

URBAN SOCIETY IN
COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA:
Research Trends*

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METHODS, SOURCES, PERIODS

In 1972 James Lockhart summarized for *LARR* the state of social history research on colonial Latin America and proposed far-reaching methodological innovations. The time is ripe for another assessment if only because of the prolific ongoing research. But this very luxuriance hinders an overview of the whole field. Let me therefore focus on Spanish American urban society, with its stratification and elite circulation. Where Lockhart's article led into his message, mine reviews the outcome of his and other research strategies; it also concentrates on English-language publications and excludes theory and methods not directly related to this area.

The sensitive summations by Magnus Mörner in 1980 and by Lockhart in 1984 provide my logical starting point. Both cover town and country, but the interaction of these milieus must also be considered. Scholars continue debating the question of where a city ends (Góngora 1975a; Hunt 1976; Robinson 1979b, 284 n.15; Robinson 1980c, 6–7) or when it ceases being urban (Borah and Cook 1979). Did acquisition of land signify prestige (Super 1976a; Ramírez 1985), or to the contrary, decay and deurbanization (MacLeod 1973; Hunt 1976; Farriss 1980)? Did haciendas afford easy credit and secure income to urban elites (Tutino 1983, 363; Kicza 1983, 19–20, 166–68), or did city markets finance haciendas (Van Young 1981, 1; Florescano 1984, 187)? Such bald-faced dichotomies gloss over the subtler distinctions related by Eric Van Young (1983), but they do orient this urban-minded *relator*.

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Prosopography (Collective Biography)

Stuart Schwartz first urged prosopography for Latin Americanists in 1974, following his own prosopographic article of 1970. In 1971 the Cambridge Latin American series brought out three regional studies, each more oriented toward social history than its predecessor: Peter Bakewell studied Zacatecas, Brian Hamnett, Oaxaca, and D. A. Brading, Guanajuato. Brading's prosopographic bent was pronounced in his merchant-elite approach of 1973 and has been ably applied to other areas and periods by Louisa Hoberman (1977), Susan Socolow (1978), and Ann Twinam (1979). My 1977 Lima article follows suit, although I ascribe more power to officials and more glory to old settlers. Extrapolation from prosopographic data marks most of the contributions to the 1976 anthology on Mexican regions edited by Ida Altman and James Lockhart. More narrowly prosopographic is Paul Ganster's remarkably readable 1974 dissertation on cathedral capitularies, which has occasioned published sequels in 1978 and 1981.

All these studies deal with limited numbers. But these figures jump significantly from Tutino's 113 families in Bourbon Mexico (1976b) to Linda Arnold's cluster of 384 bureaucrats there in the nineteenth century (1977) and Stephanie Blank's network of 544 "relatives" in Habsburg Caracas (1974). In another leap to cover most of the *coloniaje*, Mark Burkholder and D. S. Chandler (1977) have compiled the careers of 693 American *oidores* while Susan Ramírez (1983, 1985) has thoroughly exploited those of 866 Peruvian landlords. Significantly, the expanding parameters involve, along with their fuller data and wider record links, a more intensive use of computers.

At some point, however, escalating dimensions turn biographical progressions into statistical still lifes. This trend is true of Francisco Morales's 1973 study of Mexican Franciscans. Similarly, Peter Boyd-Bowman has published a relatively brief interpretive summation in 1973, with three follow-ups in 1976, after years of monumental research and the printing of raw data on the peninsular migrant to sixteenth-century America. In 1976 David J. Robinson presented with David G. Browning the Joint Oxford Syracuse Project (JOSP) of mapping residence patterns. Fully computerized, it has produced studies that are impressively detailed but not primarily prosopographic. Robinson's "geobiography" is rather a geodemography (1981a, 6).

Ganster and many of the Altman-Lockhart contributors consciously follow Lockhart, who is more than, yet not quite, the prosopographer. He has expressed awareness of the bias involved in selecting any one group and the waste of discarding other evidence. As is well known, Lockhart believes in tracing career samples from a significant list in many kinds of sources—above all notarial and judiciary—so

as to discover main types and processes (Lockhart 1972a, 18–33). His actual models of family, “estate,” regional interaction, and the Hispanicizing city I shall consider in due course. In each case, the construct—indeed the whole of society—is perceived through representative samples of life styles and careers. This procedure may bring the view dangerously nearer the scholar’s preconceptions, a point Elinor Burkett makes against Lockhart’s 1972 *Men of Cajamarca* (1980, 110). The other methodological difficulty, which Lockhart admitted (1972a, 22, 26–29), is that rustics and paupers tend to escape the notaries while the sheer mass of *escrituras* limits investigation to small localities and time spans.

How small is small? Enrique Otte (1977) exhaustively investigates Cubagua’s fifteen years of pearl prosperity, identifying most participants. John K. Chance takes on all of colonial Oaxaca because “it was small enough to enable a single investigator to examine all the relevant documentation” (1978, viii). To John E. Kicza, “no community is too large or too small [but] it is useful to choose some forty or fifty years so one can perceive career and marriage patterns of one central generation and the generations on either side” (1980a, 229). His 1983 book, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, aptly adheres to this formula.

Quantification

Quantification has made great strides since it was advocated by John TePaske (1972, 1975) and Peter Smith (1973). As though anticipating Robert McCaa’s statistical revisions, Smith called for measurements of intermarriage and sociospatial mobility because quantification “forces historians to confront assumption” (1973, 19–21, 31–35). TePaske, like Lockhart, wished to revise by going back to raw data, “the rawer the better,” and he urged a survey of quantifiable material (1972, 444–45). This goal has been one purpose of the historical statistics section, edited by Laura Randall in the 1978 *LARR* issue, and of the *Research Guide* edited by TePaske in 1981. The close connection between statistical methods and sources may also be seen in TePaske’s 1982 publication with Herbert Klein of balance sheets of the colonial treasuries. Both authors are currently submitting their tallies to further statistical analysis.

Completeness is a common objective of quantifiers. But completeness demands “infinite patience and comparable computer budgets” (C. E. Martin 1983). Completeness can also be confining, whether without the computer, as in Otte’s case, or with it, as in that of Julia Hirschberg (1979). She investigated Puebla’s full cohort of early settlers, some three hundred strong, over a period of three years. Clearly, researchers are in a bind. They can either intuit with Lockhart (for whom, it will be recalled, smallness is also inescapable) or else achieve perfect

knowledge of one speck. A third way consists of quantifying sample data, with the hope that the sample also avoids distortion. Working from police and trial inventories, Scardaville (1977) and to a lesser extent Haslip (1980) have thus derived patterns of lower-class criminality; working from *notarías*, Frederick Bowser (1975) and Lyman Johnson (1979) have thus synthesized manumissions, while Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier (1979) have done as much for dowries and wills.

Perhaps the most laudable, albeit laborious, solution lies in gathering, filing, and analyzing by machine the personal data of an entire strategic population. Never quite exhaustive, the process usually depends on the systematic correlation of separate sets of data. As seen varying in different records, correlating race with occupation is currently in vogue. More important than the technical possibilities of computers is the kind of demands we make on them. Burkholder and Chandler have not uncovered novel truths; they have simply provided a far more comprehensive narrative than they did in 1972. At the other extreme, Blank (1974) and Arnold (1977) have posited a priori status indices, thus exposing themselves to the charge of circularity. Ramírez (like Tutino) also assumes that landowning means power, but she has tested this assumption from her career profiles. Ramírez further offers the proportion of new landowners as a cogent index of elite exclusivity.

A minute category can lie at the heart of a statistical framework. Patricia Seed rightly focused on 13 men to whom different records ascribe varying races, although she only identified 108 out of well over 5000 individuals (1982b, 591–602). But she dismisses as “less significant” the 68 *cajeros*, or managers (578 n.33). These individuals were heroes of upward mobility, as Kicza has shown (1983, 28–29, 105–6). Inge Langenberg relegates to footnotes such meaningful items about late colonial Guatemala as a widow’s control of the meat supply and the four-to-one female-male ratio among dead *expósitos* (1981, 55, 142). Yet her overall statistical coverage is admirable. The kind of sex ratios she adduces should certainly have been considered by Kicza (1981) when discussing coeval Mexico’s high rate of spinsterhood.

Robert McCaa has illustrated the potential and some of the limits of sheer statistical revision (1981, 1982). He has constructed and compared log-linear models “to weigh much more accurately the relative association between variables” (1981, 39). In his 1981 study, McCaa advanced earlier findings on marriage patterns in late colonial Parral, showing that occupational status, rather than race, increased the prospects of marriage. But might not status redefine race? It did in Parral, as McCaa confirmed in 1984 (497). In his 1982 essay, McCaa fit his models to five studies of “marital miscegenation” in order to eliminate the bias due to the size of groups. This step led him to backtrack on his 1979 critique (with Schwartz and Grubessich) of Chance and Taylor (1977)

and to confirm many an accepted analysis, all the way back to Mörner's in 1967. The issue resurfaced in 1983, when Seed and Rust hurled conditional kappas (a method they explained) at McCaa and Schwartz, who pelted back with "odds ratios, computed from good-fitting log-linear models" (1983, 715). Ironically, McCaa and Schwartz were charged with overcorrecting group sizes (Seed and Rust 1983b, 722 n.2) while themselves accepting—and advancing by a century—the Chance-Taylor conclusions (McCaa and Schwartz 1983, 718).

Demography

Forty years after they began reshaping perspectives on contact populations and decimations, Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah concluded their *Essays* in 1979, their authority already enthroned in the 1976 books of Henry Dobyns and William Denevan. Then came another onslaught by statisticians on the size and system of Cook and Borah's findings, led by revisionists like Sanders (1976), Slicher van Bath (1978), and Zambardino (1978, 1980), and by repudiators like Henige (1978a, 1978b). But in Linda Newson's 1981 and 1982 publications on Central America, the trend again favored the "Berkeley school." The school's method, freed from such pitfalls as deriving tributaries from tributes, has recently appeared vindicated in the demographic history of Peru by N. D. Cook (1981a, 1982a). Beyond methodological polemics, Borah and Cook have installed demography as "the backbone of social history" (Mörner 1979a, 1). But only lately has this recognition produced many tangible results.

One obstacle has been a "bewildering variety of documentary evidence" (Borah 1976, 25), with hardly a census before 1750. Its compilation has just begun. For Chile, the Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE) and the Universidad de Concepción have promoted the Contreras Arias 1971 summation of eighteenth-century materials. Enrique Florescano (1972) and Michael Hamerly (1974) have respectively listed secondary works on Mexico and the Andean-Indian countries. Fernando Ponce and Eusebio Quiroz (1978) have presented primary Arequipa sources. Such sources are becoming increasingly accessible at the microfilm collection of the Utah Genealogical Society in Salt Lake City. The ongoing research is also being constantly summarized: for New Spain, by J. C. Chiamonte in the 1981 *Historia Mexicana*; for New Granada, by Juan Villamarín in a 1982 issue of the *Latin American Population History Newsletter*; and for Costa Rica, by Lowell Gudmundson in a 1983 *Latin American Historical Statistics Newsletter*. Taken in conjunction with Mörner's 1979 *Evolución demográfica*, the *Newsletters* neatly update the state of the art.

This trend has naturally progressed from more synthetic to more

minute sources. It began with a "national census" approach in Vollmer (1967), Smith (1972, 22–23), and Sánchez-Albornoz (1974, 16–17). Sánchez-Albornoz's 1974 summation became a logical starting point for later investigators. Next came the turn of city *padrones* and *matrículas* (lay or ecclesiastic censuses) and parish registers. They remain the two principal sources, and their relative reliability continues to be debated.

The *padrón* largely overlooks Indians, transients, and slaves (Brading 1971, 247–49; Super 1980, 267–68; Haslip 1980, 35–36; Lombardi 1981, 14; Seed 1982b, 594). It also overlooks children (Chance 1978, 115; Seed 1982b, 576), lists consensual unions as marriages and single mothers as widows (Arrom 1978, 378), and lumps races (Chance 1978, 155–57, 171–72). Often only households or their heads are counted, so that total population can only be derived from varying ratios (Mora Mérida 1974, 74; Slicher van Bath 1978, 67, 71–72; Chance 1978, 86–88; Morse 1984, 78). Moreover, some of these lists cannibalize previous ones (N. D. Cook 1975, xix–xxi; Browning and Robinson 1977, 211). By way of compensation, a few late *padrones* divide the potential taxpayers into classes by wealth and profession (Socolow 1978, 1; Langenberg 1981, 268–69).

The parish register also has its faults. "The parish priest recorded baptisms, marriages, burials, not births, procreative unions and deaths," and the latter were woefully understated (Brading and Wu 1973, 6). *Mestizaje* cannot be documented in sources where free unions are left out, and parish racial labels appear suspiciously lighter than in censuses, although more specific (Chance 1978, 134–35, 157). Worst of all, the entries set down what was originally committed to notes or to memory (Calvo 1972, 6; Morin 1972, 395).

All told, parish registers are more consistent and complete (Lombardi 1981, 14), but censuses are more readily usable. The census lends itself to correlating race with occupation, which has been undertaken by several scholars: Brading (1971) for Guanajuato, Socolow (1978) for Buenos Aires, Langenberg (1981) for Guatemala, and Kicza (1983) for Mexico. Late Mexican studies predominate, and Mora Mérida's 1974 collation stands out because it centers on an earlier period and on Paraguay. But the single 1753 canvassing of Mexico City's core has been reprinted (Báez Macías 1966, 1967) and has served as the basis for two theses (Vásquez Valle 1975; Valdés 1978) and of articles by Joaquín Roncal (1944) and Patricia Seed (1982b).

With Seed's research, we proceed to the technique of linking a census to a few years' series of parish entries so as to document intermarriage or racial change. It was applied by Brading and Wu to León (1973), by Chance to Oaxaca (1978), by R. D. F. Bromley to three towns in Ecuador (1979b), and by McCaa to Parral (1984).

When interlinked, parish books afford overall cohort analysis as found in Marcello Carmagnani (1972), Thomas Calvo (1972), Elsa Malvido (1973), Claude Morin (1973), Claude Mazet (1976), Cheryl Martin (1983), and N. D. Cook (1981b, 1982b). All these researchers rely on a single parish, or at most, a few parishes. More restricted still are the CELADE mortality studies carried out in 1976 and 1977 by Carmen Arretx, Rolando Mellafe, and Jorge Somoza. All the more impressive therefore appears John V. Lombardi's 1976 blanket summation of Venezuela's colonial parishes.

