

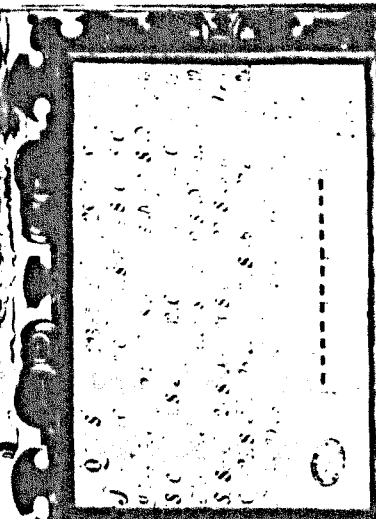
# URBAN POPULAR SOCIETY IN COLONIAL QUITO, c1700-1800

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CITTADINI ONTO



## **Preface**

This thesis is based on archival research conducted in archives and libraries in Sevilla, Madrid, London, Bogotá, Lima, Quito and in local Ecuadorian archives, between 1979 and 1983. Financial assistance was received in the early stages of this research from the Department of Education and Science, and much of the archival data was collected during a two-year period, when its author was resident in Quito, Ecuador (1981-3). In 1983, a contribution was made from the Veitch bequest of the Department of History of the University of Liverpool, arranged in co-operation with the Centre of Latin- American Studies, which helped towards a visit to Spanish archives in the autumn of that year. Many of the Ecuadorian archives consulted were either unclassified, or in the process of being re-organised. In view of this, and in the absence of an important historiography on Ecuador, it was felt appropriate to include a full discussion of the sources and secondary literature in the Introduction. Its author is indebted to the directors and staffs of the archives and libraries in all the above countries for their assistance and co-operation.

I hereby state that this thesis, based essentially on the unpublished manuscript material located in the above archives, does not rely on the work of others, except to the extent which is outlined in the Introduction and given detailed acknowledgement in the notes.

A.M. Minchom, September, 1984.

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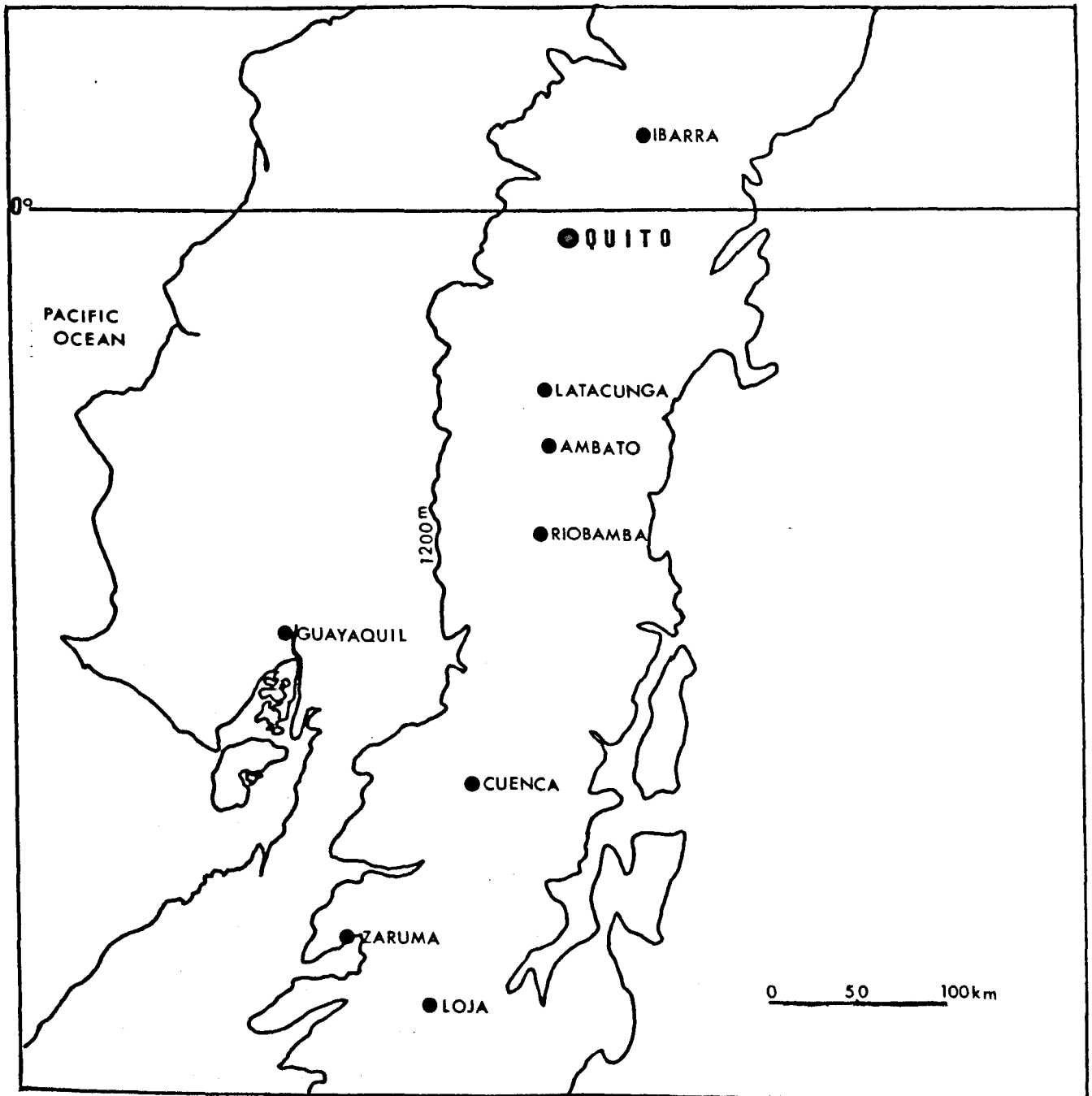
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MAP 1 THE URBAN CENTRES OF THE AUDIENCIA OF QUITO



## Introduction

The urban popular sectors of the Colonial city of Quito form the subject of this study- its settled artisans and vagrants, poor Spaniards, Mestizos (mixed-blood) and acculturated urban Indians, a heterogeneous lower strata which was collectively dismissed as the *plebe* by Colonial administrators or socially conscious creoles. It is a commonplace of popular history that our means of access into this lower strata are much more restricted than into literate and highly documented élite groups. The lower their place on the social scale, the less likely were Quiteños to go before notaries to have their daily transactions recorded for posterity. The alacrity of almost all groups, including the Indians, to have recourse to the Spanish Colonial legal system partially compensates for this, and the series of late eighteenth century Mestizo petitions used in this study virtually provides a prosopographical delineation of one sector of the *plebe*. Nevertheless, the limitations and possibilities of the evidence have imposed their own methodology. It has been necessary to approach plebeian society as a unity, through the collective structures which the historical record allows us to uncover: shared residence in the popular districts of the city, patterns of demographic movement or economic activity, and collective forms of behaviour in rioting.

Consequently, it may be stressed from the outset that the relatively structured society which emerges, organised into differing forms of association, and divided into relatively well-defined communities, is largely the Quito of the more stable artisanal and service populations. Vagrancy was a major feature of the society, both urban and rural, of late-Colonial Quito as a result of the extreme mobility of the Indian population, but officials tended to identify as vagrant everything which moved, and

measures to incorporate these groups into the more fixed structure of urban society continued throughout the late-Colonial period. The demographic evidence can at least suggest the scale of this phenomenon, while the problem of the cultural absorption of Indian migrants into urban society may be considered another side of the same process. If the attempt to impose order on a diverse body of documentation has smoothed out too many of the rough edges of the historical reality, a counter-weight is provided in the material from the law-suits in which the voices of the *plebe* can be directly heard.

No doubt the attempt to examine any society can be broken into an infinite number of themes and sub-themes, but I have tried not to lose sight of the wider Colonial experience, the confrontation and interaction of Spanish and Indian societies. Quito, like other early Andean cities, was a specifically Colonial "implantation", an instrument for the control of the dense rural Indian population incorporated into Spanish rule after the conquest of the Inca Empire in the 1530's. Historical geographers have tended to emphasize that urban and rural society cannot be treated in isolation from each other: within an interdependent economic relationship, the Latin American city served as an agent of domination, the "source of energy and organisation for the exploitation of the region's resources"[1]. Although defining the Colonial city in these terms has a number of implications, one is of particular importance here, namely the artificiality of attempting to examine urban and rural society in isolation from each other. The recognition of an urban-rural continuum can be fruitfully extended from analysis of urban functions to the social history of the lower strata. Even modern Latin-American cities exhibit certain characteristics which are best examined in relation to their rural hinterlands[2], and a medium-sized Andean urban centre of 30,000 inhabitants in the mid-eighteenth century had few features which can

intelligibly be understood in terms of the modern European city. In particular, a distinctive urban morphology is identified which influenced the inter-relationship of Quito's urban centre with its outlying popular districts, and imposes caution against over-emphasizing urban-rural differences. Material from rural areas has correspondingly been used to test the data on Quito, establishing to what extent the forms of association, or social organisation of the urban *plebe* are *sui generis* or are simply an extension of, and running parallel to, rural society.

In one sense, the Audiencia of Quito, forerunner of the modern Republic of Ecuador, departed from the model of strict Colonial inter-dependence. Spanish colonies were conceived on Mercantilist principles as directly complementary to the metropolis, the suppliers of economic resources - notably precious metals- and a closed market for Spanish products. As in all colonial societies, support from the homeland constituted a key lifeline during the early period of consolidation, but a more diffuse pattern of local economic interdependence took over as the colonies grew in self-confidence and economic weight[3]. The Audiencia's mineral wealth was never on a scale to rival that of the great mining centres of Mexico or Peru, and once its society had stabilised in the sixteenth century, its economic relations began to emerge in triangular form : cloth exports to other Spanish colonies, notably Peru, in return for specie: imports of luxury and other goods through the transatlantic trade. The triangular relationship of Quito - Spanish colonies - Metropolis, which underlay the seventeenth century economy, was progressively broken as English and French textiles began to flood the Spanish American market, and Quito's textiles, handicapped by high overland costs, were undercut on the Peruvian market. In the eighteenth century- and probably before- both city and Highlands entered a period of decline and economic stagnation which outlasted the separation of colony and homeland.

Whether Assadourian is correct to set Quito's specialised production for inter-regional commerce against the traditional "enclave" view of Spanish Colonial cities may be questioned[4]. Although not specifically geared to the mining and export of mineral resources to the metropolis, the city played an analogous role in the exploitation of the region's resources (land, labour), and certainly served as an outpost for the political and economic authority which flowed from the metropolis. The extreme concentration of religious functions in the city of Quito also underlines the sense in which the city was an "unnatural" implantation rather than emerging as the crystallisation of the economic activity of a region along European lines. Geographical remoteness from both the centres of Viceregal authority (Lima, Bogotá), and from the great mining regions (Mexico and Potosí) certainly encouraged the formation of a strong local identity, a constant in Quito's Colonial history from at least the 1590's *alcabala* rebellion onwards, albeit sharpened by economic decline in the late-Colonial period. The early widening of direct ties between metropolis and colony was paralleled by transformations in the forms of colonial exploitation. "Internal colonialism", the way in which local Spanish society exerted pressures on Indian society analogous to those emanating from the metropolis, has become a commonplace of the interpretation of Spanish colonial society[5]. At least prior to the late eighteenth century attempt to reinvigorate direct metropolitan fiscal pressure, these local ties are the form of colonialism which most interests us. Nevertheless, colonialism is taken here to as the starting-point for the analysis of Quito society rather than a definitive statement of its essential characteristics.

Within a long-term analysis of urban popular society, the study narrows to measure some of the strains which that society may have experienced in the late-Colonial period[6]. A region already suffering from economic difficulties with the decline of its textile industry was subject

to increased fiscal pressures by the re-organised Bourbon Monarchy in the second half of the eighteenth century. Tyrer has suggested that economic crisis may have hit the creole élite much harder than the Indian peasantry, but establishing the differential impact of economic crisis on different social groups is by no means easy[7]. Without major serial data on urban wages and prices, it is not possible to reconstruct changes in the standards of living of the urban lower sectors, and it is extremely unlikely that such data could be obtained for the artisanal groups who were outside the wage economy of the textile workshops. The evidence of Chapters 1,4 and 5 suggests the existence of urban agricultural plots, some dual occupations, and the multiplication of small shops in a high proportion of urban households. Diversification and even a semi-retreat into subsistence agriculture may have been some of the strategies with which the popular sectors tackled the difficulties of the urban monetary economy.

The impact on the popular sectors of economic decline and/or fiscal pressure was examined in three areas for which the localisation of relevant archival data made such an analysis possible. Chapter 5 discusses demographic trends, residential patterns and the evidence of urban decline. Chapter 6 examines the Declarations of Mestizo, the official attempt to exact the tribute to which only Indians were technically liable, within a confused socio-racial no-man's land at the lower levels of urban (and rural) society. Chapter 7 identifies a tradition of urban rioting which pre-dates the Bourbon reforms, and may therefore clarify their subsequent impact. The categorisation of urban popular society in terms of "mobility and social unrest" seeks to emphasize certain of its dynamic features, but the interest of this conjuncture is not merely in the tensions it generates, but in the improved means it affords of examining both those tensions and the pre-existing structures- notably through improved demographic data. In the same sense, the Mestizo law-suits are taken not merely as a

case-study of the social impact of the Bourbon Reforms, but as a way of taking advantage of the litigation thrown up by those measures to take stock of the socio-racial confusion of pre-reform society.

The theme of European popular history has attracted growing attention during recent years, but defining the same subject in Andean terms runs up against barriers of ethnicity: who are the people, if not the Indians? Historians and anthropologists have the choice of two cultures, and up to a point, two parallel societies- one Spanish and one Indian- to choose from- and an informal division of labour has left many themes untouched. In Andean countries the energies of anthropologists (and a few historians) have largely been directed towards the rural Indian peasantry; the characteristics of Andean societies with their dense rural Indian populations and traditions of social injustice and economic exploitation more than justifies this approach. Although the revision of past misconceptions has done necessary justice to the Andean Indians, it may be time, however, that the lessons be assimilated and new questions asked. The most direct inheritance of the sixteenth century Spanish conquest- a dominant Spanish élite and dominated rural Indian peasantry- has received scholarly attention, but the parallel subsidiary theme of cultural fusion much less so: beyond these two groups lie not only the Mestizos, but also the urban Indians, the artisans or the vagrants, all products of a new society, belonging definitively to neither the Spanish nor Indian worlds, and to whom scant attention has hitherto been given[8].

Although Andean popular society gains in richness from the contributions of quite distinct civilisations, the absence of a common culture running through the different social strata deprives us of one means of access. The degree to which the élite participated in the same culture, notably at festivals, provides a common thread through the European evidence, at least at certain periods[9]; in other words, if we

wish to understand the European lower strata, we can sometimes reach them heuristically through the élite groups. In Colonial Quito, as in many parts of Latin America, one section of the Spanish conquerors quickly constituted an élite which continually absorbed newcomers from Spain, and whose cultural values were essentially those of the metropolis. It participated in a common culture with the lower strata, only in the nominal sense that the Church embraced all elements in society. In Quito- the opposite has been claimed for other areas- the hierarchical framework of society does not seem to have been broken or inverted during religious or civic festivals, while many forms of religious association seem to have reinforced rather than diminished class distinctions [10]. The spread of literacy- and more particularly of the printing-press - in Europe, often permits a direct testimony on what the common people of Europe seem to have thought- or at any rate, read or sung. In Quito, however, even more than other parts of Latin America, the printing-press was restricted to very limited official and ecclesiastical use; those Mestizos who painted or sculpted, did so for the Church, although their work did sometimes take on its own local flavour [11]. Official culture was therefore entirely divorced from that of the mass of the Indian population, although that of the latter was subject to innumerable modifying religious, linguistic and social pressures. The intention here is not to exaggerate the degree of cultural fusion or the importance of the social groups under review; the Highlands of Ecuador were still 70% Indian and almost 90% rural in the 1780's[12]. This theme may cover only a relatively small section of late-Colonial society, but it is one full of significance for the future, even if the nationalist dreams of an earlier generation of a linear advance towards a uniform Mestizo culture now seem exaggerated.

To what extent did an intermediate urban popular culture exist between the dominant Spanish and subordinate Indian cultures; and if it did



exist, did it evolve as a distinctively Mestizo culture, or was it continually pulled towards one or other of its parent cultures? Although the social organisation of the urban population, its spatial distribution, or behaviour in riots, enable us to see how the *plebe* functions as a community, it is much more difficult to define the lower strata in cultural terms, and not only because of its lack of homogeneity. Direct evidence of what was believed and felt is not lacking, but tends to be fragmentary and difficult to interpret; even when the documents speak directly to us, it is in the "sunday best" language prepared for the law-courts, rather than an expression of unconscious beliefs [13]. Other major cities of the Andean region had significant black slave populations, which later merged with Spanish and Indian elements to reinforce the diversity of a quite distinctive urban culture. The racial mix in Quito, however, was mainly Indian-White, a reflection of the stable or growing Indian population in the mid-Colonial period, which obviated the need for the mass importation of slaves. In Quito we find the presence of Spanish and Indian influences, but not the evolution of a complex and quite distinctive urban popular culture to the extent which may have happened elsewhere; the cultural syncretism of the mixed Black, Indian and white populations of Lima or Mexico, for example, was a fertile terrain for the type of popular beliefs which attracted Inquisitorial interest[14]. It may be, therefore, that an examination of the external features of popular society is a more appropriate avenue of enquiry for the late-Colonial city of Quito, than it would be for other urban centres.

Race and class are the instruments with which historians and sociologists have constructed their models of social stratification for Colonial society, and the relative weight attached to ethnicity and economic factors in imposing constraints on vertical social mobility has been a matter of debate[15]. A full study of social stratification,

correlating occupational and socio-racial categories, hinges on more complete census data than it was possible to locate for Quito; although a range of data was uncovered, it appears that a major official house-to-house census for the 1780's disappeared only fairly recently from the archives[16]. Furthermore, the parish records consulted in Quito did not include in the late-Colonial period the occupational data which permits us to study the role of matrimonial alliances in fostering social mobility. Without occupational data and the detailed use of notarial evidence to confirm its socio-economic significance, the mere fact of inter-ethnic marriages has to be treated with some caution. The Declarations of Mestizo include the offspring of Indian *cacicas* who have married Spanish men in what may have been a trade-off of equals (for land or prestige); who was moving "up" and who "down"?[17]. The notarial records which were consulted were somewhat disappointing for the late-Colonial period, becoming more socially exclusive during the seventeenth century and losing much of the detail on artisanal contracts etc. which have made them such a fundamental source for the early Colonial period[18].

Some of these deficiencies in the economic and social data are not insuperable, but impose the adoption of fairly flexible class categories, the justification of which is the peculiar difficulty social scientists from Marx onwards have always experienced in classifying the peripheral groups who constitute neither a rural peasantry nor an urban proletariat, often displaying a signal lack of class unity or consciousness. Where do we place for example the market-women, mini-capitalists, yet who form a part of the lower *plebe*? The inclusion of wealthier artisans such as the silver-smiths in this study is not intended to force them into any unnatural class unity with the lower *plebe*; on the contrary, they are of interest precisely because of the contrast they offer. It would be unwise, *a priori*, to exclude them from the scope of this study, insofar as smiths-like

*pulperos*- ranged from rich to relatively marginal individuals. Although the formal categorisation of Colonial society by social classes is considered somewhat arbitrary and premature, the subterranean role of class and economic factors in underpinning social stratification is nevertheless not neglected. Where direct evidence is missing, a strong indirect light can be shed from other types of data- are the riots of the eighteenth century the product of class alliances, for example, or can they be better understood in terms of class conflict? However inchoate the formation of class structure in Colonial Quito- or most pre-industrial societies- it will be argued that it takes us closer to an acceptable model for social tensions than do alternative approaches.

Economic data has been increasingly incorporated into the study of Spanish Colonial social stratification, but to what extent do ethnic criteria provide a guide to status or prestige, or the alternative model of a caste society? If caste is taken as one of the most inflexible models of a closed society, the fluidity of ethnic categories in Colonial Quito suggests that it had broken down as a rigid system well before the 1770's. On the other hand, it is possible to document many features of a closed society for Colonial Quito, including the values of a caste society, as well as - within the limitations of the demographic evidence noted above - a high correlation between ethnic status and certain occupational categories. The major series of petitions of Mestizos to avoid tribute payment on the grounds that they were not Indian constitutes one means of examining mobility across ethnic frontiers. The examination of ethnic categories, notably with regard to the Mestizos and the urban Indians, forms a key part of the study which follows. Although the data cited hereinafter questions the meaningfulness of the Mestizo as an independent socio-racial category by the late- Colonial period, its examination can still have heuristic value in advancing our understanding of the workings of class and ethnicity.

The themes of racial and cultural interaction, and urban popular society have been taken as closely inter-related subjects. Colonial cities, (as was noted above), have been recognized as artificial "implantations", centres of domination from which Spanish influence radiated outwards[20]. As such they constituted a highly important focus of Spanish-Indian contact; they absorbed Indians as specialist artisans, or servants catering for the needs of the urban population, as well as - in the case of Quito - a labour force for the textile work-shops, or *obrajes*. They were not the only such field. The original Spanish ideal of distinct and parallel polities - "the Republic of the Spaniards" and "the Republic of the Indians"- separated from each other on the basis of a strict socio-racial segregation, broke down early in rural areas, and Indian villages faced white and Mestizo penetration which had partly transformed their demographic structure by the late-Colonial period. This penetration often had cultural implications beyond the numbers of those involved, as the whites and Mestizos were often able to employ a variety of stratagems (intermarriage, alliances with the priests, or brute force), to take over the *cacicazgo*, the position of Indian leader, and integrate themselves in the structure of Indian society[21]. Similarly, the biological process of race mixture was the unique preserve of neither country nor city. Nevertheless, when the imperial censuses were carried out in the late eighteenth century, the pattern they revealed for the region of Quito was of a largely white or Mestizo capital within an administrative district- its Five Leagues of villages - which was overwhelmingly Indian [22].

It has long been recognised that racial categories should be used in a socio-cultural rather than biological sense, and it is clear that the urban centres had- and have- a role as transforming agents. The occupational diversity of the urban centres provided an avenue of social mobility. The evasion of tribute to which Indians were liable was notably easier in the

relative anonymity of the cities, in a cultural context in which an Indian became virtually indistinguishable from a Mestizo through an act as simple - albeit symbolically charged - as changing his clothes. Nevertheless, this process requires elucidation. Is there nothing more to the urban Indian than a transitional anachronism on his way into white society, or does he manage to recreate and preserve certain Indian social traits in an urban setting? How does the Indian *cholo* succeed in incorporating himself into Mestizo society and what kind of tensions, if any, does this generate in urban society? There appears to have been no systematic attempt to answer these questions for any Andean city in the Colonial period, a *lacuna* which is all the more surprising in view of the wide recognition of their urgency today[23].

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This study focuses on one particular society, that of the city of Quito. The comparative framework is that provided by the other Andean cities of Ecuador and, to a lesser extent, Peru. Much of this wider material is also based on archival research, but it was felt that the data on urban Quito had its own coherence, and parallel research has been prepared or published independently of the present study[24]. Within the limitations of scope imposed by its subject, it is possible to point out the diversity of the urban experience in the Andean region, and the last section attempts to bring out those themes which have a larger resonance in Latin American history. Those few studies of aspects of popular society which do exist have in common a concern with the larger urban centres such as Mexico City or Lima[25]. The demographic -and notably the parish- data examined here suggest that many of the estimates for the eighteenth century city greatly exaggerate its demographic importance. Once these estimates have

been halved, we are left with a medium-sized Andean city which may present quite different features in its social organisation from the large Viceregal capitals.

The archival data on the Audiencia of Quito is abundant and largely unexplored, wherein lies both its interest and its frequent frustrations; the fifty or so sections of the Archivo Nacional de Historia in Quito could still be considered as many unwritten monographs. An attempt has been made to shape a large and diverse body of documentation into coherent form, but the absence of work on many contiguous subjects often poses real problems; should one take up the role of historical handyman, filling in holes lying outside the immediate focus with plausible hypotheses?[26] Within the narrower theme of the study, it is obvious that many other faces of the *plebe* would be of equal interest; if barbers are discussed more than say the shoe-makers, that is merely a reflection of the possibilities provided by the material which was located[27].

The best general history of the country remains that of González Suárez, the first volume of which was published almost a century ago, and nearly all historical writing of the first half of this century is based directly on his work [28]. The other most influential history was that of Juan de Velasco, an eighteenth century creole Jesuit who wrote twenty or so years after leaving the country, and whose nostalgic recreation of a Kingdom of Quito recalls Garcilaso de la Vega's mythologising of the Inca past from his distant exile in Europe. Of course, both Garcilaso and Velasco contain data of value, and as an expression of creole consciousness, Velasco's account is a primary source in its own right. However, unlike the Inca Empire, the society of eighteenth century Quito has left innumerable other written records of its existence, so the task of sifting the reliable from the mythological in his account may be left to others: although tempting, it may unwise to draw a sharp distinction between his treatment

of the pre-hispanic and Colonial periods, relying exclusively on the latter[29].

The traditional Ecuadorian historiography, of which González Suárez is the great forerunner, has examined ecclesiastical disputes, or the Independence movement, while a more recent generation has largely rejected this approach, preferring- quite understandably- to examine themes such as the Ecuadorian Indian. The rapid leap from late nineteenth century preoccupations to altogether contemporary ones has entirely by-passed detailed work on such basic institutions as the *corregidor*, whose role was so essential in Perú[30]. If the political framework were more clearly established, it would certainly facilitate analysis of the different social groups; the second part of this work underlines the interaction of the lives of the *plebe* with larger political events and economic trends. Similarly, such events as the Franciscan disputes of the 1740's do not appear to have been examined since the days of González Suárez, although a clear case will be made that these had a social dimension, which makes them well worthy of the attention of non-ecclesiastical historians. The space between history and anthropology had left many themes unexamined in Latin American history, but nowhere is this space wider than in Ecuador[31].

Although the overall history of the Audiencia remains highly incomplete, a number of themes have attracted serious research. For the social and economic history of late-Colonial Quito, the most relevant work has been in three areas: the textile industry, regional history, and the localisation and analysis of demographic sources. M. Hamerly and R.D.F. Bromley localised numerous demographic sources in their studies of Guayaquil and the Central Sierra[32]. Once the major censuses were known for other areas, this facilitated the search for equivalent data on Quito. Their research also filled in part of the map in terms of our understanding

of the regional evolution of Ecuador. All historians have accepted that the Highlands of Ecuador moved into economic crisis in the late-Colonial period, but this crisis still requires examination. Were all regions, for example, equally affected? It is possible that the north and south of the Audiencia were less affected than the devastated Central Sierra analysed by R.D.F. Bromley[33]. If so, where does Quito fit into this scheme? The growth and decline of the Colonial city of Quito have not been the subject of historical research, although Salomon's study of its prehispanic past forms an indispensable basis for the examination of subsequent Colonial transformations, and more is known of its immediate rural hinterland[34].

Equally, the chronology of decline could be put on a firmer footing. Most of the data here pushes it back earlier rather than later, and work on the epidemics of the 1690's may clarify this[35]. Since Phelan's work in the 1960's, research has considerably advanced our understanding of the Colonial textile industry. Tyrer's work on the detailed Ecuadorian and Colombian materials is fundamental, but Ortiz de la Tabla has called attention to the more general documentation in the Archivo General de Indias which completes it[36]. Recent work on Jesuit textile *obrajes* includes a valuable description of how they actually functioned, as well as contributing to our understanding of the rural district near the capital; whether secular landowners or even other religious orders had the same capacity to reinvest productively must be a moot point[37]. In view of the gaps in our knowledge of the Ecuadorian past, the scope of this study has been defined where possible to avoid areas which have already been examined by others. In the case of the Quito rebellion of 1765, the knowledge that this was likely in the near future to receive serious scholarly attention led to a considerable sharpening of focus onto those aspects which inter-relate directly with the rest of the study[38]. Rural rebellions which have been previously analysed are briefly reconsidered in



the last chapter to see to what extent an identifiable tradition of urban street disturbances, can clarify our overall understanding of social unrest[39].

