SPANISH HISTORIANS ON SPANISH MIGRATION TO AMERICA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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LA VIDA Y MUERTE EN INDIAS: CORDOBESES EN AMERICA (SIGLOS XVI-XVIII). By Antonio García Abásolo. (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad and Caja de Ahorros, 1992. Pp. 450.)

LA EMIGRACION ANDALUZA EN AMERICA, SIGLOS XVII Y XVIII. Edited by Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo López-Spínola. (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1991. Pp. 614.)

ANDALUCIA Y AMERICA. By Francisco Morales Padrón. (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992. Pp. 317.)

LA MIGRACION CANARIA, 1500–1980. By Antonio M. Macías Hernández. (Colombres, Asturias: Júcar and Archivo de Indianos, 1992. Pp. 242.)

LOS GALLEGOS Y AMERICA. By Antonio Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey Castelao. (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992. Pp. 354.)

VASCONGADAS Y AMERICA. By Estíbaliz Ruíz de Arzúa. (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992. Pp. 386.)

CARTAS DESDE AMERICA, 1700–1800. By Isabelo Macías and Francisco Morales Padrón. (Seville: Junta de Andalucía. Pp. 296.)

LA EMIGRACION ESPAÑOLA A ULTRAMAR, 1492–1914. Edited by Antonio Eiras Roel. (Madrid: Tabapress, 1991. Pp. 340.)

EMIGRACION ESPAÑOLA Y PORTUGUESA A AMERICA. Edited by Antonio Eiras Roel. (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil Albert and Seminari d'Estudis sobre la Població del País Valencià, 1991. Pp. 175.)

When in the early 1970s I became intrigued by the history of European emigration to Latin America, general interest in this subject in Spain was still slight. The Archivo de Indias in Seville had discontinued publication of its *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias* in 1946, after critics pointed out the enormity of the gaps in that supposedly exhaustive documentation.[1] Only the tenacious U.S. linguist Peter Boyd-Bowman, eager to uncover the origins of Spanish American dialects, continued work on his invalu-

1. Publication of the *Catálogo* was resumed in 1980, but without any comment on the problems of quantification.

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able *Indice geobiográfico de los pobladores de América en el siglo XVI*. Using a wider range of sources than those of the Archivo, by 1976 he had reached his closing year of 1600 and had found a total of 55,000 Spanish overseas migrants. Boyd-Bowman originally thought that the total might reach four or five times as many. His sample should nevertheless be large enough to warrant reliance on his regional percentages.[2]

With the help of Boyd-Bowman's data and those of Pierre and Huguette Chaunu on navigation between Spain and America, I dared present in 1975 a calculation estimating that 450,000 Spanish migrants traveled to America between 1500 and 1650. Beyond that date, no reasonable global assessments could be made for the rest of the colonial period.[3] This still appears to be the case, with the important regional exception of Andalusia.[4] Yet knowledge about the complex phenomenon of overseas emigration from early modern Spain to the Americas has been enriched enormously in recent years, thanks to expanding research in primary sources at local and regional levels.

Part of this expansion reflects the growing awareness of a younger generation of Spanish historians of the necessity of adding quantitative methods to their analyses of the societies of the past whenever feasible. Above all, recent historical research in Spain has been greatly encouraged by replacement of the politically centralized regime of Francisco Franco with decentralization and provincial autonomy, as required by the Constitution of 1975. These changes have made it much easier to obtain funding for research projects having a regional focus. They have also made exploration of regional distinctions and peculiarities much more attractive.

The most striking examples of regional interest in the history of overseas migration have been the Canaries (where meetings on relations with America started in 1978), Andalusia (with similar meetings since 1981), and Galicia, although other regions are now following suit.[5] But the typical research contribution on migration focuses on a small district and uses a single type of source, although the time span may be rather long. Thus it

2. See Boyd-Bowman (1976), which summarizes his extensive research.

3. See Chaunu and Chaunu (1955–1958) and Mörner (1975), English edition (1976). The 1975 Spanish edition has been used by historians in Spain. Several assessments have found my calculation for the period 1580–1650 too low, including that of Eiras Roel in *Emigración española y portuguesa a América* (p. 11) and Macías Hernández's contribution to *La emigración española a Ultramar* (p. 35).

