

# SOURCES FOR STUDIES OF HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY IN URUGUAY (1728–1860)\*

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## INTRODUCTION

Uruguay, once known as the “Switzerland of South America” for its advanced social and economic development, is a country in which it is surprisingly difficult to obtain statistical data, and quantitative demographic sources are little known and even less analyzed. Despite the fact that, at the turn of the century, Uruguay had a stable government and an advanced social system (the “welfare state” created by the *administraciones batllistas*), only five general population censuses had ever been taken (1852, 1860, 1908, 1963, 1975), and only the last three are reliable. However, these are not the only sources available, and it is necessary to survey other major existing demographic data, whether published or unpublished.

For instance, the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Montevideo, contains surveys from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an examination of which would contribute much to the knowledge about this atypical Latin American country. According to the latest general census (1975), 82 percent of the Uruguayan population lives in urban centers and 46 percent in the metropolitan area of Montevideo, its capital, whereas the major portion of the country’s territory remains practically unpopulated.<sup>1</sup> Demographic studies in Uruguay are in their infancy; work in historical demography has been meager and, in almost all cases, the work has concerned the statistical period, when government data have been published.<sup>2</sup> This article will describe sources for the proto-historical period, seeking to call attention to them, in order to prompt further research.

## PAROCHIAL ARCHIVES

The territory of what is today the República Oriental de Uruguay was fiercely disputed by Spain and Portugal from the seventeenth to the nineteenth cen-

\*The author thanks Herbert S. Klein of Columbia University for his encouragement and for his valuable comments concerning this manuscript.

*Translated by the Duke Translation Service with funds provided by the Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation, Inc.*

turies. In 1676, a papal bull determined that the Río de la Plata would be the southern limit of the Diocese of Rio de Janeiro. Four years later, the Colonia del Sacramento was founded, facing Buenos Aires, beginning the occupation of the land that is today part of Uruguay. There the first parochial books were kept, from 1690 to 1777, when Colonia was abandoned by the Portuguese. These books are now stored at the Ecclesiastical Court of Rio de Janeiro; some excerpts have been published by Rheingantz (1949).

After the Portuguese had finally been expelled, the ecclesiastic organization had its center at Montevideo. Starting in 1727, baptism and marriage books were kept, and two years later the recording of deaths was begun. In the interior of the country, records were begun in 1764 in Maldonado, and, in 1771, in nearby San Carlos, in the jurisdiction directly dependent upon Buenos Aires. The suffragan parishes of Montevideo began to maintain vital records in 1776 (Canelones), 1782 (Santa Lucía), 1783 (Minas and San José), 1788 (Pando), and 1824 (Las Piedras). The Colonia del Sacramento, under Spanish rule, began its books in 1779. In 1807, in the city of Montevideo itself, the records of its second parish (Cordón) were begun, and only in 1840 did those of the newly created parishes appear. Apolant (1966a) drew from the first books of marriages of the Iglesia Matriz de Montevideo and collected data concerning baptisms and deaths from that church and from other parishes of the interior and Buenos Aires in order to reconstruct the genealogy of families in the jurisdiction of Montevideo during its first forty years of existence. Although the purpose of his work was genealogical, the data provided are of great use for demographic analysis; for that reason we hope the second volume of his work will soon be made available.

The Uruguayan Church, however, was always weak, with limited political and economic power and little social influence or property. Priests were few, and spatial distribution characteristics made it difficult to control parishes that were large and sparsely populated. Furthermore, the country was colonized late, so the Church had little time to establish its organization before war and revolution further hindered its task. That is why, with the exception of urban populations, coverage in the parochial books is so deficient. Apolant finds marriage certificates for people whose baptism is not recorded in any parochial book. Given this, it is likely that there were transients in the eastern countryside whose existence was never noted in any ecclesiastical record.

#### POPULATION SURVEYS

Most of the population surveys (*padrones*) made by order of successive state authorities—the other important source for information on Uruguay's population—are found in the AGN in books that originated with its predecessor, the Archivo General Administrativo (AGA), and which were probably bound circa 1930. Assuming they were bound in the same order in which they were stored at the AGA, it is possible to reconstruct the padrón in usable form since, in many cases, they are spread throughout different books (as can be verified in the tabular material that follows). It is almost certain that these are not the only surveys that have been preserved. The surveying was generally performed by

the judiciary, and in many cases the AGA books were merely copies of the originals deposited in the corresponding courthouse. It is possible that comprehensive searches of the judicial archives, today an administrative dependency of the AGN, would unearth other padrones.

We can identify six stages in the execution of surveys in this territory:

1. The colonial period. Almost all the surveys correspond to the jurisdiction of Montevideo and, more precisely, to the city and its surroundings; most were taken for military or economic reasons. Many have been published (see table 1), although no demographic studies based on them have yet been made. It is also possible that the surveys of the Banda Oriental, directly dependent upon Buenos Aires, may be found in the Archivo General de la Nación Argentina (AGNA).

TABLE 1 *Published Surveys of Montevideo, Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*

