

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Mexican Provincial Society during the Age of Revolution:

A Social and Economic History of Toluca, 1790-1834

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Mark Joseph Mairot

2013

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation is a social and economic history of the Toluca region of central Mexico during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Toluca's proximity to Mexico City greatly affected its social, political, and economic organization over the course of the colonial era. By the late eighteenth century, changes in social complexity and economic differentiation were evident, as population growth, the expansion of commercial activity, and a growing local market led to an increasingly multifaceted and consolidated local society.

The study's principal objective is to detect and analyze changes and continuities in social relations, work, business and commercial activities, agricultural production, and market development in this important subregion of central Mexico during a period of accelerated political, economic, and social change. The findings are based on an intensive use of original archival sources, especially notarial documents and census data, and also parish, sales tax, and tithe records. The study employs both quantitative and qualitative sources, which provide different but complementary dimensions to the analysis. A career pattern approach was used to follow individuals and families from different social groups. Serial data were analyzed to reveal patterns in commercial activity and agricultural production. Owing to the nature of the sources used, the emphasis is on the Hispanic sector in the valley; however, the continuity of indigenous structures is also examined. Substantive chapters examine the populations of the town of Toluca in 1791 and 1834, the largely indigenous barrios and pueblos in Toluca's environs and rural areas, commerce and the estate system, and artisans.

To the degree allowed by the sources, this study elucidates processes of change at all levels of Toluqueño society, going beyond an analysis of the local elite to include more humble sectors of society. The dissertation contributes to our knowledge of central Mexico's demography, society, and ethnicity, with implications for other regions of Latin America. In its periodization, this study crosses the traditional divide of national independence, a time of political unrest and economic uncertainty.

The dissertation of Mark Joseph Mairot is approved.

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To my mother, Geri.

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- _____. Book review of *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550-1850*, by Matthew Restall. *UCLA Historical Journal*, Volume 18, 1999.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: PEOPLE, TOWN, AND REGION

In 1841, Frances Calderón de la Barca, the wife of the first Spanish minister to Mexico after it gained national independence, described a trip she and her husband made from Mexico City to the town of Toluca. While it was only sixty kilometers away, the route was perilous, its scenery wild. As Calderón de la Barca correctly sensed, the mountains that separated the two central Mexican valleys were rich in lore and in history. Here is where the first offensive of the Mexican independence movement, led by Miguel Hidalgo, reached its high-water mark. After finally defeating royal troops in the bloody battle at Monte de las Cruces, the Mexican priest and his army did not advance on Mexico City, but instead retreated to Guadalajara. Wooden crosses still marked the battle site as the stagecoach carrying her party passed by, some thirty years after the event. Further down the road to Toluca, the head of the murderous outlaw Maldonado, which had been severed from his body, was spiked to a tree near where he had committed his last homicide. Blackened and rotting, his teeth still showing, the spectacle of the decapitated head was meant to reassure travelers such as Calderón de la Barca that the road was safe from the likes of the “celebrated robber”; soldiers were on guard; or so she wished to believe.¹

Whether by stagecoach or horseback, travelers to the Toluca Valley journeyed from the capital city via the Toluca road. The steep, pine-carpeted mountain range was formidable enough to allow cultural and ethnic distinctions between indigenous

groups before the arrival of Europeans.² The craggy road served as an essential artery for interregional communication and commerce, as well as a gateway to important markets and suppliers in Toluca, Michoacán, and Nueva Galicia. The busy route was the domain of mule trains, itinerant traders, soldiers, and, occasionally, bandits. Government officials, merchants, and churchmen, visiting from Mexico City or stationed in the Toluca Valley or points beyond, might be seen in transit lunching at one of the many travelers' inns at the midway point of the journey. Here muleteers watered their animals and sometimes warily rubbed shoulders with travelers of higher social standing.³ Toluca had long been the site of an important livestock fair during the months of August and September.⁴ Cattle from as far away as El Rosario and Tepic, northwest of Guadalajara, were driven to the valley before proceeding over the Toluca road to the slaughterhouses of Mexico City.⁵ Hogs raised in the valley were herded over the mountain passes to meet the same fate.

The deteriorated road failed to keep up with the ever-increasing commercial traffic required to supply the growing metropolis. Beginning in the mid 1790s, royal officials oversaw work on the highway between Mexico City and Toluca, financed by landowners and merchants from the capital who wanted more reliable access to the valley and its products.⁶ After independence foreign travelers appeared in the Toluca region with increasing frequency, usually with an eye towards the more distant mines or other business interests, but some were intent on settling there and starting businesses. By 1831, after Toluca was named capital of the state of Mexico, official communication between the two cities became more regular: for five pesos one could

purchase a seat on the daily coach from Mexico City to Toluca, which ran every day except Sunday.⁷

Visitors who viewed the Toluca Valley for the first time immediately recognized its importance as an agricultural region. As they reached the town of Lerma at the eastern edge of the valley, the landscape shifted abruptly from densely forested mountains to extensive plains, marshes, and lagoons. On cloudless days, the striking Nevado de Toluca volcano appeared as the southwestern backdrop to the valley. Here travelers could not help but be impressed by the rural landscape, replete with expansive fields of maize and maguey, and the treeless horizon of intensive agriculture.⁸

Once in the valley proper, commercial traffic—muleteers, wagons, and petty traders—moved in all directions, but a higher concentration was to be found in the central corridor between Mexico City and Toluca. Valley producers supplied regional population centers like the town of Toluca; the mining areas of Temascaltepec, Sultepec, and Zacualpan; and Cuernavaca; but these markets were small compared to that of Mexico City, the destination of the vast majority of the valley's production. Haciendas, ranchos, small towns, and indigenous pueblos populated the valley's floor and low-lying hills, and were all in one way or another involved in agricultural pursuits. West of Lerma lay the town of Toluca, the longtime administrative center of the valley and center of Hispanic influence. After the exhilaration offered by Mexico City, Calderón de la Barca could only describe the city of Toluca somberly, as a

“quiet and convent-like” setting, a “good-looking, respectable-seeming place, about as sad and solitary as Puebla.”⁹

This dissertation studies provincial society and economy in the Toluca region of central Mexico between 1790 and 1834. It focuses on the social, economic, and business activities of men, women, and families in the town of Toluca and its periphery. The study’s principal objective is to detect and analyze changes and continuities in social relations, work, business and commercial activities, agricultural production, and market development in an important subregion of central Mexico during a period of accelerated political, economic, and social change. To the degree allowed by the sources, this study elucidates the manifold effects this era of change had upon all levels of Toluqueño society by going beyond analysis of the local elite, the most accessible in the documentary evidence, to more humble sectors of society. Owing to the nature of the sources used, the emphasis is overwhelmingly on the Hispanic sector in the valley.

The study is located squarely within what some scholars have termed “the age of revolution”; indeed, temporal conceptualization is key to its formation. Spanish American historians traditionally studied the colonial period (1521-1810), the independence period (1810-1821), and the early national period (1821-1854) as separate entities, opting for political watersheds while ignoring significant social, cultural, and economic continuities. Rigid periodization has eroded appreciably over the past quarter century; however, the independence breakpoint continues to influence approaches to social histories, albeit to a lesser extent than before.¹⁰ The historical literature of the late-colonial period remains

among the most advanced in the field, while the early republican period is less developed, although much progress has been made. This study considers the period between 1790 and 1834 as a continuum. It recognizes the immense importance of the political and military struggles for independence, and change in political system, but takes these as an established and accepted backdrop, and emphasizes more mundane matters related to ordinary people who lived in extraordinary times. Moreover, the documentary bases of this study say little directly regarding the independence movement, although clearly everything that occurred at this time did so in its context, before, during, and after.

Proximity to Mexico City has been the primary determinant affecting Toluca's social, political, and economic organization since before the arrival of Europeans. Productive maize agriculture, dense sedentary populations, and relative nearness to Tenochtitlan were all compelling factors that led to the colonization of the Toluca Valley by Nahuas half a century before the arrival of Europeans. In 1474, the Mexica invaded the Toluca Valley and defeated the dominant Matlatzinca. After bloody conflict, the victors reorganized the valley's population according to their own residential principles, colonized the area with Nahuatl speakers, initiated the extraction of tribute, and forced conscripts to fight for the Triple Alliance in western expansionist wars. Hegemonic configurations of dominance and control were well in place when Spaniards replaced the Mexica as the dominant group of central Mexico and superimposed their systems on preexisting indigenous structures.¹¹

Permanent Spanish settlement in the Toluca Valley dates from 1521 when conquistadors defeated the Mexican garrison there. Under Spanish rule, the Toluca

Valley continued to function as an appendage of Mexico City, with few essential alterations to the previous relationship. Hernando Cortés subsequently claimed parts of the Toluca Valley as part of his seignorial estate, the Marquesado del Valle de Oaxaca, which included lands in other areas of New Spain (Cuernavaca, Coyoacán, Charo Matlatzinco, Tehuantepec, Tuxtla, and Oaxaca).¹² The area of the Toluca Valley beyond the Marquesado was distributed in *encomienda* (grants of labor and tribute), each based on existing nucleated indigenous settlements, or *altepetl*, which the Mexica had originally imposed on the valley residents, and which continued to deliver goods and services to Mexico City, in much the same manner as they had before. The *encomienda* was initially the primary medium through which Spaniards and Indians interrelated, setting the stage for later institutional developments, including the parish, indigenous municipality, and *corregimiento*, although the norm was one of independent coexistence rather than assimilation.

Encomenderos preferred the comforts of urban life in Mexico City to more rustic existence in the provincial countryside. They made their residences in the capital, where they were the core members of elite society; and as such, they were removed from Toluca in every sense. Quotidian operations of *encomiendas* and estates in the valley were administered by dependents of encomenderos, often their humble relatives or their “illegitimate” offspring, thus setting the pattern that would affect Toluca’s development over subsequent years. Throughout the early period and beyond, Toluca provided agricultural products and labor to the capital city market, while it received marginal members of Spanish society and, sometimes, new Spanish immigrants with local family

connections, to serve its labor and gradually increasing commercial needs. In Toluca, a strong correlation between social marginality and rural occupations existed from the start.¹³

Social marginalization characterized the Spanish sector in Toluca as long as its local market was nonexistent or insignificant. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the social and economic contours of the Toluca region were still largely formed by its subordinate relationship with Mexico City; however, there were noticeable alterations in social complexity and economic differentiation. Population growth and the expansion of commercial activity led to an increasingly multifaceted and consolidated society, although representative of a minor consolidation due to the immense presence of the capital. Whereas encomenderos in the sixteenth century chose to reside in Mexico City and were estranged from Toluca physically, socially, and culturally, by the late eighteenth century Toluca's landed elite were much more likely to be members of local society, who lived in the town and were involved in local commerce, government, and religious confraternities, all while maintaining strong social and economic relationships with Mexico City.

During the decades following national independence, Toluca underwent important transformations, which were instigated by the local elite, directly or indirectly. Projects to improve the town's physical infrastructure, for practical reasons as well as to positively affect outsiders' perceptions, were initiated. There was a concerted effort to pave key streets with cobblestones and rebuild bridges, which had not kept up with the pressures of population growth during the preceding century. Rains regularly flooded the town,

damaged rundown bridges, made streets impassable, and destroyed furnishings in waterlogged houses. Filth from many sources, including pigsties, which were ubiquitous in Toluca, polluted the ground after heavy deluges, leaving gullies in their wakes. The municipal government assessed taxes on hacienda owners and merchants to pay for the improvements. Members of the local elite, led by José María González de Arratia, planned urban developments to increase Toluca's standing vis-à-vis other provincial cities. In the early 1830s, construction of a market center, the *portales*, was initiated on property that belonged to the Franciscan monastery, and the Literary Institute was built.¹⁴ In the following decades, theaters and public parks would be constructed in the town, finally providing the city with a sense of self-containedness and completion that was unimaginable earlier.

During the late 1820s, Toluca's elite actively lobbied the state government to relocate its capital to the town; in 1830, they got their wish. Toluca's appointment as state capital boosted the city's standing in the country while increasing the power and prestige of the local elite. The Toluca municipal council shared their quarters with the state government, while the state leased several buildings in town, including the ex-convent of San Juan de Dios, to house their personnel. There was a tremendous financial benefit, as well. The entire state government apparatus, including deputies, ministers, the governor, and their support staff, was moved to Toluca. According to the 1834 municipal census, government employees were the highest paid sector in Toluca, with a monthly payroll of 19,000 pesos. Members of the local elite formed ties with members of the state

government, which continued to be in place long after Toluca ceased to be the state capital in 1836.¹⁵

As Toluca grew as a commercial, and later government, center the town attracted migration from its own hinterland, much in the same way that Mexico City attracted migrants from around central Mexico. Most of these individuals were plebeians, coming to find work, but some were merchants, who had had some modest successes in other parts of the valley and came to Toluca to expand their operations. The most successful newcomers had relatives in the town, by blood or marriage, and were easily integrated into local society. After 1830 or so, foreigners appeared in Toluca in small numbers. For example, in 1833 George Fisher negotiated a contract with the state governor Lorenzo Zavala regarding lands he owned in Texas, which Fisher was to use for colonization.¹⁶ In 1834, the immigrant George Antonio Henkel solicited the superior government for naturalization papers. Henkel would marry into Toluca's elite and prosper as a merchant, establishing a cloth factory and brewery among other enterprises.¹⁷

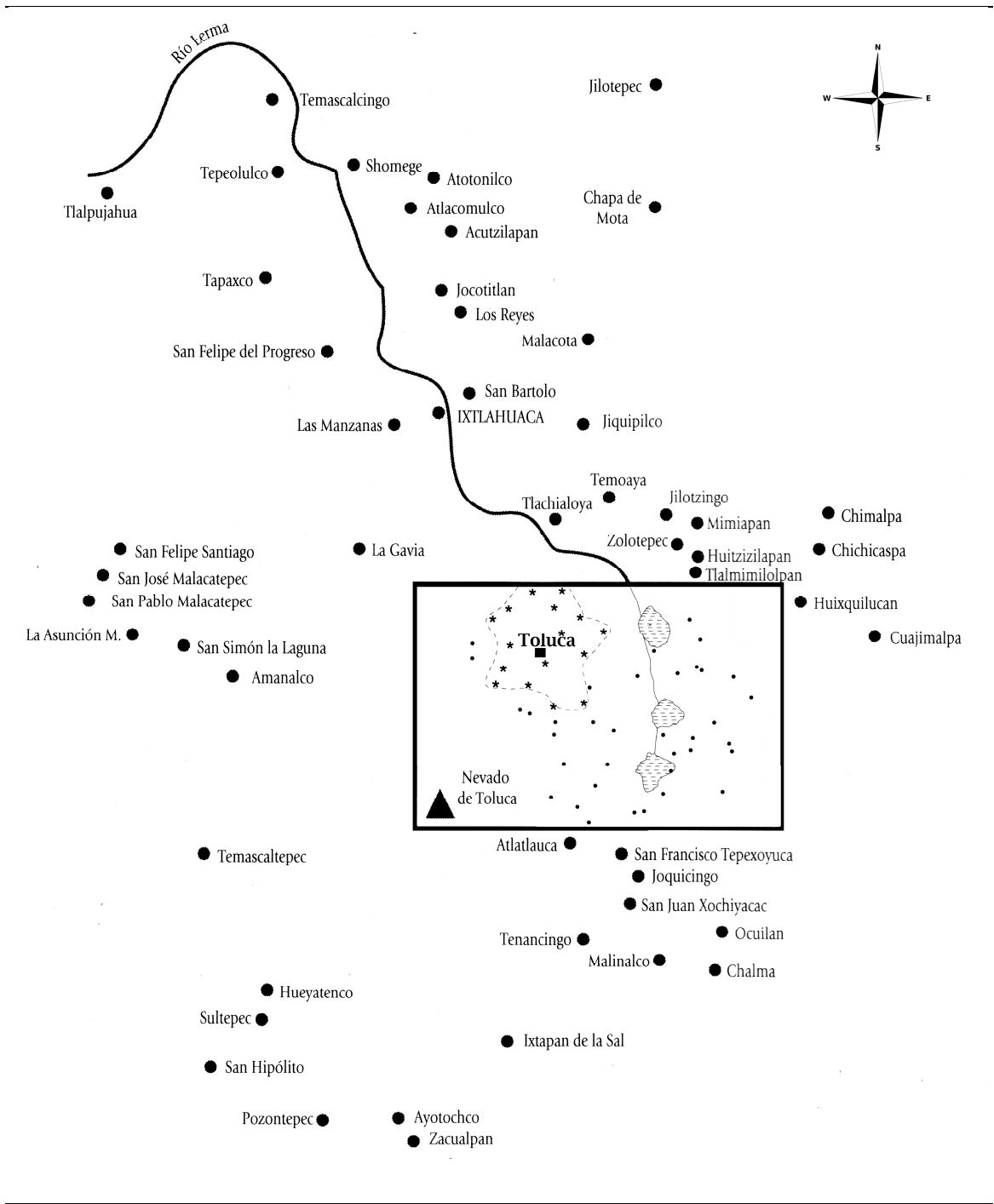
Mexico City remained the formidable force it always had been, a colossus to the east, which affected almost every aspect of Toluca's population growth, development, and social consolidation. By the late eighteenth century, Toluca's population had grown dramatically, as had its local market. After independence, due to the concerted efforts of town boosters, who were members of the local elite, and its appointment as capital of the state of Mexico, the city of Toluca gained a measure of self-containedness that had heretofore eluded it. Still, the degree of social consolidation would remain minor, due to its proximity to the capital.

Toluca: The Region

The geographic area that comprises the Toluca Valley and the towns and pueblos of the hills and mountains that surround it is referred to in this study as the Toluca region. In terms of physical geography Toluca is a subregion of the larger region of central Mexico. (See the map in Figure 1.1.) The physical makeup of the area, in terms of terrain, precipitation, and climate, affected initial human settlement and later social and economic development there. The Toluca Valley is the highest and westernmost of the three major central region basins—the valleys of Mexico and Puebla lie successively to its east. With an average altitude that exceeds 2,500 meters above sea level, Toluca is higher than Mexico City, which has an average elevation of 2,240 meters.¹⁸ While Toluca is a spacious and extensive valley, its area of 4,500 square kilometers is smaller than that of the Valley of Mexico at 7,850 square kilometers.¹⁹

Figure 1.1

Towns and Pueblos of the Toluca Valley



Source: Based on Wood, 1984; and León García, 2002.

At the time of European contact, the Toluca Valley was known as the Valley of the Matalcingo, after the most numerous indigenous group that inhabited the area, and as it was identified by the Nahuas who had recently colonized it.²⁰ Geographers refer to the Toluca Valley as the Upper Lerma River Basin, named for its primary hydrological feature, which was an important foundation for initial human settlement and later its highly productive agriculture. Since the Toluca Valley is drained by the Lerma River and its tributaries, and its waters eventually empty into the Pacific Ocean, it is literally a drainage basin, like the other major basins in Mexico, with the notable exception of the Valley of Mexico, which is an endorheic basin, with no natural drainage outlet.²¹

As is the case for much of central Mexico, volcanic activity was responsible for the formation of the Toluca Valley. The area has long been geologically identified by the presence of the large volcano rising dramatically from the valley floor, forming the southwestern boundary of the valley. Nahuas called the volcano *Xinantécatl*, and Spaniards referred to it as the *Nevado de Toluca*. The *Nevado de Toluca* ranks behind *Popocatepetl*, its twin *Ixtaccihuatl*, and the *Pico de Orizaba* as the fourth highest volcano in the Trans-Mexican Volcanic Belt. Its altitude reaches 4,680 meters above sea level, some 2,100 meters above the valley. As its name suggests, the higher altitudes of the volcano are covered with snow part of the year. Growing out of the confluence of three fault systems, the *Nevado de Toluca* is surrounded by lesser volcanoes and numerous smaller volcanic fields. Unlike *Popocatepetl*, the *Nevado de Toluca* is an extinct volcano; its last eruption is estimated to have occurred 25,000 years ago.²²

The Toluca Valley is separated from the Valley of Mexico by the Sierra de Las Cruces and the Ajusco mountain ranges, part of the Trans-Mexican Volcanic Belt, which forms its eastern boundary. The geological formation of the mountains facilitates the accumulation of precipitation and is a major source of water supply to the Valley of Mexico, the Toluca Valley, as well as the Balsas River Basin to the southwest. The southern boundary of the valley is formed by a watershed, which separates the Lerma system from the Balsas system. The northern limit of the Toluca Valley is a plain, which follows the Lerma River before entering Michoacán.

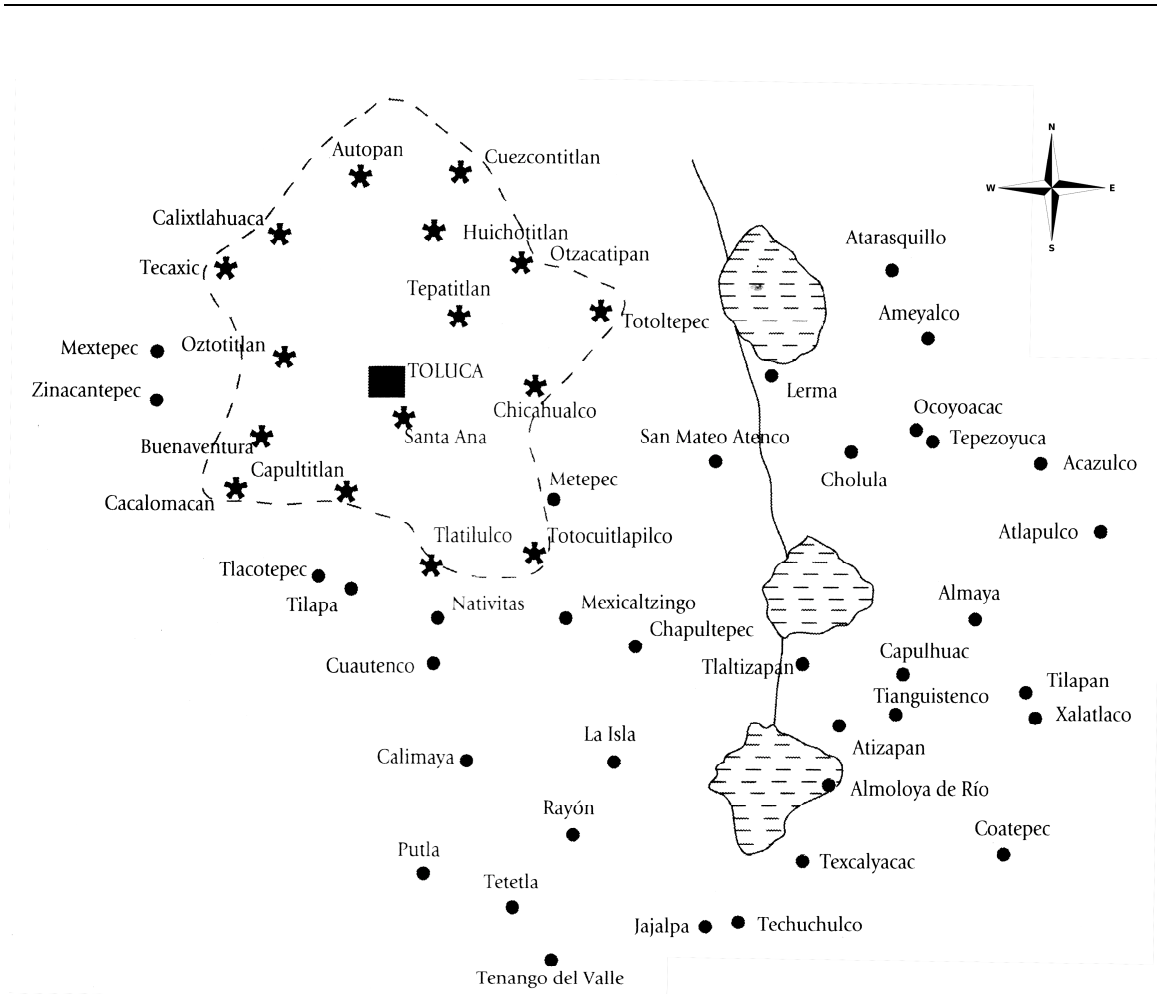
Three types of geological landforms are present in the Toluca Valley. Its floor is an alluvial plain, with altitudes that vary between 2,580 and 2,700 meters above sea level. For millennia lacustrine deposits and sedimentation have irregularly enriched the soils in this area. Although soils throughout the valley were considered fertile, the richest were located near the Lerma River in the central and southern areas of the valley. Not surprisingly, this is the same location of the important pre-Hispanic population centers of Toluca, Tenancingo, and Tenango del Valle.²³ Low altitude hills surrounding the valley floor with altitudes of 2,600 to 2,700 meters above sea level make up the second landform. Most of the mines to the west and southwest of the Nevado de Toluca were to be found at these altitudes. A third zone is comprised of higher mountains with altitudes above 2,750 meters.²⁴

The Lerma River is the primary water source for the Toluca Valley. Sixteenth-century Spaniards referred to the river as the Río de Matlacingo. Chronicle literature refers to the river by various names, including Ciunauhtenco and Quauhpanoayan.²⁵ The

headwaters of the Lerma begin in lagoons near Almoloya del Río in the southern part of the valley. (See map in Figure 1.2.) These lagoons were formed by springs that are fed by water filtered through the basaltic rock formations of the eastern slopes of the Sierra de Las Cruces and Ajusco mountain ranges. These marshlands and lakes were important fishing and hunting areas for the valley's residents. During the eighteenth century, some waters of the Lerma were diverted into gorges to supply Mexico City's increasing demand for water. The river runs northward through the valley before flowing into the basins of Guanajuato and Jalisco, emptying into Lake Chapala, and eventually the Pacific Ocean.²⁶ Numerous smaller rivers and streams feed the Lerma River, including the Capuluac and Ocoyoaca Rivers from the east and the Verdiguél and Tejalpa Rivers from the west.

Figure 1.2

Map of Towns and Pueblos of Toluca's Central Valley



Source: Based on Wood, 1984; and León García, 2002.

Climatologically, Toluca is considered *tierra fría*—the cold zone of the central plateau. This is a relative measure, however, as compared to the more temperate Valley of Mexico, and the *tierra caliente*, which lay to the south and west in the modern states of Morelos, Guerrero, and Michoacán. The northern reaches of the valley are drier, averaging 100 days of precipitation per year, while the southern part of the valley is wetter, with rain falling 150 days of the year. The bulk of the rain comes during the summer months. Precipitation the rest of the year is generally light. The year-round annual temperature for the Toluca region ranges between 21 and 86 degrees Fahrenheit.²⁷

Climate, soil fertility, and irrigation in the Toluca Valley provided an ideal environment for human settlement. Conditions in the central and southern valley were particularly conducive to intensive agriculture and the raising of pigs, since they consumed large quantities of maize. This was an area of dense but dispersed population centers. As the map in Figure 1.2 illustrates, the city of Toluca and the towns of Zinacantepec, Metepec, and Lerma were located in the central part of the valley, on the semi-fertile area of the plain. Important population centers in the southern part of the valley included Calimaya, Tenango del Valle, and Tianguistengo, as well as the less prominent Almoloya. Tenancingo and Malinalco were located south of the Toluca Valley, but within its sphere of influence. Numerous indigenous pueblos, haciendas, and ranchos were interspersed among these towns. The northern reaches of the valley were more arid and less fertile than the central and southern valley. Consequently, Atlacomulco and Ixtlahuaca were less densely populated than the central and southern valley, although the northern region, too, was an important component of the larger

Toluca agricultural region, but notable above all for stockraising. The mining area of the Toluca region begins on the southern slope of the Nevado de Toluca with the town of Zacualpan, and, further to the southwest, Sultepec and Temascaltepec.

Toluca: The Town

A map of Toluca, drawn in 1817 by José Mariano Domínguez de Mendoza, and archived at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, provides a remarkably detailed visual account of the city's physical layout, including public buildings, street names, and topographical and hydrologic features.²⁸ The map illustrates Toluca's location at the base of three large hills, called the cerro del Toloche, the cerro de Zopilocalco, and the cerro de Huichila. The Franciscan monastery (the convento parroquial de San Francisco), was the town's largest feature, located in the center of town and forming the southern border of the *plaza mayor*. The convento del Carmen was located at the town's northernmost edge, and the Hospital de San Juan de Dios, the convento de la Merced, the iglesia de la Santa Veracruz, were all located close to the town center. Reflecting the year in which it was drawn, the plaza mayor was the location of not only the *casas reales* and royal jail, but also of infantry and cavalry barracks. By this time, numerous religious and government offices were located in the town, many of which served the larger jurisdiction, including the customhouse, postal service, tobacco monopoly, *corregidor* and courthouse, and tithe collector.

The Verdiguél River coursed through the town from west to east. Before reaching the tanneries on the settlement's western edge, located on the Calle de la Tenería, the

river ran past Las Chichipicas, (also noted as *aguas filtradas* on the map),²⁹ and the burnt ruins of the *molino* (flour mill), owned by the Cano Cortés family during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The river wound north past the plaza mayor, where it abutted on the back of the casas reales, the royal jail, the barracks, and a mesón. From there it flowed behind the Calle Real de San Juan, where many of Toluca's most prominent citizens lived, and where the town's most valuable real estate was located. The barrio de San Juan Evangelista, also known as San Juan el chiquito, was located on the north bank of the river, at the base of the cerro de Zopilocalco. After flowing eastward the river reached the pueblo of San Juan Bautista and then turned north toward Ixtlahuaca joining the Lerma River, which flowed to Lake Chapala in Jalisco and, eventually, via the Río Grande de Santiago to the Pacific Ocean.

The map's layout illustrates Toluca's primary orientation toward Mexico City as well as its position as mediator of agricultural production in the valley. Roads from all directions—from haciendas and pueblos—converged on Toluca: the camino de Zinacantepec, the camino de Coatepec, the camino a Calimaya, the camino a Capultitlán, the camino a Metepec, the camino a Ixtlahuaca, and so on. The dominant street was the Calle Real de San Juan, which turned into the Toluca highway to Mexico City after leaving the town. The map shows its tree-lined entry, passing the plaza de gallos and the juego de la pelota. Most of Toluca's elite society lived on the Calle Real, on the eastern side of town. Here is where the most valuable properties were located, some next door to pigsties. The town was encircled by indigenous barrios and pueblos, San Diego, and Santa Clara, and San Juan to the east; San

Sebastián to the southeast; San Bernardino to the west; and San Miguel, Santa Bárbara, and San Juan Chiquito to the north. One of the most striking features of the map is its inclusion of maize and maguey fields, which surrounded the town and appeared to be planted in every possible open space.

Place of the Study in the Historical Literature

This dissertation is at its core a regional social history, intertwined with economic, demographic, and business approaches, which are not unrelated to the former by any means, as they reflect on the activities and quotidian experiences of various social groups. The study follows in the wake of a rich body of historical literature written about colonial Mexican society, which has only recently begun to stretch its reach into the social historiography of the early republic.³⁰ This dissertation adds to that growing literature. In terms of its temporal and spatial focus, the present work very much complements Caterina Pizzigoni's regional study of the indigenous world of the Toluca Valley during the eighteenth century, which was published in 2012.³¹ Indeed, Pizzigoni's monograph and this dissertation each focuses on one of the two core ethnic groups in the region, and each is needed to comprehend the other more fully.

Regional history in colonial Mexico, that is, as opposed to local history written by natives of the locality, developed at approximately the same time as the field entered its social history phase, in the late 1960s, in part as a challenge to generalized conclusions produced by François Chevalier's study of the northern haciendas of New

Spain.³² Charles Gibson's large-scale, regional study of the Valley of Mexico revised Chevalier's findings on the basis of specific examples that showed haciendas to have been market-oriented enterprises that relied upon temporary Indian labor rather than debt peonage.³³ Thus, Gibson influenced later studies while moving very substantially in their direction. These studies were regional in the sense that they focused on a finite geographical area; however, it was not until historians challenged their findings, and more especially those of Chevalier, by presenting analyses of other locales that full-fledged regional history can be said to have commenced.³⁴ As William Taylor insightfully noted, while commenting on the former approach: "Without a foundation in regional studies the composite treatment tends to homogenize the colonial experience and to blur important differences wrought by different geographical and human factors."³⁵ With the publication of Taylor's land tenure study of Oaxaca, the field increasingly looked toward regional studies to explain the intricacies, complexities, and differences in social and economic evolution.

Ida Altman and James Lockhart confirmed and elaborated on the value of the regional approach in their edited volume, *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*. The anthology brought together studies by scholars who worked on northern, central, and southern regions of New Spain. Each region had its own characteristics in terms of type and density of indigenous population, composition of the local Hispanic populations, presence of natural resources, and development of urban markets the interaction of which determined social and economic development. Although there was some overlap in some of these

categories, the essential variable was time not pattern, which was largely set from the inception of colonial society.³⁶

A number of important patterns emerged from these studies. Proximity to Mexico City was directly correlated to the rate of development in a given region. Spaniards were profit driven actors, who tended to concentrate in areas around the trunk line that linked the northern mines, Mexico City, and the port of Vera Cruz, which were more likely to have dynamic economies than towns located off of it. Provincial societies offered opportunities for mobility to marginal sectors of society, and in all areas, family strategies were employed to consolidate elite alliances and promote economic integration and financial security. This dissertation builds on Lockhart's study of late sixteenth-century Toluca, insofar as it compares and contrasts factors of attraction, marginalization, and social consolidation in Toluca during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which had their roots in the earlier period.³⁷

Other studies served as foundations for the analysis of different chapters and components of chapters, and offered points of comparison for the dissertation's analysis. Sylvia Arrom's study of women in Mexico City analyzed her subject from 1790 to 1857, and included national independence as the middle point, but in reality most of the work focuses on the nineteenth century.³⁸ Arrom's study integrated demographic analysis of work, marriage, and migration patterns. Arrom suggested that her findings might not apply to other Mexican cities; however, the present study finds that patterns in Toluca were often quite similar to those of Mexico City.

The important studies of John Chance, David Brading, Guy Thomson, and Bruce Castleman, which analyzed the Revillagigedo census returns for various locales, provided frameworks for analysis as well as bases for comparison and critique which benefited it and allowed this study to reach conclusions that it would not have in their absence.³⁹ Similarly, Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein's demographic analysis of the 1842 census of Mexico City provided an important basis for comparison of Toluca's 1834 population to that of the capital.⁴⁰

The dissertation's discussion of the business activities of retail merchants, artisans, and pork producers is informed and influenced by John Kicza's important study of Mexico City. Kicza employed notarial records and a career pattern approach to study specific people and families and made a great stride forward in the field's understanding of Mexican society. Kicza discovered that particular notaries were favored by certain groups of people, and this allowed him easier access to specific families. Another important discovery was that of company arrangements and legal partnerships. Kicza identified the pattern whereby a senior partner invested capital while a junior partner oversaw operations. After a period negotiated by contract, the two partners would split the profits from the enterprise. By working within the background of Doris Ladd and David Brading, who saw these patterns for silver miners and elites, Kicza was able to see the pattern as general for all commerce in Mexico City. The present study demonstrates that the same patterns were at work in the provinces, with little variation.⁴¹

Ethnohistory has followed the same trend as the larger field, in terms of its movement from the production of general studies to more regional studies. James

Lockhart's social and cultural history of the Nahuas of central Mexico pioneered the study of indigenous people from the perspectives of documents written in their own languages. This in turn led to a new generation of ethnohistorians intent on analyzing indigenous life in different locales.⁴² Ethnohistorical studies by Caterina Pizzigoni, James Lockhart, Stephanie Wood, and Miriam Melton-Villanueva were particularly important to this study's discussion of indigenous barrios and pueblos in Toluca. These studies all demonstrate the remarkable persistence of indigenous culture in the Toluca region through the eighteenth century; and Melton-Villanueva's study, in particular, indicates that native people continued to record testaments in their own language at least up until 1825. Finally, this study's analysis of economic changes after independence was influenced by Margaret Chowning's work on Michoacán and Sergio Alejandro Cañedo Gamboa's dissertation on San Luis Potosí, which demonstrated that Mexico did not uniformly experience economic depression during the first three decades of the republican era.

Sources and Methods

This study employs census data and notarial records as its principal documentary base. The two types are rarely integrated in historical research, and a part of this study's purpose has been to bring demographic work and career pattern history more closely together. Full integration is extremely difficult, but it is hoped that this study has moved somewhat in that direction. The 1791 Revillagigedo census, archived in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and the 1834 municipal census of the city of

Toluca and its vicinity contain vast amounts of information on the population of Toluca. The majority of individuals who are included in the census would not have left any other documentary trace through the course of their lives, with the exception of their presence in parish records, when they were baptized, married, or buried. So censuses provide a means to access information on all sectors of society at one point in time. Although the documents are flawed and not as complete as one would hope, they still offer a very large sample upon which to base quantitative analysis. The years that the two censuses were completed approximate the temporal boundaries of this study as a whole and provide an anchor in terms of lists of names, occupations, and, in the case of the Revillagigedo census, ethnicities of the population. The two censuses have strengths and weaknesses, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters. Data from the two censuses were entered into databases to facilitate qualitative and quantitative analysis. Since the same individuals could be located in census records and in notarial documents, information gleaned from the censuses was integrated into portraits of individuals derived mainly from notarial documents and thus provided them added dimensions.⁴³

Scholars have employed notarial records to study colonial Spanish American society since the 1960s, when they were instrumental in the social phase of the field's development.⁴⁴ Because of the variety of records contained in these documents, they have been used with different approaches and for diverse types of studies, ranging from complete analyses of local societies to specialized works on more limited topics.⁴⁵ Notarial records produced in Toluca and archived in the Archivo General de Notarias del

Estado de México form the other principal corpus of documentation for this study. Due to the inherent weakness of Spanish institutions in New Spain, the practice of notarizing financial transactions was a part of daily life in the colony. Colonial culture drove individuals to record various types of legal instruments including dowries, wills, loans, mortgages, probate inventories, sales of property, business partnerships, powers of attorney, and contracts. In Toluca, this practice continued unabated into the republican period. Throughout the nineteenth century the volume of notarial records generated increased in line with the population, administrative, and commercial growth of Toluca's jurisdiction.

It appears that there is variation in the composition of notarial records produced in different areas of Spanish America and over different periods of time within the same regions. Records from earlier periods are more likely to contain transactions of high and low value by individuals of all socioeconomic groups, and thereby allow for more complete analyses of a given society. However, by the late eighteenth century in some regions notarial records appear to have increasingly concentrated on business transactions involving the upper levels of society. This change meant that notarial records in these areas were no longer as useful for studies of middle or lower strata.⁴⁶ In other localities, the sheer mass of notarial records produced in the eighteenth century restricted the types of studies that could be produced from them.⁴⁷ In Toluca, it is true that the wealthy are more represented in the documents. But the middle and lower strata of society are still represented in the first decades of the nineteenth century. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the notarial records began to focus almost exclusively on transactions

of the wealthy. This was later than in Lima and Guatemala City, reflecting Toluca's delayed growth and consolidation.

Notaries functioned as guarantors of the authenticity and legitimacy of financial transactions. They maintained the notarized documents in the *libros de protocolos*. This study employs the complete corpus of notarial documents recorded in the libros de protocolos of Toluca between 1790 and 1830, with samples from 1831 to 1835. Changes in government systems during this period had no discernable effect on the production of notarial records in Toluca. Between 1790 and 1822, the *corregidor subdelegado* administered Toluca's libros de protocolos, in the absence of an official notary. This may reflect Toluca's position as a colonial administrative center closely linked to Mexico City. It is also evidence that the *corregidor subdelegado* was trained as a functional notary. This situation changed on 24 April 1822 when the inscription *Sigue por el Escribano Ymperial* appeared in the register, reflecting the change in government system, and José Francisco Hidalgo began his tenure as the official government notary.⁴⁸ On 21 April 1823, Hidalgo's title changed to *Escribano Nacional*, and he continued as the official notary until the end of 1829, when José María Espinosa took over the position.⁴⁹

Because of Toluca's limited population, many individuals recur in the notarial records with regularity. Others might notarize a document only once in their lifetime, and most never at all. While these documents follow legal formulaic constructions, each genre has its own particular value to the study of social and economic history. For example, house sale documents, the most numerous in the corpus, contain all of the information that one would expect: the name of buyer and seller, description of the

property, terms of sale, sale date, date of previous sale, et cetera. But a close reading of these documents often provides other useful information, such as the economic or social conditions that led the seller to sell and detailed family relationships of the principals involved. Similarly, powers of attorney, the next most numerous type of document present, frequently provide information in excess of the names of the grantor and grantee. A power of attorney might identify an entire family by name and relationship, indicate business activities in other regions, or name the local government officials of an indigenous pueblo. Powers of attorney provide glimpses into relationships of trust between individuals, thus are useful for the study of social networks, which were extremely important in Mexico during this period. Beyond these, the *libros de protocolos* contain testaments, sales contracts, and company agreements, all of which have been used in this study.

The study uses sales tax (*alcabala*) records stored in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City to quantitatively analyze commercial activity in Toluca. After independence, the imperial government of Agustín Iturbide, and then republican national governments, continued the *alcabala* tax system under the Dirección General de Rentas. Tax rates changed regularly; still it was possible to calculate the value of commercial activity from these records, the analysis of which reveals incipient economic recovery beginning in the late 1820s and continuing at least through the first third of the 1830s. Tithe records for Toluca are stored at the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México in Mexico City. Data for the years 1801 through 1840 were entered into a

database and analyzed to produce total values of production as measured by sales of tithed goods and total quantities of maize, wheat, and barley harvested.

Finally, samples of parish records stored in the Microfilm Manuscript Collection of the Genealogical Society of Utah were used to reconstruct social networks based on *compadrazgo* (ritual co-parenthood) and to analyze the day-to-day functioning of the ethnic hierarchy in Toluca. Like the census records, parish records were used beyond their serial function to add details to the portraits of individuals, which were drawn primarily from notarial records.

Content of the Dissertation

Beyond this introduction, the dissertation consists of five substantive chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 2 analyzes the 1791 Revillagigedo census to construct a social profile of late-colonial Toluqueño society and to address questions related to ethnicity, work, marriage, and social structure. Notarial and parish records supplement the chapter's analysis and are used to address some of the census's limitations, which are discussed in detail. Chapter 3 employs the 1834 municipal census of Toluca to examine early republican society in demographic terms, including age, gender, civil status, occupation, and employment. Unlike the colonial census, the 1834 census included data on citizens of both genders without regard for ethnicity and thus contains a more complete reflection of society. The chapter reveals an overall flat population growth trajectory, and gender and age data illustrate how warfare and epidemic disease affected Toluca's population during the years preceding the census, in terms of attrition and evasion of military conscription.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of income data for employed men, women, and child workers, revealing an enormous divide between the wealthy and the poor. Chapter 4 examines the largely indigenous barrios and pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction from various perspectives, including Spanish language documents, indigenous testaments, powers of attorney, and census records. The chapter shows how Spaniards and Indians coexisted within a varied framework of formal and informal structures. Indigenous culture was remarkably resilient and persistent in Toluca well into the nineteenth century. Indians continued to speak their own languages and maintain many traditional practices, although not without the effects of external influences.

The next two chapters shift away from census material and employ notarial records as their principal sources, supplemented with census data and other records. Chapter 5 analyzes the estate system and commerce in Toluca from the late eighteenth century to the early 1830s. It identifies changes and continuities in the prewar and post-independence local economy by analyzing tithes and sales tax records, and places findings from Toluca within the current debate regarding the state of the Mexican economy following independence. The chapter then presents profiles of the channels through which agricultural production and commerce flowed: the landed estates and retail establishments, including pig-processing plants, which were pervasive in Toluca. Analysis of the principal actors involved indicates a higher degree of social consolidation than before, although the Mexico City elite continued to be a powerful force acting on local society. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the activities of artisans from the perspective of a secondary city. After a brief review of the relevant historiography, which

exclusively focuses on large cities in a few select countries, the chapter explores the role of the guild system in organizing artisans in Toluca, finding it to have been generally less formal than its big city counterparts but still functioning. The chapter then analyzes daily incomes for artisans as a group. The remainder of the chapter investigates textile workers, blacksmiths, fireworks makers (*coheteros*), tanners, in terms of their business practices and family relationships.

Notes

¹ Frances Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 468-72. More of Calderón de la Barca's description of the Toluca Valley follows: "The valley of Toluca was now before us, its volcano towering in the distance. The plains around looked cold and dreary, with pools of transparent water, and swamps filled with various species of water-fowl. The hacienda of San Nicolas, the property of Señor Mier y Terán, a Spaniard, was the only object that we saw worthy of notice, before we reached Toluca. This hacienda, formerly the property of the Carmelite monks, is a valuable estate. Not a tree is to be seen here, or in the valley, a great extent of which is included in it; but it is surrounded by vast fields of maguey and maize; it is traversed by a fine river, and is one of the most profitable estates in the country. The labourers here are in general the Ottomie Indians, a poor and degraded tribe."

² James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 202.

³ Carlos María de Bustamante, *Viaje a Toluca en 1834* (México: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1969), 46. Numerous eating establishments are located in the same place today, at about the midway point between Mexico City and Toluca.

⁴ Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara ganadera: estudio regional novohispano, 1760-1805* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1977), 96.

⁵ Enriqueta Quiroz, *Entre el lujo y la subsistencia: Mercado, abastamiento y precios de la carne en la ciudad de México, 1750-1821* (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2005), 299.

⁶ Bruce Allen Castleman, "Workers, Work, and Community in Bourbon Mexico: Road Laborers on the Camino Real, 1757-1804" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1998), 92. See also Castleman's monograph: Bruce A. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway: Labor, Society, and Family on Mexico's Caminos Reales, 1757-1804* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

⁷ María Eugenia Romero Ibarra, *Manuel Medina Garduño, entre el Porfiriato y la Revolución en el Estado de México, 1852-1913* (México: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1998), 16.

⁸ Travellers' accounts reflect the temperments and biases of their authors. Edward Tayloe's observations were oriented toward facts related to production: "The plain of Toluca is fertile and extensive. Its limits are about eighteen leagues in length and eight in breadth, comprising many estates, producing wheat, corn, and beans, and furnishing the Mexican market with the best pork and hams." Edward Thornton Tayloe, *Mexico, 1825-*

1828: *The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thornton Tayloe*, ed. C. Harvey Gardiner (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 112. W.H. Bullock was perhaps more jaundiced in his description of the valley and town: “As you approach the valley of Toluca, which lies more than 1,000 feet higher than that of Mexico, the scenery becomes less and less attractive, till you reach the town of Lerma, which is surrounded by a hopeless expanse of marshes, similar to those with which the traveller has become only too familiar in the valley of Mexico.... At the foot of the hills which bound the valley on the west, lies the town of Toluca, 18 leagues, or 45 miles, distant from the capital. The place is approached by avenues of trees, which throw as inadequate an amount of shade as those which line the Paseo of the city of Mexico. But even for this shade one is deeply grateful in a country, where trees are so painfully scarce as on the Mexican table-land. As we rattled over the stones to the Casa de Diligencias, we had to cut ourselves a path through a swarthy sea of Indians, collected in the streets in great numbers.” W. H. Bullock, *Across Mexico in 1864-5* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 184.

⁹ Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico*, 468-72.

¹⁰ Eric Van Young developed the argument for a revised periodization in his historiographic article “Recent Anglophone Scholarship on Mexico and Central America in the Age of Revolution (1750-1850).” By the time the article appeared in 1985, several scholars had produced works that had pushed past the traditional watershed dates of 1810 and 1821, lending support to Van Young’s implicit challenge to the established order. The essence of his argument was that traditional periodization was insufficient to satisfactorily study the continuity of factors relevant to economic production and social relations. Because many of these factors were more subject to change during the first half of the eighteenth century and the second half of the nineteenth century than during intervening hundred years, 1750-1850, Van Young suggested that historians interested in society and economy would do well to minimize the effect of the political watershed of independence rather than to allow it to impose the end date of their studies. By conceptualizing the period this way, Van Young altered perspective and provided impetus for the framing of more important historical questions than the previous framework had allowed. Eric Van Young, “Recent Anglophone Scholarship on Mexico and Central America in the Age of Revolution (1750-1850),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64 (November 1985): 725-43. For a discussion of periodization and the Age of Revolution see: Eric Van Young, “Was There an Age of Revolution in Spanish America?” in Victor M. Uribe-Uran, ed., *State and Society in Spanish America During the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington: SR Books, 2001), 219-246.

¹¹ See James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 201; James Lockhart, “Capital and Province, Spaniard and Indian: The Example of Late Sixteenth-Century Toluca,” in Ida Altman and James Lockhart, eds., *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish*

American Regional Evolution (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976), 99-101; Thomas Edmond Durbin, "Aztec Patterns of Conquest as Manifested in the Valley of Toluca, the State of Mexico, Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970); and Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 330.

¹² Bernardo García Martínez, *El Marquesado del Valle: Tres siglos de régimen señorial en Nueva España* (México: El Colegio de México, 1969), 93.

¹³ Altman and Lockhart, *Provinces of Early Mexico*, 104.

¹⁴ Charles W. Macune, "A Test of Federalism: Political, Economic, and Ecclesiastical Relations between the State of Mexico and the Mexican Nation, 1823-1835" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1970), 114.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 110-116. According to Macune, Toluca "offered an excellent climate, suitable housing accommodations, abundant and varied provisions, a sizable population, and all of the things that could be desired for a comfortable life. Moreover, Toluca was able to maintain a state military force which would insure the government the respect it deserved, and the \$19,000 peso monthly state payroll would circulate within the city furthering development and increasing tax revenue." In 1835, conservatives replaced the federal system with a centralist one and converted the states into departments. In 1836, the capital of the department of Mexico, which now included the federal district, was moved from Toluca to Mexico City where it remained until 1846, when federalism was restored and the state capital was reestablished in Toluca.

¹⁶ AGNEM, S.H., Juan María Flores, 26 January 1833.

¹⁷ María del Pilar Iracheta Cenecorta, "Catálogo de Extractos de las Actas de Cabildo del Ayuntamiento de Toluca, 1814-1855" (Toluca, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, 2006), 115, 265.

¹⁸ Data on altitude and area vary depending upon the source, however the differences are not substantial. *Ibid.*, 67; Salvador Sánchez Colin, *El Estado de México: su historia, su ambiente, sus recursos* vol. 1 (México: Editora Agrícola Mexicana, 1951), 43-45.

¹⁹ Beatriz A. Albores Zarate, *Tules y sirenas: el impacto ecológico y cultural de la industrialización en el Alto Lerma* (Toluca, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, 1995), 60.

²⁰ José García Payón, *La zona arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca y los Matlatzincas* (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936; repr., México: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1974), 93.

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- ²¹ Preston E. James, *Latin America* (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1959), 639-642.
- ²² A. García-Palomo, J. L. Macias, and V. H. Garduño, "Miocene to Recent Structural Evolution of the Nevado de Toluca Volcano Region, Central Mexico," *Tectonophysics* 318 (2000): 218-302.
- ²³ Durbin, 14.
- ²⁴ Susan Toby Evans and David L. Webster, eds., *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2001), 763.
- ²⁵ José García Payon, *La zona arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca y los Matlatzincas*, (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936; repr., México: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1974), 26.
- ²⁶ James, 642-644.
- ²⁷ Durbin, 4.
- ²⁸ José Mariano Domínguez de Mendoza, "Plano de la Ciudad de Toluca situada al Sudoeste de México á los 19° 10' de latitud y los 276° 40' de longitud, contados desde el Pico de Tenerife [Material cartográfico] / al Exmo. Senor don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca virey de N. E. dedica este plano el teniente de caballería don José Mariano Domínguez de Mendoza, quien lo levantó y delineó," 1817, Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.
- ²⁹ A place called "Las Chichipicas" is found on an 1817 map of Toluca. Chichipica is a Nahuatl verb meaning to drip or sprinkle. Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 49.
- ³⁰ D. A. Brading was ahead of the times with the publication of *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío, León, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). Margaret Chowning made great advances in the field's understanding of the contours of change and continuity over the period of the long nineteenth century with her study of Michoacán: *Wealth and Power in Provincial Mexico: Michoacán from the Late Colony to the Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). More recent regional studies address geographic areas that were outside the focus of earlier research, but still tend to follow the traditional historiographical divide of national independence, although for perfectly legitimate reasons. See Jonathan D. Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); and Andrew Bryan Fisher, "Worlds in Flux, Identities in Motion: A History of the Tierra Caliente of Guerrero, Mexico, 1521-1821" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 2002). Deborah Kanter's dissertation pushed past the temporal divide of

national independence: "Hijos Del Pueblo: Family, Community, and Gender in Rural Mexico, the Toluca Region, 1730-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1993); and her monograph went even deeper into the nineteenth century: *Hijos Del Pueblo: Gender, Family, and Community in Rural Mexico, 1730-1850* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

³¹ Caterina Pizzigoni, *The Life Within: Local Indigenous Society in Mexico's Toluca Valley, 1650-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

³² François Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico; The Great Hacienda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

³³ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964). These were not the only works whose conclusions have been revised by regional perspectives.

³⁴ For a southern perspective see William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972); and "Landed Society in New Spain: A View from the South," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54 (1974): 387-413. Taylor found that the conditions in Oaxaca regarding the hacienda were very different than those in the north, which had up until that point been the accepted model for Spanish landholding. At this time, numerous regional investigations were underway in the form of doctoral dissertations: John Chance in Oaxaca, Eric Van Young in Guadalajara, and John Tutino in central Mexico, to name a few.

³⁵ Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant*, viii.

³⁶ Altman and Lockhart, *Provinces of Early Mexico*.

³⁷ See James Lockhart's "Introduction" and chapter entitled "Capital and Province, Spaniard and Indian: The Example of Late Sixteenth-Century Toluca" in Altman and Lockhart, *Provinces of Early Mexico*.

³⁸ Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

³⁹ D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); Guy P. C. Thomson, *Puebla de Los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989); Bruce A. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway: Labor, Society, and Family on Mexico's Caminos Reales, 1757-1804* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

⁴⁰ Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein, *Población y estructura social de la Ciudad de México, 1790-1842* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2004).

⁴¹ Kicza, John E., “Business and Society in Late Colonial Mexico City” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979); and *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983). See also Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence 1780-1826* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976); and D.A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants*.

⁴² James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Robert Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacan: Nahuatl-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.); Sarah L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986). The studies of Kevin Terraciano and Matthew Restall follow in this vein, although with entirely different linguistic bases; Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); and Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550-1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

⁴³ AGN, Padrones, vol. 21, ff. 95-261; AHMT, Padrones, 1834, Padrón general que comprende los habitantes que se enumeran en esta Ciudad de Toluca Pueblos, barrios, haciendas y ranchos de la municipalidad formado en fines del presente año de 1834.

⁴⁴ James Lockhart pioneered the career pattern history approach in Spanish American history using notarial records in his study *Spanish Peru*.

⁴⁵ Lockhart’s *Spanish Peru* and Herrera’s *Natives, Europeans, and Africans in Sixteenth-Century Santiago de Guatemala* are excellent examples of studies of complete societies during the sixteenth century. To date John Kicza’s dissertation, “Business and Society in Late Colonial Mexico,” is the only study of this type to treat an entire society in the late colonial period. The use of notarial records in more limited studies are too numerous to name here.

⁴⁶ Catherine Komisaruk found this to be the case when conducting research for her study of Guatemala City during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; however, she made adjustments and resorted to employing local litigation to great effect. See her recent monograph, *Labor and Love in Guatemala: The Eve of Independence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013). Kicza found a great deal of information on lower social groups in his study of Mexico City at the end of the colonial period.

⁴⁷ Paul B. Ganster found notarial records produced in eighteenth-century Lima to be so daunting that he eventually chose to limit his study to the clergy. Paul B. Ganster, “A Social History of the Secular Clergy of Lima during the Middle Decades of the Eighteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974).

⁴⁸ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 24 April 1822, 21 April 1823.

⁴⁹ Agustín Iturbide’s regency lasted from 28 September 1821 to 19 March 1823, thus the change in Hidalgo’s official title.

Chapter 2

POPULATION: 1791

Population dynamics in the Toluca Valley reflected demographic patterns and processes common to Mexico's central highlands. At the time of European contact, dense sedentary populations of Nahuatl, Mazahua, Otomí, and Matlatzinca speakers inhabited the valley. Precipitous indigenous population decline began with exposure to European diseases in the early sixteenth century and reached its nadir during the mid-seventeenth century. Subsequent population recovery shifted from gradual repopulation to accelerated growth, only to be mitigated during times of famine, epidemic disease, or warfare.¹ A small but significant Hispanic presence of marginal social groups was established in the area soon after the conquest, but the Toluca Valley remained a predominantly indigenous region well into the nineteenth century. At the time of Mexican national independence, approximately 90 percent of the indigenous population continued to live in corporate communities scattered throughout the valley.² The growing numbers of Hispanic residents, on the other hand, resided in the valley's towns and on landed estates, often in close proximity to indigenous corporations.

The largest number of Hispanic and Hispanized people in the Toluca Valley were concentrated in the city of Toluca. Population growth there followed a trajectory typical in the central region, having doubled between the middle and end of the eighteenth century. José Antonio Villaseñor y Sánchez's 1746 report identified 618 families of españoles, mestizos, and mulatos living in the city of Toluca, with an estimated population of 2,639 individuals.³ At this time, the city was home to 412 indigenous

families. According to the Revillagigedo census, by 1791 the city's non-indigenous inhabitants numbered at least 5,289.⁴ No census data exist for the 1791 indigenous population, though parish and notarial records demonstrate that indigenous people continued to live in and near the city. By the end of the eighteenth century, Hispanized people formed a large majority of the local population, while indigenous majorities were found in the barrios and pueblos in Toluca's periphery. Over the first decades of the nineteenth century, the city's overall population growth rate declined. The wars for national independence and epidemic disease had taken a toll on Toluca's population. In 1834, the year after the fateful summer of cholera, the city's official population—including indigenous people—stood at 6,581.⁵

Interethnic sexual relations drove demographic transformation in eighteenth-century Mexico. The emerging population was indigenous and multiethnic—that is, progeny of individuals of mixed Indian, Spanish, and/or African identities. In 1791, approximately half of the non-indigenous population of the city of Toluca was reported to be ethnically Spanish (American born and Iberian),⁶ but this proportion is likely exaggerated. Ethnic identity in eighteenth-century Mexico was socially constructed, particularly in the middle strata. The tendency was toward claiming status higher in the ethnic hierarchy when given the opportunity, because of the perceived benefits.⁷ By this time, it appears that some portion of Toluca's indigenous populace had been absorbed into other ethnic groups. However, there was also movement by individuals down the ethnic hierarchy, perhaps indicating a measure of plebeian indifference to the rapidly eroding colonial caste system. After independence, ethnic categories were no longer a

part of the official social equation in Toluca. This is not to say that in practice the dynamic of ethnic differentiation disappeared. Perceptions of ethnic difference continued to matter in early republican Mexico. However, in keeping with the dominant liberal political philosophy of the time, with few exceptions ethnic identification disappeared from much of the official record.

This chapter employs the 1791 Revillagigedo census of Toluca to construct a social profile of late-colonial Toluqueño society. Its principal focus is the city's Hispanic community, as the census did not include data on its indigenous population. Despite this limitation, the Revillagigedo census is an indispensable source for the study of the social and economic history of Toluca, and it is essential to this study's subsequent chapters, which are based on documents that rarely include ethnicities or occupations for the principals involved. In addition to providing quantitative data for aggregate analysis of the city's population, the census supplies essential details of the lives of individuals and families, across social strata and regardless of literacy. The census is by no means a flawless representation of society, however. Some structural and analytical features of the Revillagigedo census are especially problematic. In order to address some of the more significant weaknesses of the census, samples from notarial and parish records are included to supplement the chapter's analysis.

The structure of the census dictates the manner in which it will be employed. For most non-indigenous adult males, it includes the individual's name, age, ethnicity, occupation, street address, place of origin, civil status, social status, military membership, and type of domicile inhabited. The census reflects the concerns of colonial culture in

terms of gender, ethnicity, and social status. Census takers were clearly not as interested in recording complete data on women: while the names and civil statuses of adult females are usually provided, their occupations and ages generally are not.⁸ On the other hand, the 1791 census includes information on ethnic identity for adults (and some children) and social measures, such as don/doña status and membership in the nobility. Young males of conscription age are generally named and their ages included. Information on children, however, is the least complete. Normally only their genders are included. None of these categories is adhered to at all times, but there is reasonable consistency throughout the manuscript. The systematic exclusion of indigenous people remains the weakest structural aspect of the Revillagigedo census.

On 30 April 1791, Lieutenant Colonel José de Zea affixed his shaky signature to the official copy of the recently completed census of the Hispanic population of the city of Toluca and its jurisdiction before sending it on to Mexico City. The sixty-nine-year-old unmarried hidalgo, a native of Andalusia and a longtime provincial infantry commander, had been charged with overseeing the count of Toluca's jurisdiction. Zea organized the Toluca census into three sections. The main component of the manuscript provided data on the español, castizo, and mestizo inhabitants living in the city of Toluca. The second section provided information on the same groups living on haciendas, ranchos, and in pueblos in Toluca's periphery. The third section enumerated individuals of African descent, referred to interchangeably as pardos or mulatos, living in the city and on surrounding haciendas and ranchos. Zea was aided by two veteran officers, Antonio

Padilla and Miguel Paz-Pimentel, natives of Murcia and Galicia, respectively, both members of the nobility. As officers of the provincial infantry and longtime residents of the city of Toluca, these peninsular Spaniards were particularly well positioned for their task.⁹

Named for the viceroy under whose authority it was commissioned, the Revillagigedo census was the first institutional attempt to obtain a uniform count of Mexico's entire population.¹⁰ Because of its geographic scope, and despite some significant but not insurmountable problems with the manuscript, the Revillagigedo census is perhaps the best source of its type extant for study of late colonial Mexican society. The census project is an artifact of the Bourbon administrative reforms, which sought to rationalize political, military, and fiscal administration in Spain and its colonies.¹¹ Upon his ascension to the position of viceroy in 1789, Juan Vicente Güemes Pacheco y Padilla, the Conde de Revillagigedo, proposed that the 1787 Floridablanca census of Spain be extended to Mexico.¹² During the following year, the proposal was approved. The effort was subsequently organized under the supervision of the newly appointed intendants, to be executed by regional administrators, like Zea, Padilla, and Paz-Pimentel.

According to Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, the Revillagigedo census was in reality a compilation of three separate counts. The first was a count of non-Spanish groups, including tributary Indians and people of mixed ethnicity, and was initiated as a response to the crown's order to reassess the number of tributary Indians in the viceroyalty with the goal of increasing tax revenue. The second part of the census,

from which the data for this analysis is drawn, was recorded for the purpose of military conscription. Since Indians were excluded from military service, they were not included in this count. The planned third part of the census was a comprehensive rendering of the entire population; this portion of the census, however, was apparently never completed.¹³

Clearly, the primary purpose of the non-Indian portion of the census was to identify and assess the fitness and availability of males of military age. The Toluca manuscript is appended with a list of potential militia conscripts, which includes each individual's address, *calidad* (ethnicity), age, occupation, civil status, and height; a list of those exempted from military service, and the reasons for their exemptions; and a list of thirteen to fifteen-year-old boys, who would soon be sixteen, the age of conscription.¹⁴

However, the census provides a great deal of information superfluous to this end. Certainly, the endeavor was a charge of the intendant system whose function was to rationalize colonial administration and increase revenues, including taxes, for the weak Bourbon state. But the census collected information in excess of what was necessary for tax collection. Moreover, the tax addressed in the *Ordinance of Intendants for New Spain* referred to tribute, which applied only to indios and free mulatos, not the entire population.¹⁵ According to the viceroy's instructions, the census was interested in military and taxation matters, but its intent was much broader, including to support and revive agriculture, mining, industry, and commerce.¹⁶ The detailed information provided in the Revillagigedo census is a reflection of the Age of Enlightenment in which it was conceived; it was likely designed with a combination of goals and concerns in mind.

Scholars have employed the Revillagigedo census to challenge the relative importance of race/ethnicity versus economic class as colonial society's dominant organizing principle. Proponents of a two-class model, which divided society racially/ethnically between Spaniards (*gente de razón*) and Indians, materially between wealthy and poor, and culturally between *gente decente* (respectable people) and *gente baja* or *la plebe* (commoners), had argued that one's position within the colonial caste system was the overriding determinant of one's occupation and place within the social order.¹⁷ Regional analyses employing the Revillagigedo census and parish records offered conflicting findings, indicating an underlying complexity missed by earlier studies, which had relied heavily upon proscriptive sources.¹⁸ Additional studies led scholars to a more direct challenge of the strict estate model of society as being too simplistic and deterministic. They argued that by the late colonial period race/ethnicity had ceased to be the primary determinant of social stratification, as the *sistema de castas* had been greatly eroded.¹⁹ The ensuing scholarly debate between supporters of a racially/ethnically-based model and advocates of a model based more on economic class ended in deadlock; it appeared that their differences were really more of degree and approach than they were substantial.²⁰

Innovations in the application of sources and methodologies have since been applied to the solution of the race/ethnicity versus class controversy; however, there remains little consensus on the overriding importance of either race/ethnicity or economic class to social stratification in late colonial Mexico.²¹ More recently, scholars have studied the dynamic of racial/ethnic self-identity, which further complicates the

assumptions presented by any one source, especially in the middle strata.²² Colonial Mexican society was ordered on ethnic and economic lines, depending on the time and various characteristics of the geographic region in question, in terms of economic, social, and ethnic differentiation. As David Brading perceptively observed in his study of the Revillagigedo census of Guanajuato, “The hierarchy of race bisected and disordered the pyramid of class.”²³ Beyond this statement, most scholars would agree, the devil is in the details.

By population standards of late eighteenth-century Mexico, Toluca was a medium-sized town, far from inconsequential, but dwarfed by neighboring Mexico City and the larger, more dynamic provincial cities of the north and south. The Toluca Valley had little in common with the northern region, which lacked large sedentary indigenous populations and an historic focus on intensive agriculture. The populations of important northern cities swelled during the eighteenth century due to the growth of markets and the potent multiplier effect of the mining industry. As Table 2.1 illustrates, by the end of the eighteenth century the non-indigenous populations of these cities, which included Guadalajara, Guanajuato, and Querétaro, were between three to four times larger than Toluca. Antequera, the present day city of Oaxaca, experienced an economic boom during the last half of the eighteenth century due to the production and export of cochineal, and the expansion of its textile industry. However, Antequera’s population remained relatively stable during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Unlike most cities of eighteenth-century Mexico, the largest increase in Antequera’s population appears to have taken place between 1700 and mid-century.²⁴ With the notable

exceptions of Mexico City and Puebla, central region towns and cities tended to be relatively small and diffused, reflecting the dense and dispersed population of the area. Table 2.1 shows that the city of Toluca was an important population center in the context of the central region; within the Toluca Valley, it was the largest jurisdictional entity.

Table 2.1
Hispanic Populations of Mexican Cities/Towns by Region, 1791-1793

Town/City	Population	Region	Town/City	Population	Region
Tepeaca	2,310	Center	Orizaba	6,641	Center
Pachuca	2,375	Center	Antequera ²⁵	12,785	South
Tulancingo	3,444	Center	Querétaro	14,847	North
Durango	3,831	North	Guanajuato ²⁶	17,381	North
Jalapa	4,818	Center	Guadalajara ²⁷	20,008	North
Toluca ²⁸	5,289	Center	Mexico City ²⁹	79,157	Center

Source: *1er censo de población de la Nueva España, 1790: censo de Revillagigedo*, México: Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, Dirección General de Estadística, 1977, unless otherwise noted.

While the Revillagigedo census is an invaluable source for the study of late colonial Mexican society, the Toluca manuscript totals cannot be taken as a complete measure of the city's population. Differences in the number of males and females reported in the census manuscript suggest a significant male undercount. Census summaries of other Mexican towns and cities also frequently report fewer adult males

than adult females, while the tendency in these censuses is for boys to outnumber girls.³⁰ The census summaries of españoles and castas in the city of Toluca report a total of 3,094 females and 2,200 males for a sex ratio of .71.³¹ This number is far lower than the norm of approximately .95 males for every female.³² When subtracting non-adults from the summaries' totals, the sex ratio drops to .60 (1,301 males and 2,155 females). The census identified 899 boys and 939 girls in the city, producing a sex ratio of .95, somewhat lower than the biological sex ratio at birth of 1.05.³³ If a sex ratio of .95 were to be assumed, then as many as 746 adult males may well be missing from the census.

Writing in 1814, Fernando Navarro y Noriega observed that the sex ratios of Mexican cities were inverted in rural areas, where males outnumbered females.³⁴ Silvia Arrom found this to have been the case in 1811 Mexico City, where over a third of females had been born somewhere else.³⁵ While Toluca was officially ranked as a Mexican city, in 1791 it was less an urban center than a rural town. The findings and observations of Arrom and Navarro y Noriega applied to individuals of all ethnicities and they reflect the powerful draw of the capital city, so they may not apply in the same manner to the Hispanic population of Toluca. Nevertheless, census data for non-Indians on haciendas, ranchos, and pueblos in Toluca's hinterland produces a sex ratio of .83 (773 males and 927 females), much higher than in Toluca proper. When non-adults are removed from the calculation, the sex ratio drops to .80, still significantly higher than the city's .60. The census identified 354 boys and 405 girls living on haciendas, ranchos, and in pueblos, producing a sex ratio of .87, a lower number than the city's .95.³⁶ The lower ratio for rural children might reflect a more dangerous existence in the hinterland, in

terms of work and distance from basic care, which would be more available in the city. Considering Navarro y Noriega's observation, female migration to Toluca may have affected the sex ratio in 1791. However, it seems more likely that most female migrants from the Toluca Valley would have opted for Mexico City. As noted by Arrom, over two-thirds of female migrants came from central Mexico; one-third came from the area that became the state of Mexico, of which the Toluca Valley was a significant part.³⁷

Previous studies of the Revillagigedo census have sometimes overlooked apparent shortages of males from the counts. In his study of Guanajuato, David Brading recognized the problem of omission in the census, but he focused on the exclusion of indigenous people, not the missing españoles and castas, which his analysis implicitly assumed were fully represented.³⁸ The census summary of Guanajuato, where one might expect an excess of males drawn to the mines, produces an adult sex ratio of .66, still higher than Toluca.³⁹ Similarly, John Chance's study of Oaxaca provided little discussion of gender disparities, yet the census summary there produces an adult sex ratio of .78, closer to parity than Guanajuato or Toluca, but still suggestive of a male undercount.⁴⁰ Bruce Castleman recognized the problem of missing males in his study of Orizaba. Sex ratios there were higher than in Toluca, at .88 in 1777 and .81 in 1791, suggesting an increased tendency to undercount males in the later census.⁴¹

The shortage of males reported in the Toluca census is not easily explained. Events that cause a reduction in the numbers of males more than females do not appear to have been factors in late eighteenth-century Toluca. Mortality caused by the crop failures and famines of the mid 1780s would have taken a toll on the population, which would

have affected population counts, but members of both genders would have been more or less equally affected. While political revolution in France threatened peace with Spain, at the time of the census the viceroyalty was free from warfare and systematic violence, which might have explained the low numbers of adult males, either as soldiers killed in battle or as potential soldiers avoiding conscription. The presence of convents might provide another explanation for gender disparity, although it appears that women who were members of convents were not counted in the Toluca census. Had they been included, the disparity in the sex ratio would have been even greater.

Another potential explanation for the smaller number of males is that they may have traveled to other regions to seek employment. Migration was common in late eighteenth-century Mexico. During this period, individuals born in Toluca undoubtedly found themselves in different parts of the viceroyalty, especially in Mexico City, which had a large migrant population. However, even with access to census manuscripts of other towns and cities it would be problematic to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of migration out of the city.

It is possible that some of the missing males were employed out of town, in the countryside, away from their families. However, few married males or females appeared in the census without a corresponding mate, so, at least for heads of households, this explanation would not suffice. The manuscript reported 831 married males and 838 married females in Toluca, a number close to parity, the difference of which is satisfactorily explained by the handful of absent husbands reported. The count of unmarried people (excluding widows and widowers) was not so close, numbering 1,294

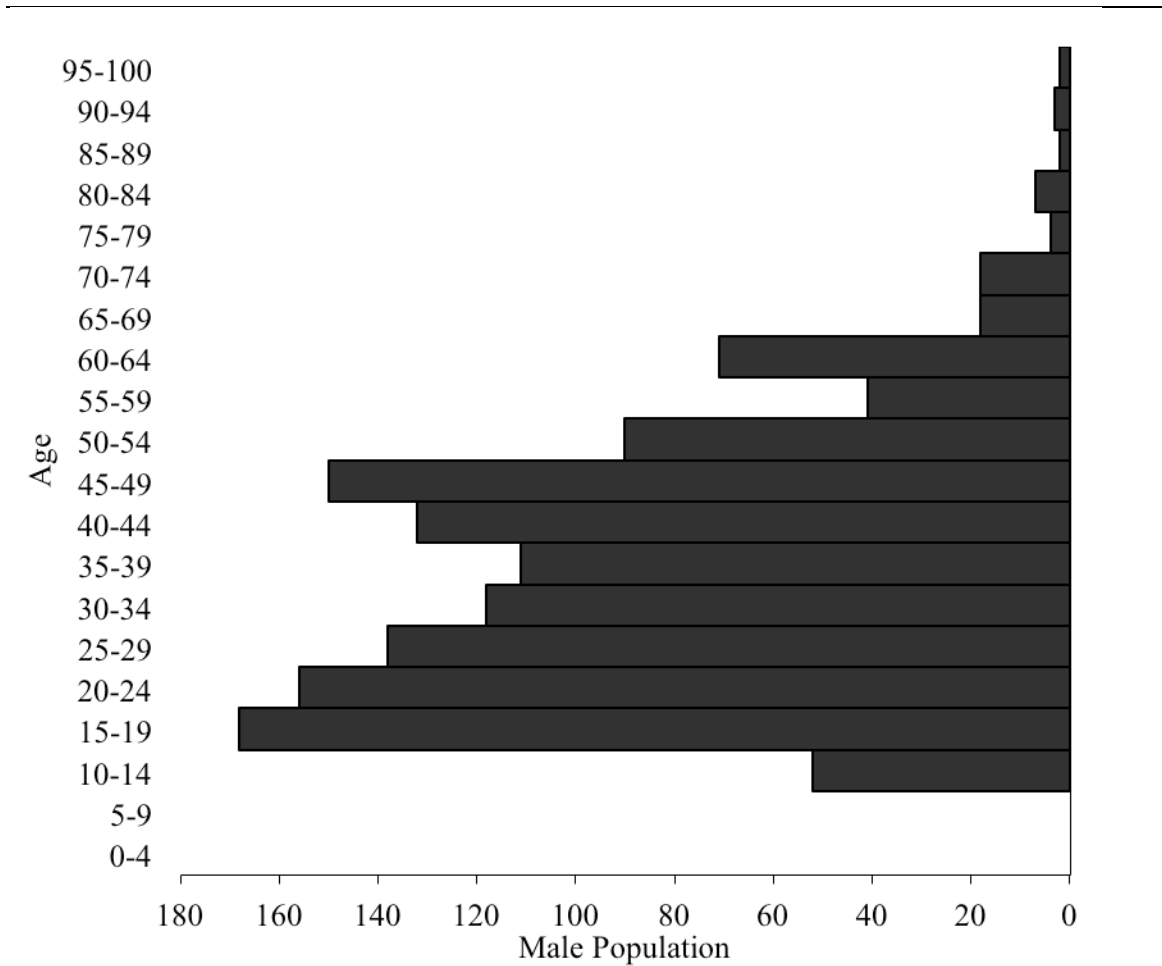
males and 1,834 females. According to this data, and assuming a .95 sex ratio, as many as 448 of the absent males may have been single, whether they had emigrated from Toluca or simply avoided being counted in the census.⁴²

The disproportionate number of widows reported in the Toluca census suggests that some of the uncounted males may have been present among the city's populace. The manuscript identified 414 widows and seventy-eight widowers, a ratio of just over 5 to 1. One might reasonably expect a higher number of widows than widowers due to the presumed longer life expectancy of women, but the difference of 336 begs for examination.⁴³ Bruce Castleman found a similar situation in 1791 Orizaba, with 652 widows to 133 widowers, a ratio of almost 5 to 1. By way of explanation, Castleman suggested that men might have paid census takers to exclude them from the count in order to avoid potential conscription.⁴⁴ Silvia Arrom found that in 1790 widows in Mexico City outnumbered widowers by a ratio of 4 to 1.⁴⁵ She acknowledged that some young married women might have attempted to protect their spouses from the threat of conscription by reporting themselves as widows. Arrom also explained that males were more likely than females to remarry after the death of a spouse and suggested that older widows who did not own property had difficulty competing with younger women in the marriage market, which would account for some portion of the excess of older widows.⁴⁶ In Toluca, as in Orizaba, the census indicates that a large number of widows appeared to have been mothers of young children and were therefore relatively young themselves. If this were the case, then these mothers may have reported themselves as widows when in

fact they were actually married in order to protect their husbands in the event of military conscription.

Age data from the Toluca manuscript provide additional evidence of a male undercount. Figure 2.1 presents the male side of a population pyramid. It illustrates the distribution of 1,281 males for whom ages were provided, based on five-year cohorts. With few exceptions, the census recorded ages for males over fifteen years of age. Of the 922 males whose ages were not recorded, most would have belonged to the first three age cohorts (899 male children were identified in the census summary). The ages of boys were only occasionally recorded in the census, and those all in the 10-14 year-old group. The irregular nature of the slope between ages 15 and 65 is consistent with inaccuracies or exclusions in the data in a society that is experiencing a sustained population expansion. Population pyramids produced for other Mexican cities during this period are often asymmetrical.⁴⁷ It is possible that the chunks out of the pyramid at ages 35-39 and 55-59 could reflect child mortality caused by the typhus epidemic of 1736-39 and the smallpox epidemic of 1761.⁴⁸ Smallpox appeared in the region again in 1779-1780.⁴⁹ Child mortality from this event would have been hidden in the ages 10-14 cohort. Migration would figure into this analysis, too, if such information were available. Clearly, age data taken alone is not conclusive. Yet combined with other quantitative data, it supports the contention that there was a significant male undercount in the 1791 Toluca census.

Figure 2.1
Age Distribution for Toluca Males, 1791



Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Samples from notarial records produced in Toluca reveal uncounted males from middle-tier social groups.⁵⁰ For example, take the case of don Juan Manuel de Sámano, the son and co-executor of the estate of his recently deceased father, don Isidoro Sámano.

Isidoro appeared in the census as a seventy-year-old, español, military veteran, married to doña Micaela Cárdenas, with two daughters living at home. His son, don Juan Manuel de Sámano, did not appear in the census, although he was a known merchant and citizen of Toluca (*de comercio y vecino de esta ciudad*).⁵¹ Indeed, his co-executor was don Felipe Suárez del Castillo, a wealthy European-born merchant and hacienda owner who lived on the plaza mayor, a further indication that the Sámanos were well known in Toluca.⁵² Juan Manuel surfaced in another document, which identified him as an active large-scale pig trader in Toluca (*tratante y dueño de tocinería*), confirming his presence in the city.⁵³

Nor did certain members of Toluca's religious orders appear in the census. In October 1791, the Prior of the Carmelite convent in Toluca, fray Lucas de Santa Teresa, granted a power of attorney to fray Felipe de la Virgen Religiosa from the same convent.⁵⁴ Neither man was included in the census. While seven *clérigos presbíteros* (secular priests) were counted in the census,⁵⁵ none of the nine *curas ministros* who conducted baptisms in the parish of Toluca during 1791 was to be found in the manuscript.⁵⁶

Nominal record linkage between the census and burial and baptismal records demonstrates that in addition to undercounting males, the census takers also overlooked married couples and their families. For example, Rita Sánchez, an española, was buried in Toluca in April 1792. Her husband Juan Antonio Muciño survived her. According to the parish priests, fray Joaquín Moctezuma and fray Pedro Rosel, both Sánchez and Muciño were natives (*originarios*) and citizens (*vecinos*) of Toluca, suggesting that they had lived in the city for some time. The census was completed a year before Sánchez's

death, yet neither she nor her husband were included in it. Is it possible that Sánchez and Muciño were actually recent arrivals in Toluca and therefore not present at the time the census data was being collected? Baptismal records from Toluca place the couple there at the baptism of their son, José Cástulo, in March 1753. The evidence strongly suggests that the couple were elderly, longtime citizens of the city, who were excluded from the census. José Muciño, a forty-year-old, español tailor does appear in the census. Given his surname and the fact that males sometimes reported their ages by approximation, José Muciño may well have been the couple's adult son.⁵⁷

In another example, Pedro de Agüero, an español, was buried in Toluca in February 1793. According to the friars Moctezuma and Rosel, both Agüero and his widow, María Rubín de Celis, were natives and vecinos of Toluca. The priests also noted that the couple had not made a testament before Agüero's death because they were very poor. Neither Agüero nor Rubín de Celis appeared in the census of Toluca or of the haciendas, ranchos, and pueblos in its jurisdiction. Moreover, baptismal records indicate that they, too, were longtime residents of the city. Two of their children were born and baptized in Toluca: Pedro on 4 July 1770 and his sister María Dolores Gertrudis on 3 July 1775. Given Pedro's age, it is possible that he might have emigrated from Toluca at the time the census was taken, or he might have evaded the census takers to avoid the possibility of military conscription. María Dolores Gertrudis, on the other hand, would most likely have still resided with her parents, as she was around sixteen years of age at the time of the census. In any case, no individual in this family group was counted in the Toluca census.⁵⁸

In a final example, Joaquín Montes de Oca and Ana Manuela Jaramillo buried their one-year-old infant son, José Rafael, in April 1793. The parish priests noted that Montes de Oca and Jaramillo were both natives of Toluca and vecinos of the Hacienda de Ticaltepec, an estate located in Toluca's jurisdiction. However, neither parent appeared in the census of the city of Toluca nor were they identified as vecinos of the Hacienda de Xicaltepeque (a spelling variation of Ticaltepec), or any other place included in the hacienda, rancho, and pueblo section of the census. The couple gave birth to another child, Margarita Máxima, who was baptized in Toluca in June 1801. The evidence points to the couple's continued presence in the Toluca vicinity, yet they did not appear in the census.⁵⁹

Population counts for españoles and castas in the city of Toluca and its surrounding haciendas, ranchos, and pueblos should be accepted with caution. Actual populations were likely larger than those reported. Quantitative evidence extracted from the Toluca census manuscript strongly suggests that the census takers missed a significant portion of the city's population. The higher sex ratio in Toluca's haciendas, ranchos, and pueblos suggests that the tendency to undercount males was higher in the city. Nominal record linkage between the census and samples from the notarial register and parish records provides confirmation of a population undercount, however difficult it might be to quantify.