D. J. Robinson has inspired the exploitation of marriage books to measure spatial mobility and racial exogamy. Such were the studies of Leon Yacher (1977), Michael Swann (1979), Linda Greenow (1981), and Robinson himself (1981b). While many of these examine rural Indian areas, they bear directly on an understanding of the adjacent, more mercurial mines and municipalities.

Generalizing and particularizing remain the two elusive goals of demographers. In 1977 Robinson's JOSP initiative brought forth several block-by-block mappings of urban households by Catherine Altman, Michael Swann, Linda Greenow (also in 1976), and Robinson himself (1979b, 1980c). Similar research was pursued by Johnson and Socolow (1979) and John Chance (1981). María Morales (1976) has both mapped and quantified the properties and landlords of Mexico City, relying on its padrón of 1813.

Family reconstruction from parish registers would seem the next logical step. It would permit meshing time series with total counts so as to derive differential growth rates for each race and stratum. Excepting the elite, however, the outlook is bleak according to Bromley (1974, 17), Salinas Meza (1978, 101), Mörner (1979a, 23–24), and Borah (1980, 479). They point to incomplete records, inconsistent names, high rates of illegitimacy, and "irretrievable infants" who died before baptism. Yet the marriage entries seen by Ponce and Quiroz in Arequipa (1978, 178) and by me in Lima offer genealogical possibilities for many *españoles*. True, these data omit the *informaciones* or *testimonios matrimoniales* with the *dato clave* of age at marriage (Morin 1972, 406; C. E. Martin 1983). But Thomas Calvo (1984) has collated this information from baptisms to reconstitute a significant section of Spanish and some non-Spanish families in late-seventeenth-century Guadalajara.

Most current family studies tend to feature the core of successful relatives, as exemplified by Ida Altman (1976), Edith Couturier (1978), Paul Ganster (1982), and John Schwaller (1982a, 1982b). By reaching the edges of elite clans, genealogical reconstruction should eventually shed light on marginality and mobility. Tutino (1976b) and Kicza (1983) have provided concrete instances from Mexico. Statistical insights are offered

by Susan Socolow (1980a) on 142 Buenos Aires merchant families and by Thomas Calvo (1984) on 192 families of Guadalajara, with conclusions about the population at large.

At the generalizing end, we have the demographic histories of Guayaquil by Hamerly (1973) and Guatemala by Christopher Lutz (1982), which are exceptional. Jorge Hardoy's urban statistics (1975b) would not vary much at this writing. Neither would the tenuous consensus about global population trends from the Cook and Borah die-off to the late colonial growth (Mörner 1979a, 2–7, 14, 30–32), although we know more about the jagged nature of the first (Slicher van Bath 1978, 77–78) as well as about the crises preceding 1700 (C. E. Martin 1983; Browne 1983, 1984) and those preceding 1800 (Malvido 1973; Brading and Wu 1973; Bromley 1979a, 1979b; Swan 1981). Local age pyramids and racial changes have been sketched in such studies. As Robinson observed, however, "it is impossible to compile a comparative table of such basic data as birth and death rates" (1980a, 84). This deduction is also obvious from the recent summation by Sánchez-Albornoz (1984). The age of statistical synthesis is yet to begin.

Language

Demographers must cope with a multiplicity of units such as "married householder" or "arms-bearing man" (Mora Mérida 1974, 67; Slicher van Bath 1978, 76) and with overlapping designations of areas such as *barrio*, *parroquia*, *partido*, and *municipio* (Brading and Wu 1973, 3; Robinson 1980c, 6). In the latter case, some researchers have chosen to equate the core city with the cathedral parish (Chance 1978; Seed 1982b). But such assumptions diverge from the need to calibrate and compare categories over time and space. Record linkages thus depend on sensitivity to meaning, even as Lockhart insisted (1972a).

This generalization holds true for the vagaries of race tags, a hoary subject that I shall consider in my topical sections on stratification. Did race imply caste-estate (Mörner 1967, 60; Brading 1973, 389), culture-occupation (Borah and Cook 1962, 184–85; Kicza 1983, 4–5), or class (Seed 1982b, 600–601)? Some of the answers are contextual. An unusual mestizo-white imbalance argues for passing from one to the other and thus from caste to class (Chance and Taylor 1979, 438). But textual clues about the use or omission of ethnic epithets can just as surely demonstrate the dominance of Hispanization (Lockhart 1984, 286–88, 293). Yet textual fidelity can lead to taxonomic imprecision: "*Calidad*, typically expressed in racial terms, [included] color, occupation, and wealth, . . . *clase* referred to occupational standing but included dimensions of wealth and race" (McCaa 1984, 477–78). Similarly, Ramí-

rez's approach of sticking to "the racial terms employed by the individuals I studied" appears sensible at the start (Ramírez 1985, appendix on methodology, 10). But did the subjects employ these terms consistently? Should we not rather trust the more knowledgeable, albeit no less prejudiced, magistrates and inquisitors (Scardaville 1977, 6; Valdés 1978, 297)? Anyway, "ultimately one is counting labels" (Lockhart 1984, 297).

Linguistic mutations come to view in recent studies of commerce. An eighteenth-century *cajero* is a clerk to Socolow (1978, xi), a manager to Kicza (1983, 135), an apprentice merchant to Brading (1971, xv), and is not to be confused with the seventeenth-century stall owner, the *cajonero* (Rodríguez Vicente 1960, 67). According to Tutino, the *cajero* progressed to *mercader* to *comerciante* to *almacenero* (1976b, 64). In this figure, Kicza sees the honored international wholesaler (1983, 179, 237). But in coeval Buenos Aires, Socolow finds "almaceneros" or "almacenistas" applied to retailers while wholesalers were called "comerciantes" (1975, 3; 1978, 2, 12–16, 108). A century earlier in Yucatán, *comerciante* meant retailer, and as in Chile, wholesalers were *mercaderes*. Thus agree Hunt (1976, 38, 40) and Góngora (1975a, 433–35), although Mexicanists Hoberman (1977, 481) and Kicza (1983, 2, 101) insist that a *mercader* around 1690 and a *comerciante* a hundred years later could be big or small. The same is true of a landowning *labrador* (Chance 1978, 141, 159; Mörner 1983, 344) or a *minero* (Twinam 1982, 22, 24). As in the case of race, ambition improved self-perception in such a manner that a mine technician might pretend to be *minero* and a commission salesman, a *comerciante* (Brading 1972, 461).

The linguistic depreciation of *mercader* suggests a cultural recoil that was overcome through the newly minted euphemisms. By a similar process, baroque *criados* may have turned into Bourbon *dependientes* (Tutino 1976b, 208), while the older word applied to permanent farmhands (Farriss 1980, 176–77); however, "the term *criado* could still confer status, depending on whose servant one happened to be" (Boyd-Bowman 1976c, 729).

Lately, Arnold Bauer (1983) has shown how revisionist a rereading of words can be. Separating voluntary encumbrance for *censos* from the church's active loans (*depósitos*), he has challenged long-standing assumptions about clerical dominance of credit. In social history, too, specific evidence suggests correct cognizance and categorization, as when *cajeros* are found to have exceeded the usual age of apprentices (Valdés 1978, 98). "Subtle reading" (Lockhart 1972a, 9) thus depends on the right kind of sources.

Sources

Publications of the last six years reflect a marked rise in the use of local records—clerical, fiscal, and notarial. Henceforth researchers may be hard pressed to justify any overreliance on central national archives or on Seville's Archivo General de Indias (AGI). This assertion in no way detracts from the usefulness—and beauty—of works derived largely from the AGI, such as that of Troy Floyd on Hispaniola, Murdo MacLeod on Central America, and Josep Barnadas on Upper Peru, all of which appeared in 1973.

Spanish archives, moreover, have lost none of their attraction. AGI documents have supported large-scale computerized projects by Peter Boyd-Bowman and by Burkholder and Chandler (who also resorted to Simancas), as well as by TePaske and Klein. Sevillian and Madrid National Library censuses remain a major prop, from Cook and Borah (1974, 201–2) to Linda Newson (1981, 1982). For social historians, Our Lady of Lonja still has hidden charms. At the AGI, Enrique Otte (1966, 1969) discovered the intimate migrants' letters that he later edited with Lockhart in 1975, and there José de la Peña (1983) found a key to elite studies in the 1622 *inventarios de bienes*. Another such key, the *probanzas de méritos* (or *hojas de servicios*), still has much to offer, as was recently shown by Inge Langenberg (1981), Paul Ganster (1982), and Susan Ramírez (1983, 1985).

At the opposite end of the source spectrum, the local notarial archives contain an infinite variety of records that must be constantly interlinked. Deliveries of monies to Spain contain benefactions for relatives or fellow-villagers, or instructions to agents, but these *deudos*, *obligaciones*, and *recibos* hide at times the identity of the remitter, which is disclosed in the *declaraciones*. Deeds founding entails or *capellanías* tell more about family ideals than about the realities to be found in wills. Moreover, the Spanish urge to notarize has produced the extraordinary *exclamación*, wherein a wife might cry out against a husband's squandering or a nun protest against having been bullied into taking vows.¹

Lockhart found the notaries most useful in his 1968 study, and in his 1972 article (1972a), he preached their primacy, while not quite following his own advice in *The Men of Cajamarca* (1972b). The obvious reason lies in the vastness of these records, which has inhibited his followers from Frederick Bowser in 1974 to John Kicza in 1983. In his study of Afro-Peruvians, Bowser heavily sampled 105 notaries from between 1560 to 1650 (1974, 420–21). But he built the organizing backbone of his research key by thoroughly exploiting the Archivo de Indias. In his book on Mexico's merchants, Kicza comes closest to the Lockhart ideal of reconstituting social categories directly from the amorphous *escrituras*: two-thirds of Kicza's primary citations are notarial. But

probably as a result, some of his conclusions tend to exceed his documentation. How can a researcher cope with such an embarrassment of riches? Little help comes from the first-name *abecedarios* attached to the notarial books nor, in the short run, from recataloging. In 1981 a score of employees of Mexico's Instituto de Estudios y Documentos Históricos kept up their idiosyncratic tallying and abstracting of notarial books, while upstairs at the Archivo de Notarías, researchers might idly wait.

Mexico City's judicial documents are divided among the Archivo General del Juzgado, the Tribunal Superior de Justicia, and the Acordada section of the National Archive—aside from relevant municipal records that are also variously housed at the National Archive and the Antiguo Ayuntamiento (Scardaville 1977, 356–57; Haslip 1980, 294–95). In 1971 at La Paz, Alberto Crespo founded the university archive with court records that had been sold to a cardboard factory (Crespo 1981, 8).

Different kinds of archives are thus by no means exclusive. Local notarial records often find their way into national repositories. A colonial capital's notaries are "national," as in those used by Lockhart and Bowser for Lima; and in Mexico, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) has microfilmed a number of provincial notarías, which have been used to advantage by Edith Couturier (1978) and John Super (1981). A national archive's most central-sounding records at times throw light on the lives of marginal provincials or castes, as was demonstrated in 1981 by Lyman Johnson using Buenos Aires's Sección de Gobierno, by Juan and Judith Villamarín using Bogotá's Cédulas and Visitas, and by Solange Alberro using Mexico's Ramo Inquisición. The latter source has also served Dennis Valdés (1978, 190–202) and Richard Boyer (1984) and is currently being exploited by a team from Mexico's Seminario de Estudios Históricos.

Variety is the researcher's watchword in types of archives as in types of documents. Cathedral depositories have subserved the work of Brian Hamnett, Paul Ganster, and Susan Ramírez (on capellanías), and monastic depositories that of Ann Gallagher (1978). Other church and hacienda records were found by John Chance in a private collection (1978, 230). Marta Hunt has reconnoitered land registry and private archives; and Linda Greenow has tapped *libros de hipotecas* in Guadalajara's public registry archive, relating credit to social mobility (1979, 239). Ann Twinam fashioned social history from assay books in Medellín's Archivo Histórico de Antioquia. Meanwhile, Susan Socolow relied on estate papers along with dowries, wills, parish registers, and those of consulado and cabildo (1978, 2); and she has researched female crime in municipal court records (1980b).

The current eclecticism in sources is evident in the work of schol-

ars like Brading and Chance. They combine local, national, and peninsular documentation with printed collections. The AGI is cited by such "localists" as Hunt and Hirschberg and along with other Spanish archives by "nationalist" Jacques Barbier (1980). Without resorting to Spanish archives, Hoberman and Kicza have fully exploited Mexico's notarial and national deposits, with Hoberman adding those of the city council. Robinson mixes the AGI with national and municipal deposits (1979b, 1980a); some are reproduced at Salt Lake City with the parish books (Robinson 1980b). The Genealogical Society of Utah also houses church trials, which have been used to advantage by Asunción Lavrin alone (1984a) and with Edith Couturier (1981). Langenberg and Ramírez achieve a cyclopean comprehensiveness in the records they reference.

My roll of scholars and sources points to a crescendo of exertion that could reach a point of self-defeat. Some economy of time derives from archival guides, like that edited by TePaske (1981), or from new printed catalogues, like the ones of Mexico's national archive. Such Bae-dekers rarely update an archive's constant losses or addenda, however. A more secure resource is therefore the published document. In 1976 Lewis Hanke and Celso Rodríguez completed a fully indexed collection of Habsburg viceregal documents from the AGI, while Juan Friede added eight volumes of transcripts to his previous edition of 1955–60. Silvio Zavala's 1978–80 documentary extracts and paraphrases from Spain should help any researcher posted to Potosí. Added to the list should be the vast body of extant printed collections and published padrones like the ones adduced by Johnson and Socolow (1979). Even printed chronicles can yield statistical data, as in Hardoy and Aranovich (1969, 1970) or Slicher van Bath (1978, 1979). This fact alone justifies the never-ending Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (publishers of Hanke and Rodríguez) or the translating into English—and indexing—of chronicles like those by Robert Miller in 1975.

