillas, las cuales presentan un proyecto de trabajo a la comunidad. Si bien las elecciones han demostrado que la nominación de los candidatos a puestos de representación en las directivas son libres de manipulación o fraude, es interesante constatar que la votación es baja en relación a la población involucrada. En una población de alrededor de 10 000 propietarios de vivienda sólo vota el 20%. Es posible que este 20% que vota en las elecciones de la Asociación constituya la parte más politizada de la población, aunque no necesariamente la más comprometida con la comunidad.

Las prácticas democráticas de la Asociación se limitan sólo a la comunidad y a sus miembros, están relacionadas con formas institucionalizadas y legales de representación y poco tienen que ver con algún tipo de proyecto democrático para la sociedad. En efecto, mientras la democracia se practique entre las capas medias y altas de la sociedad todo parece justificar el ejercicio democrático. Sin embargo, esta actitud cambia cuando se trata de instrumentarlo entre los grupos y clases populares. Por ejemplo, cuando se pregunta a algunos entrevistados, que reivindican la autonomía municipal para Satélite, si estarían dispuestos a aceptarla en Juchitán o Nezahualcóyotl, su opinión es negativa y condicionan la participación de los grupos populares en un proceso educacional previo. Algunos han llegado incluso a afirmar que en México hay gente que no ha accedido a la calidad de ciudadano, pues carece de una educación mínima y están marginados de todo proceso económico y social. Estos entrevistados también consideran que la calidad de ciudadano y la participación son legítimas una vez “que los pobres y marginados hayan sido educados” (Entrevista 9).

La reivindicación democrática entre estos grupos tiene por lo tanto un gran contenido de clase y es posible que se limite a ser un medio de presión para integrarse al sistema político más que por implementar un proyecto sociopolítico a nivel nacional. Al respecto habría que recordar a Marshall quien analizó la forma en que los nuevos grupos luchan por una mayor participación social y/o política adoptando discursos que si en las apariencias involucran a toda la sociedad, en realidad no constituyen más que reivindicaciones categoriales o de clase. Estos grupos a veces hablan en nombre de toda la sociedad y enarbolan discursos que pueden parecer revolucionarios, pero en la práctica están dispuestos a negociar y a olvidarlos cuando obtienen sus reivindicaciones (Marshall 1964).

Por último, es necesario hacer notar que si bien la democracia es una práctica generalizada en el interior de la Asociación y de la comunidad, esto no significa que no haya intentos de manipulación o de presión y control. En efecto, en periodos de elección, cada uno de los periódicos y revistas locales¹⁰ apoya alguna lista; por su parte los partidos

¹⁰Las publicaciones locales que hemos detectado hasta hora son: a) *Ecos*, b) *Radar*; c) *Revista Ciudad*; d) *Boletín informativo de la Asociación de Colonos de Ciudad Satélite*; e) *El siglo*; f) *El Heraldo de Toluca: Zona Satélite*; g) *Familia Satélite*.

políticos, el gobierno estatal y la delegación municipal, tratan de influir en la nominación de candidatos. En este sentido, la Asociación es un campo de lucha política.

No podemos dejar de subrayar que a pesar del conflicto que se presenta entre los que apoyan el sistema político y sus adversarios, lo que priva es la idea de que la comunidad es primero. No hay antecedentes de conflictos políticos que no hayan respetado esta idea. Un ejemplo claro de ello es que cuando Julio Zamora Bátiz, antiguo presidente de la Asociación, se identificó como militante del PRI al presentarse como candidato a las elecciones de diputado, la comunidad en su totalidad se volcó en su contra y escogió a un representante de la oposición. Sucede lo mismo en relación a la representación panista, que, dado su peso en la política local, trata de influir en las orientaciones de la Asociación. Entre ciertos grupos de la comunidad se ha creado la idea de que ellos no pueden ser percibidos como miembros de un partido político, ya que esto perjudica no solo la capacidad de negociación sino también la autonomía de la Asociación y de la comunidad en general.