These data by themselves do little to shed any light on an explanation for the undercount. It is likely that some individuals and families may have actively avoided being counted by the census takers due to general distrust. Scholars have long

documented incidents of individuals and even entire villages refusing to comply with census takers, as they were not to be trusted to take an accurate accounting of their subjects, or because enumeration was equated with involuntary work drafts, or, potentially, military conscription.⁶⁰ Little is known about the actual process of data collection for the 1791 Toluca census. Undoubtedly the endeavor took some time to complete. Leslie Offutt found that the Revillagigedo census of Saltillo took almost two years from start to finish.⁶¹ Since the population was not static, some individuals would have fallen through the cracks; some would have died or moved during the time it took to collect data. It may also be that the census takers were erratic in their collection of data. The manuscript sometimes reveals subtle differences in how data were recorded, which suggests that numerous people were involved in data collection. Some census takers may have been more thorough than others, however. The omission of women, children, and some entire families was likely due at least in some part to mistakes made by the census takers. It is possible, too, that active evasion of inclusion in the census rolls, for myriad possible reasons, may have accounted for some of the missing families.

Calidad and Society

On an early December morning in 1799, Juana Castillo walked from her home in Zinacantepec, a small town just west of Toluca, to the local parish church to attend mass. When Juana did not return by the time she was expected, her father, don José Castillo, decided to make his way to the church. Much to his dismay, Castillo discovered his daughter in consultation with the parish priest regarding her desire to marry Miguel

Cuenca, a man whom Castillo despised. Castillo accused his daughter of deliberately deceiving him and attempting to tarnish the respectability of his family. The court document that recorded this exchange identified Castillo with the honorific title don, while Cuenca's name was not preceded by a title, indicating his lower social status.⁶²

Castillo's outrage at his daughter's impending marriage to Miguel Cuenca was based on his perception of the inequality of the union. Cuenca's "*mala calidad*," argued Castillo, made him an unsuitable prospective mate for his daughter. In eighteenth-century Mexico, the term *calidad* had broad meaning. It could refer to one's race, ethnicity, occupation, and/or reputation in society (including wealth), often in some combination, depending on the context.⁶³ *Calidad* could also refer to the circumstances of one's birth, legitimate or otherwise, or one's status within the family.⁶⁴ In this case, Castillo asserted that Cuenca "suffered from the stain(s) of *mulatería* (the quality of being a *mulato*) and others of no less consideration." To Castillo, Cuenca was one of the "dregs of the town, whose baseness and bad *calidad* would always cause him dishonor and leave the most detestable mark on [his] posterity."⁶⁵ The specific mark to which he referred was the physiognomy of his daughter's progeny resulting from the admixture of African blood into his family's "pure" Spanish bloodline.⁶⁶

Miguel Cuenca answered Castillo's complaint, stating that his future father-in-law was mistaken. Cuenca claimed to be of equal social standing with his bride-to-be, and argued that if Castillo had any evidence of his inferior *calidad*, he should present it. If not, Cuenca maintained, he should be granted a license to marry Juana. Unable to produce evidence of Miguel Cuenca's inferior *calidad*, and much to the consternation of

don José Castillo, a marriage license was granted to his daughter and the “*ganapán vicioso*” a week before Christmas at the century’s end.⁶⁷

Rural and urban residents of Mexico during the late eighteenth century were acutely aware of matters related to perceptions of race/ethnicity and social position. While there was a strong understanding of one’s place in local society, racial ideology almost certainly mattered more to elites than to plebeian groups. As the example of don José Castillo suggests, elite culture dictated social norms for those who perceived themselves as higher in social rank. They stood on the upper rungs of a putative social ladder, looking down at what they saw as a growing sea of inferior indigenous and mixed-race masses, from which they had to defend their social and economic positions. Legal mechanisms were in place to protect their families from the perceived impure blood of the “racially inferior” groups.⁶⁸ However, as Castillo discovered, prevailing in such matters was not guaranteed.

Mexican colonial society was initially organized into two republics (the *república de los indios* and the *república de los españoles*), which theoretically functioned separately and independently of one another. Interethnic sexual relations broke the binary social order of españoles and indios and led to increasingly complicated mixtures of the original three groups (Europeans, Indians, and Africans). Defensive attempts to protect their hegemonic position and to control the increasingly ethnically diverse population led to the formation of a hierarchical complex of categories, known as the *sistema de castas*, based on the combination and degree of perceived racial/ethnic attributes. The system developed gradually, having originated in popular usage, and grew over time. Its more

elaborate forms were late developments and exceedingly artificial. Español had always been essentially a cultural category, which is why people who were not born in Spain, or who were progeny of mixed unions, could be classified as españoles without contradiction. Indio, too, was principally a cultural category. Only Africans were categorized largely by phenotype, without concern for cultural attributes. The sistema de castas was predicated on the erroneous assumption that race was biologically determined. In practice, however, racial/ethnic differentiation in colonial Mexico was socially constructed from the beginning.⁶⁹

This process was evident throughout the early period. During the first generations after the conquest, offspring of Spaniards and indigenous women, while usually not born of formal unions, were often accepted by their fathers. John Chance found that during the mid-sixteenth century children of acknowledged conjugal unions between Spanish men and Indian women were often identified as Spaniards. Conversely, children of informal relationships between the two groups would have been more likely to assume indigenous identity. Spaniards did not consider Africans to be acceptable marriage partners during this period. Sexual unions did occur between Spaniards and Africans, but their offspring would not have been recognized as Spaniards.⁷⁰ For late sixteenth-century Toluca, James Lockhart found little evidence of a mestizo presence in local notarial records. The few identified mestizos appear to have been outcasts: “abandoned figures, crippled or orphaned.”⁷¹ This is contrasted with the large number of mulatos and Africans, who appeared more frequently in the notarial records. In sixteenth century Toluca, there were

numerous offspring of Spaniards and Indians, but most of them were accepted as humble Spaniards, and not called mestizos, who remained largely underrecognized as a group.

By the end of the sixteenth century, interethnic people appeared in increasing numbers wherever Spaniards settled. They were especially prominent in urban areas. The *sistema de castas* gradually responded to changes in the population with the introduction of *castizo* as an intermediate category between *mestizo* and *español*. The terms *morisco* and *pardo* were introduced to identify lighter skinned *mulatos*. The new intermediate categories may have initially been used more in urban areas than in the hinterland, however. During the seventeenth century, large numbers of *mestizos* were counted among the Hispanized population in various parts of the Toluca Valley. In 1667, approximately half of the population of Toluca was comprised of *mulatos* and *mestizos*, but there was no mention of *moriscos*, *pardos*, or *castizos*.⁷² This condition is indicative of the late development of the full classification system in the Toluca region.

Population recovery after 1650 and acceleration after 1750 led to an expansion and then contraction of the *sistema de castas*, as American and Iberian born Spaniards sought to maintain dominance in the hierarchy while attempting to confirm the system's legitimacy. In many parts of Mexico the ethnic hierarchy, such as it was, blurred as it increased in complexity. By 1791, the system had become so cumbersome that it required simplification. Intermediate groups came under the general category of *castas*, including *mulatos* (or *pardos*), *mestizos*, and *castizos*, while Spaniards and Indians stood at each opposing pole.⁷³ John Chance and others have demonstrated that by this time the *sistema de castas* had been greatly eroded. In Toluca, ethnicity still appears to have been a factor

in stratification. However, as the data will demonstrate, ethnic identity in late eighteenth-century Toluca was fluid, which complicates the question of an objective correlation between ethnicity and social stratification based on census material.

The 1791 census summaries identify 5,294 non-indigenous individuals living in the city of Toluca, while the manuscript produces a population of 5,289. This very minor discrepancy is the result of arithmetic errors on the part of the census takers. Table 2.2 combines census summary data to enumerate the city's non-indigenous population in ethnic terms: 2,738 españoles (52 percent), 555 castizos (10 percent), 1,747 mestizos (33 percent), and 139 mulatos (3 percent). As the table indicates, for most of the population *calidad* referred to ethnicity, but for some it referred primarily to elite social status. One hundred fifteen individuals were recorded as *hidalgos* and nobles (2 percent), not by their ethnic designations. These individuals would have undoubtedly self-identified as Spaniards, American born or European. It is unlikely that any *castas* would have found their way into this group. It is noteworthy that the census manuscript did not identify all individuals who were included in the summary as *hidalgos* and nobles. Of the seven *hidalgos* counted in the summary, all males, only five were so designated in the manuscript. All of those had been born in Spain. The manuscript named twelve males and seventeen females as nobles, yet the summary identified 108 nobles among the citizenry. Spouses and children of nobles apparently were designated as such when the final summary was calculated. Of the twelve male nobles for whom birthplaces were recorded, seven were natives of Spain and five were born in Mexico. Perhaps because of its preoccupation with enumerating males for potential military conscription, the census did

not bother to record the birthplaces of girls and women, so it is impossible to determine the presence of European born females in Toluca. If European women were present in Toluca at all—and no evidence in the notarial and parish records has been uncovered to suggest they were—their numbers would have been miniscule.⁷⁴

Table 2.2

Non-indigenous Population of Toluca by Calidad and Gender, 1791

Calidad	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Hidalgos	7	0	0	0	7
Nobles	25	43	15	25	108
Españoles	712	1,113	440	473	2,738
Castizos	89	138	159	169	555
Mestizos	440	805	253	249	1,747
Mulatos	28	56	32	23	139
Total	1,301	2,155	899	939	5,294

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21, 196v, 265v.

The method of categorization applied in the census, and consequently the manner in which census takers arrived at the summary totals, is unclear. The manuscripts classify most adult males and females by ethnicity. However, the manuscripts omitted such identities for most children, although they were included in the categories of the summary totals. This problem is not unique to Toluca. Leslie Offutt found that in 1793 Saltillo over 40 percent of the population were not ethnically identified in the census.⁷⁵ John Chance found the same condition in Oaxaca.⁷⁶ For the purpose of analysis, Chance chose to apply the rules of the sistema de castas to classify children's ethnic identities, rather than exclude them from his study. However, as will be discussed below, there is ample

evidence that the census takers did not consistently apply these rules. While this approach would include more people in the analysis, because of the irregular manner in which individuals were identified the conclusions reached by such a methodological assumption would have to remain tentative at best.

To complicate matters further, the manuscripts include individuals who belonged to categories that did not exist in the census summaries. The net result of this idiosyncrasy had little effect on the outcome of the census, but it does point to the transitional state (i.e. the increasing dysfunction) of the colonial caste system in relation to the Revillagigedo census. The *Padrón de Familias Españolas, Castizas, y Mestizas*, which provided data on the city's non-indigenous and non-African population, includes six negros and two indios, although these two groups did not appear in the summary as separate categories. There is no way to know with certainty into which categories these individuals were placed, but the fact that they were included at all suggests that they were counted as mestizos in the summary. Similarly, the *Padrón de las familias de Morenos, Pardos y Mescla de tributarios*, which counted individuals of African descent, includes one indio, one morisco, and one lobo. Afro-Mexicans at this time were generally referred to as mulatos or pardos, depending on the document. No person in the census manuscript for the city of Toluca was identified as a pardo. On the other hand, while collecting data for the non-African section of the census, census takers noted if a given dwelling had been "*ocupado con pardos*." Clearly, the terms pardo and mulato were used interchangeably here. With these three exceptions, the remaining 136 individuals in this

manuscript were designated as mulatos. In this case, the indio, morisco, and lobo were included in the mulato summary population total.⁷⁷

The census did not apply separate identities to European-born Spaniards. In other regions of Mexico these individuals might have been identified as españoles, españoles peninsulares, españoles europeos, or europeos.⁷⁸ In Toluca, if a European-born Spaniard were a noble or hidalgo his title might be recorded, but this was not always the case. Otherwise, peninsular Spaniards were distinguished from their American cousins only by the inclusion of the town and/or region of their births. For instance, the census identified Adrian de Cerain, the Corregidor of Toluca, as “*hijodalgo Natural de la villa de Maestrí, Señorío de Vizcaya,*” in the Basque region of northern Spain.⁷⁹ Similarly, some American Spaniards who were members of the nobility were identified as nobles rather than by their ethnic designation. Thus, the census identified the merchant don Nicolás de Azoños as a “*Noble natural de esta ciudad (Toluca).*”⁸⁰ American Spaniards who were not members of the nobility were recorded simply as españoles followed by their town or city of birth.

Over 50 percent of Toluca’s non-indigenous inhabitants were recorded in the census as españoles. The large number of españoles apparently present in Toluca must be understood within the context, however. By the late eighteenth century the term español had a broad and heterogeneous meaning. Originally, españoles were peninsular immigrants or individuals who could trace their family’s lineage back to Spain. After almost three centuries of interethnic sexual relations, identity became increasingly malleable, especially in the middle strata of the hierarchy. John Chance and William

Taylor have argued that by the late eighteenth century many of those in Antequera who claimed to be American born Spaniards were actually “biological mestizos.”⁸¹ Bruce Castleman’s study of Orizaba supports this contention. He compared the 1791 Revillagigedo census of Orizaba to a parochial census produced in 1777.⁸² His findings suggest a tendency towards what he calls “whitening,” that is, inclusion of mixed people in the español category, as the percentage of españoles increased from 18 to 52 percent and the number of mestizos decreased from 62 to 30 percent. By the late eighteenth century, the term español could represent an individual with direct Spanish ancestry; but, more typically, it could also refer to an individual who claimed or was associated with Hispanic cultural identity.

Examination of the Toluca census manuscript exposes contradictions and inconsistencies in the manner in which the sistema de castas was applied by the census takers. The result of this practice was to elevate some individuals in the ethnic hierarchy, which throws light on the large number of españoles reported in the census. Take, for example, the case of Simona Carmonal, identified in the census as a mestiza widow, who lived with her unmarried, nineteen-year-old son, José López, in a house on Callejón del Campo Santo. The census takers granted José an exemption from potential military conscription because he supported his mother with his work as an itinerant trader. While the census identified Simona’s calidad as mestiza, her son, José, was recorded as an español. According to the rules of the sistema de castas, a mestiza and an español would produce offspring who would be classified as a castizo. José’s father’s ethnic identity is not known. If he had been an español, his son ought to have been classified as a castizo.

If his father had been a castizo, then according to the sistema de castas José would have supposedly been classified as a chamizo. This intermediate term was not used in the Toluca census at this time, although it did appear on occasion in parish records. Of course, if José's father had been a mestizo, then José, too, should have been categorized as a mestizo. This is a clear example of an individual who according to the sistema de castas would not have been labeled an español, although the census takers decided otherwise.⁸³

Additional examples are illustrative of how census takers took latitude when applying ethnic designations. Take the case of Joaquín Pedraza, a thirty-six-year-old saddle maker and member of the militia, who lived with his family in a house on the Callejón que Tira al Cerro de la Tenería. Pedraza was identified in the census as a mestizo. His wife, María de la Luz Quintana, was not ethnically identified. The census takers, however, categorized their daughter as an española. Again, according to the sistema de castas, Pedraza and Quintana's daughter would have been classified as a castiza, if Quintana were in fact an española. If Quintana had been a mestiza, then the child would have been categorized as a mestiza. Similarly, José Betancur, an español brick maker married to Rita Hernández, an española, lived with their family on the Plazuela del Carmen. Included in the family was Betancur's mother-in-law, who was identified as a *mestiza viuda* (a mestiza widow). According to the sistema de castas, by definition a mestiza mother could not give birth to an española. In this case, it is possible that Rita's ethnic designation was elevated in order to match that of her husband, a process recognized in other census studies. In a final example, Trinidad Juliana,

identified in the census as a single mestiza, lived with her four siblings in a house on the Callejón que Va de San Juan de Dios a la Merced. Her three sisters were identified as mestizas; however, her brother, named José Joaquín Baeza, was designated as an español weaver exempt from potential military conscription to care for his sisters. While it is not possible to know with certainty the rationale census takers applied to their project, the above cases show a tendency to move some individuals up the ethnic hierarchy in contradiction to the official sistema de castas.⁸⁴ Indeed, the so-called sistema de castas emerges as an exaggerated and stereotyped scheme making more and different distinctions than were made in reality.

While the Revillagigedo census of Toluca was conducted under the direction of the civil and military authorities, some questions exist as to who actually went door to door to collect data. It is well known that parish priests had regularly collected population data on indigenous people and castas for the purpose of tribute rolls as well as for ecclesiastical censuses, the most recent of which had been completed in 1777. In a heavily Catholic society, priests were natural intermediaries between church and state authorities and the larger population. David Brading intimated that parish priests might have been involved in the Revillagigedo census project in Guanajuato. He argued that individuals would be unlikely to lie about their status, “since the parish priests kept three separate baptismal registers for Indians, for mulattoes and for the hispanic [sic] community.”⁸⁵ In his study of Orizaba, Bruce Castleman went further, stating that local clergymen were likely involved in the production of the census. According to Castleman, the priests “would have known most of the people in a place the size of Orizaba and

probably referred to their own parish records as they prepared the padrón manuscripts.”⁸⁶ Parish priests may also have been involved in the collection of Toluca census data. After all, seven clérigos presbíteros were identified in the census, while the nine curas ministros of Toluca did not appear in the manuscript. It is possible that some or all of these nine friars also acted as agents of the data collection effort.

Research regarding how parish priests ethnically identified their parishioners shows that they regularly employed the same arbitrariness that was present in the application of the sistema de castas in the census manuscript. Parish records produced in Toluca around the time of the census not only reflect the fluid nature of the sistema de castas during the late eighteenth century but they also demonstrate how priests often subjectively constructed identity. Parish priests were responsible for recording the ethnic identities of parishioners who appeared before them for marriages and baptisms. They normally employed the same categories that were found in the census, however occasionally residual, intermediate categories left over from earlier times, found their way into the records. In some cases, such as classifying well-established elite families, ethnic categorization was *pro forma*. In other cases, such as the identification of foundlings at baptism, the process was not so obvious.

Between 1788 and 1791, 25 percent (72 of 287) of castizos, mestizos, negros, and mulatos who were baptized in the city of Toluca were infants of unknown parentage (*de padres no conocidos*).⁸⁷ While performing baptisms on these children, usually only a few days old, priests relied on the orphans’ phenotypic traits to resolve their identities. The notations identifying orphaned newborns in the baptismal records appear overtly

illogical. The following examples are representative of numerous similar cases found in baptismal records. In January 1788, a male infant was left at the door of the schoolteacher, Benito Antonio Martínez de Castro. Since the child appeared to be near death, Martínez de Castro administered holy water and effectively baptized the child. After validating the baptism, the priest deemed the child to be an “*hijo de padres no conocidos Español*,” a Spanish child of unknown parents. The implication here is that although the child’s parents were unknown, because of his phenotypic traits, his parents were deemed to have been Spaniards. As it happens, Martínez de Castro was identified as an español in the census. It is unknown if his ethnic identity had any bearing on the priest’s decision.

Another case occurred in August 1790 when an infant girl was left at the door of the royal jail. José Pereira, the jail keeper, subsequently acted as the infant’s godparent. Without any evidence of the child’s parentage other than her appearance, the priest noted that she was “*una niña de calidad mestiza puesta a las puertas de José Pereira*,” (a mestiza girl left at the doors of José Pereira).⁸⁸ Whether her parents were both mestizos, or one parent was an *español* and the other an *indio*, is unknowable. As it happens, the census identified José Pereira as Spaniard who was married to María Nicolasa, whose *calidad* was listed as *casique*, a term used to describe members of the indigenous nobility. Could the ethnic identities of Pereira and María Nicolasa have affected the priest’s decision? While a possibility, this, too, is unknowable based on the available information.

Parish priests were the arbiters of ethnic classification for foundlings, which is understandable given the system in which they functioned. However, priests appear to

have regularly worked in a similarly capricious manner when administering baptisms to their flock, particularly in the plebeian sectors. Little is known about how priests actually went about the business of classifying their parishioners. Did they ask the congregants for a declaration on the category at the time of the administration of sacraments? Did they make decisions based on their own assessments? Or was there some negotiated understanding based on information from both parties? This remains an unresolved question in the historical literature. According to an 1815 statement by the archbishop of Mexico (cited by John Chance): “to register a baptism, the priests do not receive juridical information but rely on the word of the parties. They do not demand proofs nor do they dispute what they are told. Even if they know that the people belong to another class, they do not shame them by doubting the sincerity of their word.”⁸⁹ This may have been the official view from above, but actual practice in Toluca stands in stark contrast to the archbishop’s representation of reality.

Record linkage between the census and parish records demonstrates systematic discontinuities between different types of documents when it came to ethnic identification. Evidence strongly suggests that the identities of parishioners were often decided at the whim of the priests without their consultation. The following example shows how members of the same family could be alternatively classified as mulatos, castizos, or españoles, depending on the situation. The census identified Andrés Rodríguez, as a thirty-four-year-old laborer, who was married to Pascuala Moscoa, and lived in a house on the Callejón de Betancur with their six children. Both Andrés and Pascuala were recorded in the census as mulatos, as was their sixteen-year-old son,

Carlos. Baptismal records were located for two of the couple's other children. In August 1789, fray Joaquín Moctezuma and fray Mariano José Casasola baptized José María Esteban. The priests identified his parents as "*Andrés Rodríguez y Josefa Pascuala Mezqua* (a spelling variant of Moscoa) *castizos de esta ciudad.*" If Rodríguez and Moscoa were indeed mulatos, as stated in the census, then their son became a castizo on the day of his baptism, based on the priest's decision that his parents appeared as castizos, or a combination of ethnic identities that produced a castizo child. In May 1793, fray Joaquín Moctezuma and fray José Zenteño baptized Isidro Bonifacio de la Luz. His parents were entered into the record as "*Andrés Rodríguez y de Pascuala Josefa Mezqual, Vecinos de Esta Ciudad.*" Mezqual is yet another spelling variation of Mezqua. In this case, the priests registered Isidro Bonifacio as an español, implying that both his parents were also Spaniards.⁹⁰

The family of José Urbano Gutiérrez and Manuela Marcelina Castro provides another salient example of the arbitrariness of classification. The census identified José Urbano, a forty-eight-year-old cobbler, and his wife, Manuela, as españoles who lived in a house on the Callejón que Va de San Juan de Dios a la Merced. Presumably, the census takers would have also counted their two sons and five daughters as españoles. However, linkage of these individuals to parish records makes their inclusion as españoles questionable. At the time of their marriage in 1738, the parish priest classified José Urbano's father as a mulato and his mother as an española.⁹¹ During the same year, Manuela's father, whom the priest classified as a mestizo, married her mother, an india.⁹² According to the sistema de castas, then, José Urbano would have been classified as a

morisco, and Manuela as a coyote. While morisco occasionally appeared in parish records, coyote was virtually an imaginary category.

The picture becomes more complex when José Urbano and Manuela brought their children to be baptized in Toluca. Baptismal records for three of their children have been located. At the christening of José Cristóbal Pablo in March 1788, the parish priests, fray Joaquín Moctezuma and fray Mariano José Casasola, classified José Urbano as an español, Manuela as an india, and their child a mestizo. In September 1790, fray Joaquín and fray Luis Gómez baptized the couple's daughter, Rosalía Dolores. José Urbano was again identified as an español and Manuela as a cacique. This time the child was registered as an española. Finally, in May 1793, the priests Moctezuma and José Ortigosa baptized Micaela Dolores de Jesus and categorized her as an india; this time José Urbano Gutierrez and Manuela Marcelina Castro were noted as "*indios de esta ciudad.*" These three baptisms took place within five years of each other. The same parish priest, Moctezuma, was involved in deciding the identities of the parties. Each time, his professional judgment led to him to a different conclusion regarding the baptized child's identity.

Because many of the documents consulted here were produced contemporaneously, it is not possible to discern movement up or down the ethnic hierarchy based upon their comparison. What is clear is that in late eighteenth-century Toluca the institution of the sistema de castas was in such a state of disarray as to render it dysfunctional. Indeed, it had never really functioned at all. Peninsular Spaniards would not have been confused with Indians, but in the middle layers of society, individuals

regularly moved between ethnic categories. However, priestly judgments based on physical appearance were often unreliable. They reflected a late and unrealistic system, which had never corresponded to real usage, and had been rendered obsolete by the social realities of Mexico's eighteenth-century demographic transformation. In this environment, reliance on individuals' representations of their own ethnic identity was also potentially misleading, since the hierarchy incentivized upward movement in it. In the documents studied here, there is no evidence that the citizens of Toluca provided their ethnic identities to the census takers or parish priests, who may have been one and the same. To the contrary, the evidence suggests that census takers and priests made their own judgments regarding ethnic identity. While Toluca was clearly the largest Hispanic population center in the valley, the categorization of its non-Indian inhabitants represented by the Revillagigedo census is at best an impressionistic rendering of that society.

Occupation and Social Stratification

Scholars who study the Revillagigedo census invariably analyze occupations in terms of ethnicity/race, because of the relationship between work and social status in colonial Mexico. The foregoing discussion demonstrated the fluid nature of ethnic identity in late eighteenth-century Toluca. Classification in provincial Mexico was malleable and ultimately unreliable in terms of its purported function as a fixed and objective identifier of social groups. Add to this the high rate of illegitimacy, which was over 25 percent in the above sample. When the ethnic identity of a quarter of newborns

was determined through a process of guesswork, without the pretense of genealogical inputs, what affect would this have on the reliability of a social system that was based on ethnic categories? In this environment, conclusions regarding correlations between category and occupation, and thereby social stratification, must remain conditional, particularly in the “ambiguous middle layer” of the ethnic hierarchy.

Omissions from the census also affect the analysis. Evidence of an adult male undercount in the census, while circumstantial, is strong. How would the inclusion of occupation for over four hundred additional males alter the understanding of work in the city and its correlation to ethnic identity? The apparent male undercount likely skews the analysis of occupational structure. Additionally, by focusing only on male occupations, female work is treated as if it did not exist. Yet, notarial records show that women were involved in many types of work at the time, as domestic servants, but also as merchants and owners of haciendas and ranchos, as pork processors, and as street vendors and artisans. The absence of women in the Revillagigedo census means that an important occupational sector is left out of the analysis. Finally, occupation is not the same as employment. The census offers no sense of how successful individuals were at finding work. Nor does it include salaries or earnings for any of the occupations. Therefore, analysis of occupations alone can be a misleading indicator of social status.

Occupational pluralism was common in late eighteenth-century Toluca. While the census included only primary occupations, individuals regularly labored at secondary occupations and supplemental employment. Agricultural plantings and harvests required seasonal workers; and notarial records indicate that maguey plants were grown in plots

throughout the city, tended by individuals who were usually engaged in other primary occupations. The census only occasionally recorded more than one occupation for a given person. Such was the case for Antonio Garduño, the owner of a tienda mestiza, a tocinería, and an hacienda. Since the census was interested in potential military conscription, some individuals reported themselves as veterans, to note their prior military service. These men were undoubtedly engaged in other types of work to sustain themselves, but the census gives no indication of what they were. For this reason, Timoteo Escobar recorded his primary occupation as muleteer, since muleteers were exempted from military service. Nevertheless, notarial records suggest that Escobar was involved in other aspects of commerce besides transport, which was likely not his primary occupation.⁹³

Table 2.3 demonstrates the limitations of relying solely on the 1791 census to classify individuals into a single occupation. The table was derived from data produced by the *aduana* (customs house), which identified large-scale pork producers (*tratantes*, *dueños de tocinerías*) and small-scale producers (*pegujaleros*) in Toluca in 1793 and 1794. The first column provides the names of individuals divided into the two groups of producers, and the second column notes their occupations as reported in the census. *Tratante* and *pegujalero* were common occupational terms. In the case of *tratantes*, these individuals could be minor sellers of petty goods or itinerant salesmen. *Pegujaleros* were usually either small plot farmers or individuals who raised a small number of animals. In the *aduana* document, however, these two occupations refer exclusively to pork producers. The census contains numerous instances of *tratantes* and *pegujaleros* in

Toluca, but the majority of these appear to have not been involved in pork production. Of the pegujaleros included in the table's sample, none would be directly associated with pork production in terms of the census occupation structure, i.e. designated as tocineros or dueños de tocinería. In fact, this group displays a high degree of occupational pluralism: aside from the three tratantes and one pegujalero, the remaining six included three artisans, a store owner, the owner of the flour mill, and a tithe collection employee.

Table 2.3

1791 Toluca Census Occupations of Selected Pork Processors

Tratantes, Dueños de Tocinería	Occupation in 1791 Census
Arandia, Francisco	Comerciante
Arratia, Javier	Tratante
Castro, Lázaro	Dueño de Hacienda y Comerciante
Cruz Manjarrez, Andrés	Comerciante
Cruz Manjarrez, Cristóbal	Tocinero
De la Cueva, Nicolás	Dueño de Tienda Mestiza
Frías, Cristóbal	Estanquillero
Fuentes, Francisco	Encargado de Tienda Mestiza
Garduño, Antonio	Dueño de Tienda Mestiza, Tocinería y Hacienda
González Pliego, Felipe	Dueño de Tienda Mestiza
Herrera, Mariano	Cajero
Legorreta, Rafael	Dueño de Hacienda
Martínez (Millán), Ignacio	Dueño de Tocinería
Montes de Oca, Ignacio	Comerciante
Ortiz, Diego	Comerciante
Peña, José	Comerciante
Posada, Francisco	Dueño de Tocinería
Posadas, Agustín	Dueño de Tocinería
Posadas, Ignacio	Tratante
Romero, José Agustín	Cajero
Soriano, José	Comerciante
Pegujaleros	Occupation in 1791 Census
Bastida, José	Sastre
Bilchis, Pablo	Tratante
Caño Cortes, Antonio	Dueño de Molino de Harinas
González, Basilio	Sirviente de la colecturía
Hiniesta, José	Tejedor
Jiménez, Francisco	Tratante
Maldonado, Diego	Dueño de Tienda Mestiza
Piña, Victoriano	Tratante
Pliego, Cirilo	Herrero
Sánchez, José	Pegujalero

Source: AGNEM, SH, Caja 147, Legajo 1, Asunto 10; AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

The large-scale pork processors named in the customs house document were called “Tratantes de Tocinería” and “Tratantes Dueños de Tocinerías.” In their usual meanings, the combination of the terms tratante and dueño would be problematic. The former is a lower status occupation while the latter indicates ownership of an enterprise. As the table illustrates, only five of the census occupations in this group refer directly to pork production: one tocinero and four dueños de tocinería. Two were identified as tratantes. The remaining fourteen were primarily involved in other commercial activities. These include hacienda owners, merchants and their apprentices, and owners and managers of stores, including one tavern. Table 2.3 shows that individuals at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy were involved in pursuits other than the primary occupations noted in the census, and that merchants were often involved in a broad range of business enterprises. This condition points to the limitation of assigning individuals to any single job category based on census information.

The Revillagigedo census recorded birthplaces for 1,014 employed non-Indian males over the age of thirteen, 876 of whom were born in Toluca, or approximately 86 percent. This figure indicates an immobile workforce. Of the eighty-four males who immigrated to Toluca from within New Spain, fifty-three were born in the Toluca region, mostly in the principal population centers of the valley, including Ixtlahuaca, Almoloya, Tecualoya, and in the neighboring towns of Zinacantepec and Metepec. Outside of the Toluca Valley, Mexico City was the primary source of immigration to Toluca, with twenty males coming from the capital. The remaining eleven men emigrated from Puebla, Querétaro, Pachuca, Maravatio, San Ángel, Tacuba, and Zacatecas. There is no way to

estimate the number of Toluqueño males who chose to migrate from their homes in Toluca to other parts of Mexico. An estimate for female emigration is even more elusive since the census did not record their places of birth.⁹⁴

Fifty-four Iberian males immigrated to Toluca, one from Portugal and fifty-three from Spain and its possessions, accounting for 39 percent of Toluca's employed immigrant population, and 5 percent of the total population of employed males. The majority, twenty-one, came from the northern provinces of the peninsula, including Asturias, Vizcaya, Navarra, Cantabria, Galicia, and La Rioja. Fifteen originated in Castile and Aragon in Spain's central region. Fourteen were born in Andalusia and Murcia. And four immigrants from this group emigrated from outside of mainland Spain: one each from Portugal, the Canary Islands, and the presidio of Oran and Morocco in North Africa. The relatively small size of this group in no way reflects its importance. Peninsular Spaniards were involved in most prestigious occupations.⁹⁵

For purposes of comparative analysis, non-indigenous male occupations reported in the census were grouped into fourteen occupational sectors, following the schema adopted by similar studies. Table 2.4 provides this data for Toluca, Guanajuato, Oaxaca, and Puebla. One characteristic is immediately apparent. Of the four cities, only Toluca had no distinct primary occupation sector. In Guanajuato, 55 percent of the workforce was involved in the mining industry. Clothing and textiles was the primary occupational sector for Oaxaca and Puebla, with 31 percent and 40 percent, respectively. In Toluca, 21 percent of occupations reported were concentrated in the commerce sector and 23 percent in clothing and textiles, with no single dominant activity. This condition was likely

attributable to Toluca's unique relationship to Mexico City. Its proximity to the capital, its primary orientation toward the Mexico City market, and the social and business relationships of its shared elite, meant that Toluca functioned as an appendage of the capital in terms of occupational specialization.

Table 2.4

Male Occupations by Sector for Selected Mexican Cities, 1791-1793

Occupation Sector	Guanajuato		Oaxaca		Puebla		Toluca	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Mining	5,849	54.77	14	0.40	0	0.00	0	0.00
Commerce	681	6.38	366	10.34	177	7.26	243	21.32
Clothing & Textiles	590	5.52	1,083	30.58	981	40.22	257	22.54
Building	0	0.00	91	2.57	29	1.19	7	0.61
Leatherwork	0	0.00	87	2.46	153	6.27	107	9.39
Food & Drink	364	3.41	176	4.97	120	4.92	27	2.37
Servant	511	4.79	93	2.63	0	0.00	58	5.09
Transport	283	2.65	58	1.64	204	8.36	67	5.88
Agriculture	686	6.42	207	5.85	86	3.53	87	7.63
Metal & Wood	596	5.58	583	16.46	202	8.28	96	8.42
Other Industry	271	2.54	54	1.52	278	11.40	18	1.58
Church, Govt., Prof.	235	2.20	665	18.78	191	7.83	114	10.00
Fine Arts	96	0.90	30	0.85	18	0.74	32	2.81
Misc.	517	4.84	34	0.96	0	0.00	27	2.36
TOTAL	10,679	100.00	3,541	100.00	2,439	100.00	1,140	100.00

Source: D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); John K. Chance. *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); Guy P. C. Thomson, *Puebla de Los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989); AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Clothing and textile manufacturing, while not the dominant industry it was in Oaxaca and Puebla, was the city's most important single productive activity. Appendix 2.1 gives the ethnic designations workers employed in specific occupations by sector. Of the 257 non-Indian males included in this sector, weavers (143) and tailors (102) predominated, accounting for 95 percent of the total. Ten hatters, an embroiderer, and a button-maker were also included. The city was home to the largest concentration of non-Indian weavers and tailors in the Toluca region. Non-Indians dominated the weaving industry, which was not the case for other towns in the valley. In 1793, sales tax collectors reported 150 looms operated by non-Indians in Toluca. According to the report, Indians in the city worked no looms. The next largest concentration of looms was found in Santiago Tianguistengo, where fifty-nine non-Indians and seventy-two Indians operated 131 looms. Metepec, a small town very near Toluca, operated seventy looms; the ethnic classifications of the operators were not given.⁹⁶ Clothing and textile manufacturing in eighteenth-century Mexico included female workers at all levels of production, however the report provided no indication of their numbers in Toluca.⁹⁷

The census did not distinguish between masters who owned shops and individuals who owned only the tools of the trade. The only one exception, Ventura Carranza, an español from Mexico City, was identified as a master tailor. Similarly, only two individuals were identified as apprentices. This notation appears to have been a quirk of the census taker, as the apprentice weavers, José Rebollo and Juan Hernández, occupied the same residence. The use of the honorific title don often provides an important clue as to an individual's elevated social status. For example, John Kicza found that in late

eighteenth-century Mexico City the title *don* had been used to address practically every master artisan.⁹⁸ In Toluca, however, no member of the clothing and textile sector was identified in the census as a *don*.

Ethnic classification of the clothing and textile workers provides little assistance in gauging the prestige related to their different occupations. Not surprisingly, no European Spaniards were engaged in this low-status work. *Españoles* accounted for 131 of the workers, or just over 50 percent. *Castas* represented 40 percent of those employed (89 mestizos, 10 castizos, and 4 of African descent). The ethnic identities of twenty-three of this group were not recorded. Tailors were overrepresented by *españoles*, while weavers were about equally divided between *españoles* and *castas*; the majority of the latter were mestizos. Keeping in mind the limitations of relying on such categories during this period, one might tentatively conclude that weavers as an occupation held more prestige than tailors, due to the higher number of *españoles* in the group. By the same reasoning, hatters as an occupation carried less prestige, as the group was comprised of nine mestizos and one mulato, with no *españoles* involved.

The commerce sector included all adult male non-indigenous Toluqueños involved in commercial activities as broadly defined. Occupations in this sector varied widely in terms of activity, the value of exchange, and prestige. Just over one-fifth of occupations in the census were involved in commercial activity. This proportion is striking when compared to Puebla, Guanajuato, and Oaxaca, where the same sector represented only 7 percent, 6 percent, and 10 percent respectively. One might reasonably expect Toluca to employ a smaller percentage of its non-Indian male population in

commercial activities; Oaxaca, Guanajuato, and Puebla were more populous, with correspondingly larger domestic markets. Toluca's large commerce sector can likely be attributed to the outward flow of Toluca's production, particularly to Mexico City, and its dominant economic position within the valley.

Of the 243 individuals whose occupations were included in the commerce sector, the majority were involved in small-scale trade. The largest group was itinerant traders (*tratantes*) who numbered 155, or 64 percent of the sector. As was discussed earlier, the term *tratante* denoted a general occupation, which in Toluca could mean anything from a small-scale peddler to a pork processor. Aside from the itinerant traders and three individuals listed as travelling peddlers (*viandantes*) and two peddlers (*varilleros*), the remainder of those in the commerce sector were involved in higher-level trade. These included merchants and their clerks, owners of haciendas, owners of *tocinerías*, and owners of stores and their managers.

Ethnic distribution and social status indicators in the commerce sector point to a discernable pattern of hierarchy and prestige. In the absence of Indians, Toluqueños of African ancestry occupied the lower stratum of the ethnic hierarchy in the census. As commercial activity by definition excluded manual labor, it is not surprising that no individuals of African ancestry were employed in this sector. At the upper end of the hierarchy, twenty-two peninsular Spaniards appeared as merchants (10) and their apprentices (10), a manager of the flourmill, and the controller of the meat monopoly. All individuals in this group were accorded the honorific *don* title in the census. Four were nobles and one was a *hidalgo*. With two exceptions, in this sector mestizos appeared only

as itinerant traders (32) and peddlers (2). Agustín Lucrecio was the only mestizo to hold the position of apprentice merchant; and Cayetano García Rendón was the only mestizo storeowner in the city. No mestizo was recorded as a don. Similarly, with the exception of one castizo haberdasher, the other eleven castizos in the commerce sector worked as itinerant traders. No castizo was accorded don status in the census.

American Spaniards were the most numerous occupational group in the commerce sector, numbering one hundred sixty two. According to the census, one hundred four españoles from this group worked as itinerant traders, five as tobacconists, and three as travelling peddlers. These were generally considered low prestige occupations. Of this group, only three itinerant traders were accorded don status. The remainder of españoles in the commerce sector were involved in higher-status pursuits. Fifteen were identified as merchants and sixteen as merchants' apprentices. Don status confirms this groups higher social position. Two apprentices were identified as dons, while thirteen of the fifteen merchants were accorded the honorific title. The eighteen additional españoles in the commerce sector were owners or managers of stores, (including tiendas mestizas and pharmacies), a bakery, and the city's flourmill. Of this last group, seven men were identified as dons.

The church, government, and professions sector accounted for 10 percent of the non-Indian males employed in Toluca; however, when examining the data it becomes clear that the state and ecclesiastic bureaucracy was not well developed locally. While Toluca was an important administrative center for the region, its nearness to Mexico City meant that many of this sector's functions were referred to Mexico City. As a percentage

of occupations, the sector was larger than that of Guanajuato, where it accounted for only 2 percent of its occupation force, and Puebla, where it accounted for 8 percent. Only Oaxaca had a larger percentage of its workforce employed as government, churchmen, and professionals, with 19 percent of the total. When excluding militiamen, soldiers, and students from this sector the percentage of total occupations in Toluca is reduced to 6 percent. This remaining group represents the true core of the church, government, and professions sector in the city. Government employees were the largest subgroup, with thirty-three individuals, followed by churchmen, which numbered twenty-one, and the professions, with fourteen.

Government officials and their support staff were primarily focused on the administration of justice and tax collection. Tax collectors for Toluca, Lerma, Metepec, and the tobacco monopoly resided in Toluca. So, too, did Toluca's customs house official and his assistants. The constable of the *acordada* and his staff administered criminal justice in the city. Scribes, postal workers, and notaries filled out the support staff for the *corregidor* and other officials. Churchmen included priests and their support personnel, lay brotherhood officials, tithe collectors, and an ecclesiastic judge and notary. The professions were particularly weak at this time. According to the census, the city was home to only two attorneys, one doctor, two surgeons, eight schoolteachers, and one veterinary surgeon. Again, proximity to Mexico City may explain this situation. Attorneys regularly travelled between Toluca and the capital, conducting business in both locales. Members of Toluca's elite were often part-time residents of Mexico City, or had strong family connections there that meant they regularly travelled to the capital, where

they would have acquired professional services. Criminal and civil legal matters were regularly submitted to Mexico City for adjudication.

Analysis of the core personnel of the church, government, and professions sector reveals a strong correlation between ethnicity, social status, and occupation. No mulattos were included in this high-status group. Peninsular Spaniards occupied key power positions within the government bureaucracy, which included the corregidor, the postmaster, customs house officials, and the tax collectors of Toluca, Metepec, and the royal tobacco monopoly. Additionally, one attorney and the notary of the ecclesiastic court were Europeans. Every peninsular Spaniard in this sector was accorded don status, confirming the importance and prestige associated with their occupations. Mestizos worked at lower status occupations in this sector, including as schoolteachers, a veterinary surgeon, a postal worker, an official of a lay brotherhood, and staff members of the criminal court. Only one mestizo, the priest Antonio Melo, was identified as a don. American Spaniards accounted for forty-one of the core church, government, and professions sector in Toluca. Their positions ranged from high-status occupations, such as ecclesiastic judge and doctor, to lower-status work, which required a high degree of responsibility, such as staff of the customs house and royal jail. Don status was associated with sixteen men in this group, all of whom were employed in highly respected occupations.

Each of the remaining occupation sectors represented fewer than 10 percent of Toluca's total non-Indian male workforce. With the exception of agriculture and livestock, these sectors were comprised of artisans and laborers. Four peninsular

Spaniards appeared in the agriculture and livestock sector as owners of haciendas, and one in the miscellaneous sector as a pilot, otherwise Europeans were absent from the remaining occupational groups. All five peninsular Spaniards were accorded the don title. The few mulatos in Toluca were concentrated in the leatherwork sector, where they worked as cobblers, and in the servant sector, where they served as coachmen. Españoles could be found in most occupations, from hacienda owners to servants. Similarly, castas appeared in all occupations except as owners of haciendas and tocinerías, and as pork processors and high-value specialty workers, like silversmiths. Generally, don status was reserved for the high-status occupations: hacienda owners and owners of tocinerías.

While analysis of occupations by sector is useful for describing the economic characteristics of the city and the distribution of work in the local economy, the organization of occupations into socioeconomic groupings allows for a better approximation of elite and non-elite status. Table 2.5 follows the broad occupational groupings used in census studies of Guadalajara and Orizaba. (Appendix 2.2 provides specific data from which Table 2.5 was constructed.) This hierarchical system is not without problems, however. For example, according to this classification, a postal worker and constable would be considered of higher social standing than owners of haciendas, which clearly would have not been the case. Bruce Castleman has suggested that the administrative group and merchants and planters might be better combined as a single group differentiated from sectors that performed manual labor. Despite its limitations, this conceptualization provides a useful means for analysis of the relationship between socioeconomic groups, *calidad*, and elite and non-elite status.⁹⁹

Table 2.5

Toluca Males by Socioeconomic Group and Calidad, 1791

Calidad
(P=peninsular Spaniards, E=españoles, C=castizos,
M=mestizos, A=African descent, U=unknown)

Socioeconomic Group	P	E	C	M	A	U	Total
Administrative Sector	16	68	0	12	0	23	119
Artisans	0	256	33	228	14	34	565
Merchants and Planters	26	174	12	36	0	11	259
Servants and Slaves	0	12	5	23	2	6	48
Laborers	0	41	17	77	6	8	149
Total	42	551	67	377	22	81	1,140

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Table 2.5 clearly identifies peninsular Spaniards as an elite group. While their numbers were small, Europeans were employed exclusively in the administrative sector and as merchants and planters. No peninsular Spaniards worked as artisans, servants, or laborers. The situation in Toluca was similar to that of Orizaba, where peninsular Spaniards were found only in the administrative sector and merchants and planters groups. Oaxaca, too, was similar, although a few Europeans were employed as higher-status and lower-status artisans. Because of Guanajuato's preeminence as a mining center, peninsular Spaniards there were heavily involved in all aspects of mining work, including as managers and technicians. At the other end of the hierarchy, the few Toluqueños of African heritage in the workforce were employed exclusively as artisans (especially cobblers), laborers, and servants.¹⁰⁰

American Spaniards, mestizos, and castizos were distributed throughout the socioeconomic groupings. In the context of the census, the ethnic hierarchy retained significance in the middle groups. American Spaniards were overrepresented in the administrative sector. Mestizos were present in this group, but in lower status occupations, such as schoolteachers, government bureaucracy staff, and as the city's only veterinary surgeon. Merchants and planters were also significantly overrepresented by American Spaniards. In this group, mestizos and castizos were almost exclusively employed as itinerant traders. The largest numbers of American Spaniards were similarly employed as itinerant traders; but they were also found a wide variety of other occupations, including higher-status positions. Artisans were equally divided between American Spaniards and castas. However, castas were overrepresented in lower-status artisan positions, including as blacksmiths, hatters, and cobblers. American Spaniards dominated the lower-status tailor trade, and were present in about equal proportions as casta weavers. Not surprisingly, American Spaniards were overrepresented in the few higher-status artisan occupations, such as silversmiths. When don status is brought in to the equation, the castas all but disappear. One mestizo priest was the sole recipient of this honorific title, while 9 percent were identified as dons.

In his study of Guanajuato, David Brading found that a stronger correlation between category and occupation existed at the top and bottom of the occupational pyramid. He concluded that mestizos occupied an "ambiguous middle layer," which followed no apparent pattern in terms of occupation. In their study of Oaxaca, John Chance and William Taylor expanded on Brading's analysis by adding mulattoes and

American Spaniards to the so-called “ambiguous middle layer.” In Toluca too, there is little question that a strong correlation between category and occupation existed at the top and bottom of the occupational pyramid. It would also appear that ambiguities existed in the middle layer of the occupational structure. Clearly, American Spaniards dominated in the administrative sector and as merchants and planters, and castas were more likely to be employed as servants and laborers. However, the artisan group illustrates that castas and many españoles moved in the same occupational (and likely social) milieu, with little separating them. Add to this analysis the very unreliable nature of ethnic classifications in these middle groups, and the situation becomes even more ambiguous.

Marriage Choices

In addition to male occupations and adult ethnic designations, the Revillagigedo census also included information on civil status. This data shed light on the degree to which ethnic identity affected marriage choices made by individuals, although only within the limited framework of the census. Historians have used marriage data culled from parish records and the Revillagigedo census as evidence to argue the relative importance of “race” and class in late colonial society. Degrees of intermarriage relative to ethnic categories varied from place to place but overall pointed to a looseness of the sistema de castas. For example, David Brading used the Revillagigedo census to argue that a 70 percent rate of endogamy in 1792 Guanajuato meant that racial perception remained an important social consideration when choosing marriage partners, but that “the overall intermarriage rate of 29.5 per cent was sufficiently high to prevent the

formation of stable ethnic groups.” Nevertheless, Brading concluded: “Racial consciousness still remained strong....”¹⁰¹ In another example, John Chance studied marriage data from parish records and the Revillagigedo census of Oaxaca, from which he calculated high exogamy rates of 44.8 percent and 44.5 percent respectively.¹⁰² These percentages represented an increase from the seventeenth century intermarriage rate of 41.6 percent. Chance’s concern that there might have been a tendency to group married people together in the same ethnic category in the census was offset by the fact that parish records produced a similar result in the aggregate.¹⁰³ Bruce Castleman’s study of 1791 Orizaba found a 30 percent exogamy rate for non-indigenous people there. Comparison with the 1777 census showed an increase in the percentage of español-española marriages in 1791 due to upward movement within the colonial caste system.¹⁰⁴ As these three important studies suggest, the problem of colonial ethnic categories is central to the discussion.

The Toluca census provided data on 838 married women and 831 married men. The difference is explained by the handful of absent husbands reported. The categories for both partners were included for 756 of the marriages, thereby presenting a source for the study of marriage choices. The census offers a snapshot of non-indigenous married couples in Toluca. Couples where the identification of one or both partners was not recorded were excluded from the analysis. Two marriages to Indian women were also excluded, since in the larger absence of indigenous marriages, they would not be useful to the analysis. For the same reason, the marriage of a lobo and a morisco (the only ones in the census) to mulatas was also excluded, although an argument could be made to include

these two men in the mulato category. Had they been included, they would have only strengthened the findings on endogamy in this group. No European females were identified in the census.

Table 2.6 shows rates of non-indigenous intermarriage in Toluca, where ethnic designations were given for both partners. Almost 1 in 4 individuals chose to marry outside of their ethnic group (24 percent). This is a relatively low percentage when compared to the other studies of marriage choice employing the Revillagigedo census discussed above. Still, ethnic perception appears to have remained an important concern for those who perceived themselves as at the top of the hierarchy. Peninsular Spaniards were most likely to marry outside their group. Twelve peninsular Spaniards married women whose ethnic identities were not given in the census; therefore, these women are not included in the table. However, most of these husbands were members of the government and merchant elite. All except one was accorded the honorific title don; two were hidalgos; and three were members of the nobility. Their wives almost certainly would have identified themselves as españolas. Exogamy rates for peninsular Spaniards in other parts of Mexico were also high, due to the lack of European-born female partners. For example, John Chance found an exogamy rate of 100 percent for peninsular Spaniards in the parish records of Oaxaca.¹⁰⁵

Table 2.6

Spanish and Casta Intermarriage Rate in Toluca, 1791

	Wives				Total	Exogamy
	Española	Castiza	Mestiza	Mulata		
Husbands						
Español ^a	319	7	66	0	392	19%
Castizo	14	17	22	0	53	68%
Mestizo	51	19	223	2	295	24%
Mulato	0	0	0	16	16	0%
Total	384	43	311	18	756	
Exogamy	17%	60%	28%	11%		

^aIncludes fifteen European españoles.

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Español males (American and peninsular Spaniards) and females were likely to marry within their group. Of 392 españoles whose partners were included, 81 percent were married to españolas. The remaining 19 percent married mestizas and castizas (sixty-six and seven respectively). No español in the census was married to a mulata. The rate of exogamy for españolas was 23 percent. Fifteen españolas from the sample married peninsular Spaniards. If the excluded peninsular Spaniards who married women of unknown ethnic identify were included, the number would jump to twenty-seven. The españolas were slightly more likely than españoles to marry castizos and slightly less likely to marry mestizos. Like the españoles, no española married a mulato. Mestizo exogamy rates were similar to those of españoles: only 24 percent of mestizos and 28 percent of mestizas married outside of their groups. The majority of these married up the

ethnic hierarchy. The only exception was two mestizo marriages to mulatas, the only example of exogamy for the latter. Few in number, mulatos married exclusively within their own group.

An important caveat must be added to this analysis of marriage choice. Different sources sometimes provided conflicting ethnic data for married couples. Nominal record linkage between the Revillagigedo census and parish marriage records for Spaniards illustrates this point. The marriage registers (*libros de matrimonios de españoles*) for the sample years 1788, 1789, and 1790 were chosen for analysis since many of the newlyweds could have been expected to appear in the census. All couples recorded in the marriage registers were classified as españoles. Of forty-six marriages recorded in 1788, record linkage was possible for forty-four of the ninety-two brides and grooms. Of this group, classified fourteen (32 percent) as either castizos (two males) or mestizos (seven males and five females), while thirty (68 percent) were identified as españoles in both sources. In 1789, twenty-eight marriages of españoles were performed. Thirty of the fifty-six marriage partners were linked to the census. Of these, eight (27 percent) appeared as castizos (two males) and mestizos (three males and three females), while the census identified twenty-two, (73 percent), as españoles. Marriages performed in 1790 produced a similar result. Of forty-seven marriage ceremonies conducted that year, forty-six of the ninety-four marriage partners were linked to the census. Of those, fourteen individuals (30 percent) were identified in the census as mestizos (six males and seven females) and castizos (one male). Thirty of the forty-six (70 percent) brides and grooms were identified as españoles in the census and the marriage records.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, no

mulato or mulata was included in these marriage records, suggesting that it was either more difficult for individuals of African descent to pass as Spanish, or that priests had an easier time of differentiating between Spaniards and individuals of African descent.

Looking backward from the census to marriage registers, this limited sample suggests that parish priests sometimes adjusted ethnic status to create a higher tendency toward endogamy in the church records, at least in the case of españoles. In other parts of Mexico, priests were known to alter the ethnic status of unequal partners at marriage to match one or the other spouse.¹⁰⁷ Few studies have compared the ethnic designations of individuals in the Revillagigedo census to those found in marriage records. Notably, John Chance accepted that in this regard parish records were more reliable than the Revillagigedo census.¹⁰⁸ The limited evidence presented here suggests that such may not have been the case in Toluca. What is certain is that the census takers regularly made evaluations that differed from the priests' earlier assessments at marriage. In this sample, approximately 30 percent of marriage partners moved down the ethnic hierarchy from the parish records to the census, which confirms an evening out and broadening of categories at marriage.

Conclusion

When Lieutenant Colonel José de Zea signed off on the Revillagigedo census of Toluca in April of 1791, he probably had no inkling that the manuscripts produced under his purview would be put to scholarly use centuries later to address questions related to ethnicity, work, marriage, and social structure. After all, the census was a bureaucratic

instrument intended to count people, to identify them in relevant categories of the day, and then be filed away in some dusty government archive. Indeed, the Revillagigedo census remained unstudied for almost two centuries, until the 1970s when David Brading and John Chance separately published analyses of the Guanajuato and Antequera manuscripts. Since that time, historians have employed the Revillagigedo census to produce population studies for numerous locales. Most analyses, however, while professing some ephemeral skepticism about the census, tend to accept much of the information contained therein too uncritically. While the Revillagigedo census is enormously useful to the study of late eighteenth-century Mexican society, the few scholars who have studied its manuscripts in tandem with other contemporarily produced records find that it has many limitations. In terms of absolute numbers, the census is best thought of as an approximation of a given local population. Perhaps its greatest value is to be found in analysis of the categories employed by census takers and how these categories were actually applied. The Revillagigedo census of Toluca reveals that while what one could call social race remained an important component of the official colonial ideology during the late eighteenth century, in practice the sistema de castas was artificial and rendered dysfunctional by a great many factors, including the dual realities of prodigious population growth and human agency.

Current understanding of population patterns in late eighteenth-century Mexico is generally supported by the foregoing analysis of Toluca. Population growth in the city reflected the demographic transformation that was occurring throughout central Mexico. Toluca's 1791 non-indigenous population stood at 5,289. This number was roughly

double the estimated 1746 non-indigenous population of 2,639. However, while the Revillagigedo census did not enumerate indigenous people, there was almost certainly a sizable indigenous population living in the city. In 1742, Toluca was reportedly home to 412 indigenous families, which were governed by an indigenous municipal government, with an indigenous governor and council. Many of their progeny would likely have still resided in the city; indeed, some of them may have been counted as mestizos, castizos, mulatos, or even españoles in the census, this despite their indigenous ancestry. The documents consulted in this study do not give any indication as to whether an indigenous council was still in operation in the city in 1791. Notarial and parish records, on the other hand, leave little doubt that the barrios that surrounded Toluca were home to indigenous majorities. These same records indicate that indigenous people lived and worked in the city of Toluca, although their numbers are presently not known.

While valuable, the data contained in the Revillagigedo census must be accepted with caution. Aside from its systematic exclusion of indigenous people, the Toluca census likely represents an undercount of the purported non-indigenous population. Circumstantial evidence of an undercount is found in the disparate gender ratios, the disproportionate numbers of reported widows, and gaps in the distribution of males by age. Notarial records demonstrate that some individuals who were citizens of Toluca and actively involved in commercial activities were excluded from the census, as was the case for parish priests. Neither nuns nor friars were included in the count. Baptismal records identify individuals and families who lived in Toluca and received the holy sacraments

but who were overlooked by census takers. Burial records, too, point to individuals and families, decedents and survivors, who went uncounted in the census.

Toluca had long been known as a “Spanish” city in an otherwise indigenous countryside. In 1742, español, mestizo, and mulato families outnumbered indigenous families by a factor of 1.5 to 1. In 1791, more than half of Toluca’s non-indigenous population was reported to be españoles, while the remainder was comprised of mestizos, castizos, and mulatos. However, detailed analysis of the manuscripts reveals that census takers irregularly applied the principles of the sistema de castas, so the high number of reported españoles in Toluca is likely overstated. It was not uncommon for siblings to be categorized as different ethnicities, for mothers of españoles to be recorded as mestizos, or for mestizo fathers to have children recorded as españoles. For many children, ethnic identities were not even noted in the manuscripts, so the census summaries, which include calculations of the population by ethnicity, must also be treated as questionable.

Parish records reveal that priests, who may have also acted as census takers, operated with a degree of arbitrariness in their recording of parishioners’ ethnic identities. On different occasions, the same priest might apply different ethnic identities to the same parishioner without concern for continuity from previous records. This suggests that priests took it upon themselves to act as arbiters of ethnic identity for their flock, rendering ethnic judgment in baptism and marriage as they did with foundlings who provided no clue as to their ancestry other than their physiognomy. Nominal record linkage between the census and parish records illustrates the malleability of ethnic identification, particularly in the middle strata of the hierarchy. In this environment,

parents identified as españoles in the census could produce children whom priests would classify and baptize separately as an indio, an español, and a mestizo. Similarly, the children of a married couple whom the census identified as mulatos could be elevated in the ethnic hierarchy by a priest's decision on a given day that their parents appeared to be castizos or españoles. It is possible that other elements of the population operated in the same manner as the priests.

Marriage data from the Revillagigedo census demonstrate that intermarriage between individuals of different ethnic groups was not unusual. In fact, according to the census, 1 in 4 people in Toluca married outside of their ethnic group. In the absence of European-born women in Toluca, peninsular Spaniards, who were included in the español category, exclusively married españolas, reflecting their position at the top of the ethnic hierarchy. At the bottom of the hierarchy, mulatos exhibited a high tendency to marry within their group, with endogamy rates of 100 percent for males and 89 percent for females. Españoles and mestizos represented the largest ethnic groups in Toluca. It is perhaps not surprising that they exhibited the greatest degree of endogamy: 82 percent for the former and 74 percent for the latter. Castizos appear as a truly intermediate group, with an intermarriage rate of 65 percent. Samples from marriage records temper these findings, however. Nominal record linkage between the two sources reveals that approximately 30 percent of individuals who appeared in the census as mestizos and castizos were identified as españoles at the time of their marriages, thus demonstrating that different criteria were used in different contexts.

Occupation data, too, are skewed by the structural biases of the census. The occupations of indigenous people and women were left out of the report;¹⁰⁹ some individuals described their occupations to conform to the census's military focus; occupational pluralism and secondary and seasonal employment were not considered; nor were wages or other data that would indicate the level of unemployment included. Nevertheless, information on occupation sectors does place Toluca into a comparative context with other studies that use the same source. Unlike other colonial Mexican cities in the sample, there was no single dominant occupation sector in Toluca. Nearly the same percentages of male workers were involved in commerce as in clothing and textiles. The commercial sector in Toluca was much larger as a percentage of males employed than that of Guanajuato, Oaxaca, and Puebla. This situation was undoubtedly a result of Toluca's close proximity to the enormous market of Mexico City. Moreover, Toluca's state and ecclesiastic bureaucracy was little developed. Again, nearness to Mexico City and the close relationship between the Mexico City and Toluca elite meant that professional, ecclesiastical, and legal business was often referred to the capital.

Analysis of the relationship between ethnic identity and male occupation demonstrates that the categories were only strongly correlated at the top and the bottom of the hierarchy. Peninsular Spaniards were associated with the most prestigious occupations. At the other end of the hierarchy, Toluqueños of African descent were more likely to be associated with low prestige, manual labor jobs. Using broad socioeconomic groupings illustrates these relationships more clearly. Peninsular Spaniards were only found in the two most prestigious groups: the administrative sector, and merchants and

planters. No peninsular Spaniard worked as an artisan or manufacturer, or as a servant or laborer. The few individuals of African descent in Toluca worked as servants and slaves, laborers, and artisans. American Spaniards, castizos, and mestizos followed a less rigid pattern. American Spaniards were overrepresented as members of the administrative sector and merchants and planters, and about equally represented as artisans, but they could be found in all socioeconomic groups including as laborers and servants. Mestizos were much more likely to work as artisans, but they, too, were found in all groups. Castizos, small in number, followed a pattern similar to that of the mestizos, with the exception that none were members of the administrative sector.

Appendix 2.1

Occupations of Toluca Males by Sector and Calidad, 1791

Sector/Occupation

Calidad

(P=peninsular Spaniards, E=españoles, C=castizos, M=mestizos, A=African descent, U=unknown)

Agriculture & Livestock	P	E	C	M	A	U	Total
Gardener	0	0	0	6	0	1	7
Laborer	0	9	3	23	1	4	40
Maguery Farmer	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
Owner—Hacienda	3	8	0	0	0	0	11
Owner—Hacienda, Tocinería	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Owner—Tocinería	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Pork Processor	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Small Farmer/Grazer	0	11	1	3	0	2	17
Arts & Entertainment							
Gilder	0	1	0	2	0	1	4
Musician	0	4	0	3	0	0	7
Painter	0	13	1	3	0	2	19
Sculptor	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Building							
Brick maker	0	2	1	1	0	0	4
Mason	0	0	1	1	0	1	3
Church							
Constable—Church	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ecclesiastic Judge	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Lay Brother	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mayordomo—Cofradía	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Notary—Ecclesiastic Court	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Official—Cofradía	0	3	0	1	0	0	4
Organist	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Priest	0	4	0	1	0	2	7
Sexton	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Tithe Collector	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Tithe Revenue Worker	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Appendix 2.1, continued

Clothing & Textiles	P	E	C	M	A	U	Total
Button Maker	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Embroiderer	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Hatter	0	0	0	9	1	0	10
Tailor	0	63	6	20	2	11	102
Weaver	0	67	4	59	1	12	143
Commerce							
Haberdasher	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Itinerant Trader	0	104	11	32	0	8	155
Manager—Bakery	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Manager—Flour Mill	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Manager—Tienda Mestiza	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Merchant	10	15	0	0	0	0	25
Merchant's Clerk/Apprentice	10	16	0	1	0	3	30
Owner—Bakery	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Owner—Flour Mill	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Owner—Pharmacy	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Owner—Tienda Mestiza	0	6	0	1	0	0	7
Owner—Tienda Mestiza, Tocinería, Hacienda	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Peddler	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Pharmacy Worker	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Provisioner—Abasto de Carne	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Storekeeper	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tobacconist	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
Travelling Peddler	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Food & Drink							
Confectioner	0	2	0	2	1	0	5
Honey Maker	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Miller	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Pastry Cook	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Pulque Producer	0	6	3	5	0	0	14
Sugar Producer	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Taverner	0	2	0	0	0	0	2

Appendix 2.1, continued

Government	P	E	C	M	A	U	Total
Administrator—Pósito de Maíz	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Constable	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Constable—Acordada	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Corregidor	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doorkeeper—Custom's House	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Doorkeeper—Royal Jail	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Guard	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Guard—Alcabalas	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Inspector—Tobacco Monopoly	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Militiaman	0	10	0	3	0	6	19
Notary—Tax Collector	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Official—Acordada	0	2	0	1	0	1	4
Official—Custom's House	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Postal Worker	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Postmaster, Owner of Hacienda, Merchant	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Scribe	0	7	0	0	0	1	8
Scribe—Juzgado Ordinario	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Soldier	6	12	0	0	0	2	20
Tax Collector—Lerma	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tax Collector—Metepéc	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tax Collector—Tobacco Monopoly	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tax Collector—Toluca	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Leatherwork							
Belt Maker	0	5	1	6	0	0	12
Cobbler	0	6	3	50	8	1	68
Saddle Maker	0	0	1	9	0	0	10
Tanner	0	5	5	6	0	1	17
Metal & Wood							
Blacksmith	0	13	5	17	0	2	37
Candle Maker	0	2	0	3	0	0	5
Carpenter	0	10	1	12	0	0	23
Grinder	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Lathe Operator	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Manager—Wax Factory	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Silversmith	0	20	0	0	0	2	22
Wax Maker	0	5	0	0	0	0	5

Appendix 2.1, continued

Miscellaneous	P	E	C	M	A	U	Total
Barber	0	11	0	3	0	0	14
Bell Ringer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cadet	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
Florist	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ice Seller	0	4	0	1	0	0	5
Pilot	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other Industry							
Fireworks Maker	0	5	0	5	0	0	10
Rope Maker	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Soap Maker	0	1	0	5	0	1	7
Professional							
Attorney	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Doctor	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
School Teacher	0	5	0	3	0	0	8
Student	0	4	0	0	0	3	7
Surgeon	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Veterinary Surgeon	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Servants							
Coachman	0	0	0	5	5	0	10
Cook	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Servant	0	12	5	22	1	6	46
Slave	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Transport Services							
Carrier	0	7	3	6	0	1	17
Cart Driver	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Muleteer	0	10	7	29	1	0	47
Porter	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Total	42	551	67	376	23	81	1140

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Appendix 2.2

Occupational Structure of Toluca Males by Socioeconomic Group and Calidad, 1791

Socioeconomic Group/Occupation

Calidad
(P=peninsular Spaniards, E=españoles,
C=castizos, M=mestizos, A=African
descent, U=unknown)

Administrative Sector	P	E	C	M	A	U
Administrator—Pósito de Maíz	0	1	0	0	0	0
Attorney	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cadet	0	2	0	0	0	3
Constable	0	1	0	0	0	0
Constable—Acordada	0	0	0	1	0	0
Constable—Church	0	1	0	0	0	0
Corregidor	1	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	1	0	0	0	0
Doorkeeper--Customs House	0	1	0	0	0	0
Doorkeeper--Royal Jail	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ecclesiastic Judge	0	1	0	0	0	0
Guard	0	0	0	0	0	1
Guard—Alcabalas	0	1	0	0	0	0
Inspector—Tobacco Monopoly	0	1	0	0	0	0
Lay Brother	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mayordomo—Cofradía	0	1	0	0	0	0
Militiaman	0	10	0	3	0	6
Notary—Ecclesiastic Court	1	0	0	0	0	0
Notary—Tax Collector	0	1	0	0	0	0
Official—Acordada	0	2	0	1	0	1
Official—Cofradía	0	3	0	1	0	0
Official—Custom's House	2	0	0	0	0	0
Pilot	1	0	0	0	0	0
Postal Worker	0	1	0	1	0	1
Postmaster, Dueño de Hacienda, Comerciante	1	0	0	0	0	0
Priest	0	4	0	1	0	2
School Teacher	0	5	0	3	0	0
Scribe	0	7	0	0	0	1

Appendix 2.2, continued

Administrative Sector, continued	P	E	C	M	A	U
Scribe—Juzgado Ordinario	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sexton	0	2	0	0	0	0
Soldier	6	12	0	0	0	2
Student	0	4	0	0	0	3
Surgeon	0	2	0	0	0	0
Tax Collector—Lerma	0	1	0	0	0	0
Tax Collector—Meteppec	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tax Collector—Tobacco Monopoly	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tax Collector—Toluca	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tithe Collector	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tithe Revenue Worker	0	1	0	0	0	0
Veterinary Surgeon	0	0	0	1	0	0
Artisans						
Barber	0	11	0	3	0	0
Bell Ringer	0	0	1	0	0	0
Belt Maker	0	5	1	6	0	0
Blacksmith	0	13	5	17	0	2
Brick Maker	0	2	1	1	0	0
Button Maker	0	1	0	0	0	0
Candle Maker	0	2	0	3	0	0
Carpenter	0	10	1	12	0	0
Cobbler	0	6	3	50	8	1
Confectioner	0	2	0	2	1	0
Cook	0	1	0	0	0	0
Embroiderer	0	0	0	1	0	0
Fireworks Maker	0	5	0	5	0	0
Florist	0	1	0	0	0	0
Gilder	0	1	0	2	0	1
Grinder	0	1	0	1	0	0
Hatter	0	0	0	9	1	0
Honey Maker	0	0	0	1	0	0
Lathe Operator	0	0	0	1	0	0
Mason	0	0	1	1	0	1
Miller	0	0	0	1	0	0
Musician	0	4	0	3	0	0

Appendix 2.2, continued

Artisans, continued	P	E	C	M	A	U
Organist	0	1	0	0	0	0
Painter	0	13	1	3	0	2
Pastry Cook	0	1	0	1	0	0
Pulque Producer	0	6	3	5	0	0
Rope Maker	0	0	0	0	1	0
Saddle Maker	0	0	1	9	0	0
Sculptor	0	1	0	1	0	0
Silversmith	0	20	0	0	0	2
Soap Maker	0	1	0	5	0	1
Sugar Producer	0	2	0	0	0	0
Tailor	0	63	6	20	2	11
Tanner	0	5	5	6	0	1
Tobacconist	0	6	0	0	0	0
Wax Maker	0	5	0	0	0	0
Weaver	0	67	4	59	1	12
Merchants and Planters						
Haberdasher	0	0	1	0	0	0
Itinerant Trader	0	104	11	32	0	8
Manager—Bakery	0	1	0	0	0	0
Manager—Flour Mill	1	0	0	0	0	0
Manager—Tienda Mestiza	0	3	0	0	0	0
Manager—Wax Factory	0	1	0	0	0	0
Merchant	10	15	0	0	0	0
Merchant's Clerk/Apprentice	10	16	0	1	0	3
Owner—Bakery	0	1	0	0	0	0
Owner—Flour Mill	0	1	0	0	0	0
Owner—Hacienda	3	8	0	0	0	0
Owner—Hacienda, Tocinería	1	0	0	0	0	0
Owner—Pharmacy	0	3	0	0	0	0
Owner—Tienda Mestiza	0	6	0	1	0	0
Owner—Tienda Mestiza, Tocinería, Hacienda	0	1	0	0	0	0
Owner—Tocinería	0	5	0	0	0	0
Peddler	0	0	0	2	0	0
Pharmacy Worker	0	1	0	0	0	0

Appendix 2.2, continued

Merchants and Planters, continued	P	E	C	M	A	U
Pork Processor	0	2	0	0	0	0
Provisioner—Abasto de Carne	1	0	0	0	0	0
Storekeeper	0	1	0	0	0	0
Taverner	0	2	0	0	0	0
Travelling Peddler	0	3	0	0	0	0
Servants and Slaves						
Coachman	0	0	0	5	5	0
Servant	0	12	5	23	0	6
Slave	0	0	0	0	1	0
Laborers						
Carrier	0	7	3	6	0	1
Cart Driver	0	0	0	1	0	0
Gardener	0	0	0	6	0	1
Ice Seller	0	4	0	1	0	0
Laborer	0	9	3	23	1	4
Maguey Farmer	0	0	2	2	0	0
Muleteer	0	10	7	29	1	0
Porter	0	0	1	1	0	0
Small Farmer/Grazer	0	11	1	3	0	2

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Notes

¹ For a thorough discussion of the historiography on Latin American population trends see Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America: A History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). Many scholars have demonstrated sharp population increases during this period—Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah in central Mexico, David A. Brading in Guanajuato, John K. Chance in Oaxaca, Eric Van Young in Guadalajara, and Guy P. C. Thomson in Puebla. Population increase was due in large measure to the indigenous peoples' growing resistance to diseases brought from Europe and interethnic sexual relations, which had begun with the conquest. This phenomenon was not limited to Mexico, but was also quantified in Cuba, Chile, Colombia, Brazil, as well as other locations.

² John M. Tutino, "Provincial Spaniards, Indian Towns, and Haciendas: Interrelated Sectors of Agrarian Society in the Valleys of Mexico and Toluca, 1750-1810," in *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*, eds. Ida Altman and James Lockhart (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976), 178.

³ An exact population is impossible to derive from this data, however if the average family size of 4.27 persons of 1791 were projected back forty-five years, the non-indigenous population of Toluca would have numbered around 2,639 individuals. José Antonio Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Americano: descripción general de los reynos, y provincias de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones* (México: Editora Nacional, 1952), 220.

⁴ AGN, Padrones, vol. 21, ff. 95-261. The 1791 Revillagigedo census summaries list the non-indigenous population of the city of Toluca as 5,294. However, the census manuscripts contain information on only 5,289 individuals. This small discrepancy is the result of arithmetic errors on the part of the census takers.

⁵ AHMT, Padrones, 1834. *Padrón general que comprehende los habitantes que se enumeran en esta Ciudad de Toluca Pueblos, barrios, haciendas y ranchos de la municipalidad formado en fines del presente ano de 1834*. Due to arithmetic errors, the 1834 manuscript mistakenly enumerates 6,775 individuals living in the city of Toluca, exclusive of its surrounding barrios.

⁶ Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, *Ier censo de población de la Nueva España, 1790: censo de Revillagigedo* (México: La Dirección General de Estadística, 1977), 62.

⁷ For Oaxaca see John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Estate and Class in a Colonial City: Oaxaca in 1792," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (October 1977): 462. For early eighteenth-century Mexico City see R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial*

Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994). For late eighteenth-century Orizaba see Bruce A. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway: Labor, Society, and Family on Mexico's Caminos Reales, 1757-1804* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

⁸ The exception is 113 maids whose occupations were recorded in the census.

⁹ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹⁰ The Cuban-born Juan Vicente Güemes Pacheco y Padilla, the Conde de Revillagigedo, was viceroy of New Spain from 1789 to 1794.

¹¹ On the Bourbon Reforms, see James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America, A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 346-368.

¹² Keith Dominic Peachey, "The Revillagigedo Census of Mexico, 1790-1794: A Background Study," *Bulletin of the Society for Latin American Studies* 25 (1976): 65.

¹³ Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 1: 44.

¹⁴ AGN, Padrones, vol. 21, ff. 225-254.

¹⁵ Peachey, 65.

¹⁶ Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, 9.

¹⁷ See Lyle N. McAlister, "Social Structure and Social Change in New Spain" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43 (August 1963): 362-363; and Magnus Mörner, "Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with Special Regard to Elites," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63 (May 1983): 335-369. According to this scheme: "The peninsulars then appear as the bureaucrats and merchants *par* excellence, the criollos as the large landowners, the mestizos as the artisans, shopkeepers, and tenants, the mulattoes as urban manual workers, and finally, the Indians as community peasants and manpower for different kinds of heavy, unskilled labor." Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), 61.

¹⁸ In his study of the northern mining center of Guanajuato, David Brading found that by 1792 the relationship between race and class was blurred due in part to the absence of a large indigenous population and the resulting propensity of Spaniards to be involved in all occupations. While a stronger correlation between race and occupation existed at the

top and bottom of the occupational pyramid, mestizos occupied an “ambiguous middle layer” which followed no apparent pattern in terms of occupation. According to Brading, racial distinctions in Guanajuato were not the sole indicators of class; this finding represented an incipient revision of the estate model. The 70 percent rate of endogamous marriages suggests to him, however, that race remained an important social concern. Here, Brading did not appear to take into consideration the possibility that parish priests categorized marriage partners similarly, which may have supported the argument for racial blurring. David A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 247-261

¹⁹ John Chance and William Taylor expanded Brading’s incipient critique of the estate system by adding mulattoes and American-born Spaniards to his mestizo-occupied “ambiguous middle layer.” Additionally, they interpreted a relatively high degree of exogamous marriage and interethnic sexual relations to be evidence of the decline of the caste system. By employing original terminology based on archival documents, Chance found that term *criollo* (American born Spaniard) was not in contemporary use, further revising Mörner’s previous work. John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 144-185; John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, “Estate and Class in a Colonial City: Oaxaca in 1792” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (July 1977): 454-487. See also Dennis Nodin Valdes, “The Decline of the Sociedad de Castas in Mexico City” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978).

²⁰ For a discussion of the debate see Fred Bronner, “Urban Society in Colonial Spanish America: Research Trends,” *Latin America Research Review* 21 (1986): 7-72. See also Robert McCaa, Stuart B. Schwartz, and Arturo Grubessich, “Race and Class in Colonial Latin America: A Critique,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (July 1979): 421-433; and the reply by Chance and Taylor, “Estate and Class: A Reply,” *Ibid.*, 434-442.

²¹ Patricia Seed applied nominal record linkages between the 1753 census of Mexico City and samples of parish records. Her findings were not significantly different from those of Chance, Taylor, and Brading in that she found American-born Spaniards underrepresented among artisans and overrepresented among shop owners and the elite; individuals of African descent dominated domestic service; and Indians provided labor. According to Seed, “the intermediate racial groups of Mexico City did not form an undifferentiated middle layer, but rather showed degrees of difference that reflected the social origin of the parent groups in the social division of labor.” Patricia Seed, “Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62 (1982): 569-606. According to Guy Thomson, the studies involved in the estate-class debate were flawed because they failed to offer “adequate evidence to substantiate either a subjective view of class, based upon contemporary attitudes and perceptions, or, an objective evaluation of socio-economic status based upon a measurement of property and

income.” He applied a wider range of sources and concluded that Puebla did not fit the model of a two-class society. Instead, he developed a four-class model, which included 1) The Elite, 2) The Middle Class, 3) “La Plebe,” and 4) The Underclass. Thomson, 71-73.

²² See Cope and Castleman.

²³ Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 261.

²⁴ Chance, *Race and Class*, 145. Antequera’s 1777 population, including Spaniards, castas, and indigenous people, numbered 18,558; in 1792, the total population had dropped to 18,008.

²⁵ This figure reflects John Chance’s population of 18,008, then subtracting 5,018 Indians and 205 unidentified individuals to arrive at a non-indigenous population of 12,785. Chance, *Race and Class*, 156.

²⁶ David Brading found two different population totals, one in the printed summaries of the census, and one in the manuscript total. This figure is taken from the manuscript. Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 249.

²⁷ Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara Ganadera: estudio regional novohispano* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1977), 21. Guadalajara here is included in the northern region, conforming to Altman and Lockhart’s schema. Altman and Lockhart, *Provinces of Early Mexico*. It should be noted, however, that Eric Van Young makes a strong argument for the inclusion of Guadalajara in the central region.

²⁸ The 1791 Revillagigedo census summaries for españoles and castas list the total non-indigenous population of the city of Toluca as 5,294. However, the census manuscript contains information on 5,289 individuals. Other computational inconsistencies found throughout the census manuscript have been corrected in the 1791 Toluca census database.

²⁹ Estimates of the population of late colonial Mexico City are open to debate. The figure presented here reflects the non-indigenous population and is on the low end of the range. This data comes from Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, 150. For a discussion of the controversy over the late-colonial population of Mexico City see Manuel Miño Grijalva, “La población de la ciudad de México en 1790: variables económicas y demográficas de una controversia,” in *La Población de la ciudad de México en 1790: Estructura social, alimentación y vivienda*, ed. Manuel Miño Grijalva (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2002), 1-51.

³⁰ For examples see Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, 52-70 passim.

³¹ There is a discrepancy of five individuals between the summary and manuscript totals. This analysis relies on the census summary totals.

³² Guy Thomson found gender ratios in the .90s for his sample of four Puebla parishes. Thomson, 165.

³³ K. Bruce Newbold, *Population Geography: Tools and Issues* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 64.

³⁴ Fernando Navarro y Noriega, *Memoria sobre la población del Reino de Nueva España, escrita en el año de 1814* (Llanes: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1954), 25-26.

³⁵ Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 107.

³⁶ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

³⁷ Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 313, n. 17.

³⁸ Brading acknowledged potential pitfalls in using the Revillagigedo census exclusively: “it must be emphasised that since there is no means of checking the accuracy of the census, then all our tables and conclusions derive from the exegesis of one, possibly mendacious, source; they do not necessarily depict a historical reality.” He concluded that errors were most likely limited to “ignorance, carelessness, or lack of precision.” Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 247.

³⁹ The census summary reported 4,912 males and 7,465 females in the cabecera of Guanajuato. Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, 54.

⁴⁰ The census summary of Antequera de Oaxaca reported 5,174 males and 6,554 females. *Ibid.*, 63.

⁴¹ Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 92.

⁴² 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁴³ Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 117.

⁴⁴ Bruce Castleman's suggestion that census takers may have been paid to exclude males from the tallies is a provocative, if not creative, potential explanation for the male undercount, but he offers no supporting evidence for this assertion. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 94.

⁴⁵ Arrom based this part of her analysis on 1790 census figures published by Alexander von Humboldt. These figures are for the population whose age was twenty-five years and older. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 116.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁴⁷ For example, see Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 107, 110; Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein, “La población y la estructura social de la ciudad de México a partir del censo de Revillagigedo,” in *La Población de la ciudad de México en 1790: Estructura social, alimentación y vivienda*, ed. Manuel Miño Grijalva, (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2002) 67-73.

⁴⁸ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 450-451.

⁴⁹ The will of don Josef Fernández Canseco Castañón, an hacienda owner in Toluca, refers to the deaths of children for whom he was guardian during the smallpox epidemic of 1779-1780. AGNEM, Sección Histórico, Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 1793.

⁵⁰ Christon Archer suggests that the undercount of men would have been higher in the lower social groups, due to their desire to avoid conscription. Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760-1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), 225-226.

⁵¹ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 28 November 1791.

⁵² 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁵³ AGNEM, S.H., caja147, leg. 1, asunto 10, ff. 642-643v.

⁵⁴ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 25 October 1791.

⁵⁵ The clerigos presbiteros listed in the census include: Juan Antonio Cruz Manjarrez, Francisco Mondragón, Buenaventura Cruz Manjarrez, José Antonio Nova, José Ildefonso Mercado, Antonio Melo, and Antonio Mañón. 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁵⁶ Friars Juan Guevara, Mariano José Casasola, José Ortigosa, José Romero, José María Rejón, José Ildefonso de la Peña y Flores, Luis Gómez, Rafael Olmedo and José Centeño conducted baptisms in Toluca during 1791. GSU, microfilm, roll 441189. It is possible that these parish priests were involved in the collection of census data and for that reason excluded themselves from the count. Members of convents also appear to have been excluded from the census.

⁵⁷ GSU, microfilm, roll 441154, 27 March 1753; 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁵⁸ GSU, microfilm, roll 440957, 3 February 1793; roll 441187, 4 July 1770; and roll 441188, 3 July 1775.

⁵⁹ GSU, microfilm, roll 441189, 28 April 1792 and 9 June 1801.

⁶⁰ William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 127; Gabriel Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City, 1692-1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 20.

⁶¹ Leslie Scott Offutt, "Urban and Rural Society in the Mexican North: Saltillo in the Late Colonial Period" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982), 191.

⁶² AGNEM, S.H., caja 151, leg. 2, asunto 6, ff. 739-742v.