Regardless of research, some colonials will probably remain *indocumentados*. Although "most people wanted to be recorded" (Lombardi 1981, 14), transient marginals escaped both canvasser and curate. "They evidentially did not exist" (Robinson 1981a, 5). According to McCaa, "Spaniards were 2.2 times more likely to be found in the census than others" (1984, 484), while Kicza notes that "apprentices typically entered into no formal written contracts with their masters" (1983, 239). Practically no slaves, castes, Indians, or rural dwellers figure in wills and dowries (Lavrin and Couturier 1979, 281), which confirms the notarial limitations noted by Lockhart (1972a). On the other hand, injury to high-class women "was not often reported" (Lavrin 1985, 334), their private pregnancies left them publicly virgin (Twinam 1984), *gente decente* left no court record of adultery (Socolow 1980b, 51), and money

obviated the infamy of punishment (Seed 1982a). Some investors, it has been shown, acted behind the scenes unless revealed in a *declaración*. Thus while Spanish America's *invisibles* were mostly humble, individuals at higher levels of the social scale could elect to be invisible.

Periods and Regions

Periodization intertwines with regionalism. The narrowing focus of researchers brings out disparate regional development and more highly differentiated chronological patterns. "Regional histories are in a sense ethnographies with a time dimension" (Farriss 1981, 25). Yet a surprising consensus surrounds overall periodization. Before presenting attempts at classifying regions, let me therefore try to account for the astonishing concordance on periods.

These periods have been argued by Jorge Hardoy (1975b, 3–55) and outlined in John Chance's 1978 chapter headings. The conquest's aftershocks were felt through much of the sixteenth century (Góngora 1975b, 243–44), with a caesura around 1550 delimiting the initial violence, dispersion, and settlement. There followed through the 1620s (or for two more decades) a crystallization of the colonial system. It persisted into the 1750s, with a decade's leeway on either side. Richard Morse, however, sees no significant urban change until 1850 (1975a, 93–95), while MacLeod (1973, xiii, 312–13) and Ramírez (1983) perceive alterations by around 1720. This lengthy span from 1620 to 1750, if not 1580 to 1760, might correspond to "the long colonial sleep" of older histories, its "continuity and change" (Chance 1978) attended by a measure of ecodemographic decline (Chiaramonte 1981, 596). "The eighteenth century" now generally refers to the late eighteenth century, extending well into the nineteenth: an age of expansion (Hamnett 1971, 149, 153; Chance 1978, 145; Van Young 1981, 8, 343; Twinam 1982, 27, 50, 106; Kicza 1983, 47, 52; Morse 1984, 99–104), but also an age of crisis (Borah 1979, 17; Swann 1979, 117, 134; Langenberg 1981, 69–70). The concept of the "underlying unity of the century 1760–1860" (Brading and Wu 1973, 2) keeps gaining adherence.

Agreement on the earliest periods derives equally from a spottier scholarship and the lesser spatial differentiation, although some differentiation took place from the beginning (Van Oss 1978, 29–32). Agreement on later time spans appears in spite of disparate historical interpretations.

The first of these interpretations invokes the ethnohistory of the empire as a whole. The conquest was a period of two "economic logics" (Mörner 1983, 339, citing Carmagnani) or "ecotones" (Robinson 1981a, 3), with the Iberian and Indian worlds coexisting "in fairly equal

strength." In the mature colony, control passed to the Euro-Americans with "the rise of cities to local predominance" (Socolow and Johnson 1981, 51–52). Simultaneously, "pariah castes" won some acceptance, and by 1700, the richest arrogated Spanish classification (Chance 1978, 192–93). Later, castes blurred into preindustrial classes, although according to Jorge Domínguez, "ethnicity" predominated (1980, 44).

A second explanation looks outward. Dependency analysts rely on the unity of world economic trends, as in the seventeenth-century "deceleration" (Wallerstein 1980, 148–51); and local Spanish American data, such as wages, reflect at times the wages prevalent in the Atlantic community (Johnson 1983). Lately, however, *dependismo* has given way to a need for articulating the whole with its parts (Van Young 1982).

Third, regions and periods can also be articulated, as in Lockhart's developmental scheme. According to this approach, the Indian countryside supported the Spanish city, but the city gradually integrated the countryside through attraction and marginalization (Lockhart 1984, 299–304). In due course, "each province might replace Mexico City" and "the Valley of Oaxaca of 1750 looked a great deal like that of Toluca in 1580" (Lockhart 1976a, 6, 8); while in Yucatán, "the date 1630 may be viewed as the equivalent of 1580 in central New Spain—the lag was from fifty to seventy-five years all along" (Hunt 1976, 50). Elsewhere the lag approached a century. Lima's ruling *encomenderos* of 1550 (Lockhart 1968) resembled those of Popayán in 1650 (Marzahl 1974); and Mexico's great families of 1800 (Kicza 1982) resembled those of Medellín and Manila around 1900 (Palacios 1980, 30–31; Larkin 1982, 618). Lockhart sees no contradiction between this staggered growth and the total periodization. In the textbook that he has coauthored with Stuart Schwartz, a sesquicentennial gap separates the Lima-Mexico center from marginal Buenos Aires (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 339–41), but Spanish America as such is viewed as having progressed along the now familiar timetable of "conquest-mature-late" (86, 122, 315).²

Lockhart considers Mexico and Peru the only central areas, at least through 1750, because of their silver economy based on Indian labor; he categorizes all else as the fringe, although he admits a possible intermediary nature for Chile and New Granada (1984, 314). Bernard Slicher van Bath (1979) adopts a threefold division for 1600. Its "centers" comprise a highly populated Oaxaca and Michoacán. The intermediate zones consist of Central America, Ecuador, and New Granada. All others are peripheries. Yet another classification would locate semi-centers between center and frontier, as in central Chile in the seventeenth century (Góngora 1975a, 440) or the Bajío and Guadalajara in the eighteenth (Brading 1978, 13, 18; Van Young 1981, 19, 22). Finally,

the two centers were no longer comparable by the late eighteenth century. By that point, Mexico had outpaced Lima in social mobility, as can be seen in the backgrounds of the two cities' cathedral capitularies (Ganster 1981).

The fringe-center dichotomy finds confirmation in recent research. The center alone engaged in overseas trade, shifting resources among other regions (Kicza 1983, 17, 20, 77, 277, 244; Robinson 1979a, 19). Moreover, central elites exploited fringe cities for offices or *encomiendas* (Chance 1978, 43, 46), although their dominance was far from complete (Burkholder and Chandler 1977, 28).

At the center, *encomenderos* diversified incomes by 1580, and *haciendas* soon replaced *encomiendas* (Schwaller 1982a). On the fringe, however, landownership remained unimportant and *encomiendas* persisted into the eighteenth century; salaried officials and churchmen as well as marginalized immigrants provided the only semblance of urbanity (MacLeod 1973, 126; Hunt 1976, 35; Socolow 1978, 176; Farriss 1980, 154–60). As Spanish settlers reinforced Indian regionalism (Taylor 1972, 2–3), fringe cities evolved ingrown elites and defined racial types. In the seventeenth century, this situation was true of Caracas, Popayán, Puebla, and Lambayeque (Blank 1974; Marzahl 1978; Peña 1983; Ramírez 1985). Only during the late colonial period, when all populations became highly mobile, did the fringe's socioracial types become blurred (Moreno Toscano 1978, 417; Swann 1979, 129). Bajío Indians were then distinguished through dress alone, and coastal New Granada's *blancos de la tierra* only by their neighbors (Brading 1971, 224–33; Kuethe 1978, 31). Race, too, had become regionally delimited (Robinson 1980a, 87).

What is a region? It has been variously set off by race, by class (Seed 1982b, 604), and by the allegiance it commands (Wibel 1975, 1). More usually, a region is described as an economically autonomous town-and-country unit (Carmagnani 1975, 104; Robinson 1979a, 16; Van Young 1981, 4–5, 12), and this view underlies the local histories of Davies (1974), Taylor (1974), Chance (1978), Ramírez (1985), and several contributors to the Altman and Lockhart collection (1976). The system is upset by its evanescence, as in the repeated microbooms of Central America (MacLeod 1973, 48–49) or the variable urbanization of the Bajío (Brading and Wu 1973, 3, 6), or else by the presence of a double nucleus, as in the case of Córdoba and Orizaba along the Veracruz route. Presenting this case, Alejandra Moreno Toscano approaches a functional definition of the region as a line (1978, 399–400, 411–14); and to Lockhart, the center is “a trunkline leading from silver mine to great capital to major port” (1984, 315). On the macro level, Slicher van Bath discerns thirty-six territories for 1600 (1979, 54–55); Altman and Lockhart (1976) sector Mexico into north, center, and south; Robinson distin-

guishes at least four “super regions” (1979a, 20); and Assadourian includes much of South America within “the Peruvian space” (1982, 111). Today all this multiformity qualifies as “region.”

TOWNS, THEORIES, STRATA

Change and Continuity

The city was Spain in America. It carried over the Mediterranean tradition of “public order in conflict with patriarchal familiarism.” So Richard Morse summed up an impressive oeuvre (1975a, 71), which had been initiated in his 1958 *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo*. This work became a group biography in his subsequent writings on the Hispanic city and also in José Luis Romero’s perceptive and usually accurate *Latinoamérica: las ciudades y las ideas* (1976). Both authors have tapped the work of others to build a sociology of class attitudes within an imperial vision of “the town’s laddered administrative functions,” as Morse described it in his 1971 summary of urban research (11). That summary constitutes a logical starting point for my topical review.

By way of contrast, Alberto Crespo (1975) and his students have mined La Paz court records to recreate the basic trivia of food, dress, illiteracy, and illegitimacy. Luis Martin has documented the daily sanctities and scandals of Peru’s *Daughters of the Conquistadors* (1983); and in looking at the underside of society, David Sweet and Gary Nash have collected the continent’s “little-known but remarkable individual human beings” (1981, 1)

The current mainstream of social-urban historiography flows between these opposites. It follows the archival bent of Martin, Crespo, and the contributors to Sweet and Nash, but also the interpretive reflex of Morse and Romero. More minutely researched, the city biography persists in the studies of Chance (1978), Lombardi (1979), and Ramírez (1985). Lombardi still focuses on city functions, although his method is largely demographic. But Chance and Ramírez exemplify the shift of interest to social mechanisms involving race, class, and household—an interest that has stimulated studies on single time spans and segments, such as that by John Kicza (1983) of the Mexican business world in the latter eighteenth century. The trend has been toward the meticulous methodologies and down-to-the-cobblestones documentation already discussed.

Just the same, older approaches continue under new guises. The bureaucratic report dominates Alfredo Moreno Cebrián’s (1981) description of Bourbon Lima’s subdivisions and their policing. The local history, overdocumented but underanalyzed, is illustrated in Ermila Vera-

cochea's 1977 *microhistoria*. Other "traditional themes" (Borah 1984, 539) still flourish. Despite a quest for pure social history, journals and conventions keep offering essays on city beginnings, architecture, government, and economy—rather than social development. This tendency may be seen in two recent anthologies. Francisco de Solano's collection of 1975 reprints articles from the *Revista de Indias*, while the Schaedel-Hardoy-Kinzer miscellany of 1978 reproduces papers from three International Congresses of Americanists.

Solano's *Estudios* emphasize law and theory (see the contributions by Paulino Castañeda Delgado, Hardoy, Morse, and Solano) when they do not offer straightforward narrative and description (as in Horacio Aranguíz Donoso and Alicia Vidaurreta). Three essays center on city foundings (Gabriel Guarda, Manuel Lucena Salmoral, and Demetrio Ramos Pérez), and three others practically derive from single documents (Delfina López Sarrelangue, María Rodríguez Vicente, and Félix Zubillaga). Richard Schaedel leapfrogs over the colonial period, and Lockhart's evidence here is rural. Ricardo Archila abridges institutionally oriented studies on medical services, while Claudio Esteva Fabregat calculates populations from Alcedo's *Diccionario* of around 1800, presumably because available censuses are "poor in data and detail [and] of scarce synchronication" (1975, 551) Only Guillermo Lohmann Villena's prosopographic analysis of Lima's *cabildantes* appears truly in line with newer research trends.

Richard Schaedel and his associates present the city as a convergence of grids—the one within, the other among the centers. Tracing the *traza* to European models, as has been done by George Kubler and by Hardoy, is a hoary exercise, and one that Woodrow Borah has probably exhausted in his lucid epitome (1972). S. D. Markman (1978) alone relates gridiron settlement to the evolving castes. With Frédéric Mauro, we move to the network of cities whose cultural position as *servo-padrone* Graziano Gasparini exposes, while Borah and Cook fitfully quantify their attraction to immigrants. Aided by tax returns, Alejandra Moreno Toscano draws a cogent picture of Mexican urban networks. Francisco de Solano masterfully marshals sources and studies of the *abasto* but skirts its social implications. Gabriel Guarda's substantiation of the establishment of fort cities in Chile anticipates his monumental *Historia urbana* (also published in 1978). But Hardoy and Aranovich reedit their 1969–70 piece on urban centripetality (a topic already examined by Morse in 1971) in this and the Solano volume. Indeed both collections stir up many a cool ember.

Yet the findings of these two anthologies represent a consensus that has hardly altered. This judgment is confirmed in the 1981 summation by Susan Socolow and Lyman Johnson, along with subsequent research.

Near Constants of Agreement

Most Spanish settlers came from an urban background (Boyd-Bowman 1976b, 591–92). Moreover, the Spaniards kept founding and relocating cities as part of their rapid, dispersed conquest (Morse 1984, 78–80). A city could be a fort, a port, or a mine, but the “critical type” (Morse 1971, 5) was the agroadministrative center that was based on the exploitation of rural Indians (Góngora 1975a, 425; Chance 1978, 79–80, 144; Van Young 1981, 344, 356; Morse 1984, 77–90). Even late colonial capitals drained the surrounding districts for their choicest profits (Rodríguez Vicente 1975, 639; Ladd 1976, 46; Christiana de Moreno 1977, 151; Kicza 1980b, 203, 215; Kicza 1983, 21–22; Bauer 1983, 732). The city was compact and inward-looking, with a fairly closed leadership (Lohmann Villena 1975, 207–10; Ladd 1976, 91; Ganster 1978; Alvarado Morales 1979; Colmenares 1980, 152; Krüger 1981, 41–42; Twinam 1982, 113). The city possessed an “aristocratic” or “hidalgo mentality” (J. L. Romero 1976; Morse 1984, 97), and perhaps half its Spanish residents and most of its leaders were related by blood or *compadrazgo* (Blank 1974, 268–69; Lockhart 1984, 311). Recent studies emphasize the universality of trade and the considerable transiency among all classes (Góngora 1975a, 441; Ladd 1976, 50–51; Veracochea 1977, 55; Socolow 1978, 13; Johnson and Socolow 1979, 353; Van Young 1981, 18–26, 142–43; Assadourian 1982, 67; Seed 1982b, 576; Kicza 1983, 50–51; Anderson 1983a).