En conclusión, la democracia se ha convertido en una práctica cotidiana de los miembros de la Asociación de Colonos y de la comunidad local; su contenido es de clase, las demandas democráticas esconden la defensa de privilegios y se presentan como una forma de presión hacia el sistema político.

e) *La Asociación como medio de socialización política*

Esta se constituyó para hacer respetar ciertas normas contenidas en el proyecto del fraccionamiento y para asegurar los servicios a los primeros residentes. Pero una de sus funciones no manifiestas fue ir más allá, tratando de apropiarse del control de la administración de los espacios verdes y de los servicios públicos, que en un primer momento, se encontraron sujetos a los caprichos de los fraccionadores y a la escasez de recursos de la municipalidad. Uno de sus mayores logros fue, así, la transferencia de la administración de los servicios de la Delegación a la Asociación de Colonos por un periodo de quince años. Es evidente que en este lapso realizaron acciones, lograron reivindicaciones y una serie de objetivos a través de acciones, muchas veces heroicas.

Sin embargo, la acción de la Asociación presenta un proceso de institucionalización en los últimos años. Este proceso de institucionalización se ha dado a dos niveles. El primero tiene que ver con la recuperación que el gobierno estatal ha hecho para sí de la administración de los servicios públicos. Esto ha significado que los habitantes de Ciudad Satélite han vuelto a ser ciudadanos comunes ya que pagan impuestos y dependen de las autoridades municipales para la administración de los servicios públicos. El segundo nivel comprende la forma de relación de la comunidad con las autoridades. En la actualidad la Asociación ha reducido sus funciones a administrar actividades de tipo cultural y social en el interior de la comunidad y a servir de enlace entre la población y la delegación, contribuyendo a la creación de mecanismos formales e institucionalizados de diálogo y negociación. De esta manera, las luchas heroicas de los primeros años han ido desapareciendo paulatinamente y las acciones de protesta se han hecho esporádicas.

Resulta, entonces, paradójico que la Asociación se haya mantenido como referencia para la acción de la comunidad cuando su función, en principio, es administrativa. La mayor parte de las organizaciones urbanas (y no urbanas) de tipo voluntario¹¹ desaparecen una vez que han cumplido los fines de defensa local o categorial que se han propuesto.

¹¹Al respecto es interesante señalar los hallazgos de Cornelius cuando analiza las organizaciones vecinales entre los grupos populares: "cuando las demandas por bienes colectivos han sido satisfechas... la estructura organizacional que ha sido creada para negociar con las agencias públicas en la solución de problemas colectivos, tiende a *atrofiarse* o a desintegrarse en un período muy corto de tiempo." Wayne Cornelius, *Political Learning Among the Pooors: the Impact of Residential Context, Comparative Politics*. Serie #01-037, vol. 4. Jorge Montañó maneja una tesis similar en su trabajo *Los pobres de la ciudad en los asentamientos espontáneos*, México, Siglo XXI, 1979.

En el caso de la Asociación de Colonos habría sido lógico que decreciera su importancia y se redujera a un aparato administrativo. Pero éste no es el caso. Su eficiencia no podría explicar por qué cada elección de mesas directivas moviliza no tan solo a individuos sino también a la Iglesia, a los partidos políticos, a los periódicos y pone en guardia a las autoridades del gobierno local. Tampoco explicaría el interés de los residentes por participar en una actividad que de hecho requiere de mucho tiempo y que no es remunerada.

Nuestra hipótesis es que la Asociación no se ha limitado a defender las condiciones y el estilo de vida de la comunidad, sino que ha rebasado el ámbito local urbano que definió sus primeras acciones. En efecto, existen algunos indicadores que nos llevan a pensar que la participación en la mesa directiva de la Asociación ha sido, para varios de los que han ocupado cargos una especie de trampolín para la vida política municipal, estatal y nacional. Varios presidentes de la Asociación han terminado como funcionarios públicos de alto nivel o en puestos de representatividad política. No sería raro encontrar, entre los miembros de la mesa directiva, a algunas personas que han logrado contratos o regalías a través de su relación con el aparato administrativo y político locales.

La Asociación, en la práctica cotidiana, se ha transformado en un mecanismo de socialización política. A través de ella sus dirigentes entran en relación con las autoridades y con el sistema político. Es en la Asociación donde los dirigentes se enfrentan con una base social que plantea exigencias diferentes y posee ideologías que no siempre son coincidentes. El aprendizaje del manejo de grupos y de relación con las autoridades se lleva a cabo en su interior. Allí los dirigentes y las bases aprenden que, para obtener ciertos fines, no tan solo es necesario movilizarse sino también negociar con un gobierno municipal y estatal que ha debido desarrollar estrategias para controlar la acción de esos grupos nuevos, cuyas exigencias muchas veces entran en contradicción con los planes y proyectos gubernamentales.