⁶³ For specific discussions of *calidad* see: Ben Vinson III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 4; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 190-194; Robert McCaa, "Calidad, Clase, and Marriage in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Parral, 1788-90" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64 (Aug 1984): 477; and Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62 (Nov 1982): 569-606.

⁶⁴ The will of José Manuel Legorreta identifies an orphan María Ignacia "en calidad huerfana de edad de quinze a diez y seis años a la qe. he criado como hija." AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 1794.

⁶⁵ AGNEM, S.H., caja 151, leg. 2, asunto 6, f. 739v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 739-742v. "El matrimonio que se trata es uno de los mas indignos y reprobados por todo, pues por el se sigue el entrenamiento de una familia honorada y de lustre como la mía. Otra de las últimas heces del Pueblo, cuya bajeza y mala calidad formarán siempre mi deshonor y la nota mas detestable de mi posteridad, pues es publico en el lugar que las de que depende el dicho esposo sufre la mancha de mulatería y otras de no menos consideración. A mas de esto el mencionado es un ganapán vicioso que sobre no tener con que pasar de soltero jamás podrá mantener a mi hija con la decencia y buen trato que la he criado, lo que será sin duda origen fatal de discordia y torpezas que turben el orden publico y aniquilen la paz mía y de toda mi familia."

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 742.

⁶⁸ The Royal Pragmatic of 1776, for example, forbade unequal marriages on racial grounds and required children who had not reached the age of majority, twenty-five years in colonial Mexico, to obtain their parents' consent to marry, thus sheltering their children from making "improper" decisions, such as marrying outside ones race. AGNEM, S.H., caja 151, leg. 2, asunto 6, f. 739v; See also Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 317.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the social construction of race see Cope, especially chapter 3.

⁷⁰ Chance, *Race and Class*, 65-66.

⁷¹ James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 229-230.

⁷² Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano; descripción breve de los sucesos ejemplares de la Nueva-España en el Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias* vol. 1 (Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1960), 167.

⁷³ Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 317.

⁷⁴ 1791 Toluca Census Database. The census recorded ages for only twelve females.

⁷⁵ Offutt, 193.

⁷⁶ Chance, *Race and Class*, 156.

⁷⁷ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁷⁸ In Orizaba, peninsular Spaniards were recorded in the 1791 census as europeos or españoles europeos. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 96.

⁷⁹ AGN, vol. 21, f. 100.

⁸⁰ Ibid. f. 124v.

⁸¹ Chance and Taylor, 465.

⁸² Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 96.

⁸³ AGN, vol. 21, f. 175.

⁸⁴ AGN, vol. 21, ff. 182v, 192. There are numerous other examples of this phenomenon.

⁸⁵ Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 248.

⁸⁶ Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 93.

⁸⁷ In 1790 and 1791, 27 of 145 baptisms were performed on infants of unknown parentage. GSU, microfilm, roll 441171.

⁸⁸ GSU, microfilm, roll 441171, 8 August 1790.

⁸⁹ Quoted in John Chance, *Race and Class*, 129.

⁹⁰ GSU, microfilm, roll 441170, 4 August 1789; roll 441189, 15 May 1793.

⁹¹ GSU, microfilm, roll 440918, 11 July 1738.

⁹² GSU, microfilm, roll 440918, 2 March 1738.

⁹³ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 248.

⁹⁵ 1791 Toluca Census Database. For example, 4 percent of Oaxaca's non-indigenous population was comprised of European males in 1792.

⁹⁶ John Mark Tutino, "Creole Mexico: Spanish Elites, Haciendas, and Indian Towns, 1750-1810" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1976), 274.

⁹⁷ John Edward Kicza, "Business and Society in Late Colonial Mexico City" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), 495-496; Thomson, 97-99.

⁹⁸ John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 15.

⁹⁹ Rodney D. Anderson, "Race and Social Stratification: A Comparison of Working Class Spaniards, Indians, and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1821," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68 (May 1988): 209-43. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 114-120.

¹⁰⁰ For Orizaba see Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 119; for Oaxaca see Chance, *Race and Class*, 165; for Guanajuato see Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 251.

¹⁰¹ Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 259-260. Brading included 72 indigenous caciques in his analysis.

¹⁰² Chance, *Race and Class*, 169-171. Chance's analysis of parish records included indigenous people; his analysis of the Revillagigedo census did not.

¹⁰³ Chance, *Race and Class*, 171.

¹⁰⁴ Castleman, *Building the King's Highway*, 107.

¹⁰⁵ Chance, *Race and Class*, 169.

¹⁰⁶ GSU, microfilm, roll 440930, 1788, 1789, and 1790.

¹⁰⁷ Robert McCaa, "Calidad, Clase, and Marriage in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Parral, 1788-90," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63 (May 1988): 477-501. Stuart F. Voss, *Latin America in the Middle Period, 1750-1929* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 75.

¹⁰⁸ Chance, *Race and Class*, 172.

¹⁰⁹ The 113 female criadas included in the census, who were in reality domestic servants, are the exception. This probably represents an undercount of actual criadas in Toluca.

Chapter 3

POPULATION: 1834

More than four decades passed before civil authorities in Toluca conducted a census that surpassed the scope and detail of the 1791 Revillagigedo census. To be sure, governing elites had made other attempts to enumerate the city's population in the interim, but these yielded limited results. For example, local authorities prepared a general census of Toluca in 1820. The municipality was divided into fifteen sections, and city councilmen and other notables supervised data collection.¹ The results of this census were delayed, however, due to the omission of Indians, who had been employed to harvest crops on local haciendas and were therefore away from their pueblos when the census takers made their rounds.² Another census was conducted in 1823, also overseen by city leaders. While this effort included at least some portion of the local Indian population, the manuscript appears to be little more than an irregularly composed list of males—heads of households and draft age—along with their ages, civil status, and the number of family members living with them.³ Given the years in which they were conducted and the types of data that was collected, these were undoubtedly military censuses, with conscription as their principal concern.

The 1834 municipal census of Toluca represents a departure from these earlier efforts, and reflects important changes in the priorities of early republican government. By this time, the state census had come to be understood as an essential tool for the operation of civil government, militia formation, and the exercise of social control. Whereas the colonial census was fundamentally concerned with enumeration and

classification of the male, non-Indian population by race, occupation, social status, and fitness for military conscription, the 1834 census focused equally on citizens of both genders and included categories related to economic status, taxation, identification of males eligible to vote in political elections, as well as militia formation. While race/ethnicity and occupation had to varying degrees defined the colonial social structure, in early republican Mexico, the formerly moribund colonial *sistema de castas* was finally extinct. Social distinction in terms of racial/ethnic categories or honorific titles was now antithetical to the official ideology. According to the liberal precepts of the day, economic class was the primary determinant of social stratification. In reality, however, perceptions of difference, primarily between Indians and Hispanized people, continued to be an important factor affecting one's prospects for economic success. The equality of all citizens in early republican Mexico existed as a legal principle mainly in the idealized rhetoric of those who held power.⁴

This chapter employs the 1834 municipal census of Toluca to study early republican society in the city and its hinterland. Since ethnic distinctions had been abolished over the course of the preceding decades, the census contains no data on ethnicity. Similarly, titles of nobility were eliminated in 1826.⁵ Legal equality meant that measures of social status appeared with less frequency in the official record. Consequently, the census contains no systematic data on social status. The 1834 census does have several strengths not found in the Revillagigedo census. It provides the names, occupations, ages, street addresses, militia membership, and civil statuses for the entire population, regardless of gender. Moreover, the census includes the *utilidad diaria* (daily

income) for male and female occupations, and thereby offers a more practical basis for the analysis of social stratification than does the Revillagigedo census. Additionally, the 1834 census provides data on the people who inhabited the city's barrios and the pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction. Unlike the Revillagigedo census, the 1834 municipal census had no nationwide counterpart in Mexico. It was a local endeavor, ordered by the governor of the state of Mexico, of which Toluca had recently been made the capital.

The pattern of rapid population expansion accompanied by high fertility and high mortality, which characterized eighteenth-century Mexico, continued into the nineteenth century. Periodic spikes in mortality occurred during times of war, famine, and epidemics, while infant mortality remained consistently high. Between 1810 and 1834, population growth in the city of Toluca was erratic. The wars for national independence had taken an enormous toll on the region in terms of anxiety and mortality. The city's population appears to have expanded during the war years. Travel outside of the city was often hazardous, so Toluca served as a safe haven from the guerilla bands that operated in the valley and in remote areas of the Toluca region. Notarial records contain numerous documents executed in Toluca by former residents of the mining towns of Sultepec, Temascaltepec, and Real del Oro. These towns were favorite targets of the insurgents, and therefore dangerous places to live and to conduct business. Parish records in the city also reflect an influx of people from other parts of the Toluca region, who married, baptized children, and died there during this period of political and social upheaval.

While outbreaks of disease visited Toluca with some regularity during the decades between 1791 and 1834, two epidemics were particularly devastating to the city's population. In 1813, "mysterious fevers" spread across the central highlands of Mexico. This illness, not well understood at the time, was thought to have been typhus, although of an unusual type.⁶ More recently, scholars have pointed to hemorrhagic fever as a possible culprit.⁷ The effects of the epidemic were staggering. Burials of Spaniards recorded in the city of Toluca jumped almost seven fold, from an average of ninety-two per year during the prewar decade (1800–1809) to 635 during the epidemic year of 1813.⁸ Indigenous people were more adversely affected by the epidemic than the Hispanic population. Pedro Canales Guerrero's analysis of burial records for the parish of Toluca during 1813 found that Otomí (*indios otomíes*) and Nahuas (*indios mexicanos*) suffered disproportionately, with a 15 fold increase in burials for the former and a 6.7 fold increase in burials for the latter.⁹ Indeed, several different pathogens may have been responsible for the increase in morbidity and mortality. Scholars believe that hemorrhagic fever in Mexico produced a mortality rate of 3.4 percent in 1813. Toluca's total 1813 population is not known, but the mortality rate for Spaniards alone appears to have exceeded that number. The mortality rate for indigenous people was apparently much higher.

Twenty years later, during the summer of 1833, the global cholera pandemic reached Toluca. Extracts from the proceedings of the municipal council of Toluca provide insight into the timeline and the effects of the epidemic in the city. As early as January 1833, the council president reported that the feared disease had reached the

southern state of Chiapas, and he expressed concern that cholera would soon spread to the state of Mexico. The council ordered preventive measures, which included the cleaning of homes, streets, and public squares. Strict hygiene procedures were put in place to minimize exposure to human waste.¹⁰

José Guadalupe Delgado was the cholera epidemic's first acknowledged Hispanic casualty in Toluca. The fifty-year-old husband of María Gertrudis Serrano was buried in the cemetery del Beaterio on April 14.¹¹ Both husband and wife were accorded the honorific title *don* in the burial record, which at the time was unusual, so Delgado and Serrano must have been of high social standing. Burial records show an increase in the number of deaths from dysentery during the weeks before Delgado's death. These may have in fact been caused by cholera, although they were not recognized as such at the time. In any case, it was not until July 20 that officials announced that cholera had reached Toluca and the epidemic was in full force. Advice was given on how to treat illness caused by the disease, and prevention measures were restated with greater urgency.¹²

On August 12, the city was divided into districts to facilitate the monitoring of the epidemic, collect donations, and provide relief to the afflicted. At the epidemic's peak in October, the council president ordered the assembly of the local members of the militia, as had been requested by the governor. However, the militia did not assemble. Without a current census or register (*padrón*), the president complained, it was not possible to locate militia members, some of whom did not live in their own homes and moved regularly. On further reflection, he acknowledged that with so many people sick and convalescing, it

would not be prudent to convene the militia for fear that such an action might actually facilitate the spread of the disease. Beyond the mortality caused by the epidemic, it is clear that there was a profound psychological toll on the population. While not as devastating as the fevers of 1813, cholera doubled the number of Spanish burials from an annual average of 306 over the previous decade (1823–1833) to 612 in 1833. The actual death toll in the city was likely much higher. No barrio or pueblo in Toluca’s periphery escaped the scourge.¹³

Thus, it was in the aftermath of the 1833 cholera epidemic that the governor of the state of Mexico ordered a census of the municipality of Toluca to be undertaken. In 1830, Toluca had been designated as the capital of the state of Mexico. Since then, both state and municipal governments convened in the city. It is not clear which political entity was responsible for collecting the 1834 census data. While parish priests may have been involved in data collection for the 1791 census, churchmen were probably not involved in the 1834 effort. Agents of the municipal government may have carried out data collection for the 1834 census as they had done in 1820 and 1823.¹⁴

The census manuscript has no completion date, only the notation “*formado en fines del presente ano de 1834*” (formed at the end of the present year of 1834). The manuscript contains information on all inhabitants of the city of Toluca and its surrounding barrios, pueblos, haciendas, and ranchos. Census categories include the following: districts (*cuartel*), streets, and house numbers for dwellings in which individuals lived; as well as their names, occupations, ages, daily incomes (*utilidad diaria*), membership in the civic militia (*cívicos*), and marital status.¹⁵ The introduction to

the census states that it includes family composition in households and total numbers of occupants in tenement buildings (*vecindades*). The manuscript irregularly identifies separate family units, however, so analysis of family structure is not possible for much of the population, especially for those who lived in complex family or residential units.¹⁶

According to the census, the city's 1834 population numbered 6,775 individuals. However, detailed examination of the manuscript reveals numerous, but relatively minor, arithmetic errors. The census in fact contains information on 6,581 people living in the city. Unlike the Revillagigedo census, which enumerated only non-Indians, the 1834 census purportedly counted citizens of all ethnic backgrounds: individuals who were considered Spaniards, castas, and Indians in colonial times were all now officially classified as *ciudadanos* (citizens) of the republic. Comparison between the Revillagigedo census and the municipal census shows a population increase of 1,292, or 24 percent over forty-three years. Since indigenous people were not counted in 1791, but were counted in 1834, the percentage increase in the total population, if there was an increase at all, was actually much lower.¹⁷

Age and gender data derived from the 1834 census illustrate the effect warfare and epidemic disease had on Toluca's population. The census takers appear to have been remarkably thorough in their enterprise, and recorded the ages of all but three people in the city. Marriage records indicate that one of these, the merchant and municipal councilman Aniceto Flores, was born in 1808, so he was approximately twenty-six years of age at the time of the census.¹⁸ The two other individuals whose ages could not be ascertained were not included in the analysis that follows. Additionally, the genders for

thirty people named Guadalupe and nine people named Trinidad could not be determined, since these names were given to both males and females, and the census contained no other clues as to their genders. Most of these individuals were children: two were adults, the rest were under the age of thirteen. Thus, in total forty-one people—less than 1 percent of the city’s total population—were excluded from the following analysis of age and gender.

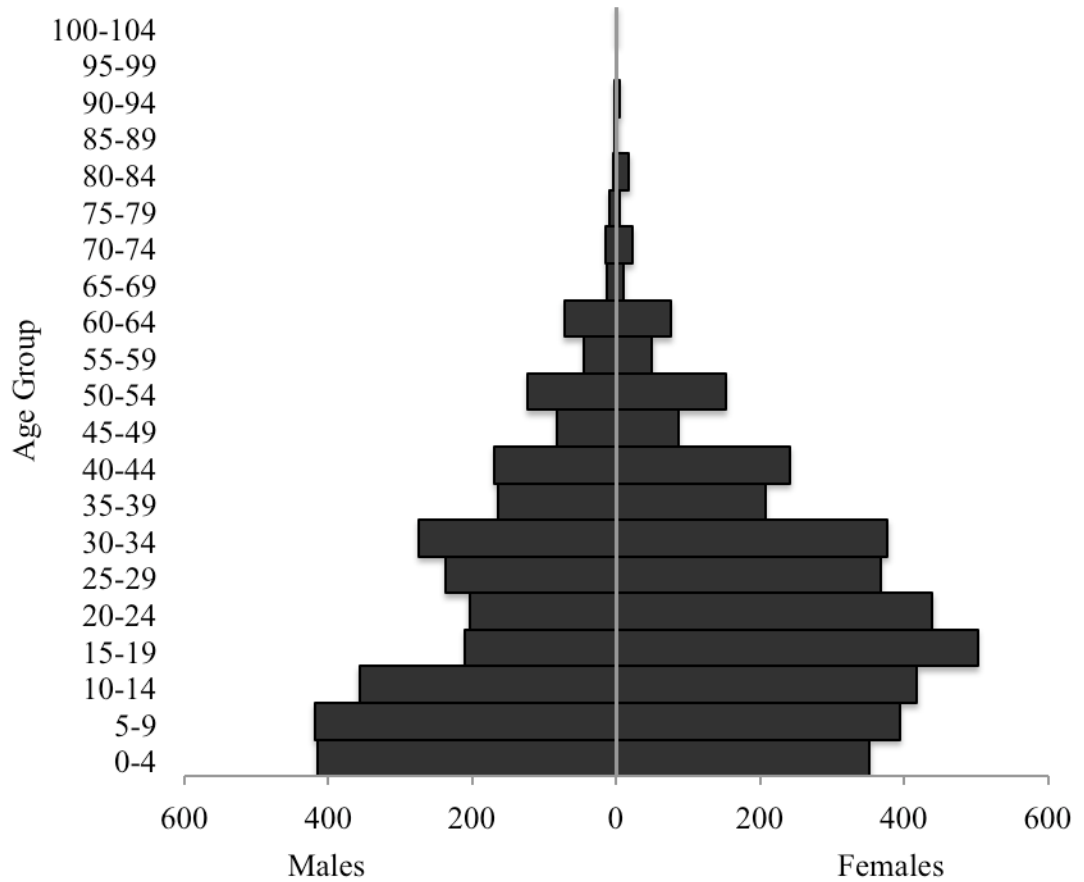
The census provides gender and age data, then, for 6,540 individuals living in the city: 3,723 females and 2,817 males. This proportion produces a sex ratio of .76; i.e. for every 100 females, there were 76 males. It is surprising that the 1834 sex ratio was higher than the 1791 sex ratio of .71. One might expect a smaller number of males to have been counted in the 1834 census. After all, only two decades earlier, Mexico had experienced the bloodiest period in its history since the Spanish conquest. The male death rate was high, and their smaller numbers in certain age groups could be reasonably expected. Political instability and the militarization of politics in the early republic, too, may have created a strong incentive for males to avoid being counted in the municipal census, and thus identified as potential conscripts. None of these conditions existed in 1791, yet fewer males as a proportion of Hispanic society were counted then. This comparative evidence, circumstantial as it is, further calls into question the conclusions derived from the 1791 census. Given the political and ecological conditions of 1834 Toluca, it would appear that the municipal census was in fact more complete than was the Revillagigedo census.

Figure 3.1 presents the age and gender structure of Toluca in the form of a population pyramid. Appendix 3.1 provides the numerical data upon which it is based,

including sex ratios by age cohort. Unlike the Revillagigedo census, since ages for males, females, and children were included, the chart provides a holistic view of the entire city population. It is immediately apparent from the graph that females significantly outnumbered males. The closer to the bottom of the pyramid, the more balanced and expected the results. Male and female children under the age of fifteen appear in almost equal numbers. The sex ratio for children under the age of fifteen was 1.02, meaning boys slightly outnumbered girls in this group. This is very close to the expected biological sex ratio at birth of 1.05.¹⁹ Additionally, the relatively narrow base of the population pyramid is consistent with high infant mortality. Females were less likely than males to survive until the age of ten, but mortality was high for all three cohorts. The under five-year-old population produced a sex ratio of 1.18, suggesting that infant females may have fared worse than infant males did during the recent cholera epidemic.

Figure 3.1

Population of Toluca by Age Group and Gender, 1834



Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

The population ages fifteen and over presents a very different picture. Women in this group outnumber men 2,559 to 1,626, producing a sex ratio of .64. The female side of the chart for age cohorts fifteen and over resembles the shape of a pyramid, which is typical of an expanding population, and suggests that the female population was well

represented in the census. Due to differences in mortality and life expectancy, the upper portion of a population pyramid is usually wider for females, as was the case in Toluca. The male side of the chart is more erratic. Age cohorts 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29 show sharp indentations. The sex ratio for these years was .42, .46, and .65, respectively. Men from this group would have been born between 1805 and 1819. Their decreased numbers were likely attributable to numerous causes, including decreased fertility during the decade of the wars for independence and increased mortality caused by the 1813 and 1833 epidemics and other diseases. The most precipitous drop in the gender gap is found in the age groups 15-19 and 19-24. Males in these age groups were most likely to be drafted, and, therefore, they had a strong incentive to avoid appearing on census rolls. It is likely that some males in these groups avoided the census takers' register, while still residing in Toluca.

Indentations on male and female sides of a population pyramid reflect higher than normal death rates that affect both genders more or less equally. These indentations are usually attributable to war, famine, disease, or emigration. The indentations for males and females in ages 35-39 may reflect increased mortality and decreased fertility caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1797 and 1798. Similarly, the indentations of the population pyramid for males and females ages 45-49 may reflect mortality and decreased fertility caused by the famine of 1784-1786 and the complex of epidemics that followed in its wake.²⁰

Migration also undoubtedly affected the gender disparity reflected in the population pyramid, although the degree to which it did is more difficult to determine. In

1791, most non-European male immigrants to the city came from within the Toluca region. Information on emigration from Toluca was not available, but Mexico City was known to have been home to a large migrant population, including individuals from Toluca, during the 1790s. Birthplaces were not provided in the 1834 census, so analysis of migration to the city is not possible. It is clear, however, that Mexico City consistently attracted migrants from central Mexico throughout the period of this study. In Silvia Arrom's 1811 census sample of Mexico City, 56 percent of non-foreign immigrants were female. One-third of female immigrants came from the state of Mexico, of which the Toluca region was its most significant component.²¹ Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein's analysis of the 1842 census of Mexico City shows that almost 28 percent of domestic migration to the capital city came from the state of Mexico. In this case, Toluca (most likely meaning its jurisdiction) was responsible for sending 2,587 migrants to Mexico City, more than any other place in the republic, including the much larger and dynamic population centers of Puebla, Querétaro, and Guanajuato.²²

Marriage Patterns

The 1834 census provides data on marital status, also known as civil status, for the majority of Toluca's population: 2,818 males and 3,724 females.²³ A large number of individuals, most of whom were under the age of twenty-five, were not given civil status designations. They were members of households of which they were not the heads, and most were children. They are presumed to have been single in this analysis. Thirty adults age twenty-five and over—five males and twenty-five females—were not identified by

civil status. None were heads of households. Two of the females and three of the males worked in low status occupations. The remaining twenty-five had no occupation listed in the census. These men and women had neither mates nor children, and were clearly dependents of larger households. They were included in the single category, since they were neither married nor widowed at the time of the census. As with the previous examination of the relationship between age and gender, individuals named Guadalupe and Trinidad, whose genders could not be determined, were excluded from the analysis.

Census takers employed five civil status categories while collecting data. These included: single, doncella (maiden), married, and widowed. Ecclesiastics, not typically a civil status classification, were identified as a separate category under the civil status heading. In this analysis, the six men whose civil statuses were recorded as ecclesiastics are included in the category of single males, and the doncellas are included in the single female category. The census's civil status categories are limited and do not conform to legal definitions related to marriage status or the reality of consensual unions in nineteenth-century Mexico. For example, while rare, ecclesiastical divorces did occur in Toluca, yet no individual was identified as divorced in the census. Similarly, while legitimate marriage was the norm, consensual unions were also common during this period, especially among plebeian groups who could not afford the costs associated with marriage. In these cases, the census takers appear to have counted persons living in consensual unions and divorced citizens as married.²⁴ Numerous wills recorded in Toluca refer to children born out of wedlock (*hijos naturales*), suggesting that a population of single mothers lived in the city. However, the census only occasionally identified single

females as heads of households with children. The large number of widows in Toluca may reflect the census takers' prerogative of listing single women with children as widows. It may also be that mothers who had never been married may have reported themselves as widows due to the higher social status associated with widowhood versus that of unwed mothers.

Detailed comparison between the 1834 census and 1791 census based on civil status and gender is not possible due to the latter's absence of female ages. Moreover, the 1791 census is limited because it included only non-Indians living in Toluca, while the 1834 census contains information for the city's complete population. Using civil status and gender data for the entire population diminishes differences in the proportions of married and widowed cohorts due to the inclusion of a large number of unmarried children. Nevertheless, comparison of the data is worthwhile, and yields some unexpected results, most notably that the percentages of married, widowed, and single people living in Toluca were remarkably similar in both censuses. Single males and females comprised the largest percentage of the population in both censuses, 59.1 percent in 1791 and 57.8 percent in 1834. Married people represented 31.6 percent of the population in 1791 and 32.1 percent in 1834; and the percentage of widows and widowers was only slightly higher in 1834 with 10.1 percent of the population as compared to 9.3 percent in 1791.²⁵

In both census years, males were more likely than females to be married, by nearly the same proportions: 37.7 percent to 27.2 percent in 1791, and 38.2 percent to 27.5 percent in 1834. The number of male and female couples was approximately the

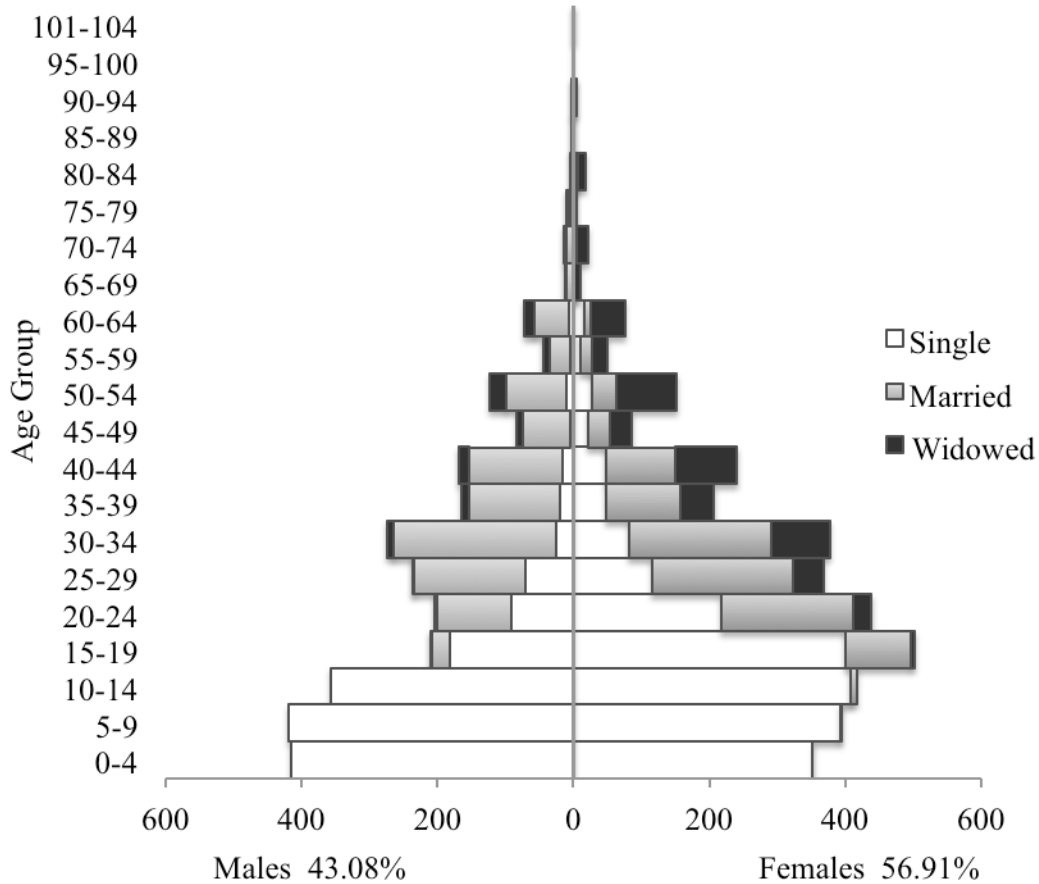
same in each year. In 1791, 831 males and 838 females were married. The difference in this case was due largely to married males who were identified by their wives as absent. In 1834, married males exceeded married females by fifty-three, (1,077 males and 1,024 females). The difference in percentages of married males and females is due to the larger overall population of females in the city. The percentages single in both censuses were also remarkably similar. In 1791, 59.4 percent of males were single, while 57.7 percent were in 1834. The percentage of single females was 58.7 percent in 1791 and 57.9 percent in 1834. While the percentage of single males and females in Toluca was very nearly the same in 1791 and 1834, single females outnumbered single males by about the same proportion in both censuses. These data suggest a strong continuity in general marriage patterns between 1791 and 1834, despite the omission of indigenous people in the earlier census.²⁶

The 1834 municipal census recorded complete information for males and females, and thereby allows for a more detailed analysis of Toluca's population than did the Revillagigedo census. The census employed the same civil status categories as other censuses produced in Mexico City during this era and therefore facilitates comparison to them. Figure 3.2 presents a graph of the 1834 population of Toluca by age, gender, and civil status. The numerical data from which the graph was generated are provided in Appendix 3.2. At the time of the census, 36 percent of Toluca's population was under the age of fifteen. Reflecting both the sex ratio at birth and the longer life expectancy of females, males under fifteen represented a larger portion of their gender overall at 42 percent than females at 31 percent. These figures are indicative of a young demographic

age structure, which reflects a high birth rate. As a point of comparison, Silvia Arrom's analysis of the 1811 census sample of Mexico City showed a smaller percentage of males and females under the age of fifteen than the 1834 Toluca census, which likely reflects the larger number of adult migrants attracted to the capital during the first year of the Mexican independence movement.²⁷ Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert Klein published numerical data for the complete 1842 census of Mexico City. Their analysis found that 29.3 percent of the city's population was under fifteen years of age, with males representing 30.9 percent and females 28.4 percent of their respective age groups. Toluca's population appears to have been younger than that of Mexico City in both 1811 and 1842. This difference reflects the capital city's large migrant population in both years, which was disproportionately comprised of adults.²⁸

Figure 3.2

Population by Age, Gender, and Civil Status in Toluca, 1834



Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

As figure 3.2 illustrates, very few people in Toluca under the age of fifteen were married. The inclusion of one male in this group was apparently a mistake by the census takers.²⁹ Ten girls between the ages of nine and fourteen were recorded as married. In one case, it appears that the census takers inverted two females in the same household, erroneously identifying a thirteen year old as married, and a twenty-eight year old as a

doncella.³⁰ Two of the youngest females, nine and twelve years old, had no husband associated with them. The young ages of these girls, combined with the absence of a husband in the household, calls into question the reliability of this information.³¹ The remaining seven females in this group were likely married. Three of the girls married males close to their own ages. They were identified in the census by only their first names, without surnames, suggesting that they were of low social ranking and perhaps were mestizos or Indians. Additionally, their husbands were engaged in low status occupations and were lowly paid. It would appear that the girls who married males closer to their own ages did so for uncomplicated reasons.

Four fourteen-year-old females married men who were much older. The census identified these couples by their first names and Spanish surnames. The husbands were involved in higher-status occupations and earned more than the men in the previous group. The reasons that these females married older men appear more complex. For example, the fourteen-year-old orphan María del Carmen Zimmermann (spelled *Simerman* in the manuscript) brought her two younger siblings, age nine and seven, to live with her twenty-six-year-old husband, Aniceto Flores, who happened to be a merchant and a member of Toluca's municipal council. Whatever feelings were involved between husband and wife, María gained crucial protection and support for her younger brother and sister by contracting the marriage. The couple went on to have at least four children together.³² In another example, the merchant Ignacio Valdés arranged a strategic marriage for a fourteen-year-old relative, Joaquina, to his twenty-five-year-old apprentice (cajero), José Dávalos. The couple continued to live in the patriarch's household after

their marriage. Little can be made of this small sample, however it is clear that the younger group of females married men who had less to offer them in terms of prestige and income. The older group married men who earned a higher daily income and provided more security to their households.³³

The census identified 50 percent of the city's population aged fifteen and older as married. As a point of comparison, this figure is very similar to what Pérez Toledo and Klein found for 1842 Mexico City, where 49.8 percent of those fifteen and older were married. The breakdown by gender, too, is comparable between the two cities. In 1834 Toluca, 66.2 percent of males in this age group were married, while in 1842 Mexico City 64 percent were married. The percentage of married females was even closer, with Toluca's 39.7 percent compared to Mexico City's 40.7 percent.³⁴ Analysis of marriage patterns for people aged fifteen and older has the benefit of excluding children, who were only rarely married. As stated above, no males and only a handful of females in Toluca married under the age of fifteen.

In 1834 Toluca, men married for the first time later than women did, although the average newlywed couple was close in age. The mean age at first marriage was calculated as 21.3 for females and 23 for males.³⁵ Of the total population of married and widowed people in Toluca, males accounted for only 2 percent (28 of 1,193), and females for 7 percent (111 of 1,569), of those under the age of twenty.³⁶ Of the age group 15-19, only 13 percent of males, and 20 percent of females, were married or widowed. These data confirm studies of marriage in Mexico City, which show that couples married later than was once assumed, and that age disparity among newlyweds was small, perhaps

suggesting a measure of equality in the relationships, which would be more likely than in relationships where the husband was much older than his wife was. For 1811 Mexico City, Arrom found that mean age at first marriage was 22.7 for females and 24.2 for males. Pérez Toledo and Klein came to slightly different conclusions using different sample data from the same census: females married at an average age of 22.5 and males at 26.1. Pérez Toledo and Klein recognized that different ethnic groups married at different ages. The choice of census sample clearly affected the results in this case. The authors' findings on marriage in Mexico City censuses from the 1840s are similar to the situation in 1834 Toluca. Arrom's analysis of the 1848 census found the mean age at first marriage to be 19.9 for females and 23.1 for males. For the 1842 census, Pérez Toledo and Klein calculated the mean age at first marriage for females as 21.4 and males as 23.6. In general, men and women in Mexico City appear to have married earlier at midcentury than they did in 1811.³⁷ The absence of earlier census data for Toluca prevents a similar comparison. It is clear, however, that the mean age at first marriage in 1834 Toluca was comparable to Mexico City in 1842 and 1848.

Given the mean age at first marriage, a large number, if not an outright majority, of first marriages in Toluca would have taken place by the time the bride and groom reached the age of twenty-five. Moreover, Figure 3.2 indicates that the first age group where the number of married and widowed people exceeded the number of singles was 20-24 for males and 25-29 for females. These data, coupled with the relatively large number of females who never married, mean that analysis of married people age twenty-five and older provides a firmer basis for the study of marriage patterns. Of the 2,831

individuals in Toluca who were age twenty-five and over, 1,666 (58.9 percent) were recorded as married. The breakdown by gender reveals that men were much more likely to be married than women. The census lists 941 males (77.6 percent) and 725 females (44.8 percent) age twenty-five and older as married. Accordingly, women in this age group were much more likely to be single. Only 159 males (13.1 percent) and 382 females (23.6 percent) were single. If widowed individuals are included in the cohort, then fully 55.2 percent of adult females of 1834 Toluca over the age of twenty-five were not married, as opposed to 22.4 percent of males.³⁸

Silvia Arrom first challenged the formerly conventional wisdom that regarded Mexican females as having had such limited opportunities that they were pushed into early marriage and maternity. She found that this condition did not apply to Mexico City in 1811 or 1848. The proportions of adult married and single women in 1811 Mexico City were very similar to those of 1834 Toluca, with 43.9 percent of women married and 22.5 percent single. When widows were added to the single group, 56 percent of women were unmarried. Arrom's analysis of the 1848 census found a smaller percentage of single women, but when combined with the larger percentage of widows, 58.7 percent of females were unmarried. Arrom argued that the low marriage rate for women called into question the pervasiveness of marriage in early nineteenth-century Mexico. The findings from the 1834 Toluca census demonstrate that this pattern was not limited to the capital city.³⁹

Table 3.1 provides the proportions single of Toluca's adult population in 1834. Sixty percent of males and 62 percent of females between the ages of sixteen and twenty-

four were single, which suggests a later age at first marriage and a small difference between the ages of marriage partners. Given the disproportionate number of females in Toluca, and the high proportion of those in older age groups who would never marry, these data confirm the mean age at first marriage calculations discussed earlier. The proportion of single males in the age group 25-39 was significantly lower at 17 percent than for females at 26 percent. The primary explanation for this is simple. Males were, as a proportion of their gender, more likely to be married, because there were fewer of them, and they were less likely to be widowers, because their smaller numbers made them more likely to remarry after losing a spouse.

Table 3.1

Single Adult Population of Toluca by Age Group and Gender, 1834

Age Group		Male	Female
16–24	Total Number	386	806
	Number Single	231	498
	Percent Single	60%	62%
25–39	Total Number	676	952
	Number Single	115	248
	Percent Single	17%	26%
40 and over	Total Number	536	667
	Number Single	44	134
	Percent Single	8%	20%

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Silvia Arrom used the age group forty and over to identify the proportion of individuals who would remain spinsters and bachelors throughout their lives, since the vast majority of those who were going to marry for the first time would have done so by that age.⁴⁰ Table 3.1 identifies the percentage of single individuals age forty and older in Toluca. According to the data, 8 percent of males in this group remained lifelong bachelors, while 20 percent of females in this group never married.⁴¹ The percentage of females age 40 and over who never married is larger in 1834 Toluca than what Arrom calculated for Mexico City (16.6 percent in 1790, 16.9 percent in 1811, and 12.3 percent in 1848). Arrom's pioneering analysis was the first to demonstrate that contrary to common perceptions at the time significant numbers of women chose not to marry in early nineteenth-century Mexico. It is perhaps surprising that the data for 1834 Toluca show an even higher percentage of females who would never marry than was the case for Mexico City in each of the three census years. The percentages of males forty and over who never married in Mexico City were as follows: 19.5 percent in 1790, 15.9 percent in 1811, and 8.4 percent in 1848. The percentage of single males over 40 in 1848 Mexico City was almost the same as in 1834 Toluca.⁴²

Toluca's widowed population was commensurately larger in 1834 than it was in 1791, reflecting the city's larger overall population. The percentages of widowed men and women in both populations, however, were almost identical. Both censuses classified 10 percent of the population as widowed (10 percent in 1834 and 9.8 percent in 1791). The percentages of the widowed population by gender were only slightly higher in the 1834 census, where widows accounted for 14.6 percent, and widowers 4.1 percent of the

female and male population. In 1791, widows represented 13.4 percent of the female population, while widowers comprised only 3.5 percent of total males. The proportions of widows to widowers were also remarkably similar in 1791 and 1834. In 1834, widows numbered 545 and widowers 116, for a proportion of just over 5 to 1. In 1791, the proportion was almost identical (441 widows and 78 widowers). Put another way, the ratio of widowers to widows in 1791 was .18; while in 1834, it was .21.⁴³

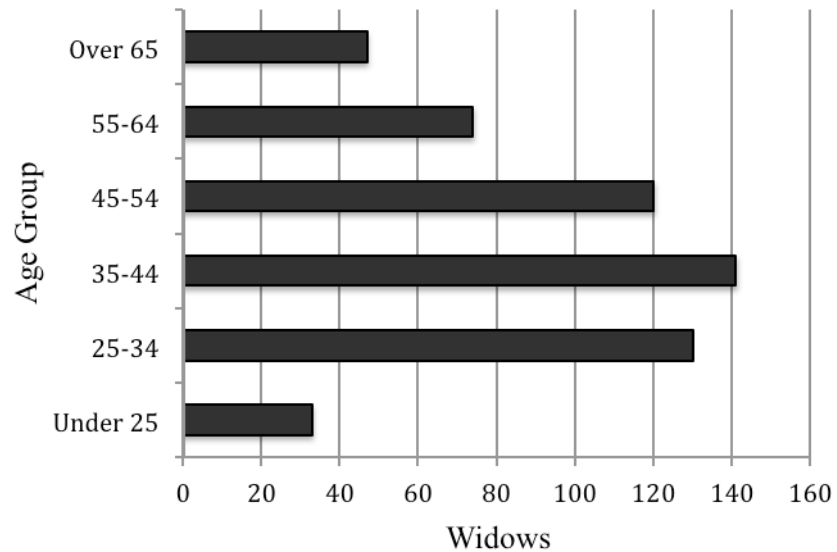
One might reasonably expect a larger proportion of widows to widowers in 1834 than in 1791, especially in certain age groups, due to the large number of males killed during the independence wars; the endemic political violence during the first decades of the early republic, which disproportionately affected males; and the desire of some draft age males to avoid conscription. That effectively the same proportions of widows to widowers were present in both censuses is unexpected. Unfortunately, since the 1791 census did not include female ages, it is not possible to account for widows in 1791 by age group. The 1834 census, on the other hand, provides sufficient data for a more detailed view into some of the characteristics of Toluca's widowed population.

Figure 3.3 illustrates the number of widows by age group reported in the census. There were very few young widows in 1834 Toluca: just thirty-three were under the age of twenty-five, representing 6 percent of the total. Given that the city had just experienced a severe epidemic, this number does not seem excessively high. Eighteen of these widows were not associated with an occupation. The other fifteen worked as seamstresses, food vendors, and maids and laundresses, in about equal proportions.⁴⁴ Many of these widows were childless and lived as dependents of other households,

usually with family members or in tenement buildings. The small number of widows in this age group suggests that the phenomenon of women reporting themselves as widows to hide their husbands from census takers may not have been as prevalent as was presumed in earlier times. It is, of course, difficult to provide evidence for this. Many of the women in this age group were identified only by their first names, as were their children when they were present. Only with the surnames of both the widowed mother and her child would it be possible to investigate the prevalence of misidentified widows by comparing their civil statuses as reported in the census to their family history as constructed with parish records.

Figure 3.3

Widows in Toluca by Age Group, 1834



Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Where it was possible to trace widows and their husbands, most in this younger age group appear to have been genuine widows. However, these records also reveal that some reported widows did in fact have living husbands. The case of María Mondragón is illustrative. According to the census, the twenty-two-year-old widowed seamstress lived in a room (*accesoria*) near the Puente de Alba (Alba bridge) with her four-year-old daughter, María Antonia Ballesteros. María Mondragon's husband was likely one of the Ballesteros family, as it was common for children to take their father's surnames. Moreover, María and her daughter lived in close proximity to the widower Miguel Ballesteros and Benito Ballesteros and their families, who were likely her relatives by marriage. Parish records show that the child's parents were María Dolores Mondragón and José Vicente Ballesteros, and that María Antonia was baptized on 17 June 1830. Mondragón and Ballesteros had at least four other children. Ignacio Antonio de Jesús Timoteo was born in 1828, and José Francisco Tranquilino de Jesús was born in 1832. Neither child appears to have survived until 1834. Two children were born to the couple after the census, María Teresa Antonia de Jesús in 1835 and María Micaela Francisca de Paula de Jesús in 1836. Contrary to the information contained in the census, evidence from parish records demonstrates that María Mondragón was married to José Vicente Ballesteros and was, in fact, not a widow in 1834.⁴⁵

On the other side of the age spectrum, forty-seven widows were sixty-five or older, or almost 9 percent of the widows total. If their reported ages were correct, then these women would have been born before 1770. The calamities of war, famine, disease, or, as likely, natural causes, might have taken their husbands at any time before the

census. It is not known how many of these women had been married more than once. Nevertheless, it is clear that they would have had no reason to hide their husbands from the census takers. To be an elderly widow in Toluca was not an enviable position. Only eight women in this group were clearly heads of their own households. The rest lived as dependents, with other family members, as resident maids, or in tenement buildings. Twelve were employed as maids or laundresses. The four others worked as a merchant, a teacher, a midwife, and a pulquera. Thirty-one widows had no occupations associated with them. Without additional information on the lives of these women, it is not practical to make too much from this data other than that 75 percent of elderly females in Toluca were widows, most were dependent on households that were not their own, and many of them continued to work and earn income to support themselves.

The vast majority of widows, 85 percent of the total (465 of 545), were adult women age twenty-five to sixty-four. Most widows in this group, 58 percent (268 of 465), did not have an occupation associated with them. The remaining 197 could be found working in all occupation sectors, although they were most likely to be employed as maids. This conforms to the general occupational distribution pattern for women. The 130 widows age twenty-five to thirty-four, representing 24 percent of the total population of widows, were the most likely to have been married to draft age men. Like María Mondragón, some of these reported widows might have actually been married. It is true that married men were exempt from the draft at this time. Nevertheless, the possibility that standard practice could change could have been enough motivation to avoid the risk of appearing on census registers. The largest numbers of widows, 141, were aged thirty-

five to forty-four, representing 26 percent of widows in Toluca. These women would have been born between 1790 and 1799. Many of them would have married by the time the independence movement began in 1810; most would have done so by the end of the following decade. It is reasonable to assume that some women in this group may have been war widows, although any number of misfortunes might have stricken their husbands. The distribution of the chart shows increases in the number of widows until the age group 35-44, then a gradual decline in their numbers thereafter, suggesting a correlation to patterns of life expectancy and a low likelihood of remarriage.

Given the small age difference at first marriage and the distribution of widows by age group, the disproportionate number of widows could have only partially been due to young married women falsely declaring themselves as widows. After all, most widows were over the age of thirty-five. These women would have had little to gain by misrepresenting their civil status. Figure 3.2 probably provides the best explanation for the large number of widows in 1834 Toluca. The excess of married men compared to married women in the age cohorts thirty and over, combined with the close age at first marriage, strongly suggests that when men lost their wives they were more likely to remarry quickly. Moreover, the data suggest that the age gap for males' subsequent marriages was larger than it was at first marriage. The larger number of married women compared to married men at younger ages attests to this practice. Of course, the overall surplus of females, as is evident in the sex ratio, was favorable to males who were seeking wives. There were other cultural elements at play, which affected the widowers' higher propensity to remarry. For example, many men who had lost their wives were left

with children at home, who would need caretakers. Prompt remarriage was likely a priority for these widowers. Additionally, as Sylvia Arrom has argued, older widows, especially those with children, could not compete with younger women in the marriage market unless they had personal wealth or property.⁴⁶ This condition would have also applied to Toluca.

Occupation and Employment

The 1834 municipal census allows a much more detailed analysis of occupation and employment for Toluca than did the 1791 Revillagigedo census. The colonial census provided comprehensive occupation data only for Hispanic males; it left out a significant portion of the workforce, namely females and the town's indigenous population. Furthermore, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, racial/ethnic categories had become so malleable by the end of the eighteenth century that they were of questionable use for the analysis of their relationship to occupation and social stratification, especially in the middle sectors of the social hierarchy. The Revillagigedo census contained no information on wages, nor did it distinguish between those who reported occupations and those who were actually employed. The 1834 census provides data on the entire population of the city of Toluca, including men, women, and children. Moreover, for those who were employed, the manuscript recorded their *utilidad diaria*, or daily income. Wage data provide a stronger basis for the analysis of social stratification than colonial racial/ethnic categories, in which presumptions of economic position were embedded.

While the 1834 census appears to be more inclusive than the Revillagigedo census, the manuscript suffers from some of its same deficiencies regarding a male undercount and occupational pluralism. The previous chapter provided quantitative and qualitative evidence of a male undercount in the 1791 census. The sex ratio of .76 was higher in 1834 Toluca than the .71 ratio produced by the 1791 census. However, the sex ratio in 1834 of those age fifteen and over was .64. Given the sex ratio norm of .95, there were still likely uncounted males in the 1834 census. Certainly, José Vicente Ballesteros, who was shown in the previous section to have been alive and fathering children in Toluca during the years before and after the census, was not included in the count. Given the recent cholera epidemic, the apparent increased tendency to migrate, and the endemic political instability of the period, it is difficult to ascertain the degree to which males were undercounted. It is fair to say that, given the sex ratio differences between 1791 and 1834 combined with these other factors, the male undercount was probably less in 1834. Occupational pluralism, on the other hand, was probably as common in 1834 as it was in 1791, yet the 1834 census, like the Revillagigedo census, provides only primary occupations. Individuals who were identified in the manuscript as merchants may have also been hacienda owners (and vice versa), politicians were often also professional lawyers, and artisans regularly toiled on plots of land to grow garden vegetables and magueys to supplement their incomes. In 1834, Toluca's economic base was still overwhelmingly agrarian, so many workers, particularly Indians, also took supplementary employment on haciendas at harvest time.

The occupation categories of the 1834 manuscript included bankrupts, beggars, the blind, the disabled, the idle, invalids, retired military, students, and the unemployed. These categories appear to have been irregularly applied in many cases. These individuals were excluded from this study's analysis of occupation and employment, as they generally did not earn income from work. Thirty-nine individuals named Guadalupe and Trinidad whose genders could not be determined were also excluded from this analysis, as were the two individuals whose ages were not known. For the purposes of analysis, then, the population of Toluca stood at 6,501. Conforming for the moment to this analytical framework, the 1834 census provided data on occupations for 2,119 men, women, and children, or approximately one-third (32.6 percent) of Toluca's total population. Occupations were associated with almost half (49.4 percent) of the male population and 19.5 percent of the female population.⁴⁷ Since the vast majority of the population under the age of fifteen was not associated with an occupation, analysis of the age group fifteen and older provides a better basis for understanding occupation patterns. Just under half (46.6 percent) of the individuals in this group were associated with an occupation, but the division by gender was significant. Males accounted for over three quarters (79.6 percent), and females about one quarter (25.9 percent), of the fifteen and older population of their respective genders with occupations. Child workers, identified here as those aged fifteen and under, accounted for a small part of the work force: 118 boys and sixty-four girls. The youngest workers included in the census were just six years old; the oldest claimed to be ninety.⁴⁸

The census did not include the occupations for all people who worked in Toluca. While the percentage of males with occupations ages fifteen and older is plausible, the 26 percent of females associated with occupations may be low. The occupational structure represented in the census includes only work that earned pay or had the potential to earn pay. However, not all workers listed by occupation earned income from their work. Ninety-four females and 207 males were identified by occupation but, according to the census, earned no income for their work. They may have been unemployed, such as the carpenter whose income was reported as zero, they may have been children who worked with their parents, or they may have been outsiders involved in a household arrangement where they worked for room and board. The census did not identify people who worked to maintain their household, such as wives and mothers, since they did not earn income from their labors. Workers for the purposes of the 1834 census included only those individuals who were economically active in the labor market, selling their goods or services.

Table 3.2 provides male and female occupations by socioeconomic group in 1834 Toluca. Thirteen female and four male landlords were not included in the table because their occupations were not applicable. Using these broad categories, it is immediately evident that the vast majority of the occupations, some 71 percent of the total, primarily involved some type of manual labor, either skilled or unskilled. Artisans comprised the largest group, constituting 34.8 percent of the total; servants made up 29.8 percent, while laborers accounted for just 7.2 percent. Reflecting the importance of the commercial and agrarian sectors, merchants and planters accounted for 19.0 percent of all occupations.

Merchants included all occupations that involved selling, be it merchandise or food. Planters were primarily *labradores*, a term that encompassed hacienda owners, *rancheros*, and small farmers. Some occupations included in this group undoubtedly involved hard physical activity. However, there was one principal difference between the laboring groups and merchants and planters. Merchants sold their products directly to consumers, while planters (and stockmen, as the two pursuits were interrelated) sold primary agricultural products to intermediate markets. The administrative sector was the only socioeconomic group whose occupations were uniformly devoid of physical labor, representing 9.2 percent of the occupation total. Occupations in this group were largely comprised of professionals and government officials (and some churchmen), who dispensed highly skilled professional services or were involved in the operation of the city's fiscal and political bureaucracies.

Table 3.2

Male and Female Occupations by Socioeconomic Group in Toluca, 1834

Socioeconomic Group	Females	%	Males	%	Total	%
Administrative Sector	3	0.4	190	13.7	193	9.2
Artisans	156	21.9	576	41.5	732	34.8
Merchants and Planters	80	11.2	319	23.0	399	19.0
Servants	416	58.3	210	15.1	626	29.8
Laborers	58	8.1	94	6.8	152	7.2
Total	713	100.0	1,389	100.1	2,102	100.0

Source: AHMT, *Padrones*, 1834.

Examination of socioeconomic groups by gender reveals that female workers were proportionally more likely to be associated with occupations that required manual labor than male workers were. Table 3.2 shows that 88.4 percent of females worked as artisans, servants, and laborers, whereas only 63.4 percent of males worked in these groups. The primary explanation for this rests in the fact that 58.3 percent of female workers, and only 15.1 percent of male workers, worked in the servant group. Moreover, females appeared in the laborer group as a somewhat higher percentage of their gender: 8.1 percent versus 6.8 percent for males. The proportion of male artisans was almost twice that of female artisans. In this case, the larger number of males than females in the administrative sector and merchant and planter groups offsets their higher proportion in the artisan group.

Table 3.2 indicates that males outnumbered females in the merchant and planter group by a factor of four to one. The vast majority of males in this group, 72.8 percent, were middle to high status merchants and their apprentices. Forty-one, or 12.9 percent, were *labradores* (owners and/or operators of haciendas, ranchos, and small farms). Forty-six, or 14.4 percent, worked in lower-status occupations as petty traders, food vendors, and clerks. On the other hand, of the eighty females in the merchant and planter group, only 35 percent worked as middle to higher-status merchants, or as *labradores*. Sixty-five percent of females in this group worked as lower-status merchants, as petty vendors of food, flowers, and pulque. Some of the most powerful and high-earning occupations in Toluca comprised the administrative sector, which represented 9.9 percent of all occupations. Not surprisingly, males dominated this group, with 98.4 percent of

occupations. Most in this group were well educated and highly literate. Three females, or 1.6 percent of the administrative sector total, worked as teachers.

Comparison of the occupation structure in 1834 and 1791 is hindered by the absence of female occupations in the Revillagigedo census. Male occupations were included in both censuses, however, and therefore present an opportunity to assess differences and similarities in the occupation structures of the two census years. Table 3.3 shows male occupations by socioeconomic group in the 1791 and the 1834 censuses. Of course, the comparison is not perfect. Both censuses appear to have undercounted males, and the undercount might have been higher in the earlier census. Moreover, the 1791 census did not include indigenous males. Had they been included, the number of males with occupations would have obviously been larger than the 1791 figure, possibly surpassing the total number of male workers in 1834. Keeping these limitations in mind, the data show an increase in the number of males who were associated with occupations, from 1,140 in 1791 to 1,393 in 1834. The small difference between the numbers of male workers in the two census years suggests overall continuity in the size of Toluca's male working population.

Table 3.3

Male Occupations by Socioeconomic Group in Toluca, 1791 and 1834

Socioeconomic Group	1791		1834	
	No.	%	No.	%
Administrative Sector	119	10.4	194	13.9
Artisans	565	49.6	576	41.3
Merchants and Planters	259	22.7	319	22.9
Servants	48	4.2	210	15.1
Laborers	149	13.1	94	6.7
Total	1,140	100.0	1,393	99.9

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21; AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Table 3.3 shows that in 1834 more male workers were present in each socioeconomic group than in 1791, with the exception of the laborer group. A higher percentage of skilled and unskilled workers (artisans, servants, and laborers) were included in the 1834 census (63.2 percent) than in the 1791 census (52.9 percent). This condition may reflect the absence of indigenous male workers in the earlier census, as these would have been overrepresented in occupations that required manual labor. Artisans predominated in both years. While the actual numbers of artisans were similar in both censuses, artisans as the proportion of all male workers was actually higher in 1791 with 49.6 percent than in 1834 with 41.3 percent. Had the city's indigenous population been included in the earlier census, the number of artisans would have likely exceeded that of 1834. The lower percentage of artisans in 1834 is explained by the higher number of workers in the servant group in that census. Over four times the number of males worked as servants in 1834 than in 1791, representing 15.1 percent versus 4.2 percent of

total male workers. The disproportionately lower number of servants in 1791 likely reflects the absence of the indigenous population in the census. Indigenous males may have been more prominent in the servant group than *españoles* and *castas*. The ethnic bias of the Revillagigedo census would have been absent in the 1834 census. If this structural difference affected the proportions for the servant group, it probably was less of a factor in the laborer group. The greater number and percentage of laborers in 1791 is explained by the much higher number of muleteers, workers (*operarios*), and carriers (*trajinantes*) in that census.

Merchants and planters comprised almost exactly the same percentages of male occupations in 1791 and 1834, at 22.7 and 22.9 percent respectively. As discussed earlier, in 1834, 72.8 percent of this group was composed of middle to higher-status merchants and their apprentices; 12.9 percent were *labradores*; and 14.4 percent were lower-status merchants. In 1791, the pattern was reversed: fully 61.8 percent of the merchant and planter group was made up of lower-status merchants (*tratantes*, *varilleros*, and *viandantes*). Only 5 percent were identified as hacienda owners, as neither the term *labrador* nor *ranchero* was employed in the Revillagigedo census. In contrast to the 1834 census, only 32 percent of the merchant and planter group were middle to higher-status merchants and their managers and apprentices in 1791. Here it is especially important to recall the discussion put forth in the previous chapter regarding occupational pluralism. *Tratante* was a term that in some usage meant lower-status merchant, like dealer and trader, as opposed to *mercader* and *comerciante*. However, in the 1791 census people called *tratantes* sometimes also owned haciendas and/or were powerful merchants who

owned their own retail stores. Therefore, the term *tratante* appears to have had a broader local meaning in 1791, where it could refer to anyone in business, at any level. Some of the numerous *tratantes* in 1791 might have been better placed in the middle and upper-status group. Another consideration is that census takers may have used the term *comerciante* in a broader context in 1834 than in the 1791 census. In 1834, it appears to have been a more generic term for merchant, which included petty dealers and traders. Only one *tratante* appeared in the 1834 census manuscript, the sixty-year-old Francisco Becerril. His *utilidad diaria* was reported as one real per day, indicating that he was indeed a lower-status trader.

Table 3.3 shows that Toluca's administrative sector totaled 119 in 1791 and 194 in 1834. These numbers represent 10.4 percent of total male occupations in 1791, and 13.9 percent in 1834. However, in this case the comparison is misleading. The 1791 number is artificially high, due to its inclusion of nineteen militiamen, twenty soldiers, and seven students, whereas the 1834 data include only three military men and no militia members or students. Exclusion of these categories would put the 1791 administrative sector at seventy-three, only 37.6 percent of the 194 members of the group in 1834. In 1791, most members of the administrative sector were involved in governance of the city at a local level, including tax collection and the administration of justice. The professions and the church bureaucracy were skeletal at this time; matters of importance were often referred to Mexico City. The 194 members of the administrative sector in 1834 reflect Toluca's transition from a provincial town in 1791, albeit an important one, to the capital

of the state of Mexico. The city was now home to a sizable and well-paid government bureaucracy and its supporting employees.

Daily Income (Utilidad Diaria)

There is of course ample room for inaccuracy when making assumptions regarding the relative inclusiveness of occupational categories. This is particularly evident in the socioeconomic groups that incorporate a variety of occupation types, like the administrative sector and merchants and planters, or when occupational categories appear to be more generalized in one census and more particular in the other. For example, the Toluca census rarely distinguishes between master artisans (*maestros*), journeymen (*oficiales*), and apprentices (*aprendices*), while some Mexico City censuses include these distinctions. Similarly, the merchant category does not always differentiate between wealthy storeowners and simple peddlers. The 1834 municipal census, however, includes information that facilitates the understanding of differentiation within larger occupational groupings. The *utilidad diaria* category lists the daily incomes for employed men, women, and children who lived in the city. Earnings information was likely included in the census so the government would have a potential basis for levying taxes, known as *contribuciones*, based on income. This information adds a measure of detail absent in other contemporary sources. Beyond its obvious value for income analysis, the *utilidad diaria* also provides a basis for the study of social stratification in the larger society.

The inclusion of income or wage data appears to have been rare in censuses produced in Mexico during the first half of the nineteenth century. Neither Sylvia Arrom,

nor Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert Klein, refer to income or wage data in their population studies of Mexico City. Richard A. Warren analyzed samples of the 1848 census of Mexico City for his study of popular politics and included the monthly rent of some workers, merchants, and professionals, but nothing on wages, salaries, or incomes.⁴⁹ Apparently, income data, daily or otherwise, were not included in the 1811, 1842, or 1848 censuses of the capital. On the other hand, Frederick J. Shaw's study of artisans included some wage data which was culled from the 1849 industrial census of Mexico City;⁵⁰ and Guy P.C. Thomson included daily wages for 111 employed people which appeared in the 1823 padrón of Puebla.⁵¹

Rather than use socioeconomic groupings, which are overly broad for the analysis of the *utilidad diaria*, occupations have been apportioned into sectors, which are presented in Table 3.4. This schema essentially breaks down the administrative personnel into church, government, military, and professional occupations. The merchant and planter group is divided into commercial and agricultural sectors. The service sector exceeds the size of the servants socioeconomic group discussed above because in addition to household servants it includes other service occupations, such as caretakers, coachmen, and launderers. The daily income for specific occupations that comprise the work sectors are included in Appendix 3.4 for females and Appendix 3.5 for males. Data from the 1834 census of Toluca are so complete that they often provide a range of daily incomes, which clearly encompass all levels of work within a given occupation.

Table 3.4

Male and Female Occupations by Sector in Toluca, 1834

Sector	Female	Male	Total	%
Artisan	156	576	732	34.5
Church	0	8	8	*
Commerce	76	294	370	17.5
Government	0	128	128	6.0
Military	0	3	3	*
Primary Sector (Agriculture)	4	79	83	3.9
Professional	3	51	54	2.5
Service	472	243	715	33.7
Other	15	11	26	1.2
Total	726	1,393	2,119	99.3

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

*Less than .5 percent.

Total does not add up to 100% due to rounding.

The census manuscript included combined data on occupation and *utilidad diaria* for 2,119 people (1,393 males and 726 females), or roughly one third of Toluca's 1834 population. Of the total employed population, males outnumbered females by a factor of 2 to 1. For the population age fifteen and older, the census identified the occupation and the *utilidad diaria* for 1,275 males (65.8 percent) and 662 females (34.2 percent). Child workers under the age of fifteen numbered 182; the sex ratio for children was nearly the same as for adults: 118 boys (64.8 percent) and 64 girls (35.2 percent). For 69 other individuals (50 males and 19 females), the census recorded their *utilidad diaria* but not their occupations. Fifty-one of these people were presumably employed, earned two *reales* per day or less (32 males and all 19 females), and were therefore likely low-skilled

workers. As their occupations are unknown, they are excluded from the present analysis.⁵²

Not all individuals who were identified by occupation had a daily income recorded for them. The *utilidad diaria* category was left blank for 301 individuals who were otherwise associated with occupations. The sex ratio for this group was nearly the same as the sex ratio for employed people age fifteen and over—207 males and 94 females—so gender does not appear to have been a factor in the exclusion of these workers' *utilidad diaria*. Some may have been unemployed or seasonal workers, like the thirty-five-year-old *jornalero* (day laborer) and widower, Rafael Bernal, who reported no daily income. Undoubtedly, others were apprentices who earned no monetary payment. These individuals worked for room and board while in training for their given professions or crafts. Fifty-three of those who were identified by occupation but not *utilidad diaria* were child workers under the age of fifteen. They represented 18 percent of this subgroup. Many were children of households that included adult artisans or merchants with whom they were related and under whose tutelage they worked. Others were employed in the service sector as maids, presumably in exchange for room and board.⁵³

Deliberate omission or error on the part of the census takers may have also played a role in the exclusion of some of the reported daily income. The census's recording of the *utilidad diaria* for employed people who lived on the *Plazuela del Carmen* and on the *Callejón de San Juan Evangelista* is particularly suspicious. Of twenty males and females who were identified by occupation and lived in buildings that surrounded the *Plazuela del Carmen*, the census noted the *utilidad diaria* for only two people. The forty-year-old

saddle maker, Máximo Estrada, earned 0.3 reales per day and Bernarda Castillo, a twenty-nine-year-old laundress, was reported to have earned 0.6 reales per day. Similarly, thirty-six males and females who lived on the Callejón de San Juan Evangelista were associated with occupations, however the utilidad diaria was recorded for only one person, the twenty-five-year-old guard (probably a government employee), Vicente Bórica, who earned one peso per day. It is possible that forty-nine of the fifty-three workers who lived on the Plazuela del Carmen and on the Callejón de San Juan Evangelista were unemployed, but it is unlikely. The fact that the Plazuela del Carmen and the Callejón de San Juan Evangelista immediately follow each other in the manuscript supports suspicions regarding the completeness of these particular data.⁵⁴

Of the 2,119 people whom the census identified by occupation, 1,818 reported daily income. Table 3.5 provides the distribution of the utilidad diaria for all occupations by gender where the daily income was above zero (i.e. not solely in exchange for room and board). What is most striking is that 1,399 of the 1,818 people who reported daily incomes, or almost 77 percent of employed people, earned only two reales or less per day. Moreover, over half of all workers (51.4 percent) reported daily incomes of one real or less. The minimum subsistence income required to live in Toluca during the middle of the eighteenth century has not been established. However, some work has been done on the estimated cost of living in other Mexican cities at this time. In his study of artisans in Mexico City, Frederick J. Shaw presented evidence that in 1841 a family of four required a minimum of five pesos per week to live at a subsistence level.⁵⁵ Given a six-day workweek, this would amount to somewhat less than two reales per person per day. Guy

Thomson generally concurred with Shaw’s conclusion, when he stated that in Puebla earnings of two reales per day were “the standard subsistence income throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.”⁵⁶ Thomson used earnings of two reales and below as an indicator of Puebla’s underclass. The principal implication of these low earnings in Toluca is that the vast majority of employed people were paid well below what was required for subsistence. Since below subsistence implies less than what is necessary to live, it may be that food, clothing, and/or shelter, or some combination of them, were received as unpaid compensation beyond the *utilidad diaria*, depending on the occupation. Such arrangements were more likely for those employed in the service sector and for those who worked as apprentices.

Table 3.5

Utilidad Diaria (in reales) by Gender in Toluca, 1834

Utilidad Diaria (reales)	Male	Female	Total	%
1 or less	364	571	935	51.4
1.3-2	432	32	464	25.5
2.6-8	263	28	291	16.0
9-26	86	1	87	4.8
32-104.2	41	0	41	2.3
Total	1,186	632	1,818	100.0

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Detailed analysis of those who reported an *utilidad diaria* of two reales or less per day reveals a strong correlation between income and gender. As Table 3.5 illustrates, of the 464 workers who earned between 1.3 and two reales per day, 432 were males while

only 32 were females. Of the 935 workers who reported the below subsistence earnings of one real or less per day, females outnumbered males by 571 to 364. The *utilidad diaria* for ninety-five percent of employed females was at or below the subsistence level, while ninety percent of employed females earned one real or less per day. Sixty-nine percent (418) of these low-earning females labored in the service sector, primarily as maids; twenty percent (129) were employed as artisans, mainly in occupations related to the textile industry; and eight percent (49) worked in the commerce sector, largely as food vendors and peddlers.⁵⁷

Women's work was unquestionably more poorly compensated than men's work. While most employed males reported higher remuneration than females, a majority, albeit a smaller one, also worked at subsistence pay levels. Sixty-seven percent (796) of all employed males reported incomes of two reales per day or less. Thirty percent (364) reported daily incomes of one real or less. Almost fifty percent (396) of low wage male workers were employed as artisans; twenty-seven percent (214) labored in the service sector; and fifteen percent (121) worked in the commerce sector in a wide variety of occupations, but particularly as merchants and merchant's apprentices.⁵⁸

These numbers obscure important gender differences in the low-earning cohort. Overall, more males were employed in Toluca than females, by a factor of 2 to 1, and they were more likely to be heads of households. In this low-earning group, the ratio was much closer, with 796 males and 603 females. Sixty-two percent of these males (495) were married. Married females in this group were much fewer at fifty-six, or just 9 percent. Put another way, 91 percent of low-earning females and only 38 percent of males

in the same group were single or widowed. Moreover, the vast majority of employed, low-earning females worked in the service sector as domestic maids. Very few of these women were heads of households. Indeed, most appear to have lived as dependents in their employers' domiciles, where room and board were provided as unpaid compensation. In this group, the low earnings of males would likely have had a more detrimental effect on household living standards than the lower female earnings.⁵⁹

Sixteen percent of those employed (291) were identified as working in occupations that provided daily incomes of between 2.6 and eight reales. As the *utilidad diaria* for employed individuals increased, so, too did the gender gap. Thus, this group was comprised of 263 males and only 28 females. Compensation in this range was putatively above what was needed for subsistence living, depending on the number of people being supported, but below earnings that would approach middle class or elite status. Guy Thomson refers to this group as "*La Plebe*," the plebeian sector of society, which was distinguished from middling groups by their earnings but also by their dependency on, or "competition with, the larger businesses of manufacturers and leading retailers."⁶⁰ It is clear that such was not the case in Toluca, which at this time lacked a manufacturing base in any way comparable to that of Puebla. Some of the eighty-one artisans and the six service sector workers, which comprised 30 percent of this group, may have conformed to this definition to some degree. However, the remaining 204 employed people did not. Thirty-eight percent worked in the commercial sector, primarily as merchants and their apprentices, but also as petty traders and muleteers. The government and professional sectors combined made up 22 percent of this group. Their

occupations included doctors, pharmacists, clerks, and notaries plus a full range of low to mid-level government employees.⁶¹

Eighty-seven individuals earned between nine and twenty-six reales per day, representing less than five percent of those who reported a daily income in Toluca. Only one female was included in this group. Occupations at this level suggest the formation of an inchoate middle class. Two artisans and two service sector employees found their way into this group; all were involved in government support work: two printers (*impresores*), a caretaker of public buildings (*conserje*), and a high-skilled worker (*sirvienta*). Thirty-four government employees (*empleados*), a guard, and a treasurer (*tesorero*) each earned between ten and twenty-four reales per day. The commerce sector at this earning level was comprised of twenty-six merchants and one cajero, who earned between nine and twenty-four reales per day. This group included Luis Madrid, a future governor of the state of Mexico, among other influential men. The primary sector was comprised of seven hacienda owners (*labradores*) who reported incomes of between sixteen and twenty-four reales per day. These men were from some of the most powerful families in Toluca. They included: José María Pontón, Joaquín Ordorica, Joaquín Valdez Garduño, Luis González Pliego, and José María González (de Arratia). The lone female to report daily income in this group was the landlord María Luz Alarcón, whose *utilidad diaria* was twenty-four reales.⁶²

Forty-one males reported incomes of between thirty-two and 104.2 reales per day. In terms of income, they were the elite, representing 2.3 percent of those who reported the *utilidad diaria*. Most were not natives of Toluca. Thirty-two were government

officials or high-level bureaucrats, who relocated to the city when it was named the capital of the state of Mexico. Lieutenant Governor Juan Fonseca earned the highest salary, which was calculated at 104.2 reales per day. Eight cabinet members (*ministros*) and eleven representatives (*diputados*) each earned sixty-six reales per day. The remaining twelve were high-level state employees (*empleados*) and legal advisors (*consejeros de gobierno*), who reported daily earnings of between thirty-two and sixty-six reales. Two professionals were also primarily involved in legal and government business. Vicente Botillo, whose occupation was listed as *relator*, worked channeling documents from parties to judges and administrators, often providing summaries of them; he reported earnings of 37.4 reales per day. Juan María Flores, one of the city's notaries, earned thirty-nine reales per day. Four merchants and two labradores who were included in this high-earning group belonged to prominent local families. Hacienda owners Ramón Martínez de Castro and Policarpo Berra reported daily incomes of thirty-two and fifty-five reales respectively. The merchants Rafael Lechuga, Felipe de Jesús Ortigosa, Vicente González, and Martín Bernal reported incomes of between thirty-two and forty-eight reales per day.⁶³

Conclusion

The rapid population expansion that characterized eighteenth-century Mexico continued into the early nineteenth century, only to be disrupted by the scourges of famine, epidemic disease, and warfare. Population growth in the city of Toluca, which had doubled during the second half of the eighteenth century, was erratic after 1810.

During the war years, Toluca's population appears to have expanded, as the town served as a safe haven from the turbulent countryside. By 1834, Toluca's total population, including individuals of all ethnicities, stood at 6,581, an increase of only 1,292 over the Hispanic 1791 population. Given that indigenous people were not enumerated in the 1791 count, it would appear that Toluca's overall population grew very little, if at all, during the decades that separated the two censuses.

Age and gender data illustrate how war, famine, and epidemic disease affected Toluca's population. The 1834 sex ratio in Toluca was higher than it was in 1791 (.76 and .71 respectively). Gender disparity was used in the previous chapter to contend that the Revillagigedo census undercounted the 1791 population. It is difficult to make the same argument, using the same evidence, for 1834. If anything, one would expect the sex ratio to have been lower in 1834 than in 1791, because of increased male mortality during the wars for independence and the presumed desire to avoid conscription in the era of uncertainty that characterized the early republic. This, however, was not the case. Even with the absence of some draft age males from the census, more men were counted as a proportion of the total population notwithstanding increased mortality caused by war. Conversely, in 1791 the viceroyalty was at peace. Famines and epidemics occurred with regularity, but this condition differed little from the situation in 1834. While warfare more directly affected male mortality, famine and epidemic disease killed members of both genders without prejudice.

The population pyramid constructed from age and gender data suggests that females were well represented in the census. The erratic shape of the male side of the

pyramid is indicative of missing males, where sharp indentations in the age cohorts 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29, produce sex ratios of .42, .46, and .65, respectively. These males were born between 1805 and 1819. Their smaller numbers were caused in part by decreased fertility during the decade of the wars for independence and increased mortality caused by the 1813 and 1833 epidemics as well as other diseases. The sharpest drop in the gender gap is found in males in the age groups 15-19 and 19-24. These males were most likely to be drafted, and many of them appear to have heeded the strong incentive to avoid appearing on census rolls. Equal indentations in the male and females sides of the population pyramid for the ages 35-39 and 45-49 may reflect mortality and decreased fertility caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1797-1798 and the famine of 1784-1786. Migration also affected gender disparity, although this is more difficult to determine from the available sources.

Analysis of civil status and age data extracted from the 1834 municipal census yields interesting results. The findings are further amplified when placed into comparative context with the 1791 census and analyses of contemporary censuses of Mexico City. Although the colonial census excluded a significant portion of the population and the ratio of males to females was lower in 1791 than in 1834, certain structural continuities appear to be present in both censuses. For example, divorced individuals and those living in consensual unions were likely counted as married couples, while single mothers were probably counted as widows. Moreover, the data show that the proportions of married, widowed, and single people in 1834 Toluca were remarkably similar to those of 1791. These findings suggest a strong continuity in marriage patterns

between 1791 and 1834, despite the exclusion of indigenous people from the earlier census.

Almost half of Toluca's population ages fifteen and older were married. This proportion is very similar to that of 1842 Mexico City, where 49.8 percent of the population was married. Gender differentials were almost the same, too. In Toluca, 66.2 percent, and in Mexico City 64 percent, of males were married. Similarly, the percentage of females who were married in Toluca was 39.7 and in Mexico City 40.7. On the average, men and women married for the first time at a somewhat younger age in Toluca than in Mexico City. The mean age at first marriage in Toluca was calculated as 21.3 for females and 23 for males. Moreover, the brides and grooms were close in age, as they were in Mexico City, suggesting a measure of equality in the unions.

In 1834 Toluca, almost 60 percent of individuals who were age twenty-five and older were married. The breakdown by gender reveals that males were much more likely to be married than females. Just over three-quarters of males in this age group were married (77.6 percent), while only 44.8 percent of females twenty-five and older were married. Women were much more likely to be single, at 23.6 percent, than males, at 13.1 percent. If widows are included in the calculation, then 55.2 percent of adult females were unmarried, as compared to 22.4 percent of males. These findings are similar to those of Silvia Arrom, where she found that in 1811 Mexico City, 43.9 percent of women were married, and 22.5 percent were single. When widows were added to the group, the total number of unmarried women in 1811 Mexico City amounted to 56 percent of the total. Arrom's analysis of the 1848 census of Mexico City found that 58.7 percent were

unmarried. Moreover, based on analysis of the percentages of single adults by age group in Toluca, 20 percent of women ages forty and over probably never married. This percentage is higher than what Arrom found for Mexico City (16.6 percent in 1790, 16.9 percent in 1811, and 12.3 percent in 1848).

The percentage of widowed people in Toluca in 1834 and 1791 were almost identical: 10 percent in 1834 and 9.8 percent in 1791. Analysis of the widowed population by gender shows that the percentages of widows and widowers were slightly higher in the 1834 census, while the proportion of widows to widowers was almost the same in 1834 as it was in 1791, with a ratio of widows to widowers in 1791 of .18 and in 1834 or .21. The large number of widows in 1834 Toluca cannot be attributed in any significant way to women hiding their husbands from census takers to protect them from conscription, although there is evidence that this practice occurred. Most widows were over the age of thirty-five, so they would not have been married to draft-age males. The most likely explanation for the excessive number of widows is to be found in the surplus of females, which was more favorable to males who were seeking wives. Moreover, males tended to remarry quickly. As Sylvia Arrom has argued, older widows with children could not compete with younger, single women, unless they could bring assets to the marriage.

Finally, the census included income data for 1,818 people. These data illustrate the enormous social divide that existed between the very wealthy and the poor. Some scholars have argued that incomes of two reales per day were required for subsistence in nineteenth-century Mexico. However, this figure does not take into account the

possibility that some employed people received unpaid compensation in the form of food, clothing, and/or shelter, which would have likely been the case for the majority of low-income people in the service sector and for apprentices. Nevertheless, 77 percent of the population that reported an *utilidad diaria* in Toluca earned incomes of two reales or less per day. Moreover, 51.4 percent reported daily income of one real or less.

Analysis of these data reveals a strong correlation between income and gender. Females were much more likely than males to earn one real per day or less for their work. The majority of these women labored in the service sector as *criadas*; they lived in their employers' domiciles and likely received room and board as part of their compensation. Males vastly outnumbered females in every occupation where the daily income was over one real. Low-income males earning two reales per day or less were more likely to be heads of households, whereas low-income females were much more likely to be single or widowed. Thus, while males earned more than females, their low incomes had a more detrimental effect on their households' living standard. For the group earning 2.6 to eight reales per day, males outnumbered females by a factor of just over 9:1. Of the 127 individuals who earned over eight reales per day, only one female was counted among them. This group comprised the upper-middle and elite sectors of society in terms of daily income. With the exception of the one female in this group, these men worked at traditional elite occupations, primarily as merchants and hacienda owners. However, reflecting Toluca's position as the capital of the state of Mexico, government officials and their bureaucracy became a new component of Toluca's social elite.