Within the urban grid, the elite clustered at the core while the Indians spread to the suburbs (Ladd 1976, 65–66; Scardaville 1977, 7; Swann 1977; Markman 1978, 476–78; Chance 1978, 119–21; Chance 1981, 102; Robinson 1979b, 298–99; Johnson and Socolow 1979, 347; Kicza 1982, 430; Kicza 1983, 4, 18; Lockhart 1984, 291). But Hispanicized Indians infiltrated the traza early, followed by the castes (Chance 1978, 72, 83–84; Chance 1981, 114; Markman 1978, 478–79; Robinson 1979b, 288–89; Lutz 1982; Charney 1983; Borah 1983, 32). Although real estate was “evenly distributed” in baroque Zacatecas (Bakewell 1971, 51), patterns of real estate holding in late colonial Mexico City reflected glaring inequalities and increased monastic dominance (M. D. Morales 1976, 367, 370; Lavrin 1976, 265–70). The pattern of elite center and helot periphery could be repeated within the several city quarters, even within individual homes (Greenow 1976, 42–43; Robinson 1979a, 13; Robinson 1979b, 312; Haslip 1980, 19–20; Anderson 1983a, 67–69).

As recent research has shown, however, there was nothing rigid about the gridiron. It bent to accommodate topography, industry, or sheer expansion (Ramón 1975, 144; Greenow 1976, 6; Guarda 1978a; Johnson and Socolow 1979, 354). Most urbanites shared cramped adobes, huts, and rooming houses (Bakewell 1971, 50; Valdés 1978, 117;

Kicza 1983, 6) or slept in the streets (Scardaville 1977, 60; Haslip 1980, 35). Nevertheless, the large household typical of the affluent center (Ladd 1976, 65–67; Arrom 1978, 377) might reappear on the periphery (Swann 1977; Johnson and Socolow 1979). It took two centuries for Querétaro to develop the conventional correspondence of *traza* to *raza* (Super 1976a, 233). In 1767 Caracas exhibited a “great diversity [of] residential density and ethnicity” (Browning and Robinson 1976, 230; Robinson 1980c, 10, 22). In 1779 in Córdoba, “no clear difference existed between center and periphery” (Robinson 1979b, 287). In 1792 in Oaxaca, “all neighborhoods and blocks were racially mixed,” although a peninsular elite exhibited some residential segregation (Chance 1981, 114). The same held true for Guadalajara in 1821 (Anderson 1983a, 136–38).

Indian towns, whether preconquest or Spanish-initiated, shared the villagers’ cultural integrity and all-for-one spirit (Mora Mérida 1974; Solano 1975, 244–52; Taylor 1979; Van Young 1981, 319–21; but see also Van Young 1984). But their Spanish-style municipalities were manipulated by priests, lawyers, native imposters, and caste infiltrators who kept subverting the municipalities into Hispanic communities. What Charles Gibson and Jaime Jaramillo Uribe wrote on this subject two decades ago has continued to be revalidated by Solano (1975), Zubillaga (1975), Lewis (1976), Super (1976a), Szewczyk (1976), Slicher van Bath (1978), Chance (1978, 152–53), Borah and Cook (1979), Villamarín and Villamarín (1979), and Borah (1983, 36–38, 171–74). The very meaning of “town” varied considerably within the multiple Spanish and Indian contexts—cultural, regional, periodic—until today a Guatemalan Indian county or its seat is a “municipio.” By the 1680s, Indian Tlaxcala had become exceptional in its vigorous court battles; and around the era of independence, even Mexico City’s traditional Indian barrios disappeared (Borah 1983, 301, 398, 403, 329–84 on regionalisms). By 1800 “urban” meant Hispanic.

Lockhart observed that “broader integration was through the Spanish world” (1984, 299), hence largely through the city. Its powers of integration did not depend on prosperity. In bad times, the city underutilized its *mercedes* and might quickly lose a third of the *vecinos*; but the latter often settled and Hispanicized the countryside (MacLeod 1973, 133, 181, 206; Góngora 1975a, 426; Coleman 1979; Assadourian 1982, 54, 127; Ramírez 1985, 92–93). An expanding city attracted into its Spanish fold footloose bachelors—Indians as well as Spaniards—and purchased black slaves, while its *hacendados* pushed into Indian lands (MacLeod 1973, 221–22; Scardaville 1977, 50–60, 108; Borah and Cook 1978; Moreno Toscano 1978, 406–8, 417; Johnson and Socolow 1979, 345; Van Young 1981, 35; Lockhart 1984, 293).

The majority of Spaniards probably always lived in primate cit-

ies. Of these, Lima and Mexico consolidated very early, each developing a full panoply of capital city institutions (Ganster 1974, 66; Liss 1975, 111–12, 134–35). Meanwhile Santiago, Buenos Aires, and Caracas only matured in time to sustain the wars of independence (Socolow and Johnson 1981, 32, 51; Lombardi 1979, 435; Carmagnani 1973, 158). Primate cities exploited the resources and rewards of provincial cities (Carmagnani 1973, 270; Ganster 1974, 181–84; Chance 1978, 43, 46; Robinson 1979a, 19; Kicza 1982, 436). But the provincial centers headed—nay, founded—their own networks of satellites (MacLeod 1973, 133; Solano 1975, 252–53; Hunt 1976, 52–54; Super 1976a, 240; Veracochea 1977, 11, 51; Moreno Toscano 1978, 415–16; Morse 1984, 98; Lockhart 1984, 311). These provincial centers were groping for economic independence by the 1770s or 1790s (Hamnett 1971, 104–5; Brading 1978, 175–77; Van Young 1981, 145; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 125–26).

Cities thus fitted into “the idea of a system” (Socolow and Johnson 1981, 51; J. L. Romero 1976, 12; Mauro 1978, 251). By 1580 the network was nearly complete; by 1630 the process of concentration was well advanced. The Hardoy-Aranovich figures (1978, 82) must be taken with care (Mörner 1979a, 10; Morse 1971, 8), but there is no denying their trend. While the number of towns fell from 207 to 175, that of *vecinos* more than tripled to seventy-six thousand. The proportion of larger cities (with five thousand *vecinos* or more) increased from an eighth to a fifth of all towns.

Their demographic advance coincided with the three main periods outlined in part one. Through most of the sixteenth century, cities counted their inhabitants in the hundreds, then until the mid-eighteenth century, in the thousands, and thereafter upward of ten thousands (Brading 1971, 224; Super 1976a, 232; Ladd 1976, 40; Veracochea 1977, 31, 37; Chance 1978, 73; Langenberg 1981, 93–100; Van Young 1981, 30–35). For lesser, later towns, these numbers should be divided by ten (Brading 1978, 41–42; Twinam 1982, 18; Ramírez 1985, appendix 1); and they should be multiplied tenfold for Mexico City and Lima (Liss 1975, 135; Bronner 1979; Moreno Cebrián 1981; Kicza 1983, 2). Mining camps and frontier settlements sprang up haphazardly, with sudden population gains and losses (Socolow and Johnson 1981, 40–43; Bakewell 1976, 203; Barnadas 1973, 36–37).

During the eighteenth century, “net urban growth” flagged, according to Morse’s latest conclusion, which reverses his earlier judgment (compare Morse 1984, 100, with 1974, 417). Nevertheless, mining centers continued to grow anarchically in zoneless barrios (Swann 1979, 131–34; Robinson 1980a, 87). This era was above all an age of planned new towns and presidios in Guatemala, Paraguay, and the Argentine northwest, although their construction might have fallen short of “enlightened” design (Robinson and Thomas 1974; Mora Mérida 1974, 73–

74; Langenberg 1981, 8, 61, 387–89; Morse 1984, 101). The public granaries springing up from Guanajuato in Mexico to Santiago in Chile typified widespread municipal improvements (Brading 1971, 245; Carmagnani 1973, 161; Morse 100–101). Cuzco and Mexico's León and Oaxaca tightened control over their countrysides, whence came more and more migrants (Taylor 1976, 74; Mörner 1978; Brading 1978). One estimate for 1800 ascribes one-third of the Spanish American population to towns and cities (Esteva Fabregat 1975, 585). While many of these places were urban only in name (Carmagnani 1973, 158 n.140; Colmenares 1980, 139; Robinson 1980c, 6), others advanced from the rough rusticity of their "Indian" period to a measure of aristocratic and cultural pretension (Veracochea 1977, 280–93; Van Young 1981, 23–27).

All this research provides additional substantiation, but little that is novel. The newness, as stated, lies in the reexamination of interacting social segments. Moreover, the emphasis is still steadily shifting from buildings to people. What opportunities did cities afford for social mobility—to whom, how amply, when, where, and in what ways? According to Borah, "we are not yet in command of sufficient writing on individual cities, crafts, and craft guilds for informed synthesis" (1984, 545). Nevertheless, some social history issues have been considerably clarified.

Theory, Economy, and Society

Eric Van Young has captured the reality and the mentality of the urban provisioning system—the farmed-out, monopoly abasto, which combined a collective-welfare tack with considerable leeway for privileged profit (Van Young 1981, 43–58, 88–94; see also Carmagnani 1975, 109–10; Ladd 1976, 94; Chance 1978, 107; Super 1980, 262–68; Farriss 1980, 173; and Johnson 1980, 148, 154). The system's ambiguities take us back to the public-patrimonial dipole I have cited from Morse; but they also relate to diverse interpretations of other aspects of the Spanish American polity. Spaniards crossed the ocean "*a valer más*" (Romano 1972, 36). They went on to reproduce the Mediterranean urban hierarchy with themselves as near the top as possible. To this end, they adapted a preconceived stratification to the economic (especially the human) resources of the Indies, thereby creating a complex society. Its dynamic progress—from "the two republics," through the *sociedad de castas*, to a single Hispanicized commonwealth (barring village Indians)—involved processes of marginalization and nucleation, and incidentally the conversion of its manifold elements to the ideal of "*valer más*." Only the few, however, could achieve this ideal by subordinating others through such means as the abasto.

How best to explain this hierarchic integration? Despite Lock-

hart's Weberian leanings, he belittles "ready-made theories" (1972a, 33–34, 40 n.16). Similarly, Mörner denies "linear Marxism and modernization theory" (1983, 338), yet he adopts Pareto-like representations of the social structure while pointing to "the need of electing concepts of international usage" (1980, 84–86, 91 n.2).

Could dependismo be such a concept? Its colonial applications have centered on commerce as in Marcello Carmagnani (1973) and Armando Ramón (1978), or on the hacienda as with André Gunder Frank (1979); but critics have found them rather removed from local, *in vivo* society (Mörner 1979b, 150–54; Larson 1980a). Recoiling from dependista infatuation with ocean trade, Carlos Sempat Assadourian and Ruggiero Romano reach opposite conclusions. Assadourian points to the "industrial" mining town (1982, 319) and Romano, to the "feudal" peasantry, with the latter adding that "Americanists have overconcentrated on urban history" (1984, 129). The authors all share an integrative view of the world economy. Nor are *dependistas* the only ones to emphasize the dependence of smaller centers and lesser producers on the market and credit controls of viceregal merchant elites (Carmagnani 1973; Bakewell 1976, 219–20; Van Young 1981, 143; Kicza 1983, 86–88, 230–32). But their debate over feudal versus capitalist is concerned with farm surpluses, and according to Slicher van Bath, "in most cases the line between a market and a subsistence economy is not very distinct" (1974, 35–36).

The disputation bears on urban growth even though it focuses on mestizo or *forastero* renters and on Indians in mines or haciendas. Their exploitation has been exposed by Karen Spalding (1975), Pablo Macera (1977a), Brooke Larson (1979, 1980b, 424–26), and Enrique Tandeter (1981), to cite only Andean examples. These studies point to "'mobility transition,' with Indians and mixed groups becoming increasingly mobile" (Robinson 1981a, 5) and also increasingly urban under pressure from city-based españoles.

The Spanish Americans also manipulated the state. Its silver permitted the survival of cities along the Lockhart trunkline, despite limited local markets and late-growing hinterlands (Brading 1978, 20; Van Young 1981, 356; Assadourian 1982, 22–54). Silver underwrote the elites. In Peru as in Mexico, the elites retained much of it in the seventeenth century, successfully resisting taxation (Israel 1974, 44; Israel 1975, 122, 193, 254; TePaske and Klein 1981, 134; TePaske 1982, 77–82). In the eighteenth century, the crown progressively increased its Mexican share but still relied on creole officials and notables (Coatsworth 1982, 36). Bourbon reforms actually benefited elites and merchants in budget-tight Buenos Aires and deficit-prone Chile (Klein 1973, 456–57, amended by Amaral 1984, 293–95; Fisher 1984, 317–19; Barbier 1972, 428–30; Barbier 1978, 391; Barbier 1980, 190). Throughout this period,

state-elite symbiosis stood out in *composiciones*, *donaciones*, *indultos*, and also in sales of revenue-backed bonds and public offices (Burkholder and Chandler 1972, 1977; Yalí Román 1972, 34–36; Andrien 1981, 1982, 1983; MacLeod 1982, 57–62).

None of this research, however, explains social development beyond suggesting two distanced spheres—the popular and the elitist. Magnus Mörner reaches a similar impasse in his 1983 review of economic factors in stratification: “‘Estate’ and ‘economic class’ models may serve as complementary rather than contradictory measures It is just as easy to construct the chain *power* and *status* lead to *wealth* . . . as the alternative of *wealth* leads to *power* and *status*” (1983, 337, 356). At the elitist end, Mörner finds considerable mobility within the structurally stable hierarchies but defers further generalization until more regional and cohort studies become available (1983, 347–48, 360, 363, 368).