A certain amount of valuable historical documentation has been published, notably under the influence of the late Jorge Garcés of the Municipal Archives of Quito[40]. Among a number of published eighteenth century descriptions of the Audiencia, the account of the Spanish observers Juan and Ulloa, (based on their observations in the 1730's and 1740's) is outstanding[41]. Those of Coletti (from the mid-eighteenth century), Alsedo (1732 and 1766), Montúfar (1754), and the Anonymous of 1755 also provide interesting data[42]. The unpublished description of Cossío in 1766, preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, has also been cited, but would be infinitely more valuable if the description of Quito immediately prior to its pacification by troops from Guayaquil was not missing[43].

The modern location of documentation can sometimes be a comment on the transmission of commands, and flow of authority, as well as on the taste of *papyrófagos*[44]. It is worth recalling therefore the network of overlapping jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and judicial, which characterised the Audiencia of Quito, as well as its successive transformations: these mean that relevant documentation is now in several different countries, which has not helped its history to be written[45]. Quito was the capital of the Audiencia of Quito. This judicial and administrative authority, which formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru after its foundation in 1563, was briefly suppressed when its jurisdiction was temporarily transferred to the Viceroyalty of New Granada in 1718, and was definitively transferred from Peru to New Granada after 1740. Orientated largely around the production and export of textiles, it was a region offering little significant mining potential after the sixteenth century. In terms of

official Spanish policy, it constituted, therefore, a relatively unimportant area when compared with the great mining centres of Upper Peru, a marginality strengthened by its distance from the main foci of Viceregal authority, whether in Lima or Bogotá. Although one study has emphasized the juridical subordination of the early Presidency of Quito to the Viceroyalty of Peru, those examining social realities rather than legal principles have tended to see the gradual creation of a measure of *de facto* independence, a process charted by Phelan's work for the early and mid-seventeenth century[46]. In this sense, Ecuadorian nationalists have seen the Audiencia as a forerunner of the modern state of Ecuador which was created on the break-up of the union of Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador in 1830, eight years after independence from Spain.

A considerable degree of local autonomy would certainly seem to be suggested by the relatively sparse Ecuadorian documentation in Peruvian archives for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although other factors could obviously account for this[47]. In contrast, there is much more relevant material in Bogotá, which may be partly a reflection of direct transfers of documentation, but seems more particularly to be a reflection of increasing administrative vigour at Viceregal level in the age of Bourbon administrative reorganisation[48]. Much of the most valuable data in the Archivo Nacional in Bogotá (ANB) seems to come into the second category, comprising demographic data, documentation on social unrest or general reports. This archive also includes some of the correspondence with the Presidents of the Audiencia which is also preserved in the section Presidencia de Quito of the Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito(ANH/Q), where, however, it is not always as easy of access. The ANB has complete if inaccurate catalogues, and generous archival assistance in subsequently forwarding microfilm, made it possible to make thorough use of this collection[49]. This was also true of the greatest repository of Spanish

Colonial history, the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) of Sevilla, Spain. The principal section for the purposes of this study was the Audiencia de Quito, which includes official correspondence, demographic and economic data, and indeed all matters of potential interest to the Spanish Crown, these being manifold and varied. A number of major European libraries and archives were consulted, either for supplementary manuscript data, maps or rare books[50].

The situation in Ecuadorian archives has changed continually in recent years, and the survey in the otherwise admirable *Research Guide to Andean History* was already seriously out of date by the time of its publication in 1981[51]. It may be emphasized, therefore, that the description here is an account of how those archives were personally experienced during a period of two years' residence in Quito (1981-1983). The Banco Central de Ecuador had begun the task of compiling historical documentation, and one or two items of considerable interest were found in their archives (AHBC/Q). The equally well-organised Archivo del Municipio, Quito (AM/Q) houses the council minutes (Libros de Cabildo, LC), and other municipal documents, notably the census of 1830. Ecclesiastical archives in Latin America often pose a problem, in part because of their state of classification, which rarely benefits from the facilities of secular repositories. The access to the Archbishop's Archives of Quito was therefore particularly valuable, supplying in particular an indispensable document, the Church census of the 1790's. Parish records were also consulted (see Chapter 5).

The single most important archive on Ecuadorian history is undoubtedly the Archivo Nacional de Historia in Quito (ANH/Q), which unites both the archives of the Presidency, and those of the Supreme Court of Justice, as well as many notarial registers. Unfortunately, the ANH/Q was passing through an often difficult period, and closed on at least three occasions

-for sudden repairs, on account of street disturbances, and when the porter went on holiday. Access to particular sections was restricted, while the catalogue (and classification system) of 1981 no longer permitted the localisation of potentially fascinating data described in that of 1975[52]. A partial catalogue of the section Presidencia of Quito (Pres.), which includes official correspondence, is also mentioned in the catalogue of 1975, but was not available for public use in 1981-3. The present writer was not allowed to examine more than four boxes in the morning, and four in the afternoon, which was a considerable problem in an archive which is essentially uncatalogued. The archive is divided into loosely organised sections (Criminales, Civiles, etc.) but these categories are somewhat approximate.

In view of these problems, it was not possible to make as systematic a use of this archive's resources as was possible in shorter forays to Sevilla, or Bogotá. Indeed it is difficult to imagine that our knowledge of Ecuadorian history will remain more than fragmentary until this archive is systematically classified and regularly used. If during a period of extended residence it was nevertheless possible to scratch beneath the surface, what were the criteria of investigation? In the first place, no attempt was made to examine in detail those types of evidence for which it was hoped equivalent data could be uncovered in Sevilla or Bogotá. This includes such sections as Real Hacienda, Cedularios, Alcabalas, or the Presidencia of Quito (Pres). It should be added that these and similar collections of official documentation all contain rich seams of historical data, often with more detail than the summaries which arrived in Spain or the Viceroyalties. Next, it was largely impossible to do justice to the largest sections. Criminales, for example includes two hundred or so boxes on the Colonial period alone, and although criminality is one of the most obvious points of entry into the lower strata, it was not possible to give this

section more than cursory attention. The section Indígenas, however, includes some criminal law-suits, and other interesting data can be sifted out of what is mainly a great corpus of indigenous land-litigation. Among other sections which proved useful were Cacicazgos, Carnicerías y Pulperías, Empadronamientos, Mestizos, Notarias, and Rebeliones (the last section consisting essentially of the data used by S. Moreno Yáñez). The titles of these sections provide a loose description of their contents, but data can stray into any section.

In studies of Spanish Colonial society, a particular reliance on one type of source used has noticeably influenced the kind of study which has emerged. The Lockhart-style study based on the "total" examination of a thirty-odd year slice of its notarial records, is particularly valuable for economic activity, although it can project a somewhat static image of Colonial society. Chance's evidence from the parish records of inter-ethnic marriages projects a more dynamic image of social change at the lower levels of society[53]. If the present study follows neither possible model for the examination of urban popular society, that is largely because of the availability and characteristics of the notarial and parish evidence consulted, and the location of other types of evidence which were felt to be of equal interest. Considerable attention has been given in particular to the evidence of the Declarations of Mestizo, because their range and quality permit the kind of group biography which is more common for a higher social strata[54]. The other types of evidence used here are rarely unique in themselves, but few attempts seem to have been made to assemble them for the detailed examination of the *plebe* of any Spanish Colonial city.

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The following criteria have been used with regard to the organisation of the source material:

i) Archival references. Manuscript references to documents in the Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito, are given with an underlined date (e.g. ANH/Q, Indígenas 84: Doc: 1768-V-18) which means that the document is in a folder marked with this date in box 84 of the section Indígenas. If, as occasionally happens, the real date of the document is significantly different from its classification, or a law-suit lasts for many years, this discrepancy has been noted. It is to be hoped that documents will not be correctly reclassified, without leaving an indication of the correspondence in the box from which they are taken. In view of the changing conditions in the ANH/Q it is appropriate to stress that references to materials in this archive are as they were encountered in 1981-3. As the reference system had changed from that used by Bromley, Tyrer *et al*, it was possible to make only general use of the work of previous authors. Extensive use was made of the section Mestizos, and an abbreviated form of references to that section can be cross-checked with the list of cases given in Chapter 6. A number of other Ecuadorian archives were largely unclassified, but the date, type and location of the document have been given as fully as possible. References to the archives of Sevilla, Lima, Bogotá etc. take the conventional form.

ii) Palæography. Citations have been freely translated, but can be checked against the Spanish version, which is given in the notes. In transcribing the Spanish texts, the erratic orthography of the original documents has been respected. The only changes were the expansion of abbreviations (e.g. "dicho" for "dho"), and the rendering of proper nouns with capital letters. As a result of this approach, certain names and place-names can appear with distinct spelling because of the context in which they are cited; e.g. the President of the Audiencia Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, can also be spelled "Alcedo".

iii) Terminology. Prior to its detachment from Gran Colombia and full independence as the Republic of Ecuador in 1830, the terms "Quito" and "Quiteño" were somewhat imprecise, referring either to the city and its inhabitants, or to a (variably defined) wider region within which the city was located. "Quito" may here mean either the city or the Audiencia, but where confusion may arise, the difference has been specified. The use of the term "Ecuador" is of course an anachronism when referring to the Audiencia of Quito, but one which has been hallowed by generations of historical use. In accordance with general practice, the Ecuadorian dialect

of the autochthonous Andean language Quechua is referred to as "Quichua".

All socio-racial terms- white, Mestizo, etc.- were subject to enormous variations. "Spaniard" is here used of all whites, whether Creoles or born in Spain; where this may lead to confusion, the latter have been specifically identified as Peninsular-born Spaniards. The term "white" also sometimes included the mixed-blood population. Any attempt to unify or simplify the language of race risks reducing the socio-racial complexity of the society which it mirrors. Chapter 6 pays particular attention to socio-racial terminology, and takes advantage of the handy definitions which litigants occasionally supplied for Court officials; "Montañas which is how they call the Mestizos..." Such definitions may not always be exact, and contradictory usages can be found, but they do take us nearer to the social reality than more general compilations.

As the data here is from the mid- and late-Colonial period, *pesos* are always the unit of eight *reales*. The late-Colonial economy suffered from a chronic shortage of specie which appears to have led to a partial de-monetarisation. There is unfortunately no study of money in the Audiencia; C. Ortuño, *Historia Numismática del Ecuador*, (Quito, n.d.) is, as its title indicates, of mainly numismatic interest.

iv) Bibliography. The bibliography has been designed essentially as an tool to be used with the text. In view of the relative paucity of historical research on the Audiencia of Quito, a particular attempt has been made to include recent work on different aspects of Ecuadorian history. There is a good guide to the older Ecuadorian literature in the bibliography of Norris[55].

### Notes to the Introduction.

1) The literature on Spanish Colonial urbanization has been summarised and related to the central Ecuadorian Highlands by R.D.F. Bromley in: "Urban-rural interrelationships in colonial Hispanic America: A case study of three Andean towns", *Swansea Geographer*, 12 (1974): 15, here citing Richard Morse, "Some Characteristics of Latin American Urban History", *American Historical Review*, 67(1962): 317-338. The interrelationship of urban centres and their rural hinterlands is stressed in a series of studies collected in: J.E. Hardoy & R.P. Schaedel (eds.) *Las ciudades de América Latina y sus áreas de influencia a través de la Historia*, (Buenos Aires, 1975). Nearly all detailed economic studies emphasize this interaction; c.f., for example, E. Van Young, "Urban Market and Hinterland: Guadalajara and its Region in the Eighteenth Century", *HAHR*, 61(3), (Aug. 1981) : 593-635. For a recent work on urbanization which includes a contribution from R. D. F. Bromley on Ecuadorian material, c.f. W. Borah; J. Hardoy; G. A. Stelter (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas: The background in Comparative Perspective*, (Ottawa, 1980).

2) See Chapter 4 below, and B. Roberts, *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World*, (London, 1978).

3) The literature on colonialism is too vast to be considered here, but J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1972): Chap XVIII, "The Legacy of an Epoch", (esp. 477 and 481-2), discusses the general links between colonies and homelands, and their progressive transformation. For an overview of the changing place of Spanish America in the Hispanic economy, c.f. J. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs. Volume 2: Spain and America, 1598-1700*, (Oxford, 2nd edn. 1981): 212-248, and bibliography, 312-314. The great internal market orientated around the mining regions of Potosí has been examined by C.S. Assadourian (see note 4) below.

4) C.S. Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial. Mercado interno, regiones, y espacio económica*, (Lima, IEP: 1982): 320-1. According to Assadourian, urban centres in regions with a production geared to the internal market "presentan rasgos y funciones diferentes". Quito is specifically cited (along with Puebla in Mexico) as an urban centre which specialised in textile production. The technical



boundaries of Quito included a clearly rural area, and if we define urban space and functions with sufficient attention, it is clear that Quito's role in relation to its rural hinterland was exactly that of an "enclave". Much of the eighteenth century "urban" textile activity was veiled rural economic production, and even in the seventeenth century, the region's economic base was certainly rural.

5) c.f. the work of P. González Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development", in: I. L. Horowitz (ed.) *Latin American Radicalism*, (New York, 1969). For an example of the way Indian communities often had recourse to Royal justice as a counter-weight to oppression by the local creole élite, see Chapter 1 ii) a). below. In general, I feel that the concept of "internal colonialism" expresses too broad a truth about Latin America to have much detailed value as an analytical tool.

6) For a discussion of the applicability of a Braudelian *longue durée* to Latin America, and the specific "conjuncture" of the late eighteenth century, c.f. M. Mörner; "Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with special regard to Elites", *HAHR*, 63(2), (1983) : 338-346. This scheme probably works better for a (relatively) structurally immobile society like Quito than it would for most other regions.

7) R.B. Tyrer, "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile industry", (Ph.D. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1976): 324, referring to the rural peasantry. The urban sectors must, however, have been much more affected than the rural peasantry through their participation in the monetary economy, even if, as I argue here, urban agricultural plots and occupational diversification provided a partial safety net.

8) I know of no monograph on these popular strata for any Andean city. The recent article by A. Flores-Galindo on the *plebe* of Lima is therefore of particular interest; "Los Rostros de la Plebe", *Revista Andina*, (Cuzco), 1(2) (1983): 315-352. Some of the equivalent sectors in Mexico and Buenos Aires have been somewhat less neglected; c.f., for example, L. J. Johnson, "The Silversmiths of Buenos Aires: A Case Study in the Failure of Corporate Social Organisation", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 8(2), (1976): 181-213; S. Socolow, "Women and Crime: Buenos Aires, 1757-97", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 12,(1980):

39-54; M.C. Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform in Late Colonial Mexico City", *HAHR*, 60:4, (Nov. 1980): 643-671. M. Góngora's article refers to a different level of society; "Urban Social Stratification in Colonial Chile", *HAHR*, 55,(1975): 421-448. Studies of local élites are relatively more common; for Popayán, which technically formed part of the Audiencia of Quito, c.f. P. Marzahl, *Town in the Empire: Government, Politics and Society in Seventeenth-Century Popayán*, (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1978). The process of race mixture in Latin America, and the legal position of the Mestizos have been examined by R. Konetzke, and M.Mörner; a synthesis of the state of research as it existed in 1967 may be found in: M. Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, (Boston, 1967), c.f. also the same author's "Economic factors", and his compilation; *Race and Class in Latin America*, (Columbia Univ. Press, 1970., 2nd edn., 1971). Nevertheless, Mestizos are often neglected in social analyses of Colonial society, which prefer the clarity of Spanish - Indian polarisation. The urban Indians have been almost totally ignored; c.f. note 23). For the general impact of the Spanish Conquest on the Indian population; N.Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la Conquête espagnole*, (Paris, 1971; English edn., Sussex, 1977); K. Spalding, "Indian Rural Society in Colonial Peru: The Example of Huarochiri", (Ph.D. University of California, 1967; recently published in revised form); and S. Stern; *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1982). Within this overall process, the place of the *forasteros*, or migrants/outsideers, whether displaced into the Spanish sector or incorporated into the structure of Indian society, provides the rural counterpart to the evidence for urban social transformations, and has attracted growing attention. I have examined these in an article on the south of the Audiencia (c.f. below). For the interaction of *forasteros* with host Indian communities, (through matrimonial alliances etc.) in modern Bolivia, see the article by T. Platt in D. Lehmann (ed.), *Ecology and Exchange in the Andes*, Cambridge Univ. press, 1981; c.f. also, B. Larson; "Caciques, Class Structure and the Colonial State in Bolivia", *Nova Americana* (Turin), 2,(1979): 197-235.

9) P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (London, 1978, repr. 1983): 23-9, 270-281.

10) See below, Chapters 3 and 7.

11) A. Stols, *Historia de la Imprenta en el Ecuador de 1755 a 1830*, (Quito, 1953), lists the publications which came out in late-Colonial Ecuador. E. Keeding, *Das Zeitalter der Aufklärung in der Provinz Quito*, (Köln-Wien, 1983) examines the intellectual impact of the Enlightenment, making use notably of private late-Colonial libraries. The indefatigable Fray J.M. Vargas has published several dozen works on the religious and cultural history of the country. c.f., for example, *Historia de la Cultura Ecuatoriana*, (Quito, 1965); unfortunately for the purposes of this study, Vargas defines culture somewhat narrowly. The fine Colonial painting of the Last Supper in the Convent of San Diego, Quito, which includes the Andean course of guinea-pig, suggests that it is not entirely impossible to look for local adaptation within "official" culture. For an interpretation along these lines, but based on Peruvian materials, c.f. P. Macera, *Pintores Populares Andinos*, (Lima, 1979).

12) See below, Chapter 5.

13) For a recent incursion into the field of mentalities, using an Ecuadorian case, c.f. F. Salomon; "The Disease Bundles of Colonial Andean Shamans", Paper delivered at the International Congress of Americanists, Manchester, 1982. The "Sunday best" language of the Declarations of Mestizo in Chapter 6 below, is still roughly hewn and provides a direct and interesting testimony; but it cannot be compared with say the dreams recorded by K. Thomas *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (London, 1971, repr.1973): 151-3. The Confessions of the population of Quito in 1797 provides a guide to religious practice, if not religious belief (see Chapter 3 below).

14) The interesting section of documents on "idolatrias" in the Archivo Arzobispal of Lima (used by P. Duviols in his study: *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial*, (Paris-Lima, 1971) includes a number of examples of inter-ethnic magical practice for Peru, but not for the Quito region. Unfortunately, a large part of the documentation in this section appears to have disappeared. I did not see much evidence of Inquisitorial activity for Quito in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, where much of this data is kept. (Some evidence is in the AGN/P.) Quito was geographically far from the Inquisition in Lima, and the Inquisition may have been less active there for this reason. I have not sought Inquisitorial data on the late-Colonial period, (i.e. when Quito belonged to New Granada), but in general this type of documentation appears to be slightly less interesting

by that date.

15) A recent summary of the state of the debate is M.Mörner; "Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with special regard to Elites", *HAHR*, 63(2), (1983) : 335-369. For an article on New Granada in the late eighteenth century, c.f. J. Jaramillo Uribe, "Mestizaje y Diferenciación Social en el Nuevo Reino de Granada en la segunda mitad del Siglo XVIII", *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 2:3 (1965) : 21-48. (c.f. especially the interesting discussion of the title "Don" in this article.)

16) ANB Censos Varios departamentos, Tomo 8; f 327, Quito, 3 de Marzo de 1783; " El Presidente remite el Padron General de Habitantes de aquella Capital y Corregimiento del Distrito, correspondiente al año de 1782..." Folios 307-326 are missing, and there is the annotation that these had disappeared before December, 1971. This document had not therefore been transferred to the section Censos del Ecuador, like a number of other documents. The catalogue of the ANB includes the following reference: "Censo de población de Quito y pueblos de su jurisdicción. Año de 1783." The catalogue is very complete but not altogether accurate, so we can say with certainty only that demographic data on late-Colonial Quito has disappeared. It is possible that only census summaries were stolen, which is not an irreparable loss. The fact that so many folios were missing, however, makes it at least conceivable that some house-to-house returns were among them.

17) c.f., for example, the qualifications about Chance's work noted in: G.Thomson "Local History in the Colonial Era", *Latin American Research Review*, vol XVIII, (1983): 265-6; J.K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca*, (Stanford Univ. Press, 1978).

18) The *locus classicus* for this approach is J. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Colonial Society*, (Madison, 1968).

19) For a summary of the literature on caste and class c.f. note 15. Some degree of vertical social mobility is possible within far more rigid caste societies than Colonial Spanish America, without necessarily eliminating its value as an "ideal type". c.f. E. Leach (ed.), *Aspects of Caste in South Indian, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*, (2nd edn. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971): 8-9 and passim.

20) See note 1.

21) Numerous examples of this process are preserved in the ANH/Q, e.g. ANH/Q Indígenas 26, Doc. 1701-IX-17, Indígenas 70, Doc. 1756-29-VII and notably in the section Cacicazgos. M. Mörner has given examples in "Aspectos sociorraciales del proceso de poblamiento en la Audiencia de Quito durante los siglos XVI y XVII", in: *Homenaje a don José María de la Peña y Cámara*, (Madrid, 1969). c.f., also, the same author's *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América*, (Stocholm, 1970).

22) The Indian population of Quito and the Five Leagues was 43,535 out of 65,935 in the census summary of 1781; see Chapter 5 for the demographic sources. The Indian dominance of the countryside is of course far more marked if we leave the city out of the calculations; the censuses are contradictory with regard to the Indian population of the capital, c.f. Chapter 5.

23) Lockhart included data on the urban Indian in his study of *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Colonial Society*, (Madison, 1968). Gibbs includes a chapter in his thesis "Cuzco, 1680-1710: An Andean city seen through its economic activities", (Ph.D., Austin: University of Texas, 1979): 14-53, revealing some of their economic activities from the evidence of the notarial records. As the former Inca capital, the Indian population of that city certainly included certain complex features in its social organisation, which made it quite untypical of the Indian experience in most urban centres. The scope of neither study allowed for the questions asked in the text. K. Spalding has pointed out this lack of attention in *De Indio a Campesino*, (Lima: IEP, 1974) : 245-7, warning that the process of acculturation may not be the best or only way of approaching this. The modern debate is in certain respects beyond the scope of this study, but some of its ramifications have been examined in Chapter 4.

24) Two items which have already appeared are given in the bibliography; the article "The making of a white province..." was conceived as part of the present project, and complements it with regard to the theme of socio-racial transformations.

25) c.f. notes 8 and 23.

26) This question is a genuine not a rhetorical one; Hamerly and Tyrer have already commented on the difficulty of writing when the "monographic infrastructure" (in Hamerly's phrase) of the country's historiography was not yet developed. Hamerly argued that his study of Guayaquil could therefore best be approached as a series of inter-related essays. In order not to waste the tributary data he uncovered, R.B. Tyrer incorporated an essay on the demographic history of the Indian population into a thesis which was otherwise devoted to the textile industry. This obliged him to omit a section on labour recruitment and actual working conditions, which would have inter-related with the theme of the present study, and might have served as a bridge between two quite distinct pieces of work. See Tyrer, *op.cit*; pp x-xi, and the preface and Chapter on sources in M. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua Provincia de Guayaquil, 1763- 1842*, (Guayaquil, 1973).

27) For some artisanal data, c.f. Chapters 3,4 and 6.

28) F. González Suárez, *Historia General de la República del Ecuador*, (1890-,3 vols, Quito, 1969-70). (This volume has been abbreviated to *GS*.) An exception is Aquiles Pérez, *Las Mitas en la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (Quito, 1947), but the polemical character of this work does not inspire confidence in its treatment of the source material. The only secondary works which have normally been cited are those based on a critical use of source materials; where secondary works are based largely on González Suárez and Juan de Velasco, I have preferred to refer directly to those authors. More general discussions have occasionally been mentioned as a point of reference with the existing historiography.

29) Juan de Velasco *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América meridional*, (Quito: Casa de la Cultura, 3 vols, 1977-8). The controversy on Juan de Velasco has been protracted and bitter and has often eclipsed substantive investigation of the country's past. See R. E. Norris' well-indexed *Guía Bibliográfica de la Historia Ecuatoriana*, (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1978), and A. Szászdi "The historiography of the Republic of Ecuador", *HAHR*, 44(4), (Nov. 1964): 503-550. Szászdi makes the reasonable distinction between Velasco as a writer on his own society, and on the largely mythical pre-Inca past. But I would argue that even on the eighteenth century he has misled more than he has guided. (See the discussion of the earthquake and epidemics of the 1750's and 1760's in Chapters 5 and 7.) C. Borchart de Moreno has noticed that in several passages he copied from Juan and Ulloa (personal communication). An attentive reader of the descriptions in *Quito a través de los siglos*, cited below, may notice how many of these can be traced back to those

authors: Brandin's account of 1824 is virtually a verbatim transcript.

30) Phelan's work is almost the only work on the political history of the Audiencia, but as its sub-title indicates, its theme is really the interaction of the local bureaucracy with imperial politics; J. L. Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the seventeenth century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire*, (Wisconsin, 1967). A. Pareja Diezcanseco, *Las Instituciones...*(Quito, 1975) for a general sketch.

31) The anthropological and ethnohistorical literature is not considered in the brief survey which follows, which limits itself to the research which has inter-related directly with the present study; it can, however, be found in the bibliography.

32) R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador, 1698-1940", (Ph.D., University of Wales, 1977), and numerous articles listed in the bibliography; M. Hamerly, op.cit., and "La demografía histórica del distrito de Cuenca: 1778-1838", *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, (Quito), LIII, (116), (Jul.-Dec. 1970): 203ff. Tyrer, op.cit., pp 2-82 has supplied a curve of the Indian population of the Audiencia for the whole Colonial period according to the tributary records. The interpretation of this data over such a long period is necessarily difficult, as the ratio of tributaries to the total population may have changed, and the criteria of inclusion in the tributary lists almost certainly did, as the Crown attempted to bring the floating vagrant and *forastero* population into the organised tribute-paying classes. A list of, for example, 1,000 tributaries in 1550 may have nothing in common with a similar number in 1780 as a guide to the total Indian population; and the absence of solid data for the seventeenth century makes comparisons between both ends of the Colonial period somewhat speculative. Tyrer recognises and discusses these difficulties in his essay, and the tributary data certainly becomes progressively more reliable as it enters the late-Colonial period, and can begin to be cross-checked against other types of evidence. Most general studies which cite demographic evidence have mixed quite different types of evidence (censuses, chronicles etc.) and therefore produce extraordinary fluctuations in the total population. The only reliable overview is J. Estrada : *Regionalismo y Migración*, (Guayaquil, 1977), which makes effective use of the work of Hamerly and Bromley.

33) Guayaquil, which began its rise as a port and cacao exporting economy in the eighteenth century, absorbed immigrants from the Highlands, but has a history in other respects quite distinct from that of

Quito. The central Highlands, on the other hand, provide a model of urban decline in the eighteenth century which can be directly tested against the evidence for Quito; c.f., the items in note 32). c.f. M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica", for the contrast in the south of the Audiencia between the observers' estimates of decline, and the evidence of steady if modest demographic growth. (I have unfortunately not yet been able to consult the collective volume on Loja, which appeared in the first half of 1984.) The torrent of late-Colonial pleas of catastrophe need not therefore always be taken as the best guide to the real state of the economy.

34) For the pre-hispanic background, F. Salomon; "Ethnic Lords of Quito in the age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North-Andean Chiefdoms", (Ph.D., University of Cornell, 1978); (Spanish edn. *Los señores étnicos de Quito en la época de los Incas*, Otavalo, 1980). For the mid-Colonial rural history of the city's Five Leagues, a useful synthesis of C. Borchart de Moreno's research (although not related to urban change), is available in S. Moreno Yáñez (ed.) *Pichincha: Monografía histórica de la Región Nuclear Ecuatoriana*, (Quito, 1981). Cushner's work on Jesuit farms (cited below) also includes data on the rural district of the capital. A summary of the property census of 1768-1775 can be found in J. Ortiz de la Tabla; "Panorama económico y social del Corregimiento de Quito, 1768-1775", *Revista de Indias*, 145/146, (1976): 83-98. For the city itself, E. Enríquez B.(ed.), *Quito a través de los siglos*, has a slightly confused publishing history, but the first volume was edited in Quito in 1938. This is mainly an anthology of descriptions of the city (Montúfar, Juan and Ulloa etc.), but includes some interesting old photographs, and *inter alia* the article by L. Andrade Marín on "Origen y significado de los barrios y lugares populares de Quito" (pp 238-245) which includes some clues to urban toponymy.(c.f. also note 40) below.)

35) S.A.Browne, "The effects of Epidemic Disease in Colonial Ecuador: the Epidemics of 1692 to 1695", Paper presented at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.