Appendix 3.1

Sex Ratios by Age Cohort in Toluca, 1834

Age	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
0-4	415	352	1.18
5-9	419	394	1.06
10-14	357	418	0.85
15-19	210	502	0.42
20-24	204	439	0.46
25-29	237	367	0.65
30-34	274	377	0.73
35-39	165	207	0.80
40-44	169	241	0.70
45-49	83	86	0.97
50-54	123	152	0.81
55-59	45	50	0.90
60-64	72	76	0.95
65-69	13	10	1.30
70-74	14	22	0.64
75-79	10	4	2.50
80-84	4	18	0.22
85-89	1	2	0.50
90-94	2	5	0.40
95-99	0	0	0.00
100-105	0	1	0.00
Total	2,817	3,723	0.76

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Appendix 3.2

Population of Toluca by Age Cohort and Civil Status, 1834

Age	Males			Females		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed
0-4	415	0	0	352	0	0
5-9	419	0	0	393	1	0
10-14	357	0	0	409	8	0
15-19	182	27	1	400	97	5
20-24	92	109	3	218	193	28
25-29	70	164	3	116	207	45
30-34	25	239	10	83	209	85
35-39	20	133	12	49	109	49
40-44	15	139	15	48	101	92
45-49	4	71	8	22	32	32
50-54	11	88	24	28	36	88
55-59	4	30	11	10	17	23
60-64	6	51	15	17	8	51
65-69	1	10	2	0	2	8
70-74	1	9	4	3	2	17
75-79	2	5	3	1	0	3
80-84	0	1	3	4	2	12
85-89	0	1	0	0	0	2
90-94	0	0	2	1	0	4
95-100	0	0	0	0	0	0
101-104	0	0	0	0	0	1

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Appendix 3.3

Occupations by Sector and Gender in Toluca, 1834

Sector/Occupation	Female	Male	Total
Artisan	156	576	732
Adobe Maker		1	1
Apprentice		1	1
Assistant		1	1
Baker	1	13	14
Barber		15	15
Belt Maker		4	4
Binder		2	2
Blacksmith		17	17
Brass Maker		3	3
Brick Maker		1	1
Candle Maker		7	7
Carpenter		37	37
Ceramicist		1	1
Cigar Maker	6	8	14
Cigarette Maker	18	18	36
Cloak Maker		7	7
Cloth Worker	7	2	9
Coach Maker		6	6
Cobbler		87	87
Comber of Yarn		4	4
Confectioner	3	6	9
Cookie Maker		5	5
Cooper	1	4	5
Dyer		1	1
Engraver		1	1
Farrier		1	1
Fireworks Maker		8	8
Foreman/Overseer		2	2
Grinder		6	6
Hat Maker		13	13
Leatherworker		1	1

Appendix 3.3, continued

Artisan, continued	Female	Male	Total
Mason		6	6
Master Sculptor		1	1
Musician		5	5
Painter		25	25
Printer		7	7
<i>Reboso</i> Maker	2		2
Rope Maker		4	4
Saddle Maker		15	15
Serape Maker		17	17
Sculptor		1	1
Seamstress	91		91
Silk Spinner	6	2	8
Silversmith		13	13
Singer		2	2
Soap Maker		4	4
Tailor		64	64
Tanner		6	6
Tinsmith		2	2
Toy Maker		1	1
Watch Maker		3	3
Wax Maker		4	4
Weaver	5	108	113
Worker		1	1
Yarn Spinner	16	2	18
Church		8	8
Assistant Tithe Collector		1	1
Tithe Collector		1	1
Ecclesiastic		2	2
Sexton		4	4
Commerce	76	294	370
Agent/Mandatory		4	4
Atole Vender	8		8
Butcher		4	4
Charcoal Vender	1		1

Appendix 3.3, continued

Commerce, continued	Female	Male	Total
Chicken Vendor		1	1
Chile Vendor	2	1	3
Chocolate Vendor	1		1
Clerk		3	3
Flower Vendor	1		1
Fruit Vendor	3	1	4
Ice Vendor	1	7	8
Itinerant Trader		1	1
Majordomo		1	1
Merchant	25	173	198
Merchant's Apprentice		59	59
Muleteer		22	22
Petty Trader		3	3
Pork Producer		4	4
Pulque Vendor	16	10	26
Tamale Vendor	2		2
Tortilla Vendor	14		14
Vegetable Vendor	2		2
Government		128	128
Collector of Alcabala		1	1
Deputy/Representative		11	11
Diplomat		4	4
Employee		77	77
Guard		12	12
Legal Advisor		3	3
Minister/Cabinet Member		8	8
Night Watchman		7	7
Postal Official		1	1
Secretary		1	1
Treasurer		2	2
Vice Governor		1	1

Appendix 3.3, continued

	Female	Male	Total
Military		3	3
Military		3	3
Primary Sector (Agriculture)	4	79	83
Agave Harvester		6	6
Agricultural Worker		2	2
Day Laborer		18	18
Gardener	1	9	10
Granary Keeper		1	1
Hacendado/Rancher/Farmer	3	41	44
Shepard		2	2
Professional	3	51	54
Clerk		19	19
Doctor		7	7
Lawyer		7	7
Notary		4	4
Pharmacist		7	7
Surgeon		2	2
Teacher	3	5	8
Service	472	243	715
Caretaker (of public building)		3	3
Carrier		2	2
Carter		2	2
Coachman		12	12
Cook	4	2	6
Doorman		1	1
Gelder		1	1
Guard/Warden		3	3
Keeper of Gaming Table		1	1
Laundress	47		47
Messenger		2	2
Miller	4		4
Servant/Maid	416	210	626

Appendix 3.3, continued

Service, continued	Female	Male	Total
<i>Sirvienta</i> (Worker)		1	1
Traveler		2	2
Water Carrier		1	1
Wet Nurse	1		1
Other	15	11	26
Innkeeper	1		1
Landlord	13	4	17
Midwife	1		1
Rent Collector		7	7
Total	726	1,393	2,119

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Appendix 3.4

Female Occupations and Utilidad Diaria in Reales by Sector in Toluca, 1834

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Artisan		156
Baker		1
	3	1
Cigar Maker		6
	0	1
	1	2
	2	3
Cigarette Maker		18
	0	3
	1	9
	1.6	1
	2	3
	4	1
	8	1
Cloth Worker		7
	0	3
	1	3
	2	1
Confectioner		3
	0.6	2
	1	1
Cooper		1
	0.6	1
Reboso Maker		2
	0.6	2
Seamstress		91
	0	8
	0.3	2

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Seamstress, cont.	0.6	23
	1	56
	1.6	1
	2	1
Silk Spinner		6
	0	3
	1	2
	2	1
Weaver		5
	0	1
	0.6	1
	1	2
	2	1
Yarn Spinner		16
	0	5
	0.3	2
	0.6	8
	1	1
Commerce		76
Atole Vender		8
	0	4
	0.6	4
Charcoal Vender		1
	0.6	1
Chile Vendor		2
	0	1
	0.6	1

Appendix 3.4, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Chocolate Vendor		1
	0.6	1
Fruit Vendor		3
	0	1
	1	2
Merchant		25
	0	3
	0.6	2
	1	6
	2	3
	3	4
	4	5
	6	1
	8	1
Vegetable Vendor		2
	0.6	1
	1	1
Pulque Vender		16
	0	3
	0.6	3
	1	7
	1.6	1
	2	1
	3	1
Tortilla Vendor		14
	0	2
	0.3	4
	0.6	7
	1	1
Flower Vendor		1
	0	1

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Tamale Vendor		2
	0.3	1
	2	1
Ice Vendor		1
	2	1
Other		15
Innkeeper		1
	1	1
Landlord		13
	0	1
	2	2
	3	2
	8	7
	24	1
Midwife		1
	8	1
Primary Sector (Agriculture)		4
Gardener		1
	0	1
Hacendado/Rancher		3
	0	1
	1	1
	2	1
Professional		3
Teacher		3
	0	1
	1.6	1
	2	1

Appendix 3.4, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Service		472
Cook		4
	0	1
	0.6	2
	0.9	1
Laundress		47
	0	10
	0.3	2
	0.6	20
	1	15
Miller		4
	0	1
	0.3	1
	0.6	2
Servant/Maid		416
	0	39
	0.3	67
	0.6	229
	0.9	9
	1	62
	1.6	4
	2	3
	3	3
Wet Nurse		1
	1.6	1
Total		726

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Appendix 3.5

Male Occupations and Utilidad Diaria in Reales by Sector in Toluca, 1834

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Artisan		576
Adobe Maker		1
	2	1
Apprentice		1
	0	1
Assistant		1
	0	1
Baker		13
	0	3
	0.6	1
	1	2
	1.6	1
	2	4
	3	2
Barber		15
	0	2
	1	5
	2	7
	5	1
Belt Maker		4
	0	1
	2	2
	3	1
Binder		2
	3	1
	4	1
Blacksmith		17
	0	6

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Blacksmith, cont.	0.6	1
	1	2
	1.6	1
	2	6
	3	1
Brass Maker		3
	0	1
	2	2
Brick Maker		1
	2	1
Candle Maker		7
	1	1
	2	5
	4	1
Carpenter		37
	0	7
	1	7
	1.6	1
	2	12
	3	5
	4	5
Ceramicist		1
	1	1
Cigar Maker		8
	0	1
	2	2
	3	4
	4	1

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Cigarette Maker		18
	0.6	1
	1	5
	2	7
	3	4
	5	1
Cloak Maker		7
	0	3
	1	3
	2	1
Cloth Worker		2
	1	1
	2	1
Coach Maker		6
	0	1
	1	1
	2	3
	3	1
Cobbler		87
	0	13
	0.6	2
	1	21
	1.6	4
	2	44
	3	1
	4	1
	6	1
Comber of Yarn		4
	0	2
	0.6	1
	2	1
Confectioner		6

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Confectioner, cont.	0	1
	1	3
	2	2
Cookie Maker		5
	0	1
	1	2
	2	1
	4	1
Cooper		4
	1	3
	2	1
Dyer		1
	1	1
Engraver		1
	3	1
Farrier		1
	3	1
Fireworks Maker		8
	0	2
	0.6	2
	1	1
	1.6	1
	2	2
Foreman		2
	1	1
	2	1
Grinder		6
	0	2
	1	1
	2	1

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Grinder, cont.	3	2
Hat Maker		13
	0	4
	1	1
	1.6	1
	2	7
Leatherworker		1
	1.6	1
Mason		6
	0	2
	0.6	1
	1	1
	2	1
	3	1
Master Sculptor		1
	4	1
Musician		5
	0	1
	1	1
	2	2
	3	1
Painter		25
	0	7
	1	5
	2	8
	3	3
	4	2
Printer		7
	1	1
	3	1
	4	3

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Printer, cont.	12	1
	24	1
Rope Maker		4
	0	1
	1.6	2
	2	1
Saddle Maker		15
	0	3
	0.3	1
	0.6	3
	1	1
	2	5
	3	2
Sculptor		1
	2	1
Serape Maker		17
	0	1
	0.6	1
	1	5
	1.6	7
	2	2
	6	1
Silk Spinner		2
	1	1
	2	1
Silversmith		13
	0	3
	0.6	1
	1	2
	2	3
	3	2
	3.6	1

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Silversmith, cont.	4	1
Singer		2
	1.6	1
	2	1
Soap Maker		4
	0	1
	1.6	1
	2	2
Tailor		64
	0	9
	0.3	1
	1	8
	1.6	2
	2	31
	2.6	2
	3	6
	4	3
	6	1
	8	1
Tanner		6
	0	2
	0.6	1
	1.6	1
	2	1
	3	1
Thread Spinner		2
	0	1
	1	1
Tinsmith		2
	1	1
	3	1

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Toy Maker		1
	1.6	1
Watch Maker		3
	0	1
	2	1
	2.6	1
Wax Maker		4
	0	1
	1	1
	4	2
Weaver		108
	0	15
	0.6	2
	1	17
	1.6	8
	2	62
	2.6	1
	3	2
	4	1
Worker		1
	2	1
Church		8
Tithe Collector		1
	0	1
Ecclesiastic		3
	0	1
	8	2
Sexton		4
	0	2
	1.6	1
	2	1

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Commerce		294
Agent/Mandatory		4
	0	3
	6	1
Butcher		4
	2	4
Chicken Vendor		1
	0	1
Chile Vendor		1
	2	1
Clerk		3
	0	3
Fruit Vendor		1
	0	1
Ice Vendor		7
	0.6	2
	1	2
	2	2
	3	1
Itinerant Trader		1
	1	1
Majordomo		1
	3.6	1
Merchant		173
	0	21
	0.6	2
	1	8
	1.6	2
	2	37

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Merchant, cont.	2.6	1
	3	13
	4	31
	4.6	1
	6	9
	8	18
	9	2
	9.6	1
	10	2
	12	2
	14	1
	16	15
	24	3
	32	2
	40	1
	48	1
Apprentice Merchant		59
	0	4
	0.6	5
	1	6
	1.6	4
	2	23
	2.6	1
	3	7
	4	6
	6	2
	20	1
Muleteer		22
	0	7
	1	6
	2	6
	3	2
	4	1
Petty Trader		3
	0	1

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Petty Trader, cont.	1	1
	3	1
Pork Producer		4
	0	2
	2	1
	4	1
Pulque Vender		10
	0	1
	1	3
	2	5
	3	1
Government		128
Collector of Alcabalas		1
	8	1
Deputy/Representative		11
	66	11
Diplomat		4
	2	1
	3	1
	4	1
	8	1
Employee		77
	0	7
	1.6	1
	2	2
	3	1
	4	4
	6	9
	8	10
	10	6
	10.6	4
	11	3

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Employee, cont.	13	2
	13.3	1
	14	1
	15	1
	16	7
	18	1
	19	1
	20	2
	24	2
	26	3
	33	1
	35	1
	40	3
	48	1
	65.6	1
	66	2
Guard		12
	0	1
	2	2
	6	1
	6.9	1
	8	6
	10	1
Legal Advisor		3
	32	1
	48	1
	66	1
Minister/Cabinet Member		8
	66	8
Night Watchman		7
	0	1
	1.6	1
	2	3
	2.6	2

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Postal Official		1
	2	1
Secretary		1
	8	1
Treasurer		2
	8	1
	24	1
Vice Governor		1
	104.2	1
Military		3
Military		3
	6	2
	66	1
Other		11
Landlord		4
	6	1
	8	2
	16	1
Rent Collector		7
	0.6	1
	1	2
	2	3
	5	1
Primary Sector (Agriculture)		79
Agave Harvester		6
	0	1
	0.9	2
	1	3
Agrarian Worker		2
	0.6	1

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Ag. Worker, cont.	1	1
Day Laborer		18
	0	1
	0.6	1
	1	3
	1.6	9
	2	4
Gardener		9
	0	1
	1.6	1
	2	7
Granary Keeper		1
	1	1
Hacendado/Rancher		41
	0	11
	1	1
	2	8
	3	2
	4	2
	5	1
	8	7
	16	4
	24	3
	32	1
	55	1
Shepard (lambs)		2
	0	1
	2	1
Professional		51
Clerk		19
	0	2
	2	3

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Clerk, cont.	3	4
	4	7
	6	1
	8	1
	16	1
Doctor		7
	0	2
	4	1
	6	1
	8	1
	12	1
	16	1
Lawyer		7
	0	1
	4	1
	8	1
	12	1
	16	1
	17	1
	37.4	1
Notary		4
	6	1
	8	1
	16	1
	39	1
Pharmacist		7
	0	4
	4	1
	7	1
	16	1
Surgeon		2
	3	1
	16	1

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Teacher		5
	0	2
	8	1
	12	1
	14	1
Service		243
Caretaker (of public buildings)		3
	1	1
	4	1
	10	1
Carrier		2
	1	1
	2	1
Carter		2
	1	1
	2	1
Coachman		12
	0	1
	1	1
	1.6	4
	2	6
Cook		2
	0	1
	2	1
Doorman		1
	0	1
Gelder		1
	0.6	1
Guard		3
	0	2

Appendix 3.5, continued

Sector/Occupation	Earnings	Total
Guard, cont.	3	1
Keeper of gaming table		1
	1.3	1
Messenger		2
	0	2
Servant/Maid		210
	0	17
	0.3	26
	0.6	86
	0.9	8
	1	58
	1.3	1
	1.6	5
	2	8
	3	1
Worker (<i>Sirviente</i>)		1
	10	1
Traveler		2
	1	2
Water Carrier		1
	0.6	1
Total		1393

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

Notes

¹ “Distribución de las calles de la ciudad para un censo general,” 29 August 1820, in *Catálogo de Extractos de las Actas de Cabildo del Ayuntamiento de Toluca, 1814-1855* ed. María del Pilar Iracheta Cenecorta (Toluca, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, 2006), 20.

² “Retraso en la elaboración del padrón censal,” 23 January 1821, in *Catálogo de Extractos*, ed. Iracheta Cenecorta, 22.

³ AGNEM, S.H., caja 208, leg. 5, 1823.

⁴ Politicians debated the meaning of racial/ethnic equality as enshrined in the liberal Constitution of 1824. During a March 1824 meeting of the constituent congress of the state of Mexico, José María Luis Mora argued for the elimination of the term *indio* from public discourse. Later that year, when Carlos María de Bustamante proposed that a monument to José María Morelos be erected in an Indian parish in Loreto, Mora vehemently objected with his declaration that Indians no longer existed in Mexico. Bustamante later sarcastically decried this constitutional transformation as a “*valiente ilusión*.” Charles A. Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821–1853* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), 218; Rina Ortiz Peralta, “Inexistentes por decreto: disposiciones legislativas sobre los pueblos de indios en el siglo XIX. El caso de Hidalgo,” in Antonio Escobar O., *Indio, nación y comunidad en el México del siglo XIX*, (México, D.F.: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos: Centro de Investigaciones y Centroamericanos: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1993), 153-169; see also José Antonio Aguilar Rivera, “The Liberal Cloak: Emergency Powers in Nineteenth-Century Mexico” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1996).

⁵ For a discussion of the Mexican nobility, see Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780–1826* (Austin: University of Texas, 1976).

⁶ Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic Disease in Mexico City, 1761-1813: An Administrative, Social, and Medical Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 157–158.

⁷ Rodolfo Acuna-Soto, Leticia Calderon Romero, and James H. Maguire, “Large Epidemics of Hemorrhagic Fevers in Mexico, 1545–1815,” *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 62, no. 6 (2000): 733–739.

⁸ GSU, microfilm, roll 440958. Pedro Canales arrived at a slightly different figure (648) for Spanish burials in 1813. Pedro Canales Guerrero, “Propuesta metodológica y estudio de caso ¿Crisis alimentaria o crisis epidémicas? Tendencia demográfica y mortalidad diferencial, Zinacantepec, 1613–1816,” in *Problemas demográficos vistos desde la historia. Análisis de fuentes, comportamiento y distribución de la población en México*,

siglos XVI-XIX, eds. América Molina del Villar y David Navarrete (México: El Colegio de Michoacán, CIESAS, 2006), 67–115.

⁹ Canales Guerrero, under “Cuadro A.”

¹⁰ “Higiene y Salubridad Publica Ordenando tomar medidas preventivas en contra del cólera morbus,” 10 January 1833, in *Catálogo de Extractos*, ed. Iracheta Cenecorta, 104.

¹¹ GSU, microfilm, roll 440959.

¹² “Medidas en contra de la epidemia de cólera morbus,” 20 July 1833, in *Catálogo de Extractos*, ed. Iracheta Cenecorta, 110–111.

¹³ “Medidas en contra de la epidemia de cólera morbus,” 12 August 1833, in *Catálogo de Extractos*, ed. Iracheta Cenecorta, 111; While the ethnic designation of Spaniard ceased to be used in official government records soon after independence, the church in Toluca continued to employ racial terminology until 1832, when it replaced españoles with *Americanos de razón*, following the colonial convention of distinguishing between Indians and non-Indians. GSU, microfilm, roll 440959.

¹⁴ See notes 1–3 above.

¹⁵ On civic militias in republican Mexico see Manuel Chust, “Armed Citizens: The Civic Militia in the Origins of the Mexican National State, 1812–1827,” in *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, ed. Jaime E. Rodríguez (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 235–252.

¹⁶ AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

¹⁷ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

¹⁸ GSU, microfilm, roll 440928, 11 April 1833.

¹⁹ Newbold, *Population Geography*, 64.

²⁰ Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic Disease in Mexico City, 1761-1813: An Administrative, Social, and Medical Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 70–156, *passim*.

²¹ Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 313, n. 17.

²² Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein, *Población y estructura social de la Ciudad de México, 1790–1842* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2004), 150.

²³ This calculation excludes thirty-nine individuals named Guadalupe and Trinidad, whose genders could not be identified.

²⁴ Arrom found that in 1811 Mexico City divorced people were counted as married, although they were legally separated. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 113.

²⁵ 1791 Toluca Census Database; 1834 Toluca Census Database.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Arrom does not provide numerical data. This conclusion is derived from observation of the population pyramid on page 107.

²⁸ Pérez Toledo and Klein, *Población y estructura social*, 136.

²⁹ The census recorded Francisco Hinojosa as a married, twelve-year-old carpenter, who earned two reales a day. Hinojosa's age is suspiciously low for a married male. There were four other people in his household: three children and a thirty-year-old female, Gertrudis López, whose civil status was not recorded. Baptismal records for the eleven-year-old Vicenta Hinojosa, the four-year-old Gabino, and the one-year-old Victoriano, indicate that their parents were Francisco Hinojosa and Gertrudis López de Santa Ana. The couple also gave birth to José María Francisco de Paula Ambrosio on 10 December 1825. Although he was actually around nine years old, this boy was probably the twelve-year-old Francisco reported in the census. He was likely the older sibling of the other children. His age appears to have been recorded incorrectly; Gertrudis was in fact his mother; and his father, the carpenter also named Francisco Hinojosa, was absent. GSU, microfilm, roll 441191, 30 July 1822, and 10 December 1825; roll 441192, 21 February 1830; roll 441152, 23 December 1832.

³⁰ According to the census, thirteen-year-old Guadalupe Sánchez was married to twenty-five-year-old José María Osorio. The census listed María Antonia Sánchez as a twenty-eight-year-old doncella as a resident of the same household. Baptism records show José Osorio and María Sánchez as parents of a child baptized in Toluca on 1 May 1834. Clearly, the census taker mistakenly identified Guadalupe as married when she was in fact a doncella. Guadalupe was probably María Antonia's younger sister. GSU, microfilm, roll 441192, 1 May 1834.

³¹ Nine-year-old María Josefa Rendón lived with forty-one year old María Anastasia, who was also married and without a named spouse. The census does not indicate what relationship existed between the two females. It is possible that María Anastasia was María Josefa's mother, or perhaps some other family member. Similarly, the twelve-year-old María Hilaria was listed as married and without a husband. She lived with José Rafael García, a thirty-four-year-old widower and eight-year-old José García. It appears likely

that María Hilaria was José Rafael's daughter. The census provides no clues as to the whereabouts of these girls' husbands. It is, of course, possible that the census taker's notations were mistaken. 1834 Toluca Census Database.

³² María Josefa de Jesús was baptized on 3 March 1834; Agustín María Alvino was baptized on 1 March 1836; Juana Teresa de Jesús was baptized on 28 January 1838; and María Paula Concepción de los Dolores was baptized on 15 January 1840. GSU, microfilm, rolls 441192 and 441193.

³³ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

³⁴ Ibid.; Pérez Toledo and Klein, *Población y estructura social*, 139.

³⁵ J.H. Hajnal, "Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying," *Population Studies* (Nov. 1953): 130. The age at first marriage was calculated using the method put forth by J.H. Hajnal. This is the method that was employed by Arrom, and by Pérez Toledo and Klein.

³⁶ See Appendix 3.4.

³⁷ Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 116–117; Pérez Toledo and Klein, *Población y estructura social*, 140.

³⁸ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

³⁹ Ibid.; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 116–117.

⁴⁰ Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 119.

⁴¹ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁴² Demographers have used the percentage single calculations in the age group 45-49 to identify individuals for whom the likelihood of marrying for the first time was extremely small. For part of her analysis of the 1811 census of Mexico City, Arrom made the case for extending this age group to 45-54, due to the "heaping" tendency around age 50, which was common in censuses that were produced during the colonial period and the first decades of the republic. This condition applied to the 1834 Toluca census, as well. Employing the 45-54 age grouping instead of the forty and older grouping provided little difference in the findings of lifelong spinsters and bachelors. Of 206 males in Toluca, fifteen were single (7 percent). Of 238 females, fifty were single (21 percent). The same holds true for Arrom's analysis of the 1811 census. Using the 45–54 grouping, she found that 16.2 percent of females were single. Employing the forty and older grouping the figure was 16.9 percent. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 120, 135, 314, n. 26.

⁴³ As a point of comparison, Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein found that in 1842 Mexico City widowers comprised a similar percentage of the total male population at 3.99 percent. Widows represented a slightly higher percentage of the population at 18.86 percent, reflecting the greater tendency for widowed women to migrate to the capital. Pérez Toledo and Klein, *Población y estructura social*, 138, 142.

⁴⁴ By occupation sector, five worked as artisans and manufacturers, four in commerce, and six in the service sector.

⁴⁵ GSU, microfilm, roll 441152; Ignacio Antonio de Jesús Timoteo, 22 August 1828; María de Jesús Antonia Juliana, 17 June 1830; José Francisco Tranquilino de Jesús, 8 July 1832; María Teresa Antonia de Jesús, 19 October 1835; María Micaela Francisca de Paula de Jesús, 29 September 1836.

⁴⁶ Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 118.

⁴⁷ As a point of comparison, the 1842 census of Mexico City listed occupations for just over 70 percent of the male population and 16 percent of the female population. The Toluca census included more male and female occupations as a percentage of their total numbers than the Mexico City census, this despite the fact that 20 percent of all occupations in the capital city were in the military sector, while almost none were in Toluca. Pérez Toledo and Klein, *Población y estructura social*, 179-180.

⁴⁸ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁴⁹ Richard A. Warren, *Vagrants and Citizens: Politics and the Masses in Mexico City from Colony to Republic* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Books, 2001), 139.

⁵⁰ Frederick J. Shaw, "The Artisan in Mexico City (1824-1853)," in *El Trabajo y los Trabajadores en la historia de México*, comps. Elsa Cecilia Frost, Michael C. Meyer, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979), 415.

⁵¹ Thomson, 83.

⁵² 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Shaw, 414-415.

⁵⁶ Thomson does not elaborate on the wages required to support a family of four at subsistence levels. However, extrapolating from his statement, earning two reales per day for a six-day workweek would provide a weekly earning of 1.5 pesos. A family of four would earn six pesos per week under these conditions, which is close to Shaw's estimation. Thomson, 95-96.

⁵⁷ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Thomson, 91.

⁶¹ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

Chapter 4

BARRIOS AND PUEBLOS

Toluca may have been the largest Hispanic population center in the region, but it was also one of the valley's most important indigenous settlements, with its own municipal government, which held regular elections for *oficiales de república* (municipal officers) at least until 1811.¹ In 1746, José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez counted 412 indigenous families among Toluca's population. Priests at the convent of San Francisco conducted religious services in Spanish and Nahuatl, according to the spiritual needs and linguistic requirements of their congregations.² Nahuatl continued to be widely spoken in Toluca into the nineteenth century. However, fluency in Spanish language was likely widespread among members of indigenous communities who lived in close proximity to Hispanic populations. Thus, in 1801 the corregidor Agustín Arozqueta, acting as a temporary judge (*juez receptor*), noted that José Mariano García, a witness of "calidad Yndio," was "bien instruido en nuestra castellana por que no necesito de interprete del estado."³ Nahuatl testaments that were produced in and around the area of Toluca proper reflect thorough exposure to Spanish language and culture; yet, they also demonstrate that most of the population continued to speak indigenous languages among themselves well into the nineteenth century.⁴

The two preceding chapters included little discussion of the predominantly indigenous barrios and pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction, because the 1791 Revillagigedo census excluded indigenous people, and therefore the places where they lived, and the 1834 municipal census did not include overt ethnic categories. However, absent the

ethnogeographic constraints of the colonial census, the 1834 census sought to record information on the entire population in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction. This meant that an additional 13,875 people who lived in the city's hinterland, the majority of whom were indigenous people, were included in the census. Of these, 369 lived in five separate barrios of Toluca, which were contiguous to the city, while three barrios had been subsumed by the city and their populations were included in the city portion of the census. An additional 11,813 people inhabited the twenty-eight pueblos located in Toluca's periphery, mostly within a five-mile radius of the city's center, while 2,062 people lived on haciendas and ranchos in Toluca's jurisdiction. The 1834 census confirms that aside from the modest size of the city population, Toluca continued to be surrounded by a densely populated, overwhelmingly indigenous hinterland, as it had been throughout the preceding centuries.⁵

This chapter's principal objective is to present a social profile of the people who lived in the barrios and pueblos in Toluca's orbit during the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. While the 1791 census did not provide data on indigenous people, it did enumerate Hispanic populations living in indigenous communities. Thus, some of Toluca's barrios were home to small numbers of Hispanic people, while others had no Hispanic inhabitants. Only three pueblos in Toluca's hinterland had significant Hispanic populations; others were home to only a few non-Indian residents; and most had none. The 1791 census only indirectly provides information on the indigenous population, by implying where the Hispanic population was not, but it provides no sense of actual numbers of people, which must be deduced

from earlier counts. The 1834 census did not include overt ethnic categories, but naming patterns long in place provide a reliable means for identifying large portions of the indigenous population. Terminology employed in the census manuscript sometimes explicitly classified indigenous and non-indigenous people as *indígenas* (a term seldom used during the colonial period) and *vecinos de razón* (a variation of *gente de razón*, the colonial category for non-Indians), despite the official abolition of ethnic categories after independence. This evidence largely confirms conclusions based on the analysis of naming patterns.

The chapter begins with a brief definition of the Spanish concepts of *barrios* and *pueblos* and their relationships to indigenous sociopolitical structures. It then identifies the *barrios* of Toluca as recorded in various Spanish language sources over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ending with the *barrios* included in the 1834 census. Spanish officials often used the terms *barrio* and *pueblo* interchangeably in reference to the same entities, reflecting their ignorance or misunderstanding of, or perhaps their indifference to, the internal organization of indigenous communities. Indigenous people perceived themselves as members of settlements called *tlaxilacalli*. Typically, these self-governing units had interrelationships with other *tlaxilacalli* with which they combined to form *altepetl*, or ethnic states. The chapter considers some of what is known about these relationships based on analysis of published Nahuatl testaments recorded in the area of Toluca proper during the eighteenth century. Next, the chapter examines aspects of post-independence continuity and change in the practices of indigenous government, by analyzing names and offices of municipal officials as

represented in powers of attorney notarized in Toluca in 1826. These documents point to a persistent local political tradition, which combined elements of Spanish municipal structures and indigenous governmental concepts, some of which had roots in preconquest times. The last section discusses the population characteristics of Toluca's barrios and selected pueblos, based on the 1791 and 1834 censuses.

The barrios and pueblos of nineteenth-century Toluca were pre-Hispanic in origin. Spaniards had introduced the terms *barrio* and *pueblo* in the sixteenth century as a part of their political and economic administration of the colony. Like the institutions of *encomienda* (grants of indigenous labor and tribute), parish, indigenous municipality, and *corregimiento*, barrios and pueblos were Spanish concepts that were superimposed on existing indigenous structures. Spaniards applied the term *pueblo* to indigenous ethnic states—the *altepetl* in central Mexico. *Tlaxilacalli*, the constituent parts of the *altepetl*, were identified by the Spaniards as *barrios*, or wards. As components of the *altepetl*, *barrios* were typically located in a contiguous area. In other parts of central Mexico, Spaniards used the term *estancia* to refer to *tlaxilacalli* that were constituent parts of an *altepetl* but located further away, but this term does not appear to have been used in the Toluca Valley. Some variation and more complex formations of this schema occurred with regularity. It should be noted that Spaniards were not strict in their use of the term *pueblo*, which from the beginning could be applied to any indigenous settlement regardless of its relationship to another entity.⁶

Spanish provincial administrators fundamentally misunderstood indigenous settlement patterns and the principles of indigenous social and political organization. They did however recognize the presence of indigenous rulers in certain communities, whom they used to oversee the collection of tribute and the provision of labor services. For administrative purposes, Spanish officials initially ranked indigenous communities based on the presence or absence of a *tlatoani*, or dynastic ruler. Altepetl where a tlatoani resided were recognized as *cabeceras* (literally, head towns). From the Spanish perspective, surrounding communities that had an allegiance to the tlatoani, and paid taxes and provided services to him, were deemed *sujetos*, or subject towns, of the cabecera. Sujetos could be either pueblos or barrios, depending on the situation. The resulting cabecera-sujeto complexes were the bases of large provincial districts, the *corregimiento*. These administrative districts usually included several cabeceras, with a Spanish administrator, the *corregidor*, based in one main cabecera. In a few situations, where entities were sufficiently large, the *corregimiento* could be based on one cabecera, but such was not the case in the Toluca Valley. Due in part to the cellular organization of the altepetl, which the Spaniards never quite grasped, there was a longstanding tendency for sujetos to seek independent status from the cabecera. By the early nineteenth century cabeceras still existed, as documents in the Toluca region continue to refer to some pueblos as cabeceras after independence, but the cabecera-sujeto complex had diminished, being replaced by “the concept of undifferentiated pueblos.”⁷

Spanish Perspectives

Table 4.1 shows the barrios of Toluca as recorded in selected Spanish language sources at specific points in time. These examples provide little insight into the internal organization of the altepetl of Toluca (or any others in the area) or its relationship to its surrounding barrios (tlaxilacalli). The irregular application of the term barrio by Spanish officials suggests a lack of understanding of the relationship between the altepetl and tlaxilacalli, except possibly in the most basic sense, and/or an indifference to that relationship altogether. As the table shows, many of these communities retained their pre-Hispanic names along with their more recent Spanish appellations well into the nineteenth century. The table employs the spelling conventions for indigenous place names as they appeared in the sources.

Table 4.1

Barrios of Toluca as Identified in Selected Sources, 1603-1834

<i>Aldeas of Toluca, 1603</i> ⁸	<i>Barrios of Toluca, 1805</i>
Santa Clara Cuzacatlan	San Juan Evangelista
San Juan Evangelista Quiaucingo	Santa María Magdalena Tlacopa
Santa Bárbara Mixcoatl	San Luis
Santa Cruz Tlancingo	Santa Clara
San Miguel Aticpac	Santa Bárbara Xolalpa
Pinahuizco	Santa Bárbara Tepepa
San Bernardino Zocoyotitlan	San Miguel Aticpac
Cuitlaxmictlan	Pueblo de San Miguel Pinahuisco
San Buenaventura Tulytic Cocomaloyan	Santiago Tlaxomulco
San Mateo Ostotitlan	
San Antonio Tl[a]zintla	<i>Barrios of Toluca, 1815</i>
	San Miguel Aticpan
<i>Barrios of Toluca, 1635</i> ⁹	San Miguel Pinaouisco
Santa Clara Coscatlan	Santa Bárbara Tepexpa
San Juan Evangelista	Santa Bárbara Xolalpa
Santa Bárbara Miscoac	San Juan Evangelista
San Miguel Aticpac	Santiago Claxomulco
and its barrio Pinaguisco	San Luis Obispo
San Bernardino Zocoyotitlan	Santa Clara Coscatlan
and its barrio Cuitlaxmititlan	Tlacopa
Santa Cruz Tlansingo	
	<i>Barrios of Toluca, 1834</i>
<i>Barrios of Toluca, 1725</i>	Santa Clara
San Miguel Pinahuisco	San Juan Evangelista
San Bernardino Cocoyatitlan	San Miguel Aticpac
Santa Clara Coxcatlan	San Miguel Pinahuizco
San Sebastián Xalpan	San Luis Obispo
San Diego	Santa Bárbara Xolalpan
San Juan Bautista Mazatlán	Santa Bárbara Tepepan
San Juan Evangelista Cuauhzingo	
Santa Bárbara Mixcoac	

Sources: Javier Romero Quiroz, *La Ciudad de Toluca: Su Historia* (México: Gobierno del Estado de México, 1973), 2:19, 2:89, 2:97; AHMT, Padrones, 1834, ff. 133-41, unless otherwise noted.

The 1603 list of barrios presented in table 4.1 is based on an inspection (*vista de ojos*) of the territorial limits of the Marquesado del Valle (Cortes's hereditary estate) conducted by Juan de Fonseca, a judge of the Real Audiencia of Mexico. The report regularly employed the generic term *pueblo* for indigenous settlements in the Toluca region, however it was not used in a consistent manner. For example, the document sometimes referred to the same pueblos as *aldeas*, the Spanish term for villages, which was rarely used in Spanish America.¹⁰ Moreover, some of the same communities were alternatively called *barrios* and at other times *sujetos*, as was the case for San Miguel Totocuitlapilco, San Sebastián, [San Juan Bautista] Mazatla, and Santa Ana.¹¹ The report identified eleven barrios in Toluca's vicinity, which it also called *aldeas*. Comparison of the 1603 list of barrios with subsequent lists suggests that three of the communities belonged to a different category of settlement altogether. Later documents refer to San Buenaventura Tulytic Cocomaloyan, San Mateo Ostotitlan, and San Antonio Tl[a]zintla as pueblos—not barrios—that were subordinate to Toluca.¹² This irregular use of terminology may have been affected by the indigenous resettlement program (*congregación*), the latest phase of which occurred in the Toluca region around the same time as the inspection. The relocation and nucleation of some depopulated indigenous communities, at times combined to form multiethnic communities, may have confused Spanish officials' understanding of the relationships between indigenous settlements.¹³

A 1635 report analyzed by Stephanie Wood classified eight communities in close proximity to Toluca as subordinate barrios. (See Table 4.1.) At this time, two of these barrios were identified with barrios of their own, a relationship not acknowledged in the

1603 vista de ojos or in any other documents under consideration here.¹⁴ According to the report, Santa Clara Coscatlan, San Juan Evangelista, Santa Bárbara Miscoac, and San Miguel Aticpac and its barrio Pinaguisco were populated by Matlatzinca.¹⁵ Three other barrios named in the report were: Santa Cruz Tlancingo and San Bernardino Zocoyotitlan and its barrio Cuitlaxmititlan. Santa Cruz Tlancingo was identified as a barrio where Spaniards owned houses, however this settlement did not appear as a barrio or aldea after 1635. All eight barrios appeared on a list of thirty-five pueblos that were subordinate to Toluca.¹⁶ The inclusion of these barrios as pueblos suggests a continued indifference to their relationships to other indigenous entities or, perhaps more likely, an overlapping of the terminology used to describe them.

Javier Romero Quiroz published material on the composition of Toluca's barrios based on a register of houses (*matrícula de casas*) recorded in 1725; a tributary census conducted in 1805; and a military tax (*contribución patriótica*) list compiled in 1815. This information is included in Table 4.1. In 1725, for the purposes of the *matrícula de casas*, and only from the Spanish perspective, San Bernardino and its barrio Cuitlaxmititlan (or Cuitlaxmictlan) had lost the differentiation that separated them, as San Bernardino was recorded without its barrio being named. San Bernardino and Cuitlaxmititlan were included as barrios (or aldeas) of Toluca in the two previous sources. Located approximately a kilometer west of the city, San Bernardino had been a sujeto of Toluca until it achieved pueblo status in 1796.¹⁷ Similarly, in 1725 San Miguel Pinahuisco was named without its counterpart San Miguel Aticpac. The barrios of San Sebastián and San Diego also appeared in the *matrícula de casas*, but not before or after.

San Sebastián gained pueblo status in 1792.¹⁸ According to Romero Quiroz, in 1791 San Diego was subordinate to the pueblo of San Juan Bautista. San Diego appears on nineteenth-century maps of Toluca and in the 1834 census as a part of the city itself, but not a separate barrio, as does San Juan Bautista. By 1834, these communities appear to have been absorbed into the city of Toluca, having lost the characteristics that had previously identified them as barrios.¹⁹

The tributary census of 1805 and the tax register of 1815 included three new communities located near Toluca as barrios: Santa María Magdalena Tlacopa (or just Tlacopa in 1815), San Luis (Obispo), and Santiago Tlaxomulco. Of course, these were not actually new settlements, only now they were being newly included as barrios of the city. At the time of the 1834 census, of these three communities, only San Luis Obispo remained a barrio of Toluca. Six communities were consistently recognized as barrios throughout the early period and up until 1834. All were located in close proximity to the city of Toluca. Santa Clara and San Juan Evangelista were named as barrios in all sources, as were the barrios of San Miguel and Santa Bárbara. In some sources San Miguel Aticpan and San Miguel Pinahuisco, which were located in close proximity to one another, were combined into a single entity. The same was the case for Santa Bárbara Xolalpan and Santa Bárbara Tepepan.

Spanish language documents reflect their authors' perceptions and limited understandings of the complexities inherent in the organization of indigenous communities. These records only vaguely hint at the relationships between Toluca and its barrios outside the structure of the cabecera-sujeto complex. Clearly, a hierarchical power

relationship existed between some indigenous communities, which led to struggles that drove subordinate entities to appeal to Spanish authorities for independent status as pueblos. In Toluca, Stephanie Wood's research has demonstrated this to be the case for San Bernardino and San Sebastián. However, the internal organization of the altepetl of Toluca and its relationship to tlaxilacalli in the area remains inaccessible through the lens of Spanish language sources.

Indigenous Perspectives

Recent scholarship employing documents written in Nahuatl has illuminated important aspects of indigenous daily life in the Toluca region from the perspectives of the people themselves. Yet, even with these remarkable sources, the internal organization of the altepetl of Toluca and its relationship to its associated tlaxilacalli remain elusive. Caterina Pizzigoni's study of Nahuatl testaments includes transcription, translation, and analysis of thirty-eight testaments from Toluca proper.²⁰ The testaments provide little insight into the altepetl of Toluca in the context of tlaxilacalli in the area, however. In reference to unit names that appear in the Toluca testaments Pizzigoni states: "The Toluca area almost always names the tlaxilacalli alone, apparently taking the overarching altepetl as a given, as was often the case in the Nahua tradition when the altepetl was large and complex (the Testaments of Culhuacan are of this type)."²¹ For this reason, the city or altepetl of Toluca was mentioned in only two of the thirty-eight testaments. Andrés Nicolás's testament recorded in 1671 referred to his place of residence as "my tlaxilacalli Santa Bárbara Mixcoac in the altepetl and city of Toluca."²² This testament

combined Spanish and indigenous categories: the ciudad and the altepetl of Toluca. Moreover, it suggests the type of relationship that one might expect from the standard cabecera-sujeto complex or the indigenous altepetl with its constituent parts in pre-Hispanic times.

In a second testament, recorded in San Cristóbal (Huichochitlan) in 1732, the testator, Agustín Pedro, referred to his home community as an altepetl and a dependency of the city of Toluca.²³ At other times, San Cristóbal was also considered a barrio, a tlaxilacalli, and a pueblo of the cabecera of Toluca.²⁴ Records dating from between 1729 and 1811 demonstrate that San Cristóbal regularly held elections for oficiales de la república.²⁵ Its status as a pueblo may in fact have preceded 1729. Information from this testament begs the following question: if San Cristóbal was an altepetl, what was its relationship to the altepetl of Toluca? Was the reference to a dependency a Hispanic conception of Toluca as cabecera and/or seat of the corregimiento? In this case, the relationship between San Cristóbal and Toluca remains unclear.

The relationships between tlaxilacalli are also difficult to assess. Tlaxilacalli were initially constituent parts of an altepetl. However, the testaments usually only directly identify the home tlaxilacalli of the testator and no other entities in terms of membership in a particular altepetl. There are hints of socioeconomic connections between tlaxilacalli, however. For example, the testaments show that individuals sometimes owned land in tlaxilacalli other than their own; they sometimes had relatives who lived in nearby tlaxilacalli; and they occasionally borrowed and lent money to people outside their home tlaxilacalli. One element present in the testaments sheds some light on the

interrelationships between the communities. Twenty-three of the wills recorded in Toluca proper called for bells to be tolled upon the testator's death. Several testaments called only for bells to be rung in their home *tlaxilacalli*, but others displayed a pattern which, when combined with information from Spanish language sources, suggests a relationship between *tlaxilacalli* not otherwise identifiable in the same context.²⁶

Pizzigoni's study includes seven testaments from the *tlaxilacalli* of San Juan Bautista, the largest sample from the Toluca area corpus, issued between 1710 and 1757. During this time, Spaniards considered San Juan Bautista to be a *barrio* of Toluca, although election records show that the community had been a recognized *pueblo*, complete with its own municipal council, at least since 1729.²⁷ These testaments, written by two females (one on behalf of her nephew) and five males, called for bells to be rung upon the testator's death in their home *tlaxilacalli* of San Juan Bautista, but also in the neighboring *tlaxilacalli* of San Sebastián and Santa María de los Ángeles (Huitzillan). The testaments included no explicitly stated relationship between these communities, other than instructions that they be included for bell ringing.

Confirmation of inter-*tlaxilacalli* affiliation is found in Tomasa Gertrudis's testament recorded in San Sebastián in 1738, which called for bells to toll in the testator's home *tlaxilacalli* as well as in San Juan Bautista and Santa María de los Ángeles. Similarly, a testament made by Felipe Santiago in Santa María de los Ángeles in 1741 called for bells to be rung in his *tlaxilacalli* as well as in San Juan Bautista, San Sebastián, and San Diego. A final testament recorded by Isabel María in Santa Clara in 1731 indicated that bells were to be rung in her *tlaxilacalli* and in Santa María de los

Ángeles, San Juan Bautista, San Sebastián, and San Diego.²⁸ All of the communities included in the above testaments were located within a kilometer east of Toluca's plaza mayor and in close proximity to one another, separated only by fields of maguey and maize.²⁹

The testators' calls for bell ringing upon their deaths suggest close associations between individuals from these tlaxilacalli; but there were other indications, as well. For example, don Ramón de Santiago from Santa Clara issued his testament in 1740. This testator did not request bells to be rung upon his death; yet, he owned land in the associated tlaxilacalli of San Juan Bautista, San Sebastián, and Santa María de los Ángeles.³⁰ It is noteworthy that these testaments did not name other indigenous communities for bell ringing or, in the case of the last testator, land ownership. It is tempting to conclude that geographic proximity was the principal reason for the sounding of bells in these communities: they were located within earshot of one another and their populations were small, so many families would have known one another and perhaps even been related by kinship. However, other tlaxilacalli near these communities went unmentioned in the testaments. The tlaxilacalli of Santa Ana [Tlapaltitlán], for example, was located adjacent to San Sebastián's territory. One of two wills from that community, recorded by Salvador Cayetano in 1728, called for bells to be rung in San Francisco, Santa María Nativitas, and San Diego, but not in San Sebastián, San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, or Santa María de los Ángeles.³¹ The relationships between the communities mentioned in the Santa Ana testament appear to reflect affinities that differed from those present in the wills produced in the tlaxilacalli of San Juan Bautista's orbit.

Evidence from Spanish language sources points to structural sociopolitical relationships between some of these tlaxilacalli. Stephanie Wood's analysis of San Sebastián's petition for pueblo status, which was initiated in the early 1790s, reveals the tlaxilacalli's subordinate position as a sujeto and barrio of San Juan Bautista. This case sheds light on the hierarchy of power and authority between the two communities. The basis of San Sebastián's petition was San Juan Bautista's abuse of power. The community of San Sebastián protested that when San Juan Bautista's alcaldes collected their tribute they regularly neglected to turn in their contributions. Turned in to whom is not clear, but apparently the tribute was to be delivered to a higher authority than the alcaldes of San Juan Bautista. Moreover, the residents of San Sebastián complained that when they did not make timely tribute deliveries, the alcaldes confiscated their possessions.³²

San Juan Bautista's argument against the petition for separation came down to land. San Sebastián's territory, the alcaldes asserted, was surrounded by lands that belonged to San Juan Bautista, which "consisted only of what little space for housing and land to farm that San Juan had loaned it because of its subject status."³³ Since San Sebastián did not possess the required land to establish its own pueblo, the alcaldes argued, they should relocate to another site and, above all else, their lands should not be ceded to the sujeto. A survey conducted in 1791 by Tomás de Torres y Elosúa, a well-known hacienda owner and sometimes appraiser (*perito*) in Toluca, found that San Sebastián indeed possessed lands exceeding the requirement for pueblo status.³⁴ The following year, the governor of the Marquesado del Valle, Joaquín Ramírez de Arellano,

ruled in favor of San Sebastián's petition and ordered the election of municipal and church officers, despite appeals by the alcaldes of San Juan Bautista.³⁵

The testaments of Toluca provide insights into how people thought of themselves and their communities in the absence of administrative bias. Affinities between tlaxilacalli in the orbit of San Juan Bautista were strongly implied by testators' desires to have bells rung to announce their deaths to the larger community, which extended beyond their own tlaxilacalli. Administrative records, like San Sebastián's petition for pueblo status, provide insight into the formal sociopolitical relationships that existed between indigenous communities. Both types of records in different ways demonstrate a high degree of micro-patriotism exhibited by tlaxilacalli residents.

Much remains to be discovered regarding the organization of the tlaxilacalli and altepetl of Toluca in the early period. The subordinate relationship between San Sebastián and San Juan Bautista is established, but questions remain. For example, to what entity was San Sebastián's tribute to be delivered by the alcaldes of San Juan Bautista? Was tribute funneled to the cabecera of Toluca? Alternatively, perhaps it was delivered to officials of the Marquesado del Valle. What was the nature of the associations between Santa María de los Ángeles, San Juan Bautista, San Sebastián, and San Diego? Were they vertical relationships, as was the case between the sujeto of San Sebastián and the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, or did horizontal relationships exist along the traditional lines of the cellular organization of the altepetl? Finally, where does Toluca fit into the picture? Was it the large, overarching, complex altepetl, whose presence was taken for granted and went unmentioned? Had the relationship evolved in a heretofore-unrecognized direction?

In time, these questions will be resolved through the combined efforts of scholars employing native language and Spanish language sources.

The foregoing discussion attests to the persistence of indigenous culture in the Toluca region through the eighteenth century. Indeed, indigenous people maintained their identities and saw themselves above all else as members of their local communities. This condition continued well into the nineteenth century. Nahuatl testaments provide intimate means for the study of daily life. These records continue to be discovered in archives throughout the area. Caterina Pizzigoni's latest monograph includes analysis of indigenous society and culture based on Nahuatl testaments from the Toluca Valley dating through the 1790s.³⁶ Production of Nahuatl testaments was previously thought to have greatly diminished by the time of Mexican independence. However, Miriam Melton-Villanueva's discovery of a large corpus of Nahuatl wills from San Bartolomé Tlatelolco, Ocotitlán, Yancuictlalpan, and Totocuitlapilco written during the first quarter of the nineteenth century shows that Nahuas continued to record testaments in their own language at least up until 1825.³⁷ In all likelihood, more testaments will be discovered beyond this arbitrary date.

Post-Independence Continuities

Mexican independence saw the emergence of a new constitutional order, with the abolition of certain corporate structures and the creation of an individual citizenry based on equality under the law. Some scholars have argued that indigenous people were adversely affected by these changes, since by removing the legal separation between the

former repúblicas de indios and the Hispanic population, indigenous communities were open to exploitation by outsiders.³⁸ Others have demonstrated how the former republics adapted to the new system and continued to act in much the same manner as they had under the colonial regime, successfully defending the interests of the community against outside forces.³⁹

Tribute was abolished, as was the *medio real de ministros*, a tributary tax of one half real used to pay for the *Juzgado General de Indios* (the general Indian court), the half-real tax for the *Hospital Real de Naturales* (royal Indian hospital), and the one-and-a-half real tax paid to the *bienes de comunidad* (secular community property).⁴⁰ Tributary taxes were eventually replaced by other forms of taxation, which varied by region. The abolition of the *Juzgado General de Indios* meant that indigenous people lost the traditional legal protection of the patriarchal colonial state. Nevertheless, they were adept at legal maneuvers and regularly hired attorneys to file lawsuits in defense of their interests, as they had done for centuries.⁴¹ The colonial repúblicas de indios hereafter became *ayuntamientos* (municipalities) largely in name only. The fiscal, political, and legal challenges these communities faced were undoubtedly altered by the change in political system. However, indigenous municipalities continued to function in much the same manner as they had under the colonial order, employing some of the same terminology, categories, and practices of the colonial era repúblicas de indios, with few alterations.

Powers of attorney notarized in Toluca during the years after independence illustrate aspects of this continuity in practice. In February of 1826, municipal officials

from seven pueblos located in the central and southern area of the valley gathered in Toluca to grant powers of attorney to Victoriano González Pliego, a vecino and former alcalde of Santiago Tianguistengo. Heavily formulaic, these documents rarely include the specific purpose for which the power of attorney had been granted. Only the first document in this cluster states the reason for granting the power of attorney. According to the municipal officials of Xalatlaco, the community was involved in an unspecified legal conflict that required the vecinos to prove ownership of its territory (*los montes y tierras*), which had been granted to them in Santiago Tianguistengo some time in the distant past.⁴² González Pliego was to act as the pueblo's proxy and to represent their rights and interests in this matter. The other pueblos did not specifically identify the purpose for which they granted González Pliego the authority to represent them. However, since all the powers of attorney were recorded in the same month and year, and were granted to the same person, by communities located in relatively close proximity to one another, the legal matter at hand in each of the pueblos was likely the same.

Appendix 4.1 provides the names and titles of municipal officials from Xalatlaco, Santa Cruz Atizapán, Mexicaltzingo, San Antonio de la Isla, Xochiaca, Coatepec, and Tepemajalco in February of 1826. Most of these pueblos were altepetl (cabeceras to the Spaniards), with constituent tlaxilacalli. A few were smaller settlements, independent or formerly constituent tlaxilacalli. All had preconquest origins. These altepetl were among those that were the bases of encomienda grants in the Toluca Valley during the early sixteenth century, and they were centers of congregaciones in the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁴³

Tepemajalco, located south of Toluca in the Calimaya/Tepemajalco area of the valley, was perhaps the most important altepetl represented in the cluster. Initially, it had been a higher-level settlement than the other entities in the document cluster. During the early period, Tepemajalco had been paired with Calimaya, with which it formed “a complex, interwoven double altepetl.”⁴⁴ Initially, Calimaya and Tepemajalco had been distributed as two separate encomiendas, granted to the same Spaniard, Juan Gutiérrez Altamirano.⁴⁵ In the seventeenth century, Tepemajalco was comprised of eight tlaxilacalli.⁴⁶ None of these appears in the 1826 powers of attorney. San Antonio de la Isla (de Padua), which does appear in the document cluster, was at one time a large, outlying tlaxilacalli belonging to the senior partner of the double altepetl, Calimaya.⁴⁷ San Antonio de la Isla was a sight of congregación in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁸ By the mid-eighteenth century, San Antonio de la Isla was sometimes called both a tlaxilacalli and an altepetl, suggesting its independent status.⁴⁹ Interestingly, the 1826 power of attorney authorized by the municipal officers of San Antonio de la Isla was the only one in the cluster that included a sujeto, the barrio de la Concepción.

Xalatlaco (Xalatlauhco) was another important, large-scale settlement throughout the early period. This altepetl was located east of Tepemajalco and San Antonio de la Isla in the Tenango del Valle area. Xalatlaco was the basis of what was considered a medium sized encomienda in 1524, as well as a later site for congregación.⁵⁰ In 1717, Xalatlaco’s population included 352 Hispanic people and 839 indigenous people, while its pueblos (actually sujetos, i.e. tlaxilacalli) were home to an additional 1,354 indigenous people. Reflecting the prodigious population growth of the eighteenth century, the 1777

population of the curate of Xalatlaco (Jalatlaco) was 4,780, of which 3,571 were Indians.⁵¹

The four other pueblos that sent officials to issue powers of attorney were settlements of various sizes and levels of importance. Xochiaca (Suchiaca), located south of Tenango del Valle, near Malinalco, was assigned as an encomienda and later was the site of congregación.⁵² Mexicaltzingo was located closest to the town of Toluca, in the Metepec area. As its names suggests, Mexicaltzingo was populated by Nahuas during the half century preceding the arrival of the Europeans. It was not the basis of an encomienda, but may have been a site of congregación in the early seventeenth century. Mexicaltzingo appears to have been an independent altepetl throughout the early period.⁵³ Coatepec, located in the far south of the valley, had been a sujeto of Zacualpan,⁵⁴ and thus not an encomienda in its own right, but it was the site of a congregación, presumably before gaining independent pueblo status.⁵⁵ Santa Cruz Atizapán was likely a smaller entity, having been a tlaxilacalli, only later referred to as an altepetl, corresponding with its independent status.⁵⁶

The lists of municipal officials and certain terminology embedded in the documents demonstrate that some fundamental political traditions, which originated during the time of the colonial republics and before, persisted after independence and the change in political system. The pueblos were represented by a group of high-level municipal officials whom the documents identified by their titles, and by lesser officials who were usually (but not always) named along with their titles. Each group was led by an alcalde (magistrate), which was alternatively described in the documents as an *alcalde*

auxiliar, alcalde auxiliar constitucional, or alcalde actual (current alcalde). The alcalde was typically accompanied by one or more regidores (municipal councilmen), an *escribano* (notary or clerk), and a contingent of past alcaldes or *gobernadores* (governors). Traditionally, gobernadores were the highest-ranking officials of an altepetl. For example, the municipal governments of Tepemajalco and Xalatlaco were led by a gobernador during the colonial period. Smaller entities, which were former tlaxilacalli that had become independent, like Santa Cruz Atizapán, were usually headed by an alcalde. No current gobernador was listed in any of the powers of attorney. It is possible that the title “alcalde auxiliar constitucional,” or a variant of it, replaced the traditional term gobernador, reflecting an adjustment to the new political system, although the positions would have been held by the same people who exercised the same powers.

Terminology employed to identify municipal officials, and apparently the decision of which officials to send to Toluca to witness the powers of attorney, varied between pueblos. For example, the officials from Xalatlaco were led by don José Mariano Benítez, the alcalde auxiliar constitucional, and don Ciriaco Alarcón, the *regidor decano*. Benítez’s title is the only one that reflected the new republican political system, while the other titles were carried over from the earlier period. Moreover, these two officials were the only ones in the cluster who were recorded with the honorific title don. The Xalatlaco document included an official whose title was *fiscal actual de la Santa Iglesia*. James Lockhart has described this position as a “high-ranking quasi-municipal office in the church hierarchy.”⁵⁷ Carlos Juan was one of two church officials identified in the cluster. Also unique was the Xochiaca contingent’s inclusion of Isidoro Antonio,

an *alcalde propietario* (*alcalde* for life?). Only among the officials of Coatepec and Tepemajalco were there two current *secretarios*, Juan Antonio in the former, and Marcos Bruno in the latter. Additionally, the Tepemajalco officials included three past *secretarios*, Juan Antonio, Agustín Ramón San Juan, and Victoriano Martín. *Secretario* was another title for notary.⁵⁸ This term was not used in the documents of the other five pueblos. José Ciriaco, the only *sindico* named in the cluster, was among the delegation from Coatepec.

As Appendix 4.1 illustrates, many of the officials who appeared in the powers of attorney included the modifying terms *actual* (current or present) or *pasado* (past) in their titles, as in *alcalde actual* or *gobernador pasado*. Inclusion of current and past officials in indigenous language documents dates from the middle of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ According to James Lockhart, by the eighteenth century, “Nahua towns now looked not only to incumbent municipal officials, but to the corps of all living past governors (in towns that had them), *alcaldes*, and in some places and for some purposes, *fiscales* of the church for guidance, representation, and legitimation of actions.”⁶⁰ This pattern continued with some minor alterations into the first half of the nineteenth century. *Gobernadores pasados* and *alcaldes pasados* were the most numerous members of the seven pueblo contingents that issued the powers of attorney. However, unlike in the earlier period, *regidores pasados* and *secretarios pasados* were also present among pueblo officials, albeit only from Coatepec and Tepemajalco. Caterina Pizzigoni has found that past officials were mentioned in testaments produced in the Toluca region during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Important elements of earlier practices continued past independence, sometimes with slight variations in expression. For example, in the Xalatlaco document, after naming the *alcalde auxiliar constitucional* and the *regidor decano*, the next officials identified, in order of authority and prestige, were Ventura Gaspar, a three-time *ex gobernador* (ex-governor), and Pedro Salvador, a one-time *ex gobernador*. Next came Agustín Cesario and Manuel Isidro; both were *ex alcaldes auxiliares*. They were followed by Juan Salvador, an *ex regidor*; Carlos Juan, the *fiscal actual de la Santa Iglesia* mentioned above; Luis Coroy, an *ex alcalde*; two men without stated titles, Felipe de los Reyes and Anastasio Miguel; and, finally, José de la Luz, the *escribano*. This power of attorney was the only one that employed “ex” as a variation of *pasado*. It is not clear if this language was given to the notary by the *pueblo* officials, or if he decided to use this variant to indicate past officeholders. Because Xalatlaco was a large-scale, long-term *altepetl*, its municipal council normally would have been led by a *gobernador*. The lack of a current *gobernador* in the power of attorney may indicate that the term was no longer in use. That the three-time and one-time *ex gobernadores* were included in the document suggests that the change was very recent.

The municipal council of Santa Cruz Atizapán followed a similar pattern. Juan Pablo Blancas, the *alcalde actual*, was followed by eight *alcaldes pasados* but no *gobernadores pasados*. The *alcaldes pasados* were in turn followed by José Florentino, Cecilio Clemente, Máximo Trinidad, *regidores actuales*, and Felipe Santiago, the *escribano*. According to Caterina Pizzigoni, Santa Cruz Atizapán was a *tlaxilacalli*, which means that it probably never had a governor on its municipal council in the first place. In

this case, the numerous *alcaldes pasados* and the absence of *gobernadores pasados* is logical and follows patterns set in place during the earlier period.

In the case of Mexicaltzingo, only Paulino Oliveras, the *alcalde actual*, and Pedro Vidal and Gervasio Martin, the *gobernadores pasados* were identified by title. Nine others were identified as *vecinos* and were named without titles. This use of the term *vecino* for indigenous people represents a change from earlier practices, since traditionally it was used for Hispanic residents. The Coatepec delegation consisted of the current officials Juan Antonio, the *alcalde actual*, and José Eugenio Serapio, a *secretario*; three *alcaldes pasados*; José Ciriaco, a *síndico*; four *gobernadores pasados*; one *fiscal pasado*; and five *regidores pasados*, although no current *regidores* were present. The presence of *gobernadores pasados* in Mexicaltzingo and Coatepec indicates that the two settlements were full-scale, long-term *altepetl*, even though Coatepec had initially been a *sujeto* in the sixteenth century.

The Tepemajalco delegation was lead by Juan Pedro Arévalo, the *alcalde auxiliar*; Secundino Antonio and Lorenzo Mariano, *regidores*; and Marcos Bruno, the *secretario*. The remaining officials were all *pasados*: four *alcaldes* and three *secretarios*. The absence of *gobernadores pasados* in the Tepemajalco delegation is puzzling, since it was at least initially a higher-level *altepetl*, which would have normally been led by a *gobernador*. The Xochiaca document was the only one not to name any past officials. José Mariano Macedonio, the *alcalde auxiliar*; Isidro Antonio, the *alcalde propietario*; Domino Antonio, a *regidor*; and Felipe Bartolomé, the *escribano*, were identified by title. Eight other *vecinos* were named but their titles were not recorded.

The municipal officials of San Antonio de la Isla traveled to the notary of Toluca with a contingent of officials from its sujeto, the barrio de la Concepción. No other pueblo included barrios in their powers of attorney. In the body of the document, the officials of San Antonio de la Isla were named first: José Mariano López, the alcalde actual; Angel Francisco and Vicente Ricardo, regidores; and five men who were named without accompanying titles. The sujeto officials followed: José Mariano Gil, the alcalde actual auxiliar; Juan Lorenzo, a regidor; Ermanegildo Antonio, an alcalde pasado; and José Ignacio Suárez, the secretario.

The powers of attorney were signed and executed by the principal Spanish notary of Toluca, José Francisco Hidalgo, and several of the pueblo officials. Most of those who signed did so with fluent strokes completed with flourishes, as was the style of the time. Some signatures were more elegant than others, approaching the sophistication and professional style of the Spanish notary. Others reflected difficulty with writing, while a few were barely legible. Neither of the two signatories who were identified as dons signed with that honorific title, as was standard practice by that time, even among very high-ranking Spaniards. Only two signatories, Juan Pablo Blancas, the alcalde actual of Santa Cruz Atizapán, and Paulino Oliveras, the alcalde actual of Mexicaltzingo, appended their titles to their signatures.⁶¹

Examination of the signatures reveals that the officials who travelled to Toluca to execute the powers of attorney were sometimes more numerous than was reflected in the documents and suggests that even more past and present officials may have been present. Following the typical pattern, Mexicaltzingo's power of attorney was first signed by

Paulino Oliveras, the *alcalde actual*, and the two *gobernadores pasados*, Pedro Vidal and Gervasio Martín. Seven of the signatories had been named in the document without titles; five others signed but had not been named in the document. These men were likely past and current officials whose titles were not recorded. This pattern is suggestive of a relatively open political structure. Since elections were held annually, at the end of December during colonial times, and the powers of attorney were signed in February, it is possible that a current *alcalde* may have been new to office and possessed less authority and prestige than past officials, or, conversely, he may have actually shared power with them in a more egalitarian manner.⁶²

The inclusion of some signatories and not others attests to the continued importance of past holders of high office over current minor officials. Typically, every power of attorney was signed first by the current *alcalde* and then by one or more past officials before others signed. The Santa Cruz Atizapán power of attorney, for example, was signed by Juan Pablo Blancas, the *alcalde actual*, and then by Juan de la Cruz, Francisco Javier, and Francisco Martín, all *alcaldes pasados*. The last to sign was Cecilio Clemente, a *regidor actual*. The Coatepec document was first signed by Juan Antonio, the *alcalde actual*; then by José Victoriano Bobadilla and Manuel de los Santos, both *alcaldes pasados*; followed by José Eugenio Serapio, whose name did not appear in the document.⁶³

Similarly, Mariano Benítez, the *alcalde auxiliar constitucional*, was the first to sign the Xalatlaco power of attorney; followed by Luis Coroy, an *ex alcalde*; and Juan José de la Luz, an untitled *vecino* whose name did not appear in the document.

Displaying a slight variation, the Tepemajalco document was signed by Juan Pedro Arévalo, the *alcalde auxiliar*; Secundino [Antonio], a *regidor* who signed only his first name; Agustín de San Juan, a *secretario pasado*; and Juan Antonio, a *secretario pasado* who wrote *yo quiero* (“I want”) under his signature. Four *vecinos* whose names had not appeared in the document made their signatures: José Mariano de San Juan, Martín Casiano García, Pedro de Góngora, Romulgin Arévalo. The last to sign was “El caetario” Marcos Bruno Velásquez, a *secretario*.⁶⁴

Only two powers of attorney did not include past officials as signatories. The Xochiaca document was signed by the *alcalde actual*, [José] Antonio Marcelino; Felipe de Jesus, who had appeared in the body of the document without a title; and Felipe Bartolomé, the *escribano*. The signatories for San Antonio de la Isla included José Mariano Salomé López, the *alcalde actual*; Angel Francisco, a *regidor*; and the untitled Casimiro Eusebio and Ignacio de Loyola. Signatures of the officials of San Antonio de la Isla’s *sujeto*, the *barrio de la Concepción*, signed last: José Mariano Gil, the *alcalde auxiliar*, and José Ignacio Suárez, a *secretario*.⁶⁵

In addition to the prominence of past officials in the municipal contingents, terminology employed in the documents reflects continuity from the past. For example, as part of the formulaic construction of the power of attorney, the notary, José Francisco Hidalgo, recorded a phrase of affirmation indicating that the officials of the *pueblo* of Mexicaltzingo spoke “for themselves and for the rest of the common people of their *pueblo*” (*por si y por el resto del común de su pueblo*).⁶⁶ A variation of this phrase was used in the Xochiaca document: “por si y por el resto del común de *vecinos* de su

pueblo.”⁶⁷ In the case of the pueblo San Antonio de la Isla and its sujeto, the barrio de la Concepción, the gathered officials spoke “por si y por el resto del común de vecinos del pueblo y su barrio.”⁶⁸ This phrasing is strikingly similar to that which was commonly used in colonial era documents, with the exception of the use of the term vecinos, which had typically applied only to Hispanic people. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the municipal officials maintained continuity in practice that carried past the political watershed of independence. As James Lockhart has observed of an earlier period: “By the late eighteenth century, almost nothing in the entire indigenous cultural ensemble was left untouched, yet at the same time almost everything went back in some form or other to a preconquest antecedent.”⁶⁹ Indigenous government operated in republican Mexico in much the same manner as it had during the previous centuries, with threads of continuity reaching back to the preconquest era.

Population: 1791

The inexorable power of culture and human agency blunted the effects of political decrees. Mexican independence brought no abrupt changes in the ethnic composition of barrios and pueblos in Toluca’s municipal jurisdiction. Whatever alterations occurred after independence had their bases in colonial residential patterns, the trajectories of which had been set in place long before. As had been the case for centuries, the closer the location of a given indigenous community to Hispanic population centers the greater the degree of cultural change. While the 1791 Revillagigedo census did not record information on indigenous people in the city of Toluca, or in its barrios or pueblos, it did

identify and classify the Hispanic population who lived in them. This information does not shed light on indigenous populations in indigenous barrios or pueblos; it does however illuminate where the largest concentrations of Hispanic people lived in those communities.

Table 4.2 provides the Hispanic population of the pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction as recorded in the 1791 Revillagigedo census. The Hispanic population of these communities was comprised of españoles, castizos, and mestizos. Of the 221 adults whose ethnic identities were recorded in the census, 66 percent were identified as españoles, 26 percent mestizos, and 8 percent castizos. The breakdown by gender was even for españoles, with seventy-four females and seventy-two males, and castizos, with eight females and nine males. Female mestizos outnumbered males 35 to 23. The census provided birthplaces for adult males; thus, while a few European Spaniards lived on haciendas and ranchos in Toluca's periphery, according to the census, none appear to have lived in pueblos. Individuals of African descent may have been subsumed into other categories, but none was identified as a mulato or mulata in the manuscript.⁷⁰

Table 4.2

Hispanic Population of Pueblos in Toluca's Jurisdiction, 1791

Pueblo	Females	Males	Total	Families
Calixtlahuaca	9	2	11	2
Capultitlan	3	2	5	1
Metepec	14	24	38	8
San Antonio Buena Vista	16	8	24	4
San Bartolomé Tlatelolco	43	30	73	16
San Buenaventura	7	12	19	3
San Francisco Cacalomacan	74	53	127	23
San Juan [Bautista]	23	11	34	6
San Mateo Oztacatipan	9	5	14	3
San Mateo Oxtotitlan	4	4	8	1
San Sebastián	3	2	5	2
Santa Clara	19	9	28	7
Tecaxic	94	87	181	32
Total	318	249	567	108

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

Census takers included Santa Clara and San Sebastián as pueblos but, as was discussed earlier, these communities were actually considered barrios of Toluca in 1791. The sujeto San Sebastián gained independence from the pueblo of San Juan Bautista a few years after the census, and Santa Clara remained a barrio of Toluca at least until 1834. Neither of these communities was considered a barrio of Toluca by the time of the 1870 municipal census.⁷¹ The few Hispanic people living in San Sebastián suggests that the community remained predominantly indigenous at least through the end of the eighteenth century. San Sebastián's petition for pueblo status stated that its population exceeded 100 tributary Indians (*tributarios*).⁷² In 1791, only two Hispanic families lived

in the barrio: the family of Antonio Garcilaso, a castizo trader (*tratante*) from Tuchimilco (Guerrero?), and the family of José Pastrana, a Spanish tanner from Toluca. In reality, this was an extended family, as Pastrana was married to Garcilaso's daughter.⁷³

The barrio of Santa Clara was home to seven Hispanic families in 1791. Male occupations involved petty trade, agricultural labor, and leatherwork. The head males of Santa Clara's Hispanic families were natives (*naturales*) of Toluca with the exceptions of Gregorio García, an operario from Mexico City, and Miguel Arzate, a musician from Valladolid. Ethnicities were included for fourteen men and women: five were españoles, seven mestizos, and two castizos. The exclusion of Toluca's other barrios from the 1791 census suggests that no Hispanic people lived in them, but this conclusion must remain tentative, as other sources indicate that Hispanic people owned property and resided in other barrios of Toluca at this time. San Juan Evangelista, Santa Bárbara Tepepan, Santa Bárbara Xolalpan, San Miguel Actipan, San Miguel Pinahuizco, and San Luis Obispo, were all located to the north of the city of Toluca, while Santa Clara and San Sebastián were both located east of the city. There is a possibility, although it is unlikely, that the northern barrios were overlooked by the census takers.⁷⁴

San Juan Bautista was the only other community in Table 4.2 that was located in the immediate environs of the city of Toluca. As was discussed earlier, this pueblo was located adjacent to the barrios of Santa Clara and San Sebastián. At the time of the census, San Sebastián was in the process of attempting to separate itself from San Juan Bautista, which probably had a larger population than San Sebastián's 100 plus tributaries. In 1791, the pueblo was home to six Hispanic families. All five adult males

were natives of Toluca, except Juan Manuel Ruiz, who was from Mexico City, and Manuel Olivera, a schoolteacher from Lerma. Of the fifteen adult males and females whose ethnicities were recorded, eight were classified as españoles, while five were mestizos, and two castizos. With the exception of the teacher, their occupations were of the working sector: cobblers, weavers, and manual laborers.⁷⁵

In 1791, the largest concentrations of Hispanic people were found in the pueblos of Tecaxic, San Francisco Cacalomacan, and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco. Tecaxic, located to the northwest of Toluca, near Calixtlahuaca, was home to thirty-two Hispanic families. Of seventy-five adult males and females whose ethnicities were recorded, the majority, fifty-seven, were classified as españoles; while eight were identified as castizos, nine as mestizos, and one india. The inclusion of only one indigenous female suggests a low incidence of intermarriage between Hispanics and Indians, but by itself, this is thin evidence. Hispanic people appear to have lived in the community for some time. The census recorded birthplaces for thirty-one of the eighty-seven Hispanic males living in the pueblo. Fourteen were born outside of Tecaxic: five in Toluca, five in Zinacantepec, and four in Almoloya. Seventeen males were natives of the pueblo. Most male occupations were in some way related to agriculture, either as small farmers or agricultural laborers. The pueblo was home to only two Hispanic merchants: one comerciante, Dionisio Ibáñez, and one petty trader (tratante), Antonio Salazar. Nine of the males were members of the militia.⁷⁶

San Francisco Cacalomacan, located southwest of Toluca, was home to twenty-three Hispanic families in 1791. As was the case in Tecaxic, most Hispanic adults were

identified as españoles. Of the forty-five adults whose ethnicities were recorded, thirty-one were españoles; twelve were mestizos and two were castizos. Unlike Tecaxic, none of the Hispanic males living in San Francisco Cacalomacan was born there. Eight were from Almoloya, four from Toluca, three from Zinacantepec, and one each from Temoaya, Xiquipilco, Jocotitlán, and Ixtlahuaca. Ten of the twenty-two males worked as muleteers, who were in practice a type of petty trader, while two men owned their own teams of animals (*dueños de recua*). Two men specifically identified as petty traders were natives of Toluca. Most other male occupations were oriented towards agriculture. Three of the males were militia members.⁷⁷

San Bartolomé Tlatelolco, located south of Toluca and home to fourteen Hispanic families, reveals a similar pattern. Of twenty-five Hispanic adults whose ethnicities were recorded, seventeen were classified as españoles, while seven were mestizos, and one a castizo. None of the adult Hispanic males was born in San Bartolomé Tlatelolco. Reflecting its orientation toward Metepec rather than Toluca, seven males originated in that pueblo, while two were from Toluca, and one each came from San Antonio de la Isla, Santiago Tianguistengo, and Zumpango. The fourteen male occupations listed in the pueblo reflect its agricultural focus, with six operarios and an equal number of petty traders. Unlike the two other pueblos, San Bartolomé Tlatelolco was home to a schoolteacher, Francisco Arburu, who was a native of Metepec. Only one male from San Bartolomé Tlatelolco was a member of the militia.⁷⁸

The seven remaining pueblos in Table 4.2 were home to smaller Hispanic populations. It should be noted that the reported Hispanic population of Metepec is

suspiciously small, as it was a very important administrative center during this period. In 1717, Metepec was home to a population of 474 Hispanic people and 1,624 indigenous people.⁷⁹ Certainly, the 1791 population would have been much higher, probably at least double that of the 1717 population. With this caveat in mind, and employing the data from the Revillagigedo census, only in Metepec did mestizos outnumber españoles, thirteen to four. In the other six pueblos combined, españoles outnumbered mestizos, twenty-three to four. According to the census, all four Hispanic males in San Antonio Buena Vista were also natives of that pueblo; compared to patterns exhibited in the rest of the pueblos this was unusual. As was the case for San Francisco Cacalomacan and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco, none of the Hispanic male heads of households in the remaining pueblos was native born. Reflecting Metepec's proximity to Toluca, eight males were natives of the city, while one came from Zinacantepec. One head male in San Mateo Oztacatipan came from Toluca and two from Solotepec. Two head males in San Buenaventura were natives of Toluca, and one, Miguel Orozco, the tax collector, was from Zinacantepec. In San Mateo Oxtotitlan, the only head male came from Zinacantepec. Capultitlan was home to only one head male, José Arteaga, a schoolteacher from Querétaro. Finally, the two head males from Calixtlahuaca were natives of Toluca. With the exceptions of Orozco and Arteaga, and the silversmith Manuel Betancur, the male occupations were largely related to agriculture.⁸⁰

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that most indigenous pueblos in the Toluca area were home to very few Hispanic residents in 1791. The largest concentrations of Hispanic people outside of the city of Toluca lived in three pueblos:

Tecaxic, San Francisco Cacalomacan, and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco. Removing the barrios that were adjacent to Toluca (San Sebastián, Santa Clara, and San Juan Bautista) from the equation, 76 percent of the Hispanic population living in the pueblos of Toluca's jurisdiction lived in these three pueblos. Two-thirds of Hispanic people who lived in indigenous pueblos were identified as españoles, just over a quarter were recorded as mestizos, and only 8 percent were castizos. According to the categories employed in the 1791 census, no peninsular Spaniards or individuals of African descent resided in the barrios or pueblos of Toluca. If they were present in these communities, they were not recognized as separate from the rest of the population.

Population: Barrios

Certain ethnic residential patterns that were observable in the barrios and pueblos of Toluca in 1791 were also present in 1834, while others were not. The social composition of some of Toluca's barrios appears to have changed markedly between the times of the two censuses. Others maintained continuity in their ethnic makeups. Some pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction that were home to relatively large numbers of Hispanic people in 1791 also had large Hispanic populations in 1834. Other communities that had small Hispanic populations in 1791 sometimes maintained small Hispanic populations in 1834, while others appear to have lost the Hispanic component altogether.

The "Barrios" section of the 1834 census lists seven barrios in the municipality of Toluca. (See Table 4.3.) All were located in close proximity to the center of the city. Santa Clara, as discussed earlier, was located just east of the city, adjacent to the pueblos

of San Juan Bautista and San Sebastián. San Miguel Pinahuizco and San Miguel Aticpac were located to the northwest of the city, on a hill that overlooked Toluca, which was also called Pinahuizco. San Luis Obispo was located beyond San Miguel Aticpac. Santa Bárbara Xolalpan and Santa Bárbara Tepepan, sometimes referred to as Santa Bárbara Mixcoac, were located north of the city center. San Juan Evangelista, also commonly called San Juan Chiquito, was situated on the north bank of the Verdiguel River and just east of the plazuela del Carmen. By this time, there was little sense of separateness between some of these communities and the city itself. A land sale document notarized in 1835 identified the pueblo of San Sebastián as located at the edge of the city (*a orilla de esta ciudad*). Another document referred to the sale of several plots of arable land in the barrio of Santa Clara and the pueblo of San Sebastián as being located in “the suburbs of this city” (*en los suburbios de esta ciudad*), not in a separate locale.⁸¹

Table 4.3

Population of the Barrios of Toluca, 1834

Barrio	Females	Males	Total	Families
Santa Clara	15	11	26	12
San Juan Evangelista	34	25	59	13
San Miguel Aticpan (Aticpac)	46	33	79	26
San Miguel Pinahuizco	66	50	116	28
San Luis Obispo	21	13	34	7
Santa Bárbara Solalpan (Xolalpan)	27	28	55	15
Santa Bárbara Tepepan (a la ciudad)	*	*	*	*
Total	209	160	369	101

Source: AGN, Padrones, vol. 21.

*Included in the city portion of the census.

By 1834, the ethnic makeup of several of Toluca's barrios appears to have changed dramatically, from predominantly indigenous families to largely Hispanic. Santa Bárbara Tepepan, which had been documented as an indigenous community for centuries, was listed in the "Barrios" section of the census with a notation indicating that individuals who lived in this barrio were included in the city portion of the manuscript, in the second quarter (*cuartel*) on the second block (*manzana*).⁸² This area of the city, which was located just northeast of the plaza mayor, included the Betancourt family brickmaking factory (*ladrillería de Betancur*) and the calle del Carmen, which also included the convento del Carmen. However, these pages of the manuscript do not explicitly include the barrio Santa Bárbara Tepepan.

Exclusion of the barrio by name (the notation appears as an afterthought in the manuscript) is suggestive of a process of absorption of certain barrios into the city. In terms of ethnic residence patterns, Santa Bárbara Tepepan appears to have become a suburb of the city, its inhabitants merged with the largely Hispanic population of this area. It is possible that the indigenous population of Santa Bárbara Tepepan had become too small to warrant its own place in the "Barrios" section of the census, but it is more likely that it was included in this district of the city due to its proximity to it. Since the census manuscript included house numbers for the inhabitants of the calle del Carmen, it seems likely that the population of the barrio was included with the inhabitants of the Betancourt family brickmaking factory, which listed people without the inclusion of house numbers, in the same manner as other indigenous communities in the census. In 1834, Santa Bárbara Tepepan appears to have been a barrio in the Hispanic sense of the

word only, without the previous indigenous sociopolitical association, where the Hispanic population outnumbered the formerly indigenous majority.

Naming patterns discerned from the census register provide evidence of this transformation. Analysis of the names of adult residents of the area that incorporated the barrio of Santa Bárbara Tepepan and comparison with those of the adult population of Santa Bárbara Xolalpan, its neighboring community, which was included in the separate barrio section of the census, reveals striking differences in their ethnic compositions. The *ladrillería* de Betancourt, the likely location of the population of Santa Bárbara Tepepan in the manuscript, listed 145 people as its inhabitants. Of forty-five adult males and females, thirty-three were identified by first names and Spanish surnames. Some were common Spanish surnames, like Juárez, García, and Hernández. Others were more prominent in the Toluca region, such as Garduño, Montes de Oca, and Murguía.

Twelve adults were identified by first names and second names that were most often associated with indigenous people, including Apazote, possibly a variant spelling from the Nahuatl *epazotl*, and the religious second names de los Ángeles, (de la) Cruz, de la Luz, de la Trinidad, and de Jesús. Five of these people were identified by a first and a second name rather than a surname: María Cristina, María Pascuala, Hilario José, José Ambrosio, José Procopio, and Gil Senovio. This is not to say that these people were all definitely indigenous persons, or that some of the people with Spanish surnames were not Indians, only that these naming patterns are consistent with those of indigenous populations in the region during the period under consideration, especially when compared with other communities in the Toluca area. Based on this information, the

majority of inhabitants of the area that included Santa Bárbara Tepepan were likely to have been of Hispanic ethnicity, while indigenous people likely made up a minority group in the formerly indigenous barrio. This is a dramatic change from 1791, where no Hispanic people were counted in the barrio.⁸³

Naming patterns evident in the population of Santa Bárbara Xolalpan stand in contrast to those of the area of Santa Bárbara Tepepan and provide the strongest evidence of ethnic difference between the two communities. Santa Bárbara Xolalpan was home to fifty-five people, who comprised fifteen families. The naming patterns in this barrio resemble those of the indigenous municipal officials who granted powers of attorney to Victoriano González Pliego, discussed earlier, and who appear in Appendix 4.1. Only three adult males were identified by first names and Spanish surnames: Rafael Tapia, a day laborer (*jornalero*), and fifty-six-year-old widower, Pedro Díaz, also a *jornalero*, and his son, Antonio. Furthermore, the surname Tapia was common among indigenous people, as were the most common patronymics including Díaz. The other adult males had two first names, like the eighty-four-year-old widower and *jornalero*, Francisco Antonio. Only one male had a religious second name: Juan Encarnación. No females were recorded by first names and Spanish surnames. Of thirteen married and widowed females, two were identified only by one-element appellations, Victoriana and Tomasa; nine with two first names, all of which begin with María, such as María Antonia and María Plácida, and one with a religious second name, María de la Luz.⁸⁴

Occupations provide clues to the ethnicities of some of the barrio's inhabitants. Females in the area of Santa Bárbara Tepepan whose names were consistent with

indigenous ethnicity worked in occupations that tended to be more associated with Indians. For example, Teresa de Jesús worked as an *atolera* (vender of atole); María Pascuala sold tamales (*tamalera*); and the widow, Maria Dolores Cruz, was a pulque vender (*pulquera*). Male work ran the gamut of urban occupations, including artisans, merchants, and laborers, with little correlation between jobs and naming patterns. Still, certain occupations tended to be more associated with indigenous people, like the *tlachiquero* (agave harvester) José Ambrosio, and the butcher José Procopio.⁸⁵

The barrios of San Diego and San Juan [Bautista] also appear in the main city portion of the manuscript. Like Santa Bárbara Tepepan, naming patterns suggest that the ethnic makeup of these former indigenous communities changed radically. San Diego, it will be recalled, was located east of Santa Clara and directly south of San Juan Bautista, which at the time was also referred to as San Juan el Grande.⁸⁶ San Diego had been a dependency of San Juan Bautista during the eighteenth century, but it was not included in the 1791 census as a separate entity. San Juan Bautista had been home to thirty-four Hispanic people and probably over 100 indigenous people in 1791. By 1729, if not earlier, San Juan Bautista was considered a pueblo, with its own municipal and church officials. In 1834, San Diego was home to forty-one people and San Juan Bautista to 149. Their exclusion from the “Barrios” section of the census suggests that they had lost the characteristics that defined them as barrios from the earlier period: that they were predominantly indigenous communities.⁸⁷

Naming patterns strongly support this contention. In San Diego, with two exceptions, all adult males and females were recorded in the census with first names and

Spanish surnames, such as Arzate, Fajardo, Gómez, González, Martínez, Olascoaga, and Vilchis. The only surname that followed indigenous naming patterns was that of José Reyes. Only two adult females were recorded without Spanish surnames, the sixty-year-old widow, Maria Caterina, and thirty-five-year-old Vicenta, a widowed laundress, who was possibly Maria Caterina's daughter. Moreover, male occupations were similar to other city occupations, with three cobblers, a weaver, and a *sacristán* (church sexton). The only occupation that was more common in indigenous communities was that of jornalero, of which there was one in San Diego. Female occupations were primarily service oriented, as was the case in the city of Toluca, with four laundresses, one maid, a tortilla vender, and a yarn spinner. Naming and occupation patterns in San Juan Bautista were very similar, suggesting that the indigenous makeup of this pueblo had also changed markedly from 1791. All males in San Juan Bautista had Spanish surnames, as did all but four females. Male and female occupations resembled those of the city at large, with artisans, maids, laborers, and merchants predominating.⁸⁸

San Juan Evangelista, located near the city center of Toluca, just north of the Verdiguel River and east of the Plazuela del Carmen, was home to fifty-nine people, who lived in thirteen families. San Juan Evangelista appears in the "Barrios" section of the census, yet its population follows a similar pattern to that of Santa Bárbara Tepepan, San Diego, and San Juan Bautista. Of thirty-nine adult males and females, twenty-nine were recorded with first names and Spanish surnames. Only one male, José María Reyes, a stonecutter, had a religious last name. Three women had first names and religious second names: María de Jesús, a sixty-year-old widow; María (de la) Merced, a yarn spinner

(*hilandera*); and María de la Luz, a tortillera. The daughter of María de la Luz, and the sister of María de la Merced, Margarita, was recorded with only a first name. Four women had two first names: the thirty-five-year-old widow, Siriaca Paula, was employed as a *pavera* (turkey seller); Romana Lorenza was also a *pavera*; Maria Guadalupe and Maria Benita did not have occupations associated with them. José Leocadio, a mason, was married to María Benita.⁸⁹

Only four barrios in Toluca appear to have maintained strongly indigenous characteristics in 1834. Santa Clara, the smallest barrio reported in the census, was home to only twenty-six people, who comprised twelve families. The thirty-year-old tanner José Gregorio Cepeda, married to María de los Ángeles, was the only male in Santa Clara with a Spanish surname. One adult male was recorded with a religious last name, José María Reyes, a twenty-eight-year-old stonecutter, who was married to María Teresa. The remaining ten adult males all had two first names, following indigenous naming patterns. Of nine adult females, seven had two first names, and two had religious second names. None had a Spanish surname. Only three females were associated with occupations: Maria Antonia was a tamalera, Maria Jesus Andrea raised and sold turkeys, and María Guadalupe worked as a laundress. Male occupations were various and all required manual labor. The highest paid male worker was Francisco Policarpo, an operario who earned two reales a day. Isidoro Antonio worked as a confectioner; Juan Silverio cut stones; and Juan Simón made serapes. The remaining four adult males worked as a candle maker, a weaver, a laborer, a tanner, and a pulque producer.⁹⁰

The last three barrios in the census, San Luis Obispo, San Miguel Aticpac, and San Miguel Pinahuizco were all located to the north of Toluca, in the hills that overlooked the city. San Miguel Pinahuizco was the largest of these barrios, with a population of 116, followed by San Miguel Aticpac with a population of seventy-nine, and San Luis Obispo, with thirty-four residents. Naming patterns suggest that these barrios largely maintained their indigenous identities. In San Miguel Pinahuizco, only one man had a Spanish surname, the thirty-eight-year-old José Román. He was married to María de la Luz. In San Miguel Aticpac, four males had Spanish surnames: Rafael Ramírez; Francisco Velásquez; Felipe Arce; and Pedro Gómez. All except the widower Felipe Arce were married to females who had two first names. Two females in San Miguel Aticpac had Spanish surnames. Twenty-five-year-old María Úrsula García was married to José Ramón Reyes and Abunda Nava was married to Gregorio Santa María. None of the fourteen adults in San Luis Obispo had a Spanish surname. Occupation patterns in these three barrios reflect their agrarian focus, which was more typical of indigenous communities. Of fifty-five males whose occupations were recorded, thirty-one worked as agricultural day laborers, and seven worked as masons. The seventeen remaining occupations were various, including artisans, muleteers, pork producers, leatherworkers, and bakers. One organist was among this group, a sixty-eight-year-old widower Narciso Santa María.⁹¹

Population: Pueblos

The ethnic composition of pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction was overwhelmingly indigenous; it had been throughout the early period, and evidence from the 1834 census indicates that it remained so at least up until the mid-nineteenth century and undoubtedly beyond. To be sure, gradual processes of social transformation had been set into motion over the course of the preceding centuries, but change was exceedingly slow. As discussed earlier, by 1791 Hispanic people had penetrated some indigenous communities in Toluca's jurisdiction but, in most cases, their numbers were small. Of 500 españoles, mestizos, and castizos who lived in pueblos that were not contiguous to the city of Toluca, 381, or just over 76 percent, resided in only three communities: Tecaxic, San Francisco Cacalomacan, and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco. The remaining 119 Hispanic men, women, and children lived in only six pueblos. According to the birthplaces recorded in the census for adult males, European Spaniards did not live in indigenous pueblos. Nor were people of African descent counted among their populations, although they were possibly present but not categorized separately. Table 4.4 lists the nineteen pueblos of Toluca that were identified in the *Relaciones geográficas del arzobispado de México* of 1743 and in the *Theatro Americano*, compiled by José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez in 1746, as sujetos of the cabecera at midcentury. If this number of sujetos is correct, and the census takers for the Revillagigedo census were thorough in their collection of data from indigenous communities, then it would appear that at least ten pueblos in Toluca's hinterland had no Hispanic, i.e. non-indigenous, populations in 1791.