- Padrón de las familias fundadoras levantada inicialmente por P. Millán. Libro* from the Archivo and Museo Municipal de Montevideo. Apolant 1966a. Apolant (1966a, pp. 48ff) allows the reconstruction of the original nucleus, indicating family links, ages, etc.
- Listas de Vecinos de 1743, 1747, 1769. Libro 246 and Caja 18* from the AGA, in the AGN. Apolant 1968. Executed for military and fiscal reasons, they include the names of the family heads, sometimes their ages, and the family nucleus. Those of fiscal type indicate economic level.
- Tasaciones de 1751. Caja 2, Carpeta 14A* from the AGA, in the AGN. Apolant 1966a. Appraisal of real estate and livestock property of the population of Montevideo.
- Relación de Vecinos de 1761. AGNA, Div. Colonia, Sec. Gobierno, Sala 9, Montevideo, Legajo 5. 1759–1761. 2–2–1.* Apolant 1968. Military-type listing, indicating the names of area and nonarea residents.
- Padrón de las tres Compañías de Vecinos de Montevideo y sus pagos, 1772–1773.* AGNA, Div. Colonia, Sec. Gobierno, Sala 9, Montevideo, Legajo 76. 1730–1804. 3–1–8. Apolant 1966a. Names of the family heads, their wives and children, indicating ages, real estate, and other belongings. Some pages of the survey, referred to by Apolant as “Aldecoa,” are missing.
- Padrón del Partido de Sauce y Pantanoso. 1791. Legajo 246* of the AGA, in the AGN. Archivo Artigas 1, 1950. Names of the family head, his wife and children and their ages; number of slaves.
- Padrón Parcial de las Familias Emigradas. 1811.* AGNA, Div. Nacional, Sec. Gobierno. 1811. 44–7–24. Archivo Artigas 6, 1965. Family heads and dependents by ages who fled the Banda Oriental toward the Ayuí when faced with the Portuguese invasion of the countryside.
- Padrón de los Cuarteles 1, 3 y 4 de Montevideo. 1814.* AGNA, Div. Nacional, Sec. Gobierno. 1814. 43–10–6. Archivo Artigas 16, 1978. List indicating the house number, street on which the dwelling is located, name of the owner, name of the tenant, value of the rent.

2. The war of independence. Economic control of the city and the need to obtain resources prompted the successive surveys between 1811 and 1813. Fragments preserved from the year 1812 cover half of the streets in the walled section (diagram 1); and the Buenos Aires administration, in 1814, carried out a survey of landlords and tenants. Concurrently, in the countryside, a survey was conducted of the emigrant families that followed the Banda Oriental army in its retreat to the region of the Ayuí, today, the Argentina province of Entre Ríos. (The latter two were published in the documentary series "Archivo Artigas.")

3. Under Portuguese and Brazilian rule. Surveys were begun in 1817 and were ended in 1825–28, which covered almost all the territory of the present Republic, then known as the Provincia Cisplatina. Unfortunately, little of that work has been preserved. It was also during this period that special economic censuses were carried out. These included "Padrones de Intrusos," which concerned holders of lands that had belonged to royalist Spaniards and other enemies of the revolutionary process ended by Luso-Brazilian intervention.<sup>3</sup>

4. Under the new republic. Shortly before the creation of Uruguay as an independent state, the creole government, at war with Brazil, ordered a population survey of those remaining portions of Canelones, Maldonado, Durazno, and Villa de Paysandú (see diagram 2). The new republic, established in 1830, tried to create the bases for collecting permanent statistics. A constitutional order called for a population census of each *departamento* to determine the number of representatives each should have in the House of Representatives; unresolved problems of land tenure also required surveys for clarification. The State also attempted to collect data over time; to that end, guidelines were established in 1827 by which priests were to report monthly on the baptisms, marriages, and deaths in their parishes. Some did supply this information, but

DIAGRAM 1 *Montevideo in the Colonial Period*

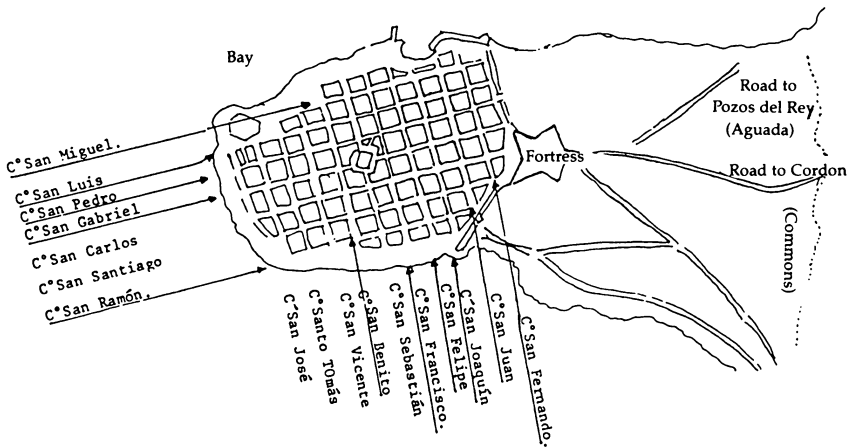
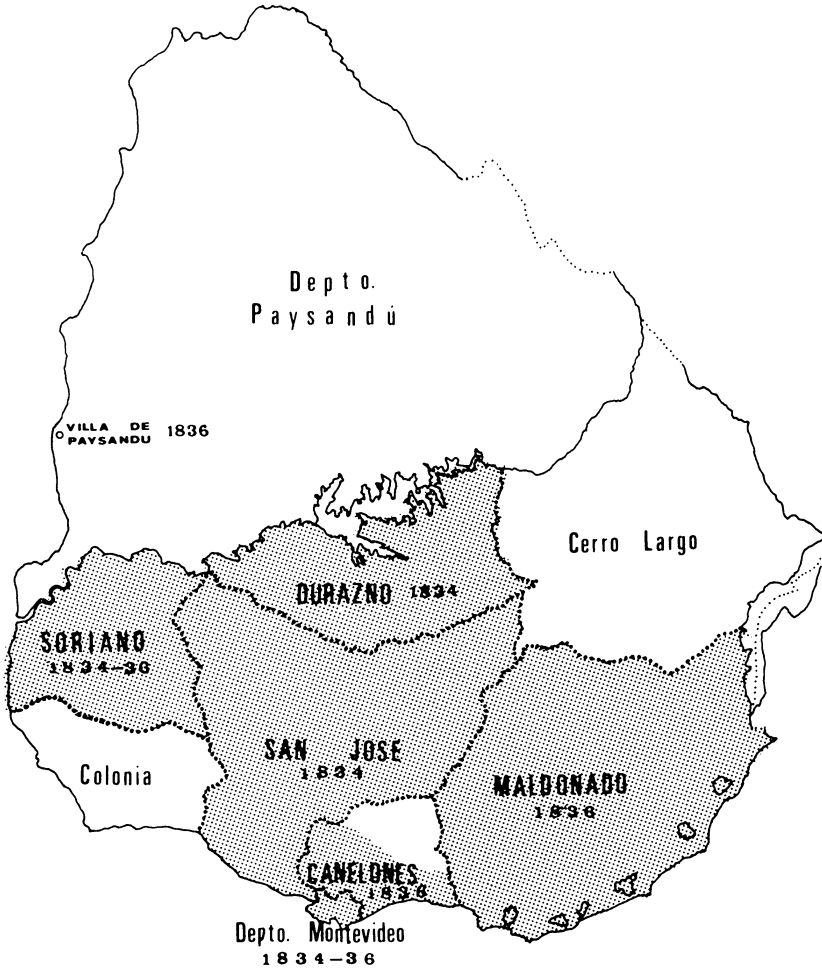