36) Tyrer, op.cit.; J. Ortiz de la Tabla; "El obraje ecuatoriano. Aproximación a su estudio", *Revista de Indias*, 149/15, (1977) : 471-542. Ortiz has either published or called attention to important documents in the Archivo General de Indias. See note 34) above.

37). N. Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito*, (New York, 1982). E. Keeding, *Das Zeitalter*, op.cit., 45-56, has corrected Phelan's view that the Jesuits were non-creolised in the Audiencia. With this *caveat*, it may still be argued that this efficient, centrally organised



order is the institution in Colonial Quito which tells us least about the society around it; work on, for example, the Franciscans would be more revealing for Quito society.

38) The forthcoming research is that of Dr Anthony McFarlane; see the discussion in Chapter 7.

39) S. Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones Indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito, desde comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta finales de la colonia*, (Bonn, 1976; 2nd edn. Quito, 1978).

40) The Municipal Archives of Quito have notably published the sixteenth and early seventeenth century Municipal records (the *Libros de Cabildo*), and its documentation was always been edited with great seriousness. Its review, *Museo Histórico*, although unfortunately of increasingly irregular appearance, has included a number of interesting documents on the history of the city. The absence of published municipal records for the late-Colonial period is (albeit very imperfectly) compensated by: P. Herrera; A. Enríquez; *Apunte Cronológico de las Obras y Trabajos del Cabildo o Municipalidad de Quito, desde 1534 hasta 1714; Desde 1715 hasta 1733*, (Quito; Imprenta Municipal, 1916), and P. Herrera *Apuntamientos de algunos sucesos que pueden servir para la Historia de Quito, sacados de las actas del Concejo Municipal...*, (Quito, 1851, repr. E. Enríquez, B.; *Quito a través de los siglos*, (Quito, Tomo II [Segunda parte] 1942)). Although I have directly consulted the Municipal minutes, these works are handy for checking the timing of epidemics etc. when writing far from Quito. The *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas* is mainly about the coast, but has included one or two items of general interest. The documentary collection of José Rumazo González is somewhat less comprehensive than its title may suggest, being mainly concerned with the construction of the route to the north coast: *Documentos para la historia de la Audiencia de Quito*, (8 vols. Madrid, 1948-50).

41) J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *Relación Histórica del Viage a la América Meridional*, (Madrid 1748; facsimile edn., 2 vols, Madrid, 1978); c.f. also the same authors' *Noticias Secretas de América*, (London, 1826; facsimile edn. Madrid-Quito, 1982).

42) The description of Giandomenico Coletti (or "Coletti") is reproduced in *Quito a través de los siglos*, vol I. op cit. 105ff; c.f., also pp 136 ff, (although the first of these clearly borrows from Juan and Ulloa). c.f. also his *Dizionario storico- geografico dell'America Meridionale*, (2 vols, Venezia, 1771). Alsedo's letter of 1732 (preserved in AGI Quito 132

and cited in Chapter 1) has more detail than the same author's *Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito* (1766), (Madrid, 1915). Joan Pío de Montúfar y Frasso, "Razón (...) (acerca) del estado de la Real Audiencia de Quito", *Revista del Archivo Nacional de Historia, Sección del Azuay* (Cuenca, Ecuador), 3 (1981): 95-147. "Descripción de las ciudades... del Obispado de Quito", (Anonymous, 1755), *Arbitraje de Límites...*, (ed. Cornejo-Osma, Madrid, 1905) : Tomo III: 46-52.

43) "Cuaderno de Guachucal en la Provincia de los Pastos hasta la ciudad de Cuenca y Quito", (1766), The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 568(4). I am indebted to Juan Castro y Velázquez for giving me a transcription of this document. A copy of this document is also held by the Lilly Library, Indiana.

44) The entertaining discussion of the archives of Santa Cruz (Bolivia) in the *Research Guide*, cited below, applies in part to Ecuador; c.f. pp 37ff.

45) The Banco Central of Ecuador hopes to collect some of this scattered data through a microfilming programme, but research on most themes of the Colonial period still requires- as it obviously cannot always get - visits to at least three countries; Spain, Colombia, and Ecuador. My impression is that most of the documentation preserved in the United States is in the form of copies, microfilm etc. of documents preserved in European and Latin-American archives, but I have not verified this personally.

46) I. Sánchez Bella, *Quito, audiencia subordinada*, Quito, 1980; Phelan op.cit., passim.

47) Phelan found little data in Lima in the 1960's, op. cit. pp 408-9.

48) For transfers of archival collections between Quito and Bogotá, see the *Guía del Archivo Nacional de Historia*, (Quito, 1981): pp 15-16.

49) I am very grateful to M. Cabrera, for forwarding microfilm from Bogotá.

50) The British Museum, the Biblioteca Nacional and Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, (and for a document from the Royal Library, Copenhagen, see note 43) above.) Among libraries not otherwise cited for manuscript data, I wish to acknowledge assistance from the following: the Archivo del Guayas, Guayaquil; the Jesuit Library

held at Cotacallao, Quito; the Library of the Banco Central in Quito; the Fondo Jaramillo in Loja; Canning House, London; and the Library of the Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos in Sevilla.

51) J.Tepaske, *et al.*, *Research Guide to Andean History. Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru*, Duke Univ. Press, 1981.

52) The 1981 guide to the National Archives, cited above, includes considerably less detail than that of J. Freile-Granizo (*Guía del Archivo Nacional de Historia*, Guayaquil, 1974) and must therefore be an extremely unusual example of regressive classification, in which a progressively smaller proportion of the archive's collection is catalogued. It is believed that conditions in the ANH/Q may have improved since my departure.

53) See Lockhart, *op.cit.* and Chance, *op.cit.*

54) The best-known group biography in Andean history is J. Lockhart; *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru*, (Austin, 1972).

55) R.E.Norris; *Guía bibliográfica para el Estudio de la Historia Ecuatoriana*, (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1978).

# I : The Organisation of the Urban Space [1]

## 1) The urban centre and the barrios

"The capital is this city of Quito, ancient Court with that of Cuzco of its first Barbarian Princes, situated...on an uneven terrain, and divided by five rivers or gullies (*quebradas*) which descend from the summit of the volcano (Pichincha)... (These) confuse the order of the city with such unevenness, that its population circulates by means of sixteen bridges which facilitate the circulation of the residents in those periods when abundant rainfall raises the level of the rivers. Among these bridges is the Bridge of the Barrio of La Merced, constructed by the first conquerors on the principal ravine which divides the community at four blocks from the main square... (This bridge) had its foundations weakened by the injury of time, continual flooding, and the neglect of the residents, and since its repair was very difficult it was allowed to deteriorate until its final ruin, when it collapsed into the depths of the ravine and was carried away by the currents...(*According to Alsedo, only one of the bastions remained to provide a difficult and often dangerous route across-in January, February, and April 1729 there had been three fatal accidents.*) Being grieved that a city so extensive and populated, seat of an Archbishopric which is first after the two Metropolis (Lima and Mexico), and of a Royal Audiencia, and the other tribunals which compose a Republic governed by the Catholic and Sovereign dominion of His Majesty should have such a nefarious progenitor, occasion of so many misfortunes and ruin of a population which had so much splendour and opulence from the time of its ancient Pagan rulers...(-its citizens are now in a state of misery and poverty)... I proposed its reconstruction".

Letter of Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, President of the Royal Audiencia of Quito, June 18, 1732. AGI Quito 132, f 5-7 [2].

### a) The urban environment

Quito lies at over 9,200 feet (2,810 metres), almost exactly on the equatorial line, where the flat plain of the Inter-Andean basin which runs through the Ecuadorian Sierra, narrows to form a kind of bottleneck-"una especie de garganta" as the eighteenth century Spanish observers Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa put it[3]. The city was founded- or more exactly,

refounded- by its Spanish conquerors in 1534 as a "natural fortress" in hostile Indian countryside, on an inaccessible site bounded by ravines which had served the same function under the Incas who had conquered the region a generation earlier[4]. From the sixteenth century onwards, observers noted that its position, squeezed between mountain and ravine, would render its subsequent expansion difficult, and the main residential concentration of white Quito society remained largely enclosed in the original Spanish city until only a few years ago [5]. Far more than most major Andean cities such as Lima or Bogotá, Quito's location left its mark in a distinctive urban geography - river gullies running through the city, houses built on arches over ravines, streets on an irregular terrain forced into the Colonial grid pattern. Nineteenth century visitors could still observe ravines, which when they were not covered by arches on which the houses rested "disclose to the eye hideous abysses, the sides of which are overgrown with rank weeds"[6], and many of these ravines or *quebradas* were only ironed out by industrial development in the early twentieth century.

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to underline the constants in Quito's pre-industrial urban morphology, and to relate these natural constraints to the lines of social demarcation within the city, and to the relationship of the urban centre to its rural- and semi-rural - periphery. Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera's letter, preserved in the Archive of the Indies, and cited above at length, may serve as an introduction to the two recurring themes in descriptions of the city: its difficult geography, and the contrast between present and past splendours, an early hint (in 1732) of what was to become a near torrent of reports and projects towards the end of the Colonial period. More particularly, it provides a rare opportunity to use documentary and cartographic evidence in association with each other. Although Alsedo's letter concerned the reconstruction of the bridge

of the Barrio of La Merced, it also constitutes a geographical description of the city, and a copy of Alsedo's map accompanied a copy of the letter to Spain[7]. In order to ascribe capital importance to his bridge-building endeavours, it was no doubt in Alsedo's interest to depict a city unhappily divided by river-gullies, subject to periodic flooding, its roads and bridges in ill repair, and incapable by virtue of its poverty of carrying out the necessary repairs. Nevertheless, these difficulties were certainly real, and there is other evidence that as both city and region moved into economic difficulties in the late-Colonial period, there was a crisis of municipal funding which restricted the possibility of human works- bridge-building and the like- controlling the urban environment[8]. Disasters reinforced the difficulties of the natural environment, although their importance should not be exaggerated. Major earthquakes hit Quito twice in the late Colonial period, in 1755 and 1797, but they do not seem to have caused the immense damage which the 1797 earthquake caused in the Central Sierra. Nevertheless, they exposed the physical vulnerability of the city: in 1797, a decree called for experts to inspect the damage to arches and ravines[9]. Although urban growth had involved the partial filling-in of some ravines during the mid-Colonial period, the difficulties of Quito's natural environment were largely unchanged by the late eighteenth century, and it is therefore possible to examine certain continuities in the organisation of the urban space.

Of the "five rivers or *quebradas*" cutting through the city- and this passage shows in contra-distinction to general usage the root sense of *quebrada* was closer to "river" than "ravine" in Colonial Ecuador-three defined the Colonial city. Like a Mediæval city with its population spilling beyond the city walls, these *quebradas* did not enclose the urban population. But as the cartographic evidence indicates, all major Spanish buildings were located within these river-gullies; and all the ancillary

parishes, which initially provided a supporting Indian population, lay beyond them. Although the unevenness of the terrain meant that blocks were slightly smaller than in certain urban centres, the nuclear city was as far as possible based on the rectilinear grid pattern which was the norm in early Spanish Colonial urbanisation[10]. The location of the main official and ecclesiastical buildings did not change significantly after their establishment during the sixteenth century. The Audiencia (and prison), Cathedral, Archbishop's Palace and Municipality were all grouped around the main square, the locus of authority, as well as an important zone of economic activity, although the Square of San Francisco inherited the principal pre-hispanic market-place[11]. The extreme concentration of religious functions in the city of Quito (see also Chapter 3) can be measured by the space occupied by the churches and convents within the city. The slaughterhouse was located to the north, on the edge of the Spanish city, with a supply of water from the *quebrada*, and out of contact with the residential areas; the *Barrio de la Carnicería*, the "area of the slaughterhouse" was later to straddle the boundary between the parishes of San Blas and Santa Bárbara. Beyond the ravines lay the Indian parishes of San Sebastián and San Blas. This dichotomy of nuclear Spanish urban centre, and Indian satellite parishes was common to many early Colonial Spanish cities, and reflected their essential role in the process of colonisation. The dominance of the white city over the Indian countryside was the spatial expression of conquest and the role of the urban centre as an enclave of white residential concentration and official and ecclesiastical authority in an Indian countryside which it controlled and whose economic activity it directed [12]. Rarely, however, was this dichotomy reinforced by natural boundaries to the extent which occurred in Quito, and it will be argued that the initial location of the Indian parishes across the ravines was not without consequences for the character of their

subsequent evolution into the popular districts, or *barrios*, of the city.

Although two ravines marked off the Spanish city, one great *quebrada* ran directly through the heart of the Spanish city. This ravine separated the main square from a "principal" part of the city, the Convent of San Francisco and the parish of San Roque, as well as the monastery of Santa Clara and the retreat of San Diego[13]. The "new bridge" ("puentenuovo" on the key to Alsedo's map) is strikingly illustrated on the map as a testimony of Alsedo's labours. Although traffic continued by the damaged bridge because of the "long detour by other streets" which was necessary to avoid it, the four blocks of urban construction which had emerged over the central ravine in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral are clearly shown. During the seventeenth century, a process of land reclamation involved the filling-in of ravines[14]; but this process was in part a haphazard one as a law-suit brought by Joseph Jaime Ortiz, the architect of a chapel in the cathedral in the 1690's demonstrates[15]. According to the architect, the central ravine had been filled in simply because it had been used for waste disposal. When he attempted to lay the foundation of the chapel, he had to continue to depths of fifteen and even fifty feet to find firm ground: "it was shifting earth and since the foundation of this city, rubbish had been thrown into it." Only when he had begun work did he find that similar problems had beset the Jesuits just opposite the Cathedral (and on the other side of the original ravine)[16]. If the nuclear area of Quito had therefore achieved a degree of integration by the eighteenth century, this was clearly only relative, and the city was still difficult to circulate and build in. It is therefore unsurprising to find that this was even more true when we turn to the ancillary parishes, and their relationship with the urban centre.

#### b) Parroquial organisation and ritual division

Robinson has stressed that for the moment it is unclear whether the



"institutional framework"- parish and confraternity- promoted or reflected social cohesion, and that we know little of socio-spatial organisation at this level[17]. The evidence on the natural boundaries of the Quito-the ravines which constituted, although progressively less so, major barriers beyond which the *barrios* developed their distinctive identities -will here be collated with the overall character of parroquial organisation which gave institutional shape to the urban communities. I have little evidence for the role of the confraternities in this respect (for some evidence on the confraternities see Chapter 3), but a ritual pre-hispanic division of the city may have played a considerable unseen role in shaping the patterns of social cohesiveness at inter-parroquial level.

Parroquial history can be briefly noted. The Sagrario was the Cathedral parish and was coterminous with the original Spanish city. The parish structure of the city took shape in the sixteenth century, and notably in the period of reorganisation of the Indian communities common to the Viceroyalty of Peru in the 1560's and 1570's; in particular a very early Indian parish on the river Machángara disappeared, perhaps being absorbed into San Sebastián[18]. After the parishes of San Blas and San Sebastián, which were in existence before 1573, the parish of Santa Bárbara was created by the 1580's. When Diego Rodríguez Docampo wrote his description of the ecclesiastical state of Quito in the 1650's, all six urban parishes -the Sagrario, the Cathedral-parish and its ancillary parishes, San Sebastián, San Blas, Santa Bárbara, San Roque and San Marcos - were in existence and no new ones were to be created in the period dealt with here[19].

It has been argued that the orientation of Quito's churches and parroquial administration may correspond to pre-hispanic ritual divisions of the city[20]; although little evidence has yet been located for this hypothesis, the Spanish Church certainly evangelised indigenous peoples by

chanelling their existing forms of worship into acceptable forms, and this included building chapels on sites of local worship. The ritual division of pre-hispanic Quito into the Andean moieties of Hanan/Hurin ("Upper/lower") is better documented, corresponding to an Incaic imposition of the sacred geography of the Inca capital of Cuzco. In a mirror reversal of Cuzco's social organisation, Hanan or Upper Quito was the southern half of the city as well as the countryside lying to the south, and the Incaic aristocracy of Quito was concentrated in this part of the city[21]. In order to exert control over a numerically dominant Indian population, Spanish Colonial society- like many other Colonial societies- manipulated existing social structures rather than attempting to create a *tabula rasa*, Pre-hispanic elements were co-opted into the new social order, notably the Indian leaders, *curacas* or *caciques* who were used as intermediaries with the Indian population. Spanish Colonial society sometimes found it convenient not merely to perpetuate but even to "improve" on pre-hispanic institutions, one example of which was the propagation of Quichua which parish priests were technically obliged to speak[22].

In this tradition, the Colonial municipality continued throughout the Colonial period the practice of electing- or more exactly, designating- *alcaldes* ("mayors") of indians who represented the communities to the north (Hurin) and south (Hanan) of the city. This division cut the city in half, the parishes of Santa Bárbara and San Blas lying in Hurin Quito[23]. The *alcaldes* were given a judicial role in mediating disputes, and in the administration of the *mita* system of forced rotating labour; in the sixteenth century, they also played an important role in the *reducciones*, the programme of Indian resettlement[24]. The Indian *alcaldes* appear to have continued exercising a role in mediating disputes, but to judge from the reluctance of *caciques* to accept the post, and the explicit commentary of Juan and Ulloa, the post supplied few major powers in the

eighteenth century[25]. Furthermore, the Indian population of the city was undergoing an absolute and relative decline in the eighteenth century (See Chapter 5). It cannot therefore be argued that the Hanan-Hurin moieties had major political significance by the eighteenth century even in their Spanish Colonial dress[26].

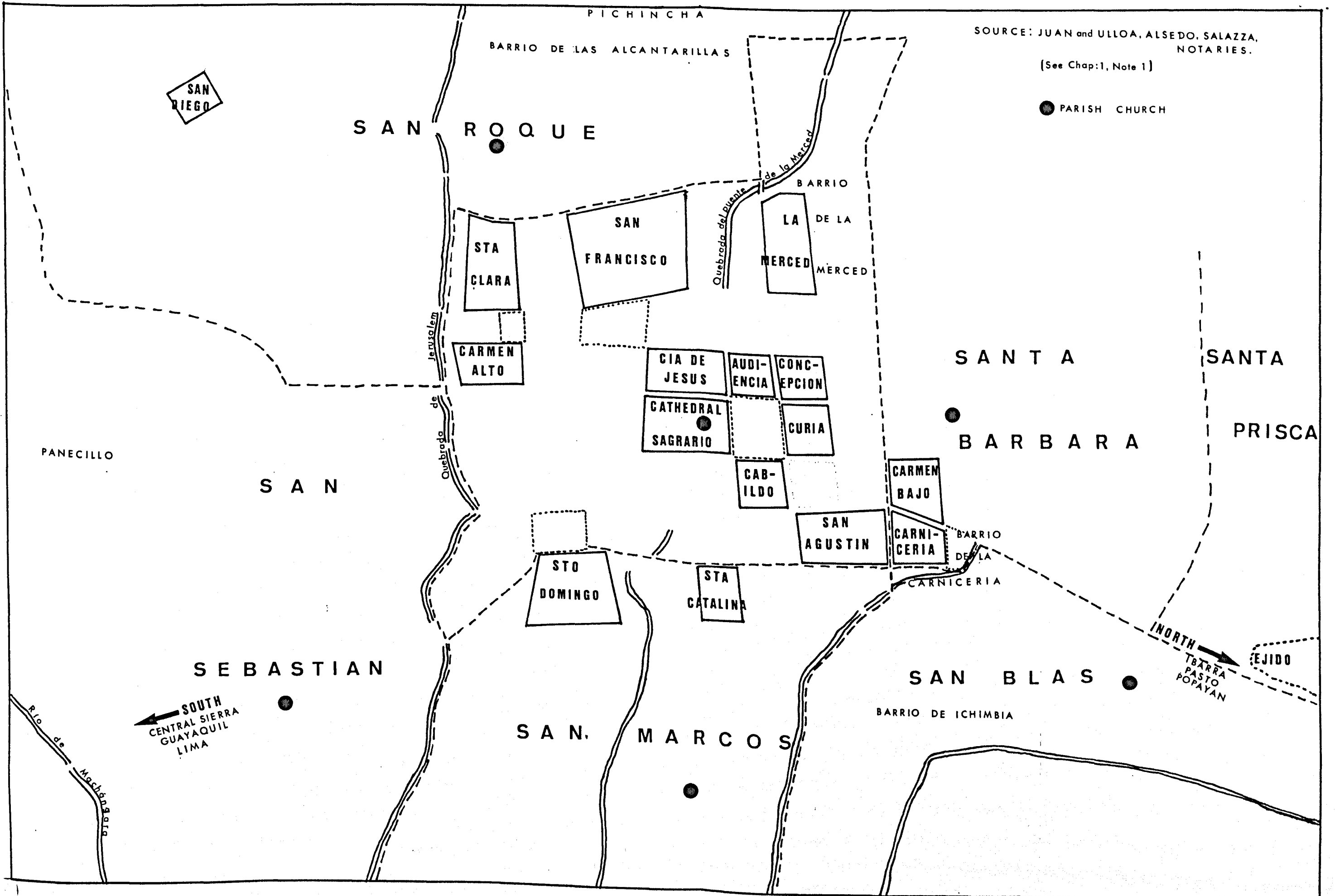
On the other hand, historians have long learnt the lesson from anthropologists that ritual is not merely replete with social consequences, but is indeed a central shaping expression of the social order. Secular rituals are perhaps no less of a shaping influence than the religious ones which -because they have survived better- we are less likely to forget. Although no Colonial description of the election of the *alcalde* is known, the nineteenth century description of Kolberg suggests that the ceremony was a key one. After the election, the *alcalde* paraded through the streets with a huge ceremonial hat which served as a helmet. Indians who had been allowed to go onto the balconies of the second floor (i.e. the upper class level) threw fruit at him - fruit subsequently collected and received as tribute by the newly elected *alcalde*. The fruit listed by Kolberg (lemons, oranges, papaya, pumpkins) includes luxury produce grown in hotlands. These were prestige items either brought into the city by Indians from outlying areas or exchanged by those living near the city, but not food grown on agricultural plots in the city. The throwing of the fruit took on the form of a regicide, a ritualised aggression, which marked the transition into the office of *alcalde*. In analogous ceremonies marking present-day rites of passage in Ecuador, sweets and fruit are thrown until the face bleeds. The participation- albeit passive- of the élite who allowed access to their balconies, emphasizes the importance of the ceremony [27].

Consequently, the fact that both for the authorities and for at least its Indian population, Quito was divided into two parts is of considerable

SOURCE: JUAN and ULLOA, ALSEDO, SALAZA, NOTARIES.

(See Chap:1, Note 1)

● PARISH CHURCH



interest for the social geography of the city. In effect, the jurisdiction of the Sagrario stretched up to the *panecillo* and formed a kind of wedge between San Roque/San Sebastián to the south and Santa Bárbara/San Blas in the north. It can therefore be said that the organisational division of the city (parish and moiety) both reflected and reinforced a genuine geographical separation. During the 1765 rebellion, the first riot was the result of the combined action of the parishes of San Roque and San Sebastián, while a later outbreak was a result of the combined action of San Blas and Santa Bárbara. These were not Indian rebellions, but genuine popular outbursts by the racially mixed *plebe* of the city; however, they certainly provide additional confirmation of the compartmentalisation of the city. The distinctiveness of the Sagrario, both as the place of residence of much of the creole elite as well as of the location of the main official and ecclesiastical buildings, is reinforced by this evidence of *barrio* separation during the 1765 rebellion, which suggests an extension of its fortress role of the early sixteenth century (see Chapter 7).

The cartographic evidence provides the best indices of the physical separation of the outlying parishes. In the parishes beyond the *quebradas*, -according to Juan and Ulloa's map, although it is less clear on Alsedo's- continuous block residential organisation largely gave way to disorganised clusters of houses. In the north of the city, the *quebrada* which marked off San Blas and Santa Bárbara had been partly filled in by the late-Colonial period, notably between the Sagrario and Santa Bárbara, although the latter parish was on a steep slope leading out of the centre. In the south, running west-east off the volcano Pichincha was the *quebrada* Jerusalem, a ravine which was only filled in at the beginning of the twentieth century, as early photographs indicate[28]. The eighteenth century maps testify that this was one of the best preserved *quebradas*, still providing, therefore a form of boundary to the south. Beyond it lay the

parish of San Sebastián, and a semi-rural part of San Roque in the east. Although in the sixteenth century, the parish of San Sebastián disputed with San Francisco the jurisdiction of the south-east of the city- the heart of Incaic Quito and the place of residence of the Inca aristocracy[29]- the orientation of the church, well beyond the ravine and at some distance from the city, is suggestive of its original function. According to the Anonymous description of 1573, the churches of San Sebastián and San Blas, both rudimentary adobe huts at that date, served to administer the sacraments to the Indians settled outside the city ("a los naturales que estan poblados fuera de la ciudad.")[30]. The *barrios* began as quasi-rural aggregations to organise the Indian population of the immediate district, and it would be an anachronism to identify them as specifically urban *reducciones*, even if their proximity to an urban centre meant that they developed in close symbiosis with it. It may be appropriate to note that the term *barrio* connoted a semi-rural entity, rather than carrying its modern urban associations[31]. Although directly inter-related with the city, parishes which were villages in the sixteenth century had not been fully subsumed into the city by the late- Colonial period, or may even have been partly re-ruralised if the decline of certain forms of economic activity placed an additional importance on the agricultural plots.

### c) The *barrios*: hierarchies of urbanity

How do we measure the urban traits - the "urbanity" - of the late-Colonial *barrios* of the city, and to what extent can we establish a hierarchy of urbanity between the different parishes? Can patterns of concentrated urban residence be placed on a sliding-scale alongside social hierarchy, and distance from the urban nucleus identified with a weakening of urban traits and a descent down the social hierarchy? Four criteria have been used to determine the urbanity of the parishes, and permit the

correlation of urban traits with the social composition of the parishes :

i) Jurisdiction. Several of the parishes included an extended jurisdiction which reached into rural areas *strictu sensu*[32].

ii) Urban morphology. The existence of agricultural plots, the density of settlement, and types of residential structure are all key forms of evidence. The evidence of small-scale agriculture supplements urban occupational data and may suggest a diversification of forms of economic activity.

iii) Occupational data. The demographic evidence of the eighteenth centuries shows the type of economic activity undertaken in the parishes, but some care must be used in separating "urban" and "rural" with regard to occupational data. Was weaving an urban or a rural activity? It is argued that it should be best viewed as a quasi-rural activity even when carried out within the technical jurisdiction of the city.

iv) The *quebradas*. The existence of ravines between certain parishes and the centre may have reinforced the abruptness of the transition between urban centre and periphery, and reinforced the village character of the *barrios*.

These points- and notably the third- will be partly clarified by the demographic and economic evidence given in later chapters[33]; the spatial characteristics of the parishes are emphasized here. My criteria of urbanity are not necessarily synonymous with those of an historical geographer. From the point of view of the organisation of the urban space, for example, the *quebradas* may not have been as important as they were in defining the territoriality of the urban social groups. Even if we could identify Quito as a totally urban society from the point of view of the historical geographer (spatial organisation, urban morphology), it may be that in its social organisation it could be found to recreate (through *barrio* identity etc.) certain rural traits. It is argued, however, that

whether we use a restricted or a more extensive definition of urbanity, several of Quito's peripheral *barrios* can only be described as semi-rural on both counts.

The cartographic evidence diverges with regard to the extent of the rurality of the ancilliary parishes. The maps of Juan and Ulloa, and La Condamine, both based on the observations of the Franco-Spanish scientific expedition of a decade or so later, show a less dense and more dispersed pattern of settlement beyond the *quebrada* Jerusalem than Alsedo's map of 1732- this semi-rural aspect applies, although in lesser degree, to the other peripheral districts. Alsedo's map shows not only much denser occupation, but suggests extensive urban development upto and around the Sugarloaf Hill (the *panecillo*). Despite the difference in date between the two maps, it would be unwise to interpret the differing representation of the parishes as cartographic evidence of the urban recession of the *barrios* which existed at this period[34]; the recession of parts of the city cannot have entailed its immediate physical transformation on such a scale. The cartographers were not perhaps greatly interested in the peripheral areas of the city, and we do therefore not have to attach equal validity to both maps. Although later maps were often copied in part from those of the Franco-Spanish expedition, few show a pattern of settlement in the peripheral parishes even remotely compatible with Alsedo's, even when we have allowed for a degree of urban decline. Recalling the purpose of Alsedo's map- which relates to building improvements in the urban nucleus- may reinforce the impression that his map was totally stylised in its representation of the popular parishes, and that the maps of La Condamine and Juan and Ulloa were in this respect more accurate.