The demand is apposite and has occasioned immediate responses from Twinam and Kicza. But on the theoretical level, it signifies a cop-out—and a wisely chosen one. Despite a variety of economic foundations, the overall hierarchy remained everywhere remarkably unaltered (Mörner 1983, 358–59) as “the merchants seemingly helped to maintain temporarily these social structures” (1983, 340–41). But this seemingly temporary arrangement lasted through the *longue durée* of the entire colonial period!

Mörner (340) agrees with C. F. S. Cardoso and Héctor Pérez Brignoli about “the internal logic [of] societies [that] emerge as appendages to the European economy” (1979, 151–53). These “inner workings of colonialism” Brooke Larson ascribes to “direct political force” (1980a, 290). But the force was itself inner “because foreign threats were relatively limited” (Coatsworth 1982, 37) and because Madrid’s reach exceeded its grip (as Lockhart has argued since before 1972).³ As was true of art styles (Gasparini 1978, 270, 281), so too in social organization did the peripheral nature of Spanish America insure much homogeneity with “regional expression” rather than “schools.” Although local economic factors nuanced the patterns of stratification, they all approximated a Castilian archetype. Here Mörner’s cultural model of 1967 seems to me more persuasive than his economic exegesis of 1983. What Mörner terms the “ruthless use of economic power” (1983, 342, 345–46) may have deepened social distances, but it did not create them. Still, Mörner’s 1967 emphasis on race must be reconsidered in the light of recent scholarship.

The Strata Debate

Supported by solid research and sophisticated statistics, the strata debate revolves around the meaning and interrelation of typologies or hierarchies. Mörner alternately follows race (ranked either by law or custom), occupation, wealth, power (mass-elite), and education (1980, 82–86). All point to “a light-skinned elite superimposed on a mostly darker-skinned conglomerate of strata” (1983, 346). This statement asserts much less than does Domínguez’s observation that “class and ethnicity are closely and positively correlated” (1980, 44). “Only at the top and perhaps at the bottom,” contradicts Chance (1978, 181), and some recent evidence would not even grant this much.

For the city of Córdoba in 1779, Robinson matched caste labels against “dons” and slave owners, and he concluded that “racial terminology provides the best method of [status] discrimination” (1979b, 297). Super discovered in Querétaro around 1792 a mestizo-creole domination of baking, and he suspects that a prevalence of “Indians, blacks and castes” among the less esteemed bread-selling *pulperos* implies that ethnic cleavage added to their class hostility (1980, 267–68). For two Guatemala City wards in 1796 and 1820, Langenberg has the Spanish monopolizing the city’s uppermost occupational rank and practically absent from the lowest (1981, 283–300). McCaa, Schwartz, and Grubessich (1979, 431–32), Patricia Seed (1982b, 583), and Rodney Anderson (1983a, 146–49) also perceive the castes as overrepresented among artisans and servants. Chance finds most races occupying most scales of employment, but like Twinam (1979, 466; 1982, 126), he draws the line at the *peninsular*-dominated elite (Chance 1978, 139–41; Chance and Taylor 1977, 474–75). Not so, counter Browning (1973, 138), Socolow (1978, 144), Johnson (1981, 87–88), and Kicza (1983, 4, 14, 208, 240), with tales of modest, even humble immigrants. They concur about the presence of creoles at every social level, a ubiquity that also reflected their numerical dominance.

Race was of course relative. Seed condenses conventional wisdom by linking it to “physical appearance, economic status, occupation and family connections” (1982b, 574), to which other scholars add life styles (Kicza 1983, 5; Lockhart 1984, 266; Ramírez 1985, appendix on methodology). But in Seed’s dissection of Mexico’s core city in 1753, she opts for economic roles as the great conditioner of racial ascription (1982b, 60l).

Was race or class the determining factor? According to Chance and Taylor, by 1792 commercial capitalism had propelled Oaxaca’s closed caste toward an open class system, at least beyond the incipient stage (1977, 485–86). Reanalyzing their data, McCaa, Schwartz, and Grubessich (1979, 422, 427, 433) found the Oaxaca castes about as en-

dogamous as randomly expected, leading them to conclude that “capitalist expansion reinforced the racial basis” (1979, 422, 427, 433). In their reply, Chance and Taylor pointed to the diminishing castes as proof of upward passing (1979, 438–39), an argument that follows Morin (1977, 311), Chance (1978, 132, 158, 175), and Valdés (1978, 29). McCaa retreated from his attack in 1982 (66 n.43) after reexamining the quantitative studies of endogamy in late colonial Mexico by Carmagnani (1972), Brading and Wu (1973), Chance (1978), Swann (1979), and Robinson (1980a). Summarizing these studies, McCaa confirmed a fair and rising degree of intermarriage among proximate “races,” with only rare crossings between the español-mestizo groups and those of blacks and Indians (1982, 55–61). “Endogamic propensities remained strong for Spaniards, Indians [and inhabitants of] northern mining towns” (45, 59). City-regional integration also caused a rising racial and spatial exogamy in rural and semirural settlements, as calculated by Yacher (1977), Swann (1979, 118), and Greenow (1981, 124, 127, 131.)

It is true that for 1821–22, Anderson detected in Guadalajara a weak racial exogamy (1983a, 145–46) and Langenberg found in Guatemala a rising endogamy (1981, 336). But these findings might reflect a taxonomic readjustment, generations after considerable intermarriage, even as McCaa and Schwartz suggest in their latest reevaluation of the 1977 Chance-Taylor thesis (1983, 718). At any rate, all these data are limited samples based on matrimony. Matrimony was a crucial moment for racial misrepresentation (McCaa 1984, 497), and on the other hand, it was also rather secondary to informal unions in the process of miscegenation (Scardaville 1977, 172; Mörner 1979a, 21–22; Lockhart 1984, 294–96).

Although largely rural, Tupac Amaru’s rising throws light on the competing typologies, as seen through the *Colección documental de la independencia del Perú*. In it Jan Szeminski (1981) discovers four parallel hierarchies of caste (race), estate (noble, tributary, and forastero), culture (language and life styles), and class. While Szeminski also assumes a trinational perception of peninsulares, *criollos*, and *runa*, he isolates instances of class consciousness expressed in terms of the other hierarchies (1982, 180). This finding approximates Jürgen Golte’s economic interpretation (1978, 72–73) and Brooke Larson’s classist view of the rebellion (1979, 203–4). As Leon Campbell reminds us, however, “the causal factors seem at least as diverse as the different socioracial groups” (1979), including the mestizo leader and his interest in muleteering (Mörner 1978, 155). The comparable Hidalgo revolt remains to be fully explored in its social implications, asserts Eric Van Young (1981, 353). Both Van Young and Mörner ascribe such risings to ethnicity and confine class awareness to the urban upper classes (Van Young 1981, 352–53; Van Young 1982, n.12; Mörner 1983, 367–68).

Uncertain categories becloud the debate. Evidence abounds on the fluidity of racial tags (Brading 1971, 20; MacLeod 1973, 228–31; Archer 1974, 231; Góngora 1975a, 446–47; Chance and Taylor 1977, 465; Valdés 1978, 77; Markman 1978, 483; Chance 1978, 174; Larson 1980b, 410; Kicza 1983, 14). Moreover, these appellations were deficiently or misleadingly recorded (Morin 1977, 310; Chance 1978, 126, 190; Chance 1981, 97; Langenberg 1981, 244), and they could alter within decades in the same city district (Langenberg 1981, 283; Seed 1982b, 577). On the occupational scale, the callings of *labrador*, *mercader*, and *minero* covered a wide societal spread (Bakewell 1976, 207; Chance and Taylor 1977, 456; Chance 1978, 159; Valdés 1978, 77; Twinam 1982, 22, 24). Finally, in their quest for analysis, historians compound the confusion by adopting three, four, or more occupational tiers and by conjoining, omitting, or inventing races. Witness the classifications of Brading (1971, 256–60), Blank (1974, 278–80), Bowser (1974, xiv), Cook and Borah (1974, 181, 190–91), Scardaville (1977, 6), Chance and Taylor (1977, 463, 472), Valdés (1978, 72, 74), Chance (1978, 159, 164), Robinson (1979b, 228), Langenberg (1981, 286–89), McCaa and Schwartz (1983, 712, t. 1), and McCaa (1984, 501).

At times a binary vision emerges from contemporary documents. This view opposes Indians to Hispanicized *gente de razón*, and within these “reasonable people,” it separates the *gente decente* from the lower *plebe* or *gente baja* (*gente vil*): *españoles* were “decent” and the castes, “vile.” At other times, the vision opposes tribute payers to those who were exempt, a distinction that may account for the relative immiscibility in marriage of mestizos and mulattoes (Brading 1971, 20; 1973, 390–91; Brading and Wu 1973, 36; Israel 1975, 64; Scardaville 1977, 24; Chance 1978, 127; Mörner 1980, 84; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 127; Lockhart 1984, 266, 270). Excluding the “transient” Indians, such moieties produce a three-class urban division because few *españoles* achieved elite status. Chance has dismissed as simplistic “a two-class or even a three-class system” (1975, 215). Later, however, Chance differentiated three socioeconomic groups, but they led him to few meaningful generalizations (1981, 96).

Principles of Stratification and Quantities of Mobility

To avoid the fixity of models, scholars have tried to discern organizing principles within Spanish America’s societal tangle. One such principle is Mörner’s idea of a racialization of the Castilian estates (1967, 54). Similarly, Domínguez considers a racially defined ethnicity to be “the encompassing principle which manifested itself in ways resembling social class” because of “a transformation of perception” (1980, 44). This conclusion comes close to Seed’s view that “racial terms were

cognitive labels attached to different groups in the economic organization of production" (1982b, 601). It also approaches a reductionism wherein "class distinctions replace cultural differences" (Farriss 1981). Seed also proposes that "their parent population" influenced the professional preferences of derivative groups (1982b, 579–82): creoles like peninsulares entered trades, mestizos like Indians became laborers (or peddlers, according to Scardaville [1977, 64]), and mulattoes like blacks turned to domestic service. The conflict between Seed's two views may be resolved by an interplay between stratification criteria. As diagrammed by Langenberg, race conditioned occupation and corporative membership (as in a *cofradía*), but occupation opened a way to property, and property could alter race or corporation (1981, 282).

Lockhart thinks the Spanish family principle of subordination with recognition goes a long way toward explaining the formation of castes and their occasional absorption into the dominant group (Lockhart 1984, 295–96; see also Burkett n.d., 199ff). Compadrazgo, states Blank, extended patron-clientelism to all the free residents of early-seventeenth-century Caracas (1974, 260ff, 282). Blank later added brokers to her patrons and clients (1975, 135).

With his "principle of estate organization," Lockhart offers a layered patron-client scheme "brought . . . from Europe" (1976a, 23), which cuts through the maze of race and class. The "estate" was a multiracial, multirank monad of social evolution that associated master, majordomo, foreman, permanent worker and seasonal hireling. Its "members occupied a lower rank and more rural position the more marginal they were to Spanish society" (1976c, 105). "Estate organization . . . appears [in] cattle ranching . . . textile production and silver mining" (1984, 274). But it also "tends to extend . . . to larger organizations . . . including governmental, even ecclesiastical, and . . . military" (1984, 276). Taken together, Lockhart's definitions of family, "estate," and the differential development of city-regions (discussed in my section on periods and regions) make up an interrelated set of principles to schematize much of Spanish America's stratification and acculturation.

How flexible was the system? That question shapes models and bends principles. Presumptions of racial fixity, corporativism, or class struggle unite ostensibly opposed proponents such as Mörner, McCaa, and Seed. Contrarily, Lockhart's insistence on informal relations—a brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of patriarchs—brings to mind *confianza*, that metainstitutional bind of present-day social networks among Latin America's rich and poor.

Confianza can both unite and divide. A nobiliary fellowship joined the upper echelons, excluding others (MacLeod 1973, 120; Blank 1974, 280; Chance and Taylor 1977, 485; Colmenares 1980, 150; Mörner

1980, 44). But trust and cooperation also brought together disparate segments. In mines, "Spaniards, mulattoes, and mestizos worked alongside Indians in much the same jobs" (Brading 1971, 23–24), and "there was more cooperation than antagonism between the Indian workers and their Spanish employers" (Bakewell 1976, 218). The *cofradía* associated persons from the same region and could also integrate races (Bowser 1974, 249; Veracochea 1977, 188–201; Chance 1978, 139; Langenberg 1981, 232–33; Lockhart 1984, 290–91). Women of different strata lived close by, met socially, advanced loans, and left bequests to one another (Super 1976a, 246; Lavrin and Couturier 1979, 303; Chance 1981, 114; Burkett n.d., 137–38). Men of varied social backgrounds apparently drank and gambled together (Scardaville 1977, 221, 225, 229, 241; Haslip 1980, 126–27, 132, 184). The underworld knew no racial barriers (Scardaville 1977, ix, 22; Bronner 1978, 9; Haslip 1980, 106). These stray items suggest a society that, for all its inequalities, exhibited much physical accessibility between high and low.

Actual mobility strengthened existing structures, as Mörner astutely observes (1980, 76). Adds J. L. Romero, "urban society [was] as unstable and fluid in fact as [it was] rigid and hierarchic in appearance" (1976, 80). The appearance increased near the top, presenting a deceptively firm structure of *encomiendas*, high offices, noble titles, and locally known families; and toward them strove the footloose and amorphous groups of *españoles*, most usually the merchants (Carmagnani 1975, 127; Góngora 1975a, 433, 439; Socolow 1978, 24–25; Kicza 1983, 41; Ramírez 1985, 377). The literature offers some spectacular rises and falls. Therefore, suggests Mörner, the pattern of "'padre comerciante, hijo caballero, nieto pordiosero'" seems to lend itself as a working hypothesis for systematic quantification" (1983, 356). Langenberg's lone stab at such intergenerational statistics produces less decisive yields.

In 1824 in the Candelaria quarter of Guatemala City, sons followed their fathers' trades, especially in the professions, crafts, and farming, but fewer than half of the sons of merchants, transport workers, and laborers-servants perpetuated the parental calling. These occupations attracted dropouts from farming and construction, individuals who then moved up to crafting leather and textiles. Successful sons of leather workers went into construction and thence into commerce, while merchants' sons crossed into farming and government (Langenberg 1981, 343–53, graphs on 377, 380). But what was "farming"? Surely no servant was a merchant's grandson. This query is cleared up by separately analyzing cross-class movements, corrected for the sons' differing age and career positions. Langenberg finds a 30.8 percent occupational drop among sons of the lowest of her upper third, a balanced middle class of which a second generational sixth moved up and a sixth

moved down, while over half of the sons of the very lowest group ascended (1981, 367).