Table 4.4

Pueblos of Toluca, Indigenous Family Populations, and Distance from Toluca in Leagues, 1746

East	Distance	Families	North	Distance	Families
Santa Ana	.25	124	Santa Cruz	.5	51
San Juan	0	227	San Francisco	1	61
San Gerónimo	1	61	San Pablo	1	161
San Pedro	1.5	141	San Cristóbal	.75	64
San Mateo	.75	64	San Andrés	1	134
San Lorenzo	.5	60			
South	Distance	Families	West	Distance	Families
San Miguel	1.5	101	Tecaxic	1	64
San Bartolomé	1.5	89	San Buenaventura	.75	46
Capultitlán	.5	125	San Antonio	.75	51
			Ostotitlán	.75	58
			Cacamoloatlán [sic]	.75	72

Source: José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro americano: descripción general de los reynos, y provincias de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones* (México: Editora Nacional, 1952), 220-222. Distances are found in Francisco de Solano and Catalina Romero, *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Historia de América, 1988), 489-494.

Table 4.4 provides the count of indigenous families who lived in the nineteen pueblos that were sujetos of the cabecera and their distances from Toluca. No pueblo was located more than one-and-a-half leagues from the city, while most were closer than a league away. (One league equals 2.6 miles or 4,190 meters.⁹²) San Juan [Bautista] was said to be just outside the walls of the city (*en los extramuros de esta ciudad*), while Santa Ana was located just beyond that point.⁹³ Otherwise, nine of the remaining pueblos were located within a radius of less than 3.2 kilometers from Toluca. If an average family size is assumed and applied equally to all pueblos, then the numbers of families should

provide a relatively standard measure of a given pueblo's population. There appears to have been little correlation between population size and distance from Toluca. Three of the largest pueblos were located east of Toluca. The largest pueblo in terms of numbers of families was located adjacent to Toluca: San Juan Bautista with 227 families. Santa Ana, with 124 families, was its neighbor. San Pedro [Totoltepec] with 141 families was located almost 6.4 kilometers east northeast of Toluca. North of Toluca, at a distance of 4.2 kilometers, were San Pablo, with 161 families, and San Andrés [Cuexcontitlán], with 134 families. Two of the three pueblos south of Toluca had sizable populations: Capultitlán was home to 125 families and San Miguel [Totocuitlapilco], 101 families. The remaining pueblos all had family populations under 100. The five pueblos located to the west were equidistant from Toluca and all roughly the same size.

Table 4.4 provides a basis for understanding the significance of the Hispanic populations that lived in the pueblos of Tecaxic, San Francisco Cacalomacan, and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco. While the 1791 population of these pueblos is not known, it is possible to project their midcentury populations forward and estimate the approximate proportions of the Hispanic populations that lived in them. If Tecaxic followed the typical trajectory of population growth in the central Mexican highlands during this period, then its size could have been expected to double between midcentury and 1800. With sixty-four families in 1746, Tecaxic could reasonably have been expected to have a family population of over 128 by the end of the century, but it almost certainly would have been over 100 families. In 1791, thirty-two Hispanic families resided in Tecaxic. In rough

measures, the Hispanic population may have amounted to up to one-third its total population, perhaps less, but certainly a significant proportion.

The proportion of the Hispanic population would have been smaller in the other two pueblos. Cacalomacan was slightly larger than Tecaxic, with seventy-two families in 1747. There were fewer Hispanic families there in 1791 than in Tecaxic—twenty-three. Still, by similar calculation, the Hispanic families in Cacalomacan could have amounted to as much as 15 percent of the pueblo's population. San Bartolomé Tlatelolco was the largest of these three pueblos, home to eighty-nine families in 1747. The sixteen Hispanic resident families in 1791 would have amounted to an even smaller presence there. The few Hispanic families living in Toluca's other pueblos in 1791 would have barely been noticed. At the end of the eighteenth century, only Tecaxic was home to a significant Hispanic population.

No secular count of Toluca's indigenous population exists for the late eighteenth century, as the Revillagigedo census did not enumerate indigenous people. A 1777 ecclesiastic census conducted by parish priests throughout the archbishopric of Mexico counted 19,458 people living in the *curato* of Toluca, of whom 13,591 were indigenous.⁹⁴ In 1834, 11,813 people were enumerated in the twenty-eight pueblos of Toluca's municipal jurisdiction. During the half-century that separated the two censuses, war, famine, and epidemics moved through the region with devastating effects, dampening the prodigious population growth that had defined the eighteenth century; so not much can be made of comparison of the two population counts. Population growth in the city of Toluca appears to have been relatively flat between 1791 and 1834. Slow or negative

growth also appears to have been the case for the pueblos of Toluca, so far as can be discerned.

In 1834, the number of pueblos in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction numbered twenty-eight, eleven more than were identified as pueblos sujetos in 1746. (See Table 4.5.) Now the geographic locations of the pueblos dictated their inclusion in the census, not their position in the corregimiento or their relationship to the cabecera, although the list of pueblos in the 1834 census conforms largely to the pueblos that comprised the corregimiento, with a few additions and subtractions. Several of these communities were former barrios that had attained pueblo status long before the change of political system, like San Sebastián and San Bernardino. They were now seen by municipal officials as pueblos. Three pueblos appeared as sujetos in 1747 but were now not part of the municipality of Toluca. Located south and east of Toluca, San Bartolomé Tlatelolco, San Miguel Totocuitlapilco, and San Gerónimo Chichaulco now belonged to Metepec's jurisdiction.

Table 4.5

Population of Pueblos in Toluca's Jurisdiction, 1834

Pueblo	Families	Total
Santa María Yancuitlalpan	41	139
Capultitlan	199	655
San Juan Tilapa	99	587
Santiago Tlacotepec	209	1,173
San Antonio	^a	328
Cacalomacan	256 ^b	966
San Buenaventura	113	494
San Mateo Oxtotitlán	108	371
San Bernardino	47	161
Tecaxic	173 ^b	767
San Martin	55	206
Calixtlahuaca	95	316
San Marcos	21	55
Santiago Tlaxomulco	26	69
Santa Cruz	33	113
San Pablo	316 ^c	1,062
Tlachaloya	52	190
San Andrés	196	654
San Mateo Otzacatipan	84	298
San Cristóbal	140	786
San Lorenzo	123	391
San Pedro Totoltepec	133	445
Tlacopan	21 ^b	96
Santiago Miltepec	72	302
Huitzila	44	145
San Juan Bautista	121	341
Santa Ana	194	560
San Sebastián	54	143
Total		11,813

Source: AHMT, Padrones, 1834.

^a Total families not available due to missing page.

^b Includes vecinos de razón.

^c Includes barrios.

In 1834, the pueblos in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction were still overwhelmingly indigenous in ethnic composition. The names of individuals in these communities followed past patterns, as discussed above, only now single names were less common, for both adults and children. Calixtlahuaca and San Marcos [Yachihuacaltepec], located northwest of Toluca, were representative of this pattern, which is found in the other pueblos with very few exceptions. The one-element appellations of the earlier period appear to have largely disappeared in the pueblos, although single-named individuals were more common in the city. Of the 371 adults and children who lived in these two pueblos, all but three were named with two appellations, and these were all children: Santiago, age eleven, Laureano, age two, and Victoriano, age one.⁹⁵

In Calixtlahuaca and San Marcos, María was the ubiquitous first name for girls, while José was almost as common a first name for boys. Second names for children were more various. Examples of girls names include: María Modesta, María Diega, María Luciana, and María Francisca, and for boys: José Manuel, José Tomas, José Emeterio, José Obispo, and José Serapio.⁹⁶ However, this was not a shared trait between all pueblos. For example, in San Cristobal [Huichochitlan] children's names regularly diverged from the pattern seen in Calixtlahuaca and San Marcos. Here the names Jose and Maria, while still present, were far less commonly used for children or adults. Boys were as likely to be named Macario Eulogio, Juan Feliciano, Diego Martin, or Cristóbal Ignacio, as they were to be named with any combination that included José. While María was more often a part of girls' names in this pueblo, it was less likely to be the first of the two names, when it was used at all. A sample of girls' names from San Cristóbal

includes: Hilaria Vicenta, Margarita Juana, Rafaela Cristina, and Agustina Rosa. Of course, boys, and more often girls, were sometimes given religious second names, such as José de Jesús and María de la Luz. However, these names were less common, and the combinations of names that included religious components exhibited more variation than they had in the past, such as was the case for Tomás Juan de Dios and Atilana Epifanía.⁹⁷

Following established indigenous patterns from the preceding centuries, adult names were a combination of two first names or a first name with a religious second name. One-element appellations were virtually absent from the manuscript. Spanish surnames in these indigenous communities were rare, with the exception of a small number of pueblos, which will be discussed later. In Calixtlahuaca, San Marcos Yachihuacaltepec, San Cristobal Huichochitlán, and San Lorenzo, for example, no adults had Spanish surnames, which was the case for the pueblos in general. Of a population of 445 people and 133 families in San Pedro Totoltepec, five male heads of household recorded Spanish surnames: Jose Arzate, a jornalero, Florentino Durán, an operario, Ignacio Gómez, a jornalero, Marcelino Rojas, a *petatero*, and Gregorio Villavicencio, a jornalero. None of these men's wives had surnames of any kind, and their occupations were typical of the other males with whom they were neighbors, thus they clearly belonged to the same social group.⁹⁸

Spanish surnames may have been passed down to children, although it is impossible to tell from the census manuscripts, since surnames were not usually recorded for children, even in Toluca. An unusual combination of names occurred in one family in San Cristóbal Huichochitlán, a pueblo where no adults recorded Spanish surnames. The

family of José Rufino, a thirty-four-year-old farmer married to Pascuala María, included two children, Rufina Margarita and Gregorio Rodríguez. Rufina Margarita was named in part after her father, since Rufina is the feminine version of Rufino. Gregorio Rodríguez's place in this family is more perplexing, as he was the only person in San Cristóbal with a Spanish surname. There are two potential explanations for this. First, it is possible that José Rufino and Pascuala María named their son Gregorio Rodríguez. Granted, this would be highly unusual, but not beyond the realm of possibility. A second possibility is that the eight-year-old Rodríguez was an orphan, who had been taken in by the family. Since no Hispanic families appeared in the census for this pueblo, this solution to the puzzle is not wholly satisfactory either. Thus, the origin of Gregorio Rodríguez remains a mystery.⁹⁹ Second names, even if they were religious, were generally not passed down to children, as they were not surnames in the usual sense. Occasionally, siblings might share second names, as was the case for Julián Martin and Doroteo Martin, sons of the widow, Antonia Trinidad, who also lived in San Cristóbal Huichochitlán.¹⁰⁰

Naming patterns evident in pueblo census manuscripts make clear the predominantly indigenous character of the communities. This is confirmed by the structure of the census itself, which was organized so that non-indigenous people appeared in separate sections. Only three pueblos—Cacalomacan, Tecaxic, and Tlacopan—enumerated non-indigenous populations in 1834. The first two pueblos had been part of the corregimiento of Toluca during the colonial period; Tlacopan (Tlacopa or Santa María Magdalena Tlacopa) had been considered a barrio of Toluca in Spanish

language sources in 1805 and 1815. (See Table 4.1.) Cacalomacan and Tecaxic are known to have included Hispanic populations in 1791. Hispanic populations in these pueblos grew in the nineteenth century, whereas the populations of other pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction appear to have maintained largely indigenous ethnic identities. Population data for Tlacopan before 1834 were not included in the sources for this study. The census manuscripts for Cacalomacan and Tecaxic grouped the population by indigenous people (the notation *de indígena* was included next to the Indian subtotal in the Cacalomacan manuscript) and "*vecinos de razón*," following the colonial era terminology used to describe Hispanic people. The Tlacopan portion of the manuscript employed the term, "*avecindados*," which has the connotation of outsiders or settlers. The *avecindados* of Tlacopan shared the same social characteristics as the *vecinos de razón* in the other pueblos.¹⁰¹

Tecaxic, with a population of 767, was not the largest pueblo in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction, but it was home to the largest concentration of Hispanic people living outside of the city of Toluca. The 307 *vecinos de razón* made up 40 percent of the pueblo's population in 1834. Tecaxic had been home to 181 Hispanic people in 1791. The Hispanic residential trend continued over the next half century, as the proportion of Hispanics residing there appears to have increased dramatically. The indigenous section of the manuscript included 460 people, who comprised 201 families. Naming patterns in this portion of the manuscript largely reflect the indigenous ethnicities of the pueblo's inhabitants. Most people had two first names, one of which was sometimes religious, and one-element appellations were rare. A dozen males included in the Indian portion of the

census for Tecaxic were recorded with Spanish surnames, such as Valente Almazán, Eugenio Arzate, Laureano Carbajal, and Gregorio Maldonado. These surnames were also common in the *vecinos de razón* portion of the census. What sets these males apart from the others was their inclusion in the indigenous portion of the census and the fact that they were all married to females who did not have Spanish surnames or occupations associated with them, thus suggesting that they were indigenous women. Moreover, all except two worked as *jornaleros*, agricultural day laborers, like the majority of the indigenous populations of the *pueblo* areas.¹⁰² *Jornaleros* were predominant in the indigenous portion of the census, accounting for all male occupations except three, those of Pedro Pablo, a mason, Francisco González, a cobbler, and Nicolás González, a weaver and probably a relative of Francisco.¹⁰³

The community of “*vecinos de razón*” in Tecaxic resembled the social composition and occupational structure of Toluca; indeed several of these individuals maintained strong connections to the city. Two *labradores*, four merchants, and a teacher were at the center of local society. Its most prominent member was Miguel de Zea, whose father, also named Miguel de Zea, had emigrated from Spain in the eighteenth century to become the owner of the Hacienda de Calixtlahuaca, located near Tecaxic, and an important merchant in the Toluca area.¹⁰⁴ Zea and his wife, María Sánchez, lived in Tecaxic with their seven children, ages one through sixteen. Twenty-three-year-old Dolores Zea, probably Miguel’s oldest daughter, appears in the census as the wife of Miguel Mena, one of Tecaxic’s four merchants. The couple appears to have been recently married, as their household included only an infant daughter, Maria Guadalupe. Mena

was likely a native of Tecaxic, as three other adult males with the same surname, possibly brothers judging by their ages, were neighbors.¹⁰⁵ The Zea family remained prominent in the Toluca region throughout the nineteenth century, the result of strategic marriages to other elite families, like the González Arratias and that of the German immigrant Georg Henkel.

Antonio Montes de Oca, the other resident labrador, was a native of Tecaxic, born there in 1805. Antonio's father, Juan de Dios Montes de Oca, appeared in the 1791 census as the owner and resident of the rancho de la Puerta, which was located two kilometers west of Toluca in the direction of Tecaxic.¹⁰⁶ Evidently, the elder Montes de Oca and his wife had moved to Tecaxic some time after that census had been completed. According to parish records, Antonio Montes de Oca was a native (originario) of Tecaxic and a vecino of Toluca. On 8 March 1831, the twenty-six-year-old Antonio married fifteen-year-old María Tiburcia Iglesias, daughter of the deceased José Antonio Iglesias and Victoriana Jardón. By the time of their marriage, Juan de Dios had also died, although Antonio's mother, María Ignacia Fuentes, was still alive. The members of both families were accorded don status in the marriage records.¹⁰⁷ By this time, the honorific title don/doña was rarely used, suggesting that both families were highly respected in the area. By 1834, the couple had two children, two-year-old María Telesfora and one-year-old Néstor Antonio.¹⁰⁸

The other merchants of Tecaxic included the fifty-two-year-old widower Hermenegildo García, whose household included three daughters and two sons, the youngest of which was three. García appears to have been a recent widower, perhaps

having lost his wife in the recent cholera pandemic.¹⁰⁹ Thirty-two-year-old Francisco Torres was married to María Clara Almazán. Their family included two girls, ages four and three, and two sons, ages two and one.¹¹⁰ The household of fifty-year-old Antonio Reza and María Álvarez included no children of their own. However, the couple cohabited with another family, that of José Rafael and Juliana Simona and their four children. Nothing else is known regarding the relationship between these two families.¹¹¹ Of these three merchants, Torres and Reza reported *utilidad diarias* of three reales a day. García reported only two reales per day. The teacher (preceptor), forty-four-year-old José María Mejía, was married to Andrea Quintana. Their household included three children.¹¹² Mejía reported no *utilidad diaria*. No other inhabitants of Tecaxic were named Mejía or Quintana, so it is likely that this couple migrated to the town, possibly from Toluca, where these surnames were quite common.

Cacalomacan was larger than Tecaxic and the third largest pueblo in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction. The pueblo was home to 256 families with a population of 966. The notation "de indígena" was written next to the subtotal of the first 744 people, who comprised 201 indigenous families. For the most part, names in this section of the manuscript followed traditional indigenous naming patterns. Only six people reported Spanish surnames. In three instances, a male with the Spanish surname was married to a female with no surname, as was the case for Cayetano Ramírez, married to María Eleuteria; Roberto Vallejo, married to María Josefa; and Ignacio León married to María Gerónima. In an interesting inversion, three males without Spanish surnames were married to females with them. Thus, Pedro Nicolás was married to María Josefa Díaz;

Antonio Lucas, was married to María Francisca Varas de Valdez; and José Desiderio was married to Maria Vallejo, probably Roberto's sister. In two instances, married couples shared the same second names, which was unusual. Thus, Juan Isidro was married to María Isidra, and José Máximo was married to María Máxima. With the exception of a mason and a weaver, all males whose occupations were recorded in Cacalomacan were agricultural day laborers, each earning 1.6 reales a day.¹¹³

As in Tecaxic, the remaining inhabitants of Cacalomacan appeared in a specific section of the census for “vecinos de razón.” They comprised fifty-five families, with a population of 222, or 23 percent of the pueblo's total population. The naming patterns were similar to those of Tecaxic, only the repeating surnames were fewer and more various, suggesting that some inhabitants had settled there more recently. In 1791, the Hispanic working population was heavily geared toward transportation of agricultural goods. Moreover, no Hispanic male in 1791 had been born in Cacalomacan. In 1834, the Hispanic population had expanded, and many of the same surnames appeared as in 1791. Varas de Valdez and its shorter version Valdez were by far the most numerous surnames in town, undoubtedly relatives of rancher and muleteer families of the same name who settled there in the late eighteenth century. Unlike Tecaxic, where 59 percent of working males were employed as weavers, labor in Cacalomacan was oriented toward agriculture. Just over 50 percent of males worked as agricultural day laborers (14) and small farmers (14). Sixteen men worked as merchants and itinerant traders. The remaining workers included weavers (6), cobblers (2), and a cloak maker (*capotero*). Interestingly, whereas the small Hispanic workforce in 1791 Cacalomacan had been dominated by muleteers, in

1834 only one muleteer was counted in the census, the seventy-year-old widower, Antonio Guadarrama.¹¹⁴

Tlacopan was one of the smaller pueblos in the municipal jurisdiction, with twenty-one families and a population of ninety-six. The sixteen indigenous families in Tlacopan followed the same pattern as the pueblos discussed above. Their names were typically indigenous, with two first names, sometimes with a religious component, and no Spanish surnames. The eighteen males whose occupations were listed all worked as operarios, agricultural workers. Not all of them reported an utilidad diaria, but those who did earned 1.6 reales per day. The “avecindados” of Tlacopan were comprised of five families, with eighteen members. Four of the head males had Spanish surnames: the thirty-two-year-old widower, Antonio Ruiz, a farmer; Tomas Hernández, a muleteer; Ramón Gil, an operario; and José Antonio González, also an operario. José Julián’s family was also included in this section of the manuscript, even though the name of the thirty-year-old operario suggests indigenous identity, as does the fact that all men with Spanish surnames were married to women without them. The employed avecindados who worked as operarios earned the same as the indigenous operarios, 1.6 reales per day. The muleteer Tomás Hernández did not include an utilidad diaria. Typical of the census takers’ view of women’s work in the indigenous sections of the census, no female occupations were recorded for indigenous or Hispanic women in Tlacopan.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the barrios and pueblos of Toluca from various perspectives, including those gleaned from assorted Spanish language documents, indigenous testaments, powers of attorney, and census records. The dominant theme is one of coexistence between Spaniards and Indians within an imperfect and varied framework of formal and informal structures. Spanish officials perceived indigenous settlements through the perspectives of their own experiences and cultural references; as such, they exhibited little interest or understanding beyond what was required to maintain functional relationships. Indigenous culture was remarkably resilient and persistent in Toluca. Indians continued to speak their own languages well into the nineteenth century; and they sustained many traditional practices, although not without the effects of external influences. In the nineteenth century, the majority of Toluca's population was still overwhelmingly indigenous.

Spaniards initially applied the term *pueblo* to indigenous ethnic states, the *altepetl*, and the term *barrio* to *tlaxilacalli*, which they considered subordinate settlements. Hierarchical relationships were recognized by the presence or absence of a *tlatoani*; thus, the Spaniards deemed *altepetl* where an indigenous ruler resided as *cabeceras* and the apparently surrounding communities as *sujetos*. However, what the Spaniards saw as *sujetos* were actually *tlaxilacalli*, constituent parts of the *altepetl*. Analysis of the barrios of Toluca, as they were identified in various official Spanish language documents during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, suggests a limited understanding of the intricacies and complexities of indigenous social and political organization. The irregular

application of the terms *barrio* and *pueblo* for indigenous settlements evident in the documents, especially in the seventeenth century, reflects an indifference to indigenous sociopolitical interrelationships or an overlapping of terminology used to describe them. These documents provide little insight into the internal organization of the *altepetl* of Toluca or its relationships to its constituent *tlaxilacalli*. Still, seven of the *barrios* are found in each source, suggesting that they were long-term constituent *tlaxilacalli* of the *altepetl* of Toluca.

Nahuatl testaments recorded in Toluca provide insights into indigenous self-perception and point to the persistence of indigenous culture in the region through the eighteenth century. The testaments show that indigenous people saw themselves above all else as members of *tlaxilacalli*. Belonging to the overarching *altepetl* was assumed in most testaments: only one testament discussed in this chapter directly referred to the *altepetl* of Toluca. The testaments reveal a high degree of micro-patriotism as well as inter-*tlaxilacalli* affinities, which are implied by the desires of testators to have bells rung to announce their deaths in particular and specified *tlaxilacalli*. Further hints of socioeconomic connections between *tlaxilacalli* are also evident in the testaments: some testators owned land in *tlaxilacalli* other than their own; some had relatives who lived in nearby *tlaxilacalli*; and some testators occasionally borrowed and lent money to people who lived outside their *tlaxilacalli*. Spanish administrative records point to structural sociopolitical relationships between certain *tlaxilacalli*, which confirms the relationships evident in the Nahuatl testaments. Much remains to be learned regarding the organization of the *altepetl* and *tlaxilacalli* of Toluca during the early period. Undoubtedly, the

combined efforts of scholars working with indigenous language and Spanish language sources will, in time, lead to a more satisfactory understanding of the interrelationships of Toluca's indigenous communities.

Powers of attorney issued in 1826, half a decade after national independence, illustrate persistence in the practices of indigenous municipal councils, called repúblicas de indios during the colonial period but renamed ayuntamientos after independence. In republican Mexico, the category indio was excised from political discourse and official documents, but indigenous municipal councils in the Toluca Valley continued to operate as they had throughout the past centuries with few alterations. The powers of attorney illustrate that the colonial practice of including current and past officials in important matters continued into the new era. During the colonial period, altepetl had typically been lead by a gobernador. However, in 1826 no pueblo was represented by a current gobernador. Gobernadores pasados were included in three of the powers of attorney, suggesting that if indeed the term gobernador was no longer in use the change was recent. Gobernadores appear to no longer have been part of the municipal lexicon. Instead, the past position of gobernador seems to have been passed to the alcalde auxiliar constitucional, as individuals with this title or some variation of it lead each contingent. The powers of attorney illustrate that indigenous municipal officials continued to operate in much the same manner as they had during the earlier period.

Census data established that most Hispanic people resided in the town of Toluca, while the pueblos and barrios of Toluca were home to relatively few Hispanic residents. The 1791 Revillagigedo census did not record information on indigenous people, but it

did enumerate Hispanic individuals who lived in indigenous pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction. Most pueblos had no Hispanic residents, and others were home to only a few. The largest concentrations of Hispanic people were found in just three pueblos: Tecaxic, San Francisco Cacalomacan, and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco. Removing the barrios that were contiguous to the city of Toluca from the calculation, 76 percent of the Hispanic population living in the pueblos of Toluca's jurisdiction lived in these three settlements. Hispanic people appear to have lived in Tecaxic for some time, as the majority of males whose birthplaces were recorded were born in the pueblo. The same does not appear to have been the case in San Francisco Cacalomacan and San Bartolomé Tlatelolco, where no adult Hispanic males were recorded as being born in those pueblos.

The 1834 census did not include ethnic categories, but naming patterns proved to be a reliable gauge of indigenous ethnicity. Some residential patterns that were discernable in the barrios and pueblos of Toluca in 1791 were also present in 1834. However, the ethnic makeup of several of Toluca's barrios changed markedly during the period between the two censuses. Santa Bárbara Tepepan, which had been a confirmed indigenous community for centuries, appears to have been absorbed into the city of Toluca. Moreover, the formerly indigenous barrios of San Diego and San Juan Evangelista were home to significant Hispanic populations in 1834. Indigenous people appear to have been a minority in both barrios. Only Santa Clara, San Luis Obispo, San Miguel Aticpac, and San Miguel Pinahuizco appear to have maintained predominantly indigenous identities.

The 1834 census manuscript included 11,813 people who lived in twenty-eight pueblos in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction. Naming and occupation patterns confirm that the vast majority of these people were indigenous. Confirmation is also found in the structure of the census itself, which was organized so that non-indigenous people, where they were present, appeared in separate sections. The pueblos of Cacalomecan, Tecaxic, and Tlacopan included non-indigenous populations. Cacalomecan and Tecaxic had significant Hispanic populations in 1791; Tlacopan was not included in the Revillagigedo census, so information on its pre-1834 population is lacking. The Cacalomecan and Tecaxic manuscripts divided the population by indigenous people (*de indígena*) and *vecinos de razón*, following the colonial era terminology used to describe Hispanic people. The Tlacopan portion of the manuscript used the term, *avecindados*. The *avecindados* of Tlacopan shared the same social characteristics as the *vecinos de razón* in the other pueblos. While these pueblos had the largest concentrations of Hispanic people in 1834, indigenous people comprised the majority of the population. In Tecaxic, Hispanic people made up 40 percent of the population, and in Cacalomecan, they comprised 23 percent. Tlacopan was one of the smallest pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction, home to ninety-six people, of whom eighteen were Hispanic.

Appendix 4.1

Names and Titles of Officials from Selected Indigenous Pueblos, 1826

Xalatlaco

Don José Mariano Benítez, alcalde auxiliar constitucional
Don Ciriaco Alarcón, regidor decano
Ventura Gaspar, ex gobernador por tres veces
Pedro Salvador, ex gobernador
Agustín Cesario, ex alcalde auxiliar
Manuel Isidro, ex alcalde auxiliar
Juan Salvador, ex regidor
Carlos Juan, fiscal actual de la Santa Iglesia
Luis Coroy, ex alcalde
Felipe de los Reyes
Anastasio Miguel
José de la Luz, escribano

Santa Cruz Atizapán

Juan Pablo Blancas, alcalde actual
Francisco Román, alcalde pasado
Francisco Javier, alcalde pasado
Basilio Juan, alcalde pasado
Candelario de los Ángeles, alcalde pasado
Juan de la Cruz, alcalde pasado
Francisco Martín, alcalde pasado
José Leonardo, alcalde pasado
Pascual Bailón, alcalde pasado
José Florentino, regidor actual
Cecilio Clemente, regidor actual
Máximo Trinidad, regidor actual
Felipe Santiago, escribano

Mexicaltzingo,

Paulino Oliveras, alcalde actual
Pedro Vidal, gobernador pasado
Gervasio Martín, gobernador pasado
Pablo Martín
Francisco Román
Valentín Martín
Nicolás Pacheco

Appendix 4.1, continued

Mexicaltzingo, cont.

Juan Ricardo
Francisco Rodríguez
Juan Raimundo
Luis Máximo
Juan Paulino

San Antonio de la Isla

José Mariano Lopez, alcalde actual
Angel Francisco, regidor
Vicente Ricardo, regidor
Ignacio Loyola
Casimiro Eusebio
Miguel Antonio Tirado
José Clemente
Ignacio Ansaldo
 Sujeto: Barrio de la Concepción
 José Mariano Gil, alcalde actual
 Juan Lorenzo, regidor
 Hermenegildo Antonio, alcalde pasado
 José Ignacio Suarez, secretario

Xochiaca

José Mariano Macedonio, alcalde auxiliar
Ysidro Antonio, alcalde propietario
Domino Antonio, regidor
Felipe Bartolomé, escribano
Antonio Marcelino
Felipe de Jesús
José Tomas
Pedro Pablo
Doroteo Martin
Paulino Juan
Esteban Juan
Mariano Cipriano

Coatepec

Juan Antonio, alcalde actual
José Eugenio Serapio, secretario
Victoriano Bobadilla, alcalde pasado
Manuel Santos, alcalde pasado

Appendix 4.1, continued

Coatepec, cont.

Pedro Nicolás, alcalde pasado
José Ciriaco, sindico
Nicolás Santiago, gobernador pasado
Santos Casiano, gobernador pasado
Juan de la Cruz, gobernador pasado
Miguel Aparicio, gobernador pasado
Nicolás Santiago, fiscal pasado
Domingo Santos, regidor pasado
Sebastián Antonio, regidor pasado
Francisco Gerónimo, regidor pasado
Antonio Onofre, regidor pasado
Pablo Bartolomé, regidor pasado

Tepemajalco

Juan Pedro Arévalo, alcalde auxiliar
Secundino Antonio, regidor
Lorenzo Mariano, regidor
Marcos Bruno, secretario
Pedro Secundino Góngora, alcalde pasado
Sebastián Eusebio, alcalde pasado
Justo José, alcalde pasado
Bartolomé Felipe, alcalde pasado
Juan Antonio, secretario pasado
Agustín Ramón San Juan, secretario pasado
Victoriano Martín, secretario pasado

Sources: AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo: Xalatlaco, 4 February 1826; Mexicaltzingo, 14 February 1826; San Antonio de la Isla, 16 February 1826; Xochiaca, 22 February 1826; Coatepec, 23 February 1826; Tepemajalco, 23 February 1826; Santa Cruz Atizapán, 27 February 1826.

Notes

¹ José Luis Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República para los pueblos del corregimiento de Toluca, 1729-1811* (México: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1978), 190-191.

² José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro americano: descripción general de los reynos, y provincias de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones* (México: Editora Nacional, 1952), 220.

³ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta. 23 January 1801.

⁴ See Caterina Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007) and Miriam Melton-Villanueva, “The Nahuas at Independence: Indigenous Communities of the Metepec Area (Toluca Valley) in the First Decades of the Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012).

⁵ AHMT, Padrones, 1834. For barrios see ff. 133-41; for pueblos see ff. 141-407; for haciendas see ff. 408-51; for ranchos see ff. 451-47. Several transcription and arithmetic errors by the census takers have been corrected in the figures presented here.

⁶ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule; a History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 34; James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 15, 53. According to Lockhart, the Franciscan Alonso de Molina’s 1571 dictionary “defines altepetl as “pueblo,” and in fact that is the word Spaniards were already using for Indian polities and settlements of any size.” Caterina Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 14.

⁷ Gibson, 57. For a comprehensive discussion of the altepetl, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, especially chapter 2.

⁸ Rosaura Hernández Rodríguez, *Toluca, 1603: vista de ojos* (Zinacantepec, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, 1997), 31.

⁹ Stephanie Gail Wood, “Corporate Adjustments in Colonial Mexican Indian Towns: Toluca Region, 1550-1810” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1984), 78-84.

¹⁰ Gibson, 33; Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 15, 478-79, n. 6.

¹¹ Hernández Rodríguez, 102-104, 140-41.

¹² Wood, "Corporate Adjustments," 78.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33, 56-60.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of San Bernardino's struggle to achieve pueblo status, see Wood, 103-106; and José Luis Alanís Boyso, *Corregidores de Toluca: apuntes para su estudio, 1590-1810* (México: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1976), 23. Information on municipal elections in San Bernardino between 1798 and 1809 is included in Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República*, 126-128.

¹⁸ Stephanie Wood found that San Sebastián was granted separation from San Juan Bautista in 1792, however according to Alanís Boyso San Sebastián did not become a pueblo until 1798. Wood, 209; Alanís Boyso, *Corregidores de Toluca*, 27.

¹⁹ Javier Romero Quiroz, *La Ciudad de Toluca: Su Historia* (México: Gobierno del Estado de México, 1973), 2:52.

²⁰ Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 53-125. In addition to the testaments from Toluca proper, Pizzigoni's study also includes translations and commentary on sixty testaments from the Calimaya/Tepemaxalco area of Toluca.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

²² *Ibid.*, 53.

²³ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Romero Quiroz, *La Ciudad de Toluca*, 2:136.

²⁵ Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República*, 87-96.

²⁶ Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 17.

²⁷ Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República*, 133-142.

²⁸ Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 59-61, 85-86, 90-91, 105-116.

²⁹ Santa Clara was located 500 meters east of Toluca's central plaza. San Sebastián was located 300 meters south of Santa Clara, and San Diego 300 meters east of Santa Clara. San Juan Bautista was located 200 meters north of San Diego, and Santa María de los Ángeles 450 meters north of San Juan Bautista. All distances are approximate and based on nineteenth-century maps of Toluca published in Roberto L. Mayer, *Poblaciones Mexicanas, planos y panoramas, siglos XVI al XIX* (México, D.F.: Smurfit Cartón y Papel de México, 1998), 311-312.

³⁰ Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 61-64.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 116-118.

³² Wood, "Corporate Adjustments," 208-210.

³³ *Ibid.*, 209.

³⁴ A copy of Tomás de Torres y Elosúa's map of San Sebastián is published in Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República*, 145.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Wood, "Corporate Adjustments," 209-210.

³⁶ Caterina Pizzigoni, *The Life Within: Local Indigenous Society in Mexico's Toluca Valley, 1650-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

³⁷ Miriam Melton-Villanueva, "The Nahuas at Independence: Indigenous Communities of the Metepec Area (Toluca Valley) in the First Decades of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012).

³⁸ See Rodolfo Pastor, *Campesinos y reformas: La Mixteca 1700-1856* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1987), 421-422.

³⁹ See especially Michael Ducey, *A Nation of Villages*, and Peter F. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

⁴⁰ Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 405.

⁴¹ Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State*, 90-91.

⁴² The document states: "Teniendo que acreditar el dominio y propiedad que asiste a su pueblo sobre los montes y tierras de que se los hizo merced antiguamente ocurrieron en el

ilustre ayuntamiento de Santiago Tianguistengo a cuya municipalidad corresponde a impetrar la licencia conducente para nombrar un apoderado de su satisfacción que representen sus derechos.” AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 4 February 1826.

⁴³ See Noemí Quezada, “Congregaciones de indios y grupos étnicos: el caso del Valle de Toluca y zonas aledañas,” *Revista Complutense de Historia a de América* 21 (1995), 141-165.

⁴⁴ Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 6.

⁴⁵ Robert Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521-1555* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 118.

⁴⁶ Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Quezada, “Congregaciones de indios y grupos étnicos,” 163.

⁴⁹ See the testament of Mateo Juárez in Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 227-228.

⁵⁰ Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain*, 113-114; Stephanie Wood, “The Cosmic-Conquest: Late-colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos,” *Ethnohistory* 38 (Spring 1991), 185; Quezada, “Congregaciones de indios y grupos étnicos,” 163.

⁵¹ Ernest Sánchez Santiró, *Padrón del Arzobispado de México 1777* (México, D.F.: Secretaria de Gobernación, 2003), 115.

⁵² Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain*, 179.

⁵³ Wood, “Corporate Adjustments,” 40.

⁵⁴ Gerhard, 397-398.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁵⁶ Pizzigoni, *The Life Within*, 218.

⁵⁷ Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 49.

⁵⁸ Borah, *Justice by Insurance*, 361, 444.

⁵⁹ For a discussion of municipal offices and the origin and evolution of the use of actual and pasado by Nahuas, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 48-52.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁶¹ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 14 February 1826, 27 February 1826.

⁶² Ibid., 14 February 1826.

⁶³ Ibid., 23 February 1826, 27 February 1826.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 4 February 1826, 23 February 1826.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 22 February 1826, 16 February 1826.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 14 February 1826.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 22 February 1826.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 16 February 1826.

⁶⁹ Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 5.

⁷⁰ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁷¹ AHMT, Padrones, 1870. The barrios included in the 1870 municipal census of Toluca were: Santa Barbara, Calvario, San Miguel, San Luis Obispo, Tlacopa, and San Juan Evangelista.

⁷² Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República*, 143.

⁷³ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Pizzigoni, *The Life Within*, 14.

⁸⁰ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁸¹ AGNEM, S.H., Juan María Flores, 3 January 1835 and 10 January 1835.

⁸² The notation reads: “Los individuos que corresponden a este barrio se hallan incluidos en la manzana segunda del cuartel segundo del cano de la ciudad por haberse extendido la comisión lo que tendrá presente para ocurrir al lugar citado.” AHMT, Padrones, 1834, f. 135.

⁸³ 1834 Census Database.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Romero Quiroz, *La Ciudad de Toluca*, 2:137.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ AHMT, Padrones, 1834, ff. 20-24.

⁸⁹ 1834 Census Database.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² For weights and measures see Manuel Carrera Stampa, “The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain,” *HAHR* 29 (1949): 2-24.

⁹³ Francisco de Solano and Catalina Romero, *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Historia de América, 1988), 494.

⁹⁴ Ernest Sánchez Santiró, *Padrón del Arzobispado de México 1777*, 114.

⁹⁵ AHMT, Padrones, 1834, ff. 265-273.

⁹⁶ Ibid., ff. 265-274.

⁹⁷ Ibid., ff. 330-349.

⁹⁸ Ibid., ff. 359, 362, 363, and 364.

⁹⁹ Ibid., f. 335.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., f. 341

¹⁰¹ Ibid., ff. 217-221, 253-260, 370.

¹⁰² Ibid., ff. 245-253

¹⁰³ Ibid., ff. 253-260

¹⁰⁴ See Miguel de Zea's testament in AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez 1807.

¹⁰⁵ AHMT, Padrones, 1834, f. 257.

¹⁰⁶ AGN, Padrones, vol. 21, f.198.

¹⁰⁷ GSU, microfilm, roll 44092, 8 March 1831.

¹⁰⁸ AHMT, Padrones, 1834, f. 259.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., f. 258.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., f. 253.

¹¹¹ Ibid., f. 254.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., f. 217.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., ff. 217-221.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., ff. 368-370.

Chapter 5

ESTATE SYSTEM AND COMMERCE

Toluca's highly productive agriculture combined with its proximity to the great urban market of Mexico City made it one of the premier farming regions in central Mexico. Viceroy Revillagigedo II confirmed Toluca's strategic position as a key supplier of vital agrarian commodities to Mexico City. Writing some years after the catastrophic crop failures of the mid-1780s, the viceroy informed his successor that improvements to the road linking the viceregal capital and the Toluca Valley were of the greatest importance, since the latter could be considered "the granary of Mexico [City], especially for maize."¹ Alexander von Humboldt's data supported the viceroy's assessment, estimating that the maize fields of the Toluca Valley produced in excess of 600,000 fanegas of "tlaoli or maíz megicano" per year, much of it bound for Mexico City, as well as for local and regional markets.²

Haciendas were by far the largest producers of agricultural commodities in the Toluca Valley. Fifty haciendas were located within a 9-mile radius of the town.³ They existed side by side with the smaller production entities of ranchos and Indian pueblos, while having various social and economic relationships interwoven with them. Toluca's great estates were market-oriented, profit-driven commercial enterprises that mediated between rural agricultural production and urban demand. Far from monolithic, the institution of the hacienda developed with a great deal of regional and even intraregional variation in terms of size, value, production, degree of commercialization, and labor procurement, all of which were visible in the estate system of Toluca. The most important

determinant affecting the timing and evolution of the great estate was proximity to, and size of, urban markets. Other variables influencing hacienda development included land type and availability, hydrology, and the presence and degree of Hispanic acculturation of local indigenous populations.⁴

Scholars have long recognized that hacienda owners were indistinguishable from other high level commercial actors. In his study of haciendas and markets in Guadalajara, Eric Van Young wrote that the term *hacendado* was “meaningless in terms of differentiating among elite subgroups during the eighteenth century.”⁵ He found that although the owners of great estates were commonly referred to as *hacendados*, they were also identified as miners, merchants, or professionals. Margaret Chowning came to the same conclusion in her study of Michoacán: “any attempt to categorize the late-colonial upper class by occupation or investment must begin by creating numerous overlapping categories, only the most obvious is merchant/landowner.”⁶ These observations apply equally to conditions in the early republican era.

Hacienda owners in the Toluca region—referred to as *hacenderos*, *hacendados*, and *labradores*—followed a pattern similar to the one described by Van Young and Chowning. Contemporary documents regularly identify Toluca’s hacienda owners as merchants (*comerciantes*, or *de comercio*) and less often as professionals (usually lawyers) or priests, although these groups were often associated with commercial activities, so in a sense they acted as merchants. No miners appear to have owned haciendas in Toluca’s jurisdiction at this time, although mining capital likely found its way into the larger Toluca region via merchants from Mexico City. Whatever the

particular occupational background of an individual hacienda owner, their close and extended family networks included a mix of merchants, priests, lawyers, government officials, and other members of the elite.

Hacienda owners and merchants were the channels through which Mexican trade and commerce flowed. Indeed, many of Toluca's *labradores* owned retail stores—called *pulperías* and *tiendas mestizas*—which were sometimes attached to their domiciles in town; some stores were operated as companies or partnerships, while others were simply rented out. Several hacendados owned *panaderías* (bakeries) and *tocinerías* (pork processing plants) as separate entities, although in Toluca it was not uncommon for a combination of *pulpería*, *panadería*, and *tocinería* to operate on a single property. Commercial activity was by no means the sole domain of estate owners, however. According to Jorge Mercado, in 1785 more than 50 retail stores operated in Toluca.⁷ Wealthy merchants owned many of these establishments as their sole businesses, while others were owned by, or rented to, lower level dealers.

This chapter examines aspects of the estate system and commerce in Toluca between 1777 and 1834, but is not intended to be a comprehensive analysis of either. While hacienda owners, merchants, and their families are its principal interest, the chapter is also concerned with the larger economic context in which these actors operated, in terms of agricultural production and commercial activity at the macro and micro levels. Scholars have long characterized the first three decades following Mexican independence as a period of economic depression and stagnation due to structural weakness in the political and financial systems, geographic obstacles to transportation,

and the destruction of the mining industry.⁸ More recently, historians have questioned the applicability of characterizing all of early republican Mexico as uniformly steeped in economic depression; they employed regional analyses and found economic recoveries in peripheral economies as early as the late 1820s.⁹ This chapter considers the case of Toluca in the context of these studies.

The chapter examines two series of records related to agricultural production and commercial activity to detect changes and continuities in the prewar and post-independence Toluqueño economy. It first analyzes agricultural output by haciendas and ranchos between 1797 and 1810, and between 1820 and 1833, by employing tithe records to measure expansion and contraction of agricultural production over time. It then reduces focus to analysis of only haciendas in Toluca's jurisdiction, presenting a profile of the estates' physical characteristics, valuations, and levels of indebtedness. Sales records suggest a high degree of stability in hacienda ownership during the period of this study. When haciendas did change hands, it was often within the family. This section concludes with an examination of the careers of two prominent hacienda owners: one, a patriarch of a long established landed and ennobled family, and the other a peninsular immigrant who arrived with nothing, accumulated wealth as a merchant, and gained ownership of two important haciendas by marrying into a landowning family.

The second section begins with an analysis of sales tax data, which reveals a growing domestic market during the years preceding 1810 and a dramatic decline in consumption after 1810, with a recovery beginning in the late 1820s. The chapter then presents profiles of pulperías and tiendas mestizas based on sales, rentals, and company

formation records. These retail stores were the primary outlets for the distribution of goods and merchandise entering the Toluca market. Sales records provide insight into the ownership, valuation, and management of these enterprises in the provincial town. The chapter concludes with an analysis of *tocineros* and *tocinerías*, which were the quintessential Toluqueño commercial enterprises of this period.

Patterns in Agricultural Production

Like many economic indicators, tithes are imperfect insofar as they tend to measure only Spanish agricultural production. Although tithes were collected from *pueblos*, they probably did not reflect anything close to actual levels of indigenous production. Moreover, many *ranchos* in the Toluca region were not subject to the tithe, because their harvests were not large enough to warrant collection. While the accuracy of specific peso values deposited into church coffers may be questioned, the volume and direction of productive output is acceptable as an approximation. The same applies to the quantities of agricultural products on which the tithe was collected. For the purposes of the present analysis, tithes are used to measure the volume of agricultural output, as they included annual data collected from the same estates over time.¹⁰

In 1801, eighty-five haciendas (and a few productive *ranchos*¹¹) in Toluca and the surrounding subregions of Almoloya, Temoaya, Zinacantepec, and Metepec paid tithes to the church as products in kind based on their annual output. Hacienda owners signed sworn statements attesting to the size of their harvests and animal stock production, and delivered 10 percent of their yield to church representatives. It is unlikely that any

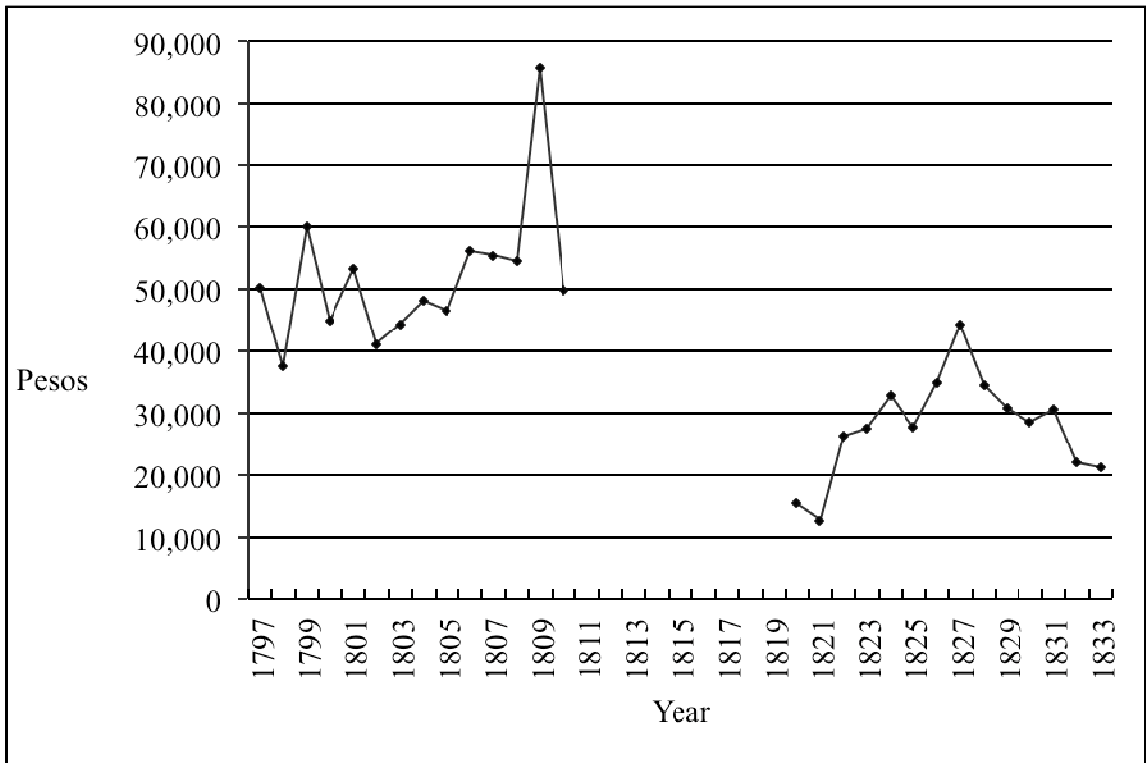
hacienda escaped the scrutiny of the tithe collector, although the accuracy of those who reported harvest totals may be questioned. There was very little change in the number of productive entities paying the tithe between 1801 and 1810. In 1820, the number of estates paying tithes dropped to seventy-eight, nine fewer than in the pre-insurgency decade.¹² The reason for the smaller number of estates after 1820 is likely related to the crisis conditions caused by the insurgency, although these records provide no details. The only concrete conclusion to be drawn is that after 1820 approximately 13 percent fewer haciendas in the Toluca region produced marketable harvests.

Chart 5.1 provides revenues from the sale of tithed products for selected years. Complete annual totals were available for 1797 to 1810 and for 1820 to 1833. In October 1833, the legal requirement to pay tithes was abolished, so after this year, they no longer serve as a reliable indicator of agrarian output.¹³ The chart illustrates the effects of political stability on agricultural production. For all except two years between 1797 and 1810, Spain was at war in Europe; however, the viceroyalty was at peace. In the absence of domestic military conflict, tithes produced an average value of 51,934 pesos per year, with a low in 1798 of 37,535 pesos and a peak in 1809 of 85,679 pesos. With the agricultural crisis of 1809, tithe income dropped to near the average level for the preceding decade, suggesting that Toluca may have been less adversely affected than other areas. Tithe records were not available for the period between 1811 and 1819; however, effects of a decade-long insurgency are apparent in their values between 1820 and 1833. During this period, the average annual value of tithes collected was only 27,783 pesos, or a just over a half that of the prewar years. Tithe values between 1821

and 1827 suggest an incipient recovery in production, only to decline again by 1833. The values reflect prices for which tithed products were sold in any given year, which were often below market prices.

Chart 5.1

Total Value of Tithes Collected in Toluca in Selected Years



Source: ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca.

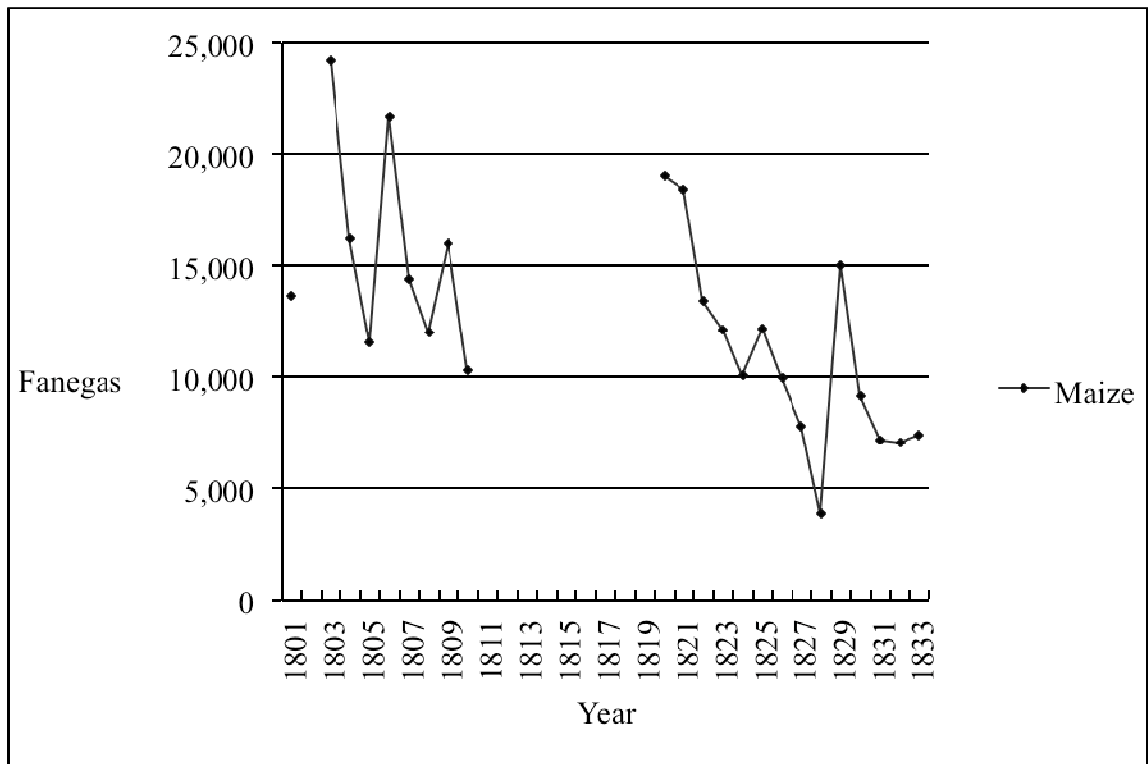
Maize was the principal grain of central Mexico, serving as the essential dietary staple of indigenous people. Much of the maize grown in Toluca was destined for the Mexico City market, where, in the late eighteenth century, more than 25,000 Indians resided. Toluca also supplied maize to the mines of Temascaltepec and Sultepec, as well

as population centers in the valley. Toluca's maize was considered to be of inferior quality compared to that of Chalco, and other areas of the Valley of Mexico, due to the cold climate of the higher-altitude basin. Nevertheless, maize from Toluca was vital to the food security of the capital city.¹⁴

Crop production data collected by tithe collectors were not affected by price fluctuations and provide a more reliable measure of agricultural output. Chart 5.2 illustrates the quantity of maize collected in the Toluca region (Toluca, Almoloya, Temoaya, Zinacantepec, and Metepec) in fanegas by year. The average quantity collected between 1801 and 1810 was 15,555 fanegas per year. During this period, production vacillated, with peaks in 1803 and 1806. But most annual values were in the range of between 11,500 and 16,000 fanegas. Maize production in 1820 and 1821 was also high, at 19,042 and 18,408 fanegas respectively. Given the figures in the previous chart, which showed a severely depressed value of tithe receipts in the same years, this is unexpected and suggests the price for maize was low during those years. Without knowing the quantities of production during the preceding decade, it is not possible to comment on the effects of the insurgency by year. It does appear that between 1820 and 1825, maize production in Toluca was on a par with that of the century's first decade, while after 1825, the trend was one of declining production.

Chart 5.2

Maize Collected as Tithes in Toluca, Selected Years



Source: ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca.

Maize production on forty-two estates located within three leagues of Toluca averaged 85,770 fanegas per year between 1801 and 1810.¹⁵ While all haciendas grew maize, not all were large producers. Twenty-five harvested an average of between 70 and 2,000 fanegas per year; twelve produced between 2,110 and 3,690 fanegas; and only five haciendas averaged production over 4,000 fanegas per year. The largest maize producer was the Hacienda la Canaleja, which harvested 7,410 fanegas annually. Total production on these haciendas declined by 24 percent between 1820 and 1833, to an annual average of 64,990 fanegas. Thirty estates produced between 240 and 1,790 fanegas per year; eight

produced between 2,040 and 2,980 fanegas; while only four haciendas harvested over 3,000 fanegas per year. During this period, only the Hacienda de Buena Vista averaged harvests of over 4,000 fanegas per year.

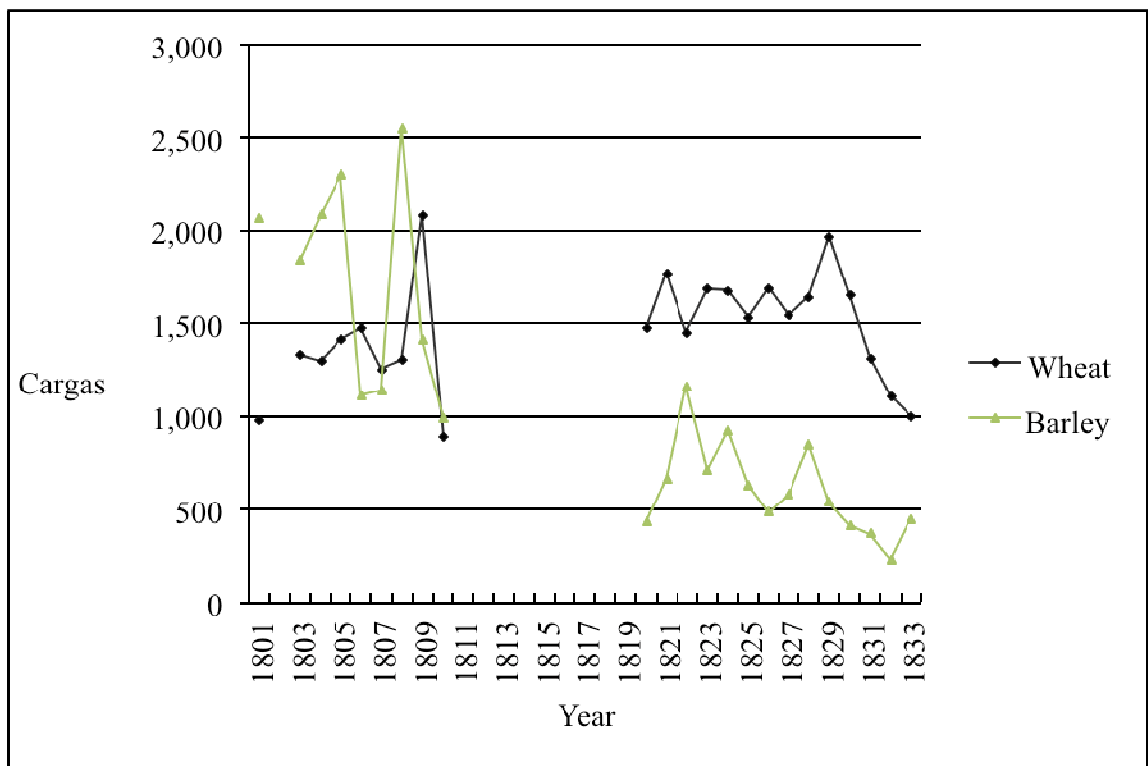
The Toluca Valley was a principal wheat-producing region in central Mexico. Wheat required regular irrigation and better quality soil than maize, and was thus grown on fewer estates. Additionally, the grain required processing to be utilized, so was sold first to mills, which turned it into flour before it could be supplied to panaderías. Wheat was the staple of Hispanic culture, having arrived with the Spaniards and their taste for bread. While indigenous people were primarily maize consumers, by the late eighteenth century urban Indians also bought large quantities of wheat bread. It is estimated that 85 percent of Toluca's wheat production went directly to Mexico City, while the remainder supplied the mining towns of Temascaltepec and Sultepec, as well as other towns and pueblos of the valley.¹⁶ In a typical year, Toluca's panaderías consumed an average of just over 4,000 cargas of flour, most of it used to bake bread.¹⁷ Mexico City, on the other hand, typically consumed in excess of 125,000 cargas of wheat per year.¹⁸ Barley was not widely consumed by humans, but was used as animal feed: every *tocinero* in Toluca stored supplies of both maize and barley, which was used to fatten their stock.

Chart 5.3 provides the quantity of wheat and barley collected for the tithe in cargas. It is perhaps surprising that wheat harvests actually increased after independence, from an annual average of 1,335 cargas per year between 1801 and 1810, to an annual average of 1,535 cargas between 1820 and 1833. Between 1820 and 1829, harvests were regular and reliable. Still, after the peak production in 1829 of 15,024 cargas, the trend

indicates a gradual decline to just 1,000 cargas in 1833. Barley production was irregular in the decade between 1801 and 1810, with the tithe averaging 1,724 cargas per year. Production between 1820 and 1833 was less than half that of the earlier period, with an average of just 603 cargas.

Chart 5.3

Wheat and Barley Collected as Tithes in Toluca, Selected Years



Source: ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca.

Total wheat production on the forty-two haciendas of Toluca's jurisdiction averaged 4,080 cargas per year between 1801 and 1810. During these years, only nineteen haciendas grew wheat; six were smaller producers averaging between ten and

ninety cargas per year; and eight produced an average of between 120 and 300 cargas; five estates harvested between 320 and 530 cargas per year: they specialized in wheat cultivation and grew only small quantities of maize. Between 1820 and 1833 Toluca's haciendas increased wheat production by 42 percent to an average of 6,980 cargas per year. Many more haciendas engaged in wheat cultivation than during the previous period. Only five haciendas produced no wheat, while sixteen averaged harvests of between ten and 100 cargas per year. Twenty haciendas produced harvests of between 110 and 460 cargas per year. The Hacienda de Socomaloya was by far the greatest producer of wheat during this period, at 800 cargas per year.

Estates

Historians have noted the difficulty of defining the term hacienda with universal precision, due to regional variation of the great estates. Eric Van Young approached the hacienda as “a nexus of relationships whose equilibrium was determined by the ecological, social, and economic context.”¹⁹ Based on this assumption, the “problem of identifying an hacienda then becomes both a question of function and a matter of degree. In terms of the major variables of capital, labor, land, markets, technology, and social sanctions, haciendas performed certain economic functions in ways that were different from, or not available to, smaller units of production.”²⁰ In the Toluca region, as in Guadalajara, there was sometimes “overlap” of several of these parameters, though it was uncommon for productive estates to be mistaken for smaller, less productive entities. Indeed, the recognition of an hacienda was for the most part intuitive and obvious to local

observers. Their sizes, labor procurement systems, productive capacities, and valuations set them apart from smaller production units.

Socially and economically, but not juridically, the great estate was related to the *encomienda*, the sixteenth-century royal grants of Indian tribute and labor based on preexisting indigenous structures. Initially, *encomenderos* were satisfied to extract goods and labor from their *encomiendas* for delivery to Mexico City, without direct involvement in their operations, which they left to *mayordomos*, who were often humble relatives. By the late sixteenth century, small producers, who were from socially marginal elements of Hispanic society, appeared in the shadow of the *encomienda*, buying or leasing lands owned by *encomenderos*. Growing urban markets and the desire for profitability led to the development of the *hacienda* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to James Lockhart: “All in all, the replacement of the *encomienda* by the *hacienda* involved only a shift in emphasis, whatever the factual details of institutional development. A semigovernmental domain, serving as the basis of a private economic unit, gave way to a private estate with many characteristics of government.”²¹

The fully developed *hacienda* has been defined as “a large relatively consolidated landed property, run under one management, monopolizing large areas and centered on a well built up nuclear settlement or plant.”²² Principles of estate organization in the Toluca Valley changed very little from the system’s inception until the nineteenth century, although there were certain modifications. Originally, *hacienda* owners were usually prominent members of Mexico City society, allied with other elite family, social, and business networks, which were intertwined. Owners were removed from quotidian estate

operations, which they left to administrators and mayordomos. By the late eighteenth century, the core of estate ownership had shifted from Mexico City to Toluca. Of thirty-six haciendas in Toluca's jurisdiction, no fewer than twenty estates were owned by vecinos of Toluca who lived in the town, where they formed a tightknit, interrelated local elite.²³ (See Appendix 5.3 for a list of estates in Toluca's jurisdiction in 1791.) Seven owners resided on their haciendas, and were presumably involved in estate operations; none had an administrator on staff; all but one had a resident mayordomo to oversee daily work. Members of the Mexico City elite still owned estates in the Toluca's jurisdiction, but they were fewer in number than the cadre of local owners. Many of Toluca's hacendados shared family connections with members of Mexico City's elite; however, the increasing level of social consolidation reflected in estate ownership suggests that Toluca was in the process of becoming incrementally more self-contained and detached from the capital, although Mexico City would remain a potent social and economic force affecting developments in the region.

Principles of estate management did not fundamentally change over the course of the early period. Administrators were commonly in charge of sales and operations, while mayordomos, who were often of more modest social backgrounds, oversaw daily work. In 1791, only the Hacienda de Cuesillo operated without a resident administrator or mayordomo. Blacks and mulatos had figured prominently among foremen during the early period, but in the late eighteenth century no individuals of African descent were employed as permanent workers on haciendas. Haciendas maintained a core group of resident workers, who resided on the haciendas with their families. Most were involved

in work related to maintenance or support of the estate; they included technicians, foremen, mule drivers, cowhands, shepherds, and so on. The number of workers living on haciendas varied greatly. The largest populations were found on the Hacienda de las Majadas (72), La Laguna (62), La Canaleja (60), and Buenavista (50). On the other end of the scale, the Haciendas of Santa Teresa, San Diego, La Macaria, and Cuesillo had only four Hispanic residents each. There appears to have been little correlation between productive capacity and resident Hispanic populations, as managers hired indigenous temporary workers during periods of peak production. The census did not include the numbers of indigenous hacienda residents, however, which renders tentative any conclusion based on the census information alone. Still the relative sizes of hacienda populations would probably not be altered much by the inclusion of this category.²⁴

The 1791 Revillagigedo census identified thirty-six haciendas and thirty-nine ranchos in Toluca's jurisdiction. All were located within three leagues of the town; several bordered it, while others shared boundaries with other haciendas, ranchos, and Indian pueblos. Some estates in the Toluca region were classified alternatively as ranchos and haciendas. The Rancho de la Pila, for example, located adjacent to the town, was identified as an hacienda in the 1791 census. Its owner José Ventura García Figueroa resided on his estate. Tithe collectors referred to the property as a rancho until at least 1840.²⁵ Sales records called it a rancho, hacienda, and an *haciendilla*, sometimes in the same document. The size of the estate was small for an hacienda, at 3 and 7/8 caballerías in area, but much larger than the typical rancho in Toluca. (A caballería was an area measuring 1,204 varas by 552 varas or 105 acres or 43.8 hectares.) It was valued at

13,000 pesos, which was on a par with other lesser-valued haciendas. The Rancho de la Pila did produce harvests that were comparable to other haciendas, however, averaging 330 fanegas of maize per year between 1801 and 1810, and 600 fanegas per year in the 1820s.²⁶ In some regions, the determination of a property's identification as rancho or hacienda depended upon the socioeconomic position of its owner.²⁷ This could not have been the case with the Rancho de la Pila, as its owner was a member of the Mexican nobility. The confusion regarding the estate's proper category was probably related to its size and proximity to the town.

John Chance observed that the "distinction between the Spanish rancho and the hacienda in eighteenth-century Mexico was vague and varied by region, but it was nonetheless commonly made."²⁸ Ranchos in Toluca, with a few significant exceptions, were usually much smaller versions of haciendas, owned by persons of more limited means. Their values typically ranged from a few hundred to several thousand pesos, although there was wide variation. Representative is the Rancho de San Cristóbal, which sold for 600 pesos in 1799. Its property included one caballería of land and a solar of tierra of 1,450 square varas.²⁹ Beyond size, the location of some ranchos near haciendas could add to their values. The Rancho de la Palmas in Tecaxic sold for 2,100 pesos in 1817. The property was comprised of 2.5 caballerías of land and was bought by Carlos Zea, the owner of the Hacienda de Calixtlahuaca, which bordered the rancho.³⁰ Ranchos that were carved from existing haciendas were more valuable than stand-alone properties. When the Rancho de San Cristóbal Taborda was separated from the Hacienda de Tlachaloya in 1829, it sold for 4,000 pesos.³¹ Ranchos in the northern areas of the valley,

where the terrain was drier and less fertile, were more oriented toward animal husbandry and wheat production, where irrigation allowed, and were more extensive than some haciendas in the central part of the valley. In 1828, the priest José Antonio de la Vega bought the Rancho de Castañeda, which was located in Almoloya and consisted of 5 caballerías of land. The selling price of 8,000 pesos included the 1,200-peso value of the rancho's cattle.³²

Although it was uncommon, ranchos could be worth as much as lesser-valued haciendas, but a key difference was that they did not produce marketable harvests at comparable levels. The Rancho de Maruca in the municipality of Temoaya was worth just over 10,000 pesos in 1827, when Rafael Medina's heir sold it to the attorney, Ramón Martínez de Castro. Agricultural production on the rancho was subject to the tithe, but it rarely produced more than 300 cargas of maize in a given year, and in most years it produced none. Small amounts of barley were grown on the land, and a few lambs were raised and sold; yet, the rancho did not appear to be consistently market oriented in a manner or magnitude comparable with the valley's haciendas.³³

Hacienda sales contracts and inventories recorded in Toluca provide information on ownership, values, terms of sale, locations, and descriptions of estates sold in its jurisdiction. Unfortunately, these Toluca-based documents have little to say regarding the estates' internal composition; other methods and sources must be employed to gain an understanding of their inner workings. Haciendas differed from (most) ranchos in their size, value, productive capacity, and ownership, which were their distinguishing characteristics. Table 5.1 provides the values and sizes of twenty haciendas that sold or

were inventoried in Toluca between 1790 and 1828. Sales records provide the area of haciendas in caballerías of land. In other regions haciendas consisted of scattered component parts; however, the sample of sales records consulted for this study identify haciendas as contiguous properties, and include descriptions of bordering pueblos, haciendas, ranchos, or tracts of land.³⁴ Caballería units were used for crop production land and other hacienda land would have consisted of larger *sitios de estancia para ganado mayor* (the estancia for large stock, i.e. cattle); however, the sale records did not use this term for land area. Estates ranged in size from between four and eight caballerías; but some, like the Hacienda de Tlachaloya, from which the Rancho de San Cristóbal Taborda was split off, were as large as fourteen caballerías. The Hacienda de la Laguna at 23¾ caballerías was the largest encountered in this investigation. Hacienda lands were a mix of planted fields (*labores*) and pastures. Estates in the central area of the Toluca Valley were smaller in area than those of the northern reaches of the valley around Ixtlahuaca, where haciendas could reach sizes of up to 39 caballerías.³⁵ Toluca's haciendas were almost always valued above 10,000 pesos, with some selling for as much as 50,000 pesos.

Table 5.1

Values of Haciendas at Sale or Inventory, Various Years

Year	Hacienda	Size (where known)	Value (Pesos)
1790	Santa Cruz de los Patos	5.5 caballerías	8,000
1795	La Garcesa	11.5 caballerías	28,000
1800	San Diego	8 caballerías	13,370
1800	Magdalena	6 caballerías	10,292
1800	La Laguna	23 $\frac{3}{4}$ caballerías	50,000
1800	San José	11 caballerías	12,000
1801	La Crespa		26,000
1802	San José de los Ranchos		48,000
1805	San José	11 caballerías	16,000
1809	Taborda		10,815
1809	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	6 caballerías	16,900
1811	Tlachaloya	14 caballerías	15,000
1814	La Macaria	4.5 caballerías	13,900
1815	Del Carmen & Santa Teresa		60,000
1815	La Laguna		45,000
1824	Rancho de la Pila*	3 $\frac{7}{8}$ caballerías	13,000
1827	San José Buenavista	8 caballerías	14,000
1827	Del Carmen & Santa Teresa		51,000
1828	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Taborda		20,000
1828	La Macaria	4.5 caballerías	13,000

Asterisk indicates an estate that was called both a rancho and an hacienda.

Source: AGNEM, S.H., Libros de Protocolos.

The prices of haciendas included the values of land, buildings, stock, grains, as well as encumbrances tied to the property, which were often in the form of capellanías (chaplancies) and loans made by religious entities. While prices of haciendas reflect their values, they obscure the immediate cost to the buyer at the time of purchase. Of the estates included in Table 5.1, only one was free of encumbrances. In 1790, Francisco Ibarra sold the Hacienda Santa Cruz de los Patos, located near Zinacantepec, to the

Toluca merchant José Mariano Berra for 8,000 pesos. The contract stated that the estate was free of liens, mortgages, and annuities, which was anomalous in the hacienda market. Berra paid 6,584 pesos, 1.5 real in cash. The remainder of the estate's price was comprised of 540 pesos, 6.5 reales for the value of farm equipment and 875 pesos for its maize crop.³⁶ Berra extended his clear holdings in 1795 when he bought a half caballería of land (19,000 square varas), also for cash, situated in the Rancho de San José Taborda for 228 pesos, 6 reales.³⁷

More typical was the large and important maize and wheat producing Hacienda de San José Socomaloyo (alias de la Garcesa), which was encumbered for over 50 percent of its value. In 1795, Juan Marquina, a vecino of Toluca, sold the estate to the Conde de la Contramina for 28,000 pesos. The hacienda was valued as follows: 11.5 caballerías at 16,825 pesos; the main house, barns, and granaries at 5,186 pesos, 7 reales; cattle, horses, and mules at 3,048 pesos; a blacksmith's shop at 395 pesos, 1.5 real; maize and wheat at 1,275 pesos; grass and straw at 120 pesos; and house furnishings at 117 pesos, 1 real. An emphyteutic lease (*censo enfitéutico*) of 880 pesos per year was owed to the Duque del Marquesado del Valle de Oaxaca. The Conde assumed censos (mortgages) of 14,000 and 1,000 recognized in favor of the Convento de Santa Isabel in Mexico City and the Colegio de Carmelitas Descalzos in Toluca, respectively. Effectively, it cost the Conde de la Contramina 12,120 pesos to take ownership of the Hacienda la Garcesa.³⁸

Hacienda owners also owned real property in town, and when estates were settled, sometimes hacienda sales included stores and houses. For example, when the Hacienda de la Crespa was sold in 1801, the transfer include a casa de tienda on the Calle

de Real de San Juan Bautista and a house and corral on the Plazuela de Alba, both of which the seller had inherited from her father, the merchant/landowner José Ortiz. The hacienda was valued at 26,000 pesos; the tienda, 5,000 pesos; and the house and corral, 2,800 pesos. With the combined value of livestock, equipment, maize, hacienda workers' debts, and the store inventory, the transaction totaled 58,909 pesos. Of this amount, the properties were encumbered for 36,500 pesos, or 62 percent of their value.³⁹

It is not possible to make any conclusive statements regarding changes in hacienda values over time from this limited sample. Sales were sometimes recorded in Mexico City, so the libros de protocolos of Toluca do not appear to contain a complete transaction record. Still, between 1790 and 1830 four haciendas changed owners twice, with notarized sales in Toluca, although the conditions surrounding the sale of the Hacienda de Señor San José were unusual. It was the only hacienda to change owners before the independence movement shocked the economy. The three other haciendas were sold for the second time after 1820 and all at a loss, although the declines in value were not as steep as those of other regions.⁴⁰

In 1800, Manuel Cruz Manjarrez sold the Hacienda de Señor San José to Eugenio Lejarazu for 12,000 pesos. The hacienda had liens totaling 6,012 pesos, or just over half of its sales price.⁴¹ In 1807, Lejarazu was apparently in financial trouble and sold the hacienda to Basilio González for 16,000 pesos. The encumbrances totaled 7,014 pesos, including debts to two Mexico City convents, a capellanía, a fund to renovate the cathedral in Mexico City, and the Tercer Orden de San Francisco in Toluca. These debts now pertained to the Consolidación de Vales Reales.⁴² González assumed the debts, paid

4,464 pesos to Lejarazu's creditors, accepted a loan (depósito irregular) from José Ignacio Lejarazu of Mexico City for 4,000 pesos for five years, and, in the end, paid Eugenio Lejarazu 521 pesos, 4 reales. The 1807 price may have been inflated because of the debts Lejarazu had accumulated. González's purchase required 4,985 pesos in up front cash. Lejarazu's debts amounted to 71 percent of the hacienda's sale price.⁴³

The Haciendas del Carmen and Santa Teresa appeared as a single entity in tithe and sales records. In 1791, the Mexico City merchant and mill owner Juan José de Oteiza owned both estates.⁴⁴ Antonio Barbabosa bought the haciendas from Oteiza and Pedro Vertiz, named as a co-owner, in 1815 for 60,000 pesos. The haciendas were encumbered for 54 percent of their value. Barbabosa paid 20,441 pesos in cash and assumed 15,000 pesos in censos, 17,000 pesos for an obra pía (pious work), and 400 pesos for the censo enfiteútico owed to the Duque del Marquesado del Valle. The remaining 6,800 pesos were due in March 1816, and 5 percent interest was charged.⁴⁵ Following Barbabosa's death in 1827, his estate sold the Haciendas del Carmen and Santa Teresa to María Micaela Monroy for 50,000 pesos. The haciendas lost 10,000 pesos of their value over twelve years, which may be considered a reflection of a depressed hacienda market. Lower prices may have attracted buyers who would not have otherwise been able to purchase haciendas. In this case, the buyer was a member of Barbabosa's extended family. María Micaela Monroy was the widow of Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez, Barbabosa's father-in-law.⁴⁶

The Hacienda de la Laguna was perhaps the largest estate in Toluca's immediate environs, at 23 and 3/4 caballerías. In 1800, the executor Tomas Lejarazu's estate sold

the hacienda to Juan Ramón Suirob for 50,000 pesos. The property was valued as follows: 42,600 pesos for the property and buildings, 5,000 for the year's harvest, 2,000 pesos for the debts owed by the hacienda workers (*créditos activos*), and 400 pesos for the tienda on the hacienda. The transaction included the purchase of a house and store (lencería) in town. The combined price for the hacienda, house, and store was 62,700 pesos, of which 48,000 was assumed in the form of a censo owed to the Juzgado de Capellanías y Obras Pías of Mexico City. The balance of the sale was recognized as a depósito irregular owed to the Lejarazu estate. In 1825, Suirob sold the hacienda to Juan de Dios Montes de Oca for 35,000 pesos, which included 10,000 pesos for the value of the year's harvest. Nine thousand pesos were paid in cash, and 2,000 pesos were to be paid annually for the next five years. Sixteen thousand pesos were owed to the Juzgado de Capellanías y Obras Pías, which Montes de Oca assumed. The decreased value of the hacienda and the terms of the sale suggest trouble in attracting buyers, reflective of difficult economic times. The hacienda's average annual maize harvest had declined by over 20 percent from 1820 to 1833 compared to the first decade of the century, which might also have been reflected in its value.⁴⁷

The Hacienda de la Macaria also decreased in value between sales in 1814 and 1828. Josefa Suárez negotiated the hacienda's sale to Dominga Urrutia and her husband Juan Bascones in 1809, but the transaction was not consummated until five years later. The price of the hacienda was set at 13,900 pesos. The hacienda was encumbered by a debt of 5,600 pesos, owed to the Tercer Orden de Carmelitas in Toluca, and 1,400 pesos for a capellanía. Payments of 2,000 pesos per year were to be made to Suárez, the unpaid

balance being charged 5 percent annual interest, and 900 pesos were to be paid to the Duque del Marquesado del Valle as a censo enfitéutico. Juan Bascones and Dominga Urrutia sold the hacienda to Agustín Torres in 1828 for 13,000 pesos.⁴⁸ Debts tied to the hacienda did not change during the fourteen years Suárez and Bascones owned it. Torres paid 5,100 pesos in cash and assumed two censos redimibles worth 7,000 pesos and the 900-peso censo enfitéutico. The hacienda produced both wheat and maize, but never in large quantities, and there were no significant changes in harvests after 1820.⁴⁹

Hacienda Owners

Four discernable social groups owned haciendas in Toluca, some of which were interrelated and had strong ties to Mexico City. These included: 1) members of the titled nobility based in Mexico City (the Marqués of Rivas Cacho, the Marqués of San Cristóbal, the Conde de la Contramina, and the Conde de la Torre y Cosío); 2) church related entities (Augustinians owned three estates in Toluca and Zinacantepec); 3) wealthy Mexico City merchants, who operated from the capital as absentee landowners (like Juan José de Oteiza, Jacobo García, Juan Bascones, and Roque Valiente); and 4) the local landed elite, who lived in Toluca and were directly involved in estate operations.⁵⁰

The first two groups left little trace in the local libros de protocolos. Mexico City nobles might notarize an hacienda or other real property transaction on the rare occasion that it was bought or sold, but these were as likely to be notarized in Mexico City as in Toluca; when they did record transactions in Toluca, it was usually through attorneys of other proxies. The Augustinians were the most stable estate owners in Toluca; their

Hacienda de San Diego in Toluca, and the Haciendas de San Pedro and de Guadalupe in Zinacantepec, did not change hands during the period of this study. San Pedro was one of the largest producers of wheat in the area and probably among the most profitable haciendas in the area. However, these estates and their owners left little trace in Toluca's libros de protocolos. Mexico City merchants sometimes notarized transactions in Toluca, usually via proxies; however, as the capital was their primary place of residence, business documents were often notarized there.