4. Sánchez-Albornoz's summary of colonial population history posits a total of 53,000 Spanish migrants to America in the eighteenth century (Sánchez-Albornoz 1984, 31). This estimate must reflect the unfortunate conjecture of Mario Sánchez-Barba of 52,500 emigrants on the basis of data for three scattered years plus 50 percent to account for illegal migrants (Hernández Sánchez-Barba 1961, 326).

5. See the proceedings of the Andalusian and Canarian meetings listed by Mörner (1991b, 17). At the tenth Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana in Las Palmas in 1992, I presented a paper entitled "La emigración canaria a Indias dentro del contexto español." The proceedings of this meeting are to be published by Casa de Colón in Las Palmas.

will take many years before solid generalizations can be made on a provincial or regional level. It should also be noted that interest in the topic of migration can also imply a more traditional concern with the "great figures" who went to America from a particular town, province, or region.

The most important single piece of quantitative research (the exception just mentioned) is *La emigración andaluza a América, siglos XVII y XVIII,* published by a team from Córdoba led by Dr. Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo López-Spínola. This work combines meticulous data on individuals with highly accurate generalizations (illustrated by graphs). The study found that according to the records kept at the Archivo de Indias, legal emigration from Andalusia (not counting merchants and priests) declined from 19,108 in the sixteenth century to 8,298 in the seventeenth and to a mere 2,298 in the eighteenth century. The low point occurred sometime between 1640 and 1720. Moreover, the proportion of women among Andalusian emigrants decreased dramatically over time. Boyd-Bowman found earlier that between 1580 and 1600, 1,476 women from Andalusia accounted for 60 percent of all Spanish women leaving for America, a group that represented about a third of all Spanish migrants. The Córdoba team found that although women continued to form as much as 47 percent of the Andalusian outflow in the seventeenth century, by the eighteenth century, this proportion had declined to a mere 15 percent. By that time, the number of unmarried males migrating had risen sharply. In the seventeenth century, more than 60 percent of Andalusian emigrants belonged to family units, but in the eighteenth, only a tiny minority were emigrating with relatives. At the same time, the percentage of "*criados*" (an extremely vague category of servants) rose from 15 percent in the sixteenth century to 39 percent in the seventeenth to 69 percent in the eighteenth century.

The findings of the Córdoba team are also significant in a wider context. From 1580 to 1600, according to Boyd-Bowman, Andalusians represented no less than 42 percent of all Spanish overseas migrants. Although global figures are lacking for the remainder of the colonial period, several data suggest that this share declined dramatically. For example, the 1792 census in New Spain, as analyzed by David Brading, shows that as many as 62 percent of 1,421 *peninsulares* came from the northern coast of Spain (Galicia, Cantabria, and Viscaya), while Andalusians accounted for only 7 percent (Boyd-Bowman 1976; Brading 1973). The Córdoba team found that from the mid-seventeenth century onward, Andalusian women lost their dominant role in colonial Spanish households. In the eighteenth century, Canarian women replaced Andalusian women to some extent in the households of the Spanish Caribbean. Otherwise, Spanish newcomers would have married *criollas,* who were much more numerous than in the sixteenth century.

As part of the Columbian Quincentenary outpouring of publications on Spain and the "New World," the well-known Mapfre Foundation

TABLE 1 *Regional Distribution of the Population of Spain and Emigration to America*

Region	% of National Population in 1591[a]	Overseas Migration 1580–1600[b]
Andalusia	17.5	42.2
Extremadura	7.0	14.2
New Castile	16.3	19.2
Old Castile	25.0	10.2
Galicia	8.0	1.2
Basque Provinces and Navarre	2.5	3.9
Catalonia	5.0	0.6[f]
Canary Islands	0.7	0.2
Total for Spain	82.0	91.7

Sources: Domínguez Ortiz (1973, 76); Nadal (1973, 100,199); and Boyd-Bowman (1976, 585).

[a]Total population of Spain in 1591 estimated at 7,880,000.
[b]Number of Spaniards emigrating between 1580 and 1600, 9,508.
[c]Total population of Spain in 1787 estimated at 10,269,000.
[d]Total population of Spain in 1910 estimated at 19,944,000.
[e]Total figure for 1911 emigration, 164,759, derived from provincial figures in *Estadística de la emigraciòn e inmigración de España en los años 1909, 1910 y 1911* (Madrid: Dirección General del

and publishing house in Madrid launched an ambitious series of monographs on the relationship between various Spanish regions and the Americas over time. Sevillian historian Francisco Morales Padrón's *Andalucía y América* is delightful. He even manages to say something new and meaningful about Christopher Columbus in the context of the small Andalusian harbors and powerful magnates like the Dukes of Medinaceli and Medinasidonia who gave him some protection. Morales Padrón also outlines skillfully which Andalusian cultural features became dominant in early America and which did not. But on the subject of migration, he has nothing new to report nor any comment on the research of the Córdoba team. The other Mapfre volumes reviewed here offer more for those interested in this subject.