DIAGRAM 2 Geographic Coverage of the Surveys Made between 1834 and 1836

The existing surveys cover 40% of the total surface of the Uruguayan territory. According to the summaries published by Andrés Lamas, they correspond to approximately 63% of the total existing population at the time.



only sporadically. This was understandable in view of the poor and uneducated population living in vast and inadequately defined parishes, with few and often no better prepared priests.

Because of these shortcomings, between 1832 and 1836, a series of population surveys was carried out, some of which reported on the total population

and others on special sectors; comprehensive analysis of these can offer an excellent view of the population of Uruguay at the start of its independence. Those available in the AGN cover more than 60 percent of the population of the period and 40 percent of the surface area of the country (as shown in diagram 2).

5. The civil wars. With the outbreak of civil disorder, the systematic collection of statistics had to wait for a half century. Once more, in the 1840s, wartime necessity forced Montevideo to attempt repeated censuses, the majority for fiscal purposes. Also included is an interesting unpublished survey of the black population before the siege of the city in 1841.

6. National consolidation. After the prolonged Rioplatense civil war ended in 1851, the government ordered a general census of the population and economic situation, accomplished by the traditional method of a nominal listing of persons. Both the imperfect census of 1852 and another done at the end of the same decade have been published (as fragments of the original censuses became available), and they allow an evaluation of the degree of underrecording and other errors shown in the aggregate data already published. Beginning in the 1880s, vital statistics were gathered by civil authorities, rather than ecclesiastical registries; an excellent census was carried out in 1889 in the Departamento of Montevideo; and population surveys in the interior of the country were begun.

#### RELIABILITY OF THE DATA

Naturally, the listing of population concentrations contains omissions, duplications, and a number of incorrect annotations; after all, this territory was characterized by a population that was sparse, rural, uncontrollable, and mostly illiterate, and by rudimentary bureaucratic apparatuses of the Church and state. Nevertheless, used with care, these materials can serve to analyze the most important characteristics of the population structure as well as its growth tendencies. The comparison with surveys of an earlier period for the same area (possible for the decade of 1830, in several regions) permits the evaluation of the reliability of these censuses. This will certainly be a tiresome and, to a certain extent, discouraging task; even censuses of the same period contain different personal listings, but we believe that this phenomenon is common to most registries in Latin America. The parish books will also serve as an aid, along with complementary ecclesiastical documents (marriage contracts), but these registries, too, have been shown unreliable in more than one case.<sup>4</sup> Some other documents can serve to identify more clearly those social groups characterized by possession of property, since their activities were registered in private or official papers (wills, sales agreements, land tax lists, donations, etc.).<sup>5</sup>

The information is more reliable when economic interests are taken into consideration; one may at least assume that an effort was made to avoid omissions, although errors were made. In this way, surveys such as the "Planilla Estadística de Propiedad," completed between 1832 and 1834, or the squatter landowner lists, permit the comparison of general censuses of inhabitants and the observation of degrees of underregistration, although these cover a more limited sector of the population. It is also likely that the intervention of local

*caudillos* allowed a large part of the rural population, who feared the consequences of these surveys, to elude them. Consulting the military lists of those contingents considered insurgent, especially for periods of civil war, as well as registers of those imprisoned, can provide names that never appear in any survey or parish book.

Surveys carried out in the urban areas, more precisely in Montevideo, are certainly more reliable than those conducted in the countryside, since the physical, social, and intellectual distances were smaller in the administrative-commercial centers. Nevertheless, and paradoxically, it is possible that the comparison of proximate censuses of Montevideo would also show a substantial inconsistency of names from one to the next. The population of this urban center also must have been mobile, accounting for some of the discontinuity, especially since it was a port that rivaled Buenos Aires as an outpost of North Atlantic life on the River Plate. In the rural areas, on the other hand, as tables 3 through 10 show, it was more difficult to carry out listings of inhabitants, and in the areas that were settled more slowly, these could almost never be done. Thus, for the areas north of the Río Negro, population listings are practically nonexistent; there, the Church did not extend its activity beyond the belt of farms around the towns.

Last, because this was a buffer zone, crisis and war were endemic, especially after 1811. Many Montevidean surveys were carried out in times of economic dislocation (there were sieges between 1811 and 1814 and between 1843 and 1851) to extract extraordinary fiscal contributions; these circumstances undoubtedly produced abnormal behavior and skewed surveys. By the same token, surveys carried out after these sieges had the additional motive of seeking to determine the condition of the country as it emerged from a period of internecine conflict. For this reason we can conclude that most surveys were undertaken in periods close to political-military disturbances, which must be kept in mind when performing any demographic analysis (it is sufficient to point out that, between 1811 and 1872, we can count a minimum of twenty-nine wars and revolutions).