This point can be confirmed by the property transactions preserved in the notarial records. At least in the seventeenth century, plots of land



without houses were being sold in San Roque, which does not suggest intensive urban settlement at that date[35]. San Sebastián is the parish for which the difference is most striking between the two maps, but the notarial records confirm the semi-rural character of the parish suggested by Juan and Ulloa - they reveal an extensive but diversified pattern of settlement, broken by plots of land, and textile workshops[36]. It is of interest that research on the epidemics of the 1690's has found a higher rate of mortality in urban parishes than in rural areas: in the case of Quito, Santa Bárbara had a higher mortality rate than San Sebastián, which may suggest that the former was a more crowded urban parish than the latter[37]. When property was sold in the peripheral areas of the city, it was nearly always with a small *huerta*, or fruit and vegetable garden attached, sometimes with additional plots as well; the urban plots were often small. In a transaction dated 29 April 1720, for example, houses were sold with their patios and *huertas* in the parish of San Blas, along with a plot of land measuring only forty yards by thirteen[38]. We find the same formula ("con su patio y huertesita") for the "Barrio de Hichimbia", in the same parish, a district shown on La Condamine's map with the agricultural plots clearly indicated[39]. Moving away from the centre, property being transferred in the parish of Santa Prisca, is clearly surrounded by agricultural land[40]. These examples could be multiplied; the urban agricultural plot was virtually a standard feature of property transactions in the *barrios* of the city.

In property sales, the distinction is made between "alto" and "bajo", i.e. one and two story houses. In the sale of property mentioned above, for example, (29 April, 1720), one of the houses is "alto" while the rest are "vajos". This distinction is an essential one with regard to the social interaction of the different urban social strata. Visiting the city in 1805, the New Granada scientist, Caldas made the perceptive comment; "The

nobility and middle class always occupies the upper floor; the downstairs rooms are for the plebeians. Each family rents one of these, and *each household comes to be a small village* ("pueblo") (My italics)[41]. Fortunately, the demographic data enables us to quantify household size, and can therefore confirm statistically the cartographic and notarial evidence[42]. Continuous block (i.e. two tier) residential structure characterised the Sagrario, most of Santa Bárbara, but only those parts of the other parishes contiguous with the urban centre. Although the pattern of settlement was varied in the peripheral parishes, low household size in single tier residences- and this particularly characterised San Roque - indicates a popular district in which the level of social interaction between upper and lower strata was extremely small, and the degree of social control exerted by the upper classes was correspondingly diminished. When the evidence on popular unrest is examined in Chapter 7, this point will help to explain why the parish of San Roque rioted so often in the eighteenth century.

The existence of "urban" economic activity does not necessarily contradict the evidence of the rurality of a parish and in particular it may be somewhat misleading to classify the *obrajes* as urban textile factories: the maps show that the River Machángara was, although within the legal limits of the city, at some distance from the main urban settlement and most of the urban *obrajes* appear to have been located along this river, requiring large amounts of water[43]. The mills were located along the river Machángara for the same reason, although there were also some using the water of the upper reaches of the *quebrada* Jerusalem[44]. None of the urban centres of the Audiencia of Quito seem to have had a major industrial function with the exception of the gunpowder factory in Latacunga.

The semi-rural character of much of the outlying peripheral area of the

city, has to be balanced against the distinguishing "urban" traits - ethnic, occupational- of Quito's *plebe*, which are equally clear. In order to synthesize the two types of evidence, it is necessary to identify in more detail the social characteristics of the parishes. This is a problem for which a full eighteenth century house-to-house census, complete with occupational data, would provide the clearest answer. Taking up the points made above and anticipating the detailed demographic evidence, a brief preliminary sketch of the distinguishing characteristics of the parishes will be given, to introduce, as it were, the *dramatis personae*. All the points which follow, when not of a very general character, were either documented above or summarise the demographic evidence cited in Chapter 5:

The Sagrario: The nuclear centre of the city comprising its principal administrative and ecclesiastical buildings, and the focus of economic activity, including the markets which took place in its principal squares. The Sagrario was the original Spanish city, and was still the place of residence for much of the creole élite in the eighteenth century. By that period, it also had a major "popular" presence, although part of this was its considerable servant population. The Sagrario was a very large parish, and much more important demographically than the other parishes- certainly in the late- Colonial period when we have comparative data.

Santa Bárbara: This parish was close to the Sagrario (i.e. not separated by *quebradas* etc.) and has many of the same characteristics. It had a socially mixed composition, as the *padrón* of 1768 would reveal, including some of the households of the creole élite. It was an essentially urban parish but an examination of its parish records revealed that a number of infants were being brought in for baptism from rural areas.

San Marcos: The comments on Santa Bárbara seem generally applicable to San Marcos.

San Sebastián: A dispersed semi-rural parish, mainly divided by a ravine from the Sagrario, with a low level of upper-class residence. The jurisdiction extended to a rural area in the south.

San Blas: semi-rural. Like San Sebastián a popular parish, although a demographically unimportant one in the late-Colonial period. This parish shared the built-up *barrio de la carnicería* with Santa Bárbara, but otherwise included marginal hillside land with dispersed occupation. Its jurisdiction extended into the rural areas north of the city.

San Roque: This was a large parish divided into an important urban popular sector giving directly onto the Sagrario as well as a less settled semi-rural part across the *quebrada* Jerusalem. It appears to have been divided into San Roque Alto (Upper) and San Roque Bajo (Lower), but it is difficult to prove that this corresponds to dualist Andean categorisation when referring to a parish which stretched up the lower slopes of the volcano Pichincha[45]. The socio-demographic evidence on this parish is summarised in Chapter 7.

Santa Prisca. This extra-mural rural parish, to the north of the city, was sometimes included in lists of the urban parishes[46].

All the above points were made with evidence from before 1800, but the later evidence of the 1830 census suggests that they continued to be substantially accurate into the nineteenth century, and perhaps beyond. In

general, the extrapolation of later data to correct *lacunae* in the Colonial period poses obvious problems. Quito, however, was not expanding demographically and economically at this period, and the later data can certainly confirm the hierarchy of parroquial urbanity. In view of the decline of the textile industry, sheep grazing near the capital may have been less intensive than in the eighteenth century:

**Table 1:1**  
**Urban-rural characteristics of the Parishes**  
**of Quito in the early nineteenth century**

	Tiled houses	Thatched houses	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Horses, mules, donkeys.
Sagrario	400	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
S. Bárbara	?	?	-----	-----	-----	-----
S. Blas	115	39	91	898	83	30
S. Roque	191	-----	50	150	-----	19
S. Sebastián	?	?	71	423	103	22
S. Marcos	104	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
S. Prisca	48	211	370	2,030	30	22

Source: AM/Q vol 64, f 1-3; "Padrón de Quito..." (c.1831).

Note: San Blas and Santa Prisca also had a small production of wheat and barley, and San Blas also produced maize, leather("cueros"), cacao, salt and sugar.

The urban characteristics of the Sagrario and Santa Bárbara were clearly demonstrated, while - on this evidence - San Marcos was also an unambiguously urban parish at that date. Santa Prisca was clearly rural,

while the other parishes exhibited more mixed characteristics. Most houses in the city had tiled roofs. If we include Santa Prisca in the Five Leagues rather than with the city of Quito, only 4.6 % of recorded "urban" houses were thatched. This proportion reflects the demographic dominance of the Sagrario and it is probable that San Sebastián for which no data is given, would have had some thatched houses. On the other hand, even in the parish of San Blas the proportion of thatched houses was only 27.3%. Wealthier rural residents also lived in houses with tiled roofs, but in general the rural district of the capital presented quite a different picture. In the Five Leagues there were 1,057 recorded tiled houses, although data was not given on some villages. This can be compared with a total of 5,656 thatched houses. In other words, 84.3 % of recorded houses in the rural district were thatched, and only 15.7% tiled. The survey of livestock in contrast emphasizes the semi-rural dimension of the popular parishes. The agricultural production of San Blas included products (salt, sugar) which may have been processed there for the urban market, while its leather production can be explained by the proximity of the municipal slaughterhouse. Clearly, the "rural" activity of the peripheral districts was directly related to the capital.

## ii) The common land, the five leagues and the rural hinterland

If we deny urban and rural history their autonomy, the six "urban" parishes introduced above, become, if divorced from their rural environment, an arbitrary unit of study. Beyond its immediate jurisdiction, Quito exerted an influence on a wider area which both supplied the city, and produced the textiles and agricultural products which determined the degree of vitality of the regional economy. Within its legally defined jurisdiction, there was no abrupt transition between the city and its rural hinterland, except in the sense which was discussed above, where it was suggested that the ravines marked off the nuclear centre from its ancillary parishes *within* what would normally be considered the city. In this section, I discuss the immediate rural hinterland of the common lands and the city's administrative district (Five Leagues), while the wider region of the Ecuadorian Highlands is also briefly introduced; in accordance with the larger theme of this study, the discussion is progressively less detailed as the focus shifts away from the city. Within these general contours, some of the implications of one genuine urban-rural dichotomy - the demographic contrast between the Indian countryside and the non-Indian city- will be stressed.

a) The common lands In the previous section Quito's vertical urban geography was noted, along with its function as the locus of Spanish authority radiating outwards. The role of the city as a concentrated form of settlement which organised and exploited the open space of the countryside around it is exemplified in its administration of its common lands. Quito's difficult location contrasted with the flat lands which lay beyond it, and preserving this land for agricultural purposes may have been an additional reason for founding the city over the ravines. The common

lands, or *ejidos*, of the city were Turubamba in the south, and Añaquito in the north -on the latter lay a lake which diminished during the Colonial period, but was still in existence in the eighteenth century[47]. Controlled by the municipality, the common lands were a direct extension of the urban space, and their utilization would reflect the requirements of wealthy urban white residents through the *cabildo* which was the expression of their interests.

At least in origin, however, the common lands allowed the Indian communities- and all animal-owners- to have access to grazing land, at a time when land was being distributed among the Spanish conquerors. According to a sixteenth century description, the *ejidos* were mainly for cattle, sheep and horse grazing, but even at that period their extreme fertility had already resulted in the diversion of part of the best land into wheat, barley and maize production[48]. This process continued in the early seventeenth century with the sale of some of the land for the sake of municipal funding, and perhaps also in the interest of *cabildo* members[49]. The *cabildo* was responsible for the administration of the common lands, and periodic municipal inspections were carried out throughout the Colonial period. The open nature of the common grazing land made it vulnerable to irregular Indian occupation which was summarily dealt with by officials appointed by the *cabildo*, through measures which included the burning of huts and houses, and the uprooting of crops[50].

By the late-Colonial period, there was therefore nothing new in the cycle of land occupation and violent dispossession, encroachment on grazing rights, or the use of the *cabildo* as a tool for the interests of the local élite. During the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the pressure on the common lands increased, as the municipality rented out land from the *ejidos*, mainly to the leading landowners of the district. The earliest of these rents of *ejido* land listed in the Municipal accounts of



1795 dates back to only 1763, whereas many of the other forms of obligation listed on the same occasion dated back to the mid-Colonial period[51]. This acceleration of the erosion of the common lands from their original function as grazing pasture can be attributed to a number of factors. Among these, no doubt, was the municipality's shortage of funds and its quest for new sources of revenue; the *cabildo*, however, was dominated by a creole élite for its own economic ends, and an intensification of arable agriculture was probably one of the readjustments which that élite made to the decline of its textile manufacturing/ sheep grazing base [52].

In any case, some major landowners acted without waiting for formal rights, and counted on tacit *cabildo* acceptance of their illegal enclosures[53]. The Indian communities, as so often in Spanish America, were the prime victims of this *hacienda* expansion. Who were they? The fact that a law-suit relating to the villages of San Juan Evangelista de Chimbacalle, Sta. María Magdalena and Chillogallo (see below) mentions mules among the animals which they grazed suggests that proximity to the capital and access to grazing lands provided work as mule breeders and *arrieros* for inter-regional transport. If so, this was certainly combined with other forms of agricultural activity in the case referred to[54]. Independent evidence confirms that the village of Chillogallo had a tradition of mule grazing[55]. Around 1831, for all the erosion of grazing rights, there were still 175 recorded mules in the village, the highest number in the Five Leagues of the city, (followed by Amaguaña with 125 and Yaruquí with 77) [56]. We can broadly distinguish between three types of Indian land use. Along with the tradition of sporadic squatter invasions of the common lands, there were neighbouring Indian communities with marginal lands bordering on the *ejidos*, who relied on them for communal pasture rights, as well as a small number of communities whose

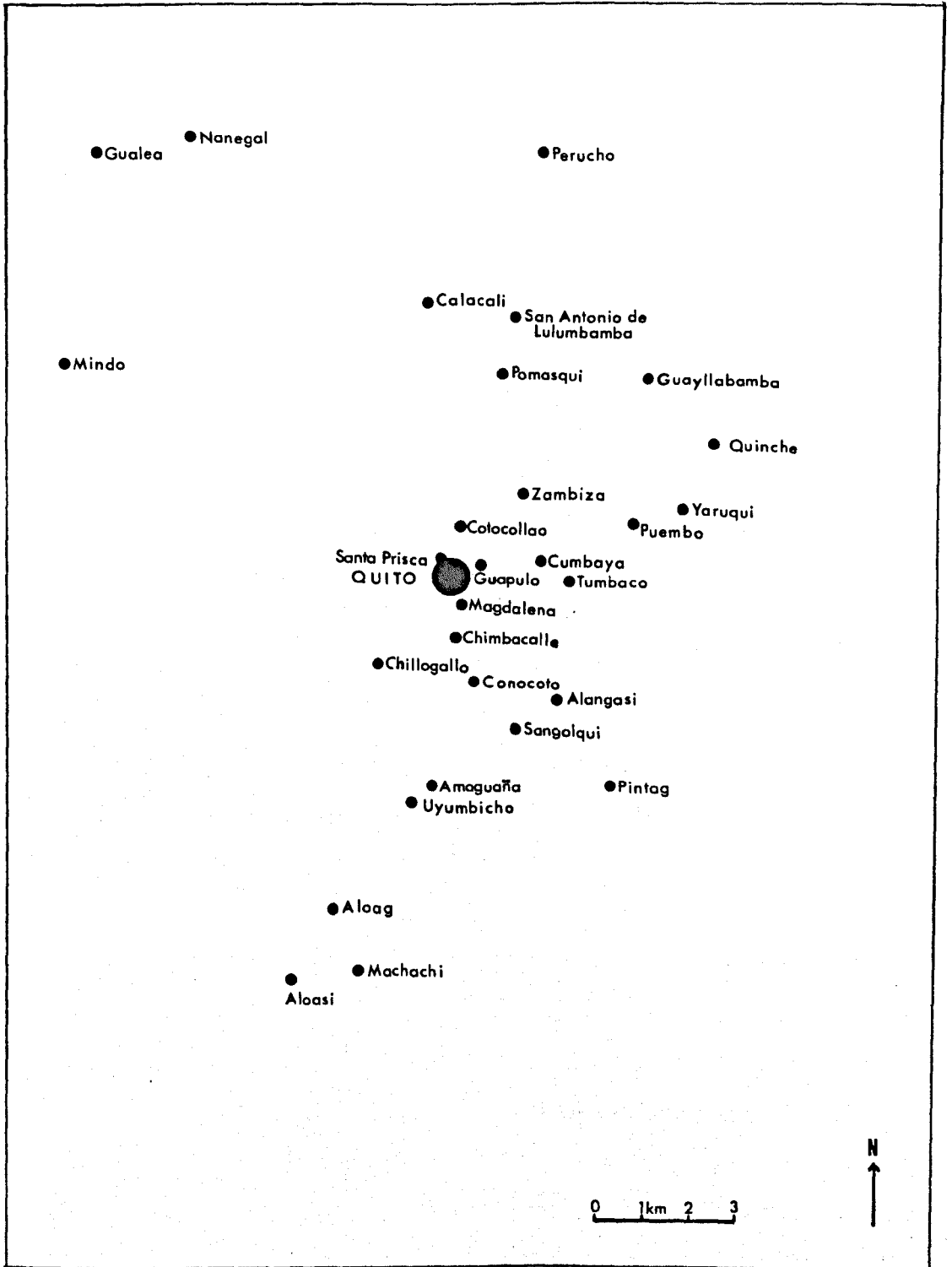
occupation of small plots of *ejido* land was formalised in a rent paid to the *cabildo*. In 1795, the municipal accounts listed the holdings of 75 Indians in Guajaló, 20 Indians in Casapamba, *ejido* of Turubamba, 34 Indians in the site of Batán in Añaquito, and 37 in the site of Chaupi-Cruz, also Añaquito[57]. (These figures are almost certainly those of male tributaries, so the total Indian population was several times larger.) A fifth property listed in the 1795 accounts was held by a white of land "desocupado" by an Indian, a small example of the larger process of the transfer of Indian land into Spanish hands. Some of this land alienation was through sales by *caciques*[58].

The enforced contraction of Indian grazing rights was a brutal process, ineffectively resisted by the only available form of action, namely the traditional Indian recourse to the Spanish system of justice. In 1768, the Indian communities of San Juan Evangelista de Chimbacalle, Sta. Maria Magdalena and Chillogallo complained of the encroachments on the *ejido* of Turubamba by the *hacienda* of the Marquis of Villaorellana in the site of el Calsado, complaining that part of this land had been illegally enclosed[59]. The response was the burning down of seventy-one houses, with all their tools and agricultural produce, for having had the temerity to bring the Marquis before the law-courts. This was with the collaboration of the *cabildo*, and was actually carried out by officials of the city, a connivance which need not surprise us in view of the eight *haciendas* which the Marquis owned in the Five Leagues, and his close ties with other leading property-owners[60]. In the face of illegal Spanish innovation, and in a mirror reversal of traditional land invasions, we find the Indian peasantry cast in the role of defenders of traditional rights. If such an apparently uneven legal battle seems surprising, this may suggest the importance attached to grazing rights, and a degree of desperation on the part of the Indian communities. From the point of view of Indian

communities, it may be that Royal justice, however ineffective and improbable a solution, was the only straw to grasp at in the face of oppression by the local élite. The litigiousness of the Indian population, with varying degrees of success has been emphasized in studies of other regions, and Quito does not appear to be an exception[61].

"Nature abhors a vacuum", but nowhere more than on highly fertile land near dense concentrations of population. We have pointed out the continual Colonial encroachments on the open grazing land near the city, culminating in the consolidation of the *hacienda* system at its expense. This process took virtually the same form as the enclosures in the English countryside at the same period- not least in the somewhat summary form of legal confirmation-and the consequences must have been largely similar in both cases; disruption of the peasant economy, enforced mobility, the absorption of an excess population by the cities insofar as they were able to sustain immigration, and the incorporation of part of the peasant labour force into the farms. The relationship between the expansion of the *hacienda* and the disappearance of Indian communities in the Andes has long been recognised, and perhaps somewhat exaggerated[62]. In the disappearance of Indian communities in the neighbourhood of the capital, the factors discussed above played some role. The proximity and economic dominance of the capital, and later industrial growth must have completed a process of which one phase can be observed in the late-Colonial period.

MAP 3 THE FIVE LEAGUES OF QUITO



### b) The Five Leagues

The city of Quito formed a single unit with its rural district for administrative purposes, the *corregimiento* of Quito, comprising the city and its Five Leagues, a little under thirty villages listed with slight variations on several occasions in the eighteenth century. Some of these lists omitted the very small settlements on the hot western slopes of the Andes (Mindo, Gualea, Nono, Canzacoto) which also belonged to the Five Leagues of the city[63]. Classifying the semi-rural population which lay just beyond the urban parishes but not in clearly rural villages also posed problems[64], while neighbouring villages and their annexes would also be often grouped together. Some of the differences which have caused confusion appear to be simply a matter of varying nomenclature (e.g. San Antonio and Lulumbamba are the same village, i.e. San Antonio de Lulumbamba; Canzacoto, Canchacoto), and the real number of villages appears to have been stable during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[65]. The following were the principal towns and villages in the main Highland area of the *corregimiento* in the second half of the eighteenth century; San Juan Evangelista de Chimbacalle, María Magdalena, Chillogallo, Aloac, Aloasí, Machachi, Perucho, San Antonio de Lulumbamba, Pomasque, Calacalí, Cotocollao, Guayllabamba, Zámbriza, el Quinche, Yaruquí, Puembo y Pifo, Tumbaco, Cumbayá, Guápulo, Alangasí, Conocotoc, Pintag, Sangolquí, Amaguaña, Uyumbicho [66].

Most essential agricultural products could be supplied from within a relatively narrow radius of the city, as the different ecological levels, providing complementary types of produce, are situated close together in the Ecuadorian Highlands[67]. One of the Colonial descriptions summarised the broad distinction between these different altitudinal levels; at the higher altitudes, the "haciendas de Páramos" produced wheat, barley and potatoes; on the plains, maize production predominated; and at the lower

levels, sugar cane etc.[68]. For the mid-seventeenth century, the description of Diego Rodríguez Docampo fills out these general ecological imperatives with a detailed picture of the rural district of the capital[69]. Certain of the villages in the rural district were satellites of the city at that date, carrying out economic activities which directly served urban needs. The clearest example of this was the village of Uyumbicho, a community which had fled into the forest refuge to avoid the Spaniards, and had then been re-settled in their modern location during the *reducciones* of the second half of the sixteenth century[70]. In 1650, the forest of Uyumbicho still supplied "wood, timber, dressed timber, coach-straps, planks, door-posts, beams, rafters and a lot of firewood". If as this list implies, much of the wood was being prepared *in situ* for urban use, this suggests a local craft specialisation in carpentry for the urban market[71]. The early seventeenth century action brought by an Indian carpenter from Uyumbicho, resident in Cuenca, but who carried out a contract for the construction of a mill in Latacunga, confirms this craft specialisation as well as showing in striking fashion the mobility of skilled labour, a phenomenon which has been almost entirely hidden by more visible Indian migrations[72]. Another source of material for the city were the limestone quarries which provided lime for urban construction, and were located near Machachi further south.

With regard to the different ecological levels, only the "Provincia de Panzaleo", (Machachi) could be described as the place of "haciendas de Páramos" in Diego Rodríguez Docampo's account- described as "flat and cold", potatoes and barley were grown there, along with the grazing of animals. The rich agricultural land of the Chillós, at a slightly lower altitude than Quito, supplied wheat, maize and barley; this valley had been one of the most highly prized in the sixteenth century, as indeed it still is today[73]. Also at a lower altitude than the city, was the valley of

Pomasque, described as the "principal jewel ("regalo") of this city, for the orchards it contains"[74]. For mid-Colonial Cuzco, Gibbs found artisans investing in rural property, and a degree of diversification seems to have characterised Quito society at many different social levels[75]. For almost the same date as Diego Rodríguez Docampo's description, we find Francisco Hernández, master tailor of Quito, with a business in the main square - clearly dealing directly with affluent white society- purchasing an orchard of limes, oranges and other fruits in the valley of Pomasque[76]. Descending to a lower and therefore hotter ecological level, the valley of Guallabamba supplied sugar as well as wheat and maize, and- like the hot cotton producing western slopes of the Andes- also produced tropical fruit[77]. Although the Five Leagues produced a wide variety of agricultural products, the city also participated in a more long-range circuit of supply[78].

When Juan and Ulloa visited the region in the late 1730's and early 1740's, they commented on the density of *haciendas* in the Five Leagues[79]. According to Alsedo, writing in the 1760's, although resident much earlier, the space between the villages in the neighbourhood of Quito were so filled with "farms, animal-pens, country residences, fields and orchards... that it could be said of Quito without exaggeration that it is a city so populous that it has for its suburbs the five leagues of the district of its corregimiento "[80]. The type of production does not seem to have changed since the mid-seventeenth century- wheat, maize, barley, sugar from the hot valleys, and cattle grazing, with a production specifically geared to local urban consumption[81]. As elsewhere in the Audiencia, textile production was closely linked to the *haciendas*[82]. Although the thirty or so villages of the Five Leagues represented the post- *reducción* ideal of nucleated centres through which the autochthonous population could be more easily controlled, Juan and Ulloa's comments show a relatively

dispersed pattern of settlement. Apart from the church and the clergyman's house, "the rest can be reduced to mud huts covered with straw scattered in the fields, where each one has his *chacarita* or plot of land to sow"[83]. The predominance of thatched roofs over tiled roofs in the rural district of the capital was noted above.

The broad demographic contrast between a mainly Indian countryside and a more racially mixed capital was strikingly demonstrated by the official censuses, which for all their defects, were unambiguous on this point. Mestizo penetration had affected some villages, but not to the extent of undermining this Indian predominance [84]. In what ways can we see the influence of the city on the Indian population of the Five Leagues; and to reverse the question, how did the Indians of the Five Leagues contribute to urban society? Undoubtedly, the proximity of a major urban centre stimulated particular forms of economic activity among the Indian population. Above we noted the Indian communities grazing mules on the common lands, and therefore almost certainly participating in mule-driving for inter-regional commerce. Within the Five Leagues, there was the domestic weaving of cotton cloth for consumption by the lower strata[85]. The peasant economy of the Indian communities surrounding the city inter-related directly with the hidden economy of the city, supplying agricultural produce which was often marketed independently of official controls[86]. Urban supply presupposed the physical presence of Indians from the Five Leagues, and outlying regions who served as carriers, and were often depicted in later paintings of the city[87].

The Indian population of the Five Leagues formed on a pool of labour on which the city could draw, both on a continuous small-scale level, and in a larger sense. Although the urban *mita*, the system of forced rotating Indian labour, had been technically abolished in the early seventeenth century[88], the city often continued to require the mobilisation of labour



on a scale which the free market was unable to provide. A notable example of this was the rebuilding of the Bridge of La Merced to which reference was made in the first part of this chapter. The Church played an indispensable role in mobilising Indian labour for this work. In view of the cost and labour requirements, Alsedo convoked "all the *pueblos* of the Jurisdiction of the Five Leagues, sending instructions to the priests and coadjutors so that they should come with all the people of their *pueblos*" to carry out the work which -for two months and twenty days, and between 5 o'clock in the morning and mid-day- they did[89]. This type of mass convergence of the Indian population on the city, albeit mobilised by the Church in the interests of the community, may shed an indirect light on the tensions between the urban *plebe* and the rural Indian population which will be examined below[90]. The centripetal role of the capital within its Five Leagues- the Indians also came into the city for religious festivals- helps to explain the plausibility of a mass Indian invasion of the city in 1765[91]. The close relationship of the Five Leagues to the capital must have reinforced the identification of Indians with forced- or semi-forced- manual labour. Although the city was mainly non-Indian by the second half of the eighteenth century, it had frequent contact with the rural Indian population, and its population had in some cases had only recently left it. The white and mixed-blood city and the Indian countryside were in no sense isolated from each other.

c) The Ecuadorian Highlands: a note

Quito was the capital of the Audiencia of the same name, but that entity consisted of a network of distinct jurisdictions, some of which lay beyond its effective authority[92]. In administrative terms, a limited field of direct Audiencia influence can be identified, consisting of the northern and central Ecuadorian Highlands- the city of Quito, the *villas* of Ibarra, Ambato, and Riobamba, and *asiento* of Latacunga along with associated villages and smaller centres. The northern and central highlands can be considered together for other than purely administrative reasons. In the seventeenth century, this area had been the centre of the textile industry, and retained many of the characteristics which had sustained its growth- major self-sufficient estates orientated around textile and agricultural production, a substantial rural Indian population to provide them with a stable labour force, and considerable grazing lands for the sheep which provided wool for the *obrajes*. A series of urban centres- Ibarra, Quito, Latacunga, Ambato and Riobamba- formed economic, administrative and ecclesiastical centres which commercialised rural products, and directed the local economy, as well as serving as centres of cultural diffusion in a predominantly Indian countryside. The different socio-economic roles of city and countryside were reflected in their distinctive demographic characteristics. The urban centres were predominantly white and Mestizo, while the region as a whole was 70.7 % Indian[93].