Thanks to Boyd-Bowman, historians have a fairly good sense of the distribution of Spanish overseas emigration by region until 1600. These percentages can be related to the rough data available on the population of Spain in 1591 (see table 1). By 1787, when global figures once again become available, it is clear that Spain's demographic distribution had undergone substantial change. The populations of Old and New Castile and Extremadura had dwindled considerably, while those of Galicia, the Basque provinces, Catalonia, and the Canary Islands showed major increases. The growing regions dominated overseas migration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it can therefore be

% of National Population in 1787[c]	Male/Female Ratio in 1787	% of National Population in 1910[d]	% of All Migrating in 1911[e]
17.6	100.5	19.2	12.0
4.0	104.3	5.0	0.8
10.9	103.6	10.8	1.9
11.8	98.7	9.3	9.9
13.1	91.7	10.3	31.7
5.2	95.9	4.9	2.8
7.8	93.7	10.5	5.4
1.6	86.5	2.2	4.5
72.0	99.2	72.2	62.6

Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1912), p. xx. American or even overseas destinations cannot be distinguished in these data. But according to Eiras Roel, in the 1910s, an average of 122,520 Spaniards embarked for America (see *Emigración española y portuguesa a América*, p. 14). Emigrants from southeastern Spain tended to opt for Algeria.
[f] Includes Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

presumed that they were already doing so in the eighteenth century, even though general data or approximations are still lacking. For this reason, some data on regional and provincial distribution dating from 1885–1886 and 1911 are presented here in tables 1 and 2.[6]

Emigration from the Canary Islands

Boyd-Bowman's 0.3 percentage for sixteenth-century emigration from the Canary Islands must be too low.[7] Although the Canaries were receiving immigrants from other parts of Spain during the early 1500s, all the ships bound for America from Columbus's vessels onward made a stop at the islands and rounded out their crews. For the sailors or soldiers who signed onboard, it was then rather easy to desert the ship once it arrived in the New World. Also, passengers were occasionally able to get onboard in the Canaries by outright fraud. What distinguished seven

6. Eiras Roel comments in "Migraciones a larga distancia" that the magnitude of seventeenth-century Spanish emigration has often been exaggerated because contemporary writers (known as *los arbitristas*) believed it to be one of the causes of the crisis in Spain during that century (Eiras Roel 1992, 954–55). In contrast, Eiras Roel believes that eighteenth-century emigration must have been larger than many now tend to think. He suggests that it may have totaled some 2,000 persons yearly from all the *"puertos habilitados."*

7. Boyd-Bowman defends his low figure for the Canaries (1976, 520). Compare this total with that of Macías Hernández in *La migración canaria* (p. 28), under review here.

TABLE 2 *Emigration Rates and Percentages of Females and Literate Inhabitants of Spanish Provinces with the Greatest Emigration to America in 1885–1886*

Province	Emigrants per 1,000 Inhabitants (yearly average)	Female Percentage of Provincial Population, 1887	Percentage of Literate Inhabitants, 1887[a]
Canary Islands	18.0	55.1	15.5
Pontevedra, Galicia	13.3	57.7	23.3
La Coruña, Galicia	12.7	55.6	26.1
Oviedo, Asturias	8.5	54.5	32.9
Santander, Cantabria	7.4	53.5	50.2

Sources: *Anuario Estadístico de España, 1912*, 119–23; and Nadal (1973, 193).