#### *Problems of Definition in Geographic Coverage*

During the colonial period, the possession of what is now the Eastern Republic of Uruguay was in dispute. Resolved in favor of His Catholic Majesty, the territory was only unified under a single authority in 1810; until then, the Buenos Aires Intendency, the government of Yapeyú (inherited from the Jesuits, expelled in 1767), and the government of Montevideo had jurisdiction over it (Cocchi et al. 1977). The surveys preserved from the period are almost all from the Montevidean jurisdiction.<sup>6</sup> The rural geographic areas to which these lists refer are still not known exactly, and much cartographic study would be necessary to determine precisely the territories to be included. In Montevideo, these problems are generally not posed, since the streets of the colonial city are, in general, well known.

The modern administrative division of Uruguay originated in a Decree of

the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of Argentina, Posadas, 1814, creating regions that, given the brevity of the Buenos Aires rule, had practically no effect. With some modifications, the Chief of the Banda Oriental, Artigas, made a new division in 1816, which also soon fell, to the Portuguese invasion. The Luso-Brazilian administration increased the number of divisions to nine in 1821; this survived in the new republic until 1837, when new divisions were created.<sup>7</sup> The boundaries of these departamentos have remained unchanged except for Montevideo.<sup>8</sup>

Each departamento was subdivided into districts (the origins of the present judicial sections), the delineation of which is rather difficult, although at the time the civil and ecclesiastical boundaries coincided. The extant documents in many cases indicate inconsistent boundaries, and no research has yet been done that permits tracing the evolution of these administrative units. In addition, we suspect that in many cases, boundaries of different extent were included under the same name, and in other cases that the same area received different names in two successive listings. Tables 2 through 10 summarize the information of the surveys from the AGN. We have grouped them into nine departamentos existing between 1821 and 1837 to facilitate comparison even for dates beyond these extremes.<sup>9</sup> As can be seen, the departamentos south of the Rio Negro are better represented, since to the north only the chartered towns of Salto and Paysandú maintained registries (diagram 2). The majority obviously refer to Montevideo; the surveys of Soriano and Maldonado are next in importance. Unfortunately, the surveys for Canelones are rather incomplete, and we have only one incomplete economic survey of Colonia.

#### *Problems in Time Coverage*

Formulating tables 2 through 10 was time consuming not only because of the chaotic arrangement of the census survey books at the AGN, but also because of our doubts concerning many of the attributed dates. Nearly a quarter of the censuses have no date because the folios lack their original covers or simply because they are incomplete. The administration of the AGN assigned dates to the surveys without indicating the criteria employed, and it is certain that many of the attributions are simply wrong.<sup>10</sup> Only through handling other documentation and data, especially that which refers to the age of people, can this problem be overcome. For this reason many of the dates shown in these tables must be taken as approximate.

#### *Data Provided by the Surveys*

Almost all the surveys preserved contain disaggregated information on individuals, though we should consider that the listing is valid only for the head of the family. The names and data for children and slaves are noted, but the wife is omitted; her existence must be deduced from the declaration of marital status made by the head of the family. Under our method, the surname follows fixed rules to avoid the problems in identifying the family nucleus which are typical of



TABLE 2 *Surveys of Montevideo*

Note: Information is coded as follows: Number in italic indicates AGN book number (from the AGA); date indicates time period covered by the survey; next is given the geographic coverage of the survey. For data contained in the survey, see key below.

246.	1791.	Ao. Toledo. 1, 11
247.	1800.	Various streets in the old city. 1*, 3–5, 11
249.	1811–13.	Various streets in the old city. 1, 3, 5, 8b–c, 9
250.	1811.	Various streets in the old city. 1–4, 8b–c, 9
251/3.	1812.	S. Miguel and S. Telmo Streets. 1–4, 6, 7, 8b–c, 9, 11
262/249.	1812.	Co. Muralla, S. Ramón, S. Pedro, San Francisco, San Felipe, S. Luis, San Juan, Pilar, S. Fernando, S. Joaquín, S. Diego, S. Miguel, S. Gabril, S. Telmo. 3–5, 7, 11
253.	1813.	S. Agustín, S. Carlos, S. Francisco, S. Ramón, S. Diego, S. Santiago. 1, 2, 3*, 4*, 8b–c, 9
250.	1815.	Cuartels 3 and 4. 1, 2, 3*, 4*, 6, 8b–c, 9
261.	1817.	Cuartel 3. 1, 2, 3*, 4*, 8b–c, 9
261.	1819.	Cuartels 1, 3 and 4. 1, 2, 3*, 4*, 6, 8b–c, 9, 11
262.	1823.	Cuartel 3. 10, 11; Various streets in Montevideo. 1*, 2–5, 8b–c, 9
464.	1823.	Cuartels 1–4. 1, 2*, 3*, 4, 6–8c, 9, 11
262.	1826?	Cuartel 4, Piedras, Pantanoso. 1–8c, 9, 11
147.	1832.	Sec. 2, outside walls, block 2. 1–8c, 9, 11
147.	1832.	Sec. 1, outside walls, block 1. Statistical Listing of Property. 1–4, 6–11
146.	1836.	Sec. 1. 1–9, 11.
149.	1836.	Sec. 2 and 3, blocks 22–64 (missing 26, 37, 38). 1–9, 11
147/465.	1836.	Sec. 1, outside walls, blocks 1–4 and Miguelete, Peñarol, Pantonoso. 1–9, 11
148/262.	1836.	Sec. 2 and 3, outside walls, Cordon, Tres Cruces, Cardal, Aldea, P. Brava, Mansa, and Toledo. 1–9, 11
255.	1841.	Colored men in Montevideo and Villa del Cerro. 1–3, 5–7, 11
256/107.	1843.	Old and new city besieged during the Guerra Grande. 1–6, 11
264.	1850.	Sec. 1, various blocks. 1–4, 6, 8a–b, 9, 11
257/335.	1852.	Originals of the surveys for the 1852 census. 1–4. 6–8b, 8d–11
265.	1852.	People brought before the police between 1 Jan. and 31 Dec. 1–4, 6
258.	1853.	Sec. 4, 5th Pantonoso, etc. 1–4, 6–8b, 8d, 9, 11
266.	1854.	Sec. 3 and 5. 1–4, 6–8b, 9, 11
267.	1858.	Sec. 1. 1–4, 6–8b, 9, 11