Finalmente, debemos hacer notar que ni el sistema político ni la administración municipal locales poseen una estructura capaz de dar respuesta a las reivindicaciones de estas capas sociales en ascenso. Es por esto, que a principios de los años sesenta se crea esta organización que comenzó a cumplir funciones que por lógica debían haber asumido organizaciones tales como las de los partidos políticos, la municipalidad, la administración estatal, etc. Desde su comienzo, la Asociación se organizó de manera original, desarrollando una estructura, principios de funcionamiento y una ideología propias. Esta estructura de poder se apoya actualmente en una población cercana a las 60 mil personas, todas ellas comprometidas con sus directivas, lo que le da un gran poder de negociación a la Asociación. Esto es importante en la medida de que este tamaño de población puede asimilarse al de cualquier municipio. En este sentido, la experiencia de la Asociación puede ser evaluada como una innovación dentro del sistema municipal mexicano puesto que allí se ha practicado una especie de autonomía local por la que tanto luchan algunos municipios del país.

Algunas consideraciones finales

Las reflexiones anteriores han estado orientadas a explicar la politización de las capas medias a partir del análisis de una comunidad urbana. Esta opción metodológica, que plantea posibilidades y limitaciones, se puede comprender si se considera que los sectores sociales tienden a vivir juntos y a apropiarse de espacios a los que les otorgan características propias de su estilo de vida.¹² En la Ciudad de México, la segregación espacial ha sido un proceso claro desde el Porfiriato (Moreno Toscano, 1983), de manera

¹²Giddens, por ejemplo, plantea que para el estudio de las clases medias europeas es mucho más útil utilizar criterios como la segregación por barrios y las imágenes que tiene la gente sobre la jerarquía al interior de la sociedad, que características ligadas a ingreso, educación o trabajo manual/o no manual. (Anthony Giddens, *The Class Structure of Advanced Societies*, Harper and Row, Publishers, New York, 1975, p. 186-188.).

que se puede afirmar con cierta certeza de que la selección de un estrato social a partir de la residencia constituye un criterio válido. Además, evita los problemas generados por la heterogeneidad que caracteriza a los sectores medios y permite ubicarlos empíricamente con cierta confiabilidad. Esta confiabilidad es mayor cuando se trata de fraccionamientos especiales orientados a satisfacer las necesidades de vivienda de los estratos de ingreso medio. La selección implícita por ingreso que encontramos en el fraccionamiento (hecha por la empresa que vende las casas) asegura una homogeneidad en el nivel de ingresos y en un cierto estilo de vida, pero no significa que se trate de una población homogénea en términos de otras características como profesión, educación, etc. A pesar de que esta forma de aproximación al problema pudiera ser objetable, es claro que presenta las ventajas señaladas y sobre todo evita los interminables problemas derivados de las definiciones estructurales.

Cabe señalar además, que en el caso de esta investigación el objetivo radica en la definición estructural de las capas o clases medias ya que su interés se orienta al comportamiento colectivo.¹³ Así, el hecho de trabajar sobre un grupo real facilita la aproximación al problema y permite al mismo tiempo poner a prueba la idea surgida por Thompson (1979) en el sentido de que las clases no son necesariamente grupos estructurales sino conformaciones que se crean a través de la acción y de la confrontación. Este enfoque nos permitió privilegiar el análisis del comportamiento de un grupo de clases medias en Ciudad Satélite, así como las relaciones que han establecido con distintos interlocutores, entre los que destacan el gobierno y la iglesia locales como instituciones que influyen en su conformación como actor social y en su transición hacia la oposición política.

En otro orden de consideraciones podemos afirmar que la información obtenida a partir de fuentes documentales, entrevistas en profundidad a los principales actores que participan en la comunidad y del análisis de algunos datos secundarios, permitió reconstruir los principales procesos relacionados con el comportamiento colectivo pero no fueron suficientes para verificar algunas hipótesis sobre el origen y características socioeconómicas de la población. Existen datos globales referidos a la comunidad y se cuenta con información para los entrevistados pero éstos no pueden relacionarse en un análisis que permita generalizar la población. Sería importante cuantificar algunas características referidas a las familias que viven en la comunidad para validar algunos supuestos así como la generalidad de algunos hallazgos.

Por otra parte, la reconstrucción de la historia de las movilizaciones en Ciudad Satélite permite sustentar la hipótesis sobre la aparición de una oposición política entre las clases medias y reflexionar acerca de su impacto en el sistema político local.