It is not within the scope of this study to examine this wider area in detail, but it is appropriate to stress the difficulties of communications in the Audiencia which were certainly no better than in the early Colonial or Inca periods[94]. Roads within the *corregimiento* of Quito were liable to break up into ravines in the rainy season[95]. The fiscal accounts of Indian prisoners in 1778, being escorted from Quito to imprisonment in the textile factories of the Central Sierra, may be taken as illustrative of

**Table 1:2**  
**Distances between Guayaquil and Quito in 1812**

Places	Days/Jornadas	
	Days/Jornadas	Leguas/Leagues*
Guayaquil - Samborondon	1	6
Samborondon- Babahoyo	1	20
Babahoyo - Sabaneta	1	5
- la casa de Angas el corregidor	1	5
- Camino Real	1	4
- San Miguel	1	3
- Guaranda	1	4
- Tambo de la Ensellada	1	5
- Mocha	1	11
- Hambato	1	5
- Latacunga	1	7
- Mulalo 3		
- Chiasche 4 ]	1	11
- Machache 4		
- Tambillo 3		
- Turubamba 2 ]	1	7
- Quito 2		
	13	93

Source: B.M. Add. 17,588, f 67: "Razon de las leguas y jornadas que hay desde Guayaquil a Quito"(Lima, 26 Nov.1812).

\*The total takes account of lowland river curves.

the conditions of transport within the Audiencia, the journey between Quito and Ambato taking six days[96]. More normal traffic was, however, quicker, according to a description of the distances between Quito and its principal port of Guayaquil written at the beginning of the nineteenth century[97]. This long thirteen day journey to the principal port of Guayaquil involved a difficult descent of the Andes, and was notorious for "the roughness of the journey"[98].

Trading links followed essentially the north-south axe of the Ecuatorial Andes, along which the main population centres of the Audiencia were located, together with lateral links to the coast, notably Guayaquil. The three main routes were either south to Lima via Guayaquil, or the alternative overland route of Cuenca- Loja- Piura, and- increasingly after the failure of the Quito textiles to maintain their competitiveness on the Lima market in the early eighteenth century- north to the markets of Popayán and New Granada[99]. Contemporaries recognised that high overland costs were reducing the competitiveness of the region's exports. The project to open up the shorter east-west route to Esmeraldas which would reduce the isolation of the Audiencia and stimulate its economy was seen as the *deus ex machina* which could save the Audiencia[100]. Nevertheless, although some improvements were made to the Lima- Quito road by intendants in the north of Peru[101], it is clear that communications with other areas were essentially unimproved prior to the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Tyrer, transport costs for Quito's textiles were rising at the time when prices were falling on the Lima market in the eighteenth century, and it is clear that Quito's distance from its market severely handicapped its competitiveness[102].

The consequences of Quito's geographical isolation from the main centres of the Indies were therefore economically significant as well as psychologically so. Isolation, marginality, economic stagnation: Quito was

clearly one of the backwaters of the Spanish Empire. As symptomatic of the way social evolution interacted with these geographical imperatives to create an inward-looking hierarchical society, we may note the extensive use of Indians as carriers, in part to offset the difficulties of transport. This early Colonial practice was still firmly entrenched when the Austrian-born North American Hassaurek visited Quito in the mid-nineteenth century, and his comments clarify the deep-rooted nature of colonial attitudes which certainly did not end with formal independence from Spain:

while horses and mules are called *bagajes mayores*, asses and Indians are called *bagajes menores*; that is to say, as a beast of burden, the Indian is considered below the horse and the mule, and on a level with the donkey[103].

Unlike coastal ports, and to a lesser extent than the Viceregal capitals, Quito had little direct contact with the outside world- its peninsular Spanish presence was extremely reduced[104]- and the society discussed hereinafter is certainly one which looked inwards rather than out.

### iii) Conclusion: urban-rural contrasts, the *quebradas* as frontiers

This section concludes by returning to the city to ask to what extent it is possible to identify spatially a clear borderline between urban and rural society, which can be tested against social and cultural criteria in the chapters which follow. Alsedo's identification of the whole of the Five Leagues as a kind of suburb is a valuable reminder of the determining influence of the city on its rural vicinity. The extent to which an urban-rural continuum has been recognised in urban society itself, has varied considerably in analyses of modern Latin-American cities. It is argued here, that the geographical particularity of Colonial Quito- combined with its lack of dynamic growth and size as a medium-sized city in the late-Colonial period- make it peculiarly apt in this case.

In the sixteenth century, the Spanish city was founded across ravines for strategic reasons, as a protective measure in hostile Indian countryside. By the eighteenth century, some of these "frontiers" were no longer as continuous as they had been in the sixteenth century, but may already have contributed to the development of the parishes as distinct communities. If we follow Alsedo's definition of the *quebradas* as rivers, or river-gullies, we are less likely to miss a dimension which was equally present in Early-Modern Europe, such cities as Sevilla and its more popular district of Triana, or the more and less fashionable parts of London, also being separated by rivers. The physical separation of one part of Quito from one another can only have reinforced the village character of the *barrios*. If we see the *barrios* acting as cohesive communities, not least when they riot, this may be precisely because they are- *or have been* - villages, in a literal rather than a metaphorical sense: separate communities with their own territory, marked off by ravines, giving radially onto a nuclear centre which retained its residential prestige.

The parish has necessarily been accepted as an essential unit of study. Nevertheless, there are several hints in the documentation of what might be called sub-*barrios*, more restricted neighbourhoods which may lie within, or even overlap the parishes. Does the phrase "el barrio de...X" simply mean "near X", or does it denote a locality with a substantive existence? Examples have been given on map 2) from notarial and other sources. But it is difficult to go beyond this, for that would be to enter the substratum of Quito society beneath- or more exactly between- the levels (family and parish) which the historian can reach. A society functions at many levels, and many threads bind communities together: in emphasizing the territoriality and cohesiveness of certain of these, and the frontiers which reinforce their coherence and identity, it is not necessarily intended to identify the neighbourhood as coterminous with the parish in a legalistic sense. Nevertheless, it is striking to see the extent to which the riots appear to involve either the mobilisation of a particular parish, or the association of one or more different parishes in collaboration with each other.

In emphasizing the dividing function of the ravines, it is appropriate to stress that these are barriers which open and close. The *quebradas* which are filled in may re-open, while streets- like the street of Santa Rosa in 1790- may become impassable by "injury of the weather"[105] In particular, the rainy season comes between October and May, and except for a short Indian summer (or "veranillo") in December or January, the rains can be torrential between January and April. The fatal accidents recorded by Alsedo at the head of this chapter occurred in January, February and April, and the months were perhaps therefore no coincidence. Is it possible to speak of natural frontiers which open and shut with the seasons? The streets in the *barrios* are not paved, and become very difficult ("impracticables") "with the frequency of rain"[106]. Riots have their own

calendar, in part for quite different reasons, but it would be unwise to ignore the "open season" which climatic conditions provided between May and October, when the city was re-united. The second rebellion of 1765 occurred at the time of the festival of Corpus Christi which had absorbed an earlier prehispanic harvest festival: its "summer" character may therefore be doubly emphasized. During an earlier disturbance, the rioters escaped by the ravines[107]. It would certainly be unwise to underestimate the tenacity of the Quiteños to clamber over dangerous ravines when they wished to do so, and the deaths recorded by Alsedo are testimony of this: the ravines were obstacles, but not insuperable ones.

A corollary of an emphasis on the quasi-rural characteristics of the *barrios*, (villages separated by ravines/rivers from the centre of the city, and in some cases semi- agricultural) is that urban society can only be understood through a careful sensitivity to urban-rural contrasts. The extra-mural parish of Santa Prisca or villages like Guápulo lay directly within the sphere of influence of the city, while some of those baptised in the urban parishes were brought in from rural *obrajes*. The cultivation of small agricultural plots within the city, or such examples as the attempts recorded in the municipal records to control pigs running through the streets [108], are a continuous reminder of the proximity of city and countryside. The size of a city certainly plays a role and we may expect different characteristics in a city with a recorded population of around 25,000 inhabitants in 1780, than in Lima or Mexico City which may have been two to four times as large. Within the city, it was possible to identify a hierarchy of "urbanity" within the parishes, by building a composite picture from the cartographic, notarial and demographic evidence.

The city of Quito provides the urban setting of the study which follows, while its rural hinterland, and to a lesser extent the Andean



region as a whole, provide the larger framework within which the evidence can be examined. When data is introduced relating to rural areas, it is identified as such, and used to establish to what extent, if at all, it is possible to separate "urban" and "rural" in the social history of Colonial Quito. The division of the city into six parishes, cannot be taken as an exact definition of its urban space. This legal ambiguity in the separation of city and countryside is, however, common to many Spanish- American and indeed European cities[109]. More specific to Quito is its difficult urban geography, and the characteristics of the popular districts (noted above) certainly suggests that their urbanity should not be exaggerated. We can find both urban and rural traits in the popular society of urban Quito, as well as suggestions of unresolved tensions between them: the intention here is not to play one type of evidence against the other but to attempt to achieve a synthesis.

### Notes to Chapter 1:

1) The cartographic evidence. A sixteenth century map of Quito is mentioned in note 10). For the eighteenth century, the map of Alsedo is preserved in AGI Mapas y Planos Panamá 134. A copy hangs in the Municipality of Quito. The Franco-Spanish expedition of the late 1730's carried out the surveying which led to the maps of Juan and Ulloa, and of La Condamine. For a manuscript copy based on these observations, B.M. Additional, 15,331; "Quito, capitale de la Province du même nom... levé en 1736". For the copy of J. Juan and A. de Ulloa; *Relación Histórica del Viage a la America Meridional*, (Madrid 1748; facsimile edn., 2 vols, Madrid, 1978): 362-3. Both the map of Alsedo and the maps which resulted from the Franco-Spanish expedition have been widely reproduced. A more general eighteenth century map of the Audiencia by Maldonado has also been often republished; for more the general cartography of the Audiencia (although not for the maps on Quito), c.f. C.M. Larrea, *Cartografía Ecuatoriana de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, (Quito, 1977). The reason I have not made more use of the other late-Colonial maps of the city (J. P de Montúfar etc.,) is that I suspect they are copied in part from one or other of the two sets of maps drawn up in the 1730's and 1740's. I have consulted some of the nineteenth century maps for comparative data, although some of these, too, are still based on the evidence of the 1730's and 1740's. c.f. the map of Salazza (1846), (a copy in the B.N. Paris, Cartes et Plans, C 3593.), E. Whymper, *Travels amongst the great Andes of the Equator*, (London, 1892):167, based on J.B. Menten; etc. When I was in Quito, I was able to obtain an early twentieth century map of the city published by the municipality which includes interesting detail. Other maps from this period (and some of those mentioned above) are available in *Quito a través de los Siglos*, cited below. The urban geography of Colonial Quito has been based on the cartographic evidence, but also on the evidence of the notarial records- which provide a general familiarity with the characteristics of the parishes, particularly through property transactions - as well as on my knowledge of the twentieth century city. For the localisation of districts with no official parish or legal status (see map 2), above); ANH/Q, 1 Not. Diego de Ocampo, Tomo 246 (1728-31), ff. 77, 79, 81, 254, 337, 487. One problem may be acknowledged; none of the maps give parish boundaries prior to Salazza (1846). However, although San Sebastián was involved in some litigation over its boundaries in the early Colonial period (c.f. the *padrón* of the parish cited below), I know of no changes in parish boundaries in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The nineteenth century boundaries are consistent with the characteristics of the parishes as they emerge from the Colonial documentation. As the parishes were ecclesiastical institutions, it seems extremely unlikely that there would be major alterations on Independence.

2) "Es capital esta Ciudad de Quito antigua corte con la del Cusco de sus Primeros Barbaros Principes situada... en un terreno desigual, y dibidido de cinco rios, o quebradas, que deszendiendo de la cumbre del Bolcan... confundiendo el orden de la Poblacion con la desigualdad de tal forma que se une y se comunica por/f6 los engaces de 16 Puentes que facilitan el trancito a los vezinos en aquellos tiempos en que la abundante copia de las llubias aumenta las crecientes de estos Rios, entre las quales era de la mayor combeniencia, y alivio a esta necesidad la Puente del Barrio de la Merced construida por los primeros conquistadores en la principal quebrada de la ciudad que dibide la ciudad... la qual por injuria del tiempo continuada imbacion de las aguas, y descuido de los moradores desquisaron las crecientes sus simientos, y teniendo por muy dificultosa su reparo la dejaron deshazer hasta la ultima ruina en que precipitada a lo profundo de la quebrada se llevaron toda la fabrica las corrientes el año de 1714... y justamente compadecido de que una ciudad tan estendida, y poblada cabeza de un obispado que es el primero despues de los dos metropolis, y asiento de una Real Audiencia, y de los otros tribunales que componen una republica ordenada por el Catolico y Soberano dominio de V. Magestad se mantubiese un Padrastro (= Stepfather) tan infeliz ocasion de tantas desgracias, y desbarato de una Poblacion que tubo tanto esplendor y opulencia desde el tiempo de sus antiguas infieles". With regard to the financing of the bridge, Alsedo notes deflation and the difficulty of municipal financing "estando redusida la vezindad a una total pobreza, y miseria"(f7).

3) J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *Relación Histórica del Viage a la América Meridional*, (Madrid 1748; facsimile edn., 2 vols, Madrid, 1978): 350.

4) The authors of the *Relaciones Geográficas*, a series of descriptions compiled in the 1570's and 1580's, and therefore only a generation after the conquest explain clearly the choice of location. For the defensive function of the city (as well as climactic considerations); Salazar de Villasante, "Relación general de las Poblaciones Españolas del Perú", *RGI*, I: 132; "Informéme de algunos españoles que fundaron aquella ciudad en tal asiento y tan malo, y dijéronme dos razones, la una porque estaba más fuerte para defender de los indios, que entonces no estaban tan asentados como agora y de paz; lo otro, porque allí hace grandes aires y está más guardada dellos por estar debajo de la sierra y los aires pasan por alto y no lo sufren tanto". Pedro Rodríguez de Aguayo, "Descripción... de Quito" *RGI*, II: 221; "ponella en parte fuerte, donde se pudiesen defender de los naturales".(c.f., also *RGI*, II:232; and *RGI*, III, 6.) Rodríguez de Aguayo,

op. cit., 201, mentions the *quebradas*, and emphasizes the continuity with the prehispanic site; "tiene algunas cavas que allí dicen quebradas, a los arrabales y en la ciudad, las cuales se pasan por puentes. Tuvieron los ingas que poblaron este sitio por fortaleza las dichas quebradas, y así los españoles, cuando conquistaron aquella provincia, poblaron en el dicho sitio y se aprovecharon de las casas y edificios que hallaron de los dichos indios". For the military function of Incaic Quito, c.f. F. Salomon; "Ethnic Lords of Quito in the age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North-Andean Chiefdoms", (Ph.D., University of Cornell, 1978): 209-214.

5) This point was already made by the perceptive Pedro Cieza de León in *La Crónica del Perú*, published in the 1550's (BAE, T26, Atlas, Madrid; American edition, V.W. von Hagen, *The Incas...*, Oklahoma, 4th repr., 1976: p. 42). Juan and Ulloa, op.cit., 350, make the same point.

6) F. Hassaurek, *Four years Among the Ecuadorians* (1867)(ed.C.H. Gardiner, Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1967): 49. For Quito's "vertical" geography, Holinski's observation is still true enough today: "monter et descendre, descendre et monter; tel est le sort des habitants de Quito", A. Holinski, *L'Équateur: scènes de la vie sud-américaine*, (Paris, 1861): 142.

7) Alsedo's letter is conserved in AGI Quito 132, the accompanying map being transferred to AGI Mapas y Planos Panama 134. The map has often been reproduced, but without reference to the letter and with varying dates ascribed to it; the letter permits us to date it to 1732. For a later account by the same author which includes much less detail, c.f. his *Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito* (1766), (Madrid, 1915).

8) For the problem of municipal funding of the Bridge of La Merced c.f. Alcedo's letter, AGI Quito 132, ff8-10; P. Herrera, *Apunte.* (Quito, 1916): 377-8. For Quito's ongoing crisis of municipal funding, c.f. the "decadencia total de los Propios y Rentas de este Cabildo" (1766), AM/Q vol 54, ff11-12, (although at a time when Quito was subject to increased fiscal pressures, and the *cabildo* therefore doubly likely to plead poverty).

9) AGI Quito 188, for the earthquake of 1755. One of the mestizo petitioners in Chapter 6 (case 196) claims he was baptised in a hut serving as a chapel in the main square three years later. The *cabildo* buildings were also destroyed; AM/Q vol 54, f 11, (cited above). Despite the earthquake, the city was probably expanding in the period 1750-60,(see

Chapter 5) so it is probably misleading to cite the 1755 earthquake as a background factor in relation to the 1765 rebellion. AGI Quito 403, f 4, for the inspection of the *quebradas*; according to the same testimony there was damage to almost all the houses, but no major loss of life, and little evidence of the disruption caused in the central Highlands.

10) See the sixteenth century map of the city published in *RG1*, II, 231. and especially the marginal annotation (*ibidem*. p232), with regard to the size of the *cuadras*, which were smaller than in the coastal cities Lima and Trujillo. c.f., also, "La cibdad de... Quito, 1573", *RG1*, II: 222. For an account of the foundation of the city, c.f. J. W. Schotellius, "Die Gründung Quitos", *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, IX, (1936/7): 276-294; X, (1936/7): 55-77.

11) Salomon, *op. cit.* p 146.

12) c.f. Introduction, note 1.

13) Alsedo, *ibid.* f6.

14) P. Herrera; A. Enríquez; *Apunte Cronológico de las Obras y Trabajos del Cabildo o Municipalidad de Quito, desde 1534 hasta 1714; Desde 1715 hasta 1733*, (Quito; Imprenta Municipal, 1916) : 153, based on the LCQ for April 1668.

15) AMC/Q Cofradía(1655-1762) "Civiles... de la Catedral"(1699) ff 1,4.

16) *Ibidem*.

17) D. J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America*, (Ann Arbor, 1979) : 13-15.

18) Salazar de Villasante, "Relación general...", *op.cit.*, 134-5, for the two parishes of Villasante and Velasco (probably San Sebastián and San Blas), and a good description of the process of "reducing" "indios derramados" into concentrated settlement.

19) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y Relación del Estado Eclesiástico del Obispado de San Francisco de Quito(1650)", *RG1*, III: 5ff, but especially 24-5.

20) H. Burgos-Guevara, "El Guaman, El Puma y el Amaru: Formación Estructural del Gobierno Indígena en Ecuador", (Ph.D. University of Illinois

at Urbana-Champaign, 1975): 244-257.

21) Burgos-Guevara, *ibid.*, and 264-6. and Salomon, *op.cit.* 248-258. For the importance of dualist systems in Andean society, c.f. M. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras Andinas del poder. Ideología religiosa y política*, Lima, 1983. This feature has also been found in the Latin-American lowlands, c.f. C. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie Structurale*, (Paris, 2nd edn. 1978): 147-80.

22) The autochthonous inhabitants of the Equatorial Andes spoke non-Quichua languages, (c.f. Cieza de León, *op.cit.*, 54), and Quichua must therefore have been spread in the Colonial period by the Church, or even paradoxically by the urban centres where Indians of different kinship groups had contact. Quichua continued to be spoken in the city of Quito in the eighteenth century, and parish priests continued to require- if we believe the official documentation- proficiency in Quichua. c.f. ANH/Q, Pres. 60, Doc. 2673, ff79-80, for the election of the parish priest of San Blas, Nov. 22, 1766. B. Recio mentions dispensations from speaking Quichua in his *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito* (1773) (Madrid, 1947) : 256. (See Chapter 3 below for the claimed low standards of parish priests). Salomon mentions a number of "retroactive Inca-izations", such as the Colonial utilization of the term "ayllu", which nevertheless fitted the pre-hispanic type of communal structure.

23) Salomon's work (*op.cit.* pp. 250-253) is more reliable for the pre-hispanic period than Burgos (*op.cit.* p. 264), who uses mid-Colonial documentation (dated 1695). On the other hand, Colonial deformations are precisely what interests us here, so the confirmation that in 1695, Santa Bárbara and San Blas were Hurin and San Sebastián and San Roque, Hanan is of great interest. I have little data of any kind on (Hanan) San Marcos - following the unfortunate death of its parish priest in 1982, the archives were unavailable in late-1982, and early 1983.

24) For the *alcalde mayor* see W. Espinoza Soriano, "El alcalde mayor en el Virreinato del Perú", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, T. XVII (1960): 183-300. For an example from this region, F. Salomon, "Don Pedro de Zámbriza, un Varayuj del Siglo XVI", *Cuadernos de Historia y Arqueología*, (Guayaquil), 42, (1975): 285-315.

25) Juan and Ulloa, *op. cit.* 360.

26) In 1712, for example, the *cabildo* issued threats against the Cacique of Machache that he should come to Quito on his election as

*alcalde mayor* of the Hanansayas, or risk suspension of his *cacicazgo* AM/Q, LCQ, 1712; f 94. Elections took place each year, and can be found at the beginning of the municipal records for the relevant year. In the eighteenth century, elections followed the north/south divide between the two moieties. It was normally a rotating post, and between 1725 and 1728, for example, the following were elected;

<b>Date</b>	<b>Anansayas (= South)</b>	<b>Urinsayas (=North)</b>
1725	Don Gregorio Amaguaña, Amaguaña	Don N. de la Vega, Tumbaco
1726	Don Joseph Guayacondor, Uyumbicho	Don Pedro Cartagena, Puenbo
1727	Don Simon Flores, Aloasi	Manuel Guyatara, Cotocollao
1728	Don Pedro Domansaca, Chillogallo	Don Matheo de P?, Perucho
1729	Don Pedro Nalasi Coronado, Pinta	Don Ylario Atienza, not given.

(Source: See the annual elections in AM/Q, LCQ, vol 00123.) The kind of distinction that this made can be seen by the way the *cabildo* mobilised Indian labour for the repairs of the bridge over the Pisque in 1692, calling on the caciques of the "Unansayas" to co-operate with Indians; AM/Q, LCQ, 6 May 1692, f 54.

27) J. Kolberg *Hacia el Ecuador*, (Quito, 1977): 189. For modern festivals, see B. Ares, *La Fiesta de Corazas. (Otavalo, Ecuador)*, Memoria Univ. Madrid, 1978).

28) E. Enríquez B., *Quito a través de los Siglos*, Quito, 1938- n.p. reproduces a number of old photographs of the city including one of the quebrada Jerusalem, subsequently transformed into the Avenue 24 de Mayo. The AHBC/E also has an interesting collection of old photographs.

29) F. Salomon, op.cit. 155-6; 238-241; 245; 251-3, citing AF/Q legajo 8(1), "Padrón de los yndios de San Sebastián". U. Oberem has examined the fortunes of the Incaic aristocracy, and specifically the Emperor Atahualpa's descendents, under Spanish rule; c.f. the items listed in the bibliography.

30) "La cibdad de... Quito, 1573", *RGI*, II, 223.

31) *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726) (Madrid, repr.1976): 567. The role of the *barrios* in providing the artisanal and service populations hardly needs stressing, whereas their rural dimension is easily overlooked. For the formation of quasi-rural parishes the account of Salazar de Villasante is most explicit, op.cit. 134, "diles estos dos sitios y repartiles unas tierras valdías en que siembren su maíz y hiciesen huertas".

32) For boundaries, see note 1) on the cartographic evidence above.

33) See Chapters 2, 4 and 5.

34) See Chapters 2 and 5.

35) ANH/Q 1 Not. Fernando Zurita, Tomo 54, f 106-7; 1 Oct. 1623, Don Carlos Atabalipa Ynga, *vecino* of Quito sold a plot of land in San Roque for 60 patacones. (He was son of Don Alonso Auqui and Doña Beatriz Ango, i.e. a descendant of the Inca Emperor Atahualpa, and its interesting that a descendant of the pre-hispanic aristocracy still had interests in the south of the city, where they had formerly been resident.) Ibid. f 123; 24 Jan. 1624, for another example.

36) Multiple transactions; c.f., for example, ANH/Q 1 Not. Diego de Ocampo, Tomo 276, f 661-3; 7 Aug. 1755. ANH/Q 1 Not. 246, f 378 (año 1729) For an earlier example, ANH/Q 1 Not. Diego Rodríguez de Urbán (1621-40), f 48.

37) 63% in Santa Bárbara and 52% in San Sebastián with much lower rates, but certain undercounting in rural areas. Calculations of S. Browne in "The effects of epidemic disease in Colonial Ecuador..." (Paper at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, 1982), based on ANH/Q Pres. vol 13, 1696.

38) ANH/Q 1 Not. Vol. 246, Don Diego de Ocampo, f 53; 29 April, 1720. ("44 varas de largo y catorse de Ancho".)

39) Ibid., Vol. 1728-31, f 77.

40) Ibid., ff 443-5; 2 Oct. 1730

41) F.J. de Caldas, "Viaje de Quito a Popayan", *Semanario de la Nueva Granada*, (Paris, 1849): 505-6. "La nobleza y el estado medio ocupan siempre el alto : las piezas bajas estan destinadas a la plebe. Cada familia alquila una de estas, y una casa viene a ser un pequeño pueblo". c.f. also the description of the election of the *alcaldes* by Kolberg cited above.

43) The location of many late-Colonial workshops in San Sebastián supports this point (See Chapter 4), which is also suggested by a reading of the maps listed in note 1. The *obraje* of D. Joaquín Fuentes in San Sebastián (first reference in note 36) was at the foot of the *panecillo*. In line with Juan and Ulloa, Salazza's much later map indicates several "molinos" on the river Machángara well away from urban settlement.



44) In addition to the maps cited in note 43, see the account of P. Rodríguez de Aguayo, "Descripción de... Quito", *RG1*, II, 201.

45) ANH/Q Reb. Doc 1748-1-1, f2.

46) See, for example, Juan de Velasco, *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América meridional*, (1789) (Quito, 1977-8): 113.

47) P. Rodríguez de Aguayo, "Descripción de... Quito", *RG1*, II, 201; "La ciudad de... Quito, 1573", *RG1*, II: 210. This lake was described by Montúfar, "Razón (...) (acerca) del estado de la Real Audiencia de Quito", (1754), *Revista del Archivo Nacional de Historia, Sección del Azuay* (Cuenca, Ecuador), 3 (1981) :102, and appears on the eighteenth century maps. The area was still marshy in the early years of this century.

48) "La ciudad de Quito... 1573", op.cit. 212.

49) *LCQ*, Sept 28, 1604: p. 159.

50) *LCQ*; Nov. 27, 1602: p. 361; *LCQ*; Mayo 2, 1650: 42. Regulation of the *ejidos* continued throughout the Colonial period, e.g., AM/Q, *LCQ*, vol. 1664-5: 28, and many other examples.

51) AHBC/E 1a Colección. Ms Azules T7, "Hijuela de Rentas de propios de Quito (1795), 293-4.

52) The complicity of the authorities is suggested by the documents cited below: the *cabildo* participation of leading *obrajero* and land-owning families has been mapped in the genealogical tables of J. Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse: "El obraje colonial ecuatoriano. Aproximación a su estudio", *Revista de Indias*, (149-150),(Jul.-Dic.1977), opposite p. 536.

53) See the next paragraph, and; ANH/Q Ind. 83 Doc: 29-VII-1767.

54) ANH/Q Ind. Doc: 16-IX-1768, cited below.

55) For earlier data, ANH/Q Ind. 28-IV-1703 for a case of damage to land in Chillogallo by mules. AGI 254 "Relación de las causas criminales" (1804) includes the theft of a mule in the same village, and the census of c. 1831, cited in note 56) reveals the continuity of the tradition of mule rearing.

56) AM/Q, "Padrón de Quito..." (c. 1831), vol 64, f 2. Magdalena and Chimbacalle were mainly sheep grazing at that date, but Chillogallo had the greatest concentration of cattle (7,096), sheep (5,418) and horses (1,531 "yeguas" and 321 "caballos") because of Spanish-owned livestock and horses grazing on the common lands.

57) "Hijuela de Rentas", 294.

58) ANH/Q Ind. 29-VII-1767.

59) ANH/Q Ind. Doc: 1768-V-18.

60) ANH/Q Ind. Doc: 16-IX-1768. See: J. Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, "Panorama económico y social del Corregimiento de Quito", *Revista de Indias*, (1976): 83-98.

61) See, for example, S. Stern: *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1982). His material on litigation has also been published separately in G.A. Collier *et al.*, *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800*, (New York, 1982): 288-320.