Table 2 (continued)

268.	1859.	Sec. 3 and 5. 1-4, 6-8b, 9, 11
269.	1860.	Original copies of the census. 1-4, 6-8b, 8d-11

\*Datum pertaining to family head only

Key

1 Name	8 Family structure
2 Sex	a Wife
3 Age	b Children
4 Marital status	c Slaves
5 Skin color	d Other dependents
6 Birthplace	9 Total per home
7 Occupation	10 Economic-type data
	11 Preserved/legible

data for Latin American countries. The method under which the surveys were carried out, and the fact that they were done by the Justice of the Peace of the district, or the mayor of the town, or a well-known chief official in the area, in general allows the family unit to be distinguished, although the degree of consanguinity of some individuals cannot be determined. The major difficulties are presented by the state of conservation of the documents and annotations made in different handwritings. Also, in a semi-literate society, names show constant variation and one must be careful to distinguish the same name in different forms to avoid duplication when considering family nucleus.

The majority of these lists do not expressly indicate the sex of those surveyed, except for children and slaves, but it is rather easy to determine based on the names registered. The indexes of masculinity used to estimate the reliability of the data must be adjusted to allow for the high ratios of males found in rural areas, where vast cattle ranches predominated.

The age of the family head appears in the majority of the surveys, while statement of the age of the other residents cited depends on the quality of the survey in question. Since in many cases the wife is omitted, it is difficult to carry out retrospective calculations based on these listings. Those surveys conducted in the decade of 1830 are more complete. The application of the Myers and Whipple indexes (Naciones Unidas 1955) will test the validity of these surveys, since declarations were often not exact, especially in the rural areas where many would report approximate ages or the ages suggested by the surveyor. Distortion may also result from the tendency to list years in multiples of 5, or the propensity of the elderly to exaggerate their age. There are some nonpersonal Montevidean surveys in which age is assigned as 1 to 15 years, 15 to 25, 25 to 50, and more than 50; the cut-off years cannot be determined and, as one can observe, infants less than one year old are not indicated (a frequent occurrence of the era).

Most of the surveys indicate skin color, registering whites, Indians (natives), and blacks under "classes," at times lumping together the mixed bloods such as pardo or mulatto without indicating any precise definition. In a society

TABLE 3 Surveys of the Departamento of Canelones Existent in the AGN

<i>Libro or Caja</i>	<i>Time Period Covered</i>	<i>Geographical Coverage Districts &amp; Towns</i>	<i>Data (see Key)</i>	
AGN (from AGA) <i>Libro 279</i>	1791	Las Piedras, Canelones,	1-4, 8-10	
		Ao. Colorado		
	1826	S. Lucía, Pando	2, 4, 5	
		Canelón Grande and Chico	1, 3	
		Villa Canelones	1-7	
A-MHN <i>Caja 217</i>	1832	Solis Chico	1, 2, 6, 9, 11	
		Sauce, Costa de Pando	1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 11	
		Solis Grande	1-4, 6, 9, 10	
AGN (from AGA) <i>Libro 279</i>	1836	V. Santa Lucía	1*, 2, 3 <sup>a</sup> , 9, 10	
		Canelón Chico, Colorado,	1	
		Ao. Brujas		
		Belastiquí		1-4, 7-12
		Pando		1*, 2-12
V. Santa Lucía, V. Canelones, P. Coello	1-4, 7-12			

\*Datum pertaining to family head only.

*Key*

- 1 Name
- 2 Sex
- 3 Ages
- 4 Marital status
- 5 Race
- 6 Occupation of family head
- 7 Birthplace
- 8 Wife<sup>b</sup>
- 9 Children<sup>c</sup>
- 10 Slaves<sup>d</sup>
- 11 Total per home
- 12 Data concerning economic level of home or of the family head

*Note:* *Libro 279* is well preserved and legible. Only the data for 1836 can be regarded as complete, except for those of Villa de Canelones and of the Canelón Chico and Colorado Districts.

<sup>a</sup>Indicates only the ages of the children.

<sup>b</sup>Surveys that contain direct information concerning the wife are marked, as in many cases information concerning the family head is included; but if he is married, information concerning his spouse is omitted.

<sup>c</sup>In many surveys, the number of children and their ages are given, but names are omitted.

<sup>d</sup>Surveys that record the number of slaves.

in formation, as the Rioplatense was, castes did not become consolidated as they did in the main centers of the Hispanic empire, and precise censal definition was not essential for purposes of social stratification, except in the radical difference between blacks and whites that logically also marked the boundary between freedom and slavery. For this reason, problems of changes in caste classification never arose in Uruguay from one survey to another, changes that are common

TABLE 4 *Surveys of the Departamento of Cerro Largo, AGN (from AGA) Libro 273*

Time Coverage	Those of Olimar Chico, Corrales, Olimar, Ervaes and Cochila Grande (sic) are not dated, but we presume they correspond to the decade of 1830. The rest were made in 1836.
Geographic Coverage	Villa de Melo and Rural Districts of Molles, Pirarajá, Cebollati (Sec. 5), Sec. 2, Acegúa (Sec. 3), Cordobés, Tupambaé, Olimar Chico, Corrales, Olimar, Ervaes, Cochila Grande.
Data Included	List of names of family heads to which the number of members of the family nucleus is occasionally added (Melo, Molles, Pirarajá, Acegúa, Olimar Chico, Olimar, Ervaes, etc.).
State of Preservation	In general they are complete and legible, except for those of Cordobés and Tupambaé, which are water stained.