On the racial scale, *españoles* appear immobile, a sixth of the mestizos' sons moved up, some few of the (still lower) *ladinos* moved either way, while over a fifth of the Indians worked in lower occupations than their fathers (Langenberg 1981, 370–72). In all, of the 164 to 420 sons sampled, about 15 percent moved up or down, but almost never across more than one occupational rung.

Elite Proportions and Patterns

Mark Burkholder has clearly distinguished between the upper strata and the elite (1978). In the eighteenth century, the elites numbered at most a few hundred families in each of the two old viceregal capitals. They comprised the highest church and crown officials, the richest merchants, titled nobles and knights of the military orders, aldermen of the *cabildo*, plus a number of impoverished creoles.

This enumeration supports my own 1977 findings for early baroque Lima. Burkholder's indigent creoles parallels my "benemeritous" descendants of conquistadors and early settlers. The essentially tripartite division represents the triple elite attributes of power (officials), wealth (merchants), and honor (*beneméritos*). But the honor fell short of formal nobility, so the *beneméritos* clung pathetically to posts on the viceroy's guard, while all the active and aspiring elite dreamt about the *hábito* or investiture in a military order (nobiliary *títulos* had yet to be granted). In Lima around 1630, the *beneméritos* were also staving off poverty, while the merchants fought for respectability (by such means as purchasing seats on the *cabildo*). Oidores and viceregal retainers married into both groups and founded, or refounded, powerful clans. A rough calculation, based on a list of notables and on a proximate population count, yields an elite proportion of about 2.7 percent.⁴

For late colonial Mexico, this proportion sinks still lower according to Ladd (1976, 25, 173–74), Tutino (1976b, 16), and Kicza (1982, 432; 1983, 16). But each of these three authors concentrates on a particular sector of the elite.

Rather higher figures are adduced by Brading (1971, 249–51) and Valdés (1978, 69, 74), and to a lesser extent by John Chance (1978, 160) and Seed (1982b, 579–80). They surely include the subelites mentioned by Ganster (1974, 6–7, 21–22, 184), Tutino (1976b, 129, 193, 224), Seed (1982b, 579), and specified by Kicza (1983, 17) and Langenberg (1981, 268–80). Ladd and Mörner extend "elite" to mean all the *gente decente* or even *gente de razón* (Ladd 1976, 7; Mörner 1980, 85). Potentially, all *españoles*—and they alone—could rise to elite status (J. L. Romero

1976, 112–13; Socolow 1978, 175). In fact, most did not compete. Still, in provincial towns, Spanish in-feeling may have been more expansive, which would account for the wider elite definitions of Brading (1973, 390), Chance (1978, 149–50, 159–64), and Ramírez (1985, appendix 4). Also, Mörner's diagram of a staggered regional-provincial-local elite parallels Richard Morse's "laddered" urban functions (Mörner 1980, 85).

Little has changed in our understanding of the elite's "frantic search for status" (MacLeod 1982, 55) or in the lists of universally shared aristocratic ideals and symbols. They still stress purity of race, lineage, and legitimacy; the prefixes *don*, *vecino*, *alférez real*, and *maestre de campo*; precedence in school, church, *cofradía*, and militia; plus prodigal ostentation (Brading 1973, 409–10; Ganster 1974, x, 6–9, 15–17, 167; Couturier 1975; Góngora 1975a, 439; Super 1976a, 244–45; Ladd 1976, 9–10; Veracochea 1977, 283–84; Archer 1977, 170, 192–97; Socolow 1978, 19–20, 77, 84, 92, 103; Kicza 1979, 303; Krüger 1981, 39; Twinam 1982, 118–24; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 132–40). Add to these distinctions the pride of landlording and *mayorazgo*, priestly and public posts, *hábitos* and *títulos* (Taylor 1972, 158–60; Barbier 1972, 428; Góngora 1975b, 109; Tutino 1976b, 178; Burkholder and Chandler 1977, 73, 78; Van Young 1981, 140; MacLeod 1982, 56; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 128, 136; Kicza 1983, 33–37). Regional circumstances, to be sure, might change this honor scale, especially by diminishing the importance of landed property (MacLeod 1973, 97, 157–58; Socolow 1978, 65; Twinam 1979, 474; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 135, 141).

Wealth, however, was a universal aristocratic requisite (Barnadas 1973, 163–64, 171; Ganster 1974, 16–18; Góngora 1975a, 434; Super 1976a, 247; Socolow 1978, 19–20; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 129; Ramírez 1985, 377). Wealth did not insure the elevation of the lowborn, except for a lucky few during the exceptional times of conquest or boom (Lockhart 1968, 13; MacLeod 1973, 113; Brading 1973, 395; Góngora 1975a, 427; Balmori, Voss, and Wortman 1984, 11–13). Conquistador *encomiendas* soon gave way to ranches and plantations, which were reinforced by entail, but the first families kept changing quicker than the economy. Only the accidental coincidence of stable heirs and staple exports might engender a local elite cluster of prominent patronymics, perpetuated on the *cabildo* (MacLeod 1973, 128–32, 220–21, 227; Góngora 1975a, 427–33; Góngora 1975b, 109; Hunt 1976, 34; Bakewell 1976, 209; Marzahl 1978; Chance 1978, 95; Krüger 1981, 43; Schwaller 1982a, 1982b; Ramírez 1985, 49, 181, 217, 237–42; Lockhart 1984, 309–11).

The threefold elite was thrice intertwined. Officials with their relatives and retainers early became *encomenderos* (MacLeod 1973, 312; Liss 1975, 109). They also traded (Pietschmann 1972, 200–205; Góngora 1975a, 440–41; Carmagnani 1975, 120; Hunt 1976, 47; Socolow 1978, 103;

Arnold 1983). Merchants bought crown offices (Yalí Román 1972, 34–36; Pietschmann 1972, 192–96; Socolow 1975, 14; Góngora 1975a, 439; Arnold 1981; Andrien 1982, 49). Beneméritos invested (or served) in mining, commerce, church, and government (Barbier 1972, 426–27; Ganster 1974, 87; Góngora 1975a, 432; Ladd 1976, ch. 2; Burkholder and Chandler 1977; Andrien 1982; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 129–30, 136; Kicza 1983, 25). Marriage, that chief vehicle of mobility, united all in “a great extended family” (Ladd 1976, 163).

Money, Marriage, Household

Within the three-headed elite, who conquered whom in marriage? My award to the officials (1977, 658) gains only ambiguous support from Tutino (1976b, 98–102). Merchants and miners come out on top in Wortman (Balmori, Voss, and Wortman 1984, 60), Assadourian (1982, 67), Bakewell (1976, 208–9), Hunt (1976, 43), Barbier (1980, 44–47), Couturier (1983), and Brading (1981, 305–6). Kicza credits the established families of Mexico with “snaring—absorbing—integrating” useful businessmen and bureaucrats (1983, 31, 36–38, 152, 160, 164), as do Ramírez in Lambayeque (1985, 78), Twinam in Medellín (1982, 126), and Socolow in Buenos Aires (1978, 52, 138). In the last two instances, however, the elite was already entrepreneurial. For Tutino, the newcomers either merged into the old elite (1976b, 17–18, 25–26, 64) or established independent clans, which were renewed through nephews (1976b, 64–66, 70–71, 77–81). The detailed workings of the “nephew syndrome” are presented by Kicza (1983, 140–45). But these clans also became creolized, insist Ladd (1976, 36), Twinam (1982, 126), and Kicza (1983, 182). According to Florescano, the later eighteenth century saw the new merchant elite overmatch the landed oligarchs (1984, 181, 186–88). All of these findings suggest a fairly open high society.

Constant ravages assisted this openness. Bankruptcy stalked miners and merchants (Brading 1971, 169, 214, 260–61; MacLeod 1973, 264; Góngora 1975a, 440; Ladd 1976, 29, 32). Disunity, lawsuits, and the inheritance laws dissipated fortunes (Ladd 1976, 32–33; Socolow 1978, 31–32; Couturier 1983; Kicza 1983, 32; Chance 1978, 106–7; Ramírez 1985, 285, 313). So did the obligation to spend conspicuously (Brading 1971, 209–11; Brading 1973, 392, 397; Ladd 1976, 53, 70; Super 1979, 280–81).

Tutino and Kicza perceive in haciendas and patriarchs the twin keys to “elite maintenance.” The haciendas should have been sufficiently sizeable and scattered for diversification (Tutino 1976b, 119–20, 163, 177), thus affording collateral and divisible inheritances (Kicza 1983, 119–20, 169). The capitalists’ penchant for land has been noted often enough (Brading 1971; Marzahl 1974, 648; Ladd 1976, 26–27; C. R.

B. Moreno 1977, 151–60; Hoberman 1977, 499; Villamarín and Villamarín 1982, 144; Assadourian 1982, 67). But researchers also repeatedly encounter low returns and high mortgages leading to rapidly revolving titles (Brading 1971, 219; Brading 1973, 392, 408; Brading 1978, 118; Taylor 1972, 140–41; Taylor 1976, 83–84; Bakewell 1976, 212–13; Super 1976a, 237; Coleman 1979; Van Young 1981, 115–17; Ramírez 1983; Ramírez 1985, 308, 319–21, 327).⁵

Doris Ladd has hailed the entail as reconciling the conflicting demands on elite pomp and profit while insuring security (1976, 164, ch. 4). With the related devices (such as the heritable offices, the capellanías, and the *obra pías*), the mayorazgos afforded also easy credit (Tutino 1976b, 87–88; Ganster 1978, 1981; Greenow 1979, 236, 242, 257; Kicza 1979, 349, 527; Barbier 1980, 37–43; Florescano 1984, 186). But that is precisely why mayorazgos often became overencumbered and ultimately embargoed and divested (Ladd 1976, 71, 81–82; Van Young 1981, 133; Couturier 1983).

Patriarchs ruled the extended family, reconciling its peninsulares and creoles and balancing its investments (Tutino 1976b, 51, 87; Tutino 1983, 365–67; Ladd 1976, 51, 70, 164; Kicza 1983, 31–32, 169; Ramírez 1985, 8, 253). Patriarchs also supervised marriages. Those within the family or among the rich prevented economic dispersion (Blank 1974, 266; Greenow 1979, 237; Lavrin and Couturier 1979, 297; Kicza 1983, 32, 39; Florescano 1984, 187). But inheritance laws could also be circumvented by specific legacies (Couturier n.d.) or sizeable dowries (Ramírez 1983; Burkett n.d., 80–81). Otherwise, marriage was avoided (Couturier n.d.) or children directed into the church (Lockhart 1984, 268). In the eighteenth century, this “ex post facto birth control” (Ganster 1978) was matched by actual contraception and abortion (Macera 1977b, 312–15; Alberro 1982, 239–40; Lavrin 1984b, 329–30; Couturier n.d.). Then again a son might enjoy both worlds by delaying marriage while holding a capellanía (Couturier 1983). More often the middle-aged groom was a peninsular of proven ability and wealth and his bride was a creole debutante (Socolow 1975; Socolow 1978, 39–40; Lavrin and Couturier 1979, 297; Kicza 1983, 165). Dowries symbolized prestige (Ganster 1974, 159; Kicza 1983, 161), but a low dowry tested the groom’s acumen (Lavrin and Couturier 1979, 285), and merchants sometimes preferred to keep their capital liquid (Socolow 1978, 41).

What constituted a family? To say that it included “distant kin and relations by marriage” or “conceived of itself in the broadest sense” (Tutino 1976b, 4; Kicza 1979, 349) tells us nothing about the number of individuals—or generations (Lockhart 1984, 268)—within a household nor anything about the number of households within a great family. The Sánchez Navarros of Charles Harris’s 1975 study typify elite family studies that offer genealogy, biography, and economics but no house-

holds. We know that few Spanish Americans lived up to the ideal of *la casa poblada*, that upper-class españoles often shunned the burdens of marriage, and that the family grew more fragmented and fragile as one moved to the lowest levels, where “not even concepts like patriarchy and marriage can be taken for granted” (Mörner 1983, 364; also Morin 1972, 414–15; Super 1976a, 250; Arrom 1978, 377; Macera 1977b, 311–12, 335–39; Slicher van Bath 1978; Mörner 1979a, 22–23; Mörner 1980, 67; Robinson 1980a, 88–89; Alberro 1982, 243; Boyer 1984).

Concrete urban information remains exiguous. For the late 1770s, one may with some calculation compare the household data presented by Greenow (1976, 26), Robinson (1979b, 301) and Langenberg (1981, 126). The juxtaposition lacks convincing congruity, as can be seen in tables 1a and 1b.

TABLE 1A *Distribution among Three Sizes of Households, 1774–1779*

<i>Individuals per Household</i>	1–5 (%)	6–10 (%)	11 and over (%)	Total ^a (%)
Guatemala 1774	46.6	40.9	12.5	100.0
Cartagena 1776	32.6	33.3	34.1	100.0
Córdoba 1779 ^b	43.7	28.9	27.3	99.9

^aRounding accounts for discrepancies from 100.0%.

^bThe Córdoba figures are for households of 1–5, 6–9, and 10 and over.

TABLE 1B *Ethnic Distribution among Three Sizes of Households, Córdoba, 1779*

<i>Individuals per Household</i>	1–5 (%)	6–9 (%)	10 and over (%)	Total (%)
Españoles (with extranjeros)	31.6	29.6	38.9	100.1
Mestizos	54.1	32.6	13.3	100.0
Blacks, mulattoes	64.7	26.4	8.9	100.0
Indians	76.9	23.1	0.0	100.0

At least the shrinking households, as one descends Córdoba’s racial scale, correspond to expectations. So do the findings of Valdés for Mexico’s inner city in 1753 (1978, 9). His mean household ranges from 4.6 individuals for Spaniards to 3.9 for mestizos, and 3.5 to 3.3 for pardos and Indians. Moreover, on a class scale, the mean household contracts from 6.6 for the (oversize) elite to 4.2 for both “middle” and “skilled” and 3.4 for the unskilled. The double scale suggests again the presence of low-class españoles and unemployed Indians. Finally, Rodney Anderson (1983b) warns against accepting data at face value. For Guadalajara in 1821, he reinterprets the seeming prevalence of nuclear

households to argue for a commonality of large, three-generation families.