Toluca's local landed elite was the most visible in local documentation. They were comprised of two principal groups: longstanding hacienda-owning families, several of whom held noble titles, and merchants who were more recent arrivals. Elite recruitment was a continuous process, where new members were brought in from outside economic groups.⁵¹ Hacienda owners and their extended families formed a tightknit, interdependent group that was united by the circular relationship of common social and economic interests. In the absence of formal financial institutions, these individuals constructed social and family networks to facilitate commercial activities and access to capital. Interpersonal relationships were important in these networks. (Family, money, and social standing were the foundation.) In Toluca, family, marriage, and ritual kinship melded the landed elite to the merchant elite.

Landowner/merchants gravitated toward sources of wealth and power, although as the example of Eugenio Lejarazu illustrated above, not all were equally successful. Aside from agricultural pursuits, hacendados and their clans were involved in all aspects of local commerce and politics. They were active in the real property market, buying,

selling, and renting houses and land plots, retail stores, and other businesses. They supplied and consumed capital, making loans and acting as bondsmen for members of their families and business networks; and they supported capellanías, obras pías, and cofradías by borrowing funds and/or encumbering their properties to religious institutions, which had originally made some type of financial contribution when it was needed. (They were, in fact, principal leaders of cofradías.) And they served in positions of local government, as alcaldes, síndicos, and regidores.⁵²

Antonio Barbabosa

Antonio Barbabosa was the personification of the longstanding, ennobled, hacendado of the Toluca region. Barbabosa's great-grandfather emigrated from Spain in the late sixteenth century. His grandfather, Pedro Barbabosa, used the dowry from his first wife, Ana Quijano de Alcocer, to purchase the Hacienda de San Jose de los Ranchos in Zinacantepec, which became the basis of the family's patrimony. Antonio's father, Felipe Barbabosa, a lawyer of the Real Audiencia and a *fiscal* of the Real Hacienda in Mexico City, acquired the Hacienda de Santín in 1767. At the time Antonio Barbabosa recorded his testament in 1822, he owned four estates including: the Hacienda de Santín, in Zinacantepec; the Haciendas del Carmen and de Santa Teresa, in Toluca; and the Hacienda del Sitio de las Animas, in Almoloya. The Hacienda de Santín was the prized possession, producing an average annual harvest of 4,450 fanegas of maize between 1801 and 1810.⁵³

Hacienda owners preferred life in the city to the inconveniences and discomforts of rural existence; however, in 1791 Barbabosa chose to live on the Hacienda de Santín. According to census takers, Barbabosa was twenty-four years old and married to Secundina Cuadra; both were accorded don status. Included in his household were his widowed mother-in-law and a fifteen-year-old brother-in-law, Marcelo Cuadra. Permanent residents of the hacienda included the mayordomo, José Miranda, and his family, and two workers and their families.⁵⁴ Barbabosa's 1822 testament did not mention his first marriage, which is very unusual.⁵⁵ Most testaments would have named previous wives and indicated whether any children had been born. Parish records reveal that Barbabosa married Secundina Ignacia de la Luz Cuadra in Mexico City during the summer of 1790.⁵⁶ What became of the marriage is unknown, as is the reason for Barbabosa's omission of it in his testament.

Antonio Barbabosa married María Clara Cruz Manjarrez in 1795, setting in place a network of family and business relationships that would facilitate his commercial activities for the remainder of his life. María Clara's father was Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez. If one were to identify him from the 1791 census alone, Cristóbal Cruz would appear simply as a thirty-eight-year-old *tocinero*. However, inventories made after his death in 1825 reveal Cristóbal Cruz's assets to have been worth 243,270 pesos. He owned an hacienda in Ixtlahuaca, *tiendas de lencería* and *pulpería*, a *tocinería*, a *chilería*, and a *vinatería*. He invested in real estate: houses, corrals, lots, and building materials in his estate were worth 33,397 pesos. *Magueyes* planted in various pueblos and towns were

valued at 44,672 pesos. Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez had his own family and business network, which Antonio Barbabosa formally joined on the day he married his daughter.⁵⁷

When Antonio and María Clara contracted the marriage, there was a disparity in their respective levels of wealth. Cristóbal Cruz provided a dowry for his daughter of only 210 pesos, while Barbabosa brought 50,000 pesos to the union. In 1795, Cristóbal Cruz had yet to make his fortune. Nevertheless, Barbabosa and his father-in-law must have understood the mutually beneficial nature of their relationship even then. Antonio Barbabosa and María Clara had eight children. Several prominent individuals acted as godparents for their children, including Cristóbal Cruz and his second wife Antonia Millán Figueroa; Andrés Cruz Manjarrez (a pig trader, merchant, and Cristóbal's brother) and his wife María Gordillo; and the corregidor Agustín de Arozqueta and his wife Isabel Villegas. Cristóbal Cruz and his third wife María Micaela Monroy were godparents for the infant Sebastián Barbabosa in 1815.⁵⁸ By the time he made his testament, three of Barbabosa's children were married: Joaquín to María de la Merced Delgado; Francisco to Rafaela Rojas; and María Antonia to Sebastián de Ugarte, a vecino of Mexico City. His five younger children were all single and between thirteen and nineteen years of age.⁵⁹

Throughout his life, Antonio Barbabosa strengthened his family and business network by acting as bondsman (*fiador*) for members of his extended family and other powerful individuals, by making loans to other hacienda owners, and engaging in business enterprises with his relatives.⁶⁰ For example, in 1792 Barbabosa granted a power of attorney to Juan de Arredondo, a business agent from Mexico City, to post a 2,000-peso bond on behalf of the corregidor of Toluca, Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo.⁶¹ Details

regarding the bond were not stated in the document; however, the signing of a fianza for the benefit of the corregidor illustrates a trust relationship that extended beyond the singular transaction. In 1802, Barbabosa signed another fianza, this one to guarantee a 4,000-peso loan for Miguel Cruz Manjarrez, the son of his compadre Andrés Cruz Manjarrez.⁶² In 1803, Barbabosa made a loan (depósito irregular) for 4,000 pesos with interest to Felipe González del Pliego. The purpose of the loan was not stated. In 1801, tithe records identify González del Pliego as the owner of the Hacienda San José de los Ranchos, which had belonged to the Barbabosa family. González del Pliego probably did not yet own the hacienda, as his occupation was identified as de comercio and the loan was secured by a casa de comercio on the Calle de la Tenería, which also housed his tannery, and six plots planted with magueys in the town.⁶³

One of his final ventures involved the purchase of the Hacienda de Narvarte, which was located in the outskirts of Mexico City near the Santuario de la Piedad. In 1819, Barbabosa provided 12,000 pesos to his son-in-law, Sebastián de Ugarte, to make the purchase. The capital was borrowed from the Juzgado de Capellanías y Obras Pías in Mexico City as a censo redimible secured by the Hacienda del Carmen. The amount of the loan was to be deducted from the inheritance of his daughter, María Antonia.⁶⁴

Barbabosa was aware of his elite position and his legacy. Upon his death, he directed that the gañanes, operarios de razón (i.e. non-Indians), and vaqueros of the Hacienda de Santín be given ten pesos each. His cochero, Joaquín Ovando, was to receive twenty-five pesos, and his footman (lacayo), José Albarrán, was to receive twenty pesos, “for their good service.” A reflection of their close and trusting relationship, María

Clara Cruz Manjarrez was named first executor of Barbabosa's estate, and his sons Joaquín and Francisco, second and third. Barbabosa's heirs sold the Haciendas del Carmen and de Santa Teresa in 1827 at a loss, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. Tithe records indicate that the Hacienda del Sitio de las Animas was sold around 1826, as Juan Antonio Izarbe appeared as its owner in 1827. The same source shows the Hacienda de Santín changing owners in 1833 or 1834, to María Micaela Monroy, the purchaser of the Haciendas del Carmen and de Santa Teresa, the stepmother of María Clara, and the widow of Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez.⁶⁵ In other words, the property remained in the hands of close relatives.

Francisco Arandia

The career of Francisco Arandia illustrates a type of merchant/landowner that is well known in colonial Mexican history. His is the story of a Spanish immigrant who started with nothing, but through his own enterprise and personal connections accumulated enough capital to pursue commercial activities, and prospered. Eventually, Arandia was able to marry into an established and powerful family, and ultimately take ownership of two of Toluca's most important haciendas. Upward mobility was no small feat in the late eighteenth century; however, the infusion of young peninsular men into Mexico's landed elite was a recognized pattern of advancement.

Francisco Arandia left an account of his childhood years in his testament, which he recorded just before his death in 1823. Arandia was born in northern Spain around 1755. As the legitimate child of Francisco Arandia and Javiera Tomasa de Bujanda, the

younger Francisco was baptized in the parish of San Blas, in the city of Logroño, in what is today the province of La Rioja. Francisco's father died when he was a child, leaving his mother widowed and his family impoverished. Because she could not afford to care for him, Javiera Tomasa left her son in the care of a relative, don Domingo de Santa Cruz y Velasco. Francisco's mother married a second time, to Gaspar Ruiz, and gave birth to a daughter, Francisco's half sister, Emeteria Ruiz. Emeteria stayed in Spain and married Antonio Ortiz y Villalba. During their marriage, they had numerous children. Francisco made clear that his sister's children were not his direct heirs. Nevertheless, over the years he provided financial support to her and her family whenever possible.⁶⁶

With the support of his relative and benefactor, don Domingo, who apparently remained in Spain, Francisco arrived in Mexico in 1773, at around the age of eighteen. Beyond acknowledging the support he received from don Domingo, Francisco gave no further account of his activities once he arrived. It is possible that he went first to Mexico City, which was typical for newly arrived male who had relatives there. Alternatively, he may have followed the network of regional compatriots who made their way to the Toluca Valley.⁶⁷

Some time before 1791, Francisco Arandía married Rosalía Mañón, the daughter of Bartolomé Mañón, owner of the Hacienda del Salitre, in Metepec, and a well-known and powerful Toluca merchant. Mañón was a second-generation Toluqueño, whose father, Pedro Mañón, had been born in the kingdom of Castile.⁶⁸ By the time of their marriage, Francisco had accumulated between 3,000 and 4,000 pesos. In 1786, Francisco was listed as the owner of the Rancho de Medina, in Metepec, although he made no

mention of this property in his testament. Rosalía brought no capital to the marriage, but she did bring family connections, which were undoubtedly more valuable than any dowry. After her father's death, Rosalía inherited a little over 3,000 pesos.

The 1791 census lists Francisco's occupation as a comerciante of Toluca. At that time, his family lived in the center of town in on the Calle Real de San Juan Bautista, where he maintained a store. The household was comprised of Francisco and Rosalía, as well as her aunt and two mestiza maids. Members of the local elite surrounded Arandia. On the same block, for example, lived merchants, hacienda owners, and tax collectors, many of whom had peninsular origins.⁶⁹

Having married into the local elite, the next step was to have children; however, evidently, Francisco and Rosalía were unable to conceive. Two daughters were identified in Francisco's testament but birth records show that the girls were adopted. In August 1793, Francisco and Rosalía acted as godparents for the child of José Villegas and María Benita Cimbrón.⁷⁰ Three days later, an infant girl appeared at their doorstep, whom they adopted and named María Francisca Dominga. The couple also acted as godparents to the child. Francisco and Rosalía adopted a second child, María Josefa, around 1810.⁷¹ Both daughters were treated as though they were their parents' own biological children. In his testament recorded decades later, and after his wife's death, Francisco referred to his *hijas naturales* (natural daughters), a term normally used to describe children born out of wedlock. This was, to say the least, an unusual use of the term, as they were adoptive daughters. Is it possible that Francisco was their biological father, and the mother was a woman other than Rosalía? This is unknowable based on the present documentation;

however, it is a possibility. While many families adopted orphans, these children were often treated differently when it came to the dispensation of assets upon the deaths of their adoptive parents. This was not the case with Francisca and Josefa.⁷²

Francisco Arandia and his wife arranged the marriages of their two daughters to two merchant brothers, José Joaquín and José Ignacio Varas de Valdés. These men became among Francisco's closest confidants, acting as executors of his estate after his death. Francisco supported them, loaned them money, and treated them like the sons he never had. Francisca and Josefa did not suffer from the apparent infertility of their adoptive mother. Between 1820 and 1848, Francisca gave birth to nine children and Josefa to seven.

Francisco Arandia's grandchildren were born into a very different world than their grandfather. They would be children of wealth and privilege. Examination of the individuals chosen to be their godparents illustrates the level to which the Spanish immigrant had risen and reveals a subtle change in elite patterns of social network formation. *Compadrazgo*, literally ritual co-parenthood, was an important basis of building extended family networks, which often had more practical implications for conducting business. In asking an individual to serve as godparent (padrino or madrina) more was at stake than spiritual stewardship. *Compadrazgo* confirmed the importance of key family members, formalized pre-existing friendships and business relationships, and strengthened bonds between parents and compadres over coming years. The landed elite sought out powerful individuals to serve as godparents for their children. Grandparents, an uncle, and a corregidor were among those who served as godparents for the children of

Antonio Barbabosa. In the republican era, Toluca's landed elite expanded their networks beyond family, landowners, and local officials to include national political figures.

Records of the christenings of nine children of Ignacio Varas de Valdés and Josefa Arandia and seven children of Joaquín Varas de Valdés and Francisca Arandia have been located in Toluca's parish records. The names of their godparents are listed in Table 5.2. Three groups are discernable in the records: family members, merchant/landowners, and national political figures. As a sign of respect, grandparents were usually the first to be asked to be godparents. Thus, Francisco Arandia acted as padrino for both of his daughters' first-born children. Their madrinas appear to have been friends of the mothers. María Antonia Sorzano was around thirty years old at the time of the christening. She would go on to marry the hacendado Agustín Terradas, with whom she would serve as godparents for the child of Joaquín and Francisca in 1823. María Guadalupe Mendoza's background is unknown. The grandmother Rosalía Mañón served as madrina for Francisca's second-born child; however, she died soon thereafter. It would appear that Joaquin and Ignacio's parents were deceased, as they did not appear among their children's godparents.

Table 5.2

Godparents of Francisco Arandia's Grandchildren and Year of Baptism

Compadres of José Ignacio Varas de Valdés and María Josefa Arandia

- 1823 Francisco Arandia & María Antonia Sorzano
- 1825 Felipe de Jesús Ortigosa
- 1827 Rafael Lechuga & María Micaela Monroy
- 1830 Joaquín Valdés & María Francisca Arandia
- 1833 Licenciado Mariano Arizcorreta
- 1839 Juan Mañón & María Magdalena Ortega de Mejía
- 1841 Antonio Cano & Ignacia Villegas
- 1845 Antonio Mañón & María Trinidad Álvarez
- 1848 Antonio Escudero & María de los Ángeles Escudero

Compadres of José Joaquín Varas de Valdés and María Francisca Arandia

- 1820 Francisco Arandia & María Guadalupe Mendoza
- 1821 Francisco Arandia & Rosalía Mañón
- 1823 Agustín Terrado & María Antonia Sorzano
- 1824 Felipe de Jesús Ortigosa
- 1827 Señor Alcalde José Manuel González de Arratia & María Rafaela Gordillo
- 1829 Señor Coronel José Ignacio Aguado & Luisa Aguilar
- 1831 Señor Ministro del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia del Estado de México
Licenciado Juan Wenceslao Barquera & María de La Concepción Villar

Source: GSU, microfilm, roll 441191, 6 Jan. 1820, 4 Aug. 1821, 24 Aug. 1823, 15 Nov. 1824; roll 441192, 5 Sept. 1823, 19 June 1825, 28 Jan. 1827, 20 Sept. 1827, 19 June 1829, 24 May 1831, 10 Aug. 1830, 2 Aug. 1833; roll 441193, 19 Jan. 1839, 20 Aug. 1841, 8 Jan. 1845, 29 Dec. 1848.

Merchant/landowners were a traditional component of compadrazgo relationships for members of the Mexican elite. Felipe Ortigosa was a contemporary of Josefa and Francisca, and served as padrino for one of each of their children. Felipe was the son of José Ortigosa, a man who had been a powerful merchant, hacendado, and postmaster in

Toluca; and as such he was a member of Arandia's social network. The 1834 census identified Ortigosa as a forty-four-year-old comerciante, whose income of forty reales per day made him one of Toluca's wealthiest citizens. Rafael Lechuga was married to María Micaela Monroy, the widow of Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez. The 1834 census identified Lechuga as a merchant with an income of forty-eight reales per day. Eleven months after the baptism in 1827, Monroy would purchase the Haciendas del Carmen and de Santa Teresa from the estate of Antonio Barbabosa. Juan and Antonio Mañón were both hacienda owners, as well. Tithe records name Juan as the owner of the Hacienda de Mextepec in Almoloya. Additionally, in 1825 and 1826 he was elected as *alcalde de primero voto* for Toluca's municipal government.⁷³ The 1834 census identified Antonio Mañón as a labrador, whose daily income was eight reales.

The third group to serve as godparents reveals that the Varas de Valdés/Arandia family mixed with members of Mexico's intellectual and political elite. José Manuel González de Arratia was an *alcalde* of Toluca's municipal government. He and his wife, Maria Rafaela Gordillo, acted as godparents for Joaquin and Francisca's child in 1827. In 1834, Gonzalez would be a deputy of the government of Mexico state, with earnings of sixty-six reales per day.⁷⁴ Juan Wenceslao Baquera was a leading Mexican intellectual of his day, who earned a law degree, was the former director of the *Diario de México*, a member of the provincial deputation representing Querétaro, and a congressman. At the time of the baptism in 1831, he was a member of the Supreme Court, with the official title of Señor Ministro del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia.⁷⁵ In 1833, Mariano Arizcorreta was an attorney and congressman, who would go on to serve as provisional governor in

the late 1840s.⁷⁶ Antonio Escudero, too, was a member of Mexico's state congress during the early 1830s. He and his sister, María de los Angeles, served as godparents to Ignacio and Josefa's child in 1848. Finally, Coronel José Ignacio Aguado was a leader of Toluca's civic militia, and was instrumental in the expulsion of Spaniards from Mexico in 1828.⁷⁷

At the time of his death, Francisco Arandia was no doubt satisfied with the life he had made in Mexico. He had prospered, married well, and was able to leave a sizable patrimony to his children. Moreover, he had provided his daughters with husbands whose enterprise and connections had strengthened his family. As the above examination of the Varas de Valdés/Arandia compadrazgo network illustrates, there was no question that Francisca, Josefa, and their families were members of Mexico's new republican elite, which fused elements of the colonial elite with new sources of political power.

Francisco Arandia's testament provides a snapshot of his assets and liabilities close to the time of his death in 1823.⁷⁸ Clearly, his two most valuable assets were the Haciendas de Cacalomacan and Cocustepec. After 1823, Joaquin and Ignacio Varas de Valdes appeared in tithe records as the haciendas' owners, although in reality the Arandia daughters were the true owners, and they remained such until at least 1840. The values of the haciendas were not given; however, they were encumbered in the amount of 21,720 pesos owed to "various capellanías and convents in Mexico City." Beyond the estates, Arandia owned a house on the Calle Real, which was mortgaged for 1,000 pesos owed to the Tercer Orden de San Francisco in Toluca, and 600 pesos owed to the Capilla del Señor de la Santa Veracruz. Arandia owned a tienda de comercio, which was managed by

Cayetano Villegas, and in which he had invested 8,000 pesos of capital. Villegas was entitled to one third of the profits. When his sons-in-law asked for assistance in buying a store, Arandia invested 1,000 pesos with them. After his death, that amount would belong to his daughters. Other debts owed to Arandia included 9,000 by Juan de Dios Montes de Oca, which he used to buy the Hacienda de la Huerta; 5,000 by Francisco Linares; and 3,000 by José Ignacio Mañón, which was secured by a mortgage on his Hacienda del Rosario.⁷⁹

Commercial Activity

This section of the chapter analyzes sales tax records (*alcabalas*) to measure economic activity and consumption in Toluca over time. Alcabala ledgers include descriptions, quantities, and values of the taxed goods and merchandise. Beyond illuminating changes in the volume and value of economic transactions, alcabala records provide information for the study of local commercial markets, interregional exchange networks, and the merchants who operated within them. In most cases, but with some regional variation, the origins of the goods are included in the documents, as well as the date the cargo left for and arrived at its destination.⁸⁰

Alcabalas were first implemented in Castile in 1342, as a temporary tax concession by the Cortes to King Alfonso XI. In time, they became a permanent fixture and an important source of income for the crown. The tax was introduced during the sixteenth century in Spanish America, where it served as an instrument of Spanish administration. Early bureaucrats were not adept tax collectors, so tax farmers were

employed to collect alcabalas during much of the colonial period. With the Bourbon administrative reforms during the second half of the eighteenth century, the tax collection system was rationalized. The reformed system combined with economic growth driven by population expansion led to increased tax revenues to the crown during the last decades of the eighteenth century.⁸¹

Alcabalas were indirect taxes, initially set as a 2 percent levy on the full value of the goods and merchandise at each transaction. During the late eighteenth century the tax rate was 6 percent, except for the period between 1782 and 1791, and between 1794 and 1795, when it rose to 8 percent.⁸² In 1811 and 1814 Toluca the basic tax rate was 8 percent. During the war years, additional levies were assessed. After independence, the imperial government of Agustín Iturbide, and then successive republican national governments, continued the alcabala tax system under the Dirección General de Rentas. State governments oversaw tax collection, with a portion of the remittances being transferred to the federal government. The permanent tax rate (*alcabala permanente*) remained at 6 percent after independence; in most years an additional tax of 6 percent (*alcabala eventual*) was levied, raising the combined tax rate to 12 percent. Other taxes were added at various times depending upon state and national priorities.

During the last decades of the colonial period, alcabala ledgers contained subsections based on the origins of the taxed goods and merchandise. These included: Europa, China, Ultramarino, Reino, and Tierra. Prior to the late 1780s, administrators maintained separate ledgers for each subsection. For example, the 1787 Toluca alcabalas de tierra ledger included a wide variety of products that were grown or raised in Mexico,

including chiles, beans, honey, flour, sugar, barley, pigs, and cattle. Tierra ledgers also contained alcabalas levied on house and land sales.⁸³ After 1790 or so, alcabalas from the various subgroups were combined into the *reales de alcabalas* or *libros reales* (royal books). These ledgers included annual accountings of sales transactions of imported and domestic goods, as well as real property.

State governments continued to employ the basic elements of the colonial tax system after independence; the same products that had appeared in the *libros reales* now appeared in *libros de aduana* (customhouse books). Beyond the nominal change in institutional oversight, republican era ledgers contained the same categories of goods. One important change in the republican tax collection system was the separate registration of foreign goods (*efectos extranjeros*), which had come under the categories of Europa, China, and Ultramarino during the colonial administration. Accountings of these transactions were maintained in separate ledgers and the goods were taxed at different rates. In Toluca's *libros de aduana* this change occurred after 1825.

The *libros reales* and *libros de aduana* of Toluca also contain subtotals of the alcabalas collected in the smaller tax offices (*receptorías*) of Metepec, Lerma, and Santiago Tianguistenco. Other subgroups in the annual accounts included *iguales*, *efectos de viento*, and *partidos menores*. Data for these subgroups were maintained in separate ledgers, with their totals entered into the *libros reales* and *libros de aduana*. *Iguales* have been defined as fixed tax payments on the presumed value of sales over a given year. *Iguales* theoretically charged a 6 percent tax on the value of total retail sales; however, they probably actually represented a lower percentage, as *iguales* often remained static

from one year to the next. In some locales, igualas were levied only on large landowners.⁸⁴ In Toluca, the tax was collected from hacienda owners and tanners based on the value of their retail sales, which were a small portion of their overall business activities. There was variation in the assessment of igualas in different places. As will be discussed below, they were apparently charged on a wider variety of retail sales than were recorded in the ledgers.

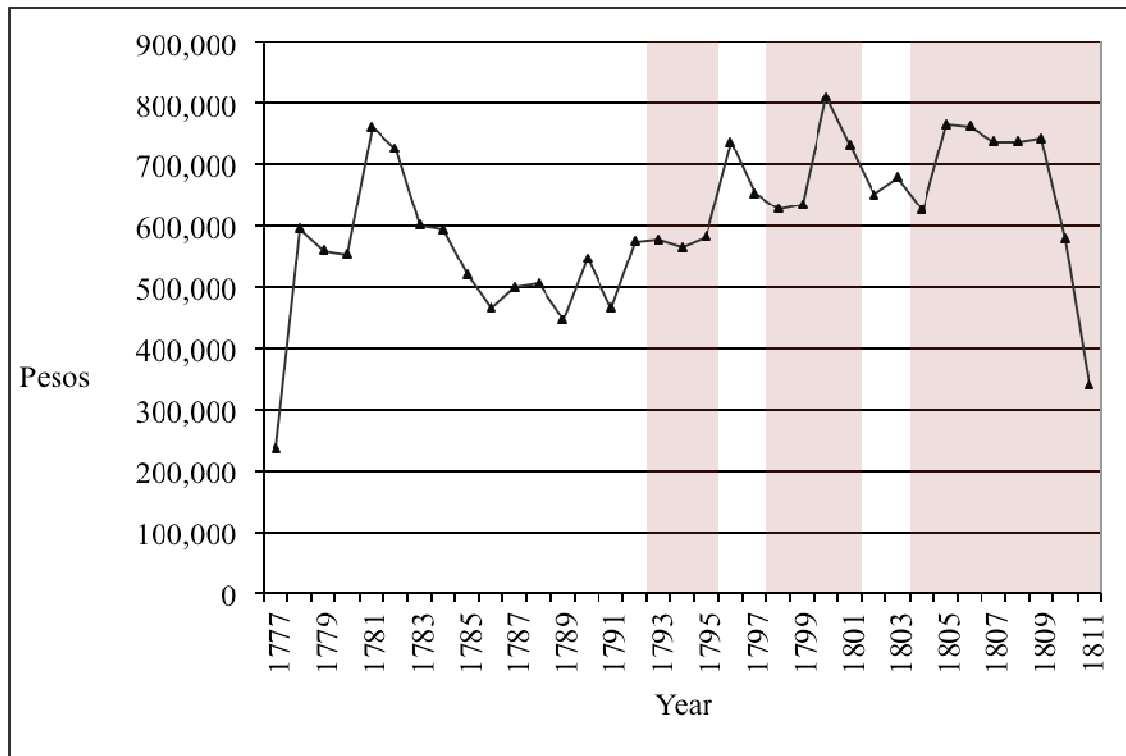
According to Marcella McCrary Litle, efectos de viento consisted of perishable goods: “including grains, livestock, and real and moveable property.”⁸⁵ In his study of the Taxco and Iguala regions Jonathan Amith found that viento products “tended to be items of primary consumption: flour, salt, soap, cotton, cloth (particularly *paños*, or regular cloth; *rebozos*, or shawls; and *manta*, or common cotton cloth), sugar and *panocha*, and animals...”⁸⁶ In Toluca, viento products were efectos de la tierra that were processed without *guías*, the formal customs declarations issued to merchants, muleteers, and others who transported cargo. Flour and pigs comprised the bulk of products that appeared in Toluca’s viento ledgers. These were produced locally and bought by panaderos and tocineros for consumption in the town. Like igualas, other viento goods were listed in the libros reales and libros de aduana beyond those included in the libros de viento. Products included in the partidos menores subgroup included transactions registered in the *tianguis*, or periodic indigenous markets that had existed since pre-Columbian times. In Toluca, the tianguis took place on the central plaza on Fridays.

Chart 5.4 presents the value of commercial activity in Toluca’s jurisdiction between 1777 and 1811 in pesos, calculated from alcabala tax receipts. Appendix 5.4

provides the raw data from which the chart was derived.⁸⁷ The dramatic increase in the value of consumption between 1777 and 1778 is deceptive. While free trade was initiated in 1776, the increase between the two years probably is more reflective of the implementation of the Bourbon administrators' reformed tax collection system. While consumption appears to have more than doubled between 1777 and 1778, the earlier figure is probably not comparable with the latter. On the other hand, the dramatic decline in commerce between 1810 and 1811 does reflect the commercial crisis that followed on the heels of Hidalgo's march through the Toluca region and the insurgency that followed. Taking 1777 and 1811 out of the equation, the chart shows an overall increase in commercial activity during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the years preceding the insurgency. The average annual value of consumption in Toluca between 1778 and 1810 was 625,186 pesos.

Chart 5.4

Value of Commercial Activity in Pesos 1777-1811



Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca.

After the initial increase in commercial activity, reaching a value of almost 600,000 pesos in 1778, a mild contraction followed in each of the next two years. In 1781, consumption surged to an annual value of over 760,000 pesos. The period between 1778 and 1786 witnessed a sustained decline, followed by a brief recovery in 1787 and 1788 only to fall in 1792 to the lowest level except for first and last points on the chart. The agricultural crisis of 1785 and 1786 would have affected production of tierra and viento products as well as their consumption. The aftermath of this crisis may have affected consumption over the next several years, where commercial activity oscillated

between growth and recession. Between 1792 and 1795 commercial activity was relatively constant, averaging a value of 575,523 pesos per year, only to surge again in 1796 to 736,967 pesos.

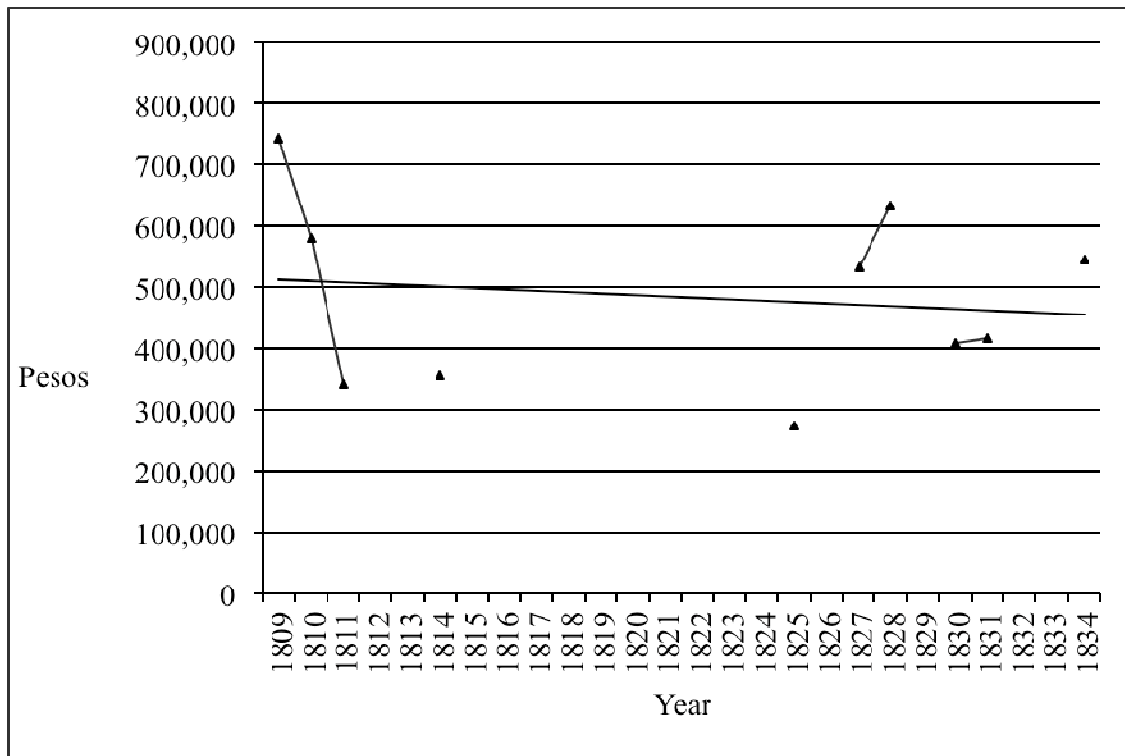
The shaded areas of the chart represent years during which Spain was at war with other European powers: war with France, 1793 to 1795; war with Great Britain, 1798 to 1801 and 1804 to 1807; and the French invasion of Spain beginning in 1808. War in Mexico came during the last quarter of 1810. A correlation between commercial activity and Spanish wars is suggested by the increased and sustained value of commercial activity during those years. Trade between Spain and Mexico was affected during those conflicts, which encouraged internal market development. The effect on domestic production would have been uneven, though. From 1805 to 1807, for example, the decrease in Spanish cloth imports was replaced with imports from Asia, the United States, and Great Britain, which negated any market growth in textile manufacturing.⁸⁸ After sustaining levels from 1792 to 1795, consumption peaked in 1796 and then again in 1800. Agricultural crises occurred in 1801 and 1802, which may explain the decline during those years, although commercial activity remained high. From 1805 to 1809 consumption averaged 749,790 pesos per year. The falloff in commerce in 1810 was likely in part caused by the agricultural crisis of 1809, although the Toluca region was not as adversely affected as other regions. The precipitous decline in commercial activity in 1811 is attributable to wartime conditions.

Chart 5.5 illustrates the consequences of the insurgency and the economic struggles that followed during the first republic. The method used for calculating the

chart is much the same as for Chart 5.4, with a few differences. Accompanying data for this chart are found in Appendix 5.5 and 5.6. The calculations give the total value of commercial activity in selected years. The trend line between 1809 and 1834 indicates a gradual decline in commercial activity over the period, although too few data are included in the chart to be certain of this condition. The negative effects of the Mexican insurgency are certainly present in the depressed value of consumption in 1811 and 1814, where activity was flat and roughly half the of 1809 value. In 1825, the value of commercial activity was even less than in 1814 at 273,333 pesos. The years 1827 and 1828 registered a dramatic increase with an average value of 582,492 pesos. After a decline in 1830 to 407,507 pesos, the last three years of the chart suggest an incipient recovery. Total commercial activity in 1830 was 407,507 pesos; in 1831 it was 415,817 pesos; and in 1834 the value had jumped to 544,823 pesos. The values of imports are not available for 1832 or 1833. However, the consumption of domestically produced goods exhibits sustained growth between 1831 and 1834, which strongly suggests economic recovery. (See Appendix 5.7.)

Chart 5.5

Value of Commercial Activity in Pesos 1809-1834, Selected Years



Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca; Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, Toluca.⁸⁹

To determine the effects of Spain’s European wars on the development of Mexico’s domestic market would necessitate analysis of the composition of goods entered into the libros reales. While domestic goods are almost always identified, imports were often combined as efectos de Castilla, España, or China, and in many cases they were mingled with efectos del reino or efectos de la tierra. Consequently, the identification of imported products would require analysis of the guías, which listed specific goods. Fortunately, the libros reales for 1809, 1811, and 1814 included subtotals reflecting the origins of goods that paid the alcabala, which are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Alcabalas by Subgroup in Toluca's Libros Reales in Selected Years

Group	1809		1811		1814	
España	2,832	7 %	4,826	18 %	5,561	20 %
China	874	2 %	777	3 %	1,188	4 %
Tierra	20,424	49 %	10,630	39 %	7,470	26 %
Viento	14,638	35 %	7,298	27 %	11,353	40 %
Igualas	2,841	7 %	3,743	14 %	2,750	10 %
Total	41,609	100 %	27,274	100 %	28,412	100 %

Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca, Libros Reales, vol. 271, 1809, f. 73; vol. 273, 1811, f. 67; vol. 271, 1814, 53.

In 1809, imports from Spain amounted to 7 percent of commercial transactions in Toluca. During this time French troops occupied key Spanish cities and towns. It may be that this percentage is actually lower than those of earlier years. If this were true, then the large portion of domestically produced goods in 1809 would support the contention that the Mexican domestic market expanded during periods of Spanish warfare. In 1811 and 1814, Spanish imports increased to 18 percent and 20 percent of local consumption respectively. Consumption of Asiatic goods represented a small portion of transactions, but increased slightly over the three years, suggesting that trade from Acapulco was not disrupted by the insurgency. Tierra goods, which were the basis of interregional trade, declined significantly in 1811 and 1814. Viento goods, which were produced locally, decreased from 1809 to 1811, but recovered in 1814, which coincides with the waning of the insurgency's first stage. Igualas and viento products in these ledgers exceed the values of transactions included in the libros de viento and iguala books, suggesting that

tax collectors applied different criteria to goods contained in the libros reales than those in the libros de viento and igualas.

European imports increased during the 1810s and flooded the market after independence. Table 5.4 provides the value of imports as a percentage of total commercial activity in selected years. In 1809, 1811, and 1814, these goods were called efectos de China and efectos de España. After independence, imports were referred to simply as efectos extranjeros. As discussed above, the 9 percent figure from 1809 may not represent the typical level of Spanish imports during the preceding decades. It is no surprise that republican era imports were much higher than those during the last years of the colonial period, as trade barriers were for the most part absent. Interestingly, the year with the lowest percentage of imports was 1827 and the highest was 1828; both years registered higher than average consumption.

Table 5.4

Imports as a Percentage of Commercial Activity

Toluca, Selected Years

1809	9 %
1811	21 %
1814	24 %
1827	16 %
1828	41 %
1830	28 %
1831	37 %
1834	34 %

Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca; Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, Toluca.

Retail Establishments

The goods and merchandise recorded in Toluca's various alcabala ledgers were sold in retail establishments called pulperías and tiendas mestizas. A few stores were called *lencerías*, which in other cities specialized in cloth, domestic and imported, but in Toluca also sold comestibles, including alcoholic drinks.⁹⁰ According to John Kicza, the definition of a pulpería in Mexico City was “a store inside a building (to differentiate it from the open-air stands and tents which sold comestibles and inexpensive items throughout the city), containing a counter and facing onto the street, which sold petty lots of comestibles and diverse products—including candles, charcoal, lard, chile, and beans—to its customers.”⁹¹ Kicza found the differences between tiendas mestizas and pulperías “were matters more of scale and emphasis than of character.”⁹² Jay Kinsbruner characterized tiendas mestizas as “mixed stores that sold food and hardware items in larger lots than did the small retail grocery stores [pulperías].”⁹³ Kinsbruner added that he had seen “no hard evidence that the tiendas mestizas were the main wholesale suppliers to the pulperías in Mexico City.”⁹⁴

It appears that in Toluca differentiations between pulperías and tiendas mestizas were not often made in the same manner as in large cities. A 1798 tax register of tiendas identified fifty-five retail stores in the town, but it did not distinguish between type. The decree stated that the tax was to be assessed on “tiendas mestizas and all those stores that made retail sales of bread, oil, vinegar, salt, chile, sugar, cacao, grains or other comestibles, even if they sold merchandise (*géneros*), clothing and other products, of

whatever type.”⁹⁵ No sales records explicitly identified a property as a tienda mestiza; retail stores were all simply called pulperías, tiendas, or casas de comercio.

The 1791 census identified eight owners of tiendas mestizas, four of which were located on the Calle Real de San Juan, two on the Calle de la Tenería, and one each on the Calle del Maíz and the Callejón de le Palillera. The hacienda owner Felipe González del Pliego owned a tienda mestiza on the Calle de la Tenería and a tocinería, which he operated from the same location.⁹⁶ When he contracted a loan from Antonio Barbabosa in 1795, González del Pliego put up his casa de comercio on the Calle de la Tenería as collateral, the property that was referred to as a tienda mestiza in the census. It would appear that in Toluca tiendas mestizas were called casas de comercio, which would distinguish them from pulperías. According to Jorge Mercado, in 1785 there were more than 50 retail establishments in Toluca.⁹⁷ Tiendas mestizas, then, would have represented roughly 15 percent of the town’s retail stores.

The census identified twenty-five men as comerciantes, at least two of whom also owned haciendas. However, other records indicate that several additional merchants owned haciendas, as well. Comerciantes (and owners of tiendas mestizas) were high-level merchants and, as such, were elite members of society. Twenty-one were accorded the honorific don title. Nine were peninsular immigrants—all of whom were dons—from Castile, Andalucía, Asturias, Galicia, and la Rioja. And at least five comerciantes were members of the titled nobility. No mestizos conducted commerce at the level of comerciantes. Merchants formed a tightknit group and tended to marry within it. Numerous merchants shared surnames with the wives of other merchants, who in many

cases were their siblings or children. Toluca's merchants operated tiendas that were part of or attached to their residences. Most lived in the center of the town, on the Calle Real de San Juan, the Plaza Mayor, and the Calles de San Juan de Dios and de Santa Clara.⁹⁸

Thirty merchants' apprentices (cajeros) were enumerated in the census. These males were usually related to the merchants, either as sons or nephews. Cajeros shared the social status of their merchant employers and mentors. Census takers identified twelve as dons. Ten cajeros were peninsular immigrants—all were dons. The majority of cajeros were single; only Andrés Ignacio Luces, a thirty-year-old cajero from Lerma who was in charge of a tienda mestiza, was married. Many cajeros were nephews of established peninsular merchants, like twenty-one-year-old Cándido Lejarazu, who lived with his uncle, Tomás Lejarazu, and worked in his casa de comercio. The census identified several merchants' sons as cajeros, like thirteen-year-old José Felipe González del Pliego, who worked for his father, Felipe, manning his store on the Calle de la Tenería. Many of these (mostly) young men would develop into the next generation of Toluca's merchant elite.⁹⁹

Pulperías came onto the market from time to time, usually following the death of an owner and the subsequent need to liquidate the property for the purposes of inheritance. Such was the case in 1795, when María Francisca de Ibarra, the widow of Tomas Lejarazu and current wife of Captain Nicolás Riscos, sold a tienda de pulpería to Manuel Urbina for 6,429 pesos. The pulpería was located on the Calle del Chapitel and consisted of the store and a pigsty, which were valued at 2,200 and 400 pesos respectively. Pawns were valued at 195 pesos, and the store's inventory at 3,634 pesos.

Pulperías were required to accept pawns, as many poor customers did not have access to coin. The pulpería was stocked with a wide variety of comestibles, including staple items like chiles, spices, grains, flour, honey, sugar, and salt. Imports included cacao from Guayaquil, Caracas, Medellín, and Maracayo; saffron from Spain, and raisins from Málaga. Buttons, ribbon, firewood, silk, cotton, paper, catechisms, and candles were among the non-comestible inventory. Urbina paid 2,000 pesos in cash and assumed a censo redimible for 4,429 pesos, which was secured by a mortgage on the property and guaranteed by his fiador, Antonio Durán. The terms of the sale included 5 percent interest to be paid on the principal and five years to repay the loan in increments of 1,000 pesos for the first four years with the balance due in year five.¹⁰⁰ In 1802, Manuel Urbina sold the pulpería to Barbara Ortiz, the widow of Tomás Segura, for 4,000 pesos. At this time, much of the censo debt had been repaid, and only a 2,000-peso censo redimible remained. Ortiz assumed the debt and paid Urbina 2,000 pesos in cash.¹⁰¹

Storeowners, investors, and managers employed company and partnership mechanisms to operate tiendas. One partner usually owned the store, or was an investor in it, while the other acted as manager, often investing his own capital. In 1790, the store manager Victoriano García recorded his testament, which referred to a company he had contracted with Miguel de la Mar. It is unclear whether de la Mar owned the store or was only an investor in part of its inventory, which García owned. It is clear that de la Mar invested 1,497 pesos, which García used to buy chiles. After the principal was repaid, the two partners were to split profits from the sale. When García died, he owned the furnishings of his residence (implying that he did not own the house), a quarter of a house

he had inherited, and the store inventory. García owed Felipe Suárez del Castillo 1,693 pesos and Tomás Lejarazu 72 pesos. He was owed various debts, which were recorded in the store's account books (*libros de caja*). Victoriano García named his cousin Cayetano García, the owner of a *tienda mestiza*, to be executor of his estate.¹⁰²

Sometimes neither partner had ownership interests in the buildings, renting them. In 1799, Juan Gomea de la Secada, a merchant of Mexico City, formed a company with Mariano Oleas to run the *tienda* that was attached to the *mesón* in Toluca's *plaza real*, which was owned by Josefa Ortiz de Galdos. The *tienda* was not specifically identified as a *pulpería*, but the goods it intended to sell suggest that it was: namely imported merchandise from Spain as well as domestic products (*efectos de castilla y la tierra*). Gomea de la Secada invested 5,000 pesos and Oleas provided his expertise at store management. The company was to last for five years, with 60 percent of the profits going to Gomea de la Secada, and 40 percent to Oleas, who was to have no external business dealings during the term of the company. Oleas and his wife were to live at the *tienda* and receive 150 pesos per year to use for sustenance.¹⁰³

In Toluca, *pulperías* were often paired with other establishments. In 1812, José María González and José Antonio Aramburu agreed to form a company to operate a *pulpería* and *panadería* on the *Calle Real de San Juan*, in a property owned by Francisco Ramón Fuentes, González's father-in-law, which they would rent from him for 287 pesos, 4 reales per year paid in thirds. Aramburu was said to possess "una buena *inteligencia en el comercio de panadería y pulpería*," and would manage the business. González invested 3,000 pesos and Aramburu 1,500 pesos. The contract stipulated that

the duration of the company would be five years, and the two men would split profits or losses. By 1814, the relationship had soured, as the company incurred losses of 2,828 pesos. By this time, González had invested a total of 4,000 pesos and refused to invest more. The dissolution document did not indicate that Aramburu had invested any capital, contrary to the terms of the company contract. Aramburu agreed to make payments of ten pesos per week to González until the 2,828 peso debt was repaid. Br. Cristóbal Aramburu acted as his brother's fiador.¹⁰⁴

Even the dissolution of a relatively successful *compañía de comercio* required the settling of accounts between former partners, which sometimes led to the creation of a new debt by one or the other, depending on the business arrangement and the state of company finances. For example, in 1791 Antonio Trinidad Serrano and Juan Francisco Herrera met to finalize the dissolution of their company in a store on the Calle Real de San Francisco. In the 1791 census, Serrano was identified as a *tratante*. He managed the store, having invested an unstated amount of capital at its inception, while Herrera was its owner. Both men received profits from the business during the course of the partnership; however, at the time of the dissolution Serrano was owed 2,482 pesos, 3.5 reales, as *dependencias pasivas*, or debts owed by the store. After a payment of 600 pesos, Herrera owed Serrano 1,882 pesos, 3.5 reales. Herrera signed an *obligación* for that sum, payable in one year. The merchant Tomás Arnaldo acted as fiador for Herrera, guaranteeing its repayment.¹⁰⁵

Circumstances other than the scheduled termination of a partnership or a business failure could trigger the dissolution of a *compañía de comercio*. Some time before 1829,

Domingo Pérez Fernández formed a company with his uncle, Andrés Fernández, to operate a tienda de comercio de lencería, which specialized in cloth, but sold other assorted items. In the meantime, Andrés had returned to Spain. He may have been among the Spaniards who were expelled from Mexico during the late 1820s, although the circumstances of his departure were not stated. In any case, because of his uncle's absence, Domingo was forced to dissolve the company and liquidate its accounts. The company incurred a loss of 2,969 pesos 3.5 reales. Domingo signed an obligación to his uncle's proxy, José María González de Arratia, to make repayment within one year. Money would be deposited with the casas de comercio of Fernando Fernández and Pascual de Villar in Mexico City, and they would transport the funds to his uncle in Spain.¹⁰⁶

It was common for businesses that were comprised of a combination of tienda, panadería, and tocinería to be sold and rented in Toluca. For example, in 1797 Captain Nicolás Sánchez Riscos sold such an establishment to Eugenio Lejarazu for 11,436 pesos. Sánchez Riscos was married to Tomás Lejarazu's widow, María Francisca de Ibarra, and was Eugenio's stepfather. Lejarazu paid 3,000 pesos at the time of the purchase, and assumed a debt of 8,436 pesos at 5 percent interest. Annual payments of 1,500 pesos were to be made to Sánchez Riscos until the debt was satisfied. A lien was issued on the property and its inventory until the debt had been repaid. The tienda appears to have had the characteristics of a tienda mestiza and lencería: besides comestibles it sold a wide variety of cloth, tools, and equipment, including tackle for horses.¹⁰⁷

In a final example, in 1825 Ignacio Oviedo, the representative (apoderado) of Miguel María Martel, a vecino of Mexico City, signed a contract with José María Estrada to rent a two-story house with a tienda and offices of a tocinería and panadería. The term of the agreement was four years and six months. If Estrada were to sublet the property, the same terms would apply. The annual rent was 600 pesos payable in three installments, of which the first 200 pesos were left in Estrada's possession to make repairs on the property. Any further expenditure on upkeep had to be first approved by Martel. The property was to be returned in the same condition as it was received, with an inventory made by a knowledgeable appraiser (perito inteligente).¹⁰⁸

Tocinerías

From as early as the late sixteenth century, Toluca was an important and highly regarded center of quality pork processing (tocinería). In 1585, the Franciscan fray Alonso Ponce reported not only the sizable population of resident Spaniards in the town, but also on the production of maize for livestock fodder, the numerous estancias, and the production of pork, from which were made “marvelous hams that are famous in all New Spain.”¹⁰⁹ A decade later, the English traveller Thomas Gage noted that Toluca was “above all much mentioned for the bacon, which is the best of all those parts, and is transported far and near.”¹¹⁰ Besides hams of various types, Toluca's tocineros manufactured *longaniza* (a spicy pork sausage eaten cold), chorizos, and every imaginable cut of pork.

The ready supply of maize and barley grown in the region combined with its proximity to Mexico City, which consumed large quantities of pork meat, made Toluca a natural location for pork processing. Pigs were raised locally in Zinacantepec, Temoaya, Metepec, and Toluca. However, a large number were herded from Almoloya, Ixtlahuaca, and Atlacomulco in the northern part of the valley. And *cerdos flacos* (thin pigs) arrived from Salvatierra and Pungarabato in Michoacán, having lost valuable weight along the way. Table 5.5 lists the number of pigs consumed in Toluca in selected years. Between 1793 and 1815 Toluca tocinerías slaughtered an average of 5,393 head of pigs per year for consumption in the town alone.¹¹¹ Tocineros processed pork products for external markets, including indigenous pueblos.¹¹² In 1793, a total of 12,957 head of pigs were slaughtered by tocineros, a number well beyond the consumption needs of the town.¹¹³ Aside from production in the town, a much larger number of pigs were brought to the Toluca Valley to be fattened in Lerma before being transported to their final destination in Mexico City.

Table 5.5

Pigs Processed for Local Consumption in Toluca, Selected Years

1793	5,952
1796	6,896
1803	4,789
1804	4,413
1809	2,576
1811	7,932
1813	9,112
1814	2,874
1815	3,994

Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Libros de Viento, Toluca.

The 1791 census identified eight males as dueños de tocinerías. As was discussed in Chapter 2, many more individuals were involved in the Toluca pork trade than the census indicates. Customhouse documents identified twenty-one large-scale pork producers, called *tratantes*, *dueños de tocinerías*, who were responsible for the vast majority of pig processing. In the census these men appeared as merchants, storeowners, cajeros, hacienda owners, as well as dueños de tocinería (or tocineros). Moreover, notarial records reveal that other Toluca merchants who did not appear on the customhouse list owned tocinerías. A high degree of occupational pluralism was at play. Small-scale producers, whom the census identified as artisans, farmers, and a store and

mill owner, were involved in the pig trade, but the number of head processed by them was less than a tenth that of the larger producers.¹¹⁴

Owners of *tocinerías*, like proprietors of most other commercial establishments, were ethnically Spanish; one, José Castañón, who owned an hacienda, was a peninsular Spaniard from Castile. Juan Manuel González de Sepúlveda also owned an hacienda. These two men were the only *tocinería* owners to be accorded the honorific title of don in the census, although other documents regularly referred to wealthy *tocineros* as dons, as they were members of the local elite. Not all *tocinería* owners were male, however. When José Arroyo died some time in the early 1790s, his widow Josefa Ignacia Mejías continued to operate his *tocinería*, making a loan of 537 pesos and 7.5 reales to her manager, José Arias.¹¹⁵

In the 1834 census, owners of *tocinerías* appeared in the merchant category, so that from this document at least, it is impossible to estimate their numbers as compared to earlier. Only four men identified as *tocineros* appeared in the census. Three of their names followed indigenous naming patterns. José Cecilio de la Luz's income was two reales per day; a man named only Miguel reported no earnings. José Sixto de la Trinidad may have operated or owned a *tocinería*, as he earned a relatively high daily income of four reales a day. One *tocinero*'s name followed Hispanic patterns: Santiago Hernández reported zero daily earnings. Four men were identified as soap makers and may have actually worked at pork-processing plants. All had Spanish surnames and earned between 1.6 and two reales per day.¹¹⁶

Tocinerías were such profitable enterprises that they usually only came on the market when the owner died and the estate was divided. Cristóbal Gil was one of the most powerful tocineros in Toluca during the second half of the eighteenth century. A native of Toluca, Gil was born in the early 1720s and was around sixty-eight years old when he died. When he married Sebastiana Pérez Garnica, he brought 2,000 pesos to the marriage and received a dowry of 600 pesos. When Gil died in September of 1791, his estate was worth 38,194 pesos, 3 reales. After his first wife died, Gil married Joaquina Pérez Garnica, his sister-in-law. Gil made strategic marriages for several of his children, except for the two who became priests. María Magdalena married the merchant Bartolomé Carrión and Agustina married José Antonio Ortiz, a merchant/hacienda owner. At the time of his death, Cristobal Gil and his wife were raising the children of his deceased daughter María Petra, while the eldest grandson served as a soldier in Cuba.¹¹⁷

Cristóbal Gil's death triggered the recording of an estate inventory, which included an accounting of the contents and value of his two tocinerías. The first plant, identified as the casa principal and not by location, was valued at 6,083 pesos. The second plant, located on the Callejón de la Confitería, was valued at 6,196 pesos. Both buildings contained many of the same features: offices, corrals, pigsties with double adobe walls sealed in cement with rock-paved floors, stables, granaries, troughs, soap making rooms (jabonerías), salting rooms, and rooms with large boiling pans. The casa principal had a storefront that opened onto the street, which contained a counter and shelves to display the tocinería's stock of soap.¹¹⁸

The tools and equipment used in the tocinería, which were valued at just over 278 pesos, provide some insight into pork processing operations. Pigs were likely slaughtered by hanging the animals upside down and slitting their throats in order to drain blood from the carcasses. Thus tocinerías had dozens of lassos in stock to capture and lift the animals onto strong beams that crossed ceilings of the slaughterhouses. A blunderbuss (*trabuco*) was on hand for emergencies. Other tocinero tools included knives, drills, chisels, hammers, mallets, pickaxes, and saws. Little imagination is required to envision the uses made of these implements, namely for the dismemberment of animal carcasses. Carving tables were used to aid in the tocinero's task and specialized tubs collected the lard once it was scraped off of the hides. Tocinerías were stocked with copper, which was stored in enfriadoras, and lead. It is not entirely clear to what use these metals were put. It may be that they were used medicinally: copper sulfate, for example, was fed to pigs in the nineteenth century as an intestinal antiseptic to treat cholera.¹¹⁹

The most valuable content of a fully stocked tocinería was its animal stock. Table 5.6 lists the animal, grain, and other assets of Cristóbal Gil's tocinería, which was appraised by two reputable merchants, Ignacio Montes de Oca and Francisco Ramón Fuentes, at 9,247 pesos. At the time of the inventory, 677 hogs of various sizes were housed in the plant. The most valuable hogs, *cerdos cebados* (fattened and ready for slaughter), were valued at between 5 and 7 pesos apiece. *Cerdos de medio sebo* were not yet at optimal weight and were in the process of fattening; they were valued at between 4.5 to 5.5 pesos each. *Cerdos flacos*, or skinny hogs, had likely just arrived at the tocinería after a journey of some distance and would not be ready for processing until

they had reached sufficient weight. They were valued at 3 pesos for males and 22 reales for females. Feed included maize, broad beans (*haba*), chickpeas, *frijol*, and barley. The finished products, hams of various types, were by far the most valuable items in the *tocinería*. Ordinary hams (*jamón en tabla* or simply *jamón*) were sold by the *arroba* for between 18 and 20 reales each. *Jamón fresco*, or fresh ham of higher quality, was worth 2 pesos per *arroba*. Salted ham was the least valuable at 14 reales per *arroba*. Sliced ham was available at an unstated price. Soap represented the least valuable item in the inventory. Nothing went to waste in the consumption of the pig: the dregs of production were collected and sold, as were the waste products (*puerición*). Tequesquite, of which the *tocinería* stocked 45 *cargas*, was a type of salt used in the curing process.

Table 5.6

Tocinería Inventory: Animals and Other, 1794

Assets	<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Reales</i>
95 Hogs (<i>cerdos de medio sebo</i>) @ 4 ps., 4 rs.	427	4
74 Hogs (<i>cebados</i>) @ 7 ps.	518	
137 Hogs (<i>cerdos de medio sebo</i>) @ 5 ps., 4 rs.	753	4
58 Hogs (<i>cebados</i>) @ 6 ps.	348	
11 Hogs (<i>cebados</i>) @ 5 ps.	55	
67 Hogs (<i>cebados</i>) @ 6 ps.	402	
114 Hogs (<i>flacos</i>) @ 3 ps.	342	
121 Sows (<i>flacas</i>) @ 22 rs.	332	6
132 Fanegas Maíz Blanco Bueno @ 1 p.	132	
50 Fanegas Broad Beans @ 7 rs.	43	6
96 Fanegas chickpeas @ 1 p.	96	
11.5 Fanegas frijol @ 2 ps.	23	
21 Fanegas barley @ 3.5 rs.	9	1.5
1401 Arrobas 3 lbs. Jamón en tabla @ 20 rs.	3,504	6.5
42 Arrobas 5 lbs. Manteca @ 18 rs.	94	7.5
77 lbs. Jamón @ 18 rs.	130	0.5
13 Arrobas 15 lbs. Jamón Fresco @ 2 ps.	27	1.5
35 Arrobas 14 lbs. Jamón en Media Sal @ 14 rs.	62	2
Jamón Cortado	172	2
127 Arrobas cortaduras, suelos, tapas, y espumas @ 2 ps.	254	
69 Arrobas 16 lbs. pudrición @ 12 rs.	104	3.5
200 Arrobas en aceite que hallan en la paila @ 2 ps.	400	
45 Cargas + 3.5 Sodium Bicarbonate (<i>tequesquite</i>) @ 10 rs.	57	1.5
Trozo	50	
Soap (<i>jabón cortado</i>)		7.5

Source: AGNEM, SH, caja 133, leg. 1, asunto 3, ff. 46-47.

Part of Cristobal Gil's estate included a large corral, which his son and executor Br. Manuel Gil sold to Mariano Garduño in 1797. The property was located north of houses owned by another merchant/tocinero, Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez, and included six pigsties, three granaries (trojes), four sheds (galeras), a caretaker's room, and a stable. The terms were very easy for Garduño to assume: 2,500 pesos as a censo reservativo al redimir for five years with 5 percent annual interest. This meant that effectively the corral cost 125 pesos per year for the first five years.¹²⁰

Antonio Garduño, the owner of a tienda mestiza, hacienda and a tocinería, died in 1794. In early 1801, his widow, Joaquina Velásquez, was forced to sell half of her house on the Calle Real de San Juan Bautista, which included the tocinería, to José Basilio González. Tocinero Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez and the merchant/landowner Felipe González del Pliego appraised the value of the half property at 4,000 pesos, which González paid in cash. The transaction included five pigsties covered with a flat roof, a large copper-bottomed boiling pan, a soap-making room, and another room for waste (*podridero*). A vivienda, with a living room and bedroom, was located upstairs. On the first floor there was an accesoria with a small kitchen that opened onto the street.¹²¹

It was more common for tocinerías to be part of a larger business that included some combination of tienda, tocinería, and panadería. In 1791, the Toluca merchant Francisco Ibarra sold a casa de comercio to Captain Isidoro de Sámano, which included a panadería and a tocinería, for 5,900 pesos. The two enterprises were located in a two story building on the Calle Real de San Francisco, next door to a pharmacy. Ibarra had owned the businesses since 1777, when he bought them from the Mexico City merchant,

Joaquín Fabián Monige. Sámano paid 400 pesos in cash, while he assumed responsibility for a 4,000-peso capellanía belonging to Br. Rafael de Ibarra. Sámano owed the remaining 1,500 pesos to Ibarra and paid 5 percent annual interest on the balance. The property included tools and equipment of the tocinería y panadería, including a boiling pot, a little maize in the corral, and a small number of magueyes.¹²²

A similar sale took place in 1812, when Josefa Esquivel, the widow of Ignacio Arizcorreta, sold a tocinería and tienda to the Fernando Movellán, a retired military captain and merchant of Mexico City. The property was located on the corner of the Calle Real de San Juan de Dios and the Callejón del Cuartel Viejo, next door to the mesón de San Juan de Dios. The offices of the tienda and tocinería sold for 7,000 pesos. Movellán paid 1,000 pesos in cash and recognized a capellanía of 4,000 pesos belonging to Br. Luis Pérez de Tejada of Mexico City. Movellán owed the remaining balance of 2,000 pesos to Esquivel, which he assumed as a depósito irregular at 5 percent annual interest secured by the property.¹²³

No rentals of tocinerías were recorded before 1812, suggesting a preference for ownership that may not have been as obtainable after 1810. Typically, tocinerías rented for between 300 and 450 pesos per year. In 1812, Policarpo Berra, a priest/landowner and vecino of Mexico City, rented his casa de comercio de tocinería on the Calle de San Juan to Manuel Medina and Alejandro López for 400 pesos per year for 5 years. The building contained eleven rooms, each with keyed doors, as well as a roof-covered pigsty. Equipment included: a large boiling pan with a copper bottom, a stone bench (*banco de mampostería*), two buckets with iron straps, two copper spoons with iron straps, a large

rake, and ten troughs (one for water). The tienda contained shelves (armazón), a counter, eleven cajones (one with a key), and a large soap-cutting table.¹²⁴ Another rental was contracted the following year. The merchant Ignacio Loperena and his wife Dolores Quesadas rented their tocinería on the Calle de la Tenería to Diego Galán and Juan Dorantes for 300 pesos per year for three years. The building had doors and locks; the owners agreed to pay for needed roof repairs.¹²⁵ In 1825, Fernando Movellán, discussed above, still owned the tocinería, and rented it to Juan Nepomuceno González Pliego for 450 pesos per year, to be paid in thirds.¹²⁶

Financing of tocinería operations was made on a short-term basis. These informal contracts were so common that they were not usually entered into the libros de protocolos. Hogs were shipped to tocinerías under the condition that payment would be made within a certain time period. For example, in 1793 the hacienda owner José Mariano Berra supplied José Soriano with 230 head of ganado de cerdo worth 1,160 pesos on the condition that he provide payment within three months.¹²⁷ Toluca pigs were sold to tocinerías in Mexico City in the same manner. In 1800, Maria Rafaela Davila granted power of attorney to Rafael José Muñoz, the first alcalde of the aduana of Mexico City, to demand payment of 2,240 pesos for two partidas of puercos gordos from Francisco Rosete and his wife María González, owners of the Tocinería de Puesto Nuevo.¹²⁸

When tocinería owners needed larger amounts of capital to invest in their operations, Mexico City capitalists were ready to lend, as Toluca tocineros were seen as a good risk. In 1802, Miguel Cruz Manjarrez solicited a loan to “fomentar su industria y

comercio” from Alejandro Canas, a senior silversmith (*patrón de plata*) in the capital. Miguel was the son of the merchant Andrés Cruz Manjarrez and nephew of tocinería owner Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez. The loan was for 4,000 pesos made as a depósito irregular with interest at 5 percent for a term of four years. An hipoteca especial was made against Miguel’s two houses and other property. The hacienda owner and Cristóbal Cruz Manjarrez’s son-in-law, Antonio Barbabosa, acted as fiador. In the case of Miguel’s death, his heirs were to assume the terms of the loan.¹²⁹

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on aspects of the estate and commercial systems in Toluca between 1777 and 1834, which taken together reveal the presence of a cohesive and interconnected local landowning and merchant elite, bound together by family, social, and business relationships. This finding represents a fundamental long-term shift away from an essentially absentee landed elite based in Mexico City and intent entirely upon the extraction of surplus agricultural production, to one centered in the provincial town and more inwardly focused. Moreover, the chapter has demonstrated that by the late eighteenth century Toluqueño society had reached a level of self-containedness and social consolidation formerly unmatched. Toluca was no longer primarily a magnet for socially marginal members of society, at least no more than other provincial towns were. Still, Mexico City figured prominently in many features of Toluqueño society and economy: its elite continued to own large and important haciendas in the region; it

remained the dominant external market, as it always had been; and family and social relationships between the provincial and capital elite persisted.

Prodigious population growth during the eighteenth century led to an increased demand for food and other consumer goods. Tithe records illustrate the effects of this increased demand combined with political stability on agricultural production in the region during the decade preceding the Mexican independence movement; they also show the effects of instability during the decade following independence. Between 1797 and 1809, tithes produced an average annual value of 51,934 pesos per year. The effects of the wars for national independence on agricultural production and commodity prices are observable in the post-independence revenues. After 1820, tithe income dropped to just over half of the prewar averages, at 27,783 pesos annually. Tithe revenues between 1821 and 1827 suggest an incipient recovery, still at very low values, but decline again by 1833. Since tithed goods were dependent upon market prices, which are not known, and many tithed commodities were sold below market values, these data are imperfect. Moreover, although the value of the peso had been remarkably stable, by this time inflation may have affected its value and thereby the amounts collected from the sale of tithed goods, although inflation would have had the effect of artificially increasing the prices paid for a given commodity. If this were the case, then the magnitude of the decline in tithe revenue would have been higher than represented in the chart. Despite these limitations, tithes demonstrate general movements in the value of agrarian production, which was relatively high from 1801 to 1810 and depressed during the first decade after Mexican independence.

Crop production data were not affected by price fluctuations and provide more reliable measures of agricultural output. Moreover, they facilitate a more detailed representation of agricultural production than tithe revenues alone. Toluca's estates harvested an average of 15,555 fanegas of maize per year between 1801 and 1810. Maize production in 1820 and 1821 was high, at 19,042 and 18,408 fanegas respectively. In fact, between 1820 and 1825, maize production in Toluca was on a par with that of the century's first decade, while after 1825 production declined. This is perhaps not surprising, as maize was an absolutely essential staple grain upon which the majority of Mexico's population relied for sustenance. A more substantial decline in maize harvests would have had a catastrophic effect on the margins of an already weakened society. Wheat harvests actually increased after independence, from an average of 1,335 cargas per year between 1801 and 1810, to an average of 1,535 cargas between 1820 and 1833. Many of Toluca's haciendas shifted from being exclusive maize producers to growing both maize and wheat after 1820, reflecting market advantages to selling the latter. Between 1820 and 1829, wheat harvests were more regular than during the preceding period. Yet, after peak production in 1829 of 15,024 cargas, the trend indicates a gradual decline to just 1,000 cargas in 1833. Barley production was irregular between 1801 and 1810, with the tithe averaging 1,724 cargas per year. Production between 1820 and 1833 was less than half that of the earlier period.

Four discernable social groups owned haciendas in Toluca, including members of the nobility based in Mexico City; church entities; wealthy Mexico City merchants; and the local landed elite, who lived in Toluca and were directly involved in estate operations.

By the late eighteenth century, an important shift had occurred in participation in the hacienda economy: the majority of haciendas in Toluca's jurisdiction were now owned by members of the local elite rather than by Mexico City based absentee landowners. In Toluca, hacienda owners and their families formed an integrated group united by common social and economic interests. The careers of Antonio Barbabosa and Francisco Arandia illustrated two types of landowner, one an ennobled patriarch of an established landed family, and the other a peninsular immigrant who married into a landowning family. Both of these men constructed social and family networks to facilitate their commercial activities. Interpersonal relationships were crucial in these networks. Family, marriage, and compadrazgo tied the landed elite to the merchant elite. In the republican era, Toluca's elite expanded their networks beyond traditional groups to include national political figures.

Haciendas in Toluca ranged in size from between four and eight caballerías; but some were as large as fourteen. The Hacienda de la Laguna at $23 \frac{3}{4}$ caballerías was one of the largest estates in the jurisdiction. In other Mexican regions haciendas consisted of scattered component parts, with a central plant, and some land held as pasture and some as planted fields. Some sales contracts differentiated between pasture land and cropland, but no further differentiation was included. These records identified haciendas as contiguous properties, providing their locations, using cardinal directions, relative to other properties (haciendas, ranchos, towns, pueblos, or tracks of land) on their perimeters. It is not clear if the locations used in Toluca's estate sales contracts identify

only the main plant of the hacienda, or if in Toluca estate properties were on the whole more contiguous than in other regions, which is entirely possible.

Toluca's haciendas were almost always valued above 10,000 pesos, with some selling for as much as 50,000 pesos. Sales records suggest a degree of stability in hacienda turnovers. Of thirty-two or so estates in Toluca's jurisdiction, only sixteen sales were recorded in Toluca's libros de protocolos between 1790 and 1830. Other sales may have been notarized in Mexico City, but most would have been recorded in Toluca. With one exception, the haciendas sold during this period were encumbered by loans amounting to more than 50 percent of their value. This is in contrast to Michoacán, where Margaret Chowning found that late-colonial haciendas were indebted to about 40 percent of their values. Four haciendas in Toluca sold twice, three after 1810. These all declined in value: the Haciendas del Carmen and de Santa Teresa by 20 percent; the Hacienda de la Laguna by 41 percent; and the Hacienda de la Macaria by 6 percent. Haciendas in Toluca appear to have not sold often, and when they did sell after 1810, they appear to have not lost as much value as the haciendas in other regions, which were plagued by periods of prolonged warfare. The overall effect was reduced by the fact that at least some of the sales were to relatives.

Commercial activity as measured by extrapolating from sales taxes paid in the form of alcabalas shows a gradual increase during the two decades that preceded the Mexican independence movement, even taking into account periodic agricultural crises. Between 1778 and 1810 the average annual value of commercial activity recorded in Toluca was 625,186 pesos. Data for selected years between 1809 and 1834 suggest a

decline in consumption. The negative effects of the Mexican insurgency are visible in the depressed values in 1811 and 1814, where commercial activity was roughly half the value of that of 1809. And in 1825 the value of commercial activity was even lower than in 1814. The years 1827 and 1828 registered dramatic increases in activity with an average value of 582,492 pesos. In 1831, the total value of commercial transactions was 415,817 pesos, and in 1834 it had increased to 544,823 pesos. Data on imports for 1832 and 1833 were not available; however transactions of domestically produced goods and merchandise increased steadily between 1831 and 1834. These data indicate that an economic recovery began by the late 1820s and continued through the early 1830s, although values of consumption were still below those of most years between 1778 and 1810.

Analysis of sale, rental, and company formation records was employed to create a profile of pulperías and tiendas mestizas in Toluca. Members of the merchant/landowning elite owned the largest and most valuable retail stores in Toluca, reflecting the degree of social consolidation that characterized the town from the end of the eighteenth century onward. No sales records explicitly identified a property as a tienda mestiza; retail stores were all simply called pulperías, tiendas, or casas de comercio. In Toluca, all stores appear to have sold at least some of everything. Lencerías specialized in cloth, yet they sold comestibles and other items as well. Pulperías sold imported and domestic goods, as well as alcoholic drinks. Casas de comercio sold a wide variety of merchandise, including equipment and horse tackle. In Toluca, it was common for businesses that were comprised of a combination of tienda, panadería, and tocinería to be sold or rented.

Owners of retail stores employed company and partnership mechanisms to operate their businesses, with both parties investing financial or intellectual capital in exchange for a share of the profits. In other cases, managers were hired to operate tiendas. These practices were identical to those shown by John Kicza for Mexico City and virtually universal in early Spanish America.

Finally, the chapter concluded with an analysis of *tocineros* and *tocinerías*, the quintessential Toluqueño commercial enterprises, describing aspects of their operation, valuation, and credit requirements. Toluca was situated perfectly for the pig trade. The valley's climate was ideal for swine propagation, as it was neither too hot nor too cold. A ready supply of fodder, maize and barley, was always available and inexpensive. And the enormous market of Mexico City sustained a continued taste and demand for the product. Animals were raised throughout the valley, and some were transported to Toluca from as far away as Michoacán. There was no social stigma attached to *tocinería* production, as it was an important source of exchange in the region. Most elite commercial actors in Toluca, including hacienda owners and wealthy merchants, had at least some involvement with *tocinerías*, regardless of their primary occupations, while a good many profited immensely from the pork trade.

Appendix 5.1

Total Value of Tithes Collected in Toluca, Selected Years

Year	Pesos
1797	50,241
1798	37,535
1799	59,988
1800	44,830
1801	53,190
1802	41,057
1803	44,327
1804	48,124
1805	46,470
1806	56,072
1807	55,356
1808	54,382
1809	85,679
1810	49,822
1811-1819	not available
1820	15,381
1821	12,682
1822	26,320
1823	27,546
1824	32,775
1825	27,677
1826	34,935
1827	44,204
1828	34,505
1829	30,790
1830	28,558
1831	30,544
1832	21,892
1833	21,153

Source: ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca.

Appendix 5.2

Tithe Collected on Maize, Wheat, Barley

Year	Maize (fanegas)	Wheat (cargas)	Barley (cargas)
1801	13,663	976	2,065
1802	not available		
1803	24,199	1,331	1,846
1804	16,205	1,298	2,085
1805	11,544	1,414	2,296
1806	21,677	1,473	1,115
1807	14,409	1,253	1,145
1808	11,989	1,304	2,552
1809	15,977	2,078	1,416
1810	10,334	888	995
1811-1819	not available		
1820	19,042	1,474	431
1821	18,408	1,770	663
1822	13,420	1,451	1,161
1823	12,122	1,683	713
1824	10,081	1,674	923
1825	12,180	1,530	633
1826	9,971	1,688	485
1827	7,806	1,542	585
1828	3,895	1,642	847
1829	15,024	1,966	539
1830	9,145	1,651	415
1831	7,180	1,314	369
1832	7,060	1,108	231
1833	7,416	1,000	446

Source: ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca.

Appendix 5.3

Estates in Jurisdiction of Toluca 1791

Hacienda (or Estancia)	Owner
Hacienda de San Juan de la Cruz	Tomás de Torres Elosua
Hacienda de Calixtlahuaca	Miguel de Zea
Hacienda de Nova	Dr. Francisco Cisneros
Hacienda de Altamirano	Mariano Serrano
Hacienda de Cimbrón	Juana de Dios Arcayos
Hacienda de las Majadas	Roque Valiente
Hacienda de las Palmillas	Capitán Manuel García Alonso
Hacienda de la Magdalena	José Castañón
Hacienda de San Diego	José Castañón
Hacienda de San José	Manuel Cruz Manjarrez
Hacienda de Guadalupe	José Ortigosa
Hacienda de San Nicolás Tolentino	Capitán Fausto Marcial de Urrutia
Hacienda de Santín	Antonio Barbabosa
Hacienda Secunda de San Diego	Hospicio de San Nicolás
Hacienda de la Laguna	Tomás de Lejarazu
Hacienda del Cerrillo	Roque Valiente
Hacienda de Taborda	Viuda de Francisco Rivera
Hacienda de Buena Vista	Lázaro José de Castro
Hacienda Tercera de San Diego	Tomás de Lejarazu
Hacienda de Xicaltepeque	José Jiménez Arenal
Hacienda de la Canaleja	Márquez de Rivas Cacho
Estancia del Cerrillo	Mayorazgo del Señor Luyando
Hacienda de San Antonio alias Doña Rosa	Archicofradía de Nuestro Amo de México
Hacienda del Carmen	Conde de la Torre
Hacienda del Cuesillo	Josefa Castañeda
Hacienda de la Crespa	José Ortiz
Hacienda de Buena Vista Secunda	Br. José Ildelfonso Mercado
Hacienda de Santa Teresa	Conde de la Torre
Hacienda de la Pila	Br. José Ventura García Figueroa
Hacienda de San Antonio Cacalomacan	José Antonio Martínez de Castro
Hacienda de la Macaria	Matías Carrasco
Hacienda de San Pablo Tlacotepeque	Miguel David
Hacienda de la Garzesa	Juan Marquina
Hacienda de Pansacola	Jacobo García
Hacienda de Atizapán	Jacobo García
Hacienda de San Francisco Atizapán	Br. José Sotomayor

Source: 1791 Revillagigedo Census.

Appendix 5.4

Alcabala, Tax Rate, and Total Value of Commerce, 1777-1811

Year	Alcabala	Tax Rate	Commerce Total
1777	14,126	6%	235,433
1778	35,723	6%	595,383
1779	33,628	6%	560,467
1780	33,245	6%	554,083
1781	45,704	6%	761,733
1782	58,042	8%	725,525
1783	48,096	8%	601,200
1784	47,527	8%	594,088
1785	41,629	8%	520,363
1786	37,359	8%	466,988
1787	40,010	8%	500,125
1788	40,509	8%	506,363
1789	35,762	8%	447,025
1790	43,768	8%	547,100
1791	37,343	8%	466,788
1792	34,508	6%	575,133
1793	34,703	6%	578,383
1794	45,253	8%	565,663
1795	46,633	8%	582,913
1796	44,218	6%	736,967
1797	39,210	6%	653,500
1798	37,665	6%	627,750
1799	38,120	6%	635,333
1800	48,676	6%	811,267
1801	43,936	6%	732,267
1802	39,095	6%	651,583
1803	40,741	6%	679,017
1804	37,567	6%	626,117
1805	45,968	6%	766,133
1806	45,791	6%	763,183
1807	44,281	6%	738,017

Appendix 5.4, continued

Year	Alcabala	Tax Rate	Commerce Total
1808	44,289	6%	738,150
1809	44,608	6%	743,467
1810	34,744	6%	579,067
1811	27,273	8%	340,913

Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca; Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México.

Appendix 5.5

Alcabalas in Toluca for Selected Years

Year	Base Tax	Domestic	Import Tax	Imports	Total
1809	6%	44,608	6%	included	44,608
1810	6%	34,744	6%	included	34,744
1811	8%	27,273	8%	included	27,273
1814	8%	28,411	8%	included	28,411
1825	6% *	16,400	6%	included	16,400
1827	6% *	21,358	3%	2,574	23,932
1828	6% *	22,235	2%	5,238	**27,473
1830	6% *	17,632	5%	5,682	23,314
1831	6% *	15,619	5%	7,775	23,394
1832	6% *	20,137	5%	n.d.	n/a
1833	6% *	21,565	5%	n.d.	n/a
1834	6% *	21,527	5%	9,302	30,829

N.d.=No data available.

Asterisk represents only alcabalas permanentes.

Two asterisks indicate inclusion of tax from tariff on domestic goods. See Appendix 5.6.

Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca; Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México.

Appendix 5.6

Total Value of Commercial Transactions in Toluca, Selected Years

Year	Total Value	Domestic	Imports	Local Tariff
1809	743,467			
1810	579,067			
1811	340,913			
1814	355,138			
1825	273,333			
1827	532,500	355,967	85,800	90,733
1828	632,483	370,583	261,900	n/a
1830	407,507	293,867	113,640	n/a
1831	415,817	260,317	155,500	n/a
1832		335,617	n.d.	n/a
1833		359,417	n.d.	n/a
1834	544,823	358,783	186,040	n/a

N.d.=No data available.

Source: AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca; Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México.

Notes

¹ Revilla Gigedo, Juan Vicente Güémez Pacheco de Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo, *Instrucción reservada que el conde de Revilla Gigedo, dio a su sucesor en el mando, marqués de Branciforte, sobre el gobierno de este continente en el tiempo que fue su virey* (México: Imprenta, a cargo del C.A. Guiol), 39.

² Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo Político Sobre El Reino De La Nueva-España*, trans. don Vicente González Arnao (Paris: Rosa, 1822), 260.

³ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, various years.

⁴ The historiography of the great estate is vast. For a comprehensive overview of the literature see the Introduction to the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Edition in Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006).

⁵ Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, 173.

⁶ Margaret Chowning, *Wealth and Power in Provincial Mexico: Michoacán from the Late Colony to the Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 54.

⁷ AGN, Tierras, vol. 2477, exp. 1, f. 95.

⁸ For example see chapters by John H. Coatsworth, Richard Salvucci, Carlos Marichal, and Stephen Haber in Stephen Haber, ed. *How Latin America Fell Behind: Essays in the Economic Histories of Brazil and Mexico, 1800-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). John H. Coatsworth, "Obstacles to Economic Growth in Nineteenth Century Mexico," *American Historical Review* 83 (February 1978): 80-100.

⁹ See Margaret Chowning, "The Contours of the Post-1810 Depression space in Mexico: A Reappraisal from a Regional Perspective," *Latin American Research Review* 27 (1992): 119-150. For a more recent study see Sergio Alejandro Cañedo Gamboa, "Merchants and Family Business in San Luis Potosi, Mexico: The Signs of an Economic Upsurge, 1820-1846" (Ph. D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 2011).

¹⁰ Garner and Stefanou correctly point out that oftentimes: "the records contain the sales of tithed merchandise or the receipts of money in lieu of merchandise. The obvious question is whether these entries accurately reflect the value of the goods of the transactions of the marketplace." This particular drawback does not apply to the Toluca data. Garner and Stefanou, 39.

¹¹ These were not typical ranchos, as they produced for the agricultural market at similar levels as haciendas. In other records, these ranchos were sometimes called haciendas or haciendillas.

¹² ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, various years.

¹³ Charles W. Macune, "A Test of Federalism: Political, Economic, and Ecclesiastical Relations between the State of Mexico and the Mexican Nation, 1823-1835" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1970), 271.

¹⁴ Tutino, "Creole Mexico," 124-125.

¹⁵ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1809, 1810.

¹⁶ Garner and Stefanou, 103.

¹⁷ AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca, Cuadernos de Viento, vol. 250, 1793, ff. 1-54v; vol. 253, 1796, ff. 1-39; vol. 253, 1802, ff. 1-26; vol. 253, 1803, ff. 1-25; vol. 253, 1804, ff. 1-25; vol. 171, 1809, ff. 2-22; vol. 271, 1811, ff. 1-22; vol. 271, 1813, ff. 1-16; vol. 271, 1814, ff. 1-19v; vol. 271, 1815, ff. 1-19.

¹⁸ Tutino, "Creole Mexico," 128.

¹⁹ Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, 110.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 110.

²¹ James Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (1969): 425.

²² James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards*, 203.

²³ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

²⁴ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca.

²⁷ Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, 108.