TABLE 5 *Surveys of the Departamento of Colonia, AGN (from AGA) Libro 288*

Time Coverage	1831 Property Listing.
Geographic Coverage	Pdo. S. Luis, Real de San Carlos, Riachuelo, Martín Chico, Miguelete, Colonia del Sacramento, Costa de las Bacas, Viboras, Laguna.
Data Included	Name, sex, number of children, slaves, and dependents, sometimes their age and marital status. Land and livestock owned and corresponding appraisal.
State of Preservation	Incomplete, pages missing, many portions illegible because of water stains.
Time Coverage	No date.
Geographic Coverage	Viboras, Higuieritas, La Laguna, Del Chileno.
Data Included	Name, sex, age, marital status, skin color, birthplace, occupation of family head.
State of Preservation	Illegible parts.

in colonial societies with large indigenous populations. Cases of individuals changing "class" are referred to as mestizos, meaning a mixture of black and white blood.

The marital status of those surveyed normally appears, although generally the status of only the head of the family is shown. In all cases it is indicated whether he is married or widowed. Single men were generally assigned to a household in which the head was either married or widowed. Cases of common-law marriages are not mentioned, leading us to assume that they were included among the married. References regarding other members of the family unit are

TABLE 6 Surveys from the Departamento of Durazno

AGN (from AGA)	Time Period Covered	Geographical Coverage Villages & Towns	Data (see Key)
Libro 280	1827	Villa San Pedro and rural districts	1-9c
	1832	Villa and surroundings, Pdo. Chileno, Quadra, Puntas de Quadra, Tejera, Villasboas, Caballero, Malvajar, Maciel, Blanquillo, C. Sauce, C. Maciel	1-4, 8-9b, 10
Libro 276	1832	Minas, Tala, Moyes, Carpintería, Tapes, Costas del Yi, Conchas	1-4, 8-9b, 10
Libro 280	1834	Villa San Pedro, Sec. 1 (C. Yi), Sec. 2 (Tejera, Villasboas, C. Maciel, Chileno), Sec. 3 (Caballero, Molles, Tala, Conchas y Perro, Carpintero, Pozo Justillo, Tajés y Feliciano, Murias)	1-6, 8-9d
Libro 276	1836	Departamento	Numeric summary of the three sections
	1853	Departamento	Numeric summary of the Departamento

Key

- |                                     |                             |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Name                              | 8 Occupation of family head |
| 2 Sex                               | 9 Home structure            |
| 3 Age                               | a Wife                      |
| 4 Marital status                    | b Children                  |
| 5 Skin color                        | c Slaves                    |
| 6 Birthplace                        | d Total per home            |
| 7 Time of residence in the province | 10 Economic information     |

scarce, and the situation of slaves is almost never mentioned. Perhaps only the parish books can solve the point, although we believe that little about the black population will be found in those repositories.

The "homeland" (*patria*) or birthplace of the residents is usually given in these surveys, which is valuable for estimating migratory flows, and there are cases (in 1827 and 1832) in which the time of the residence in the province or region was noted. Often more precise detail regarding the place of origin is therefore available; if born in Argentina, the province was declared, or if in a European country not unified at the time, such as Italy, the region was specified. For blacks it was indicated whether they had been born in that country or had come from Africa, and in the latter case, their nation was given (Guinea, Angola, etc.).

TABLE 7 *Surveys from the Departamento of Maldonado*

<i>AGN Libro (from AGA)</i>	<i>Time Period Covered</i>	<i>Geographic Coverage</i>	<i>Data (see Key)</i>
287	1791	Minas and its rural districts <sup>a</sup>	Global numeric summary
283	1820	Ceibos, Sauce, P. Azucar and Solis Grande <sup>b</sup>	1*–6*, 7, 9b–c, 10
272	1820	San Carlos <sup>b</sup>	1–7, 9a–c, 10
	1822	Rocha and its district <sup>c</sup>	1–7, 9a–c, 10, 11
287	1821(?)	Soldado, Casupá and Barriga Negra <sup>a</sup>	1–4, 6, 7, 9b–c
	1826	Villa Minas, Ao. Plata, Campanero, Barriga Negra and Valle Chico <sup>a</sup>	1*, 2–4, 7, 9b–c
272	1826	San Carlos and its district <sup>b</sup>	1*, 2, 3, 5, 9a–c, 10
		Maldonado <sup>b</sup> , Villa V. Rocha <sup>c</sup>	1–5, 9a–d, 10
		Castillos and S. Luis <sup>c</sup>	1–6, 9a–c
285	1834	Rural districts of the present Depts. of Maldonado and Rocha	1, 2, 9b–c
283	1836	Departamento of Maldonado <sup>b</sup>	1–5, 7, 9a–c, 10
		Minas district <sup>a</sup>	1, 2, 3*, 4, 9a–d, 10
		Rocha and its district <sup>c</sup>	1, 2, 3*, 4, 9a–d, 10
282	1854	Don Carlos, Don Carlos al sur, El Alférez, India Muerta <sup>c</sup>	1–6, 9a–b, 11
287	1855	Departamento of Minas <sup>a</sup> †	1–6, 8, 9b, 10, 11
282	1857	Rural districts of Rocha (Don Carlos, India Muerta, Garzón, Castillos, De la Sierra, Chacras de Rocha, Alférez, S. Luis, Sta. Teresa)	1–7, 9a–b, 10, 11

\*Datum for head of family only.

†After 1837, the present Departamento of Lavalleja was established with the name of the Departamento of Minas, with territory belonging until then to Maldonado and Cerro Largo.