Women

Elinor Burkett, Edith Couturier, and Asunción Lavrin lead the practically new endeavor of researching the history of colonial women. Each of the three has faced the question of the field's autonomy to define the distinct positions of colonial women and to disentangle their self-images.

Lavrin finds colonial women participating in many occupations but their influence limited to home and convent and their independence to high-class widowhood or low-class concubinage (1978, 8–9, 15, 308, 312; 1984b, 330). Above all, colonial women sought the protection of marriage, and most wives were submissive childbearers and rearers (1984a, 31–32; 1984b, 328–29, 333). Women's sole alternative lay in religion (1976, 257; 1984b, 353–54). In the convent, women sought withdrawal—*recogimiento*—both as an ideal and a practical escape (1983, 42–43). Lavrin clearly concentrates on upper-class Hispanic women because, excepting Indian women, they alone commonly married, and, excepting the rare *cacica*, they alone could take vows (Lavrin 1976, 257; Lavrin 1983, 57–59; Gallagher 1978).

Similarly, Couturier has studied literate, active, rich, colonial women who were in love with their husbands (1975, 1978, 1981a, 1983), hardly the stuff of gender or class revolt. But she has also reconstructed the life of a semirural mestiza who by performing men's work, marrying a cacique, joining *cofradías*, and acquiring clients and *compadres* “rose from near destitution . . . to become an important landowner” (1981b, 363). *Compadres* and dowries formed the main sources of a widow's power, insists Couturier in her forthcoming summation of woman's effective legal rights. But dowries declined in the eighteenth century, as has been shown by Lavrin and Couturier (1979, 294). Both authors have also reproduced women's letters and petitions (1981).

The two most recent substantial studies of colonial women center on Peru. They contrast Luis Martín's chatty machismo and ecclesiastic documentation with Elinor Burkett's feminist militancy and use of *notarías*. Martín's 1983 lineup exhibits conquistadoras, child brides, concubines, prostitutes, *beatas*, and *tapadas*, plus “the most liberated women in the viceroyalty”—the riotous nuns with their slaves and *donadas* (Martín 1983, 243). Martín overlooks structures, overrelies on secondary sources, and glosses over the nuns' *amistades particulares*.⁶ But he captivates the reader through anecdotal detail and sprightly prose.

Burkett explains her current retreat from overriding feminism to “the centrality of class” because of her belief that elite women ignored

their own oppression while oppressing their lower-class sisters (n.d., 250, 256–57). Her forthright thesis offers the classical unities of female Arequipa in its first century. The city's endogamous elite growth translated "family strategy" into female passivity—husbands even hired wet-nurses (n.d., 92), although notarial entries also immortalize strong-minded girls and ably managing widows. Ironically, lower-class women of all races enjoyed greater freedom and conditions superior to those of lower-class men (Burkett n.d., 134–39, 181–89, 205–6, 210, 227–28, 236). But slave women were prevented from marrying and were manumitted in sick old age (n.d., 224–25, 231).

Such studies are changing the picture of colonial women. Agreement persists on their legal and educational constraints (Lavrin 1976, 259; Lavrin 1983, 45ff; Socolow 1978, 34ff; Haslip 1980, 167), with formal female schooling barely begun by the mid-eighteenth century (Lavrin and Couturier 1981, 301, 305; Lavrin 1984b, 337–41). Urban woman suffered morally from the double standard (Lavrin and Couturier 1981, 289, 293; Twinam 1984; Lavrin 1984a, 29–33; Lavrin 1984b, 331), physically from violence (Boyer 1984; Lavrin 1984a, 34; Lavrin 1984b, 334), and demographically from adverse sex ratios (Greenow 1976, 8; Scardaville 1977, 177, 203; Langenberg 1981, 104; Anderson 1983b; but see Johnson and Socolow 1979, 348). Far from exercising "the functions of a power broker" (Pescatello 1976, 234), matriarchs barely asserted their independence from covetous males (Lavrin and Couturier 1981, 310; Tutino 1983, 370; Couturier n.d.). In late colonial Parral, most Spanish widows and half the mestiza widows headed households, but for mulatas and indias, widowhood meant work or servitude (McCaa 1984, 489). Moreover, women were known to head households as a result of abandonment (Anderson 1983b).

Among Mexico City's late colonial poor, common-law marriage prevailed (Scardaville 1977, 166–68). Abused wives hesitated neither to abandon their husbands nor to haul them to court (Scardaville 1977, 164–68; Haslip 1980, 137–40; Boyer 1984). But the courts discriminated against women, more of whom "went to jail and more were flogged" (Scardaville 1977, 304, tables on 336–37).

Lavrin's findings to the contrary, spinsterhood was no less prominent than the veil as an alternative to matrimony (Kicza 1981; Kicza 1983, 39; McCaa 1984, 387 n.14; Burkett n.d., 129–39). Also, it is not certain which spouse's standing determined that of the other or that upper-class wives had to be drones (Liss 1975, 98–99; McCaa 1984, 497; Burkett n.d., 208).

Women below the upper class were not limited, as Lockhart assumes, to "preparing and marketing food, innkeeping, midwifery" (1984, 269). Indeed, they participated in a wide variety of pursuits (Szewczyk 1976, 150–51; Couturier 1981b, 363, 374; Lavrin and Coutu-

rier 1981, 301–3; Kicza 1983, 129–31; Tutino 1983, 378–80; Burkett n.d., 130–33; Lavrin 1984b, 330, 348–49). At first, Burkett's vision of women "shoeing horses, packing muletrains, trading in silver" suggests a confusion of ownership with work (n.d., 254). But at the other end of *colonijaje*, in Guadalajara, Anderson has coded female carpenters, butchers, shoemakers, smiths, and "coachmen," although he found most women in low-skilled occupations (1983a, 169–72).

Rather than implying liberation, such activities doubtless reflected a dire need. In late colonial Mexico, this kind of necessity impelled some women to run speakeasies doubling as gambling dens, even to seek employment dressed in men's clothing. It undoubtedly drove many others into consensual unions and prostitution (Scardaville 1977, 174–80; Alberro 1982, 243).

Officials, Merchants, and the Creole-Peninsular Polemic

Crown officials worked their way up through fraud and favor as well as through marriage (Barnadas 1973, 135–36; Ganster 1974, 195; Israel 1975, 36–37; Barbier 1972, 426; Barbier 1978, 393–95; Barbier 1980, 46–47; Kicza 1979, 239–42, 395–96, 407; Ramírez 1985, 90, 180). For crown officials, even as for the merchants, the first arduous step led to a minimal basis of property, as distinct from affluence. This passage beckoned to single and single-minded peninsulares (Brading 1971, 109–10) who lacked the alternative opportunities of their creole cousins (Kicza 1983, 152, 165). As artisans, the immigrants dominated their trades and sometimes turned merchants (Góngora 1975a, 439; Johnson and Socolow 1979, 351). Often such artisans, smallholders, or innkeepers boasted of "mercantile" standing (Barnadas 1973, 145; Super 1980, 267). They shoestrunged in farming, mining, bakeries, *obrajes*, and provincial tax collection (Brading 1971, 149–50; Tutino 1976a, 179; Super 1976b; Szewczyk 1976, 140–41, 146, 149; Johnson 1980). The ablest traveled the route via work and marriage from store manager to commercial partner (Socolow 1978, 20–22; Kicza 1983, 78–79, 85, 103–5, 136–40, 146–47).

The peninsulares' achievements depended on a network of family, *compadrazgo*, and *paisanaje* (Brading 1971, 214; Socolow 1978, 148; Van Young 1981, 73; Couturier 1983), as well as on *confianza*, a network that could substitute for collateral (Carmagnani 1975, 113–17; Kicza 1983, 60). This goodwill was often built up in Spain. Before the first Aycinena founded "the family" of Guatemala, he arrived in Mexico in 1748 or 1753 with Cádiz recommendations, already distanced from the asperities of his native Navarre (Langenberg 1981, 226; Wortman in Balmori, Voss, and Wortman 1984, 61–62). The Basques and Asturians who dominated eighteenth-century commerce were no parvenus; and

they, rather than the officials, kept swelling the ranks of the elite (Brading 1971, 104–6, 208–9; Góngora 1975a, 438; Bakewell 1976, 221–22; Hoberman 1977, 480, 495; C. R. B. Moreno 1977, 134–36; Socolow 1978, 16; Barbier 1980, 45; Kicza 1983, 25, 40, 51–52, 228).

The rising acceptance of peninsulares was mirrored in the *cabildo*. In Tucumán the *cabildo* became their spokesman by 1600; soon thereafter they achieved parity on the *cabildo* of Guatemala, then at Zacatecas and Mérida (Hunt 1976, 39–40; Bakewell 1976, 223; Peña and López Díaz 1981, 491, 496–97; Assadourian 1982, 67). Meanwhile at Santiago de Chile, peninsulares became “ennobled” by buying council seats and the treasurership of the *cruzada* (Góngora 1975a, 439; 1975b, 105). In Lima, too, *encomendero* aldermen were giving place first to lawyers, then to merchants, and by 1700, some of the latter were eligible for the military orders, although not for *títulos* (Ganster 1974, 20; Lohmann Villena 1975, 203–4; Ramón 1978, 148). Before 1800 peninsular merchants and miners dominated the *cabildos* of Asunción, Buenos Aires, and Guatemala, but they lost out at San Salvador and Medellín (Socolow 1978, 121; Krüger 1981, 44; Twinam 1982, 126–28; Wortman in Balmori, Voss, and Wortman 1984, 70). In Mexico City, the 1776 *Tribunal de Minería* enhanced that profession’s standing (Brading 1971, 162, 168). Moreover, peninsulares who held office in the merchant guild snapped up ennoblements and entails and occasionally became *familiares*; yet the *cabildo* largely escaped them, except as honorary regidores (Tutino 1976b, 26–27; Hoberman 1977, 481; C. R. B. Moreno 1977, 160; Kicza 1983, 177–78, 237).

How conflictive was the encounter between immigrant ambition and indigenous ascription? Overwhelmingly, English-language studies of the past decade tone down the creole-peninsular dichotomy (Lockhart 1976a, 11; Hunt 1976, 50; Ladd 1976, 29, 168–70; Tutino 1976b, 26; Socolow 1978, 133–34; Van Young 1981, 173; Kicza 1983, 4). But Chance speaks of “two distinct ethnic groups” (1978, 104), and Domínguez considers their antagonism “an important issue in late colonial Mexico,” if nowhere else (1980, 107, 109–13, 260–64).

The dichotomy is faint but not dead. Seniority rather than birth in America now appears to have been the crux of the matter. “First conquerors”—belonging to specific “hosts” (Ramos Pérez 1975; Lucena Salmoral 1975)—resented later arrivals and gave vent to their “spirit of possession” in terms very like those of the first creoles toward the earliest postconquest immigrants (Lavallé 1978; Saint-Lu 1970, 23; Liss 1975, 103, 114).

So the dividing line was not generational, as Brading thought (1971, 303), but one of naturalization. Around 1600 or a little thereafter, when “criollo” first denoted Spanish Americans and not just Afro-Americans, the scornful epithets of *gachupín* and *chapetón* applied only

to the newcomers among immigrants with the added implication of “poor” and “boor” (Israel 1975, 36–37; Bronner 1977, 644; Bronner 1978, 23; Lockhart 1984, 305). Peninsulares who grew up in Mexico constituted a distinct powerful group among Franciscan friars; and, along with peninsular prelates, they generally sided with the creoles (F. Morales 1973, 54–65; Israel 1975, 86, 108). Burkholder and Chandler have also shown that within the creole groups, dissension existed between native sons and outsiders, while resident peninsulares came to be accepted as *radicados* (Burkholder and Chandler 1977, 5; also shown for Chile by Barbier 1972 and 1980, and for Mexico by Brading 1973). In seventeenth-century Lima and Mexico, regidores radicados were intermarried with their creole colleagues and voted like them (Nwasike 1972, 57, 65–67, 101–3; Lohmann Villena 1975, 204–10; Alvarado Morales 1979, 497–98). They also identified with creoles in chronicles and legal treatises (Keen 1971; Solorzano 1972, vol. 2, 163; Liss 1975, 112–13).

Successful immigrants have created a deceptive stereotype about replacing creoles and snapping up heiresses (Brading 1973, 396–97, 412). In fact, most peninsulares never rose above the mass of peddlers, artisans, and laborers (Kicza 1983, 3–4). The blinding exceptions frequently involved the same family whose imported nephews were surrogate sons (Tutino 1976a, 180; Lockhart 1976b, 785). Usually they were nephews of merchants (Socolow 1978, 147; Socolow 1980a, 391; Kicza 1983, 140–41; Lockhart 1984, 306).

Peninsular-American tension grew rather from conflict over crown and church appointments. Israel’s presumption of hostility between “settler” creoles and gachupín officials finds support in antipeninsular hatred within the orders (1975, 271). In the seventeenth century, this sentiment was observed by Thomas Gage (Chance 1978, 103) and thoroughly documented—with its reciprocal anticreolism—in Bernard Lavallé’s Peruvianist dissertation (1982, vol. 2). Thereafter creoles penetrated the whole gamut of lay and ecclesiastic bureaucracy. But Bourbon reformers began pushing them back (Mörner 1980, 54; Burkholder and Chandler 1977, 145) while limiting their commissions in the militia (Archer 1977, 192–95, 212–13; Kuethe 1978, 41–44). The recrudescing creole animosity, observed by Humboldt and Alamán, and most recently by Seed (1982a) and Archer (1982, 142, 150–51), was reciprocated once again in the Mexican consulado’s famous “anti-American” memorial read in the Cortes in 1811 (Brading 1971, 110–11; Anna 1982, 261). By then, new causes for friction had been added.