[a]The national percentage of 28.9 rises to 34.5 when children younger than eight are taken out of the calculation.

teenth- and eighteenth-century migration from the Canaries, however, was its being closely linked to the limited navigation and trade that the islands were allowed to conduct with the Caribbean islands. Moreover, some family emigration from the Canaries was subsidized by the Spanish Crown in order to strengthen its hold on colonies where population was scarce and sometimes declining, as in Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and Cuba. For example, under the program functioning from 1678 to 1786 (known by the names of *derecho de familias* and *contribución de sangre*), 431 Canary Island families were transported to the Caribbean between 1681 and 1702. Another 1,614 individuals were sent between 1720 and 1740, and 2,455 more between 1749 and 1764. Finally, a mixed civic-military expedition to Louisiana in 1778–1779 brought 428 Canarian families (1,827 persons) with it, roughly 2 percent of the total population of the Canaries at that time.[8]

Thus Canarian emigration was characterized by a balanced sex ratio that was unique at a time when the female proportion of Spanish emigrants from the mainland to America was declining. Canarian emigration was increasingly directed toward Cuba and Venezuela, a pattern that continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During the eighteenth century, the population of the Canary Islands had increased markedly: from some 40,000 inhabitants around 1650 to 169,000 in 1787. The number of migrants also increased, even without any encouragement by the crown. When the share of male emigrants increased, the phenomenon was clearly reflected in the demographic structure of the Canaries. In Tenerife, at least, population growth came to a halt. Building on the pioneering studies in the 1950s by Francisco Morales Padrón (who remains the prime mover behind the yearly *Coloquios de Historia Canario-*

8. The best summary of the Louisiana venture is found in Tornero Tinajero (1977).

Americana), the best update on Canarian emigration is the knowledgeable and thought-provoking overview presented by Antonio Macías Hernández in *La migración canaria, 1500–1980.* Nevertheless, the peculiar characteristics and extensiveness of Canarian overseas migration deserve much more attention than they have received thus far.[9]

Emigration from Galicia

According to Boyd-Bowman, Galicia's share of sixteenth-century Spanish overseas emigration was also quite low, averaging 1.2 percent from 1493 to 1600. The documentation in Seville for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remains to be explored. Yet recent studies in Galicia, headed by Antonio Eiras Roel, Spain's leading scholar in the field of migration, have uncovered a great variety of local sources. They suggest a long-term rise in emigration that coincided with explosive population growth from the seventeenth century onward in Galicia, a region rather poorly endowed with natural resources. The long-standing pattern of internal migration from Galicia to Castile in the eighteenth century was paralleled by a direct flow of Galician merchants to Cádiz. From there, some continued onward to America. With the establishment of an overseas mail service from La Coruña in 1764 and the trade reforms of 1778, direct migration from Galicia to the New World began, although apparently on a small scale until the second half of the nineteenth century. In a somewhat similar manner, Galicians had been migrating for a long time to the neighboring parts of northern Portugal, the center of Portuguese overseas migration. Thus to some extent, men from western Galicia replaced Portuguese men who were migrating overseas. In the nineteenth century, emigrants from the same areas of Galicia opted instead to go directly to Brazil. After all, the Portuguese language is easier for *gallegos* to master than Spanish.

The Mapfre series volume on Galicia, *Los gallegos y América*, was coauthored by Antonio Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey Castelao. This study reflects recent research on regional commerce and emigration. In theory, La Coruña would have been allowed to carry out direct trade with America between 1529 and 1573, when some emigration must have taken place. The authors cautiously conclude, however, that evidence is lacking to show that Galician shippers ever took advantage of that opportunity. Unlike other authors in the Mapfre series, Eiras Roel and Rey Castelao also admit candidly that few Galicians actually took part in the "glorious conquest."

In the eighteenth century, one migratory episode appears to have been a kind of counterpart to the Canarian expedition to Louisiana. At

9. The estimate for 1650–1787 comes from Eiras Roel (ed., 1992, 228). It implies a yearly growth rate of 1.05 percent.

about the same time, the Spanish Crown also decided to launch a large expedition with armed settlers to the barren coast of Patagonia to help defend this distant part of the empire against British attacks. Galicians were chosen to provide manpower for this great venture. By 1784, 2,028 persons had been sent to Montevideo, the New World base for this undertaking. But only one-fourth of these emigrants were in fact Galicians, and only one-tenth ever went to Patagonia. The rest stayed happily in the region around the Río de la Plata.[10] In the late eighteenth century, considerable demographic growth occurred in Galicia, and population pressure was relieved only temporarily by the introduction and cultivation of maize. This population growth became the real stimulus for later Galician emigration to America, especially to the Río de la Plata region.[11]