62) The *hacienda* was clearly an influence, but only one among many. The impact of the *hacienda* on indigenous communities as stressed by J. Lockhart in "Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish West Indies", *HAHR*, Vol 49 (Aug. 1969): 425,427, has been subject to recent reservations by E. Grieshaber, "Survival of Indian Communities in Nineteenth Century Bolivia: A Regional Comparison", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 12: 2, (1980): 223- 269. For a later description of the *ejidos*, confirming the retreat of grazing at the expense of intensive agriculture, c.f. *Colombia, Relación Geográfica, Topográfica, Agrícola, Comercial y Política de este País*, (London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1822): 213; the "two plains of Turubamba and Inna Quito were covered with small farms (*quintas*) and well cultivated". (This work is probably a compilation rather than a first-hand description.)

63) Salomon emphasizes the interaction of these regions of the "Yumbos" with the Highland district of Quito, and considers that their association in the same *corregimiento* (and later the administrative district of Pichincha) is not fortuitous. For the hot region of the *Yumbos* in pre-hispanic times, c.f. F. Salomon, *op. cit.* 94-102, 122-130, 157-159.

64) For Santa Prisca, see note 46. c.f. Diego Rodríguez Docampo,

"Descripción y relación del estado eclesiástico... de Quito" (1650), *RG/*, 3: 63, for the villages of Machángara and Machangarilla.

65) This is easily confirmed by comparing the eighteenth century lists with that of Diego Rodríguez Docampo(1650), i.e. after the "reductions" which concentrated Indian settlements in the late 16th century.

66) This paragraph summarises the lists of Juan and Ulloa, Alsedo, Montúfar, and the Anonymous of 1755. These lists have already been compared, c.f. Don Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, *Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (1766), (Madrid, 1915), footnote, p. 75; J. Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, "Panorama", p. 90; but for the reasons discussed in the text, it is not felt that these differences are a real problem.

67) U. Oberem's concept of "micro-verticality" is an adaptation of the South Andean model of the "vertical archipelago" (i.e. Indian "colonies" located at different ecological levels) to this ecological distinctiveness; Indian groups, like the Colonial city of Quito, did not have to look far afield for the produce of different ecological levels. c.f. U. Oberem, "El acceso a recursos naturales de diferentes ecologías en la sierra ecuatoriana. Siglo XVI", in: *Actes du XLII Congrès Int. des Américanistes*, (Paris, 1976) Vol. IV: 51-64. J.V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del Mundo Andino*, (Lima,1975): 59-115. Salomon op. cit. 32-70, includes a discussion of ecology, partly following the geographer Acosta-Solis.

68) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 417-9.

69) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y relación del estado eclesiástico... de Quito" (1650), *RG/*, 3: 5-77.

70) Salomon, op.cit. 75-9.

71) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, op.cit. 62-3; "madera, vigas, cuartones, tijeras, tablas, umbrales, cumbreras, costaneras, y mucha leña".

72) ANH/C 499, Not. I, 22 July, 1612, f 240-1, Joan Pacha, Indian "carpintero" of Uyumbicho.

73) The Chillós has been the subject of the most research on the rural district of the capital. For the Jesuit property in the valley, N. Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism*, (New York, 1982); C. Borchart de Moreno, "Composiciones de

tierras en el valle de los Chillos a finales del siglo XVII: una contribución a la Historia Agraria de la Audiencia de Quito", *Cultura, Revista del Banco Central del Ecuador*, (Quito), 5, (1980): 257-281; F. Salomon, "Seis comunidades indígenas en las cercanías de Quito, 1559: la visita de Gaspar de San Martín y Juan Mosquera", *Bol. Acad. Nac. de Historia*, (Quito), LIX (127-8), (1977): 139-90. By the mid nineteenth century, the valley was already serving its present-day function of providing weekend villas for the richer residents of Quito; c.f. Onffroy de Thoron, *L'Amérique...* (1866) op. cit. 268.

74) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, op. cit. 62: "es el principal regalo de esta ciudad, por las huertas que en sí tiene". I know of a rich present-day Quiteño who offers himself the similar "treat" of properties at all the different ecological levels down to the tropical coast.

75) D. Gibbs, "Cuzco, 1680-1710: An Andean City seen through its Economic Activities", (Ph.D. University of Texas at Austin, 1979): 126-7. c.f. also Chapter 4 below.

76) ANH/Q, 3 Not. Tomo I, Francisco Díaz de Asteiza, 24 June 1658: f 232; "una huerta de legumbres limas y naranjas y otros arboles frutales en el valle de Pomasque".

77) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, op.cit. 62; ANH/Q, 3 Not. Tomo I, Francisco Díaz de Asteiza, 12 Sept. 1653, f 37, for the sale of "una estancia de cañaberales de castilla y mais y huerta... en el valle de Guayllabamba".

78) P. Marzahl, *Town in the Empire: Government, Politics and Society in Seventeenth-Century Popayán*, (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1978): 27-31. For the later export of bread from Ambato to Quito, c.f. Juan and Ulloa, op.cit. 428; R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador", (Ph.D. University of Wales, 1977): 128.

79) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 417.

80) Don Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, *Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (1766), (Madrid, 1915): 7; "haciendas, hatos, casas de campo, chacras y huertas... se puede decir de Quito, sin que sea ponderación, que es una ciudad tan poblada de habitantes que tiene por arrabales los cinco leguas del distrito de su corregimiento". For the definition of *hatos* in the Audiencia of Quito, see Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 565.

81) Montúfar, "Razón..." p. 99. Juan and Ulloa, op.cit. 402-3, also make the general point that the "Frutas de la Tierra" were mainly consumed locally in the Audiencia, in part because of high transport costs.

82) See J. Ortiz de la Tabla, "Panorama", op.cit. 94 for a list of *obrajes* (summarising the *padrón* of *alcabalas*, 1768-1775).

83) Juan and Ulloa, op.cit. 419; "todo lo restante se reduce a chozas de barro cubiertas de paja esparcidas en los campos, donde cada uno tiene su chacarita, o pedazo de tierra que sembrar".

84) See Chapter 5, below.

85) Montúfar, op. cit. 100.

86) See Chapter 4, below.

87) The genre (*costumbrista*) painters of the nineteenth century include Juan Agustín Guerrero (c.f. *Imágenes del Ecuador del siglo XIX*, ed. W. Hallo, Quito, 1981); Joaquín Pinto (*Ecuador Pintoresco*, Quito, 1977) and the anonymous painter of the collection Castro y Velázquez, Guayaquil.

88) Cushner, op. cit. 119.

89) Alsedo, Letter, AGI Quito 132, op. cit. f9.

90) See Chapter 7, below on the "scare" of 1762.

91) See Chapter 7, below on the 1765 rebellion.

92) A. Pareja Diezcanseco, *Las Instituciones y la Administración de la Real Audiencia De Quito*, Quito, 1975, for the different jurisdictions (esp., pp. 224-7). The *corregimiento* of Guayaquil was promoted into a semi-autonomous *gobernación* in 1763, as was that of Cuenca after 1770, Cuenca later being the scene of the only attempt to introduce the Intendant system into the Audiencia. Along with Quito both Cuenca and Guayaquil housed Royal Treasuries. Although administrative control can be measured by different indices, one of the best ways of measuring it is through the Audiencia's exercise of its judicial authority—in principle, its highest function. After the 1770's nearly all the cases heard before the Audiencia with regard to tribute exemption on the grounds of being Mestizo came from the area mentioned above (see Chapter 6).

Marzahl's examination of Popayán shows the way different jurisdictions overlapped in what was also technically part of the Audiencia of Quito: P. Marzahl, *Town in the Empire: Government, Politics and Society in Seventeenth-Century Popayán*, (Austin: Texas, 1978): 9.

93) Calculation based on R.B. Tyrer, "The demographic and economic history of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry" (Ph.D. Berkeley: University of California, 1976): 51, from the censuses for 1779, now in the section reclassified "Empadronamientos" of the ANH/Q. The whites and Mestizos were 26.3%, the (small) difference being made up of free coloureds and slaves. Chapter 5 shows the white and Mestizo dominance of Quito; for the Central Sierra, c.f. the studies of R.D.F. Bromley (see the bibliography).

94) J. C. Super, "Partnership and Profit in the Early Andean Trade: The Experience of Quito merchants, 1580-1610", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, (1979), 11 (2): 265-7.

95) The *libros de cabildo* in the AM/Q include constant references to this problem throughout the Colonial period.

96) ANH/Q Pres. 112, Doc. 3930, f 4.

97) BM. Add. 17,588, f 67: "Razon de las leguas y jornadas que hay desde Guayaquil a Quito" (26 Nov.1812). See table 1:2. The fact that the Indian prisoners (c.f. note 96) stopped at Mulalo, Machache and Tambillo confirms their role as staging posts, otherwise indicated in the case of Tambillo by its name which is from the Inca term for inn. For a traveller who left Quito on 28 July, 1766, and arrived in Lima, 21 Nov. 1766, c.f. "Cuaderno de Guachucal en la Provincia de los Pastos..." Ny kgl. Samling 568 (4), manuscript of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, consulted in the transcription of Juan Castro y Velázquez.

98) AGN/L Superior Gobierno, Leg. 15. Cuad 400, 1776: "Autos promovidos ante el Superior Gobierno el Dr. Don Luis de Santa Cruz, Oidor de la Real Audiencia de Quito, que fuera nombrado para igual cargo en la de la Plata, solicitando se le permitiese permanecer en Lima, pues el largo viaje de Quito a Guayaquil lo habia imposibilitado para continuar (el) viaje al lugar de su destino" c.f. f 1: He set off for Lima despite "... lo aspero de la Montaña de Guaiquil, fragosidad de caminos, y notorios quebrantos de salud".

99) For these three routes, D. Alsedo y Herrera, *Descripción...* op. cit. pp. 8-11. For the textile industry's decline, R.B. Tyrer, op. cit., 311 ff.

100) For early attempts to open up a route to the coast, J. L. Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire*, (Madison, 1967): 3ff. For the late-Colonial period, abundant documentation has been published by José Rumazo González: *Documentos para la historia de la Audiencia de Quito*, (Madrid, 1948-50). c.f. for example, Vol 5, 115, the "Edicto del Obispo de Quito Don José Pérez Calama sobre el proyecto de apertura del camino de Malbucho"; " las Provincias de Ibarra y Octabalo formen pacto social, o Hermandad Mercantil con las de Isquandé, Choco, Barbacoas, y la Plaza de Panamá. Con esto tendremos Oro y Plata; las Manos muertas resucitarán, y se convertirán en Avejas Industriosas. Y en una palabra: habremos encontrado, y poseéremos el arte de *hazer Oro*". In the early nineteenth century, Bolívar offered tax exemptions for settling on the route Quito-Esmeraldas, c.f. D. Bushnell, *The Santander Régime...* (Westport, 2nd edn. 1970): 140. A railway was built earlier this century.

101) J.R. Fisher, *Government and Society in Colonial Peru: The Intendant System, 1784-1814*, (London, 1970): 147, 170.

102) Tyrer, op. cit. 210.

103) Hassaurek, op. cit. 105; Super noted the use of Indian carriers in the early Colonial period, op. cit. 266. For illustrations, c.f. the genre painters, cited above in note 86.

104) Less than 100 Spaniards lived in Quito; ANB Colonia-Aguardientes del Ecuador, Tomo II, f 436-459 (census 1765); 37 Europeans married in the Sagrario, Quito, 1764-1805; J. Moreno Egas "Resumen alfabético del segundo libro de matrimonios de españoles..." *Revista del Centro Nacional de Investigaciones Genealógicas...* (Quito), 1 (3), 1981: 195ff.

105) AGI Quito 276, "Oficio del Sr. Presidente" (1790), f 196.

106) Juan y Ulloa, op. cit. 353.

107) The 1747 riots, (c.f. Chap: 7, ANH/Q Reb. 1748-1-1) i.e. spatially localised disorder in Dec. 1747, and generalised revolt in "summer" 1765.

108) AM/Q Cartas de Cabildo, (Vol. 54), 7 Jan. 1772, f 24, and other examples in the *libros de cabildo* from the sixteenth century onwards.

109) See, for example, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y Estado en el siglo XVIII español*, (Madrid-Barcelona, 2nd edn. 1981): 385.

## 2: The Social Formation of Colonial Quito, 1534-1720

### **i) Preliminary comments**

In the first chapter a social geography of Colonial Quito was attempted, stressing continuities in the utilization of the urban space. This chapter completes that spatial overview with diachronic analysis, underlining those themes in the early and mid-Colonial history of Quito which re-appear in the material examined on the late-Colonial city. To hold the threads together over such a varied terrain, a considerable sharpening of focus has been necessary. It may be stressed that the divisions used here are essentially thematic ones, rather than an attempt at periodization - what follows is not a rapid history of the city. Nevertheless, in assimilating the treatment of the relevant themes to specific phases in the city's growth, it is intended to supply the essential chronological framework for this study of the *plebe* of Quito. The three themes examined here are :

- i). The character and consequences of Spanish-Indian culture contact, and the early formation of the Mestizo class (to c. 1600/1620).
- ii). The economic organisation of the capital during the seventeenth century expansion of the textile economy.
- iii). The first signs of Quito's economic crisis (1690-1720).

Although each period was defined in relation to the theme of this study, they correspond very loosely to a telescoped version of the familiar transition from a Conquest society to a more stable, organised one; and from the mid-Colonial period to one of difficult re-adjustments, economic decline and fiscal pressure which was to culminate in the "importation" from neighbouring regions of political independence from Spain. The chronological separation of the first two themes is a reflection of the



higher level of visibility which certain subjects possessed at specific periods. The term "Mestizo" had a real social (and biological) meaning in the sixteenth century, before the process of *mestizaje* blurred racial boundaries. During the seventeenth century, the category disappeared into the shadows out of which it would only be brought by a partial attempt by the Crown to revive caste for fiscal purposes in the late eighteenth century. Similarly, the particular interest of the sixteenth century evidence on Spanish-Indian interaction hardly needs stressing, but it may be noted that at that period, the Crown interested itself in familiarizing itself with its new subjects, and the early Colonial ethnographic evidence is incomparably superior to that on the seventeenth century. For seventeenth century Quito, discussion shifts therefore from social and racial interaction to an examination of the textile industry which had an important role in shaping the social structure which characterised late-Colonial Quito. Only the third theme concerns directly a matter of periodization; if Quito's economic decline can be pushed back as far as the late seventeenth century, then the perpetuation of Colonial rule in such a depressed region becomes a study of survival rather than of disintegration.

The three groups whose interaction concerns us were Spaniards, Indians and Blacks, but the relatively small place occupied by the black presence in the discussion which follows requires some explanation. In the early and mid-Colonial period, Highland Ecuador had a large and relatively stable Indian population and black slaves were not required on a large scale except in coastal regions and the extreme north and south of the Audiencia where sugar plantations in the low, hot valleys were supplied with a black labour force[1]. In Quito there was a nominal black presence from its foundation, and a small-scale importation of slaves throughout the Colonial period, but the urban black population was still only 1,483 out of 25,325, (i.e. around 5.85 %) according to the census

summary of 1781[2]. This is a demographic fact of some significance for the examination of Quito's *plebe*, as it marks a real difference with virtually all other major Spanish American urban centres[3], and constitutes an additional argument for examining Quito in close relationship with its rural hinterland. The city's racial mix was largely Indian-white, that of the society around it.

Nevertheless, although small, Quito's urban black population had a social importance somewhat beyond its numbers. As will be argued below, slaves had a key and by no means subordinate role to play in relation to the "free" urban lower strata. Although not dominating the lower artisanal and petty mercantile classes, free blacks certainly occupied a small but significant place. In the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768, for example, (see Chapter 5) there were mulatto women working as *chagro*, i.e. selling items of prime necessity to the lower strata. The tailor Parra, variously described as *sambo* and mulatto, was the prisoner liberated by the "lads" of San Roque on December 31, 1747 (c.f. chap: 6). Quito's Tom Paine, the Enlightenment propagandist, philosopher and rebel, Espejo, was also possibly of part-black origin[4]. The difficulty of ascertaining the exact ethnic status of Parra or Espejo is symptomatic of the process of absorption of the free black population into urban society, which made ethnic classification of urban groups in more racially diverse urban centres particularly hazardous[5]. In the Church *padrones* of the 1790's which adopted "minimal" ethnic identification, we find almost no free blacks (c.f. chap: 5). It may certainly be argued that late-Colonial data on all free black urban populations -including better-known cases like Buenos Aires- has to be treated with extreme caution. However, although its quantification may be suspect, there is little doubt that the black presence in Colonial Quito was indeed small, and that the process which essentially concerns us is the interaction of Spanish and Indian societies.

### i) The socio-racial matrix, 1534-1600

The Spaniards who conquered the region of Quito in 1534, encountered a dispersed population divided into the numerous small chiefdoms which the Inca had harnessed to their Empire by a mixture of force and astute Realpolitik[6]. Although from its foundation urban Quito had an autochthonous population directly alongside the Spanish settlement, the pre-hispanic population of the city and its immediate vicinity was probably not dense; its Colonial Indian population was essentially the product of re-organisation into settled parroquial structures in the 1560's and 1570's, and the subsequent expansion of the city[7]. The concentration of Spanish settlement into the ravines of nuclear Quito was accompanied by the usual measures of conquerors in Colonial Spanish America: the creation of a municipality, distribution of urban plots and rights to land[8]. Quito's urban morphology took the shape discussed in the previous chapter.

For the sixteenth century, a series of descriptions compiled in the 1570's and 1580's may be used to provide an overview of Quito's crystallizing social structure before we turn to the parish records for more detailed data on the lower strata. The *relaciones geográficas* show clearly that the main benefits of conquest went to a fairly restricted group of Spaniards, and by the 1570's, the city had a small élite of over thirty *encomenderos* [9]. These were joined, however, by half a dozen wealthy merchants involved in international commerce whose wealth- at a doubtless approximative figure of 15,000-20,000 pesos- surpassed that of all but four of the *encomenderos* [10]. More small-scale merchants selling through retail outlets were considerably less rich, as were a hundred or so land-holding *moradores* (residents holding an inferior statute to the *vecinos*), and diverse other residents[11]. According to the Anonymous account of 1573, there had been a shortage of artisanal skills in the earliest period of settlement, and the municipality was still badly

built: the shortage of skilled labour had now been overcome[12]. There was a "good number" ("bastante número") of what was still a fairly narrow range of artisanal occupations, "tanners, shoemakers, saddlemakers, harnessmakers, blacksmiths, masons, carpinters, hosiers and silversmiths"[13]. The more specialist requirements of a settled urban population were soon being provided by *inter alia* a small number of foreigners, if the Portuguese can be described in these terms: in 1596 an apothecary and a hatmaker paid for their licenses in Quito[14].

Super has noted that Quito merchants, unlike their English counterparts, did not make provision in their wills for the continuation of their enterprises[15]. Despite an "aggressive commercial outlook", profits were finally channelled into ecclesiastical bequests and commercial activity cannot therefore be said to have been translated into a mercantile mentality which undermined conservative social attitudes. At the lower level of the urban artisans of Quito, social values were nicely summed up by the Anonymous account of 1573;

Those who do not use their offices are Antón Prieto, mason, because he is rich, and a fellow called González because he is married to a woman who has Indians; he is a mason. None of the said officials (tanners, shoemakers...) is rich[16].

The artisans who arrived in the Indies did not do so in order to be artisans, but to take advantage of the possibilities of New World wealth and social mobility- if González has been able to make an advantageous marriage that is also because he is white, and social distinctions have not yet solidified into racial ones. The values of a non-mercantile Conquest society, in which manual labour in particular was considered dishonourable, has often been considered a Mediæval Castilian characteristic, albeit given a new expression in Colonial society in which one of the initial sources of personal wealth and prestige was Indian tribute and labour[17]. Social

barriers widened with the formation of an essentially Mestizo and Indian artisanal urban sector along with the parallel emergence of a creole elite which, if it was still absorbing newcomers from the metropolis, formed a direct link with the *hacendado-obrajero* families of the eighteenth century[18]. In Spanish America, the category of Spaniard was assimilated into that of noble[19].

In the 1570's Spaniards and Indians could still be found in the same occupational categories: according to the Anonymous of 1573, for example, both Spaniards and Indians were already engaged in saddle- and harness-making at that date[20]. The category of "poor Spaniard", however, would soon lose much of its precision, as many artisanal occupations were progressively subject to a socio-racial transformation exemplified in contracts between Spanish artisans and Indian apprentices[21]. The baptismal records of the Sagrario, Quito, include occupational data for the late sixteenth century, and the births of the children of a number of artisans are recorded for this period of transition. In late 1596, the following entries appeared in the Baptismal records largely reserved for the Indians and blacks :

**Table 2:1**  
**Baptisms of children of Indian Artisans, 1596**

Date	Parents	Origin	Godparent	
11 Aug. 1596	Domingo sastre	Barbola (Ind)	Chillo	Ind.
15 Sept. 1596	Blas pintor (Ind)	Catalina (Ind)	n.d.	Ind.
6 Oct. 1596	Gaspar pintor	Ynes Chubay	Quito	Congo=S?
21 Oct. 1596	Joan sillero	Beatris	Cotocolla	S
24 Nov. 1596	Pedro yndio zapatero=	Joana	Quito	?

Source: See Table 2: 2.

Note: Ind.= Indian S=Slave.

These artisans -a tailor, two painters, a saddlemaker, and a shoemaker respectively- have names which show they have lost all contact with autochthonous lineages; they are married to Indian women, but their occupation marks out the sense in which they are specifically urban rather than a part of traditionally structured rural Indian society. All have "low" ethnic status, in that they are Indian, married to Indians, and/or have ties of *compadrazgo* (compaternity) with blacks. Other Indian baptisms of the same period (14 July -1 Dec. 1596) include a high ratio of blacks serving as godparents to Indians, constituting 19.3% of the total of godparents to non-black children (18 out of 93), which can be compared with a total of only 6 black baptisms out of 99.

The role of blacks as godparents certainly provides an interesting clue to inter-ethnic relations in the lower urban strata. It is difficult to say how far compaternity really created ties of spiritual kinship -as well as economic links- at this level of society in early Colonial Quito. In many of these cases, the common service role of both Indian and black categories to the Spanish population explains this interaction without clarifying the workings of these ties within the household. Possibly the rarity of blacks in Colonial Quito- who cost the very considerable sum of 400 pesos or so [22]- reinforced their position in the hierarchy of domestic service, and made them a power to be reckoned with for the Indian lower strata. Far more rapidly assimilated to Spanish culture than the Indians [23], the blacks must have mediated between the Spanish owners and Indian society, serving as the last step in the rung of Spanish society and taking on the ties of compaternity which were beneath the master's sphere of direct contact. That the role of the blacks as *compadres* apparently extended beyond the Spanish household may suggest either that they were artisans themselves- not apparently so in this case- or that they were able to extend a measure of patronage by bringing artisans within the protection

of a wealthy Spanish household. Independent confirmation of this hypothesis is given by a somewhat later law-suit from the seventeenth century, when it was claimed that Black slaves were stealing food delicacies (*alfaxor, bocadillos, turrones*) from white households which were subsequently resold by Indian market-women in the squares (i.e. markets) of the city [24]. The evidence of this small-scale independent economic activity and of separate ties with the non-servant population certainly shows that slavery was a far more flexible and permeable system than its stereotype allows [25].

For the early Colonial period, it is probably safest to stay with strictly racial categories rather than attempting to discuss the lower strata in terms of "popular society", a more diffuse concept which is probably best reserved for the more diverse society of the late-Colonial period. The place of the Indians and Mestizos in Quito society may therefore be emphasized. The general demographic background for Highland Ecuador was a relatively stable Indian population which may have been exempt from the worst demographic consequences of the Spanish conquest, or received a masked immigration in the form of "refugees" from the *mita* service of the Central Andes; the authors of the geographical descriptions of the 1570's concurred in ascribing an expanding Indian population to both the general district of Quito and the city itself[26]. The baptismal records reserved for the Indians, Blacks and Mestizos of the Cathedral parish of the Sagrario, Quito, were examined for the period 14 July-1 Dec. 1596, and during 1612 (in detail from 1 Jan.-5 Feb.). As the Sagrario corresponded to the Spanish city, these groups can be taken as the ones on which Spanish influence was most strongly exerted. Mestizos were often included in the book of Spanish baptisms, and this register was composed essentially of Indian baptisms, with a few slaves. There were 99 baptisms in the first period, and 651 during the second (including 248 during the comparable

period of 15 July- 2 December 1612). Although this is only a narrow sample, the rise in annual baptisms corroborates the major demographic expansion of the city in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a growth which was to be maintained until the second half of the seventeenth century[27].

The extent to which the urban centre acted as a pole of attraction for Indian immigration can also be examined by analysing the parents' place of origin which is given for both dates. Between 14 July and 1 Dec. 1596, in only 24 cases of the 99 baptisms (i.e. almost 24%) was either parent from Quito, if the 16 unspecified were Quiteño as is likely; in only 2 of these couples was one parent from Quito and another from another region. The proportion falls even lower when the 6 slaves, either unspecified or from Quito, are subtracted from the total, falling to 19.3 %. Between 1 January and 5 Feb. 1612, five slaves of creole or African origin and two foundlings were baptised. Of the remaining 75 only 6 were unspecified or from the city of Quito. The origins of the parents of baptised infants are summarised in table 2: 2.

**Table 2:2**

**Place of origin of Indian parents, 1596, 1612**

	1596	1612
Quito	19.3%	8.0%
Five Leagues	40.8%	49.4%
Highlands	41.9%	42.7%

Source: APQ/ Sagrario, "Libro de Bautismos de Mestizos, Montaneses, Yndios" (1594-1605), "Libro de Bautismos... Mestisos, Yndios"(1606-).

Note: Samples from 14 July -1 Dec. 1596, and 1 Jan. - 5 Feb. 1612. Proportions do not add up to 100% because of two split marriages in 1596, and rounding for 1612.



Table 2:2 is based on too narrow a sample to be taken as an index of demographic change between the two dates. The high proportion of infants being baptised whose parents came from the Five Leagues can be explained partly in terms of the role of the Sagrario as the cultural focus and place of residence of the Spanish elite, whose Indian servants were sometimes baptised in the capital, but may have later worked on their rural properties outside the city. For this reason, the annual baptismal rate at this early period, should not be taken as an indication of the total urban Indian population of the Sagrario. Some other Indians from more distant areas may also have belonged to the *encomiendas* of leading citizens of the city, and been baptised there for the same reasons. Even allowing for this factor, the proportion of parents born in Quito is extremely low, explicable in terms of the expansion of the city. The geographical spread of place of origin suggests that the city absorbed immigrants only from the Ecuadorian Highlands, but with the *caveat* that in the Sagrario we are dealing with the Indian population directly linked to Spanish urban society: if there were immigrants from more distant regions of the Andes, it is perhaps not in the Sagrario that we should expect to find them.

Nevertheless, for the Ecuadorian Highlands as a whole, there is certainly evidence of an extremely mobile Indian population, the *indios peñadillos*, considered vagabonds addicted to the vices of drunkenness and idleness, allegedly fleeing the *mita* of the great mining regions such as Potosí[28]. According to a *relación* dating from the early 1590's, it was specifically an attempt to fix migrants in the settled Colonial order which motivated some early attempts at *reducciones* in the neighbourhood of Quito[29]. The extraordinary mobility of the Indian population in the late- Colonial period clearly therefore had its roots at least as far back as the initial contact between Spanish and Indian societies, and owed much to the nature of Colonial impositions as well as the possibility of

minimising their impact through devices such as migration. Some of the Mestizo petitions examined in Chapter 6 reveal an analogous process of adaptation to the possibilities left open by a Colonial society through migration, ethnic change and tax evasion.

The early descriptions of the city emphasize the role of the Indians in supplying its service population, local Indian labour already having been mobilised in the construction of the Cathedral[30]. The *mita* whereby Indian communities supplied one fifth of their labour force in rotation was the essential mechanism of labour supply[31]. The role of service as an agent of acculturation of the Indian population, and a means of entry into the white world may be noted in the practice of Indian parents sending their children as servants to Quito so that they learn "good customs" ("buenas costumbres") [32]. At a higher social level, the fortunes of the Inca Atahualpa's descendants in Quito shows clearly the diversity of indigenous responses to conquest[33]. To the highly acculturated former Inca élite which was sometimes absorbed into the higher reaches of Colonial society, or the local Indian leaders co-opted into the Spanish Colonial system as intermediaries, defeat offered different possibilities to those available to the *indios peñadillos*, and the rest.