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- ²⁸ John K. Chance, "Haciendas, Ranchos, and Indian Towns: A Case from the Late Colonial Valley of Puebla," *Ethnohistory* 50 (Winter 2003): 16.
- ²⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 19 February 1799.
- ³⁰ AGNEM, S.H., Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis, 21 May 1817.
- ³¹ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 9 October 1829. The seller was José María González de Arratia, one of Toluca's most prominent citizens.
- ³² AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 1 July 1828
- ³³ AGNEM, S.H., José María Espinoza, 11 March 1830. The sale was registered in the libros de protocolos on 11 March 1830; however, the sale actually occurred in 1827.
- ³⁴ The Hacienda de la Garcesa, for example, bordered the pueblos of San Bernardino and San Mateo on its north; the tierras of the Hacienda la Macaria and a rancho belonging to José Esteves on its south; the Hacienda de la Pila on its west; and the tierras of the Hacienda de San Diego on its east. AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 27 May 1795.
- ³⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 31 March 1800. Haciendas in the northern part of the Toluca Valley, near Ixltahuaca, were more extensive and oriented toward cattle and sheep production. For example, the hacienda de Bonisi was comprised of 3.5 caballerías of tierra de labor and 34.5 caballerías of pasture. In 1800, the hacienda stock included 385 cattle, 322 sheep, and 56 horses, and was valued at 28,975 pesos.
- ³⁶ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 29 December 1790.
- ³⁷ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 29 January 1795.
- ³⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 27 May 1795.
- ³⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 10 June 1801.
- ⁴⁰ Chowning, *Wealth and Power*, 143. Chowning found haciendas in Michoacán commonly lost half their value during the independence wars, pushing their debt ratio to 100 percent of the pre-war values.
- ⁴¹ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 30 June 1800.
- ⁴² The Consolidación de Vales Reales refers to the Spanish government policy that required the church to call in loans and lend the proceeds to the crown.

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- ⁴³ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 11 August 1807.
- ⁴⁴ Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 195.
- ⁴⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 1 August 1810.
- ⁴⁶ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 14 December 1827.
- ⁴⁷ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 29 August 1800; Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis, 3 October 1815. Between 1801 and 1810, it produced an average of 268 fanegas of maize per year. Between 1820, maize production had dropped to an average of 205 fanegas annually. ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1809, 1810, and 1820-1833.
- ⁴⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 18 February 1809.
- ⁴⁹ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 20 February 1828.
- ⁵⁰ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, various years; 1791 Toluca Census Database; AGNEM, S.H., Libros de Protocolos, various years.
- ⁵¹ Margaret Chowning, reflecting processes in more insular Michoacán, found that marriage patterns there suggest a “relatively closed social group.” Chowning, *Wealth and Power*, 56. For examples of this process in other regions see Richard B. Lindley, *Haciendas and Economic Development: Guadalajara, Mexico at Independence* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.); and Ernest Sánchez Santiró, “Las incertidumbres del cambio: redes sociales y mercantiles de los hacendados-comerciantes azucareros del centro de México (1800-1834),” *Historia Mexicana* 56 (2007): 919-968.
- ⁵² See Appendix 6.1 for a list of the hacendado and merchant leadership of several cofradías in 1796 Toluca.
- ⁵³ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, various years. Production declined after 1820 to an average of 2,830 fanegas per year. The Haciendas del Carmen and de Santa Teresa produced an average harvest of 316 cargas of wheat and 3,330 fanegas of maize between 1820 and 1826. The Hacienda del Sitio de las Animas did not pay the tithe on wheat or maize, until 1830, after Juan Antonio Izarbe bought the property around 1827 and began maize cultivation.
- ⁵⁴ 1791 Toluca Census Database.
- ⁵⁵ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 6 July 1822, Testament of Antonio Barbabosa.

⁵⁶ GSU, microfilm, roll number 37795, 2 August 1790. For a biographical sketch of the Barbabosa family see: José Barbabosa Torres, “La familia Barbabosa, hacendados y ganaderos de abolengo,” *Hidalguía: revista de genealogía, nobleza y armas* 232-233 (1992): 369-383.

⁵⁷ AGNEM, S.H., caja 211, leg. 3, asunto 1.

⁵⁸ Josefa Mondragón was godmother for four of the infants; how she was related to the Barbabosa or Cruz Manjarrez family is unknown. GSU, microfilm, roll 441172, 23 August 1796, 31 October 1797, 15 June 1801, 4 June 1802; 441190, 8 April 1806, 15 May 1808, 27 February 1815; 441191, 13 October 1822.

⁵⁹ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 6 July 1822, Testament of Antonio Barbabosa.

⁶⁰ For example see: AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 23 August 1803.

⁶¹ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 9 February 1792.

⁶² AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 31 May 1802.

⁶³ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 23 August 1803. The González del Pliego family is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

⁶⁴ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 6 July 1822, Testament of Antonio Barbabosa.

⁶⁵ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, 1826, 1827, 1833, 1834.

⁶⁶ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 27 November 1823, Testament of Francisco Arandia.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Hilda Lagunas Ruiz, “Hacendados del Valle de Toluca, vida cotidiana y muerte durante los siglos XVII y XVIII” (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Iberoamerica, 2005), 374.

⁶⁹ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁷⁰ GSU, microfilm, roll 441183, 1 August 1793. The three-day-old child’s name was María Ignacia Francisca de Paula; her calidad was listed as española. Paternal grandparents were: José Villegas and María Teresa Guadarrama, of Tecoaaya. Maternal grandparents were: Diego Cimbrón, deceased, and Bárbara Villegas.

⁷¹ María Josefa's baptismal record has not been located. The 1834 municipal census lists her age at twenty-four, so it is reasonable to assume that she was born around 1810. She is, of course, named in Francisco Arandia's testament and other records related to the family.

⁷² AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 27 November 1823, Testament of Francisco Arandia.

⁷³ ACCM, Libros de Diezmos, Toluca, 1827. José Luis Alanís Boyso, *Toluca: corregidores, alcaldes y presidentes municipales, 1564-1994* (México: H. Ayuntamiento de Toluca, 1994), 38.

⁷⁴ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁷⁵ Nettie Lee Benson, *The Provincial Deputation In Mexico: Harbinger of Provincial Autonomy, Independence, and Federalism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 34, 135; Graciela Macedo Jaimes, *La organización política y territorial del Estado de México* (Toluca: Instituto de Estudios Legislativos de la Legislatura del Estado de México, 1999), 112.

⁷⁶ Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State*, 191.

⁷⁷ Harold Sims, *The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821-1836* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 54.

⁷⁸ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 27 November 1823, Testament of Francisco Arandia.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ These records have limitations for macroeconomic analysis, however. As Richard L. Garner explains: "Not all transactions were subject to the sales taxes; some transactions were taxed at the wholesale level and others at the retail; and transactions could be treated differently from region to region." Multiple taxation of the same product has the potential to inflate the apparent value of total revenue. Moreover, there were regional differences in the manner in which goods were taxed. Different criteria were sometimes applied to determine which goods would be taxed in what subgroup of tax ledgers. Despite regional inconsistencies and minor recording irregularities in recording local data, alcabala ledgers have the benefit of presenting quantifiable data in serial form, which lend themselves to quantitative analysis. Garner and Stefanou, 176-177.

⁸¹ For a thorough discussion of the Bourbon tax system see Marcella McCrary Litle, “Sales Taxes and Internal Commerce in Bourbon Mexico, 1754-1821” (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1985).

⁸² Alcabala tax rates sometimes changed during the middle of years. The values are best regarded as estimates. Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Juan Carlos Grosso. *Las alcabalas novohispanas, 1776-1821* (México, D.F.: Archivo General de la Nación, Dirección del Archivo Histórico Central, 1988), 229-236 passim.

⁸³ AGN, Alcabalas, vol. 270, ff.1-46v, Libro Auxiliar de Alcabalas de Toluca, 1787.

⁸⁴ Garner and Stefanou, 178.

⁸⁵ Litle, 70.

⁸⁶ Amith, 300.

⁸⁷ To calculate the total value of commercial activity, annual alcabala revenues were multiplied by 100 and then divided by the tax rate of the given year to provide the total value of taxed goods and merchandise.

⁸⁸ Thomson, 45.

⁸⁹ Chart 5.5 provides values of commercial activity as calculated from alcabala records for selected years. The data from which the chart was drawn is presented in Appendices 5.5 and 5.6. Imported goods were included in the libros reales and libros de aduana during the years before 1825. In 1827, imports were entered into separate ledgers. The 1827 tax rate of foreign goods was reduced to 3 percent. In 1828, the rate was further reduced to 2 percent. Between 1830 and 1834 foreign goods were taxed at 5 percent. Additionally, 1827 included a tariff ledger, which registered tierra and viento goods; this data was included in the calculation for that year. The chart takes the different tax rates into account when performing the calculations. The chart does not include special levies or the “temporary” taxes charged in the form of the *alcabala eventual* beginning in 1825, which effectively doubled the basic rate on most products.

⁹⁰ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 1 August 1803.

⁹¹ Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 110.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Jay Kinsbruner, *Petty Capitalism in Spanish America: The Pulperos of Puebla, Mexico City, Caracas, and Buenos Aires* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987), 4.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ AGNEM, S.H., caja 155, leg. 3, asunto 13, f. 398. See also María del Carmen León García, *La Distinción Alimentaria de Toluca: El Delicioso Valle y Los Tiempos de Escasez, 1750-1800* (México: CIESAS, 2002), 120.

⁹⁶ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁹⁷ AGN, Tierras, vol. 2477, exp. 1, f. 95.

⁹⁸ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁹⁹ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹⁰⁰ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 11 February 1795.

¹⁰¹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 29 March 1802.

¹⁰² AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 8 July 1790, Testament of Victoriano García. 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹⁰³ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 23 October 1799.

¹⁰⁴ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 31 October 1812; Antonio de Careaga, 23 July 1814.

¹⁰⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 11 Oct 1792.

¹⁰⁶ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 3 January 1829.

¹⁰⁷ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 18 January 1797.

¹⁰⁸ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 8 February 1825.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards*, 202-203.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Gage and J. Eric S. Thompson, *Travels in the New World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 80.

¹¹¹ AGN, Alcabalas, Toluca, Libros de viento, 1796, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1814, 1815.

¹¹² León García, 224.

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- ¹¹³ AGNEM, S.H., caja 147, leg. 1, asunto 10, ff. 628v-629. In 1794, consumption was 10,193 head.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.; 1791 Toluca Census Database.
- ¹¹⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 10 October 1792.
- ¹¹⁶ 1791 Toluca Census Database.
- ¹¹⁷ AGNEM, S.H., caja 133, leg. 1, asunto 3, ff. 32-32v. 1791 Toluca Census Database.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., ff. 44-45; William Wesley Smith and Robert Alexander Craig, *Pork-Production* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), 480.
- ¹²⁰ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 20 April 1797.
- ¹²¹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 22 January 1802.
- ¹²² AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 21 June 1791.
- ¹²³ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 1 December 1812.
- ¹²⁴ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 21 June 1812
- ¹²⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez 26 September 1812; Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 2 September 1813.
- ¹²⁶ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 20 May 1825.
- ¹²⁷ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 22 May 1793
- ¹²⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 10 February 1800.
- ¹²⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 31 May 1802.

Chapter 6

PROVINCIAL ARTISANS

Artisans comprised the largest work sector in Toluca during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and consequently were an essential component of Toluqueño society. The majority of artisans were male, yet significant numbers of women and children also worked in the crafts and trades. Artisans as a group were ethnically diverse. During the late colonial period they included españoles, castas, and indigenous people. Ethnic differentiation did exist between some occupations, based on levels of prestige and earning capacity associated with the work involved. Artisans worked with a wide variety of primary, intermediate, and finished materials. They turned thread and yarn into textiles and clothing; wood into furniture; pig lard into soap and candles; animal hides into leather, shoes, and saddles; gunpowder into fireworks, et cetera. They manufactured rope, ceramics, and glass. They produced confections and pastries. They offered services as barbers and they sold medicinal herbs as apothecaries. In short, artisans provided an extensive variety of goods and services, both for local consumption and for exchange outside of town.

Almost half of the Hispanic males identified by occupation in the 1791 census were artisans. Moreover, large numbers of artisans resided in indigenous barrios and pueblos located near the town. Comprehensive data on female workers are not available for eighteenth-century Toluca. Yet, it is clear that women and girls were active in the ubiquitous small-scale, home-based workshops dispersed throughout the town, often as unpaid, family workers. Females also comprised the majority of food and service sector

workers. Evidence from testaments and property sales and loan contracts recorded in Toluca reveals that women were involved in artisanal operations at higher levels, as owners of tanneries, confectionary shops, and other enterprises. Women also sometimes served as loan guarantors, providing their personally held real property as collateral to finance business activities of artisan relatives.¹

The 1834 municipal census identified approximately the same number of male artisans in Toluca as did the 1791 census, but their proportion had dropped from half to 41 percent of the total male workforce. This decline reflected the gradual transformation of labor markets and work conditions that accompanied the weakening and eventual abolition of the corporate guild system; the massive influx of foreign manufactured goods during the years following national independence; and the conditions of proto-industrialization. In 1834, the majority of employed females worked in the service sector; however, they also comprised 21 percent of the town's artisans. Of the 182 child laborers ages six to fourteen that were identified by occupation, most worked in the service sector; but forty-three worked as artisans, many as apprentices, both as family members following their parent's trade and those in traditional apprenticeships.²

These numbers are, of course, subject to the usual caveats regarding eighteenth and nineteenth-century census material, and very likely represent fewer than the actual numbers of artisans present at the time of the two censuses. In the *libros de protocolos*, as in the two censuses, many owners of artisan-related enterprises were recorded simply as merchants (*comerciantes* or *de comercio*), so they did not appear in the artisan category. Only by employing additional sources, like tax records, lawsuits, sales records, and store

inventories is it possible to uncover the details of these merchants' activities. Child and female labor, too, was probably much more pervasive than the data indicate. Most shops were operated from artisans' homes, where the entire family would have been expected to contribute to household production. Nevertheless, according to the extant data, by 1834 artisans represented 35 percent of economically active males and females in Toluca. This percentage is comparable to those found in larger Mexican cities, where artisans comprised the largest urban work sector. In 1849 Guadalajara artisans accounted for 36 percent of the working population, almost identical to the proportion in Toluca. And in 1842 Mexico City, artisans comprised 29 percent of economically active people.³

Over a quarter century has passed since Fred Bronner identified artisans along with the labor and service sectors as the "the largest, least known urban groups" in colonial Spanish America.⁴ This condition was then even truer of republican era artisans, who have only more recently become the subjects of investigation. Scholarly understanding of artisans, and working people in general, has advanced a great deal over the past decades, yet studies still tend to be restricted to large cities in a few favored countries. Colonial era studies of artisans, with a few very important exceptions,⁵ focus on the late eighteenth century, when growing populations and increased economic activity, combined with the Bourbon administrative reforms, led to an increase in the production of documents, official and mundane. The documentary base conditioned the types of studies historians deemed of scholarly importance, the types of questions they asked, and the approaches they employed. It is not surprising, then, that studies of colonial artisans tend to focus on guilds: their function, operation, and decline.⁶ There are

important exceptions, however. Scholars who have employed notarial and judicial records, for example, have positioned themselves to address questions that are more intimately related to aspects of artisans' daily lives and business activities.⁷

Studies of artisans in the nineteenth century fall into two groups: those whose periodization crosses the historiographical divide of national independence and those that begin around midcentury. The former group, which includes Rodney Anderson's demographic study of 1821 Guadalajara, relies heavily on census data, although qualitative material is often employed to expand, conditionalize, and support their discussions and arguments.⁸ Researchers who study artisans from around midcentury onward have access to additional sources, which, in turn, condition their approaches. The gradual decline and demise of the colonial guild system was followed by the rise of voluntary associations and mutual aid societies. These organizations generated abundant documentation. In some countries, national governments sponsored labor organizations, which produced documents that historians would later put to use. Local and national newspapers reported on the activities of these labor organizations; and an artisan—and later working class—press provided material for the analysis of the politics of labor organizations. These studies follow workers' involvement in nation building during the era of economic liberalism.⁹

Like other studies of artisans, this chapter proceeds at the mercy and limitations of its sources. Its principal objective is to examine the lives and livelihoods of artisans and their families in Toluca between 1790 and 1835, a period of transformation in politics, economics, and society, but one that precedes working class formation by many decades.

The chapter adds a much-needed perspective from smaller cities and towns, which have not received adequate scholarly attention. Most artisans were poor, low-paid workers whose lives are only faintly represented in the historical record, when they are present at all. Census material provides one of the best means for understanding this otherwise invisible group. Thus, like other studies of this period, this chapter employs census data, which remain among the most useful sources for the study of people who did not otherwise leave documentary traces.

The absence of a formal banking system meant that artisans, like much of Mexican society, relied on merchants to provide credit. The *libros de protocolos* contain loans, liens, surety bonds, mortgages, and other financial instruments that were executed between merchants and artisans in Toluca. Widows and single females, often heiresses, were also important sources of low value loans for artisans. These records are used to reveal details of quotidian operations of artisans' business activities. They also contain fragmentary details of the lives of individuals involved either directly or peripherally in the transactions, and therefore provide insight into family structures, social networks, and other matters related to the social history of artisans. Parish records are employed to add insight into family networks.

Artisan as a social and occupational category is exceedingly broad, including the lowliest, unemployed shoemaker and the most successful shop owner. Artisans did not see one another as a single group or class. Hierarchies existed between certain trades, and the interests of artisans were sometimes in conflict with one another. It is necessary, therefore, to narrow the focus of study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the guild

system, which was the formal basis of preindustrial artisan organization in Mexico. It then presents data on the income structure in 1834 Toluca. Many of the details of artisans' lives are difficult to detect, yet Toluca's libros de protocolos contain numerous documents that when combined with census material and parish records elucidate important aspects of their daily lives. The chapter presents findings on several of the most important artisanal occupations practiced in Toluca, based on their presence in the sources. These include textile workers, blacksmiths, fireworks makers, and tanners.

Guild Organization

Spanish artisans replicated European guilds in the New World soon after the conquest era. Within a generation, corporate institutions comprised of artisans were operational in several major Spanish American cities.¹⁰ In Mexico City, the municipal government granted foundational guild charters (*ordenanzas gremiales*) to important artisan groups beginning in 1542 and thereafter, while others were established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ Guilds were self-regulating corporate organizations, but they were subject to supervision by municipal authorities. Their principal ostensible functions were to regulate production and control quality, to set prices, and to enforce guild specific regulations, including oversight and administration of procedures and examinations for the training and advancement of apprentices, journeymen, and masters. John Kicza found that in Mexico City some guilds did not require special training, did not require examinations for admission, and were comprised of only apprentices and journeymen, with no masters among them.¹² Guilds were more

highly developed in larger cities, like Lima, Guatemala City, Puebla, Guadalajara, and Mexico City. Less is known about how these corporations functioned in smaller towns and peripheral areas, with the exception of Buenos Aires.¹³ Where there were fewer artisans, as was the case in Toluca, guilds are thought to have been institutionally weaker.

In large cities, guilds had religious counterparts in the *cofradías*, or lay religious brotherhoods. These church-sanctioned associations were organized around a patron saint and functioned as mutual assistance organizations for their members. In Mexico City and Lima, for example, artisans were so numerous that *cofradías* were often restricted to one particular guild. Thus, in Mexico City, tanners worshiped San José; carpenters, Jesús Nazareno; painters, San Sebastián.¹⁴ In Lima shoemakers worshiped San Crispín; silversmiths, San Eloy; blacksmiths, San Lorenzo, and so on. *Cofradías* organized festivals in honor of their patron saints, and they participated in other civic and religious processions and parades, which reinforced group identity and solidarity. But they also served important social functions. According to Iñigo L. García-Bryce, the *cofradía* “offered its members assistance during times of illness and, perhaps more importantly, the opportunity for a dignified burial.”¹⁵ Far less is known about the relationship between guilds and *cofradías* in smaller towns, where they do not appear to have operated in the same manner.¹⁶ For example, Caterina Pizzigoni’s work on indigenous people in the Toluca region found that *cofradías* appear to have contributed very little to burials; almost all related details were taken care of by the decedent and his or her relatives.¹⁷ At the turn of the seventeenth century, eleven *cofradías* were present in Toluca. Their membership was based on ethnic groups.¹⁸ Powers of attorney from five *cofradías* in

1796 Toluca show that the leadership in all but two of these organizations was restricted to priests, merchants, and large landowners. The only exceptions were the Cofradía de Santa Febronia, which included artisans, and the Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno, which was comprised of indigenous people. (See Appendix 6.1.)

According to María del Carmen León García, ordenanzas for apothecaries, bakers, butchers, storeowners, and other trades were observed in Toluca as a town under the authority and governance of the Marquesado del Valle.¹⁹ However, the guilds of Toluca have yet to receive systematic scholarly study. A guild hierarchy was present in the area dating from at least the early seventeenth century. Table 6.1 provides the names, guild ranks, and occupations of artisans from Toluca as they appear in documents (mostly marriage licenses—*solicitudes matrimoniales*) stored in the *matrimonios* branch of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. As the table demonstrates, guild ranks were in use as early as 1628, when two master silk workers (*maestros de seda*), Francisco de Garfias and Marcos Barreto Quintana, appeared as witnesses for the bride and groom, Pablo de Garfias and Juana de Sanabria.²⁰ Tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, silk workers, barbers, brick layers, carpenters, cloth shearers, locksmiths, sculptors, soap makers, thread spinners, and weavers appeared as masters and journeymen of their respective trades. The number of artisans in seventeenth century Toluca was limited, yet their small numbers did not prevent their organization.

Table 6.1

Maestros (Masters) and Oficiales (Journeymen) in Toluca, Various Years

<i>Oficial Albañil (Brick Layer)</i> Juan Antonio, 1699	<i>Maestros de Sastre (Tailors)</i> Melchor de Meza, 1664 José Serrano, 1783
<i>Maestro Barbero (Barber)</i> Antonio Serrano, 1712	<i>Oficiales de Sastre (Tailors)</i> José Esteban de Iraza, 1654 Alonso Sánchez Salvador, 1675 Miguel García, 1710 Gregorio de la Puente, 1712 Bernabé Fajardo, 1716 Francisco Javier García, 1720 Nicolás Núñez, 1729 Cristóbal Curiel, 1753 Antonio Flores, 1783
<i>Maestro Carpintero (Carpenter)</i> Diego de Arriaga, 1685	
<i>Oficial Carpintero (Carpenter)</i> Juan Gil, 1717	
<i>Maestro de Cerrajero (Locksmith)</i> Francisco de Ocaña, 1783	
<i>Maestro Escultor (Sculptor)</i> Pedro de Caso, 1733	<i>Maestro de Seda (Silk Worker)</i> Francisco de Garfias, 1628 Marcos Barreto Quintana, 1628
<i>Maestro Herrador (Blacksmith)</i> Juan Sánchez de Ayón, 1635	<i>Maestro Tejedor (Weaver)</i> Agustín de Torres, 1685
<i>Maestro Herrero (Blacksmith)</i> Manuel Moreno, 1729	<i>Maestro Tundidor (Cloth Shearer)</i> Felipe Cabello, 1693
<i>Oficial Herrero (Blacksmith)</i> Nicolás García, 1671	<i>Maestros Zapateros (Shoemakers)</i> Diego Martínez, 1652 Pascual de los Reyes, 1671 Antonio de Canas, 1672 Ventura Díaz, 1742
<i>Maestro Hilador (Thread Spinner)</i> Bernardo de Arteaga, 1682	<i>Oficial Zapatero (Shoemaker)</i> Felipe Martínez, 1670
<i>Oficial de Jabonero (Soapmaker)</i> Alonso de los Ríos, 1672	

Source: José Luis Alanís Boyso, *Toluca: catálogo documental colonial de los ramos del Archivo General de la Nación* (Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 1999), 153-169, passim.

The documents consulted for this study contain few references to the presence or daily operation of the guild system in Toluca. Notarial records regularly identified the principals who appeared before the notary by name and place of origin. These documents seldom included their occupations, however. The one exception was the ubiquitous category “de comercio,” which referred to an individual involved in commercial activity. These records seldom included references to guild ranks. On rare occasions, when an artisan was declared insolvent or involved in a property sale, his guild rank might be included, but such examples are irregular and were only applied to masters, who were more likely to have had access to capital. Estimates of the proportion of artisans who were guild members based on these documents is not possible. Moreover, circumstantial evidence suggests that some artisans worked outside of guilds; many were unemployed or underemployed; and some guilds were institutionally stronger than others. In other parts of Mexico, artisans sometimes undermined guild authority by moonlighting, employing unexamined craftsmen at lower wages, or working for merchants who sought to displace guild dominance over craft production.²¹ This condition was likely common throughout central Mexico where guilds were in place, albeit to varying degrees.

Evidence of a relatively lax guild system may be deduced by the absence of notarized apprentice contracts (*escrituras de aprendiz*) in Toluca’s libros de protocolos. In larger Spanish American cities, these agreements were negotiated between parents or guardians of the person to be apprenticed and the master tradesman. They were subject to regulation by the guild and specifically outlined the terms of the apprenticeship, including the duration of the contract and details of remuneration, which sometimes

included accumulated savings payable at the end of the term. In many jurisdictions, these contracts were legally enforceable only if notarized.²² However, no such documents exist in Toluca's libros de protocolos for the period of this study. It may be that contracts did exist but were not notarized due to the cost involved in paying for a notary's service, or that the conditions of apprenticeships were less formal in Toluca than in other locales.

Samples of judicial records provide better direct evidence of guilds at work. A lawsuit initiated in Toluca during the early 1790s indicated that large pork producers, some of whom processed over 1,000 pigs per year, were organized into a guild (*gremio de tratantes de tocinería*), while smaller producers were not. Each tocinero was required to pay the appropriate sales tax (alcabala) based on the number of pigs they processed, regardless of their membership or non-membership in the guild.²³ During the reforms of the early 1790s, Viceroy Revillagigedo had proposed the abolition of the tocineros guild in Mexico City; nevertheless, tocineros were functioning as a corporate body in Toluca at least until the mid 1790s and probably later.²⁴ In another example, a legal complaint filed by a master fireworks maker (*cohetero*) against another master fireworks maker stated that the latter was in breach of the fireworks makers' guild charter (*por ser contra nuestra ordenanza*).²⁵ Since this case involved fraudulent activity, it was brought before the court to be adjudicated.

Master artisans were sometimes called by municipal authorities to act as appraisers of the value of items particular to their crafts. Thus, Luis Rodríguez, a master pharmacist (*maestro de farmacopeia*) assessed the value of medicinal items in a pharmacy (*botica*) that was the subject of legal proceedings. Master carpenters (*maestros*

de carpintería) José Miguel de Mendieta and Joaquín Gregorio Bejarano calculated the value of wooden shelving and other furnishings. And the master painter (*maestro pintor*) Juan de Dios Flores evaluated the paint and gilding of these structures, which was his expertise. The high esteem in which these master craftsmen were held is confirmed by their identification with the honorific title don in some of the official documents, although none signed with the title, as was typical of the period.²⁶ Lawsuits and inventories made for the court included guild rankings and membership when they were relevant to the cause of action.

The 1791 census was inconsistent in its recording of guild ranks, further suggesting a laxity in the guild system's local institutional structure. Only ten apprentices were identified in the census, probably fewer than the actual number in the town. Most were single and under the age of twenty, with an average age of sixteen. (The ages of two apprentice saddle makers were not recorded.) These apprentices usually lived in the same household as an older, apparently unrelated male of the same occupation, likely a master artisan. Such was the case for the seventeen-year-old mestizo apprentice blacksmith, José Luna. Luna lived on the Calle de la Tenería in the house of Mariano Moreno, a married, mestizo blacksmith. A few doors away, the two saddle maker apprentices, who were recorded simply as apprentice mestizo boys (*aprendices niños mestizos*) without names or ages, lived with Miguel Enríquez, a single, mestizo saddle maker. Two apprentice weavers, thirteen-year-old José Rebollo and fourteen-year-old Juan Guillermo Hernández, both españoles, lived in the house of Agustín Farfán and his wife, also

españoles. And the sixteen-year-old castizo Estanislao Ortega, an apprentice blacksmith, lived with the family of the mestizo blacksmith, Pascual Cordero.²⁷

Although the examples of apprentices living in the households of older craftsmen suggest their master status, the census identified only two master artisans: the español tailor from Mexico City, Ventura Carranza, and the mestizo Manuel Canseco, a veterinary surgeon (*maestro de albeitería examinado*). Canseco's title was the only one in the census to specify that he had been examined in the guild system. The census recorded only one journeyman: seventeen-year-old José Vargas, a pharmacist (*oficial de la botica*) and brother of the pharmacy owner, Manuel Francisco Vargas, both españoles.²⁸

According to Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, the guild system of Mexico City began to decline in the middle of the eighteenth century. Liberal economic ideology espoused by Bourbon reformers, and to some degree implemented by them, combined with the growing power of commercial capitalism, led to a increased concentration of workers in fewer shops, and a commensurate weakening of the institution.²⁹ By the end of the century, intendants attempted to abolish guilds in other Mexican cities. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, some guilds in Mexico City were outright extinguished, while the charters of others were revised and reformed.³⁰ The liberal Spanish Cortes de Cádiz made significant changes to the guild system on 8 June 1813, removing the examination requirements to practice artisan trades. Once Fernando VII resumed his position on the Spanish throne in 1814 there was an attempt to reestablish the earlier regulations of the guild system, but the rationale for its reform, if not dissolution, was

persuasive. After independence, craftsmen could practice their trade without involvement in the guild examination system.

These changes have led some scholars to conclude that the Mexican guilds had been abolished. However, in Puebla guild abolition was ignored, as these entities continued to pay taxes on examinations and elections into the 1820s.³¹ Sonia Pérez Toledo's study of the artisans of Mexico City found that the decline of the guild system was not immediate and that some guild-related actions were brought before the municipal government during the 1820s.³² Carlos Illades argues that Mexican guilds were not totally abolished, only their monopolistic attributes; in practice, some guild regulations continued their earlier functions to ensure quality control of production. The silversmiths' guild—the most powerful corporation in the system—survived until the middle of the nineteenth century.³³

By the time of the 1834 Toluca census, the former guild-based hierarchy was intact, only without the guild regulations, governance, or examination system, to the degree they had existed locally. Gone, too, were the protections guilds provided to journeymen and apprentices, including wage regulation. Now work agreements would be made privately, without guild oversight. Guild membership was no longer a component of a corporate identity, and their rankings were even less likely to be used in official documents. The 1834 census identified only one master and two apprentices. José María Pérez, a master sculptor who earned four reales per day, lived on Callejón de Terán with his wife. Marcial Martínez, a twelve-year-old apprentice carpenter (*fustero aprendiz*) lived on the Callejón de Compositor in the house of the carpenter Manuel Rodríguez and

his family. Rodríguez earned four reales per day, which made him one of the more highly paid artisans in Toluca. Benigno Molina, a seventeen-year-old apprentice, lived with his widowed mother, Dolores Suárez, on the Calle del Chapitel. Suárez's occupation was listed as a cloth worker (*pañera*) whose daily earning was one real. It is not clear of which occupation Benigno was an apprentice. As apprentices, neither Marcial Martínez nor Benigno Molina reported daily earnings.³⁴

Apprentices, where they have been systematically studied, rarely exceeded the age of twenty and were usually much younger. Lyman Johnson analyzed 139 apprentice contracts in Buenos Aires during the last thirty-five years of colonial rule. The average age of apprentices in various crafts was 13.3 years. The average duration of an apprenticeship contract was 4.2 years, with a range of between three and 6.5 years.³⁵ The small sample of apprentices included in 1791 census of Toluca produces an average age of sixteen. In 1834, thirty-six males under the age of twenty were identified as artisans who earned zero reales per day. It is not possible to know which of these workers were apprentices and which were unemployed or simply unpaid workers. Certainly some child workers were employed in the family trade, while others lived and worked in households headed by unrelated adults.³⁶

Apprentice relationships are suggested in the 1834 census manuscript although they were not classified as such. The blacksmith Antonio Anguel and his family lived on the first block of the Callejón de López. Three unrelated children identified as blacksmiths also lived in the household: José age ten, Germán age eleven, and José Urbano age thirteen. The adult males each earned two reales per day. None of the four

boys reported earnings, which is consistent with apprentice positions. Moreover, their lack of Spanish surnames suggests low social status. Since the census was undertaken a year after the cholera epidemic, it is possible that some or all of the boys may have been orphans. The case of the pharmacist Rafael Zevallos offers another relevant example. Three of the four unrelated pharmacists living in his house, between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, earned zero reales per day and were undoubtedly apprentices.³⁷

In pre-industrial societies it was common for young males to work in their fathers' trade. In Toluca, this arrangement appears to have been more common than negotiated apprenticeships. A representative example is the household of José Cerón, a tailor, who lived on the Calle de Guerrero. Cerón was married to Ana Bermúdez, who was not identified by occupation. The couple had three sons: an infant named Jesús, and ten-year-old Francisco and nine-year-old Antonio, who were both identified as tailors. José Cerón was among the highest earning tailors, at three reales per day, while Francisco and Antonio earned zero reales.³⁸

Artisans' Daily Income

As the above discussion illustrates, daily income data are useful in the identification of household relationships as well as work hierarchies. Studies of Mexican artisans during the first half of the nineteenth century rarely include information on income, as these data remain scarce in the historical record. Most scholars who discuss monetary remuneration rely on secondary sources or general references gleaned from qualitative evidence, and are often only able to speculate on estimated earnings. The 1834

municipal census's inclusion of the category *utilidad diaria* was evidently an anomaly. The 1870 municipal census of Toluca, for example, included no similar category, and other studies based on census material during first half of the nineteenth century make no references to anything like the *utilidad diaria*.³⁹ The data by themselves are deficient in terms of providing complete understanding of artisans' incomes. There is no indication of whether monetary value specified represented independent earnings or pay from an employer, whether it was gross or net, that is, whether it was a part of overall compensation, or if it was payment from which expenses would be deducted, or if workers used this money to pay for sustenance. A complete picture of the financial compensation of Toluca's artisans would require not only clarification of these matters, but also an understanding of the cost of living, especially for food and housing. Nevertheless, by providing data on the entire economically active population, this information adds an important contour to the understanding of artisans' lives.

Table 6.2 provides the daily income for all male and female artisans identified in the 1834 municipal census. The majority of artisans (649 of 732, or 89 percent) earned two reales per day or less. But 17 percent of all artisans reported earnings of zero reales per day, i.e. the category was left empty, as was the case for children and others who were not identified by occupation. Removing this group of zero earners from the equation, the percentage of artisans earning two reales per day or less drops to 83 percent for males and 88 percent for females. However, this comparison based on gender is deceptive, as 270 males (57 percent) earned 1.6 to two reales per day, while only 12

females (9 percent) did. Most female artisans, 117 (89 percent), earned only 0.3, 0.6, or one real per day. And only 89 males (19 percent) reported earnings at these levels.

Table 6.2

Daily Income (Utilidad Diaria) of Toluca Artisans in Reales, 1834

Reales/ Day	Males	Percent	Females	Percent	Total	Percent
0.0	100	17	24	15	124	17
0.3	2	*	4	3	6	*
0.6	17	3	37	24	54	7
1.0	107	19	76	49	183	25
1.6	33	6	2	1	35	5
2.0	237	41	10	6	247	34
2.6	4	*	0	0	4	*
3.0	44	8	1	*	45	6
3.6	1	*	0	0	1	*
4.0	23	4	1	*	24	3
5.0	2	*	0	0	2	*
6.0	3	1	0	0	3	*
8.0	1	*	1	*	2	*
12.0	1	*	0	0	1	*
24.0	1	*	0	0	1	*
	576		156		732	

Percentages are rounded to nearest whole number.

Asterisk indicates less than 1 percent.

Source: 1834 Census Database.

The contrast between male and female earnings was even greater for those artisans earning over two reales per day. Eighty males (17 percent) were in this group. These men were the most highly skilled artisans. They represented all occupations, from bakers to weavers. Some were likely masters in the trades that still used guild ranks, as

was the case for the master sculptor, José María Pérez, who earned four reales per day. Some were artisan entrepreneurs who likely owned their own shops, like shoemaker José Huitebechea, serape maker Antonio Guaracha, and tailors José Camargo and José Espejo, all of whom earned between six and eight reales per day. Others in this group might have formed companies and legal partnerships with investors. Some individuals who would have otherwise been identified as artisans and earned at these levels owned artisan enterprises, like tanneries and textile shops, but appeared under the general rubric of merchants, without occupational differentiation. These men tended to be well-established heads of household. Eighty-five percent were married (63) or widowed (5), while twelve were single.⁴⁰

Only three females earned more than two reales per day, and none earned more than eight. María Francisca Ortiz and Ignacia Castillo, both *cigarreras* (cigarette makers/vendors), earned eight and four reales per day respectively. Ortiz lived in a house on the Calle de la Constitución with two teenage maids who each earned one real per day. The census indicates that Ortiz was married, but no husband was recorded at the same address. Ignacia Castillo lived in an unknown dwelling type at the Ladrillería de Betancourt with Lorenza Olivera, a married female *cigarrera*, who earned two reales per day. Dolores Hernández, a baker, earned three reales per day, and lived in a multifamily dwelling on the Calle de Bravo headed by the merchant, Juan José González. Tobacco related occupations were evidently the best-paid female occupation. Of the ten females who earned two reales per day, three were *cigarreras*, and two were *pureras* (cigar

makers). All females who earned two or more reales per day were either widows or married women.⁴¹

The only artisans who earned more than one peso (eight reales) per day were male printers (*impresores*), involved in work related to the new government offices. Arriving during the early 1830s when Toluca became the capital of the state of Mexico, these men were the town's highest paid artisans. Luis Coronel earned twenty-four reales per day as a printer. He lived in a casa de vecindad on the Calle de Esquipulas with his wife and two children. Juan Matute earned twelve reales per day. He lived in a house on the Calle de la Ley, in the center of town, with his wife, four daughters and two sons. Their household included a widowed maid, who earned 0.6 reales per day.⁴²

Of the 732 identified artisans, census takers recorded daily earnings of zero reales for 124 individuals, or 16.9 percent of the group. When broken down by gender, the percentages of non-earning artisans are similar. Of 576 males in this group, 100 were recorded with zero daily earnings, or 17 percent. Twenty-four of 156 female artisans earned zero reales per day, or 15 percent. Questions remain as to why the census recorded occupations for these workers but no daily income. Were the zero earners apprentices, family workers, or unemployed artisans? The evidence suggests all three. Half of the male artisans who earned zero reales were over the age of twenty-seven, clearly beyond the age of a typical apprenticeship. Many of these men probably identified themselves with a particular occupation, but for whatever reason were not able to earn income in its practice. But half of the males were under twenty-seven. Many of these workers were either apprentices in traditional apprentice relationships, or young artisans working at

their father's craft. Some were also likely unemployed. Female artisans who earned zero reales per day present a different, less complicated, picture. All seven female workers in this age group were thirty and older. Three were widows, two were married, and two were single. All but one worked in the textile industry: three as yarn spinners, a seamstress, a weaver, and a pañera. The oldest was a fifty-year-old cigarrera. Clearly these women were not apprentices. They identified with particular occupations, but did not earn a daily income.⁴³

Textile Workers

Textile and cloth-related workers comprised the largest subgroup of artisans in Toluca. In 1791, forty-four percent of Hispanic male artisans (247 of 576) worked in the textile industry.⁴⁴ At this time, 150 looms were in operation in Toluqueño workshops, the largest concentration in the valley.⁴⁵ In 1834, forty-six percent of artisans of both genders (334 of 732) worked with textiles. The 1791 census was limited by its exclusion of female occupations and indigenous people. Still, the sample is large enough to be of use for general comparison and suggests that the proportion of artisans working with textiles remained constant.⁴⁶

Table 6.3 provides the numbers of textile workers by occupation and gender in 1791 and 1834. Eighty percent of this work sector was concentrated in just three occupations—weavers, tailors, and seamstresses—which reflected a gendered division of labor. Weavers were the largest group in both census years, and were predominantly male, with fewer than 5 percent females in 1834. Tailors, the second largest group in

1791 and third largest in 1834, manufactured, mended, and altered men's clothing, and were comprised exclusively of males. Seamstresses were the third largest textile occupation in 1834; they were very likely present in 1791, but went unrecorded in the census. Seamstresses were the female equivalent of tailors, but worked only with female clothing; and they were exclusively female workers. Serape and cloak makers, dyers, and yarn combers were male occupations: some of these may have been included under the broader category of weaver in the earlier census. Rebozo makers were also present in 1791, but as the table indicates, this occupation was the domain of females, so went unrecorded. Cloth workers (pañeras and pañeros), and silk and yarn spinners were comprised of workers of both genders, but were predominantly female. None of these occupations was included in the 1791 census. One button maker and one embroiderer, both males, were included as separate occupations in the earlier census, while neither appeared in the later count.

Table 6.3

Textile Workers in Toluca by Gender, 1791 and 1834

Occupation	1791	1834	
	Males	Males	Females
Button Maker	1	*	*
Cloak Maker	*	7	*
Cloth Worker	*	2	7
Dyer	*	1	*
Embroiderer	1	*	*
Rebozo Maker	*	*	2
Seamstress	*	*	91
Serape Maker	*	17	*
Silk Spinner	*	2	6
Tailor	102	64	*
Weaver	143	108	5
Yarn Comber	*	4	*
Yarn Spinner	*	2	16
Total	247	207	127

Asterisk indicates none recorded.

Source: 1834 Toluca Census Database.

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, during the years following national independence, European textiles and clothing increasingly entered the Mexican market, with the result of depressing domestic textile manufacturing. English cloth, French scarves, and Spanish handkerchiefs and stockings were among the high-quality, low-priced imported textiles and clothing that found their way into the Toluca marketplace during the early 1820s.⁴⁷ Pressured by popular political supporters, national governments had enacted various pieces of tariff legislation and banned the importation of cheap textiles that competed with domestic producers, although their effects were limited.⁴⁸

Comparison of the numbers of male weavers and tailors in 1791 and 1834 reveals a significant decline in their numbers, which was due in part to the market conditions created by cheap imports. The number of weavers declined by 21 percent while the number of tailors declined by 37 percent. Since the earlier census excluded indigenous people, there were probably actually more tailors and weavers in 1791 than the table indicates. Moreover, in 1834 sixteen weavers (15 percent) earned zero reales per day, suggesting that they were either unemployed or apprentices. However, only three were of apprentice age (10, 11, and 14) the remainder were married adults with one exception. These men were likely unemployed weavers. Nine tailors (14 percent) earned zero reales per day. They appear more likely to have been apprentices, as six were under the age of fourteen. The rest were married men in their twenties and older. In any case, a significant decline in the number of weavers and tailors in Toluca is clearly discernable in the census data. The decline in weavers is understandable, because of the increase in cloth imports. But the reasons for the decline in tailors are less clear, since they made clothing out of whole cloth, and much of the European imports would have consisted of whole cloth, which would require tailoring.

The effect of foreign textile and clothing imports on textile workers' earnings is not known, since no earlier data are available for comparison. Table 6.4 shows that in 1834 the majority of tailors, weavers, and seamstresses (94 percent) had daily earnings of two reales or less per day. Gender inequality is evident in the income gap between male and female occupations. Most tailors and weavers—the two male occupations—earned two reales per day. Seamstresses, on the other hand, were paid at half that rate, even

though the skill level required for their work was comparable. Very few textile workers earned more than two reales per day (6 percent). Those who did were all male. Civil status differences accompanied the gendered pay differential. Tailors and weavers were much more likely to be married heads of household—64 percent of tailors and 85 percent of weavers—while only 5 percent of seamstresses were wedded. Seamstresses were much more likely to be single (56 percent) than tailors (27 percent) and weavers (11 percent). Thirty-eight percent of seamstresses, and only 9 percent of tailors and 4 percent of weavers, were widowed.⁴⁹ The situation with seamstresses was doubtless greatly affected by the fact that many girls and women throughout the society were highly skilled in sewing and produced their own clothing.

Table 6.4

Utilidad Diaria for Tailors, Weavers, and Seamstresses, 1834

Reales per Day	Tailors	Weavers	Seamstresses	Total
0.0	9	15	8	32
0.3	1	0	2	3
0.6	0	2	23	25
1.0	8	17	56	81
1.6	2	8	1	11
2.0	31	62	1	94
2.6	2	1	0	3
3.0	6	2	0	8
4.0	3	1	0	4
6.0	1	0	0	1
8.0	1	0	0	1
Total	64	108	91	263

Source: 1834 Toluca Census Database.

Textile and cloth-related businesses were small-scale, home-based operations that required little operating capital. This was particularly true of tailors and seamstresses. Seamstresses do not appear to have notarized documents for any reasons related to their work. John Kicza found that tailors in late-colonial Mexico City “did not normally take out loans of any size nor form companies with investors.”⁵⁰ This appears to have also been true in Toluca. As in Mexico City, weavers’ shops in Toluca were undercapitalized, and consequently weavers were more likely to form companies with investors. Sometimes weavers negotiated loans to fund their business activities; these were of comparatively low value and sometimes were made in the form of advances of material as well as cash. The relationships were mutually advantageous insofar as the borrowers needed capital and material to facilitate their businesses and merchants sought buyers for their merchandise. However, merchants stood to benefit most, since they sold materials at prices that they dictated. Borrowers had little choice but to agree to the terms set by lenders. In loans that involved advances, merchants usually did not openly charge interest.

Weavers sometimes formed companies with merchants, although this practice appears to have been rather uncommon. José Mariano Maldonado included in his 1813 testament a reference to a textile company in which he was an investor. José Mariano was a Toluca merchant and the son of the well-respected and recently deceased owner of a tienda mestiza, Diego Maldonado. José Mariano was single, around thirty years old, and confined to bed due to illness when he made his testament. Maldonado formed a textile company with Tomás Hernández some time during the years preceding 1813. Maldonado

initially invested 500 pesos and Hernández invested 118 pesos in addition to various looms he had in his possession. The contract stipulated that they would split the profits from the enterprise. The testament included no indication of the duration for the company. Maldonado stated that his capital investment now amounted to a total of around 800 pesos: the initial 500 pesos plus additional capital he had provided for the development of the company. Moreover, Maldonado stated that Hernández was a renter, paying two reales per day (*en calidad de alquilado con gravamen de dos reales diarios*), who had in his possession numerous tools belonging to Maldonado, including a scale, a pot, six *enfriadoras*, and a copper spoon. Maldonado directed that the company and rental account be liquidated and the proceeds added to his estate.⁵¹

It was more typical for weavers to borrow money or take advances on materials, and continue to run their shops independently. Typical of this arrangement is the case of Toribio Antonio Bello, who in 1801 notarized a loan made to him by the merchant Mariano Posadas. The loan document used the standard notarial language, stating that it was intended “to favor them and do them a good deed” (*por hacerles bien y buena obra*). Specifically, Bello was advanced 250 pesos worth of silk and fifty pesos in reales. The 300-peso loan was made ostensibly without interest, repayable one year from the date of its execution. Bello’s daughter, Ana María Lina Bello Toscano, guaranteed the loan by providing her house, valued at 700 pesos, as collateral. (The loan document verified that Bello had not coerced his daughter into offering her house as collateral.)⁵²

Toribio Antonio Bello appeared in other documents in the libros de protocolos, parish records, as well as the 1791 census. Taken together, these records lead to a more

vivid understanding of his circumstances. Bello was in his early sixties when he negotiated the loan from Posadas. The 1791 census identified him as a fifty-two-year-old mestizo married to María Graneros, an española, living with one son and three daughters in a house on the Callejón que va a San Juan de Dios a la Merced.⁵³ Ana María Lina Toscano was Bello's daughter from an earlier marriage.⁵⁴ The child's calidad was recorded as española. She apparently lived with her father and stepmother at the time of the census. The loan document stated that Ana María had inherited the house that she put up for collateral from her mother.⁵⁵

Bello was one of the better-connected artisans in local society. In various documents he was identified as a mestizo, a castizo, and español; however, both his wives were españolas. His multiethnic identification was not unusual, as the colonial caste system was in complete disarray at this time, to the degree that it had ever been functional in the first place. His first marriage was to a woman who owned a fairly valuable house and belonged to a family that would become one of the most illustrious of nineteenth-century Toluqueño society. His social network included powerful individuals. Manuel de Castro, the tax collector of Metepec, served as godfather for one of his daughters.⁵⁶ And in 1796 Bello appeared as an officer of the Cofradía de Santa Febronia, a sodality that included artisans and castas in its leadership.⁵⁷ Yet he lacked the capital necessary to do business on the scale he wished without encumbering his daughter's property. Furthermore, Bello died without notarizing a testament, suggesting that he had little property of value at the time of his death.

Despite Bello's relatively strong social standing, prolonged illness reduced his life to one of penury. The first hint of trouble was not obvious. In 1793, Bello sold a house located on the Callejón de Jácome to María Francisca Villegas. The property was not particularly valuable, at seventy pesos. Bello bought the house from José Antonio García in 1785, but, as indicated above, he and his family lived in a house on the Callejón que va a San Juan de Dios a la Merced. The reason he sold the house was not stated in the contract. While Bello owned the house in 1791, Juana Antonia Garcia, an española widow, lived there with her daughter, sister, and two nieces. She may have been related to the original seller. It appears that this was a property that Bello bought when he had surplus funds. He may have rented it to the widow García and her family. Normally, a person in Bello's position would not sell real property unless there was an immediate need for cash.⁵⁸

The reason Bello decided to sell the house on the Callejón de Jácome can be gleaned from another house sale contract made less than a year later. In early 1794, María Guadalupe Graneros, Bello's second wife, notarized the sale of a lot and a small room (*un pedazo de sitio y una pieza*) located in town. Graneros required special permission from the court in order to sell the property, because it had been bequeathed to her three children by their deceased father. As a married woman, Graneros also required permission from her present husband to make the sale. Graneros claimed that the proceeds from the sale were necessary due to the poverty and illnesses of her second husband and her family's inability to feed themselves. To confirm this claim, the court solicited testimony from José Roma, a *mandatario*, Nicolás de Sigüenza, a musician, and

Vicente Guerrero, a gilder, who corroborated the details that Graneros had set forth. The sale to Pedro Rojas was approved. The appraiser, Tomás de Elosua, valued the property at forty-one pesos four reales. The example of Toribio Antonio Bello illustrates that property served the important function of providing collateral for loans. Beyond this, property—even of low value—acted as a form of insurance for those families who were fortunate enough to have acquired it, whether through inheritance or purchase.⁵⁹

Successful weavers typically leveraged their own properties as collateral for loans. For those without property, family connections were essential to gain access to even small amounts of capital. When the term of his 223-peso loan was completed in January 1793, the weaver Valentín Antonio Carcaño arranged for its principal to be transferred to his son-in-law, Juan Silverio Ortega, also a weaver, for an additional month. The lender-merchant, Manuel Jiménez de Nova, agreed to extend the loan to Ortega providing Carcaño guaranteed its repayment. Carcaño appeared before the corregidor Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo with his son, José Carcaño, a tailor; his son-in-law, José María Pérez de la Campa, a barber; and Ortega to notarize the transaction. Carcaño guaranteed the loan by mortgaging his house on the Callejón de Terán and a lot he owned on which he grew magueys. The personal property of the other guarantors, José Carcaño and José María Pérez de la Campa, was also encumbered.⁶⁰

The example of the Carcaño family shows that familial connections could be useful for the procurement of capital. The Carcaños also illustrate how family networks were reflected in residential patterns. Successful artisan families tended to live within close proximity of one another. Valentín Carcaño, forty-six-years old at the time of the

1791 census, appears to have been the patriarch of the family. He was married to María Viviana Mejía de Lagos. Both were recorded as mestizos in the 1791 census. The family members who appeared with him to arrange the loan transfer all lived near him.

Valentín's son, José, was twenty-two years old at the time of the census and lived with his parents in the vivienda on the Callejón de Terán along with an unnamed younger brother. Juan Silverio Ortega was married to Valentín's daughter, Marcelina. The couple lived in Valentín's house along with their son. Valentín's daughter, Hilaria, lived next door to her father with her husband, José Andrés Márquez, a mestizo soap maker, and their two daughters. Valentín's daughter María and her husband José Pérez de la Campa lived around the corner from him in a house on the Calle que va al Chapitel, with their two sons. The census identified María and José as españoles.⁶¹

If Valentín Carcaño had recorded his testament in the libros de protocolos, it would have been possible to make a broader analysis of his family relationships. The truth of the matter is that very few textile workers were wealthy enough to record testaments in the libro de protocolos. In previous decades, they might have done so; but by the end of the eighteenth century, for the most part, only wealthy citizens notarized testaments. This is not to say that these workers did not make testaments, only that they were not usually publicly recorded. An exception is found in the testament of the weaver, José Faustino Villegas. The fact that Villegas recorded his testament publicly suggests that he was among the most prosperous weavers in Toluca.

José Faustino Villegas was born in Toluca to José Hilario Villegas and María Clara Bernal. Suffering from illness, Villegas made his testament from his bed in early

April 1828. Villegas was married to María Pantaleón Nova. At the time of their marriage, Villegas brought around 1,700 pesos to the marriage, in the form of his house, which was worth a little more than 300 pesos, and the rest in mantas of cotton, looms, and other effects of a weaver's shop. María brought no capital to the marriage. Over the course of their lives, the couple had no children. Villegas's property at the time of his death included the house where he lived and kept his shop, its furnishings, his personal clothing, looms, and other effects of a weaver's shop.⁶²

Villegas claimed to have no outstanding debts, but various individuals owed him money. Table 6.5 lists debts owed to Villegas at the time he recorded his testament. Beyond those included in the table, Villegas directed his executor to find other assorted debts in his business ledgers and personal papers. Most of these debtors appear to have been weavers who worked for him. Two appeared in the 1834 census: Pedro Lara, a fifty-four-year-old weaver, and Isidro Cárdenas, a fifty-year-old weaver. Lara's debt was for the value of five rebozos. Catarina Jardón was probably a member of the small family that in 1834 included the weaver Mariano Jardón and his family, and the widow Margarita Jardón and her weaver son, Gregorio Iglesias. The Villegas men were certainly relatives: according to the testament, Leandro was José Faustino's uncle and the executor of his estate. The relationship to Antonio Villegas is not stated in the testament, but the fact that José Faustino lent him over 100 pesos and shared his surname are good indicators that he was a close relative. Villegas's relationships to the men to whom he referred with the honorific don title are not known. In any case, the amounts owed by don Miguel Mondragón, don José García, and don Tomas Becerril were small.⁶³

Table 6.5

Debts Owed to José Faustino Villegas, 1828

Debtor	Pesos	Reales
Isidro Cárdenas	70	2
Catarina Jardón	6	6
Tomas Alva	1	0
Pedro Lara	10	4
José Apolonio		5
Mariano de San Bernardino		2
D. Antonio Villegas	104	0
D. José García	4	4
D. Leandro Villegas	70	0
D. Tomas Becerril	2	2
D. Miguel Mondragón		6

Source: Testament of José Faustino Villegas, 1828

Most textile workers who did write testaments did so privately. This appears to have been the case for the tailor Vicente Mota, who died in 1817. A testament does not appear in Mota's name in the libros de protocolos; however, according to a house sale contract recorded in October 1817, he did make a will before he died. José Ignacio Mota, a master wax chandler (*maestro de cerería*)—possibly Vicente's brother, but almost certainly a relative—was the executor of his rather limited estate. María Josefa Bejarano was named his only beneficiary and inherited his house on the Calle de Jácome. Her relationship to Vicente Mota was not stated in the document: she was most likely a niece or godchild.⁶⁴

In 1791, Vicente Mota was a single, forty-five-year-old tailor who lived alone in a house on the Calle de Jácome. Apparently, Mota continued to live in the same dwelling for the rest of his life, as it was likely also his workplace. Some indication as to the

house's layout is included in the census. The building was called a vivienda, or a multifamily dwelling. Mota lived alone in one of the three units. The other two appear to have been rented. The sales contract states that the house was located on a corner of the street and was comprised of seven rooms (*piezas útiles*). This property was Mota's only asset at the time of his death. The house was declared free of all liens, encumbrances, and mortgages when it was sold to the merchant and hacienda owner Lázaro Castro for 400 pesos. But before she could claim her inheritance, María Josefa Bejarano had to pay the costs of Mota's burial and his other remaining debts.⁶⁵

An 1823 lawsuit filed by a discontented adopted son over his parents' estate provides insight into the limited holdings of a relatively successful weaver. It also illuminates the turbulent internal dynamics of a plebeian family. Cristóbal Legorreta, the adopted son of Francisco Legorreta, a deceased weaver, and María Guadalupe Gutiérrez Romero, recently deceased, initiated the suit against Rafael Bernal regarding his mother's testament. Bernal was María Guadalupe's second husband and the executor of her estate. Bernal was also named guardian of María Guadalupe's minor grandson, Miguel Legorreta, the child of her deceased daughter, María del Pilar. At issue was the content of his mother's testament, which Legorreta argued Bernal had purposely withheld from him. Legorreta asked the court to compel the executor to disclose its contents, which, he contended, was his right as the decedent's adopted son.⁶⁶

Cristóbal stated that he was a poor shoemaker, full of miseries, with a family and no way to care for them (*soy un pobre oficial zapatero, lleno de miserias, con familia y sin proporciones para poder hacerlo*). His father, Francisco Legorreta, had died some

nine years earlier. Evidently he had made various donations, of which Cristóbal claimed to have no details. Cristóbal believed that he was entitled to either a fifth (*el quinto*) or a third of his mother's estate. (El quinto was the fifth of the estate that could be dispersed without legal restriction.) Bernal stated that although he was not obligated to do so, he had shown both pages of his wife's testament to Cristóbal. Bernal asked that if he insisted on continuing with the lawsuit, for his temerity, Cristóbal should pay the costs associated with it. Apparently satisfied with the documents proffered by Bernal, or accepting that the likelihood of prevailing in legal action against him was small, Cristóbal Legorreta withdrew his lawsuit.⁶⁷

The family situation becomes clearer from the comparatively objective perspective of María Guadalupe Gutiérrez Romero's testament. When María married Francisco Legorreta, neither party introduced any capital whatsoever. Only through their own industry did they acquire the house in which she now lived. In this marriage María gave birth to two children of whom María del Pilar died in her youth while giving birth to an illegitimate son and José Plutarco died in his infancy. After the death of her first husband, María married Rafael Bernal, with whom she had no children. Bernal brought no capital to the marriage. María declared that a fifth of her estate should be given to her husband because he had no income or joint property and because he had treated her well. According to María, her adopted son Cristóbal had received an inheritance while she was still alive (*donación inter vivos*)—a small piece of land with two small rooms on an alley near the river. A sign of possible antipathy between Bernal and her adopted son is suggested by her admonishment to Bernal not to bring harm on Cristóbal in any manner

(ni se le perjudique en manera alguna). As for the rest of her estate, it belonged to her grandson as sole heir, for him “to enjoy with God’s blessing.”⁶⁸

Blacksmiths

Blacksmiths were an essential component of artisan society in most Mexican towns and cities. These highly skilled artisans turned iron into various products that were necessary to both urban and rural life. Blacksmiths manufactured gates, railings, lanterns, drawer pulls, and other furnishings for houses. They made horseshoes, bridle bits, machetes, branding irons, metal pieces for saddles and coaches, and other assorted implements. Blacksmith shops were stocked with specialized tools particular to their trade. Work centered on the forge and bellows, which heated iron pieces and facilitated their malleability and manipulation. Required implements of a blacksmith’s shop included anvils, vices, quenching tubs, grinding stones, and fire tools. On the blacksmith’s bench, one could find various specialized hand tools, including bits, chisels, reamers, and hacksaws.⁶⁹

In Toluca, blacksmithing enterprises were scattered throughout the town, but most were located near or on the Calle de la Tenería, adjacent to the Verdiguel River. As was the case for tailors and weavers, the number of males identified as blacksmiths in Toluca dropped substantially during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The 1791 census identified thirty-seven males as blacksmiths. Of these, three were classified as apprentices, ages fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen. Over the next four decades, the number of blacksmiths declined by over 50 percent. The 1834 census identified only seventeen

blacksmiths in the town. Five of these were apprentice age (between ten and fifteen) although none was identified as an apprentice in the manuscript. Unlike the decline in tailors and weavers, the influx of cheap foreign imports in competition with domestic production offers no explanation for the diminished number of blacksmiths. Nor do changes in the technology related to their trade that would increase efficiency and production. Population growth was flat during the period between the two censuses, but this condition would not warrant such a decline in their numbers.⁷⁰

Blacksmiths' work was physically demanding and potentially hazardous. The ethnic background of most blacksmiths suggests that the occupation was generally one of low prestige, although there is at least one case of a blacksmith from a prominent merchant and landowning family, who entered the trade around the early 1790s. Of the thirty-seven blacksmiths in 1791 Toluca, seventeen were identified as mestizos, five as castizos, and thirteen as españoles. Ethnicities for two blacksmiths were not recorded. Blacksmiths exhibited a high rate of endogamy. The vast majority had been born and raised in Toluca. Reflecting the low social status of the trade, the census accorded no blacksmith the don title.⁷¹

While the number of blacksmiths in the censuses dropped substantially between 1791 and 1834, several of the same family surnames appear in the trade in both census years. So while their numbers diminished, some men appear to have followed in the family business. But there were new families working as blacksmiths in 1834, as well. Miguel Murguía reported the highest daily income of all blacksmiths at three reales per day. No blacksmith with the Murguía surname appeared in the 1791 census. In 1834, the

typical blacksmith reported a daily income of two reales per day, although two adult blacksmiths reported no daily income. The apprentice-age blacksmiths earned zero reales per day, with the exception of fifteen-year-old Antonio Olascoaga, who earned one real per day working with his father Ramón.⁷²

Because of the limited size of the Toluca market, blacksmith shops were not particularly large enterprises. John Kicza found that in the commercial environment of the great market of Mexico City “some blacksmith shops had evolved into very large enterprises containing a number of forges and valued in the thousands of pesos.”⁷³ In the capital, these large shops were managed through company arrangements. This does not appear to have been the case in Toluca. No company contracts involving blacksmiths and investors have come to light in the libros de protocolos. Blacksmiths in Toluca managed their own shops and hired other blacksmiths as employees as needed.

Like many artisans, blacksmiths’ shops were often undercapitalized. As was the case with weavers, real estate served as collateral for loans. On 4 June 1794, the blacksmith Cirilo González del Pliego notarized a 150-peso loan (*depósito irregular*) from María Rafaela Quiroz. The document employed the standard notarial language stating that the loan was intended to do the recipient a favor and good deed (*por cuanto por hacerle bien y buena obra*) without identifying the specific use for which the 150 pesos would be used. The term of the loan was one year, and the interest rate was the standard 5 percent per annum. To secure the loan, González del Pliego authorized a special mortgage (*hipoteca especial*) on his house on the Calle de la Tenería, which he had bought from Ciriaco González in 1781.⁷⁴

On October 14 of the same year, Cirilo González del Pliego notarized an 800-peso loan, this one from María Antonia de Cárdenas, a vecina in the jurisdiction of Ixtlahuaca. The term of the loan was seven years at 5 percent interest, or forty pesos per year paid monthly at three pesos two reales eight granos per month. Payment was to be always made in silver or gold coin: (*siempre en buena moneda de plata u oro usual y corriente y no en otra cosa ni especie*). González del Pliego authorized the same house on the Calle de la Tenería as collateral. It is not clear whether González del Pliego repaid his previous loan from the capital of the new loan. However, the contract states that he declared the property clear of any lien.⁷⁵

Cirilo González del Pliego was probably not a typical blacksmith. The 1791 census identified him as thirty-six years old, of calidad español, and living in the house on the Calle de la Tenería, from which he operated his shop. He was married to María Bejarano and had three young sons and a daughter living at home. His sister-in-law, also María Bejarano, lived next door with her husband José Delgadillo, an *operario* who may have worked in the blacksmith shop. Delgadillo's family was large and extended, including his wife, four children, five nieces and nephews, and his mother-in-law. Cirilo's older brother, the merchant Cayetano González del Pliego, with whom he may have been involved in business, lived a few houses away. Another brother, Felipe González del Pliego, was a wealthy hacienda owner. The three brothers were born in Almoloya, an area north of Toluca and south of Ixtlahuaca. They likely became aware of the availability of María Antonia de Cárdenas's capital through family or business networks.⁷⁶

Successful blacksmiths looked for opportunities to expand their real property holdings when land or buildings became available near their established businesses. In 1800, Cirilo González del Pliego bought a house from María Vicenta Pereira for 200 pesos. María Vicenta's husband was also present for the transaction, as he was required by law to grant permission (*previa licencia*) to his wife to make the sale. No description of the house was given other than its location on the Calle de la Tenería. Houses owned by González del Pliego were located to the north and east of the property. The house had originally belonged to María Vicenta and her siblings, likely through inheritance. The contract concluded with a statement attesting to the fact that María Vicenta had not been persuaded to make the sale by violence or intimidation. Her son, José Cordero, signed the document on behalf of his parents, as they reportedly could not sign their names.⁷⁷

Not all blacksmiths were as successful as Cirilo González del Pliego. Rather than being in a position to acquire additional real property, unlucky individuals would sometimes forfeit the property they put up as collateral. When loans were not repaid in a timely manner and according to the stipulations of the contract, lenders moved decisively to seize property and recover their investments. Such was the case for Joaquín Canseco, a master blacksmith who was declared insolvent in 1796. Canseco bought a house located on the Calle de San Juan de Dios from María de la Soledad San Román in January 1795 for 150 pesos. A little over a year later, Canseco ceded the house to his lenders, Francisco Arandia and Ángel Casaval, in partial payment of a 277-peso debt. The order to cede the house was made by the court; no contract had been recorded in the libros de protocolos.

The house was valued at 140 pesos for the purposes of the transfer. Arandia and Casaval accepted the house and other property contained in it as repayment of the loan.⁷⁸

Few blacksmiths accumulated enough assets over their lifetimes to warrant the recording of their testaments in the libros de protocolos. Only one blacksmith's testament was recorded in Toluca during the period of this study. On 19 January 1826, Valentín Jiménez was infirm and confined to bed, and the fifty-five-year-old blacksmith decided it would be prudent to record his testament. Jiménez summoned the local notary, José Francisco Hidalgo, who, along with several witnesses, made their way to his home. The testament combined with notarial and parish records illuminates the career of this artisan, who was born of indigenous parents and died a Spaniard, and who used social and family connections to further his business relationships.⁷⁹

Valentín Jiménez was the son of the blacksmith Marcos Jiménez and Micaela Gerónima de Vega. Valentín had acted as executor for his father's estate. Marcos must have made his testament privately, as there is no record of his testament in the libros de protocolos. Reflecting the new egalitarian terminology in use in early republican Mexico, Valentín Jiménez declared that he was a widower of the citizen (*la ciudadana*) Julia Manuela Velásquez. Jiménez brought around 100 pesos to the marriage, while Julia brought no capital. Through his industry and hard work Jiménez accumulated the house in which he now lived and another house next door to it, where his wife had died. He also owned a piece of land in the pueblo of San Bernardino. Beyond the real property, Jiménez listed the following possessions: the tools and implements of his blacksmith's trade; six cows on the Hacienda de Bonsi; two cows on the Hacienda de Arroyo; and

eighteen sheep, some with lambs. His debts included: 176 pesos (more or less) to José María del Pontón, owner of the Hacienda de Xochitepec; nine pesos four reales to Ignacio Torrescano; six pesos two reales to José Vicente González, administrator of a tocinería, and his brother José María; and twelve reales to Gabriel Valiente. Jiménez was owed eight cargas of wheat from José Sánchez, a vecino of Tenango del Valle.⁸⁰

Valentín Jiménez and Julia Velásquez had five children together. Three died in infancy, two survived to adulthood. In 1826, Valentín's son José Miguel was married to María Guadalupe González. His daughter María Brígida Izarúa was a thirty-year-old doncella. Valentín had given forty pesos to his son but had not given anything to his daughter. What remained of his estate after paying his debtors and burial costs was to be split between his children. Valentín named José Miguel as his first executor, María Brígida as second, and the merchant Juan José González as third.⁸¹ Valentín purchased the house of his residence on the Calle de la Tenería from the brothers José Rafael and Mariano López in April 1811 for 100 pesos. The north side of the house abutted on a lot owned by Jiménez, upon which he presumably built his second house.⁸²

The Jiménez's were longtime vecinos and residents of Toluca. Baptismal records of Valentín and three of his siblings illustrate his family's gradual climb up the ethnic hierarchy. Valentín's brother, Juan Máximo, was baptized in June 1752. His parents were identified as Marcos Jiménez and Micaela Gerónima. The priest indicated that Juan Máximo was an indio, as, by association, were his parents. A second brother, Manuel José, was baptized in December 1754. This time the baptism was recorded in the baptismal book for Indians (*libro de bautismos de indios*). The margin comment stated

that the family was from (San Miguel) Pinahuizco, the indigenous pueblo located just north of the town of Toluca. His brother Vicente Jiménez was baptized in April 1764. This time the parish priests identified him as a mestizo. When Valentín was baptized in February 1767 the priests identified him as a castizo. Ethnic identities were not attributed to his parents. In 1791, census takers identified Marcos Jiménez and his four sons as mestizos. The evidence, however, strongly suggests that the Jiménez family began as Indians of San Miguel Pinahuizco.⁸³

Baptismal records for the children of Valentín Jiménez and Julia Velásquez reveal elements of their social network, as well as their ascent up the ethnic hierarchy. Parish priests who baptized the children identified them all as españoles. José Miguel Sebastián was baptized in May 1791. Cristóbal Frías, a Spanish tobacconist and relative of the tithe collector Ignacio Frías, served as his godfather. Ignacia Lucía was baptized in December 1794. Antonio Barbabosa, a vecino of Mexico City, powerful hacienda owner in the Toluca Valley, and a member of the Mexican nobility, acted as godfather. Brígida Izaria was baptized in October 1791; her paternal grandparents acted as godparents. José Alejo Ramón was baptized in July 1801. The merchant Marcelino Ortiz de la Vega served as his godfather. María Pánfila was baptized in June 1803. Her godmother was Mónica Gertrudis Bernarda Carcaño, the children's only artisan godparent besides Jimenez's parents. Of the five siblings, only Miguel and Brígida survived infancy.⁸⁴

Brígida Jiménez disappears from the historical record after her father's testament. She did not appear in the 1834 census. Miguel Jiménez left the family business of blacksmithing to become a high level clerk (*escribiente*) who, in 1834, earned sixteen

reales per day. He had two daughters: Guadalupe age thirteen and Dolores age seven. His household included a maid, who earned the standard 0.6 reales per day. Miguel's move from the trades to the professions represents upward mobility, which was only possible due to his family's dedication to their children's education.⁸⁵

The Jiménez testament allows some generalization regarding the activities of blacksmiths. Blacksmiths worked their forges in Toluca for a market that extended beyond the town. Jiménez owed 176 pesos to José María del Pontón, owner of the Hacienda de Xochitepec. The reason for the loan was not stated, and no loan document appears in the libros de protocolos. Jiménez probably became acquainted with Pontón through his professional activities. The quantity of wheat owed to Jiménez by José Sánchez in Tenango del Valle suggests that he may have traded work in the southern part of the valley, as well. It is possible that Jiménez was paid for his products or labor with wheat, which he would later sell, as the practice of trading goods in kind occurred with regularity at this time. Jiménez's compadrazgo relationship with Antonio Barbabosa, too, suggests that his work involved supplying local haciendas with iron products.

Coheteros (Fireworks Makers)

Coheteros constructed fireworks (*cohetes*, literally rockets) for religious and civic festivals, which were ubiquitous in colonial and republican era Mexico. It was primarily from festival-generated demand for fireworks that coheteros earned their livelihoods. Festivals were meant to be sensory experiences. And fireworks were central to the stimulation of sight, sound, and smell. Religious and political celebrations were far from

trivial events. According to Linda Curcio-Nagy: “These festivals were designed to be tools of cultural hegemony in that Spanish officials sought to utilize festivals and their message as a means of social control.”⁸⁶ But popular demand was probably the true driving force for festivals. During most of the colonial period, residents of Mexico City “could witness a hundred religious and civil celebrations in a given year if they chose to do so.”⁸⁷ Religious festivals were typically celebrated on saints’ days, but they were also held in commemoration of other Catholic calendric events.⁸⁸ Civic celebrations accompanied the king’s ascension to the throne and oath ceremonies of new viceroys. After independence, festivals were oriented toward patriotic themes and the consolidation of the nation state. The number of festivals was undoubtedly smaller in Toluca. (The *zócalo* of Mexico City alone could hold 40,000 spectators—well over six times the population of Toluca.⁸⁹) Still, fireworks were an essential element of religious and civic festivals in Toluca and in the surrounding Indian pueblos and barrios, as they were throughout Spanish America.

Another reason for the pervasive inclusion of fireworks in festivals was their value to the colonial government as a source of revenue. Fireworks were crafted by mixing the key ingredients of gunpowder (*pólvora*), nitrate (*salitre*), and sulfur (*azufre*). Actually, nitrate and sulfur are components of gunpowder, yet the Mexican authorities almost always mentioned the three together as separate substances. Because these chemicals were of strategic importance, the colonial and later republican governments controlled them. Prior to independence, the production and distribution of gunpowder was administered by the royal monopoly of tobacco, gunpowder, and playing cards (*Real*

Renta del Tabaco, Pólvara, y Naipes). Regulations regarding the use of gunpowder, nitrate, and sulfur were established by the royal government and were applied to those who used them, namely miners and coheteros. When the cohetero guild was active, monopoly officials worked closely with it. Complaints regarding the illicit use of these substances by coheteros and others were heard by the local monopoly administrator.⁹⁰

After independence, gunpowder, nitrate, and sulfur were regulated by the state gunpowder monopoly (*Estanco de Pólvara*). In the absence of a guild to oversee the activities of coheteros, the republican government issued regulations specific to the trade, which all had their origins in the colonial era ordenanzas. Government licenses were compulsory for coheteros and owners of tiendas de cohetería. As had been standard practice during the colonial era, coheteros were mandated to buy gunpowder, nitrate, and sulfur from the national monopolies. In order to prevent the ever-present problem of fraud, coheteros were required to maintain account books in which their purchases of these materials would be officially recorded; this, too, had been standard practice during the colonial period. Finally, the licenses were to contain the above regulations, handwritten in them, so the coheteros could not be in a position to claim ignorance of rules if they were caught in their breach. It was further stipulated that these licenses would be provided without cost to the licensee.⁹¹

The 1791 census identified ten Toluqueño males as coheteros. Females in other Spanish American cities sometimes belonged to the cohetero's guild. For example, in Guatemala City women were accepted into the guild, as widows of former coheteros.⁹² But this was not the case in Toluca. The census may not have included all the fireworks

makers in the area. In other parts of Mexico, Indians were involved in fireworks production. Since the census did not include indigenous people, it is possible that more than the ten listed coheteros worked in the trade. On the other hand, given that in 1788 ninety-two coheteros belonged to the guild in Mexico City,⁹³ Toluca's ten or more coheteros may have been a sufficient workforce to supply the town and its hinterland with fireworks. The small number of coheteros did not prevent the formation of a guild, which was in place in the 1790s. However, the 1791 census included no differentiation between masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The only suggestion concerning the occupation's prestige was the ethnic distribution of its workers, five of whom were españoles and five mestizos. As with most other artisans, the census accorded no cohetero with don status. Although artisans made up the majority of the local militia, no cohetero was a member. This is surprising, as coheteros were experts in the use of gunpowder.

As with blacksmiths, tailors, and weavers, the number of coheteros in Toluca dropped between the 1791 and 1834 censuses, but the decline was minimal. Only eight coheteros practiced the trade in 1834. The decrease may have been greater, since indigenous people were not counted in the earlier census. Only one cohetero family from the earlier period appears to have remained actively involved in manufacturing fireworks. Four of the coheteros lived on the same street within a few houses of one another. Juan Agüero lived with his wife in a vivienda on the first Calle de Esquipulas and earned one real per day. Miguel Agüero, married to María del Carmen Romero, lived two doors away and earned 0.6 reales per day. These two coheteros were likely relatives of Ramón

Agüero, who was active in the trade during the 1790s. It is possible that Miguel's wife was a relative of the cohetero José Antonio Romero, if not his granddaughter. Another cohetero, Ignacio Cortés and his family, lived between the two Agüeros. Cortés reported income of 0.6 reales per day. Antonio García, a thirty-five-year-old cohetero, lived on the same street with his wife and four children. García was a member of the militia and reported a daily income of 1.6 reales.⁹⁴

Francisco Melo may have been related to the Agüero family.⁹⁵ A widower at the time of the 1834 census, Melo earned two reales per day. Francisco Gutiérrez lived on the Plazuela de Alba. He was retired from the militia and earned a daily income of two reales. The forty-six-year-old cohetero was married to twenty-four-year-old Faustina Garnica. Francisco had one daughter, twelve-year-old Dolores, who, given the age of Francisco's current wife, was likely his child from a previous marriage. Finally, the brothers Ramón and Benito Carmonal worked as coheteros and lived together in a dwelling on the Calle de la Tenería. The two were possibly apprentices, as they were eighteen and seventeen years old, respectively, and earned zero reales per day. The older brother, Ramón, was already a widower. His younger brother was single and a member of the militia. The Carmonals lived with their two younger siblings. It is possible that their parents were among those who died in the recent cholera epidemic.⁹⁶

Coheteros operated as sole practitioners, sometimes employing other fireworks makers, and sometimes taking on apprentices. There is no evidence of their forming companies or involving themselves with investors. The business structure of fireworks manufacturing apparently required little capitalization. Coheteros bought primary

materials from the Real Renta del Tabaco, Pólvara, y Naipes during the colonial period and from the Estanco de Pólvara during the years of the early republic. They sold fireworks for cash, unlike other stores that were required to accept pawns and extend credit. Only one cohetero notarized loans of any value in the libros de protocolos. Loans were made on an extrajudicial basis, but these would have likely been of small value.

José Antonio Romero was a socially well-connected cohetero, and one of the most powerful members of the coheteros' guild during the late eighteenth century. A power of attorney listed him as an officer of the Cofradía de Santa Febronia in 1796.⁹⁷ Baptismal records referred to him with the honorific title don and his wife, María Bárbara de la Cueva, as doña. Notarial transactions called him don José Antonio Romero, which was not the case for other coheteros. In 1792, Ignacio Montes de Oca, treasurer of the Venerable Mesa y Junta de Ancianos de la Santa Escuela de Cristo, authorized a 200-peso loan (depósito irregular) to Romero. The term of the loan was four years at 5 percent interest per annum. Romero mortgaged the house he owned on the Callejón de Jácome, which he had bought in 1784, as collateral.⁹⁸

Romero notarized a second loan in 1803 for 100 pesos at 5 percent annual interest for nine years. The source of the capital was a religious endowment (*obra pía*) funded by the estate of Joaquina Pérez Garnica. The decedent's son, the ecclesiastic judge Br. Manuel José Gil, acted as her executor and arranged the loan to Romero. Romero mortgaged his residence on the Calle de San Juan de Dios, which was valued at 450 pesos. Romero would have been around sixty-eight years old at the time of the loan.

Because of his high social standing he was considered a good risk. In any case, his property served as more than sufficient collateral for the loan in the event of his death.⁹⁹

Testimony contained in proceedings initiated by the master cohetero Mariano Agüero against the master cohetero Miguel de Arce in August 1799 elucidates aspects of the daily practice of cohetero craft and trade. Moreover, these documents demonstrate the power of the local cohetero guild in Toluca at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Pedro Ilzarbe, the administrator of the Real Renta de Tabaco, Pólvora, y Naipes, acted as the receiving judge in the case, as fraud against the monopoly was at the root of Agüero's complaint. Agüero contended that Arce could not practice his trade because he was in breach of the guild's ordinances. Furthermore, Agüero claimed that Arce used contraband materials that were controlled by the gunpowder monopoly, which allowed him to sell his fireworks at lower prices than other coheteros. The guild set prices, and it was against regulations to sell for less than the prescribed prices.¹⁰¹

Coheteros like Mariano Agüero sold fireworks from their licensed shops (*tiendas públicas*), which were attached to their domiciles. Coheteros were required to maintain notebooks (*libros de apuntes* or *libretes*), which documented their purchases from the gunpowder monopoly and their sales of fireworks. Some, like Miguel Arce, travelled to towns and pueblos to sell their products. Arce produced his notebook as evidence of his purchases and sales during the time in question. Indigenous pueblos were among the largest consumers of fireworks. From July 25, the feast day of San Santiago, through August 24, the feast day of San Bartolomé, Arce sold fourteen fireworks displays called *toros* (bulls), sixteen large and small *ruedas* (spinning wheels), and six and a half gross of

cohetes.¹⁰² These were peddled in the largely indigenous towns and settlements of San Pablo, la Gavia, Temoaya, San Lorenzo, San Bartolomé, Santa María and San Antonio Cacalomacan. Arce also sold *castillos* (castles) to the pueblo of San Sebastián for an Indian religious celebration (*fiesta de naturales*) earlier in the year which were of substandard quality.¹⁰³

Miguel Arce admitted to using contraband material. Furthermore, he confessed to buying four or five arrobas of nitrate from an itinerant trader in San Pedro Tolimán, but this was before he became a master cohetero. Sources of contraband gunpowder and nitrate included workers at the gunpowder factory of Santa Fe, who sometimes stole the material, as well as illegal private factories. Other witnesses provided additional evidence against Arce. Rafael López Bolaños stated that five years earlier he had stored a small box that contained three arrobas of nitrate for Arce. Francisco Legorreta, the weaver whose estate was discussed earlier in the chapter, testified that two years before he had supplied Arce with small amounts of gunpowder, nitrate, and sulfur, and that during the past month he had supplied him with seven pounds of gunpowder he had procured in Mexico City. The purchase of gunpowder or nitrate from any source other than the royal monopoly was illegal and strictly forbidden by guild regulations. Finally, José Ignacio Navarro, a journeyman cohetero, stated that he was not present at the fiesta at San Sebastián, but he had heard that the fireworks were of poor quality. This did not surprise Navarro, as it was his opinion that Arce was not an adept fireworks maker (*el maestro Arce no es muy inteligente en el ejercicio de cohetero*). The information-gathering phase

of the proceedings being over, the case was remitted to the interim corregidor, Fausto Marcial de Urrutia. The final outcome of the case was not included in the documents.¹⁰⁴

Tanners

Scholars of colonial and early republican period Mexico have largely ignored tanners as a social and occupational group, and tanning as an industry. On the rare occasion that tanners are mentioned in the historical literature, it is usually as part of a list of occupations drawn from census material.¹⁰⁵ James Lockhart's brief treatment of tanners in Toluca during the sixteenth century is a rare exception. For late-colonial Mexico City, John Kicza showed that tanners were sometimes very powerful merchants, like Martín Ángel de Micháus y Aspiros, who became wealthy in the hide trade. Tanneries in the capital could be quite valuable, commanding as much as 4,500 pesos. Kicza also identified tanners as having interests in provincial and intercolonial trade. Beyond these few statements, Kicza did not go into details of tanners' activities.¹⁰⁶

Tanners were present in the Toluca Valley dating from the sixteenth century, when stockraising became widespread and the abundance of hides made tanning a natural, if embryonic, regional industry. The local market for leather goods was small at that time, yet demand generated in the cities—particularly Mexico City—and in the mines south of Toluca created sufficient markets for leather to warrant the processing of hides. James Lockhart's examination of notarial records produced during the 1580s and 1590s revealed the existence of tanners in Toluca and several tanneries in operation. The likely involvement of some individuals in the tanning industry could be deduced from

notarized labor contracts. In 1585, Juan Nieto, an interregional wool and stock trader, hired a mulato shoemaker, Juan Pérez de Ribera, and his Indian apprentice; the contract was for one year, and the shoemaker was well compensated. The same year, Gonzalo Ruiz arranged payment for the release of an Indian tanner from jail, who agreed to work off his debt by plying his craft. The two Indians who vouched for the prisoner may have been tanners themselves. The hiring of a shoemaker and his apprentice implied the availability of processed leather ready for manufacture. The procurement of a trained, but incarcerated, Indian tanner not only reveals the presence of tanneries but it suggests a shortage of skilled labor, as well.¹⁰⁷

Notarial records also provide direct evidence of tannery ownership in the early period. The corregidor of Toluca had interests in two tanneries, one located in a building owned by Juan Nieto on the road between Toluca and Zinacantepec, most likely on the bank of the Xihualtenco River. The other was located in Tenango, in the southern area of the valley. Francisco González el Viejo, a shoemaker who may have also owned a tannery, operated the corregidor's Toluca plant. These were not trivial enterprises. In 1591, for example, González oversaw the processing of "several hundred cow and goat hides at a time."¹⁰⁸ Contemporary court records also refer to the early presence of tanneries in Toluca. According to Javier Romero Quiroz, during the first decades of the seventeenth century, the Spaniard Lucas de Verdiguél was involved in litigation with Nicolás de Posadas over the ownership of tanneries and houses in the town. Henceforth, Spaniards called the Xihualtenco River the Verdiguél, after the prominent tanner, which continues to be its official name to this day.¹⁰⁹

Tanners' work included the arduous practice of soaking, scraping, and washing animal hides with various concoctions, including tannin, lye, and other caustic materials. Thus, a ready supply of water, the universal solvent, was essential for the industry's operation. The likes of Nieto and Verdiguél staked their places at the river's edge, where they were guaranteed the best access to clean water. Toluca's tanning industry developed in this same locale, where its center remained for more than three centuries. What was once called the beginning of "the road to Zinacantepec" became La Calle de la Tenería, one of the oldest and most important streets in the town, until republican, and later Porfirian, era changes in street names occurred, replacing the more descriptive and functional appellations with those of patriotic political figures.¹¹⁰

Patterns set in place in the sixteenth century were still recognizable during the first half of the nineteenth century, although some changes were evident. For the most part, tanneries were located in the same area of town where the original plants had been founded. However, other tanneries were located further along the river's course, on the bank behind the Calle de San Juan.¹¹¹ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Toluca's population was small, so the negative effects of tannery operations on the settlement were negligible. By the end of the eighteenth century, prodigious population growth and increased economic activity put environmental pressures on the health of the river, which affected the supply of water to the town.