Emigration from Asturias and Cantabria

Rain-clouded Asturias in the eighteenth century included attractive rural areas around Oviedo but very poor highlands. Nine out of ten rural inhabitants were tenants, and poverty was rampant. Overseas emigration began late, and its eighteenth-century beginnings in Oviedo have been traced by Carmen Ansón Calvo. Migrants were almost all *hidalgos* (a vast category in Asturias), who were bound mainly for Havana and Buenos Aires.[12] Also to the east, in the Santander region, another group of pioneers in emigration were Cantabrian hidalgos who had been left out of the *mayorazgos* (entailed estates). Poor peasants moved shorter distances to Castile, France, or even temporarily to Andalusia. All along the northern coast, the mid-eighteenth century witnessed an increase in overseas emigration. The people of Cantabria, *Montañeses* as they are usually called, were especially attracted by silver mining in New Spain. Also, direct trade with the Caribbean started in 1765 and was followed by the free-trade decree in 1778. Staffing of the powerful consulate in Mexico City began in 1742 to alternate between Basques and Montañeses, the leading merchant groups. As Brading has shown, 38 percent of 314 peninsulares in the great mining town of Guanajuato in 1792 were Montañeses. Moreover, almost 70 percent of the Spaniards in Guanajuato came from

10. On comparing Galicia with the Canaries in the period 1650–1787, Eiras Roel found in *Aportaciones* that its growth was slower: from 820,000 to 1,345,000 (Eiras Roel, ed., 1992, 227). What mattered as a push factor, however, was the existing population density in combination with some archaic social institutions. Eiras Roel estimates in *La emigración española a Ultramar* that in the district of Santiago de Compostela in the eighteenth century, more than one-tenth of all young men sooner or later emigrated, one out of seven choosing an American destination.

11. According to Galmarini, of 2,290 peninsulares in Buenos Aires in 1810, 30 percent were Galicians, 15 percent were Andalusians, and 11 percent Basques, the latter prominent in commerce (1986, 562).

12. For Asturias, see the articles by A. Barreiro Mallón, R. Anes Alvarez, and C. Anson Calvo in *La emigración española a Ultramar.*

the seaboard of northern Spain. By the 1790s, overseas emigration was considered by some Spanish commentators to be a real threat to the development of Cantabria.[13]

Emigration from the Basque Provinces

East of Cantabria, the people of the three Basque provinces, with their own peculiar language and historical traditions, always had the reputation of being tough and enterprising. In the records, they are often found grouped together with their neighbors in Navarre. Basque names crop up with striking frequency in the history of the conquest of the Americas. Apparently, their collective *hidalguía* afforded them some advantage when it came to filling positions of command. Boyd-Bowman found Basques totaling as much as 4.5 percent of his sample of the years 1493 to 1560. After that, their share dropped. Of a sample of 2,200 Spaniards arriving in the Río de la Plata region during the conquest (1535–1580), almost 12 percent appear to have been Basques. In addition to being numerous among bureaucrats and clergy in the Americas, the Basques (like their neighbors on the northern coast) often became merchants and sailors.

Data for 1591 suggest that the three Basque provinces were home to 2.5 percent of Spain's population and had the highest demographic density of any region (29 persons per square kilometer). The unusual system of inheritance in the Basque provinces, in which the farm unit was maintained and left to any one child with the others being bought out, encouraged emigration. In the seventeenth century, the Basque population increased rapidly, and emigration apparently became a popular choice once again. Of of a sample of 1,182 peninsulares in Mexico City in 1689, no less than 14 percent were Basques. Between 1728 and 1784, Venezuela was actually dominated by the Basque-owned Compañía Guipuzcoana of Caracas. During that time, at least 3,000 Basques arrived in that region, where they and the Canary Islanders formed the largest groups of immigrants. The Basques generally chose careers as merchants and company employees, while the Canary Islanders were mainly modest planters of cacao. The violent conflict of 1749 in Venezuela thus had an element of ethnic confrontation, like the one a hundred years earlier (1622–1625) in Potosí between "*vascongados*" (Basques from Spain) and "*vicuñas*" (non-Basque immigrants or American-born miners). In studying the census figures for New Spain in 1792, Brading found that Basques

13. For Cantabria, see the article by R. Lanza García in *La emigración española a Ultramar* and that by C. Soldeville Oria in *Emigración española y portuguesa a América*. See also Brading (1971, 252).

and Navarrans accounted for 10.6 percent of the population, the second-largest regional group after Cantabrians.[14]