En efecto, la información obtenida en Ciudad Satélite sugiere que cuando la movilidad y la participación sociales están relacionadas, aumenta la probabilidad de que las acciones colectivas se transformen en oposición política. En este complejo proceso influyen distintos elementos, entre los cuales destacan las redes de relaciones sociales creadas por los vecinos que permiten la aparición de una cierta identificación comunitaria y de una autonomía local, y las relaciones de dependencia y oposición que se desarrollan entre la comunidad y los interlocutores estatales.

Además, es claro que la politización de estos grupos a través de las organizaciones vecinales tiende a cambiar las alianzas tradicionales y contribuye a renovar la vida política local. La entrada de estas organizaciones favorece un estilo novedoso de hacer política que se caracteriza por una cierta eficiencia en la resolución de los problemas urbanos y por una práctica democrática en la toma de decisiones. Los objetivos de estas organizaciones, definidos a nivel comunitario y con un contenido claro de defensa de privilegios, han sido

¹³En relación a la discusión sobre los enfoques estructurales y de acción, ver Alain Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradictions in Social Analysis*, Londres, The McMillan Press, 1983; y Touraine, *Production de la société*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1973.

atacados por los partidos y por las instituciones, pero es evidente que su acción los ha obligado a salir de la indiferencia.

Para el Partido Acción Nacional no ha sido difícil captar el apoyo de estos sectores ya que una de sus estrategias es, justamente, impulsar la adhesión de personas y organizaciones con prestigio e influencia a nivel local, aunque esta adhesión se realice en el periodo preelectoral (Guadarrama, 1987). Si bien el PRI le ha tomado más tiempo incorporarlos, es claro que los ha debido considerar tanto en la nominación de sus candidatos a puestos de representación como en la instrumentación de las políticas destinadas a democratizar la vida municipal que lleva a cabo el gobierno del estado. Existen algunos indicadores que permiten incluso plantear que la entrada de estos grupos ha significado una recomposición del PRI municipal.

A nuestro juicio, sin embargo, el aporte de la participación de estos grupos a la vida política local y estatal está condicionado por su autonomía como organismos de representación. La acción de este sector, desde 1960 en adelante, ha estado orientada no sólo a defender sus privilegios sino a crear una organización social y a transformar la política local.

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Impacto de la conurbación en la calidad de vida

La ciudad de México-Tenochtitlan fue, de algún modo, un monstruo. Surgida en una pequeña isla en el centro del lago, es en sí una comprobación de cómo el origen de una ciudad no se debe a razones de orden práctico y lógico -en el sentido que hoy lo entendemos- sino a razones míticas e históricas. En efecto, el sitio de la fundación de los mexicas estuvo determinado por una necesidad circunstancial: la carencia de tierras alrededor del lago y la consecuente hostilidad hacia los recién venidos mexicas; y por una coincidencia mítica: no sabemos ni sabremos nunca si en realidad una fecha que ahora se suele situar en 1325 los aztecas hallaron un águila sobre un nopal, en correspondencia con el mandato de su dios tribal Huitzilopochtli, pero lo importante es que el grupo así lo entendió y tuvo la fuerza y la perseverancia para levantar una ciudad que llegaría a ser una gran ciudad, en sitio tan poco favorable.

Robando tierra a la laguna, según el tradicional sistema de chinampas, la ciudad pudo crecer y llegar a ser, quizá después de Teotihuacan y Cholula, la más grande y esplendorosa ciudad del altiplano mexicano. Su defecto se convirtió en virtud: la limitación del crecimiento por el lago la hacía inexpugnable teóricamente.

Después de haber sido vencida el 13 de agosto de 1521, el conquistador decidió mantener ahí la capital del nuevo reino sujeta a la corona española. Las razones, una vez más, fueron de un orden ajeno a la práctica de la construcción urbana. Pero la voluntad de los hombres es tan grande que la ciudad se rehizo: nos seguimos preguntando hasta la fecha si la decisión fue la conveniente. Una vez más sus defectos fueron sus virtudes: sin posibilidades de crecimiento de su superficie, pronto se presentó la especulación urbana. El complicado equilibrio del sistema de lagos en la cuenca mexicana la hacía fácilmente presa de la invasión de aguas salitrosas, o peor aún, de terribles inundaciones. Pero tenía, por otra parte, la garantía de un abasto extraordinariamente fácil y barato que llegaba por trajineras de todos los puntos de la ribera lacustre.