*Key*

1 Name	9 Family structure	<sup>a</sup> Present Departamento of Lavalleja
2 Sex	a Wife	<sup>b</sup> Present Departamento of Maldonado
3 Age	b Children	<sup>c</sup> Present Departamento of Rocha
4 Marital status	c Slaves	
5 Skin color	d Other dependents	
6 Birthplace	10 Total per home	
7 Occupation of family head	11 Data on economic activity of the home	
8 State of health		

Normally the occupation of the head of the household was mentioned, affording some knowledge of the socioeconomic level of the population surveyed; at times that fact is omitted if the person named was well known, a frequent occurrence in a small society. Our attention has been attracted by the occupation declared by the majority of the population of the small towns located in the rural areas: laborer and artisan; this has not been sufficiently noted in previous studies.

Dealing with individual-level data makes analysis more difficult, unless financial help becomes available to allow the use of computers, but it will avoid the most frequent errors in the handling of aggregate data. In any event, it will be necessary to undertake the research with an interdisciplinary approach, since the exclusive use of demographic measurement techniques can lead to absurd results. For example: most surveys do not mention the large number of people grouped around the family unit in the rural areas, yet the existence and migration of an appreciable number of single men in rural areas is well known.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that the little-known migrant worker did not appear on surveys that registered the stable population that was well known to the district judge who

TABLE 8 *Surveys of the Departamento of Paysandú*

<i>Libro from AGA</i>	<i>Time Period Covered</i>	<i>Geographic Coverage</i>	<i>Data (see Key)</i>
277	1821–22 (?) 1823	Eastern Province, Paysandú Ao. Grande, Don Esteban, Pintado	1 <sup>a</sup> , 13a 1*, 13a–b
	1827	Paysandú Villa	1–7, 9a–c, 10, 11
	1832	Paysandú <sup>b</sup>	1–4, 9a–c, 10, 12
274	1833	Salto <sup>b</sup>	1–4, 9a–c, 10, 12
		Salto Villa	1–9c, 10, 11
277	1836(?)	Paysandú Villa (?)	1–6, 9a–d, 10

\*Datum for family head only.

*Key*

- |                                     |                          |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Name                              | 9 Family structure       |
| 2 Sex                               | a Wife                   |
| 3 Age                               | b Children               |
| 4 Marital status                    | c Slaves                 |
| 5 Skin color                        | d Other dependents       |
| 6 Birthplace                        | 10 Total per home        |
| 7 Time of residence in the province | 11 Smallpox infection    |
| 8 Occupation of family head         | 12 Economic data         |
|                                     | 13 State of preservation |
|                                     | a Legible                |
|                                     | b Complete               |

<sup>a</sup>Name of owner.

<sup>b</sup>Statistical list of property.

TABLE 9 *Surveys of the Departamento of San José*

<i>Libro from AGA</i>	<i>Time Period Covered</i>	<i>Geographic Coverage</i>	<i>Data (see Key)</i>
278	1791 1834	General numeric summary Villa Porongos and rural districts Timote, Castro, Mansavillagra, Polanco del Yi, Porongos Abajo, Sarandí, Illescas, Monzón (Present Dept. of Flores)	1–9, 11
	1835	Villa Florida, Ao. Virgen, Casupá, San Ramón, Santa Lucía, Chico, Tala, Pintado (Present Dept. of Florida)	1–9, 11
1351	1839	Villa San José, Cerros de S.J. Del Bañado, Carreta Quemada, Paso del Rey, Pavón, Cagancha (Present Dept. of San José)	1–9, 11
		Villa Florida (Present Dept. of Florida)	1–4, 6–8b, 9–11

*Key*

1 Name	8 Family structure
2 Sex	a Wife
3 Age	b Children
4 Marital status	c Slaves
5 Skin color	9 Total per home
6 Birthplace	10 Housing data
7 Occupation of family head	11 All legible. We believe the survey executed between 1834 and 1835 to be complete.

officialated as surveyor. Since a considerable amount of marginality and crime existed in a country where contraband trade played such an important role in the economic activity of the region, it is certain that there were many individuals who were never mentioned in any document.

Some of the surveys were carried out to obtain economic information, or to organize the land registries; those surveys known as *Planillas Estadísticas de Propiedad*, conducted between 1832 and 1834, indicated the name of the proprietor, his age and marital status, the names and ages of his wife and children, and the number of slaves and dependents, as well as the features of the property, the number of stock owned, and an appraisal of the capital those goods represented. Other documents refer to individuals who did not own land, occupants of government land or squatters on private properties. Whether limited to only one sector (the small proprietors, the “*estancieros sin tierras*”) or including the great *latifundistas*, these surveys would permit excellent research concerning the social situation of the Uruguayan countryside in this period.



TABLE 10 *Surveys of the Departamento of Soriano*

<i>AGN Libro (from AGA)</i>	<i>Time Period Covered</i>	<i>Geographic Coverage</i>	<i>Data (see Key)</i>
271	1791(?) 1832	Villa de Soriano Villa Mercedes Bequeló, Sarandí, Coquimbo, Cololó, etc. <sup>a</sup>	1-3 1-6, 8-9c, 10, 12 1*, 2, 7, 9a-c, 11
72 and 73	1832	Villas Mercedes, Soriano y campana <sup>b</sup>	1*, 2, 3*, 9a-d, 11, 12
271	1834	Villa de Soriano	1-4, 9a-c, 10, 12
281	1834	The Departamento	1-6, 8-9c, 10, 12
275 and 284	1834	Statistical listing of property of Rincón de Aldao and Agraciada <sup>c</sup>	1-3, 9a-c, 11
271	1834	Statistical listing of property of San Salvador <sup>c</sup>	1-3, 9a-c, 11, 12
281	1834	Statistical listing of property of the remaining districts <sup>c</sup>	1-3, 9a-c, 11, 12
284	1834	Statistical listing of property of Ao. Grande, Bequeló, Monzón, Perdido <sup>d</sup>	1-3, 9a-c, 11, 12
425	1834	P. Perdido <sup>b</sup>	1, 2, 3*, 9a-d, 12
271	1836	Pdo. Soriano and its district	1-6, 8-9c, 10, 12
281	1836	Pdo. Dolores Mercedes and district	1-6, 8-9c, 10, 12 1-6, 8-9c, 10, 12
425	1837	Dolores, Sauce and Espinil	1-6, 8-9c, 10, 12

\*Datum for family head only.