Another volume in the Mapfre series, Estíbaliz Ruíz de Arzúa's *Vascongadas y América* is not easy to read but does contain some useful data on migration. Unfortunately, the text is interrupted by lengthy lists of names, and the bibliography is chaotic. Ruíz de Arzúa views the Basque medieval experience in whaling and ship construction as the background for their performance overseas. Although quantitative data for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remain scarce, her careful assessment of the characteristics of Basque and Navarran emigration is persuasive. These groups' special links to commerce and mining in Spanish America are evident and explain their controversial roles in Potosí and Venezuela. Judging from a sample of eighteenth-century legal records, Mexico, Venezuela, and Peru were the Basques' favored destinations in the Americas, logical choices for a people drawn to trade and mining.

A peculiar aspect of Basque emigration is the role played by their fellow citizens from the French side of the Pyrenees. Some apparently chose to cross the border between Spain and France in order to get to the Indies with the help of falsified documents. During the first part of the nineteenth century, French Basques formed a considerable part of the extensive French emigration to the Rio de la Plata region in that era. Between 1835 and 1842, a total of 32,934 European migrants disembarked in Montevideo, half of them French migrants mostly from the Western Pyrenees. Basques were one of the major components of this group (Duprey 1952, 161–70).

Emigration from Catalonia

According to Boyd-Bowman's figures, emigration from Catalonia to the Indies was very small in the sixteenth century, a mere 0.7 percent of the total, including emigrants from Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Yet their population share in Spain by 1591 must have been at least 12 percent. Like migration from the northern coast, that from Catalonia clearly increased markedly over the eighteenth century. In 1982 Catalan historian Josep Delgado contributed some relevant data. In going through the series of overseas emigration data at the Archivo de Indias for 1794–1796, Delgado found that Catalans formed as much as 15 percent of the emigrants during those years. Thus they must have been the largest regional group after Andalusians, Castilians, and Basques. Even if Delgado's data seem uncertain to me, Catalans surely had become increasingly involved in the Cádiz trade with the Indies from the 1740s onward. After the free-trade

14. The 1591 data come from Domínguez Ortiz (1973, 76). On the Basque provinces, see the article by Valentín Vázquez de Prada and J. B. Amores Carredano and another by J. M. Aramburo Zudaire and J. M. Usunáriz in *La emigración española a Ultramar.*

reform of 1778, they must have been even more active. Delgado found a total of 1,263 Catalan merchants operating in the Americas between 1778 and 1820. Almost half of them (43 percent) resided in Cuba and the Caribbean, and another 25 percent in the Río de la Plata region. Although the Real Compañía de Barcelona en las Indias established in 1755 with a Caribbean orientation proved to be a failure, it undoubtedly contributed to the outflow of Catalan merchants from the Old World.[15]

Early Modern Emigration from Spain

A few general conclusions can be drawn from the bewildering array of recent studies on early modern migration from Spain to America surveyed here. First, sixteenth-century emigration reflected the dominance of Old and New Castile politically and socially but also the importance of shorter land routes (from Andalusia and Extremadura) and urban centers of population and information. This emigration pattern continued, in my opinion, as long as pull factors prevailed. Thus seventeenth-century emigration largely followed the earlier trend, notwithstanding a deep depression in Castile. The eighteenth century, in contrast, laid the basis for a new pattern. Overseas migration was then being stimulated by the growing importance of the maritime provinces of Spain (including the Canaries) and their demographic dynamics. In some areas (like Galicia), population density was already acting as a powerful push factor. In others (like Catalonia), commercial expansion motivated increased overseas migration. The current stage of research on the topic is especially promising in that Spanish overseas migration is finally being studied in relation to internal and medium-range migration.[16]

The Challenge of Estimating Extralegal Migration

Apart from the problems that persist in studying Spanish regional migration flows, two major overlapping questions remain for historians. What were the dimensions of migration by non-Spanish foreigners and that by clandestine migrants to the Indies? Boyd-Bowman, who was concerned only with the legal flow, found that non-Spanish migrants (mostly Portuguese and Italians) formed 2.8 percent of sixteenth-century migrants. The most ambitious recent attempt has been made by Charles Nunn, who discovered as many as 1,500 foreigners in New Spain between 1700 and 1760, about 3 percent of all European-born residents of the viceroyalty at

15. Strangely enough, Delgado (1982) does not give the absolute number of emigrants during those years. Eiras Roel claims the total was 842 persons, 86 percent of them merchants and 12 percent artisans. See *La emigración española a Ultramar* (p. 39).