En realidad, al momento de la fundación de México-Tenochtitlan, la laguna de México era ya un lago en vías de extinción paulatina por causas de ese fenómeno geográfico que se conoce como "piratería" o captación: las cuencas marítimas tienden a robarse los caudales de las cuencas cerradas, dada su mayor pendiente.

La agonía de la cuenca mexicana ha sido, sin embargo, extraordinariamente larga. Tanto que las inundaciones cíclicas han sido -y siguen siendo- características de la vida histórica del valle. Ya en tiempos de los aztecas se presentaba el problema, pero se solucionó parcialmente por el albaradón de Nezahualcóyotl, rehecho en época novohispana. Después el problema de desagüe se convirtió por más de dos siglos en el problema capital de todo virrey al que tocaba mandar en nombre del soberano español. Este fue un gran problema, junto con la construcción de la catedral y el abasto de granos, tanto como para llevar a los tribunales al muy ilustre Enrico Martínez (eran tiempos en que se exigían responsabilidades a quienes tenían que ver con las obras públicas).

De todos modos, el nivel del lago en proceso de desecación seguía bajando. Para el siglo XVII fue un problema central de las administraciones municipales el desasolve de los canales en época de secas, para así asegurar el abasto de la ciudad.

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Para ese siglo, sobre todo a sus finales, la ciudad, que de las viejas acequias conservaba unas cuantas, había empezado a extenderse hacia espacios que poco antes habían sido puro lago: hacia el occidente, barrio de ricos, con los nuevos trazados al sur-este de la Alameda, regidos por la calle de Revillagigedo y el Paseo de Bucareli; la decisión de levantar la fábrica de cigarros (ciudadela) al extremo suroeste de esa zona, pese a las dificultades que presentó al arquitecto Costanzi, asegura ese polo de desarrollo. Hacia el oriente y hacia el sur, barrios de pobres, más encenagados, hacia la Calendaria de los Patos y San Pablo, y por Santa Cruz: la creación de las parroquias de San Pablo y Santa Cruz y Soledad aseguró esas nuevas y dificultosas extensiones.

Las ciénegas, restos del lago, siguieron desecándose. Primero la tierra se hizo firme al lado de la calzada, bordeadas de zanjas que servían de drenes. Creció como tentáculos de una neurona, por la calzada de Tacuba hacia San Cosme y la Tlaxpana; por la de Guadalupe al norte dando lugar al crecimiento del barrio de Santa Ana, que luego será Peralvillo; al suroeste por las calzadas de la Piedad, Niño Perdido y Chapultepec, y al sur por San Antonio Abad.

Para propiciar el desecamiento de la tierra cenegosa se excavaron canales, llamados ríos, de los cuales el primero fue el río del Consulado (luego el Churubusco, la Piedad, Armas, Miramontes, etc.). Su finalidad era provocar drenes artificiales que desecaran la tierra y dirigir las aguas en época de lluvias, para evitar que se esparcieran libremente en el lecho del lago.

Con tierras ya medianamente secas se fincaron las que empezaron a llamarse colonias (a partir de la colonia francesa -Barrio Nuevo- al suroeste de la ciudad): Santa María de la Rivera, Juárez, Guerrero y San Rafael.

Por fin, en el albor del siglo XX, el gobierno de Porfirio Díaz consiguió lo que tres siglos de colonia y uno de vida independiente no habían conseguido: abrir el canal del desagüe, que siguiendo la idea del túnel de Enrique Martínez y del tajo de Nochistongo hacía posible el desalojo de las aguas fuera del Valle de México.

Ese hecho capital, que aliviaba (relativamente) a la ciudad, acrecentaba el proceso de piratería fluvial y llevaba indefectiblemente a la más rápida desecación de los lagos. Una vez más, sus virtudes (no inundaciones, posibilidad de cloacas, posibilidad de crecimiento de la ciudad), estaban contrastadas por los defectos, no previsibles entonces.

El régimen porfiriano cumplió otro proceso que, tanto como el primero, definiría los rumbos de la ciudad hasta la fecha. Éste es el establecimiento del increíblemente eficiente sistema de tranvías.