<sup>a</sup>Survey of individuals without territorial property, squatters, with an indication of the livestock owned.

<sup>b</sup>Economic census titled "Declaraciones de los Hacendados," registers the proprietors.

<sup>c</sup>Property listing. Proprietors and owners and their appraised property.

<sup>d</sup>Modification of the property listing with broader economic data.

*Key*

1 Name	9 Family structure
2 Sex	a Wife
3 Age	b Children
4 Marital status	c Slaves
5 Skin color	d Other dependents
6 Birthplace	10 Total per home
7 Time of residence	11 Economic data
8 Occupation of the family head	12 Legible

## EXPLOITATION OF THE DATA

We believe that the analysis of all these documents must begin with basic verifications: simple sums and percentages will indicate the rough outlines of the structure of the population of the period. In all cases, we believe that intermediate scale or even micro-studies would be most suitable. The surveys to be analyzed must pertain to the same administrative boundaries. We believe that work centered on the period 1832–36 (see diagram 2) would lead to interesting results. At an advanced stage, the possibility of applying models to calculate mortality and birth rate based on two successive surveys from the same area can be considered (Van de Walle 1977). The conjoint use of the parish books will later allow studies of marriage and birth rates.

These studies can be carried out only with financial assistance. Perhaps just as important as the research itself, we must train researchers. The field of historical demography is still new to Uruguay, due to the fact that studies in the social sciences, and most particularly in history, are still the work of amateur enthusiasts who pursue their work with scarce means, rather than the product of systematic research approached with the necessary professional judgment.

## NOTES

1. The preliminary sample of the census of 1975 indicates that 2,308,100 inhabitants live in the urban centers, of a total of 2,782,000. Our estimate of the population of the metropolitan area of Montevideo is 1,302,000 persons.
2. The best references concerning the statistical period are: Capurro Calamet (1939), Campiglia (n.d.), Mourat (1969), Pereira and Trajtemberg (1966), Petruccelli (1978), Prates (1976), Rama (1969), Rothman (1970), Solari and Franco (1971). For the colonial period, Apolant (1966a, 1966b, 1968) has published extracts of the first book of marriages of the Cathedral of Montevideo, referring to the books of baptism and deaths of that and other parishes of the interior of the country and the *Merced* of Buenos Aires to compile genealogies. He also published old surveys of the city and jurisdiction of Montevideo. In 1928, Arredondo re-edited and extended a previous study by Andrés Lamas, the first work on the subject done in this country, referring to the population of Uruguay during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1953, 1955, and 1963, Fajardo Terán published some nineteenth-century surveys of the departamentos of Lavalleja, Maldonado, and Rocha, but did not correct the errors of dating committed under the administration of the AGN.
3. In the Archivo General de la Nación, *Caja* 557 (ex fondo AGA), *Carpeta* 2 and 5, surveys of squatters in Paysandú and Santo Domingo in Soriano are found; in *Caja* 558, *Carpeta* 4, there is another survey corresponding to the zone of San Salvador, also in Soriano; all are dated 1821. A survey of squatters in Paysandú found in the *Legajo* 277 (ex fondo AGA), although it has no date, must also be near 1821.
4. Apolant (1966) found that the first book of marriages of the Matriz de Montevideo ended with an entry dated 29 January 1764, and that the second book starts with 30 September 1767. This occurred in the main church of the most important urban center of the country.
5. The first volume of a "Colección de Documentos para la Historia Económica y Financiera de la República Oriental del Uruguay" was begun in 1964, with documents referring to "Tierras" (1734–1810) extracted from diverse archives. It is unfortunate that this project was not continued, as the second volume would deal precisely with population and censuses.

6. Perhaps research in the AGNA or in Spanish repositories, especially the Archivo de Indias (AGI), would permit the location of other population lists, especially outside the Montevidean jurisdiction.
7. The 9 departamentos are indicated in diagram 2. In 1837 the extension north of the Río Negro, until then only one departamento was divided so that Salto and Tacuarembó appeared combined with Paysandú, while Minas (today Lavalleja) was created in the south, toward the east, with territory from Maldonado and Cerro Largo. In 1856, Florida was created with the lands of San José which lay between Durazno and Canelones. Finally, between 1880 and 1884, the remaining administrative divisions were created, leading to the 19 modern departamentos to which all our contemporary statistics refer.
8. The limits of Montevideo were poorly defined when the departamento was created in 1816, assuming that it was comprised of only the city, its *ejido* (commons), and the *proprios* (lands belonging to the city); Montevideo acquired its present boundaries only in 1835.
9. In the cases of Maldonado and San José we have indicated which modern departamentos correspond to the surveys executed. In the others which suffered subdivisions, Paysandú and Cerro Largo, the imprecision or absence of information would not permit doing so.
10. In consulting the parish books, Apolant (1966) came to the conclusion that the AGN erroneously attributed the date 1791 to a survey that could not be prior to 1817, and probably had a more recent date (between 1821 and 1823).
11. In 1916, the rancher Aniceto Patrón noted in his diary that during that year, fourteen hundred migrant workers passed through his *estancia* (Luis A. de Herrera, *La Encuesta Rural* [Montevideo, 1920], p. 44). If we take into account that the modernization process in agriculture had been underway for forty years, we can appreciate the importance of this nomadic phenomenon in rural areas that brought migrant workers to that ranch at the rate of almost four per day.

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