16. In 1993 the International Commission for Demographic History met in Santiago de Compostela at a conference entitled "Internal and Medium-Distance Migration in Europe, 1500–1900." A large part of the program was devoted to Spain.

the time. As for stowaways (*polizones*), they must have been numerous in the Canaries and other ports that were allowed to send occasional ships (but not passengers) to the Indies. But as Spanish historian Vicenta Cortés and her Dutch colleague Auke Pieter Jacobs have pointed out, the practice of enlisting as sailors was much safer and cheaper than outright fraud for those eager to escape registration on their way to the New World (see Boyd-Bowman 1976, 588; Nunn 1979; Cortés Alonso 1983; Jacobs 1983, 453–57). In an important recent article, Jacobs presented the results of his research on 9,524 enlisted sailors in the fleets sailing from Andalusia between 1598 and 1610. More than half came from the coast of Andalusia, followed by Portuguese emigrants from neighboring Algarve and inhabitants of the northern coast. Especially intriguing are his figures on sailors and soldiers who did not serve on the return voyage, 2,986 of them during this period. As Jacobs observes, the existence of an entirely male illegal flow appears to counterbalance somewhat the growing share of legal female migrants observed by Boyd-Bowman (see Jacobs 1991b).[17] At best, historians may be able to establish in the future at least a rough margin for estimating the number of extralegal migrants.

Research Problems and Prospects

In Spain at present, the risk is that many students of migration in the colonial era may become divided into rather isolated groups. Increasingly involved in research on the local level, they may know little about what their colleagues are studying in other regions. Efforts to coordinate research at least to some degree are laudable indeed. In this regard, Antonio Eiras Roel of the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela is playing a crucial role. During the second Congreso de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica, held in Alicante in 1990, he coordinated a section on Spanish and Portuguese migration to America. The proceedings have been published in a slim but useful volume entitled *Emigración española y portuguesa a América*. A more extensive work edited by Eiras Roel is even more helpful. *La emigración española a Ultramar, 1492–1914* echoes the name of a meeting held in Madrid in December 1989 on this topic. Eiras Roel finds the eighteenth century especially intriguing, but he is not convinced that analysis of the famous series at the Archivo de Indias will provide definitive answers. The question he asks is, to what degree were ports other than Cádiz (prior to 1778) responsible for increasing shares of the outflow, given the accelerated population growth of the northern mari-

17. I regret not having had access to *Los hombres del océano: vida cotidiana de los tripulantes de las flotas de Indias, siglo XVI* by Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína (Seville: 1992). From 1700 to 1715, Andalusians comprised no less than 64 percent of 4,041 sailors enlisted to go to the Indies (Mörner 1991b). Historians should also recall another flow of males: the troops sent from Spain to strengthen the defense of the Indies in the eighteenth century. See Marchena Fernández (1983).

time provinces and the Canaries? The point is that by the eighteenth century, push factors were prevailing that differed from the ones that had propelled sixteenth-century emigration. In my view, the large share of sixteenth-century migration from urban centers and districts situated along main roads suggests that pull factors prevailed in that era. Also, much evidence indicates that eighteenth-century emigration was heavily male, much more so than that of the late sixteenth century (except from the Canary Islands). According to the census taken in New Spain in 1790–1793, as analyzed by Brading, only 279 (4.8 percent) of the 5,779 peninsulares recorded were women. The evolution of that ratio is crucial to understanding how immigrants became integrated into Spanish American society (see Brading 1973, 131).[18]

Letters and Money from the Indies

Fortunately for Spanish students of migration history, archives in Spain afford opportunities to study more than outmigration. Some types of documentation also provide invaluable glimpses of the life of Spaniards overseas and their ties to the mother country. U.S. historian Ida Altman based her fine monograph, *Emigrants and Society* (1989), on documentation kept in local archives in Extramadura. At about the same time, Spanish historian Enrique Otte published his huge *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540–1616*, a basic source on emerging Spanish American societies and migration during that period (see Otte 1988). These letters from settlers to their relatives and friends on the other side of the Atlantic were found in one of the "Indiferente" sections of the Archivo de Indias. The letters had been appended to applications filed by their relatives to show that their own passage to the Indies would be paid for by the author of the letter. Thus the letters are not a random selection because only rather successful settlers would have been able or willing to make such offers. These letters have greatly modified historians' image of sixteenth-century Spaniards overseas. They were not just restless adventurers roaming around looking for quick profits but probably more often individuals who were determined to work steadily to improve their living standards over those afforded by conditions back home. The letters are often charming in their ingenuousness and display of feelings.