Con la tierra ya seca -aunque no tanto- pudieron establecerse las vías que ligaban, partiendo siempre del zócalo, a la ciudad con las nuevas colonias y, esto es lo más importante, con las viejas poblaciones, tributarias tradicionalmente de la ciudad (puesto que llenaban sus necesidades de abasto, mercadeo y recreación), pero independientes, que bordeaban el lago aceleradamente desecado: Azcapotzalco, Coyoacán, Churubusco, Tacubaya, la Villa de Guadalupe, y hasta Tlalpan y Xochimilco.

El eficientísimo (diría uno, perfecto) sistema tranviario hizo posible, por una parte, que crecieran nuevas colonias cercanas al viejo casco citadino: Roma, Doctores, Obrera, Industrial (Lecumberri). Pero sobre todo, permitió que fueran a vivir a aquellas localidades satélite los habitantes que, por carencia de tierra urbana, se hacinaban en la ciudad; quienes, por otra parte, dado el geométrico crecimiento burocrático -y educativo- porfiriano y el desarrollo industrial y comercial, ascendían de clase y encontraban impropio de su nueva condición el habitar encimados en vecindades. Fue, por primera vez, posible vivir en Azcapotzalco o Tacubaya, San Ángel y trabajar en la ciudad. Crecieron así localidades como San Pedro de los Pinos, Imparcial, El Carmen.

Los tranvías circulaban en bordos (para evitar la inundación) y protegidos por alambradas (para evitar las rocas). Pero el proceso de desecación siguió y comenzaron a

llenarse los espacios, antes cenagosos, de localidad a localidad y entre ésta y la ciudad. El automóvil acabó por precipitar la situación hasta llevarla a la condición actual.

Veamos un poco el proceso en términos de identificación social y calidad de vida (que entiendo correlativos). La ciudad, al abrirse en estas neuronas de brazos larguísimo tendió a despersonalizarse, puesto que diluía la vieja estructura de barrios. Andres Lira ha mostrado, en estudios rigurosos, la impresionante persistencia de las parcialidades y las comunidades tradicionales. Por otra parte, en menor, los lazos de unión comunitaria social se repiten en los pueblos y villas tradicionales que se incorporan primero, por los tranvías, a la ciudad. Pero la otra inmensa masa de gente que por modificar su estatus salía de esa comunidad cerrada, y la inmensa cantidad de inmigrantes que creció desorbitadamente durante la Revolución y sigue galopante (de 500 mil en 1910 a 1 millón en 1930; 2 millones en 1940; 4 millones en 1950; 8 millones en 1960 y 17 millones ahora), se da como desubicada, desenraizada, no identificada. Excepción son los barrios marginados, como Tepito o La Candelaria.

La ciudad vieja, tradicional, tenía sus señales identificadoras. Eran, sobre todo, las iglesias: una iglesia, una plaza, un tecpan hacían ese barrio estructurado pues es una pequeña ciudad dentro de la ciudad. También a veces, un puente, un mercado.

Con el crecimiento decimonónico de la ciudad aparecieron nuevas señales. El Caballito, el monumento a Cuauhtémoc (Noreña), los monumentos a Colón (Villar), la columna de la Independencia (Rivas Mercado). También los nuevos palacios públicos: el de Correos; el de Comunicaciones.

La Revolución fue menos pródiga en estas referencias identificadoras pero las tuvo.

En la medida en que la ciudad se salió completamente de madre, las señales escasearon y la identificación de los habitantes con el todo urbano fue haciéndose difícil y aun imposible.

Nadie puede identificarse, sentirse integrado, partícipe, de un hacinamiento urbano de 17 millones. En esas dimensiones es muy difícil hablar de “mi ciudad”. A la ciudad se la vive, se la sufre, pero no se la siente propia. Lo propio es lo cercano. Uno no se identifica con el desmesurado conglomerado, pero sí con su barrio, con su rumbo: ahí es donde se es alguien, donde reconoce una comunidad como propia.

Por desgracia las autoridades ciudadanas, por sexenios, no parecen haberlo advertido. En lugar de reforzar el sentido de barrio han tendido a destruirlo, aun físicamente (La Candelaria, Romita, ahora Tepito; ejes viales), sin entender que la salvación de la ciudad no está tanto en su supuesta -y tan poco lograda- eficiencia, sino en la participación ciudadana.

Frente a eso las señales urbanas, tanto las antiguas que son los monumentos (y éste es el verdadero sentido de preservación), como los modernos, a partir de las torres de Satélite de Luis Barragán, son un elemento identificador y unificador de valor inapreciable.