Men in the Middle and Below

Hardest to define are the middle strata. They shared no significant wealth or power yet depended on a modicum of skills and property as professionals, poor landowners and traders, or "better" artisans. Although lacking in organization, they included most clergymen, who were pledged to rigid corporative norms. Substantially creole, the middle strata were also typified by the mestizo and thus were racially indeterminate. A dozen years ago, their discrete existence was barely acknowledged. In 1971 D. A. Brading still divided Mexican society into populace and elite (1971, 19–21), terms reminiscent of the "nudity and glitter" favored by H. H. Bancroft (1883–88, v. 3, ch. 24); and in 1984, relying on statistical analysis, McCaa still speaks of "an extraordinary, inescapable dichotomy" (1984, 482). Yet in 1983, Kicza found in *his* Mexico City "a very large, highly differentiated middle sector" (1983, 241). Clearly, we are only beginning to uncover the lay of the land.

The first mestizos were absorbed by the españoles (Liss 1975, 136; Krüger 1981, 35–36; Burkett n.d., 201–3). But this development facilitated the rise of a Spanish endogamy that excluded later generations of mestizos, although frontier towns still saw them as *hijos de españoles* (Israel 1975, 60–66). Following the conquest period, most mestizos constituted "an ambiguous middle layer" (Brading 1971, 258; Chance 1978, 166). According to Domínguez, "the middle stratum of mestizos and mulattoes was made up of people who were relatively free but who did not have access to elite positions" (1980, 34), and who thus belonged at once to the Spanish-speaking *gente de razón* and the "bastard" *gente vil*. "Mestizo status merely confirmed the right to live and work as inferiors," Coatsworth observed (1982, 28). Israel concluded that the mestizo "could be a 'Creole,' 'Indian,' cacique, friar, secular priest, even a 'mulatto'" (1975, 66). What the mestizo lacked was "a common identity" (Chance 1978, 138).

In Oaxaca mestizos and other castes became consolidated by the mid-seventeenth century, and by the mid-eighteenth, they had established their social position. Moreover, they "were frequently able to rise within the sistema de castas and the class system, thereby becoming partially or wholly white" (Chance 1978, 196). Where the mass was not Indian but black, this process was duplicated by light mulattoes, the blancos de la tierra. In both cases, geographical mobility boosted the social ascent, which could be regularized through obtaining a *cacicazgo*, enlisting in the militia, or purchasing *gracias al sacar* (Brading 1972, 461; Kuethe 1978, 6, 31; Domínguez 1980, 37–41). Meanwhile the creoles' racial-nobiliary pride did not prevent them from absorbing others (Brading 1971, 20–22, 210–11; Israel 1975, 92; J. L. Romero 1976, 132; Chance 1978, 128, 174; Colmenares 1980, 150). Before 1800 españoles

and mestizos formed practically one class (Woodward 1976, 77; Chance 1978, 174, 177; Bromley 1979a, 88; Taylor 1979, 172; Mörner 1980, 19; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 317; Lockhart 1984, 296–98).

As the caste system became in fact simplified, the occupational situation grew more complex and internally differentiated, so that “to designate a person’s profession says little about his status” (Kicza 1983, 240; see also Ganster 1974, 4). The merchants’ world comprised extraordinary variations from elite wholesalers through various kinds of shop-owners down to mulatto muleteers and Indian peddlers (Socolow 1975, 3; Chance 1978, 81; Super 1981; Assadourian 1982, 67; Van Young 1982; Kicza 1983, 77, 96–98, 107–16; Ramírez 1985, 279 n.13). Classifying them by their capital makes good sense (Twinam 1982, 72), but this method fails to take into account the respected managerial class of cajeros (Brading 1971, 251–54; Kicza 1983, 103–6), or the ramified commercial investments that constantly transformed traders into stockmen, taverners, bakers, and *obrajeros* (Taylor 1972, 161; Szewczyk 1976, 139–41; Super 1976a, 241; Super 1980, 267; Twinam 1982, 86–87; Kicza 1983, 191, 197, 204).

Clerics and lawyers constituted an authentic creole middle class (or “lower elite”) with corporative norms and exemptions, dependence on outside patronage, and considerable private business interests (Kicza 1979, 338, 347, 521). The few who issued from the elite progressed quickly in their professions (Góngora 1975a, 411; Kicza 1983, 28–29); the others often depended on the great elite families (Tutino 1976b, 193, 213–19).

The church was the major employer of educated creoles (Brading 1973, 398; Coleman 1979, 403). Priests came typically from merchant families, sometimes from families of priests (Ganster 1974, 40, 83, 157, 191–94; Schwaller 1977; Socolow 1978, 103; Kicza 1983, 181). The same was true of lawyers, whose fathers had often exercised the same profession (Kicza 1979, 287–99).

Symbiotically tied to the elite through the *capellanía*, the church reflected the prosperity or penury of society at large (Ganster 1974, 189; Hunt 1976, 36–37; Farriss 1980, 188–89; Mörner 1983, 353). Moreover, individual clerics lent money; owned houses, inns, stores, workshops, haciendas, even mines; participated in other professions; and dominated the universities (Kicza 1979, 360–63); but they were required to prove a minimal annual income, called *congrua*, to merit ordination (Ganster 1974, 10). Similarly, lawyers acted as business agents; at times owned mines, manufacturing establishments, and haciendas; and speculated in commodities; a quarter of the profession found employ in city or viceregal government (Kicza 1979, 311–18, 382; Kicza 1983, 30–31). Each group enjoyed separate, privileged jurisdiction, although some

thirty other *fuero* tribunals existed in Mexico City around 1801 (Ladd 1976, 6).

Of these tribunals, that of the militia had been established recently. As elsewhere in Spanish America, the militia symbolized an increasing bureaucratization, while serving as a possible avenue of social advancement (Moreno Cebrián 1981; Kuethe 1978; Archer 1977; Campbell 1978).

Linda Arnold's investigations into the Mexican bureaucracy at the end of the viceregal period underscore once more the enormous socioeconomic distances within such a body (1977, 1981, 1983). At the head of these several hundred men stood the merchant-noble-official elite, far distanced from the middle layers of notaries and accountants. These officials greatly resembled the lawyers (who figured among them). Two-thirds were creole and 40 percent were native to the capital and surroundings. They were enmeshed in outside business and family affairs. A tenth held two positions or more. Significant promotions depended on informal connections, but formal rules of seniority were generally observed and zealously defended. Despite the private-public and elite-mass dualities, the bureaucrat's world exuded stability.

Physicians shared with clerics and lawyers a creole background and a penchant for small business; and like the lawyers, they at times entered the priesthood. Pharmacists were less medical men than petty, often luckless shopkeepers (Ganster 1974, 184–85; Kicza 1979, 292, 419–30).

The descent into the crafts and the laboring-serving class betakes us into the largest, least known urban groups (Johnson 1980, 139 n.1). This area was an indefinite world between the ubiquitous *españoles* and the prevailing castes, between free enterprise shops and corporate guild organizations. Kicza lists fifty-four Mexican guilds for 1788, the largest and the most marginal comprising the teachers and the "apprentice" students (1983, 209–11). The divisions between boss and worker, decisive though they were, must not blind us to the enormous differences *among* laboring men, between, say, the position of a merchant's *mozo* and forced labor (Socolow 1978, 24; Kicza 1983, 201).

Lyman Johnson remains virtually the lone investigator of artisans, lately joined by Kicza. Because both study the outgoing eighteenth century, they record weak crafts struggling against the incipient factory system. Creole silversmiths and carriage makers still commanded respect. Bakers, among other manufacturers, profited when locked-in Indians in Mexico and African slaves in Buenos Aires stoked their ovens. In Buenos Aires, caste masters vainly tried to organize fellow shoemakers; while in Mexico, moonlighting craftsmen undermined their own guilds (Góngora 1975a, 442; Scardaville 1977, 63; John-

son and Socolow 1979, 351; Johnson 1980, 1981; Haslip 1980, 208–14, 239–41; Chance 1981, 96; Kicza 1983, 187–92, 207–19).

We have touched bottom. Around us are dimly perceived Indian *aborías* who have become servants or unemployed (Chance 1978, 83, 123; Chance 1981, 96); “*peones*, day laborers, domestics, beggars, free blacks and slaves” (Socolow 1978, 10); loiterers and junior delinquents condemned to work in bakeries and obrajes (Scardaville 1977, 298–300; Kicza 1983, 201).

Members of this stratum can be spotlighted. Valdés (1978:190–202) and Richard Boyer (1984) have tapped inquisition files for tales of Mexico’s culture of poverty, complete with abandonment, flight to freedom, racial passing, infidelity, and bigamy. Scardaville has scanned police rolls of the 1790s to reveal the ragged, stealing, pawning *léperos*, Mexico City’s multiracial and multiplying criminals (1977, 14–15, 65–70, 90–92, 114–19, 156–70). Theirs was the universe of nudity, violence, freak shows, gambling houses, and *pulquerías*. Drink was their common escape, cohabitation their marriage, promiscuity and rape their pastimes.

Underpaid and underemployed, the laboring classes blended into the dangerous ones. They showed “considerable disrespect” for authority, peddled and scavenged, jumped rent, made up the crowd of common drunks (Scardaville 1977, 48, 62–67; Haslip 1980, 52–53, 58–59, 69–70, 198). “At times artisan workshops were vacant [with] all the workers . . . in the nearest tavern gambling their wages and clothing” (Scardaville 1977, 100). On the contrary, the thieves’ market “enabled the urban poor to purchase second-hand clothing [and] utensils” (Haslip 1980, 82). Crime rates and corn prices rose and fell in unison (Haslip 1980, table on 110) and “provincials accounted for almost forty percent of all arrests” (Scardaville 1977, 61). Scardaville further documents the city’s gargantuan and growing inebriation as well as the rackets it generated (1980).

The urban blacks remain to be discussed. Frederick Bowser (1974) has studied their largest concentration in Lima through 1650. As slaves they worked at everything, hired out to support modest masters, or liveried and armed to satisfy the ostentation of the rich (1974, 100–109). As skilled artisans of many trades, some won freedom (125), escaped tribute and tutelage (302–12), and a few became guildmasters (132) or contractors (129). Bowser documents the slaves’ squalid conditions (226–29), their occasional dances and orgies (232), their rare and tenuous family life (256–70, 294), the common lash and frequent castration (150–51, 172, 231–32). Although most were tribally disunited or loyal or “superior” mulattoes (179, 181, 184), some slaves kept running away—especially to rejoin relatives (188–95), and some even rose up violently (216–18). Manumission often coincided with infirmity (275–

80), although Bowser later discovered that the manumitted were overwhelmingly women and children (1975, 350). By 1650 a tenth of the Afro-Peruvians were free, presenting the “double image” of industry and mischief (Bowser 1974, 301–2). In fact they constituted a very low middle class, Hispanic but with weak inner bonds (315–22). Bowser’s work has found no imitators, excepting possibly the Mexicanist Colin Palmer (1976).

Ahead: Subjects, Sources, Simple Methods

Formerly colonialists could rely on dull Spanish and cutting judgments about Spain in America. Judgmentalism may be hiding in other isms, but the requirements in skills are growing beyond endurance. The complete scholar must be demographer, cartographer, computer whiz, and social theoretician. Moreover, the field stretches in closely imprinted furrows beyond the horizon. Fortunately, the redefined areas of ignorance and incongruence leave work aplenty near at hand.

Precious little is known about concrete Castilian backgrounds, embedded in peninsular notarial and judicial records. Ida Altman’s 1981 dissertation points the way. My overemphasis here on elites, Mexico, and the Bourbons reflects the imbalanced state of our art and reinforces familiar jeremiads about insufficient research on other areas (Mörner 1983, 360), on earlier periods (Bakewell 1971, 222; Kicza 1979, 508, 539; Robinson 1980a, 83), and on the poor (Lockhart 1972a, 31; Kicza 1979, 539). Lavrin’s call for concentration on “smaller areas, shorter periods, the home” repeats well-known demands (1978, 7, 308). Mörner rightly places cohort and regional studies above generalization (1983, 347–48, 360, 363, 368). Fuller exploitation of “unlikely” social history sources has been exemplified by Twinam’s use of mint records. Marriage books contain material on migration that was unused according to Swann (1979, 123), then quickly captured by Robinson (1981b, 151). Individual life stories—indicative of society’s distributive norms—are buried in the inquisitorial files exposed by Alberro (1978, 1981a, 1981b), Valdés (1978, 190–202), and Boyer (1984); in the trial records consulted by Haslip (1980); and the police inventories utilized by Scardaville (1977). Individual, racially varied households await a breakthrough in family reconstitution, which has been urged by Lockhart (1984, 297) and Mörner (1983, 364) and tenuously achieved by Calvo in 1984. Such research should focus on “the ethnic and social articulation of the in-between classes and strata [including the] proletariat” (Kossok 1972, 689).

Ours is an age of the heroic miniature. The several pointillisms of Burkholder, N. D. Cook, Kicza, and Langenberg discussed in my first section necessarily precede concrete generalizations and theoretical advances. The projections of Morse and Lockhart are being intensively

tested in archival and computerized research. Consequently, for the social historian, the long colonial siesta has long given way to sleepless frenzy.

NOTES

1. See the exclamación of 31 Dec. 1621 by Doña Beatriz Delgadillo y Cordova, under the notary Lorenzo de Sobarzo, Protocolos vol. 1837, pt. 2, folios 315 verso and 316 recto, Archivo General de la Nación del Perú, Lima. See also the exclamación of 15 Oct. 1636 by the nun Doña Francisca Fernández de Córdoba, under the notary Pedro Alvarez de Quiroz, Protocolos vol. 97, folios 505–6 verso, Archivo General de la Nación del Perú, Lima.
2. In 1981 Nancy Farriss attacked the time-lag scheme for its mechanical reductionism. But her criticism concerns native cultural variation. The colonial city could claim a fairly homogeneous Spanish origin.
3. The central government's weakness may have obviated foreign conquest thanks to dependency with its consequent contraband. Already by 1960, Keynesian J. van Klaveren had presented Spain's merchants as puppets of north European capital.
4. Lima's 149 enumerated "knights" (Bronner 1977, 635, 638) with nuclear families assumed to consist of five individuals, and a 1636 population of 27,394 (Bronner 1979, 114).
5. The hacienda may have been unusually remunerative in the Kicza-Tutino period. But even then it required steady reinvigoration according to Van Young (1981, 160) and C. E. Martin (1982, 409–10).
6. So I read the first forty-seven folios, especially 34 verso through 35 verso, of the third Encarnación legajo in Lima's Archivo Arzobispal, the source of the episode that Martin retells on page 232.

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