In 1991 Spanish historians Isabelo Macías and Francisco Morales

18. From the latter part of the sixteenth century onward, inquisition tribunals were set up first in Mexico and Lima and later also in Santiago de Chile and Cartagena. They were busily tracking down "New Christians" and Protestants who had managed to get to Spanish America despite sharp prohibitions. Hundreds were prosecuted, many of them burned at the stake, until about 1650 (see Avni 1992). One aspect of overseas migration that remains unexplored is re-emigration during the colonial period. Ida Altman seems to be the only historian thus far to provide substantial treatment of the subject for her chosen region of Extremadura (Altman 1989, 247–74).

Padrón published another volume of the same kind of letters, but written in the eighteenth century. These *Cartas desde América, 1700–1800* are generally more formal in tone and less varied in content. Husbands all sound determined to stay in the Indies but are eager for their wives to join them, whether because of sincere sentiments or to avoid the ecclesiastical, legal, and social sanctions implied by the continued separation of married couples. In the letters, these men assure their ladies that Atlantic travel is now free of risk and that they would enjoy a marvelous reputation on arriving. Also illustrated in the letters is the well-known custom of Spanish entrepreneurs of sending for nephews back home to serve as their loyal assistants (and often successors) in their businesses.

La vida y muerte en Indias: Cordobeses en América (siglos XVI-XVIII) by Antonio García-Abásolo, a member of the Córdoba team of researchers, is an excellent work. This study is based on "*bienes de difuntos*," dossiers of wills, inventories, and at times witness depositions that were sent to Spain after the death of Spaniards overseas.[19] Although this category of documents has been researched before, this work represents the first time that they have been used on a large scale and in relation to a specific area in the mother country. García-Abásolo's perceptive analysis reveals the influence of Michel Vovelle and other French historians of the Mentalités group. Readers will also admire an administrative machinery that made certain that the wishes of deceased Cordobans were mostly carried out in distant Spain. In one instance, the deceased had drowned in a river without carrying a will, so that witnesses had to be interrogated to find out about his family. The selection is based on records on 200 individuals, most of whom died in the seventeenth century. About half had maintained some contact with Spaniards back home. News of the others sometimes reached the Spanish pueblo thanks to neighbors or *paisanos*, whether in America or in Córdoba. Often the nostalgic feelings of Spaniards who wanted to set up a *capellanía* (chantry) in the home pueblo were fulfilled. Some testators were even wealthy enough to endow another capellanía in the new country where they had earned their money. On the basis of the inventories, García-Abásalo concludes that almost all of his two hundred subjects were merchants by trade if not by name, even when their professions were listed as priest, soldier, artisan, "barber-surgeon" (a frequent label), or bureaucrat. Virtually all of them referred to their account books, leading García-Abásolo to deplore the fact that no such books have been found. His analysis of the various types of "merchants" is useful. Another important feature of *La vida y muerte en Indias* is its discussion of the out-of-wedlock children mentioned in the wills, more often than not mothered by Indian servants. Half of the sample were slave owners, and children by slave women were also re-

19. See Mörner (1991b) on earlier usage of the "bienes de difuntos."

ferred to occasionally. Mothers of these children were then set free by the will. Some of the mestizo children were strikingly well provided for. Yet in one will, the depth of discriminatory attitudes is reflected by the seventeenth-century Spaniard who wanted 100 pesos distributed among the beggars of Lima: "Spaniards and whites" among them were to get 4 *reales* each, but 1 real was deemed enough for "mulattos, blacks, and Indians."

A Final Suggestion

While Spanish historians are busily uncovering all kinds of data on the emigrants to the Indies during and after the colonial period, their colleagues in Latin America and elsewhere are carrying out the same kind of research using Latin American archives. It certainly seems justifiable to set up a common data bank to link data on the same individual whenever feasible. Such a data bank would go beyond mere quantification by facilitating and deepening individual, genealogical, and prosopographical study of this extraordinary wave of human migration.

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