Tanneries were notoriously malodorous, messy enterprises whose stench could be detected from miles away. Carrion, hair, and fat-laden effluent combined with chemical waste to contaminate rivers and groundwater, while simultaneously acting as a vector for

the spread of pestilence and disease. For this reason, tanneries were more often than not located downstream, outside of towns and cities, where it was hoped that their negative environmental and public health effects would be more negligible. The location of the Toluca tanneries appears to have defied this commonsense logic of urban planning. It is true the Laws of the Indies directed that slaughterhouses, fisheries, tanneries, and other businesses that produce noxious byproducts be situated so that they could easily dispose of their waste into either rivers or the sea.¹¹² The tanneries of Toluca were indeed erected on the banks of the Verdiguél River, where their effluent could be easily discharged. But the problem was that they were located on the western edge of the settlement, where the river entered the population center. Had they been located on the egress side of the river's flow, many conflicts over the negative consequences of the tanneries' presence might have been avoided.

In 1785, Jorge Mercado, the syndic of the convent of San Francisco, provided a description of the town, the history of its water allocation, and the deteriorating condition of its river, as part of a lawsuit against the mill owners, Antonio and José Cano Cortés, over the town's—and particularly the convent's—access to potable water. Although it was commonly referred to as a river, Mercado argued, the Verdiguél was better described as a creek (*arroyo*), whose water was so polluted that it was not to be ingested. Mercado acknowledged that before reaching the mill the river was already contaminated with the filth of pigs and other animals that were bred, raised, and kept by the indigenous inhabitants, referring to the pueblo of San Bernardino and indigenous settlements up river. He added that the washing of clothes, bathing along the riverbank, as well as the

emptying of the privies also dirtied the waters. Citing and paraphrasing the Laws of the Indies, Mercado noted that the tanneries were legally mandated to be located near rivers in order that their filth and stench be disposed for the health and cleanliness of the population. It is not clear if Mercado meant this comment paradoxically or sarcastically. There were many sources of river pollution in eighteenth-century Toluca, and the tanneries were major contributors. Mercado concluded that the Verdiguél River should be used solely for the drainage of waste from the town. Luckily, potable water was available from wells and springs throughout the town.¹¹³

The transformation of animal hides into leather was an arduous and dirty business, but it was also a specialized activity that required the expertise of highly skilled manual workers. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, tannery workers were almost exclusively Indians, along with a few mestizos, and very few Spaniards.¹¹⁴ As in earlier centuries, tannery workers were men of low social standing. No individuals of African descent were identified as tanners, although a small number worked in the closely related shoemaking industry. Tannery owners identified themselves mostly as American-born Spaniards, although a few mestizos also owned tanneries. European Spaniards, on the other hand, were entirely absent from the industry.¹¹⁵

The 1791 Revillagigedo census identified seventeen tanners in Toluca. This apparently small number led Javier Romero Quiroz to state that tanneries were of little importance in late eighteenth-century Toluca.¹¹⁶ However, this conclusion ignores both the presence of indigenous people in the workforce and the limitations of the categories in the 1791 census. Individuals who had interests in tanning were reported in the census

with other occupations. According to tax records, José Berra owned a tannery; the census recorded his occupation as a *tratante*, a general term for trader.¹¹⁷ The census identified Timoteo Escobar as a muleteer, but his estate included a house on the Calle de la Tenería, which was used for tanning.¹¹⁸ And Dionisia Rafaela Lechuga owned at least two tanneries at the time, which she and her siblings had inherited from their father.¹¹⁹

Moreover, the census counted only non-indigenous people, and in this type of work Indians were overrepresented. San Sebastián's petition to separate from the pueblo of San Juan Bautista in the early 1790s states that the barrio was home to over 100 tributary Indians, the majority of whom were tanners.¹²⁰ San Sebastián was located adjacent to Toluca and was in fact considered a town suburb in the nineteenth century. A tanner presence in San Sebastián is corroborated by an 1803 criminal case in which three tributary Indians from the pueblo were accused of murder; all were tanners.¹²¹

The 1834 municipal census identified six males as tanners. Only two men, Canuto Muñoz and José María Olmedo, had Spanish surnames. The names of the four others followed indigenous naming patterns: Mariano and Pascual, without second names, and two José Lucianos. Ethnicity was not a determinant of earnings, however. Mariano earned the highest income at three reales per day. He lived with Pascual, who earned zero reales per day. José María Olmedo earned two reales per day. Of the two tanners named José Luciano, the twenty-year-old earned 1.6 reales per day; and the thirty-five-year-old earned 0.6 reales per day. Canuto Muñoz reported no earnings. The barrios of Santa Clara, San Juan Evangelista, and San Luis Obispo were homes to four tanners. And the

pueblo of San Sebastián continued to have the highest concentration of tanners in the area, with twenty-nine.¹²²

Table 6.6 provides the amount of *igualas* paid by the owners or administrators of tanneries in Toluca during selected years between 1796 and 1824. This particular tax was calculated at 6 percent of retail sales (*por menor venta*) only. Thus, the *iguala* assessments provide a general indication of the relative value of retail sales by each of the tanneries. But these figures give no estimation of output of wholesale production, which would have accounted for the majority of transactions. The *iguala* assessments appear to have been static, and probably had little relationship to actual sales. The table suggests a concentration in the number of tanneries that sold retail by 1819. The number of tanners paying the *iguala* increased in 1796, 1803, and 1813. In 1819 and 1824, only two tanners paid the retail tax. Moreover, the table demonstrates the gradual increase in the value of retail sales during the first three sample years, with 1813 being the highest at thirty-three pesos. The total *igualas* collected six years later in 1819 were half the value at 16.5 pesos. And three years later, in 1822, the total *igualas* assessed were again half the value at 8.25 pesos. The beginning of a recovery in retail sales by tanners is suggested in the 1824 total *iguala* assessment of 13.25 pesos.

Table 6.6

Iguales Paid by Toluca Tanners or Their Representatives, Toluca 1796-1824

Year	Tanner	Document Signed By	Pesos
1796	Pedro Quesadas	José Ignacio Loperena, son in law	9.00
1796	José Gómez	Mariano González	1.50
1796	José Berra	José Agustín de Estrada	6.00
1796	Pedro Ortega	Pedro Ortega	2.25
1796	Francisco Jiménez	Francisco Jiménez	3.00
1803	Pedro Quesadas	José Ignacio Loperena, son in law	9.00
1803	José Gómez	None	1.50
1803	Matías González	Matías González	6.00
1803	Francisco Jiménez	None	3.00
1803	José Basilio González	None	3.00
1803	Máximo Ortega	None	2.25
1813	Pedro Quesadas	José María Quesadas, son	6.00
1813	José Gómez	None	1.50
1813	Francisco Jiménez	None	4.50
1813	José Basilio González	José Basilio González	6.00
1813	Mariano González	None	4.50
1813	Rafaela Delgado	Manuel Delgado, brother	6.00
1813	Máximo Ortega	None	4.50
1819	Mariano González (administrator)	None	9.00
1819	Mariano González	None	3.00
1819	Francisco Jiménez	None	4.50
1822	Mariano González (administrator)	None	4.50*
1822	Mariano González	None	1.50*
1822	Francisco Jiménez	None	2.25*
1824	Mariano González (administrator)	None	6.00*
1824	Mariano González	None	2.25*
1824	Francisco Jiménez	None	5.00*

Asterisk indicates that for the purpose of comparison only the 6% permanent tax was noted and not the additional 6% temporary tax that was also assessed in these years.

Source: AGN Alcabalas, Iguales, 1796, vol. 250 ff. 1-6; 1803, vol. 253, ff. 1-6; 1813, vol. 269, ff. 1-4; 1819, vol. 269, ff. 1-3; Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, 1822, vol. 322, exp. 17, ff. 1-3; 1824, vol. 314, exp. 7, ff. 1-4.

The table shows that only a few families dominated the tanning industry. Pedro Quesadas was one of the principal tanners in Toluca between 1796 and 1813. He paid the highest amount of fixed taxes in the first three sample years. Moreover, he was the only tanner identified as a *dueño de curtiduría* in the 1791 census.¹²³ José Basilio González first appeared in 1803. González was involved in many business ventures, as he was a wealthy and powerful merchant/landowner. As will be discussed below, González was involved in tanning enterprises as an investor. He and his son remained involved in tanning operations until the early 1830s. Francisco Jiménez was present in all sample years. He and Mariano González appear to have consolidated control over the tanning industry in Toluca by the end of the 1810s. Pedro Ortega and then later his son, Máximo, were also forces in the tanning business. The female tanner Rafaela Delgado appeared only once in the tax sample, as did José Berra. Delgado may have been an heir or widow of a tanner. As the notarial records will demonstrate, this table is not a complete depiction of active tanners in business during the period, and leaves out important relationships.

Francisco Jiménez is probably the most visible tanner in the documents consulted for this study. His career illustrates many of the salient features of the tanning business in Toluca from the early 1790s until when he died in the early 1830s. Jiménez knew the other tanners of Toluca well. He was an entrepreneur who began his career when he was in his early twenties; starting with nothing he eventually became a dominant tanner in the area. During the 1790s he formed companies and legal partnerships with at least two men who had interests in tanning. After these experiences, he managed his tanning enterprises as a sole proprietor. Throughout his life, Jiménez maintained a close relationship with the

tanner and hacienda owner José Basilio González. Perhaps no person in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Toluca personified the tanning industry more than Francisco Jiménez.

Francisco Jiménez appeared in the 1791 census as a twenty-three-year-old *tratante* of *calidad español* who lived on the fifth block of the Calle Real de San Juan Bautista. He and his wife María Francisca Guzmán, an *española*, had two young daughters.¹²⁴ Jiménez's involvement in tanning dates from May 1793, when he formed a company and legal partnership with José Carlos Murguía. This may have been his first foray into the tannery business. The company contract was not recorded in the *libros de protocolos*, but its terms were noted in the dissolution proceedings. Jiménez invested 629 pesos in the company and Murguía 300 pesos. Profits were to be split evenly. No term was attached to the company. Murguía was to match Jiménez's investment once he sold a quantity of wheat. While Jiménez invested his capital, labor, and personal industry, he complained that Murguía only invested the 300 pesos and performed no work. As they moved to dissolve the company less than a year later, Jiménez argued that Murguía should only receive a share of the profits proportional to his investment. Witnesses included Juan de Dios Flores, holder of the meat supply contract (*abasto de carne*), Andrés de Castro, Antonio Trujillo, and Jose de Arratia, the scribe. Jiménez was unsuccessful in his bid to reduce Murguía's share of the profits. The company was liquidated, and Jiménez and Murguía recovered their initial capital investments and split the profits of 567.5 pesos.¹²⁵

The tanner José Antonio Berra was accepted by both parties as a knowledgeable appraiser. In March 1794 he made an inventory of the tannery, which appears in Table 6.7. The total value of the contents of the tannery, leather goods, tools, debts, and advances of material was 1,419 pesos and 7.25 reales. Leather boots, shoes, and leather material were the most valuable items in the inventory. Boot soles were valued at eighteen reales, shoe soles at twenty reales, and sandal soles at 0.5 reales apiece. Cordovans were worth sixteen pesos per dozen. Women's shoes, called *resbalones*, were valued at twenty reales per gross, and *resbalones de la princesa* were valued at 3.5 reales per dozen. Hubert Howe Bancroft noted that in 1830s California, women "wore low shoes, with or without heels, the latter called de resbalón, and were used at balls."¹²⁶ The inventory shows that *resbalones* were in production during the late eighteenth century, crafted by tanners and zapateros in Toluca.

Table 6.7
Tannery Inventory, 1794

Assets	Pesos	Reales
4 Shoe Soles (<i>suelas curtidas</i>) @ 20 rs.	10	0
124 Boot Soles (<i>suelas en botas</i>) @ 18 rs.	277	6
43 Pieces of Boot Leather (<i>vaquetas en bota</i>) @ 2 ps.	86	0
93 Fleeces (<i>vaquetas en pelambre</i>)	119	6.5
26 Hides (<i>cueros en blanqueo</i>)	36	7
13 Pieces of Boot Leather (<i>vaquetas de acabar</i>) @ 17.5 rs.	28	3.5
28.5 Cargas of Bark (<i>casca</i>) @ 2.5 rs.	8	6
41 Soles (<i>plantas</i>) and Sandals (<i>huaraches</i>) @ .5 r.	2	4.5
1 Drying Box (<i>salvadera</i>) w/ 41 Hides @ 15.5 rs.	79	3.5
Scraps of Sole Material (<i>pedazos de suela</i>)	1	0
21.5 Pieces of Boot Leather (<i>vaquetas acabadas</i>) @ 18 rs.	48	3
13 <i>atarías</i> @ 4 rs.	6	4
4 Harnesses (<i>aparejos</i>) @ 3 ps.	12	0
9.5 Dozen Cordovans (<i>cordobanes</i>) @ 16 ps. per dozen	152	0
1 Pair of Chaps (<i>armas de pelo</i>)	4	0
Ribbon (<i>listón surtido</i>) for Shoe Eyes	12	3
1.5 Boxes of Silk (<i>cajillas de seda</i>)	5	
11 Dozen Awls (<i>alesnas</i>) @ 1.5 rs. per dozen	2	0.5
Container for Awls (<i>manguillos para alesnas</i>)	4.5	
100 Tacks (<i>brocas</i>)	2.5	
10 Pounds of Loose Hemp (<i>pita floja</i>) @ 3.5 rs.	5	5.5
35.5 Cargas of Bags (<i>costales</i>) @ 2.5 per carga	11	0.75
5 Gross of Women's Shoes (<i>resbalones</i>) @ 20 rs. per gross	13	6
.5 Gross of <i>resbalones de la princesa</i> @ 3.5 rs. per dozen	2	5
17 Sheep Skins (<i>badanas</i>) of various colors @ 6 ps. per dozen	11	4
1.5 Dozen Pieces of Goatskin Leather (<i>tafiletes</i>) @ 9 ps. per doz.	13	4

Table 6.7, continued

Assets	Pesos	Reales
<i>cola con su ganancia</i>	6	
Agave Fiber (<i>ixtle</i>)	5	
Loose Agave Fiber (<i>ixtle flojo</i>)	4.5	
Dye (<i>tinta</i>)	1	4
3 Arrobas of Pig Lard (<i>manteca de puerco</i>) @ 1 p. per arroba	3	0
2 Scraping Knives (<i>cuchillos de descarnar</i>) @ 20 rs.	5	0
1 (<i>teja</i>)	1	0
1 Stretcher (<i>estira</i>)	6	
1 Stretching Table (<i>tabla de restirar</i>)	1	0
1 Stitching Table (<i>tabla de tejar</i>)	1	0
1 Work Bench (<i>banco de descarnar</i>)	1	0
2 Knives (<i>cuchillos de mostrador</i>)	5	
2 Hooks (<i>garabatos</i>)	6	
Scale (<i>unas balancitas con unas onzas</i>)	1	0
1 Mule and Related Equipment (<i>con su guarnición</i>)	31	0
Pawns (<i>prendas</i>)	23	7
Owed by Tannery Workers	16	7.5
Owed by Various Individuals	11	2
4 Vats (<i>cubos</i>) @ 4.5 rs.	2	2
1 Large Jar and Funnel (<i>tarro and embudo</i>)	1	0
Owed by Other Liable parties (<i>obligados</i>)	16	6
Owed by Shoemakers	159	6.5
Cash Balance	80	3
Loan to José Murguía	25	0
Pesos received by Francisco Jiménez	86	0
Total	1,419	7.25

Source: AGNEM, SH, Caja 147, Leg. 1, Asunto 3, ff. 510-511.

The inventory provides a list of the tools, furnishings, and other materials that were used in tanneries, elements of which would have also been found in shoemakers' shops. Bark (*casca*) and dye were used in the tanning process to color hides. Large vats held various concoctions in which tanners soaked hides. Worktables, stretching tables, and stretching tools were used to clean and work the hides. Specialized knives facilitated the scraping and removal of remnants of flesh, hair, and fat. Desiccation was done in drying boxes, in which hides were stored for periods of time. Pig lard was used in the production process, as well. Awls were used to make shoestring holes. Tacks attached soles to shoes, and ribbon and silk were used to wrap shoe eyes and adorn women's shoes.

Financial aspects of the business were included, as well. Eighty pesos and three reales were on hand at the time of the accounting. Jiménez had received eighty-six pesos, while twenty-five pesos were loaned to Murguía. Pawns were accepted for sale of retail items in the tannery's store, which was common at the time; but these only amounted to almost twenty-three pesos and seven reales, less than 2 percent of the total value of the inventory. Tannery workers and other individuals owed debts to the company, but these too were relatively small, amounting to 3 percent of the tannery's total assets. Shoemakers were the largest debtors, owing 159 pesos and 6.5 reales, or over 10 percent of the inventory's value. Shoemakers were probably at a disadvantage, as they were advanced leather shoe pieces at prices set by the tanners. On the one hand, shoemakers appear to have operated at the tanners' mercy; on the other hand, the tanners had to extend credit to the shoemakers in order to sell their products.

Jiménez formed a new company a little over a year later, in May 1795. José Basilio González brought 1,000 pesos to the company and Jiménez brought another 1,000, plus 500 pesos to buy the tannery. Jiménez's contribution was taken on as a loan to both partners, secured by the property, tools, and merchandise of the tannery. The partnership was to last five years. After the repayment of capital invested in the company, profits would be split. Jiménez was to live at the tannery and oversee production and verify sales and expenses. Food for him and his family was to be included as payment and would not be deducted from his share of the profits after the dissolution of the company. Accounts were to be carefully maintained, including dates and names, "with clarity and distinction in a professional manner, in order to know what entered and left the tannery." Clearly, José Basilio González was the senior partner in this company relationship.¹²⁷

González and Jiménez had purchased the tannery from María Gertrudis Mondragón, the widow of Timoteo Escobar, in March 1795. Escobar acquired the property from the estate of María Isabel Romero of Mexico City, the widow of José David, a wealthy hacienda owner in the Toluca region, in 1793 for 460 pesos. The property was located on the Calle de la Tenería. González and Jiménez paid 450 pesos for the house, ten pesos less than Escobar had paid for it. Tools and other tannery merchandise were valued at 1,050 pesos. These included boots, hides, and other products in various degrees of completion. The loan was for 1,500 pesos in the form of a *censo reservativo al quitar* at 5 percent annual interest repayable in two years.¹²⁸

Two years later, González and Jiménez decided to dissolve the company. In March 1797, they settled the 1,500-peso debt to Mondragón and arranged for Jiménez to assume a debt of 1,000 pesos to her. As stipulated in the company agreement, as part of the dissolution González would pay half the principal Jiménez had paid for the tannery building. González ceded his half of the tannery building, paying Jiménez 225 pesos.¹²⁹ On the next day, Jiménez formalized the loan for 1,000 pesos from María Mondragón in the form of a *reconocimiento de hipoteca especial* and *censo reservativo*. The term was for two years at 5 percent annual interest. Juan de Dios Flores de Orihuela, witness at the dissolution of Jiménez's company with José Murguía and holder of the meat supply monopoly for Toluca, acted as loan guarantor.¹³⁰ By the time the loan was up for renewal two years later, María Mondragón had died. In October 1799, Jiménez reconfirmed the loan on the same terms with the executor of her estate, José Benavides.¹³¹

Francisco Jiménez did not enter into any other company agreements or legal partnerships. He was now an established tanner who managed his own business. In May 1801, Francisco Jimenez purchased a second tannery, this one from Dionisia Lechuga for 600 pesos, for which he paid cash. The tannery was located on the Calle de la Tenería, and known as “del Espinazo” or “Tenería Cercada de Tapia.” It was bordered on the east by the river. Lechuga acquired the house as partial payment of a debt owed to her by Antonio de la Torre.¹³²

In June of the same year, Jiménez signed a loan contract (*escritura de imposición*) for 1,000 pesos with José Nogales Benavides, who was described as a provincial lieutenant of the *acordada*. This was the same José Benavides who acted as María

Mondragón's estate executor. The loan does not appear to have been related to the Mondragón estate, however. Jiménez's recently purchased tannery was put up as collateral and Juan Flores acted as guarantor.¹³³ In June 1801, Jiménez sold the tannery he had acquired with José Basilio González to Juan José González del Pliego for 450 pesos, the same price as it sold for in 1795. The equipment was not included in the sale. Jiménez likely transferred the equipment to his new tannery.¹³⁴

Tanneries required a steady and reliable supply of hides to operate. Successful tanners had relationships with the abasto de carne or better yet operated their own slaughterhouses. In the early 1800s José Basilio González negotiated a contract to buy hides from Juan Flores, the meat supplier for Toluca, for several years. Flores operated two slaughterhouses, one called "de el Beaterio," which was located in Toluca, and another in the pueblo of Huichila. In April 1802, González signed a contract to advance 2,619 pesos and 4.5 reales to Flores to purchase hides through 1803.¹³⁵ He paid thirteen reales for bull hides and nine reales for cowhides. The contract stipulated that González would receive all hides produced in Toluca, with the exception of those from Francisco Jiménez's slaughterhouse on the Calle de la Tenería and the slaughterhouse in the pueblo of Cacalomacan. González signed a similar contract again in 1804.¹³⁶

By the mid 1820s it appears that Francisco Jiménez no longer operated his own slaughterhouse at his property on the Calle de la Tenería. In 1826, he signed a contract to buy hides from José Mateo Montes de Oca. Jiménez advanced Montes de Oca 300 pesos. The price of bull hides had more than doubled to twenty-eight reales each. Cowhides increased in price to sixteen reales apiece. The contract stipulated that Montes de Oca

could not deliver hides to any other person, and that he could not raise the agreed upon prices, nor could Jiménez lower the price he agreed to pay. Moreover, Jiménez had the right to rescind the contract at any time. Montes de Oca mortgaged two houses he owned in the barrio of San Juan Evangelista as collateral for the advance.¹³⁷

Tanners also required a constant supply of bark, which was an essential material to the tanning process. Most bark purchases were made without contracts. However, because it involved a cash advance, Francisco Jiménez signed a loan contract (*obligación*) with Vicente Consuelo and his son José María, vecinos of Zinacantepec. Jiménez delivered 195 pesos to the Consuelos for “their urgent needs,” which were not elaborated in the contract. In partial repayment of the loan, Jiménez was to receive weekly deliveries of four cargas of bark to his tannery. The bark was to be well colored and not white. Under no circumstances would the Consuelos sell bark to another buyer. The contract stipulated that in the event that Vicente were to die, José María would assume the terms of the contract as his own. The price of the bark was not stated in the contract, only the value of the advance. Nor did the contract indicate if the bark would be collected locally or elsewhere.¹³⁸

Francisco Jiménez made the first of two testaments on 22 February 1821, when he was around fifty-three years old. Jiménez was ambulatory but decided to record his testament due to ailments he was experiencing, which threatened to undermine his health. José Basilio González and his son José Mariano were among the witnesses present, evidence of the close personal relationship that had endured between the two men for over three decades. Jiménez recorded a second testament on 11 April 1823, during the

“third year of our independence,” which was largely a restatement of his first testament. Jiménez still suffered from the same ailments that had prompted him to make his earlier will. His wife María Francisca Guzmán was still living. His daughter María Francisca had married the merchant Ramón Astorga. María Josefa remained unmarried. Jiménez declared that neither he nor his wife brought any capital to their marriage, and that it was through their joint industry and personal work over time that they acquired the possessions included in the testament.¹³⁹

The 1,000 pesos that Jiménez had originally owed María Mondragón, and then José Benavides, was eventually transferred to the Convento de Carmelitas. Jiménez recognized the depósito irregular to the convent with an interest rate of 5 percent per annum. As before, his house on the Calle de la Tenería served as collateral for the loan. His son-in-law Ramón Astorga had control of the capital from the loan. If it was not repaid while Jiménez was alive, he directed his executors to collect what was owed to him and deliver it to his daughter, Francisca. Jiménez stated that he was owed various quantities of money, but did not name his debtors. Furthermore, Jiménez directed that his funeral and burial expenses be paid from a fifth of his estate (el quinto). Remaining funds from el quinto were to be given to his daughter, María Josefa, in consideration of the love she showed him and the care and assistance she provided him.¹⁴⁰

Jiménez’s assets included the house and tannery on the Calle de la Tenería with all of its furnishings, tools, and implements of the tannery. He also owned the rancho de San Marcos Sacango in the jurisdiction of Tenango del Valle, with its land, furnishings, livestock, and tools. Jiménez named his daughters as his universal heirs, that is recipients

of anything not specifically bequeathed. It was his will that the remainder of el quinto and the house on the Calle de la Tenería, with all its furnishings and tannery equipment, be given to his daughter, María Josefa. María Francisca was to be given the rancho de San Marcos Sacango and all its appurtenances. His wife, María Guzmán, was to act as first executor and María Josefa as the second. Both were to act in consultation with José Vicente Urbina, director of his estate. Jiménez concluded his testament by declaring that he had treated his cajero, Sebastián Bercedo, “with much love” because of the upstanding manner with which he conducted himself as an individual and in his work. Jiménez directed his executors to retain Bercedo, as he would help run and grow the business.¹⁴¹

Francisco Jiménez survived the most recent threat to his health. In fact, his wife María Guzmán predeceased him some time in late 1825. By the time of her death, her daughter María Josefa had married Sebastián Bercedo, no doubt to her father’s delight. Guzmán’s testament was similar to that of her husband, only it did not mention the 1,000-peso encumbrance on their house on the Calle de la Tenería. She chose the males of the family as her executors: Francisco as first, Ramón Astorga as second, and Sebastián Bercedo as third.¹⁴² Jiménez remarried soon after his wife’s death. In March 1826, he made a gift of 900 pesos to his new wife, Agustina Graneros, as *arras y donación propter nupcias*.¹⁴³ Francisco Jiménez must have died some time in the early 1830s. In June 1833, his widow referred to her interest in the estate of her dead husband when she deposited 800 pesos with her *apoderado* José María González de Arratia.¹⁴⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed several important aspects of artisans' working lives, business practices, and family relationships from the perspective of a secondary city. Previous studies of Spanish American artisans have focused on their organization in a handful of large cities in a few select countries, concentrating on their involvement with guilds and, later, labor and working class organizations. Far less is known regarding how artisans operated in smaller towns and settlements. This chapter adds a much-needed perspective to a historiography that is lopsided in favor of large urban areas.

Toluca's artisans shared many of the characteristics of their big city counterparts, but there were significant variations, and outright differences, as well. Guilds were central to artisan organization in Toluca. Evidence of active guilds is most readily found in judicial records, which refer directly to *tocinero* and *cohetero* guilds and their ordinances. Municipal authorities called on guild-examined masters to act as expert appraisers. However, evidence suggests that guilds were weaker in Toluca than in other cities. Notarized apprentice contracts, which were typically recorded in *libros de protocolos*, were absent in Toluca, perhaps indicating a less formal apprentice system. Census records irregularly recorded guild ranks, further suggesting a laxity in guild structures. Guild members did not associate with *cofradías* in the same manner as they did in big cities, in terms of patron saints, festivals, and burial benefits. Only one *cofradía* in late-eighteenth century Toluca included artisans in leadership positions.

Analysis of the *utilidad diaria*, or daily income, reveals the low earnings of most of Toluca's artisans. Eighty-nine percent of female artisans earned one real per day or

less, while only 19 percent of males earned at this level. Fifty-seven percent of males and only 9 percent of females earned 1.6 or two reales per day. Seventeen percent of males earned over two reales per day: these were more highly skilled artisans, masters where guild ranks were still used, and they tended to be married or widowed. In contrast, only three females earned more than two reales per day. The only artisans to earn more than eight reales per day were printers whose work involved government contracts.

This chapter's analysis of textile workers, blacksmiths, coheteros, and tanners revealed numerous details of their daily lives, which inform certain generalizations regarding their business activities and family relations. The numbers of individuals from the four groups were all higher in the 1791 census than in the 1834 census. The decline in the numbers of weavers and tailors was at least partially due to the increase in foreign imports of textiles and clothing. The reason for the 50 percent decline in blacksmiths remains unclear. Coheteros and tanners experienced a minimal drop in their numbers. It is possible that changes in census categories or data collection methods were in part responsible for some of the apparent declines. It is also possible that there was some change in the crucial relationship between dominant Mexico City and Toluca; the proximity of the capital with its abundant and high-quality products and services had always served to discourage independent development of the professions and crafts in the Toluca Valley.

Most textile-related businesses were small-scale enterprises, which operated out of artisans' homes and required little capital. Seamstresses and tailors did not notarize loans in Toluca, nor did they form companies. Weavers, on the other hand, were

undercapitalized and more likely to form companies and contract loans, which were of small value and might include advances of material. Like seamstresses and tailors, the cohetero business structure required little capital. Purchases of primary materials were made from the gunpowder monopoly and fireworks were sold for cash. Blacksmith shops were not large enterprises. They were, however, undercapitalized, and blacksmiths regularly took out loans. Unsuccessful blacksmiths who could not repay their debts forfeited collateral to merchant lenders who were quick to seize assets to protect their positions. Tanneries were large-scale operations, which required higher levels of capital investment, at least for their initial purchases. Tanners used company and partnership mechanisms to operate their businesses.

Family relationships and the ownership of real property were instrumental in securing loans. Merchants, widows, and heiresses were principal sources of capital in Toluca. Close family members, as well as extended family, offered their personal property as collateral for loans contracted by artisan relatives. Whenever possible, an even marginally successful artisan would purchase real estate, even at low values, which could then be used as security for loans. Real estate also acted as a form of social insurance in the case of extended illness or other personal misfortune.

Most textile workers, blacksmiths, and coheteros did not accumulate enough assets over the course of their lifetimes to warrant the recording of testaments in the libros de protocolos. It appears that most artisans who died with property recorded their testaments privately. The estates of artisans examined in this chapter might appear quite negligible, usually consisting only of the house in which they lived and plied their trade.

However, these meager assets often represented the accumulation of a life's hard work and savings. Some tanners and blacksmiths fared better than the typical artisan. An industrious blacksmith might accumulate several properties, as well as other valuable possessions, over the course of his lifetime. The example of Francisco Jiménez illustrated the prodigious personal industry of a tanner entrepreneur, who started with nothing and died a man of some considerable wealth.

Appendix 6.1

Leadership of Five Cofradías in Toluca, 1796

Archicofradía del Divinísimo Señor

Br. don Manuel José Gil, vicario in capite, juez eclesiástico, y comisario del santo oficio

don Tomás de Torres y Elosua, Rector
don Manuel Jiménez Nova, Mayordomo (Merchant)
don Nicolás de Azoños (Merchant)
don José Antonio Ortiz (Merchant/Hacienda Owner)
Br. don Manuel de Torres y Elosua (Hacienda Family)
don Francisco Posadas (Merchant/Tocinero)
don Pedro Rojas (Merchant)
don Bernardo López (Surgeon)
don Lázaro de Castro (Merchant/Hacienda Owner)
don Juan Flores (Pharmacist)
Diputados todos juntos

Cofradía de Santa Febronia

(fundada por españoles)
Br. don Manuel José Gil, juez eclesiástico, y comisario del santo oficio
Br. don Antonio Melo, Rector
don Nicolás Martínez, Mayordomo
don Manuel Nova, Diputado Mayor (Merchant)
don Mariano Montero (Tailor)
don Pedro José Rojas (Merchant)
don Bernardo López (Surgeon)
don José Antonio Romero (Fireworks Maker)
don Juan Flores (Pharmacist)
don Joaquín López de Cárdenas (Silversmith)
don Antonio Bello (Weaver)

Cofradía del Señor de la Santa Veracruz y soledad de Nuestra Señora

(fundada por españoles en la capilla que por los labradores de este valle de Toluca se le ha fabricado en los atrios de la Iglesia Parroquial de esta dicha ciudad.)
Br. don Manuel José Gil, vicario in capite, juez eclesiástico, y comisario del santo oficio
don Manuel de Nova, Rector
don Juan Manuel González Sepúlveda, Mayordomo (Hacienda Owner —Tocinero)
don Tomas Elosua, Diputado Primero (Hacienda Owner)

Appendix 6.1, continued

don Manuel Francisco Mexia, segundo
don Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, tercero (Hacienda Owner)
don Julián Betoloza, cuarto (Merchant)
don Diego Maldonado, quinto (Merchant)
don Francisco Fuentes, sexto (Merchant)
don Juan Matute, séptimo
Br. don Manuel de Elosua, octavo

Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y benditas almas del purgatorio

(fundada por españoles)

Br. don Manuel José Gil, vicario in capite, juez eclesiástico, y comisario del santo oficio
don Bernardo López, Rector (Surgeon)
Br. D. José Gil, Mayordomo
don Francisco Solano Gil, Primer diputado (Military Officer)
don Francisco Meana, segundo (Merchant)
don Manuel de Nova, tercero (Merchant)
don Juan Manuel González, cuarto
don Antonio Trinidad Serrano, quinto (Merchant—Tratante)
don Juan Flores, sexto (Pharmacist)
don Francisco Posadas, séptimo (Merchant—Tocinero)
don Francisco Herrera, octavo (Merchant)

Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno

(fundada por los indios naturales del Pueblo de San Juan Bautista perteneciente a esta jurisdicción en el convento de religiosas carmelitas)

Br. don Manuel José Gil, vicario in capite, juez eclesiástico, y comisario del santo oficio
don Juan de Dios Francisco, Rector
don Gregorio Antonio Mendieta, Mayordomo
don Gregorio José
don José Elías
don Marcelo José
don Blas Antonio
Dos indios caciques

Source: AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 7 January 1796, 8 January 1796.

Notes

¹ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

² 1834 Toluca Census Database.

³ Ibid. Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein, *Población y estructura social de la Ciudad de México, 1790–1842* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2004), 180; Claudia Patricia Rivas Jiménez, “Defence of Craft: Guadalajara’s Artisans in the Era of Economic Liberalism, 1842-1907” (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2008), 38.

⁴ Fred Bronner, “Urban Society in Colonial Spanish America: Research Trends,” *Latin American Research Review* 21 (1986): 47. According to Bronner, John Kicza’s study of business and society in Mexico City, which included chapters on manufacturers and artisans, and Lyman Johnson’s work on Buenos Aires were the extent of recent scholarly production on artisans at the time.

⁵ The most prominent exception is James Lockhart’s *Spanish Peru*, published in 1968, which pioneered the use of notarial records in Spanish American history and influenced approaches to the study of social groups. See also Richard J. Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539-1840* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); and Robinson Herrera’s chapter on artisans titled “Replicating the European Material World” in *Natives, Europeans, and Africans in Sixteenth-Century Santiago de Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

⁶ For Mexico City see Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, *La extinción de la artesanía gremial* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1986); and Virginia García Acosta, *Las panaderías, sus dueños y trabajadores: ciudad de México, siglo XVIII* (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1989). Manuel Carrera Stampa’s institutional study of Mexican guilds was the first important work on artisans to appear in Mexico and remains a standard reference for later works. Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios Mexicanos: La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521-1861* (México: Edición y Distribución Ibero Americana de Publicaciones, 1954). Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, “La abolición de los gremios,” in *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México*, eds. Elsa Cecilia Frost, Michael C. Meyer and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez (México: El Colegio de México; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979). For Guadalajara see Gerald A. Giese, “Artisan Culture in Guadalajara Mexico, 1780-1830: Guilds’ Response to the Economic Challenges of Commercial Capitalism” (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1995). For Peru see Francisco Quiroz, *Gremios, razas y libertad de industria: Lima colonial* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1995).

⁷ John Kicza's study of Mexico City, noted above, used notarial records to reveal business details and patterns of certain artisan groups. More recently, Lyman Johnson used various sources, including criminal and notarial records, in addition to census data, in his study of plebeian Buenos Aires. Lyman L. Johnson, *Workshop of Revolution: Plebeian Buenos Aires and the Atlantic World, 1776-1810* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). Catherine Komisaruk's recently published monograph combined notarial records and judicial records to elucidate the daily lives of workers, slaves, and artisans in Guatemala City around the time of national independence. Catherine Komisaruk, *Labor and Love in Guatemala: The Eve of Independence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

⁸ Sonia Pérez Toledo, *Los hijos del trabajo: los artesanos de la ciudad de México, 1780-1853* (México: El Colegio de México, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa, 1996); Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein, *Población y estructura social de la ciudad de México, 1790-1842* (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa/ CONACYT, 2004). Sylvia Arrom's *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* belongs to this group as does Guy Thomson's *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850*. Rodney D. Anderson, "Race and Social Stratification: A Comparison of Working-Class Spaniards, Indians, and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1821," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68:2 (1988): 209-243; see also Gerald A. Gies "Artisan Culture in Guadalajara, Mexico," 1995.

⁹ Iñigo L. García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic: Lima's Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821-1879* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Claudia Patricia Rivas Jiménez, "Defence of Craft: Guadalajara's Artisans in the Era of Economic Liberalism, 1842-1907" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2008); Carlos Illades, *Hacia la república del trabajo: la organización artesanal en la Ciudad de México, 1853-1876* (México: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1996).

¹⁰ Lyman Johnson, "Artisans," in *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Louis Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 1986), 230-231.

¹¹ Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios Mexicanos*, 260.

¹² Mexico City is arguably the best-studied city in Spanish America. The capital was home to the largest number of artisans in Spanish America. According to John Kicza, over eighteen thousand craftspeople belonged to fifty-five guilds in 1788. A large number of these were professionals, students (called apprentice teachers), and industrial workers (obrajeros) who were organized in guilds but worked outside of craft production. Nevertheless, Kicza estimated that over 10,000 were actual craft workers. Not all artisans were guild members, however. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez found that in 1753 Mexico City

twenty-one trades were not organized, amounting to 11.5 percent of artisans. These were independent workers who labored from their homes or worked sporadically at tasks that required little technical skill. Outside of the guild system, these workers did not require examinations to work and were not hierarchically ordered as masters, journeymen, or apprentices. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 209-211; Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, *La extinción de la artesanía gremial* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1986), 32.

¹³ Lyman Johnson has studied the artisans of Buenos Aires extensively for much of his career. Buenos Aires was considered a fringe area of colonial Latin America prior to the organization of the viceroyalty, after which time Argentina served as the main outlet of the Potosí area. The artisans of Buenos Aires in the late eighteenth century may be the most comprehensively studied in the field.

¹⁴ Pérez Toledo, *Los hijos del trabajo*, 68.

¹⁵ García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic*, 30-33.

¹⁶ For example, William B. Taylor's chapter "Cofradías" does not mention artisans. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 301-323.

¹⁷ Pizzigoni, *The Life Within*, passim.

¹⁸ Agustín de Vetancurt, *Chronica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de México quarta parte del Teatro Mexicano de los successos religiosos* (México: Por doña María de Benavides viuda de Iuan de Ribera, 1697), 62. Spaniards belonged to the Cofradía de los Animas, the Cofradía de la Concepción, the Cofradía del Rosario, the Cofradía de la Santa Veracruz, and the Cofradía de los Remedios San Nicolás. Mulatos belonged to the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. All ethnic groups belonged to the Cofradía de Santa Febronia. Indigenous people belonged to the Cofradía de las Animas, the Cofradía de la Soledad, the Cofradía del Sangre de Cristo, and the Cofradía del Transito de la Virgen. There may have been other cofradías in Toluca beyond than those listed by Vetancurt, especially for indigenous people.

¹⁹ León García, *La distinción alimentaria*, 55.

²⁰ José Luis Alanís Boyso, *Toluca: catálogo documental colonial de los ramos del Archivo General de la Nación* (México: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 1999), 154.

²¹ Thomson, 111-113.

²² Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism*, 105-106; Johnson, *Workshop of Revolution*, 56-57.

²³ AGNEM, S.H., caja 147, leg. 4, asunto 10, ff. 628v-629.

²⁴ Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, "La abolición de los gremios," 317.

²⁵ AGNEM, S.H., caja 157, leg. 4, asunto 23, ff. 137-148v.

²⁶ AGNEM, S.H., caja 117, leg. 3, asunto 18, f. 510.

²⁷ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Castro Gutiérrez, *La extinción de la artesanía gremial*, 113-121.

³⁰ Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, "La abolición de los gremios," 317.

³¹ Thomson, 113.

³² Pérez Toledo, *Los hijos del trabajo*, 118-124.

³³ Carlos Illades, *Hacia la república del trabajo*, 74.

³⁴ 1834 Census Database.

³⁵ Johnson, *Workshop of Revolution*, 57.

³⁶ 1791 Toluca Census Database; 1834 Toluca Census Database.

³⁷ 1834 Census Database.

³⁸ Ibid. Another example comes from the family of José Rozas. The silversmith lived in house number seven on the Calle de la Merced with his four sons, ages three to eleven. The two oldest sons, Antonio and Baltasar, were identified as silversmiths. Eleven-year-old Antonio earned 0.6 reales per day and ten-year-old Baltasar earned zero reales. The census indicates that José Rozas was married, although no wife was recorded in the census. Baltasar's baptismal record shows that his mother was María Ignacia Salazar. Three unrelated widowed females also lived in the household, perhaps reflective of population losses caused by the recent epidemic. In a final example, the brass maker Cayetano Rendón lived on the Callejón del Calvario with Juan Rendón, age twenty-three, and Pedro Rendón, age twelve. Their relationship was not stated; they were likely Cayetano's sons or grandsons. In any case, Cayetano and Juan earned two reales per day,

while the younger Pedro earned zero. For Baltasar Rozas' baptism record see GSU, microfilm, roll 441191, 7 January 1823.

³⁹ AHMT, Padrones, 1870.

⁴⁰ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. A receipt dated 12 January 1833 issued by Juan Matute to Ignacio Terradas, the alcalde of the municipal government, provides examples of their work, which included 500 copies on half sheets of a decree recognizing the government of Mexico and rescinding the plan of General Santa Anna, published on 7 December 1832 at a total cost 7 pesos 4 reales (5 pesos for printing and 2 pesos 4 reales for 10 reams of paper at 2 reales per ream); 800 copies on full sheets proclaiming the same matter but with more details, at a cost of 19 pesos (11 pesos for printing and 8 pesos for 32 reams of paper); 200 copies of proclamations on half sheets regarding the collection of arms from the municipalities of the district, at a cost of 6 pesos (5 pesos for printing and 1 peso for 4 reams of paper); and 500 copies on half sheets of the *Toma de Puebla y Glorias de la Patria*, at a cost of 7 pesos 4 reales (5 pesos for printing and 2 pesos 4 reales for 10 reams of paper). AGNEM, S.H., caja 223, leg 6, asunto 3.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁴⁵ Tutino, "Creole Mexico," 274.

⁴⁶ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁴⁷ AGNEM, S.H., caja 208, leg. 4, asunto 2, ff. 224-236.

⁴⁸ Warren, *Vagrants and Citizens*, 92.

⁴⁹ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁵⁰ Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 222-224.

⁵¹ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 7 October 1813, Testament of José Mariano Maldonado. Maldonado was baptized on 2 March 1784. GSU, microfilm, roll 441188, 2 March 1784.

⁵² AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 22 October 1801, 22 October 1801.

⁵³ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁵⁴ GSU, microfilm, roll 441187, 24 September 1773. Baptismal records state that Ana María Lina Toscano was born on 22 September 1773 to Antonio Toribio Bello and Micaela Gerónima González de Arratia

⁵⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 22 October 1801, 22 October 1801.

⁵⁶ For Ana María Telesfora Bello's baptismal record see GSU, microfilm, roll 441188, 7 January 1785.

⁵⁷ Several other artisans appeared as officers of this *cofradía*, which set it apart from others that were dominated by merchants and large landowners, and still others, whose memberships were exclusively Indians. See Appendix 6.1.

⁵⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 7 August 1793.

⁵⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 20 March 1794.

⁶⁰ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 3 January 1793.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 4 April 1828, Testament of José Faustino Villegas.

⁶³ 1834 Toluca Census Database. Testament.

⁶⁴ AGNEM, S.H., Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis, 31 October 1817.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; 1791 Toluca Census Database.

⁶⁶ AGNEM, S.H., caja 208, leg. 2, asunto 12.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 10 April 1823, Testament of María Guadalupe Gutiérrez Romero.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of blacksmithing in colonial Mexico see Marc Simmons and Frank Turley, *Southwestern Colonial Ironwork: The Spanish Blacksmithing Tradition* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2007).

⁷⁰ 1791 Toluca Census Database; 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid. 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁷³ Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 219-220.

⁷⁴ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 4 June 1794.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 14 October 1794.

⁷⁶ 1791 Toluca Census Database. GSU, microfilm, roll 441188, 14 May 1783 and 29 July 1784. María Josefa González del Pliego was baptized at three days of age on 14 May 1783. Her father was Cirilo González del Pliego and her mother was María Rosalía Iniesta Bejarano, both españoles. According to this baptismal record, all four grandparents were from Toluca: the paternal grandparents were Juan José González del Pliego and Juana Antonia de Mondragón; and the maternal grandparents were Juan Antonio Iniesta Bejarano and María Teresa Vilchis. María Josefa's godparents were the storeowner don José Manuel Legorreta and his wife doña Lorenza Medina, both from Ixtlahuaca and now vecinos of Toluca. A second baptismal record for the family provides conflicting but probably more accurate information regarding the family's geographic origins. On 29 July 1784, Juan Nepomuceno Nicasio was baptized at two days of age. In this record, Cirilo González del Pliego was said to be from San Pedro Totoltepec. His father, Juan José González del Pliego, was from Toluca, while his mother, Juana Antonia Mondragón, was identified as being from Zinacantepec. María Rosalía Iniesta Bejarano was from Almoloya in this record, while her father, Juan de Iniesta Bejarano, was from Zinacantepec and his wife, María Teresa Vilchis, was from Almoloya. Cayetano González del Pliego and María Antonia de los Ángeles García were the child's godparents. Both were identified as vecinos of Almoloya.

⁷⁷ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 1 August 1800; 1791 Toluca Census Database. When María Vicenta Pereira's house located adjacent to Cirilo González del Pliego's two properties entered the market, there was probably no question that the blacksmith would buy it. The negotiation had probably taken place over a period of time. González del Pliego and the Cordero-Pereira family had been longtime neighbors. The 1791 census recorded Manuel Cordero as a thirty-three-year-old tobacconist (cigarrero) of calidad español. The census identified María Vicenta as a mestiza. At that time, the couple had two sons; one was probably José María, who had been born in 1783. María Cordero, Manuel's sister, and her husband Juan Sánchez lived in the same dwelling with their two sons. Juan was identified as a thirty-three-year-old florist. Both were identified as españoles. The three couples had children around the same ages, so it is likely that they knew one another well.

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- ⁷⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 2 January 1795, and 26 February 1796.
- ⁷⁹ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 19 January 1826, Testament of Valentín Jiménez,.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 5 April 1811.
- ⁸³ GSU, microfilm, roll 441143, 27 June 1752; roll 441181, 26 December 1754.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ 1834 Toluca Census Database.
- ⁸⁶ Linda A. Curio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 3.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., 2.
- ⁸⁸ María José Garrido Asperó, *Fiestas cívicas históricas en la ciudad de México, 1765-1823* (México: Instituto Mora, 2006), 30-31.
- ⁸⁹ Curio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 7.
- ⁹⁰ AGNEM, S.H., caja 157, leg. 4, asunto 23, f. 137.
- ⁹¹ These regulations are from 18 October 1842. Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano, *Legislación mexicana, ó, Colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la independencia de la República* (México: Dublán y Lozano, 1876), 294-295.
- ⁹² Komisaruk, *Labor and Love in Guatemala*, 150.
- ⁹³ Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 210.
- ⁹⁴ 1834 Toluca Census Database.
- ⁹⁵ In 1791, the master cohetero Mariano Agüero was married to Francisca Melo.
- ⁹⁶ 1834 Toluca Census Database.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 6.1.

⁹⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Adrián de Cerain, 8 March 1792.

⁹⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 13 July 1803.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Guardino found that the coheteros' guild of Oaxaca was abolished in 1791. Officials there cited the lack of such a guild in Mexico City as their principal reason for carrying out the abolition, although this does not appear to have been true. Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 95. Carrera Stampa gives the date that the viceroy confirmed the formation of the cohetero guild in Mexico City as 20 March 1767. Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios Mexicanos: La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521-1861* (México: Edición y Distribución Ibero Americana de Publicaciones, 1954), 304.

¹⁰¹ AGNEM, S.H., caja 157 leg. 4, asunto 23.

¹⁰² Toros are used in Mexican fiestas to this day. The anthropologist Stanley Brandes describes toros as “decorated reed representation of a bull laced with fireworks.” Stanley H. Brandes, *Power and Persuasion: Fiestas and Social Control in Rural Mexico* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 112.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 187. Brandes describes castillos as “huge fireworks poles.”

¹⁰⁴ AGNEM, S.H., caja 157 leg. 4, asunto 23.

¹⁰⁵ Luis Fernando Granados, “Cosmopolitan Indians and Mesoamerican Barrios in Bourbon Mexico City: Tribute, Community, Family and Work in 1800” (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2008), 485-487, 502-505.

¹⁰⁶ Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*, 225-226.

¹⁰⁷ Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards*, 213-215.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁰⁹ Javier Romero Quiroz, *La Ciudad de Toluca*, 1:86. The author cites a lawsuit initiated by Lucas de Verdiguél against Nicolás de Posadas over ownership of houses and tanneries.

¹¹⁰ See Ana Paula Escamilla García, *Los paseos dominicales en Toluca durante el porfiriato* (Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2001), 41-50.

¹¹¹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 14 March 1796.

¹¹² The text of the law reads: “Porque será de mucha conveniencia, que se funden los pueblos cerca de los ríos navegables, para que tengan mejor trajín y comercio, como los marítimos: Ordenamos que así de funden, si el sitio lo permitiere, y que los solares para carnicerías, pescaderías, tenerías y otras oficinas, que causan inmundicias, y mal olor, se procuren poner hacia el río, o mar, para que con mas limpieza y sanidad se conserven las poblaciones.” Ignacio Boix, ed., *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias, mandadas imprimir y publicar por la magestad católica del rey Don Carlos II nuestro señor: Va dividida en cuatro tomos, con el índice general, y al principio de cada tomo el índice especial de los títulos que contiene, Volumes 1-2* (Madrid: Impresor y Librero, Calle de Carretas, Numero 8, 1841), 106. See also Jean-François Lejeune, *Cruelty & Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 22.

¹¹³ AGN, Tierras, vol. 4277, exp. 1, ff. 88-96v.

¹¹⁴ James Lockhart, “Capital and Province, Spaniard and Indian: The Example of Late Sixteenth-Century Toluca,” in *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*, ed. Ida Altman and James Lockhart (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1976), 120.

¹¹⁵ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹¹⁶ Romero Quiroz, *La Ciudad de Toluca*, 2:77.

¹¹⁷ AGN Alcabalas, Igualas, 1796, vol. 250 ff. 1-6; 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹¹⁸ Escobar was a wealthy man; his identification as a muleteer undoubtedly reflected his ownership of mule trains. Since muleteers were exempt from military conscription, he opted to be recorded as a muleteer.

¹¹⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Nicolás Gutiérrez, 24 December 1807, Testament of Dionisia Rafaela Lechuga.

¹²⁰ Alanís Boyso, *Elecciones de República*, 144.

¹²¹ The document is published in Mario A. Téllez González, *La Justicia Criminal En El Valle De Toluca 1800-1829* (Zinacantepec, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, 2001), 265-273.

¹²² 1834 Toluca Census Database.

¹²³ 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹²⁴ Various documents, including his testament and one of his daughter's baptismal records, state that Jiménez was married to María Francisca Guzmán. However, the census recorded his wife's name as María Terán. This was apparently a recording error by the census taker. No other males with the surname Jiménez appeared with the names Francisco or Antonio, as either a first or middle name. Only one female Guzmán was included in the census, and she was married to the painter Pascual Gutiérrez. In his 1821 testament, Jiménez stated that he had two daughters, María Francisca, age thirty, and María Josefa, age twenty-six. Testaments usually indicated the number of children who were born but did not survive childhood, and Jiménez reported no other children born to him and his wife. According to parish records, María Francisca was baptized on 17 February 1786. Her parents were recorded as Francisco Jiménez and María Francisca Guzmán. So Jiménez misremembered his daughter's age: María Francisca was actually around thirty-five in 1821. María Francisca Guzmán's testament, recorded in 1825, got her daughters' ages correct: at that time María Francisca was thirty-nine and María Josefa was thirty-seven. The census stated that Jiménez and his wife had two young daughters in 1791. These were very likely María Francisca and María Josefa. AGNEM, S.H., José Basilio González, 22 February 1821, Testament of Francisco Jiménez; José Francisco Hidalgo, 9 November 1825, Testament of María Francisca Guzmán; 1791 Toluca Census Database.

¹²⁵ AGNEM, S.H., caja 147, leg. 1, asunto 3, ff. 569-577.

¹²⁶ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral. 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 379.

¹²⁷ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 27 May 1795

¹²⁸ AGNEM, S.H., Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo, 9 December 1793, 28 March 1795.

¹²⁹ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 14 March 1797.

¹³⁰ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 15 March 1797.

¹³¹ AGNEM, S.H., Fausto Marcial de Urrutia, 10 October 1799.

¹³² AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 20 May 1801.

¹³³ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 9 June 1801.

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- ¹³⁴ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 15 June 1801.
- ¹³⁵ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 1 April 1802.
- ¹³⁶ AGNEM, S.H., Agustín de Arozqueta, 30 May 1804.
- ¹³⁷ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 15 March 1826.
- ¹³⁸ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 7 June 1823.
- ¹³⁹ AGNEM, S.H., José Basilio González, 22 February 1821, Testament of Francisco Jiménez; José Francisco Hidalgo, 11 April 1823, Testament of Francisco Jiménez.
- ¹⁴⁰ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 11 April 1823, Testament of Francisco Jiménez.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁴² AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 9 November 1825, Testament of María Francisca Guzmán.
- ¹⁴³ AGNEM, S.H., José Francisco Hidalgo, 9 March 1826.
- ¹⁴⁴ AGNEM, S.H., José María Espinoza, 11 June 1833.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Toluca's relationship to Mexico City was a principal determinant affecting its social evolution and economic development over the course of the early period; however, rational choice and human agency were the ultimate and definitive catalysts of modification and change, just as they were the core bases for numerous sustained but varied social, economic, and cultural continuities over the period. Because of Toluca's nearness to the Valley of Mexico, its large sedentary indigenous populations, and its richness as a maize-producing region, Nahuas had colonized the area before the arrival of Europeans, instilling structures and practices that would affect institutional developments under Spanish colonial rule, many of which persisted in some form into the nineteenth century. By the late eighteenth century, however, several fundamental transformations were well underway, which had roots in the earlier period, and which would alter the trajectory of Toluqueño society as well as its political position within the greater region. Indeed, the Mexican independence movement and the subsequent change in political system occurred within the context of larger social changes.

The dynamic processes of attraction, marginalization, and social consolidation were at play in the Toluca Valley from the beginning of the Spanish presence there.¹ Spanish extraction of the valley's agricultural products was initiated in the sixteenth century when encomienda grants were made to favored conquest era individuals, with Hernando Cortés taking several of the most valuable and productive as part of his seignorial estate.² Encomienda and estate operations were administered by dependents of

encomenderos, often their humble relatives, setting a continuing pattern of attracting marginal Hispanic people from Mexico City to the Toluca Valley. At the end of the sixteenth century, Toluca's local market was virtually nonexistent, since the local population was small and almost entirely focused on providing agricultural products and labor to the Mexico City market. Occupational development in the town, particularly the trades and the professions, was weak and would remain so as long as Toluca lacked a substantial local market, which was required to support them.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the social and economic character of the Toluca region was still strongly influenced by its relationship with Mexico City; but significant changes in social complexity had occurred. Prodigious population growth led to an expanded local commercial market, which in turn led to an increasingly consolidated society. Toluca was now characterized by the presence of a cohesive and interconnected local landowning and merchant elite, which formed social, familial, and business networks to protect and maintain its interests. This group was still socially and economically connected to Mexico City, but it was not physically and culturally estranged from Toluca, as had been the case in earlier times. Toluca's elite looked inward, allowing local society to reach a higher level of self-containedness and social consolidation than before.

This dissertation has studied the Hispanic population of the Toluca region from a combination of documentary perspectives. Its Hispanic focus places it in contrast to Caterina Pizzigoni's study of the indigenous world of Toluca. Indeed, it complements her

work by providing analysis of the other side of the Spanish-Indian dichotomy of the region. However, the two worlds still largely appear as unintegrated, coexisting entities, and a way needs to be found to explore the interrelationships between Indians and Spaniards. Much of it may have to do with the small Hispanic populations in larger indigenous pueblos, and especially with the Hispanics involved in the estate system spread throughout the valley. Here the work done by John Tutino has already made a start, but more remains to be done.³ Topics were approached primarily using census data and notarial records, although these were supplemented with parish records, and tithing and tax series data to add dimensions to the lives of people, as well as to add insight into the material world in which they lived. Temporal conceptualization places the present study in the growing body of historical literature that crosses the divide of national independence, allowing it to address questions related to social change and continuity during a period of political unrest and economic uncertainty.

This dissertation joins numerous regional studies of late-colonial Mexico society, adding to them its analysis of the Revillagigedo census of Toluca. John Chance, David Brading, Guy Thomson, and most recently Bruce Castleman, among others, have employed this rich but imperfect source to study different Mexican regions, which together create a composite view of late-colonial Hispanic society. Notarial and parish records were used to supplement the analysis, and to support a critique of previous studies of the Revillagigedo census, which too often accepted the information contained in it uncritically. Employing the 1834 municipal census has allowed this study to view

changes and continuities in a provincial society of the central region over a period of profound change.

Analysis has confirmed that unprecedented population expansion in the eighteenth century tempered and disheveled social conventions, particularly in terms of racial/ethnic perceptions, while gradually intensifying the slow rhythms of daily provincial life. As in other parts of the central region, between 1750 and 1800 the Hispanic population of Toluca doubled, with the number of town inhabitants well in excess of 5,289 by the turn of the century. The number of indigenous residents in Toluca's barrios and pueblos likely grew at a comparable rate. Toluca's population appears to have expanded during the decade of the insurgency, as people sought protection from the dangerous countryside. Over the first decades of the nineteenth century, the town's overall growth rate declined, as the wars for national independence, epidemic disease, and migration had taken such a toll that in 1834 the city's official population stood at 6,581, inclusive of individuals of all ethnicities.

Toluca had long been recognized as a "Spanish" city in an otherwise largely indigenous countryside, and this was even more the case by the early nineteenth century. "Spanish" in this period was a cultural term, which included people who moved from the indigenous to the Hispanic world. Interethnic sexual relations were a driving force in Toluca's eighteenth-century demographic transformation. In 1742, Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattoes outnumbered the local indigenous population by a factor of 1.5 to 1. The 1791 census revealed that Spaniards, who were mostly descendants of the 1742 population, comprised over half of the Hispanic population. Racial concerns remained an

important element of the official late-colonial ideology, but in reality the caste system was artificial and dysfunctional. Comparison with parish records in individual cases, as well as close analysis of the census manuscript itself, illustrates the arbitrariness of categories at this time.

The relationship between male occupation and ethnic identity further confirms the artificiality of the late-colonial ethnic system, in which categories were strongly correlated only at the top and the bottom of the hierarchy, supporting previous findings by David Brading, John Chance, and Bruce Castleman. Peninsular Spaniards were associated with the most prestigious occupations, and Toluqueños of African descent were more likely to be associated with low prestige, manual labor jobs. The application of socioeconomic groupings shows these relationships more clearly. Peninsular Spaniards appeared in the administrative sector and as merchants and planters, while none worked as an artisan, manufacturer, servant, or laborer. Individuals of African descent worked as servants and slaves, laborers, and artisans. The middle layer was comprised of American-born Spaniards, castizos, and mestizos, who reflected a more elastic pattern, with involvement in all socioeconomic groups.

Marriage data derived from the census largely support the findings on occupation, with high degrees of endogamy at the highest and lowest rungs of the ethnic hierarchy. However, comparison to samples from parish records reveals that a significant number of individuals who appeared as mestizos or castizos in the census were identified as Spaniards at the time of their marriages, showing that different criteria were used in different circumstances, and suggesting the limitations of using ethnic categories alone to

analyze late eighteenth-century populations. Scholars who have conducted similar research with the Revillagigedo census too often have downplayed the limitations of this source regarding the fluidity of categories, too often treating the identities presented in the census as fixed.

As the social realities that accompanied population expansion dismantled the remnants of the colonial caste system, other forms of social distinction also diminished or disappeared. In the 1791 census, the honorific don title was reserved for individuals in high-status occupations and members of the Mexican nobility. In early republican Mexico, social distinction in terms of racial/ethnic categories and honorific titles was contrary to the official liberal political ideology, which considered economic class to be the primary determinant of social stratification. By 1826, titles of nobility were officially abolished. Thus, in many government documents, including the 1834 municipal census of Toluca, no data on ethnicity or social status were to be found. Occasional slips occurred, as when the census takers noted the indigenous and Hispanic components of the populations of certain pueblos, long after the distinction was officially abolished. Parish priests continued to separate records for their flock based on the Spanish/Indian dichotomy well into the early republican period. And estate owners still differentiated between *gente de razón* and others. The roots of this gradual transformation were visible in the *libros de protocolos* during the late eighteenth century, wherein don titles were used to some degree but ethnic identification was seldom included. In reality, perceptions of difference between Indians and Hispanized people continued to be an important factor affecting prospects in the new republic. Legal equality based on ethnic equality was at

best a chimera that existed mostly in the minds of politicians and political philosophers of a particular political ideology, who were more hopeful than realistic regarding the future.

Toluca's occupational structure at the end of the eighteenth century reflected its increased level of social consolidation and self-containedness. Throughout much of the early period, the professions and the trades were notoriously weak in Toluca, due to its marginal status. In 1600, for example, James Lockhart found that no lawyers, physicians, tailors, or sculptors were present in the town.⁴ At this time, work primarily involved the preparation and processing of estate products for external markets. Gradually, workers began to operate on their own modest farms, raising pigs, cattle, and sheep to be sold in Mexico City and the mines south of Toluca; however, there was essentially no local market that could support a substantial complex of occupations. And the professions remained centered in the capital, as there was not a large enough population in the valley to require their services. By the end of the eighteenth century this condition had begun to change, although still only one doctor and one lawyer were counted among the 1791 population (the presence of eight schoolteachers suggested future developments). Artisans present a very different picture, however. In 1791, Toluca supported over 565 Hispanic male crafts and tradesmen, comprising the largest occupational sector in the town, who all produced for the growing local market. The 1834 census, which included female occupations, further demonstrated the strength of the artisan sector in the town.

In 1834, after Toluca had been named the capital of the state of Mexico, the number of professionals increased dramatically. The town was home to seven lawyers, not including those licenciados who were government ministers and deputies. Seven

doctors, two surgeons, and seven pharmacists practiced in Toluca. The eight schoolteachers working in 1834 Toluca—the same number as in 1791—reflects the flat population growth that characterized the period. The transfer of the government and its bureaucracy created a new professional elite in the town. Twenty deputies and ministers were among the highest paid individuals in Toluca, each earning sixty-six reales per day; the governor earned the most: 104.2 reales per day, more than fifty times the income of the average worker. Moreover, seventy-seven government employees had relocated to Toluca, all earning high daily incomes.

Analysis of Toluca's population in 1791 and 1834 revealed remarkable continuities in terms of demographic patterns; and comparison to census-based studies of Mexico suggests continuity in the central region in terms of general trends, as well. Toluca's sex ratio in the 1791 and 1834 censuses was similar, at .76 and .71 respectively, with females outnumbering males, a finding that is consistent with demographic studies of Mexico City. The higher ratio in 1834 is surprising, given increased male mortality during the wars for independence and the presumed desire for draft age males to avoid conscription. The lower sex ratio in 1791 strongly suggests a male undercount in the census; however, males were undercounted in 1834, as well. A population pyramid constructed by age and gender revealed that females were well represented in the 1834 census, while the uneven shape of the male side of the pyramid indicated missing males in certain age groups. The sharpest drop in the gender gap was found in males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four, many who avoided appearing on census rolls to evade potential conscription. Equal indentations in the male and

females sides of the population pyramid likely reflected mortality and decreased fertility caused by epidemics and famines. Migration also affected gender disparity in the census, although to what degree is difficult to determine.

Analysis of civil status and age data extracted from the 1834 municipal census revealed other continuities between 1791 and 1834. These findings were discussed in the comparative context of Sylvia Arrom's demographic study of the women of Mexico City, as well as those of Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein. The data show that the proportions of married, widowed, and single people in 1834 Toluca were remarkably similar to those of 1791, suggesting strong continuity in marriage patterns reflected in the two censuses, despite the exclusion of indigenous people from the earlier one. Moreover, proportions of Toluca's 1834 population ages fifteen and older who were married were very similar those of 1842 Mexico City, with 66.2 percent of Toluqueño males married compared to 64 percent in Mexico City, whereas the percentage of married females in Toluca was 39.7 and in Mexico City 40.7. Men and women married for the first time at a younger age in Toluca than in Mexico City, with a mean age at first marriage of 21.3 for females and 23 for males; however, brides and grooms were close in age, as they were in the capital.

In 1834 Toluca, almost 60 percent of all people age twenty-five and older were married, while males were more likely to be married than females. When widows were included in the calculation, then 55.2 percent of females over the age of twenty-five were unmarried, as compared to 22.4 percent of males. Silvia Arrom's findings of 1811 Mexico City were similar, with 43.9 percent of women married, and 22.5 percent single.

When widows were included in her calculations, the number of unmarried women in 1811 Mexico City totaled 56 percent. Arrom's analysis of the 1848 census of Mexico City found 58.7 percent of women to be unmarried. Based on analysis of the percentages of single adults by age group in Toluca, 20 percent of women age forty and over were unlikely ever to marry.

The percentages of widowed people in Toluca in 1834 and 1791 were almost identical, at approximately 10 percent. Analysis of the widowed population by gender showed that the percentages of widows and widowers were higher in the 1834 census, while the proportion of widows to widowers was nearly the same in 1834 as it was in 1791. The large number of widows in 1834 Toluca was probably not related to the phenomenon of married women hiding their husbands from census takers to protect them from conscription, although this did occur. Most widows were over the age of thirty-five and would not have been married to draft-age males. The most likely explanation for the excessive number of widows is to be found in the surplus of females, which was favorable to males who were seeking wives.

The 1834 census included income data, which does not appear to have been present in other contemporary Mexican censuses. These data illustrated the gulf between the very wealthy and the poor. Historians have suggested that incomes of two reales per day were required for subsistence; however, this figure does not take into account unpaid remuneration in the form of food, clothing, and housing, which would have likely been provided to the majority of low-income people in the service sector and other occupations. Still, over three-quarters of Toluca's working population earned incomes of

two reales or less per day. Moreover, over half earned incomes of one real or less per day. The data revealed a strong correlation between income and gender, whereby females were more likely than males to earn one real per day or less. Whereas males earned more than females, their low incomes had a more detrimental effect on their households' living standard, as they were more likely to be the only earners for their families.

Census data demonstrated that during the late eighteenth century most Hispanic people in the region resided in the town of Toluca. An additional 764 lived on thirty-six haciendas; 332 lived on thirty-nine ranchos; and 567 lived in the pueblos in Toluca's jurisdiction. Estates honeycombed the valley; it is possible that workers on some haciendas close to the town were counted in the town portion of the census; however, since each person in the census was identified with a town address, they likely were town residents. The Hispanic residents of haciendas were permanent workers, who maintained the estates and managed temporary workers when they were needed. Most of the Hispanic population lived in three pueblos, which were effectively secondary Hispanic population centers that undoubtedly had an influence on the local indigenous populations as the two groups were in close contact. In 1834, the population of the Toluca Valley was still overwhelmingly indigenous. Government officials still sometimes used colonial terminology to identify indigenous and non-indigenous groups. Closer to the town of Toluca, some formerly indigenous barrios became more ethnically diverse, while others maintained their indigenous makeups.

Toluca's indigenous population reflected a high degree of social and cultural continuity, which extended past Mexican independence. Throughout the early period,

Spanish officials appear not to have understood the complexities of indigenous society, nor were they particularly interested in doing so. Their primary purpose was to maintain functional relationships with them, initially to extract tribute and labor under the *encomienda*, and later to procure seasonal agricultural labor. Indians continued to speak their own languages well into the nineteenth century; and they sustained many traditional practices, although not without the effects of external influences. Nahuatl testaments recorded in the Toluca Valley, and translated and analyzed by Caterina Pizzigoni, have been used here to provide insights into indigenous self-perception and point to the perseverance of indigenous culture in the region through the eighteenth century. Powers of attorney issued after independence were used to illustrate persistence in the practices of indigenous municipal councils, which retained much of their former social composition, with only superficial changes in terminology.

Although the 1834 census did not include ethnic categories, following the methods of Lockhart and others, naming patterns were used to identify indigenous people in the barrios and pueblos of Toluca, finding that some patterns persisted after 1791. The ethnic makeup of several of Toluca's barrios located closest to the town center did change during the period between the two censuses, while others located farther away appeared to have maintained predominantly indigenous identities. The census manuscript included 11,813 people who lived in twenty-eight pueblos in Toluca's municipal jurisdiction. Naming and occupation patterns strongly suggest that the majority of these people were indigenous, as most of these pueblos were self-contained and lacked Hispanic populations.

Analysis of the estate system, commerce, and artisans in Toluca reveals the degree to which social consolidation had taken place in the town and region. By the late eighteenth century, a shift had occurred in participation in the hacienda economy, in which the majority of haciendas in Toluca's jurisdiction were now owned by members of the local elite rather than by Mexico City-based absentee landowners. Of thirty-six haciendas in Toluca's jurisdiction in 1791, citizens of Toluca owned no fewer than twenty, reflecting an increasing level of social consolidation. The Mexico City elite was still present in the Toluca Valley, as owners of haciendas, retail stores, real estate, and other investments, but they were fewer in number than the local elite, although they shared family connections with some of them. Hacienda owners and their families formed an interconnected group united by common social and economic interests. The careers of two particular types of hacienda owner, Antonio Barbabosa and Francisco Arandia, illustrated how social and family networks were used to facilitate commercial activity. Analysis of the *compadrazgo* and family ties of the Arandia family in particular demonstrated that some of Toluca's republican era elite expanded their networks beyond traditional groups to include national political figures, who were now themselves a new elite group.

Hacienda sales records were used to create a profile of the great estate in the Toluca region. These were a small sample, but large enough to reveal certain characteristics of the estate system. In Toluca, haciendas generally ranged in size from between four and eight *caballerías* in area; but the largest in the sample was $23 \frac{3}{4}$ *caballerías*. These estates were smaller than those in the north of the valley, where poorer

soils and less precipitation led to more extensive land use and affected the types of crops that could be grown. Haciendas in colonial Mexico were typically comprised of separate tracts of land with a central plant as headquarters. Some sales contracts in Toluca differentiated between pastureland and cropland, but no further differentiation was made, suggesting that Toluca's haciendas were contiguous properties, but more research is needed to confirm this. Most haciendas were valued above 10,000 pesos, with the highest selling for 50,000 pesos. John Tutino has identified owners of haciendas at these values as members of Mexico's secondary elite, as compared to the primary elite of Mexico City, which reflects Toluca's continued marginal status in reference to the capital city.

Sales records suggest a high degree of stability in hacienda ownership, findings that are similar to those by Eric Van Young in Guadalajara and by Margaret Chowning in Michoacán. Of thirty-two estates in Toluca's jurisdiction, only sixteen sales were recorded in Toluca's libros de protocolos during the forty years after 1790. It is possible that other hacienda sales were notarized in Mexico City, but certainly most were recorded locally. Haciendas sold during this period were usually encumbered by debts, which often amounted to more than 50 percent of their value, and which was a common feature of the great estate in this era. Of the four haciendas that sold twice, three were sold after 1810. These all declined in value, due to the period of instability caused by the Mexican independence movement, but the decline was less than in other parts of Mexico, like Michoacán where hacienda values declined by 50 percent. Sales at times were to relatives, maintaining the property in the family.

Sale, rental, and company formation records were employed to create profiles of pulperías and tiendas mestizas and their owners, following John Kicza's analysis of business and society in late-colonial Mexico City. Members of the merchant/landowning elite owned the largest and most valuable retail stores in Toluca, a sign of the level of social consolidation that characterized the town beginning by the end of the eighteenth century. Owners of retail stores employed company and partnership mechanisms to operate their businesses, with both parties investing financial or intellectual capital in exchange for a share of the profits. In other cases, managers were hired to operate tiendas. These practices were identical to those shown by John Kicza for Mexico City and widespread in early Spanish America.

The dissertation's chapter on artisans is the first to examine the subject from the perspective of a secondary Spanish American city. Previous analyses have focused on artisanal organization in large cities, with a concentration on guilds and labor and working class organizations, with a few exceptions.⁵ Less is known about how artisans operated in smaller towns. This work adds an important regional and small-town perspective to that literature. As in large cities, guilds were central to artisan organization; however, evidence suggests that they were weaker in Toluca than in large cities. Notarized apprentice contracts were absent in Toluca, indicating a less formal apprentice system; census records irregularly recorded guild ranks; and guild members did not associate with *cofradías* in the same manner as they did in big cities. Most artisans did not enter into the credit market, nor did they form companies or partnerships. Weavers, blacksmiths, and tanners did borrow capital from time to time, depending on

the needs of their businesses. In all cases, property was used as collateral, and family networks were often instrumental in acquiring loans. Merchants, widows, and heiresses were principal sources of capital. Weavers only occasionally formed companies and contracted loans, which were of low value and sometimes comprised of advances of material. Blacksmiths' shops were more likely to be undercapitalized businesses in need of credit. Tanneries were large-scale operations, which required higher levels of capital investment, at least for their initial purchases. Tanners were more likely to use company and partnership mechanisms to operate their businesses.

Finally, the dissertation employed tithe and sales tax records to compare agricultural production and commercial activity before and after independence in order to detect the effects of the decade-long insurgency on the economy. Historians have traditionally characterized the period after national independence as one of widespread economic depression. More recently, regional analyses, especially those by Margaret Chowning and Sergio Alejandro Cañedo Gamboa, have shown that Mexico's post-independence economic experience was not uniform, with incipient recoveries beginning as early as the late 1820s. Comparison of the period between 1797 and 1809 and the period between 1820 and 1833 shows that tithe receipts dropped to just over 50 percent of the prewar annual averages. Crop production data, which were not affected by price fluctuations, show that maize production between 1820 and 1825 was on a par with production during the prewar decade. Declining maize harvests began only after 1825. After independence haciendas in Toluca's jurisdiction began to grow wheat on a larger scale. Average annual harvests after 1820 were actually larger than those of the prewar

decade. And between 1820 and 1829, wheat harvests were more regular than during the preceding period. Yet, after peak production in 1829, the trend indicates a gradual decline.

Sales tax data demonstrated a gradual increase in commercial activity during the two decades that preceded the Mexican independence movement, when the average value of commercial activity was calculated at 625,186 pesos per year. Data for selected years between 1809 and 1834 suggest a decline in consumption. The negative effects of the war are visible in the depressed values in 1811 and 1814, when commercial activity had dropped to half of prewar values. In 1825 the value of commercial activity was even lower than in 1814. Economic recovery appears to have begun in the late 1820s. Dramatic increases in commercial activity were registered in 1827 and 1828, and between 1831 and 1834 the value of transactions of domestically produced goods and merchandise increased steadily. These findings add to the growing regional literature that questions the previously held beliefs regarding the early republican Mexican economy.

Notes

¹ For a discussion of the mechanisms of attraction, marginalization, and consolidation see James Lockhart, "Social Organization and Social Change in Colonial Spanish America," in Leslie Bethell, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 265-320.

² Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain*, 146.

³ Tutino, "Creole Mexico"; and John M. Tutino "Provincial Spaniards, Indian Towns, and Haciendas: Interrelated Agrarian Sectors in the Valleys of Mexico and Toluca, 1750-1810," in *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*, eds., Altman and Lockhart (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976), 177-194.

⁴ James Lockhart, "Capital and Province, Spaniard and Indian: The Example of Late Sixteenth-Century Toluca," in *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*, ed. Ida Altman and James Lockhart (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1976), 122.

⁵ The studies of James Lockhart on Toluca, John Kicza on Mexico City, and Catherine Komisaruk on Guatemala City are notable exceptions, as discussed in Chapter 6.

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1803 Vol. 253, ff. 1-6.

1813 Vol. 269, ff. 1-4.

1819 Vol. 269, ff. 1-3.

Libros de Viento, Toluca

1793 Vol. 250, ff. 1-54v.

1796 Vol. 253, ff. 1-39.

1802 Vol. 253, ff. 1-26.

1803 Vol. 253, ff. 1-25.

1804 Vol. 253, ff. 1-25.

1809 Vol. 271, ff. 2-22.

1811 Vol. 271, ff. 1-22.

- 1813 Vol. 271, ff. 1-16.
- 1814 Vol. 271, ff. 1-19v.
- 1815 Vol. 271, ff. 1-19.

Libros Reales, Toluca

- 1793 Vol. 250, ff. 2-67.
- 1787 Vol. 270, ff.1-46v.
- 1797 Vol. 256, ff. 2-85.
- 1800 Vol. 253, ff. 1-87v.
- 1802 Vol. 253, ff. 2-76.
- 1804 Vol. 253, ff. 2-73v.
- 1809 Vol. 271, ff. 2-79v.
- 1811 Vol. 273, ff. 2-68v.
- 1814 Vol. 271, ff. 2-56.

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- 1822 Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, Vol. 88, Exp. 1, fs. 3-70.
- 1824 Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, Vol. 14, Exp. 7, fs. 1-71.
- 1825 Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, Vol. 301, Exp. 38, fs. 1-58v.
- 1827 Dirección General de Rentas, Estado de México, Vol. 242, Exp. 10, fs. 2-88, 101-102v.
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Libros de Protocolos

Year	Escribano/Juez Receptor/Corregidor	Caja	Legajo
1790	Adrián de Cerain	137	2
1791	Adrián de Cerain	134	2
1792	Adrián de Cerain	134	3
1793	Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo	139	1
1794	Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo	139	2
1795	Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo	139	4
1796	Pedro de Larrea y Salcedo	125	1
1796	Agustín de Arozqueta	125	2
1797	Agustín de Arozqueta	154	1, 2
1798	Fausto Marcial de Urrutia	156	4, 5
1799	Fausto Marcial de Urrutia	157	1, 2
1800	Fausto Marcial de Urrutia	157	3
1801	Agustín de Arozqueta	154	4
1801	Agustín de Arozqueta	155	1
1802	Agustín de Arozqueta	169	1
1803	Agustín de Arozqueta	169	2
1804	Agustín de Arozqueta	169	3
1805	Agustín de Arozqueta	159	3
1806	Antonio de Careaga	161	4
1807	Nicolás Gutiérrez	184	1
1808	Manuel Antonio de Falla Oruña	184	2
1809	Nicolás Gutiérrez	184	3, 4
1810	Agustín de Arozqueta	159	2
1811	Nicolás Gutiérrez	193	2, 3
1812	Nicolás Gutiérrez	193	4
1813	Fausto Marcial de Urrutia	193	5
1814	Antonio de Careaga	205	3
1815	Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis	198	2
1816	Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis	198	3
1817	Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis	198	4
1818	Francisco Gutiérrez Rubín de Celis	205	4
1819	José Joaquín Abalia	206	1
1820	José Joaquín Abalia	199	4
1821	José Basilio González	199	5
1822	José Francisco Hidalgo	195	8
1823	José Francisco Hidalgo	195	9, 10

Year	Escribano/Juez Receptor/Corregidor	Caja	Legajo
1824	José Francisco Hidalgo	212	1
1825	José Francisco Hidalgo	212	1, 2
1826	José Francisco Hidalgo	212	3, 4
1827	José Francisco Hidalgo	295	5, 6, 7
1828	José Francisco Hidalgo	296	1, 2, 3
1829	José Francisco Hidalgo	296	4, 5, 6
1830	José María Espinoza	233	1
1833	José María Espinoza	235	1
1833	Juan María Flores	241	3
1834	José María Espinoza	234	2
1834	Juan María Flores	241	4
1835	José María Espinoza	234	1
1835	Juan María Flores	241	5

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Libros de Diezmos (Tithe Books)

Year	Book
1801	582
1803	583
1804	584
1805	585
1806	586
1807	587
1808	588
1809	589
1810	590
1820	592
1821	593
1822	594
1823	595
1824	596
1825	597
1826	598
1827	599
1828	600
1829	601
1830	602
1831	603

Year	Book
1832	605
1833	606
1834	607
1835	608
1836	609
1837	610
1838	611
1839	613
1840	614

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