As in other regions, the biological process of miscegenation between Spaniard and Indian began with conquest[34]- in part because of the absence of Spanish women- and little that is distinctive to Ecuador in this process can be emphasized, except to take note of Cieza de León's comment that the women in the region of Cuenca were attracted to Spanish men[35]. By the mid-1560's a small Mestizo presence was already being recorded in the earliest surviving baptismal records of the Sagrario, Quito[36]. If we believe the prejudiced comments of the *corregidor* of Quito, Don Sancho Díaz de Zurbano at the beginning of the seventeenth century, *mestizaje* was particularly advanced in the city by that date: "The Spaniards have

mingled to such an extent with the Indians that there are more Mestizos in this city than in the rest of Peru"[37]."

It may be that the *corregidor's* comments tell us as much about the attitudes of officials as the actual process of race mixture. Those Spaniards attempting to come to terms with the new phenomenon of *mestizaje* nearly always emphasized the scale of its expansion, its sinful character as the product of irregular unions, as well as the sense in which it broke the established hierarchy by bringing a new element into the symmetrical order of the Republics of Indians and Spaniards [38]. The association of Mestizos with vagrancy, idleness, and a threat to the established order was present from the first generation onwards, and remained a constant in official and ecclesiastical attitudes, independent of the changing characteristics of the Mestizos themselves [39]. The absorption of many Mestizos into Creole society certainly reinforced the nascent conflicts between creoles and peninsular-born Spaniards by injected a quasi-racial element into their rivalries, notably in the Religious Orders[40].

There was a sense in which officials were right in seeing this group as a seditious element, even if their idea that Mestizos were pulled between two cultures, and therefore innately constituted an unstable element in the Body Politic was somewhat exaggerated. In the disorders which marked the transition from a conquest society to a more organised "Colonial" one, the kinship of many "upper" Mestizos to leading conquerors, often the offspring of their alliances with members of the indigenous élite, created a privileged but ambiguous social position, while conquest traditions must have left their own heritage of unruliness in sixteenth century society. A Mestizo son of the conqueror of the Quito region, Benalcázar was involved in rebellion in the 1580's[41], but the most important Mestizo rebellion came in the 1590's. The *cabildo*-led resistance to the Colonial imposition

of the traditional Spanish sales-tax or *alcabala*, in 1592-3 was a concerted act of defiance to Spanish authority in which the Mestizos of the city played a prominent role. In an action which the *barrio* of San Roque was to emulate a century and a half later, the prison was attacked and the dissident attorney (*procurador*) of the *cabildo* opposing the measures was released, the first major action in what became a major insurrection. In the resistance to fiscal measures, the alliance of creole and Mestizo elements against Spanish authority, the attacks on the symbols of authority (prison or Audiencia), and the final military expedition from outside, the events of 1592-3 anticipate closely the rebellion of 1765. As in 1765, there was not one but a series of rebellions, in which initial divisions at élite level brought the urban crowd into play, and provoked generalised disorder. The ambiguity of the Church's role, sections of which sided with the opposition to the fiscal measures of the 1590's, was present in both rebellions, while the way creole-peninsular tensions within the religious orders interacted with secular tensions also anticipates later disorders. As in the 1760's the ringing of church bells sounded the tocsin for revolt in a symbolic action which may have marked not only the organised collective dimension of revolt, but possible ecclesiastical involvement. The key role of the Church as intermediary with the *plebe* was clear in the 1590's when the intercession of the Image preserved in the church of Guápulo was used to calm spirits when popular enthusiasm had gone too far[42].

Quito was a community evolving its own identity from the sixteenth century onwards, perceiving fiscal pressures and the officials who attempted to implement them as alien intruders in a local society far from the Viceregal capitals. In this sense the "community cohesion" approach to social disorder has clear relevance to the outbreaks of both the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, in at least one key sense, Quito

society had profoundly changed between its two great pre-Independence eruptions, namely in the width of the barriers which separated the élite from the *plebe*. In the 1590's the *cabildo* official released from prison during the first disturbance was himself a Mestizo, while Royal officials were in <sup>no</sup>doubt that unrest had a specifically Mestizo origin: "The most guilty in these crimes have been the Mestizos of this city"[43]. Thus there was a sense in which the poorer Mestizos of the city were rescuing one of their own "community" when they smashed the prison to rescue the *procurador* Bellido, whose part-Indian origins merited him the surname of the *cacique*. The endogamous wealthy creole élite which dominated the late-Colonial *cabildo* had virtually no direct ties with the urban *plebe*, and the leadership thrown up by the late-Colonial *barrios* came from their own Mestizo or "poor white" artisanal ranks. Although officials saw an element of creole complicity in the 1765 rebellion, it will be argued that a clear tradition of urban social disorder in the eighteenth century underlines the class and *barrio* origin of these outbreaks, and that the late-Colonial *plebe* was a far more autonomous agent than may at first sight appear (see Chapter 7).

The widening of social barriers between élite and popular society took on a clear racial dimension. By the early seventeenth century, the better-placed Mestizos were being squeezed out of their ambiguous place alongside white society- in part as a result of official pressures[44]. Royal officials continued to see the Mestizos as a potential threat to the social order in the early seventeenth century (c.f. the letters cited above), but the social context was changing, and with the advance of the process of *mestizaje*, Mestizos merged into either the creole élite, Indian society, or an indeterminate urban lower social strata. One of the best indices of this transformation is the gradual disappearance of the category Mestizo from the entries in the Baptismal records of the Sagrario, Quito, at the

beginning of the seventeenth century [45]. The most logical interpretation is not that the number of biological Mestizos was declining, but that the category was beginning to lose its precision, and some Mestizos were henceforth being considered Spanish, while others were losing their place in recognised white society.

This process of racial and cultural mixing meant that by the late-Colonial period, there was no clear borderline between "poor whites" and Mestizos, while the separation of Indian and Mestizo, although given legal sanction through tribute obligations, was also problematic. In the Declarations of Mestizo examined in Chapter 6, we find only "Indians dressed as Spaniards" ("indios vestidos de españoles") for the eighteenth century city. On the other hand, those petitions also include Mestizos who have been partially re-absorbed- if they ever fully left- Indian culture in more isolated rural districts. Acculturation [46] was certainly a process of complex interaction rather than a linear movement towards the adoption of Spanish cultural norms, and for the early Colonial period, there is certainly evidence that Indian culture initially exerted a strong influence on a substantial part of the Mestizo population. Clothing was- and is- an essential element in the material culture which defines ethnic frontiers. For a relatively late date (1633), we find complaints that Mestizas in the city of Quito were obstinately clinging to Indian dress, in spite of official attempts to discourage this, and were spending a great deal on silk[47]. The notarial records confirm the existence of this category, again specifically feminine[48].

Deep-rooted cultural factors can doubtless be invoked to explain this sex differentiation which may also have been reinforced by occupational differences; in Quito today, an Indian woman often continues with traditional clothing, while her more acculturated husband wears shirt and jeans. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that for the period in question,

the main reason lay in the selective nature of Colonial impositions, whereby tribute and *mita* service were adult male obligations, and the pressure on males not to be identifiable as culturally Indian were consequently far stronger. The existence which this presupposes of "split" couples- male Mestizo, female Mestiza but "dressed as Indian"- certainly shows that ethnicity was extremely loosely defined, and that many of the conventional criteria for defining race can be highly misleading. Along with clothing, language is often used as a key criterion of ethnicity, but at least in eighteenth century Quito, Quichua was very much a day-today language: even members of the élite spoke Quichua as well as Spanish as a consequence of their upbringing by Indian women[49].

The Mestizo litigation of the 1770's will show the extreme socio-racial confusion of pre- Bourbon reform society. Many people in the lower strata did not belong definitively to Spanish or Indian society, and the official attempt to establish who the Indian population was for fiscal purposes underlined this previous lack of definition. That as late as the 1630's mixed-blood women in the capital were still "dressed as Indians" emphasizes the slowness rather than the rapidity of the city's acculturating influence. The tenuous and incomplete diffusion of Spanish culture can be further stressed by noting the ambiguity of Colonial socio-racial categories in which an Indian silk dress might provide equivalent social prestige to more humble mixed-blood clothing. By the eighteenth century, there is no evidence of "Spaniards dressed as Indians" in the capital itself, and the Declarations of Mestizo attest to the sense in which the urban Mestizo considered himself Spanish, or near-Spanish. Nevertheless, the ambiguity persisted, notably at the level of the cacical class, who considered Mestizos unfit for the "superior and honorific position of *cacique*"[50]. In certain measure, the Bourbon reforms ironed out this ambiguity by making tribute payment so exacting that to be

recognised as Mestizo by the authorities offered a far more marked advantage over Indian status than it had in the early Colonial period[51].

### **ii) Quito and the textile economy, 1600–1680**

The economic history of both the city and Audiencia of Quito in the mid-Colonial period was closely inter-related with the growth and decline of its textile industry, a process which we now know in detail as a consequence of recent historical research. Great estates made full use of their Indian labour and saved cash expenditure in what was increasingly to become a demonetarised economy through vertically organised enterprises which combined sheep grazing with textile production. A stable or expanding Indian population supplied the labour force for these textile factories, or *obrajes*, through the mechanism of rotating labour service (*mita*), gradually replaced by a mixture of free (although indebted), and forced labour. Other forms of textile production existed, notably urban workshops, and the *obrajes de comunidad*, which were originally located in Indian villages as a means of guaranteeing tribute collection. During the seventeenth century, a steady labour supply and ample pasture for sheep grazing lay the foundations for the expansion of a sector which exported woollen cloth to the mining economies of Peru and New Granada. When English and French textile imports began to undercut prices in Peru in the eighteenth century, the more distant suppliers of textiles from the Audiencia of Quito, handicapped by high overland costs, were the first to lose their profitability. Quito had few exportable commodities, and the export of textiles for this inter-provincial trade provided, as Tyrer has emphasized, virtually the only source of specie to participate in the transatlantic trade – the only barrier against a “life of complete provinciality, wealthy only in grain, livestock, and home-made



commodities"[52].

Despite a body of valuable research on the *obraje* economy, our understanding of the organisation of the textile mills in the vicinity of the capital is somewhat unclear because these were not usually the major licensed textile factories, but smaller-scale ones called *chorrillos*. This form of enterprise poses problems for a number of reasons. We are unlikely to find for these small-scale workshops the relatively complete series of accounts which would permit the equivalent of the full-scale reconstruction of the economy of a major rural *obraje-hacienda* complex which Cushner has been able to assemble from the Jesuit archives[53]. The coarse cloth produced in the *chorrillos* varied considerably in quality, and therefore pricing, and Tyrer's examination of the production costs and marketing of textiles concentrated in consequence on Quito's quality cloth (*paño azul*); production statistics for the urban textile economy are therefore lacking. Lastly, and most important, the small urban workshops were often illegal, in the face of an official policy which controlled the issue of licenses for both venal and policy reasons, as a consequence of the selectively and intermittently applied economic theory that colonies should not compete with the production of the metropolis. Reports at both the beginning and end of the seventeenth century identified a considerable number of illegal *obrajes* in Quito. It was claimed that in 1603 that there were sixty illegal in the vicinity of the capital[54]. *Visitas* of the urban *obrajes* in the 1680's uncovered a number of small workshops, some of which were immediately destroyed, but the clamp-down was somewhat nominal; there were at least thirty-seven illegal *obrajes* in the Five Leagues of the capital around 1700 [55]. As with all forms of illicit economic activity, we can assume that the real level of illegal textile activity was higher, and the quantification of any aspect of *chorrillo* activity must therefore be considered speculative.

The characteristics of the textile industry in and around the capital were different from those of the major rural *obrajes*. The small urban workshops, seldom employing more than twenty people, wove coarse cloth for consumption by the local population, and exported to the closer markets of New Granada; they did not, however, participate in the export of quality cloth to the more distant Lima market. Except when both sectors were exposed to extortionate fiscal pressures from the Crown, they formed quite different interest groups, and in the 1660's and 1670's the licensed rural sector supported the Royal officials in their attacks on the urban sector[55]. In 1680, President Munive defended the necessity of a legalised local production of coarse cloth, and requested- and was later granted- authority to grant licenses to *obrajes* which would make coarse cloth in rural areas and redirect Indian migration into rural areas [56].

The role of the mid- Colonial textile industry in making Quito a focus of Indian migration was denounced by the municipality in 1651:

In this city there are many little textile workshops, established by different people in which they weave and make *jerguetas, bayetas* (dark, coarse cloth), and other products, and they have received many Indians, both from the villages of this district and the rest of this Province, leaving the said villages abandoned... This has arrived at such an extreme that even the very Indians, in all the parishes, have set up the said workshops in their houses and have many retainers (*indios de servicio*) for their work-force[58].

In 1660, the attorney (*procurador*) of the municipality returned to the theme, claiming that 20,000 Indians were around the city, either employed in Spanish *obrajes* or acting as independent agents in cloth production [59]. In Munive's letter of 1681, he claimed that 30,000 Indians were employed in the capital[60]. The accuracy of these figures can be taken as a matter of debate: the degree of exaggeration in Munive's estimate may be

taken to depend on the scope of his comments- whether he really meant the capital or was including unspecified nearby villages. Nevertheless, it is clear that urban textile production was attracting major immigration, and the extent of the city's growth is indicated in the difference between the descriptions of the the 1580's and that of Diego Rodríguez Docampo in 1650[61]. The municipality's denunciation of the Indians for establishing their own enterprises shows that textile production was generalised throughout the city, and a similar small-scale Indian production continued for domestic consumption and urban needs, even when the city's textile industry was greatly reduced in the eighteenth century.

As was argued in the first chapter, however, considerable care should be used in defining textile production as an urban industry. It is obvious from the points noted above, that licensed workshops only constituted a part of the textile production of the city, but we may take note of Munive's list of *obrajes* for the Five Leagues of the city in the late seventeenth century ; four *obrajes* to which *mitayos* were assigned were listed alongside eleven *obrajes* relying on free or semi-free labour, and four *chorrillos*. Production was mainly in the rural district of the capital, while perhaps more interestingly, the four *chorrillos* which we might expect to be more likely to be "urban" were in San Diego, San Sebastián, Recoleta and Loloncoto, i.e. away from the nuclear district of the city[62]. The mid- Colonial evidence may be set against that for late-Colonial Quito. According to a tribute document of 1804, there were 12 *chorrillos* in Quito, of which 7 were in the parish of San Sebastián[63].

This localisation of textile activity in the parish of San Sebastián can be attributed to its location along the river Machángara which provided the necessary supplies of water for the fulling mills. In neither the eighteenth nor the nineteenth centuries, does urban growth seem to have spread effectively to this area according to the cartographic evidence, so the

late-Colonial "urban" workshops should therefore best be described as disguised rural ones (See Chapter 1). In view of the clear evidence for extensive and widespread textile activity in the mid-Colonial city, the localisation of the late-Colonial workshops may be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it may be taken as confirmation of the decline of urban weaving, at least outside domestic artisanal Indian production; the fact that the nominally urban workshops were in fact located outside the city, can be taken as further evidence that the urban textile industry was unable to withstand competition from rural *obrajes* once the latter turned to lower quality cloth production for the Colombian market in the eighteenth century. The second interpretation is that the location of the seventeenth century workshops may also have been less urban than immediately apparent, a phenomenon partly disguised by the domestic or very small-scale Indian artisanal weaving which caught the attention of the municipality.

What is clear is that the scale and quality of seventeenth century urban textile production was never such as to permanently deprive weaving of its associations as a fundamentally rural activity. In the late-Colonial documentation, the weavers were exclusively Indian and despite the skills which some textile processes involved, the occupation continued to be a low status one. As a traditional rural activity, weaving was carried out by Indians, as it had been in pre-hispanic times[64]. Confirmation that as an urban activity it stayed entirely in Indian hands, can be found in the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768[65]. In 1762, the Mestizos of San Roque emphasized that they "don't work in the fields or have other mechanical offices" like Indians[66]. This equation of Mestizos with urban residents and Indians with rural occupations is a suggestive one. The fundamental character of the *hacienda-obraje* complex was basically rural, the techniques of textile manufacturing being essentially non-industrial, and

its production processes closely linked with sheep grazing and agricultural activity. In the eighteenth century, this form of textile production was the only major remaining one with the failure of the urban textile economy, and the community *obrajes*. When the Mestizos of San Roque compared Mestizo artisanal activities with those of the Indians in the 1760's, they were indirectly asserting the failure of the city's economy to sustain and integrate a dynamic urban weaving industry, which would transform its social structure.

#### iv) The first symptoms of crisis, 1690-1720

Late eighteenth century Quito witnessed a flood of reports on the decay of the Audiencia in which latter-day *arbitristas* amalgamated Enlightenment rationalism and the theme of decadence to which Hispanic thought was highly attuned, to attempt projects which would "reanimate the dying realm"[67]. If we read these reports carefully, however, it is clear that they placed Quito's immediate difficulties within a long-term process of decline[68], while we can certainly find an anticipation of their themes in the letter of Aisedo in 1732 [69], or in the appeals of the *cabildo* for lower *censos* in the 1720's which we will examine in this section. How literally we have to take the late-Colonial commentators is a moot point, and we should bear in mind that the volume of paperwork essentially monitors not one but two processes, namely Quito's actual decline, and the increased fiscal pressure to which it was subject, which stimulated both the complaints of the Quiteños, and the cautious assessments by officials of potential risks to the Crown's interests. In an article on the south of the Audiencia, I was struck by the contrast between observers' impression of decline, and the evidence of modest growth[70]. Nevertheless, although it may be possible to "regionalise" the Audiencia's crisis in this way, the city and immediate region of Quito did undergo economic decline; when, how intensely, and for whom, are all questions which may reasonably be asked.

The second part of this study examines themes such as demographic change and social unrest, which shed a partial light on this process, but tightening the chronology of crisis may clarify some of the problems which will be examined later. If we emphasize in this section, for example, the extremely early beginnings of Quito's economic difficulties, it will also be argued in Chapter 7 that those difficulties generated major social tensions well before the great Quito rebellion of 1765. Pushing Quito's decline back

to the late seventeenth century will also force us to reconsider the nature of the city in the eighteenth century, asking whether it was really in "permanent decline" or enjoyed periods of recovery and intensified crisis. It has become clear that the restriction of trade between Guayaquil and Callao (Lima) after 1735, and the liberalising of trade regulations in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were not the fundamental reason for Quito's decline, although the demographic evidence cited in Chapter 5 certainly suggests an intensifying of Quito's problems from the 1780's onwards. In general, the Ecuadorian historiography locates Quito's economic difficulties around the mid-eighteenth century onwards, but Tyrer's study has shown that prices of *paños* were falling on the Lima market well before that date, and therefore affecting the profitability of Quito cloth production[71]. In the 1690's major epidemics hit the region and high mortality rates provoked labour shortages which can only have reinforced the difficulties of the textile industry[72]. From the evidence of Figure 5:1 the population of the city may have peaked even before the epidemics of the 1690's[73].

Evidence from the 1710's and 1720's- specifically the documentation relating to the lowering of *censos*- enables us to synthesize the evidence of early decline for the period c.1690-1720's, as well as place short-term cyclical down-turns alongside the evidence for major structural change[74]. Although there were different kinds of *censo*, these can be most widely defined as obligations assumed on property in return for services- spiritual or financial- rendered mainly by the Church[75]. Spiritual services might include the *capellanías* founded to perpetuate masses for the founder's soul, and which would support an ecclesiastical living. Financial services might involve a direct loan for the purchase of a house or a piece of land. In either case, the result was a permanent annuity which was owed to the institution in which the *censo* was vested.

Although *censos* could also be held, for example, in secular institutions such as the Municipality, the Religious Orders appear to have been the main beneficiaries of what seems to have turned into a major drain on the resources of property-owners. Bauer's recent warning against translating *censo* too freely as mortgage, and seeing it as a device which necessarily and primarily involved the actual circulation of capital, applies nowhere more exactly than for late-Colonial Quito[76].

Virtually every transaction which passed before a notary in eighteenth century Quito involved property which was burdened with *censos*. As Quito moved into economic crisis, the repayment of annuities in cash became increasingly difficult: "it is impossible to pay by virtue of the lack of money from which this province suffers"[77]. Appealing for a diminution in the annual rate of repayment (normally fixed at 5% of the capital), the *procurador* for the city of Quito in 1714, cited both a series of climatic problems and poor harvests, as well as more deep-rooted problems which were to become the staple of late-Colonial Quito; demonetisation, and the failure of the cloth exporting economy. According to the *procurador*, "in this district alone", the annual repayment amounted to 150,000 *pesos* on a total of three million *pesos* "principal". A later witness in 1723 argued that only a dozen *haciendas* were exempt from *censo*, because they had been effectively established in entail; as he put it, those who received the *censos* could "freely be called the owners of all the Province"[78]. Temporary reductions in the rate of payment at this period were followed by a reduction in 1755, and again under the Republic of Gran Colombia in the early nineteenth century[79]. These reductions were one admission of the onerousness of this system of obligations and the economic difficulties of the late Colonial economy of Quito.

With regard to the specific data on the period upto the 1720's, it is clear that the region was undergoing a twenty or so year medium-term



agricultural cycle of bad harvests and possible land exhaustion[80]. Undoubtedly existing labour shortages were reinforced by the difficulty of paying tribute at a time of agricultural depression which led to evasion, and allegedly, the virtual abandonment of villages and farms[81]. For the purposes of this study, the most interesting aspect of this body of documentation is the light it sheds on the forms in which economic crisis hit the urban popular sectors, a direct testimony which is often lacking in later periods. The interaction of agricultural crisis and the urban economy emerges clearly and supports the correlation of the rhythms of rural economic change and urban social unrest which is attempted in Chapter 7. The quality of food consumption dropped with the fall in meat supply for the urban market, and was limited to vegetables and maize broth ("masamorras de mais")[82], a factor to be kept in mind when we turn to the evidence on mortality rates in Chapter 5. Conspicuous consumption also declined in contrast to the references to the fine shirts, jewelry etc. which were formerly worn, notably in festivals[83].

Worse, it was claimed that inhabitants of the *barrios* were compelled to leave their houses in order to "go and live in the city", sometimes breaking up their houses to sell the materials or otherwise just leaving them deserted. In the city, they would rent rooms or "serve those who would keep them"[84]. The notarial records partly bear out the picture of the decline of the *barrios* at this period. For the late 1720's we find the *caciques* of Guápulo buying two houses in San Blas, one of them unroofed[85]. Juan and Francisco Xavier Bustos, minors sought permission to sell their house to feed themselves; they were not living in their house in the parish of San Sebastián, and robbers had stolen the doors[86]. In May 1729, another house which was falling apart, and from which the robbers were stealing the tiles and doors, was sold to an Indian, Felipe Casilema, who subsequently made it over to the Convent of La Merced on account of

jewelry he owed them[87]. An explanation for why an Indian might owe jewelry to the church will be suggested in the next chapter: it is unsurprising to find property finally making its way into ecclesiastical hands, the only major group in society exempt from the burden of *censos*. Although low, the prices in these transactions- 130, 72 and 45 *pesos* respectively, partly in cash - do not suggest that the property market had entirely collapsed.

Figure 5:1 of annual baptisms, on the other hand, (see Chapter 5) does not entirely bear out the theme of movement to the nuclear centre of the city. The central district, the Sagrario, was itself declining at this period, at least on a par with San Blas and Santa Bárbara, although San Roque was probably declining more rapidly (See Chapter 7 ii) a). The capacity of white society to absorb Indian and Mestizo incomers at a time of economic depression was probably limited, and I suspect the witnesses gave prominence to a real but relatively small-scale if (for them) highly visible phenomenon. On the other hand, in calling attention to mobility as an imposed response to economic difficulties, they certainly emphasized a real feature of Colonial society. Some of those who were not absorbed into "the city"- and the terminology is a revealing indication of the city-*barrios* dichotomy emphasized in the previous chapter- may well have been absorbed into rural society.

Although the depression of the early eighteenth century clearly coincided with medium-term cyclical factors, when taken together with the epidemics of the 1690's and the decline of the cloth industry, it is clear that a major re-orientation of Quito's economy was occurring c1690-1720's. The textile economy which was labour rather than capital intensive had lost much of its abundant labour supply- at least on the scale which had permitted its expansion- and more particularly its place in the Lima market to which it exported its finished products. Many of the

familiar themes of the late-Colonial period- lack of specie etc.- were already commonplace in the early eighteenth century. Even in the 1720's the Peruvian market was virtually being described as a thing of the past, although those representing ecclesiastical interests tried to make the most of the New Granada trade which partially offset it[88]. Quito's transition from an outpost of the great "internal market" generated by the mining districts of Peru and Upper Peru to a supplier of the more isolated and much less important Colombian mining areas was confirmed by the transfer to the Viceroyalty of New Granada. The re-orientation of Quito towards New Granada was not a smooth re-adjustment, however. In Chapter 7, I will argue that economic crisis in the early eighteenth century interacted with political factors to create tensions which anticipated better-known late-Colonial events. To judge from the demographic evidence, however, and to a lesser extent the economic indices, the worst effects of epidemics, agricultural crisis and the early weakening of the textile economy had already worked themselves out by the late 1720's. From the 1730's onwards, Quito underwent a slow recuperation and relative stability- albeit punctuated by short-term crises such as 1765- which was to last until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

**Notes to Chapter 2:**

1) L. B. Rout Jr., *The African Experience in Spanish America 1502 to the Present Day*, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976): 226-235, summarises the Ecuadorian evidence, but for the Independence period. For the "problem" of the Black population of the south of the Audiencia, c.f. M. Minchom, "The making of a white province: demographic movement and ethnic transformation in the south of the Audiencia de Quito", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, XII (3-4), (1983): 23-39. I have not ignored the black presence here, but emphasize it when it clarifies the broader pattern of inter-ethnic relations and the nature of the *plebe*, rather than as an autonomous theme. See especially pp. 93-4 in the text, and note 22) below.

2) For the black presence at the foundation of Santiago de Quito (i.e. the foundation which preceded Quito's present site) c.f. *LCQ* Libro Primero, Tomo I (1534), p. 35: "Anton de color negro"; c.f. also p. 55, "Pedro de Salinas de color negro". "Bartolomé de color moreno" was named town crier (*pregonero*) in 1573; *LCQ*, 3 July 1573, pp. 42-3. For slave sales see note 22) below. For the census of 1781 see Chapter 5, following the volume "Censos del Ecuador" in the ANB.

3) For estimations of the black population of Lima in the early Colonial period, see F.P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, (Stanford Univ. Press, 1974); Spanish edn. Siglo XXI, pp. 407-411. Guayaquil had a more substantial black presence than Quito: c.f. Juan Antonio Zelaya, "Estado de la Provincia de Guayaquil, Agosto 17, 1765", *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas*, (Dec. 1974): 98.

4) According to a contemporary, "su madre fue fulana Aldaz, aunque es dudosa su naturaleza, pero toda la duda recae en si es india o mulata", cited by P. Astuto, "Eugenio Espejo: A man of the enlightenment in Ecuador", *Revista de Historia de América*, 44 (Dec. 1957): 371.

5) M. Minchom, op. cit. 29, 36-8.

6) For pre-hispanic Quito, c.f. F. Salomon, "Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North-Andean Chiefdoms", (Ph.D. Cornell University, 1978).

7) Salomon, op. cit. 206 argues that the pre-hispanic settlement may not have been dense. For the parroquial structure of the city, see Chapter 1 above.

8) c.f. J.W. Schotellius, "Die Gründung Quitos", *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, IX-X (1936-7): 276- 294; 55-77.

9) The *relaciones geográficas* were published in the nineteenth century by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias : Perú*, 3 vols., Madrid: BAE, Atlas, 1965 (cited as *RGI*). "Relación de las cibdades y villas que hay en el distrito de la Audiencia Real que reside en la cibdad de Quito", *RGI*, II: 183, mentions 48 for 1583. Pedro Rodríguez de Aguayo, "Descripción de la ciudad de Quito y vecindad de ella", *RGI*, II: 203, for 30 in the 1570's. Anónimo, "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", *RGI*, II: 215-6, lists 37 *encomiendas* including vacant ones.

10) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 217-8. Furthermore, one of these *encomenderos* appears to have acquired his wealth in the same way; the two richest *encomenderos*, Rodrigo de Salazar and Francisco Ruíz, at 50,000 *pesos*, were exceptional in holding the major *encomiendas* of Otavalo and a number of Indian communities near Quito. The other *encomenderos* were 10,000 *pesos* and downwards, and some of them indebted. According to Pedro Rodríguez de Aguayo, op. cit. 203, there were 14 merchants "de tiendas gruesas" as well as the small-scale retail *pulperos*. J. Super, on the other hand, argues that few merchants were able to "accumulate the wealth needed for entry into... the Andean elite"; "Partnership and profit in the early andean trade: experiences of Quito merchants, 1580-1610", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 11 (2), (Nov. 1979): 279.

11) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 216, 218; 200 *pesos* upto 6,000.

12) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 222.

13) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 218; "En la tierra hay bastante número de curtidores, zapateros, guarniconeros, herreros, albañines, carpinteros, calceteros, plateros".

14) Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, "Extranjeros en la Audiencia de Quito (1595-1603)" (Separata del Tomo II, de *América y la España del Siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1983): 107-113 publishes the *composiciones* in AGI Contaduría 1537; "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 224.

15) Super, op. cit. 279-281.

16) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 219; "Los que no usan sus oficios son Antón Prieto, albañir, por estar rico, y fulano González, por estar casado con muger que tiene indios; es albañir. Los dichos oficiales (c.f. note 13) no hay alguno de ellos que esté rico".

17) See J.H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, (London, 2nd edn. 1973): 1-13, for a brief summary of "the tradition of conquest". I do not feel that the essential point is undermined by A. Arriaza, "The Castilian Bourgeoisie and the Caballeros Villanos in the Concejo before 1300: A Revisionist View", *HAHR*, 63(3), (1983): 517-536, who upgrades the role of the Castilian bourgeoisie.

18) See the work of Javier Ortiz de la Tabla, and especially the genealogical tables published in: "El obraje ecuatoriano. Aproximación a su estudio", *Revista de Indias*, 145/50, (1977): 471-542. I feel, however, that the genealogical evidence, although it certainly tells us something, has to be used with some care. The fact that the leading eighteenth century families had *some* ancestors who were first generation *encomenderos*, does not disprove the existence of some measure of élite circulation; nearly all white Quiteños and many mixed-bloods and perhaps Indians too must also have been descended from *encomenderos* by the eighteenth century. To set the genealogical evidence against the data on a rapid turnover of property transactions in other regions, as Mörner appears to do, is therefore to mix quite distinct forms of evidence. c.f. Mörner "Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with special regard to Elites", *HAHR*, 63(2), (1983): 351, footnote 39.

19) See the discussion in J. L. Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito...* (Wisconsin, 1967): 234.

20) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 222.

21) This process was emphasized by J. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, (Wisconsin, 1968). Artisanal data is abundant in the early Colonial records but progressively loses much of its detail. c.f. ANH/Q Notaría 1, vol. 2 (1588) f 238; Notaría 6 vol. 2 (1583) f 1,154 for contracts of apprenticeship.

22) Slave prices can be culled from the notarial records, and obviously depended on age, sex, physical fitness etc. The slave market in Quito was always a fairly small-scale affair. The largest consignment I noted was for 5 slaves in 1634, all African-born, for a total of 2,080 *patacones*, i.e. a little over 400 apiece (ANH/Q Not. Diego Rodriguez Urbán, Tomo 55, f

9-10). By the eighteenth century, the market was on an even smaller scale, and weighted towards female slaves, presumably for domestic service. When two slaves were sold it was usually because they belonged to the same family (e.g. ANH/Q I Not. Ambrosio del Capillo, Tomo 244, f 63-4, 14 Aug. 1728; ANH/Q I Not. Diego de Ocampo, Tomo 276, f 184-5, 21 May, 1754). Slave prices stayed fairly high in the eighteenth century which, in view of the deflation of Quito's economy suggests they were becoming, if anything, an even more precious "commodity". Slaves were the auxiliaries of white society, and we will later note the hostility of the *plebe* to the black servant of a Court official (see Chap 7, ii b.). Blacks were certainly often a force to be hated and feared. On the other hand, the data given in the text shows that inter-ethnic relations in the lower strata should not be over-simplified. Indian-black relations ran in two directions. The use of blacks as guards/fighters etc. was not the exclusive use of Spaniards in Colonial Spanish America; e.g. for a Peruvian example, "Causa criminal contra Lazaro Martin, çiego y su muger Lucia Carrasco sobre el corte del miembro viril de Francisco Alichá. Yndios del Pueblo de Catacaos", (Archivo Departmental, Piura, Legajo 1. Doc. 45: Expedientes coloniales de corregimiento. Causas criminales), where an Indian paid a Black 8 *pesos* for his assistance in a case of ritual vengeance. We may note the purchase of a young girl for 330 *pesos* by a wealthy *cacique*, Don Justo Titusunta de Llamoca, of Angamarca and Saquisilí, but resident in Quito, on 22 August 1731. (ANH/Q I Not. Diego de Ocampo, f 643-4, under that date).

23) This is a point made repeatedly by F.P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, (Stanford Univ. Press, 1974).

24) ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. Doc: 7-VII-1642.

25) c.f. D.L. Chandler, "Slave over master in colonial Colombia and Ecuador", *The Americas*, 38, (3), (Jan. 1982): 315-326, for an interesting discussion of a number of ways slaves could "play the system". Despite its title, however, this article uses almost no Ecuadorian material.

26) For the growth of the city, and Highlands, "Relación de las ciudades y villas", op. cit. 183; Pedro Rodríguez de Aguayo, op. cit. 203; "La ciudad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 221. The role of the Potosí mita in generating demographic movement over a vast region of the Andes including regions of refuge has been examined by N. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y Tributos en el Alto Perú*, (Lima, IEP, 1978). For the possibility of the Audiencia of Quito as a "region of refuge", c.f. "Relación del distrito del Cerro de Zaruma y distancias a la ciudad de Quito..." (1592), RGI, II: 319; "Y el acudir tantos vagabundos a lo de Quito, lo causa ser la

tierra fertilísima y de lindísimo temple y no les costar casi nada la comida, *y lo principal, no haber minas donde los puedan echar*". (My italics for the last phrase.) Cook's study of Peru does not include Ecuadorian data; N.D. Cook, *Demographic Collapse, 1520-1620*, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981). For the moment, the first chapter of Tyrer's study remains the best sketch of the demographic effects of conquest in the region; R. B. Tyrer, "The demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia de Quito...", (Ph.D., Berkeley, 1976), but the reconstruction of population curves from often defective tribute data is always problematic.

27) The estimate of 2,500 houses in Diego Rodríguez Docampo's "Descripción y Relación..."(1650), *RGI*, III: 6, may be a more objective point of comparison with the 1570's and 1580's than the actual population estimates. (According to the *relaciones* cited in note 26, there may have been 1,000 houses in the 1570's- see the references for the 1570's above.) Chapter 5 examines the demographic history of the city from the late-seventeenth century onwards.

28) "Relación del distrito del Cerro de Zaruma y distancias a la ciudad de Quito..." op. cit. 319, (cited in note 26 above).

29) *Ibid.*, in the neighbourhood of Añaquito.

30) Pedro Rodríguez de Aguayo, op. cit. 203.

31) For good descriptions of the *mita*, c.f. "La ciudad de Sant Francisco de Quito, 1573", op. cit. 220, 226; "Relación del distrito del Cerro de Zaruma y distancias a la ciudad de Quito..." op. cit. 319. The scope of the present study does not require extended discussion of this theme. Dr. L. Newson is preparing a study of the demographic impact of conquest on the Indian population of Ecuador.

32) "Relación del distrito del Cerro de Zaruma y distancias a la ciudad de Quito..." op. cit. 319.

33) U. Oberem, "La familia de Atahualpa bajo el dominio español", a study republished in the collection of essays, S. Moreno Yáñez and U. Oberem, *Contribución a la Etnohistoria Ecuatoriana*, (Otavalo, 1981): 153 -224. For an example of the acculturation of the upper Indian élite and privileges accorded by the Crown, c.f., for example, R. Konetzke, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de investigaciones científicas, 1953): Vol 1, 580.



34) The social history of the Mestizo class in Colonial Quito falls into fairly clearly defined phases upto the early seventeenth century, a trajectory which was certainly also followed in many other regions of Colonial Spanish America. The civil wars in sixteenth century Peru certainly had an important Mestizo element at leadership level, while the process of exclusion of the Mestizos from office around 1600 was a general imperial phenomenon. The standard account, building on the work of scholars such as Konezke and Rosenblatt, is M. Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, (Boston, 1967). There is an abundant more specialised literature on the Mestizos, but generally from the juridicial or demographic point of view which are not the aspects which directly concern us here.

35) *The Incas of Pedro Cieza de León*, (ed. V.W. von Hagen), (Oklahoma, 4 edn. 1976): 71. For the argument for a different region that *mestizaje* was perhaps less of an enforced process than is sometimes casually assumed, c.f. B. Cárdenas, "Memorial...", cited below, f 66, where he points out the advantages to Indian women of alliances with Spaniards, (sons free of tribute etc.).

36) J. Moreno Egas, "Apuntes para el estudio de la población del siglo XVI de la Real Audiencia de Quito", *Museo Histórico*, XXVIII (56), (May 1978): 73, 83-4.

37) AGI Quito 28, Carta de Don Sancho Diaz de Zurbano, 22 March, 1609. "Y se an mezclado tanto los españoles entre los yndios que ay en esta ciudad, mas mestizos que en todo lo restante del Piru". c.f. also note 39.

38) c.f. for example, Bernardino Cárdenas, O.F.M. "Memorial y Relación de cosas... del Peru", (n.d. but probably early seventeenth century- Cardenas had lived in Charcas), BN/M Ms 3198, f 64; "mestiços se llaman en este reyno del Peru los hijos de españoles y de indias y de estos ay muchissimos, porque el pecado de mesclarse los españoles con las indias es generalissimo y muy frequentado, porque las indias son faciles y el avito que traen muy lacivo y desonesto (--- descubiertos los bracos y pies--- crossed out)... y que los hijos mestizos avidos en pecado tan grave tan escandaloso y aborrecido de Dios an de ser faborecidos, y libres de tributo y servicio personal como lo son todos los mestizos que ni sirven a Dios ni al rey... no solo porque es gente viciosa... sino porque todo lo que se va multiplicando de mestizos inutiles..."

39) "Descripción de Quito en 1577", *Museo Histórico*, XXVIII, (May

1978): 63, "Habrá en esta ciudad y distrito dos mil mestizos y mestizas... Es gente belicosa, ligeros, fuertes e ingeniosos..." AGI Quito 27, Carta de Don Sancho Diaz de Zurbano, 13 Feb. 1609;" que se va aumentando cada día mucho de gente perdida viciosa y holgazana que ay muchos mestizos, quarterones, cholos, que así llaman a los que nascen de mestizos y indias..." For a different late-Colonial definition of *cholo*, see the discussion of socio-racial terminology in Chapter 6.

40) c.f. AGI Quito 32, Letter of Morga, 20 April, 1631, (a document used by Phelan); "Estado actual del Catholicismo, Política y Económica de los Naturales del Peru", April 30, 1747, BNP/L c 881, Cap 1: 2a.

41) AGI Quito 17, Cartas de cabildo, Letter of 24 May, 1585.

42) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, op. cit. 10.

43) AGI 8, f 807, Carta de Nov. 27, 1593: "Los mas culpados en estos delitos, an sido los mestiços de esta ciudad". For a short account of the rebellion, based on González Suárez, c.f. A. Pareja Diezcanseco, *Las Instituciones y la Administración de la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (Quito, 1975): 144-7. F. Hassaurek wrote a historical novel on the subject of the rebellion, *The Secret of the Andes*, (Cincinnati, 1879).

44) *Colección de Documentos sobre el Obispado de Quito*, (Quito, 1946), Tomo 1, pp. 543, 546, (Oct. 12, 1582), for protests against the Mestizo priest Diego Lobato; Tomo II, 46-7, for exclusion from office, (1602).

45) The Mestizo "disappearance" from the register of Spanish births in the Sagrario dates from the period, 1601-10, according to data compiled by Sr. Jorge Moreno Egas. This data is unpublished, but c.f. his "Apuntes para el estudio de la población..." op. cit. and numerous transcriptions of births, marriages etc. in the ongoing *Revista del Centro Nacional de Investigaciones Genealógicas y Antropológicas*, (Quito), of which he is the editor.

46) For a discussion of different forms of acculturation, specifically adapted to Latin American materials, N. Wachtel, "L'Acculturation", in J. Le Goff and P. Nora, *Faire de l'histoire*, (Paris, 1974): 124 ff.

47) AGI Quito 32, Carta de Lucas Dorotines, April 28, 1633.

48) ANH/Q 1 Not. Vol II, (1593), f 443; a debt to "Ysabel de Bustamante,

mestiza en abitos de yndia que reside en esta ciudad".

49) Juan y Ulloa, *Relación Histórica...*, 377.

50) ANH/Q Ind. 80, Doc: 13-II-1764, f2, the said Mestizo has the "oficio de aferrador, y debe ocuparse en el, y no el Superior, y honorifico empleo de Governar dicho casicazgo".

51) See Chapter 6, below.

52) R.B. Tyrer, "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile industry", (Ph.D. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1976): 9. J. L. Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the seventeenth century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire*, (Madison: the Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1967); J. Ortiz de la Tabla, "El obraje ecuatoriano. Aproximación a su estudio", *Revista de Indias*, 149/50, (1977): 471-542; R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador, 1698-1940", (Ph.D., University of Wales, 1977).

53) N.P. Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito*, (State Univ. of New York Press, 1982).

54) Phelan, op. cit. p. 69.

55) Tyrer, op. cit. 157, 160-1.

56) Tyrer, op. cit. 155-8.

57) Tyrer, op. cit. 156-7.

58) *LCQ* Jan. 9, 1651, p. 85; "... que a causa de haber en esta Ciudad mucha cantidad de obrajuelos que han puesto diferentes personas en que tejen y labran jerguetas, bayetas y otros géneros, se han recogido a ella muchos indios, así de los Pueblos de este Corregimiento como de los demás de la Provincia, dejando dichos pueblos solos y desamparados... y ha llegado a tanto que aun los mismos indios, en todas las parroquias, han armado en sus casas los dichos obrajes y tienen muchos indios de servicio para la labor de lo que labran en ellos... "

59) Tyrer, op. cit. 173.

60) AGI Quito 69, Carta de Munive, 30 July, 1681, f332, (doc. published by Landázuri).

61) c.f. note 27 above; Diego Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y Relación..."(1650), *AGI*, III: 6.

62) Munive's account in AGI 69, lists the following for c.1680:

--- *Obrajes* with *mitayos*: Yaruquí, Puembo, Pansaleo, Añaquito, Machángara.

--- *Obrajes* with *voluntarios*: Cumbayá, Guahaló, Chillogallo, Cotocola, Añaquito, San Blas, Puembo, Tumbaco, Oyambaro, Santa Bárbara

--- *Chorrillos*: San Diego, Recoleta, San Sebastián, Loloncoto.

Most of these licensed workshops were no longer functioning by the 1760's; J. Ortiz de la Tabla, "Panorama económico y social del Corregimiento de Quito", *Revista de Indias*, 145/146, (1976) : 96.

63) U. Oberem, *Contribución*, op. cit. 347.

64) C. Caillavet, "Tribut textile et caciques dans le nord de l'Audiencia de Quito", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, (Paris-Madrid), Tome XVI, (1980) : 179-201.

65) For the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara, published in *Museo Histórico*, 56 (1978): 93-122, c.f. Chapter 5. All eleven weavers in the parish were Indian.

66) See Chapter 7 ii c. on the "scare" of 1762.

67) R. J. Shaffer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World* (1763-1821), (Syracuse, 1958): 168-177, and here p. 169, citing *Mercurio Peruano*, no. 103, (Dec. 29, 1791): 300-306, "Noticia de una sociedad..." For the theme of decadence in seventeenth century Spain, c.f. J.H. Elliott, "Self-perception and decline in early seventeenth-century Spain", *Past and Present*, (74), (1977), repr. in: J.H. Elliott (ed.), *Poder y sociedad en la España de los Austrias*, (Barcelona, 1982): 198- 223. The decadence of the Audiencia was examined by innumerable writers; c.f. "Representación hecha al Rey por Don Miguel de Uriarte y Herrera, natural de San Francisco de Quito", (1757), in: Don Antonio Valladares, *Semanario erudito...* (vol. 24, Madrid, 1788): 238, (get minerals out of the veins of the earth and circulating in the veins of the monarchy). "Defensa de los curas de Riobamba "(1786) in: *Escritos del doctor Francisco Javier Eugenio Santa Cruz y Espejo*, (Tomo 3: Quito, 1923): 172-3, for Espejo's laconic comment: "Comercio: ...En esta Provincia, no hay alguno que se puede llamar

con este nombre". Carondelet, President of the Audiencia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, wrote some of the most frequently cited reports on the state of the Audiencia.

68) See, for example, the first reference of note 67.

69) Letter of Alsedo, AGI 132, cited in Chapter 1, note 1.

70) M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica de Loja y su Provincia: Desde 1700 hasta fines de la Colonia", *Cultura, Revista del Banco Central del Ecuador*, (15), (Quito), (1983): 149-169.

71) Tyrer, op. cit. 255 and 311 ff.

72) c.f. S.A. Browne, "The effects of epidemic disease in Colonial Ecuador: the epidemics of 1692 to 1695", Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington D.C., 1982.

73) See Chapter 5.

74) AGI Quito 181 "Autos por el procurador general de la ciudad de Quito sobre minoración de censos; año 1755". The document is classified under this date because of a subsequent appeal- the documentation is in fact from the 1710's and 1720's.

75) This definition is based on the article by A. J. Bauer, "The Church in the Economy of Spanish America: Censos and Depósitos in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *HAHR*, 63(4), (Nov. 1983): 707-733.

76) Bauer, op. cit. 708-9, and passim; and GS, II, 967 ff, but González Suárez did not take much account of medium term agricultural factors.

77) AGI Quito 181, op. cit., petition of the procurador, 26 Sept. 1714, f1; "siendo oy imposible el que se puedan pagar... por el defecto de dinero del que carece esta Provincia".

78) Ibid., "los dueños de toda la Provincia", f57-8, in 1723.

79) For the later history of the censos, c.f. D. Bushnell, The Santander Régime... p.4.

80) AGI 181, op. cit. for numerous witnesses on the agricultural depression, and f 58 (testimony of 1723), that tithe was down by a half in the last twelve years. The auction value of tithes was down at this period,

Tyrer, op. cit. 62. R.D.F. Bromley noted low tithe levels for the Central Sierra, op. cit. 83-4

81) AGI Quito, op. cit. Leonardo Suarez de Figueroa, tgo (1723) f 108; "se imposibilitan assi Amos como yndios de pagar tributos, y se ocultan y retiran a temples contrarios y montes donde paresen estar desiertos los mas Pueblos y haciendas sin jente con que cultivarlas en tiempo que era necesario doblar el trabajo". Several witnesses, some of them the members of the Religious Orders, who had an interest in keeping the censo rate high, argued that different ecological levels were less affected, such as the higher land in Cayambe, or sugar production in the lowlands.

82) Ibid, Don Antonio Fernandez de Obiedo, f 61.

83) Ibid, Cap. Joseph de Sola, f 67.

84) Ibid, ff 56; 58, (just the walls of the houses left); 66-7; 72, ("arrendando quartos o sirviendo a quienes los mantengan"); 74; 80.

85) ANH/Q 1 Not. Don Diego de Ocampo, vol. 246, f 81; 29 May, 1728.

86) ANH/Q 1 Not. Don Diego de Ocampo, vol. 246, f 378, (1729); "porque estamos sumamente desnudos aun sin camisa".

87) ANH/Q 1 Not. Don Diego de Ocampo, vol. 246, f254 (21 May, 1729), and f 267 (9 June, 1729).

88) AGI Quito 181, op. cit. f 30; "el defecto no a sido total pues es constante aver entrado considerables cantidades de las Provincias de Popayán, Barbacoas, y Chocó".

### 3: Artisan and Confraternity: the socio-economic role of the Church

#### 1) The socio-economic role of the Church

This chapter focuses on the role of the Church in relation to popular society, notably through the religious lay brotherhoods, but that role is perhaps best set within the larger framework of the place of the Church in society. The sacramental function of the Church, that of ordering the lives of the community through ritual, and channelling religious emotion into such organised manifestations as festivals, was common to all parts of the Christian world. More particularly, the Church of Colonial Ecuador was highly involved in the economy both as a major landowner, and as a drain on the finances of property-owners through the different annuities which it had progressively accumulated. In late-Colonial Quito, the Church was subject to widespread denunciations for its low standards, although it is hard to separate rhetoric from reality in these accusations. It is possible that economic crisis hit the Church as badly as other landowners, and forced it to seek out somewhat irregular sources of income, while the quality of ecclesiastical appointments does not always seem to have been high[1].

These problems merit some attention here. If many ecclesiastical institutions were in a state of some neglect in late-Colonial Quito, that problem requires its own treatment, lying largely beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to emphasize the role of the Church as a social institution, the ramifications of which were felt at many different levels of the social order. The extreme concentration of religious functions in Quito, the seat of an Archbishopric, can be measured by the space occupied by churches, convents and monasteries in the city (see Map 2 on p. 43). Perhaps even more pertinently, the census summary of

1781 suggested that the ecclesiastical population was 4.4% of the total population of the city, and as high as 6.4% of the white population. With a over a thousand ecclesiastics, Quito had an ecclesiastical presence on a scale which almost rivalled the much larger cities of Lima and Mexico[2]. The accusations which González Suárez, himself a distinguished Archbishop, levelled against the Colonial Religious Orders ninety years ago, need not shock us today. The social history of the Church in Quito has to be viewed as a close reflection of, as well as shaping influence on, the society around it. The fact that strains between Creoles and peninsular Spaniards appear to have started much earlier in the Religious Orders than elsewhere in the Viceroyalty of Peru- reaching some intensity during the seventeenth century- is therefore a valuable indication of the maturing of a strong Quiteño creole consciousness[3]. The tensions within the Religious Orders merely reflected the wider growth of anti-Spanish sentiment which had already been expressed in the Sales-tax riots of the 1590's, and was to re-emerge during the Quito rebellion of 1765. Prior to the second of these major rebellions, the close inter-relationship of secular creole society, and local elements of the Church had already been clearly manifested in a number of major disturbances, while during the 1765 rebellion itself, the Religious Orders were closely allied to the creole elite during the early stages of the *cabildo abierto* which set out objections to Royal policy. Far from the main foci of both Viceregal and Ecclesiastical authority the Church developed in a close symbiotic relationship with the society around it. The Franciscan rejection of the Visitor from Lima in the 1740's, like the response to the Royal introduction of fiscal reforms in the 1760's, demonstrate the extent to which external forms of authority could be conceived as foreign intrusions into an organically evolving community with its own strong sense of *de facto* local autonomy[4].

The state of the secular clergy aroused as much criticism as that of



the Religious Orders. During the judicial inspection of the retiring President of the Audiencia in February 1690, accusations were listed of his nomination of illegitimate, or illiterate parish priests, accused of varying forms of incapacity. One of these was Doctor Santa Cruz considered to be of "muy cortas letras" who was alleged to have purchased the post of parish priest of San Blas, Quito, for the considerable sum of 5,000 pesos; the appointment to the parish of San Blas in Cuenca was also simoniacal[5]. It may be no coincidence that both these appointments were to popular parishes which must have been lower level appointments than parishes such as the Sagrario; if the allegations are true, they suggest that no over-tight distinction can be drawn between appointments to rural and urban parishes, although many of the accusations against the rural parish priests were much worse than this[6]. The financial records of a rural parish within the Five Leagues of the city reveals income from marriages and funerals (although not baptisms), and from masses, and festivals[7]. These sources of income have of course no rural particularity, but payment in agricultural produce may have lubricated the economic functioning of the rural parishes[8]. On the evidence of a late seventeenth century law-suit, rural parish priests may have been involved in the mobilisation of their Indian parishioners for agricultural work, as well as being engaged in illicit commerce[9]. Urban parish priests had more limited economic possibilities in this respect, so the economic importance of festivals, noted below, may have been reinforced as an important element in the parish economy. Unfortunately, no specific data was noted which could throw detailed light on the financial resources and other activities of urban parish priests. Lack of data does not mean lack of importance, however; it may be noted that during the period of unrest which separated the two rebellions of 1765, the parish of San Blas revolted to impose its own choice of parish priest, so the parish priest could clearly be a key

figure within the urban parishes[10]. In general, the state of the parishes does not appear to have improved noticeably during the eighteenth century. In 1767, Don Serafín Veyan, oidor of Quito, alleged that many priests were absent from their parishes, sometimes appointing a replacement, but sometimes not[11]; in 1790, Bishop Calama claimed that many parishes had not seen a priest for fifty years[12]. The alleged ineffectiveness of the secular clergy permits us to ask to what extent the Church, so often cited as a dominant influence in general terms, really did shape the daily life of its parishioners.

In order to do so, it is appropriate to stress not only the fact that the Church was embodied in many different institutions, but also the diversity of its economic and social role at different levels of society. Given the probable bias of ecclesiastical recruitment towards the upper social strata, the demographic preponderance of ecclesiastics in Quito certainly suggests that there can have been few creole families which did not have kinship ties with members of the Church. Links with the Church were reinforced and perhaps complicated by relations of economic interdependence. For the property-owning classes, the closest economic nexus was probably with the Religious Orders, through the system of *censos*. Although these were also held, for example, in the Municipality, the Church was certainly the main beneficiary of what seems to have turned into a major drain on the resources of property-owners[13]. *Censos* affected all property-owners, and, as such, also affected more humble residents of the city, and it may be stressed that the economic interplay of Religious Orders and secular society ran deep into the lower strata of the city. In the 1740's, the split within the Franciscan order led to rioting in support of one faction in the neighbouring parish of San Roque. The Franciscans appear to have been more heavily engaged in property transactions in the parish of San Roque than in other parishes of the

city[14]. The riots had a ritual aspect, which defies too mechanistic an economic interpretation, but these economic links can scarcely be ignored. The most obvious interpretation of these economic links is that they created a measure of Franciscan control over the population of the parish. But to what extent did they also create resentments in which rioting was a metaphorical or even quite literal way of cancelling debts?

Two aspects of the Church's role will be given particular attention in the rest of this chapter. Firstly, to what extent might ecclesiastical neglect be translated into a weakening hold on the population or even an active process of secularisation? Secondly, the confraternities, or lay brotherhoods, constitute a particularly interesting form of religious association at all levels of society. The first of these themes will be dealt with relatively briefly; the second constitutes one of the key means of access into the urban popular sectors.

### **1) Annual communion and religious compliance**

Whether the hold of the Church on the population is directly related to such questions as the quality of its parish priests, can never be formally established, but the communion data provides some evidence of external observance[15]. It is not intended here to attach any exaggerated importance to this kind of data. After all, if we chose to take baptism as the key sacramental test, it may be presumed that virtually everybody could be included[16]. The Church censuses which were carried out in the 1790's do nevertheless provide useful evidence. As a comparison with the other demographic evidence suggests that the totals in this census are

somewhat on the low side, the figures given here do not minimise and may slightly exaggerate communion compliance. As so often, the documentation essentially refers to fixed households rather than to the floating vagrant population, but evidence from an earlier period suggests that the Church had some problem evangelising these groups. In the 1720's, when economic depression (c.f. Chapter 2 iv.) must have swollen the ranks of the mendicants, González Suárez tells us that Bishop Romero questioned the beggars on religious matters and found- perhaps unsurprisingly- enormous ignorance. On asking the parish priests, he was told that beggars had no fixed home, and therefore belonged to no fixed parish[17]. In principle, special priests were established to minister to them, but if they were established no evidence of their existence was encountered in the late-Colonial documentation.

As the proportions must therefore be considered minimum estimates, the total of only 36% of the eligible population of the city of Quito (i.e. excluding young children) attending annual communion in the year prior to the censuses in the 1797 (1791 for San Marcos) seems low. This proportion was higher at 39% for women, than it was at 31% for men, which may suggest a domestic, familial role in communion observance. Perhaps the most interesting light the communion data sheds is on the differential compliance of the different parishes, providing an important clue to the nature of the *barrios*. The rate in three parishes (Santa Bárbara, San Marcos and San Sebastián) was around 40% (i.e. between 38% and 41%). Three parishes stood out, those of San Roque (26%), the Sagrario at 34%, and San Blas at 50%. The difference between the latter two figures could be that the Sagrario was ten times larger than San Blas, and that a greater measure of social control and parroquial influence was possible in the smallest of all the parishes- the one indeed, which, as noted above, had already rioted to impose its own choice of parish priest. The relatively low

total for the Sagrario also suggests that as the nuclear district of Quito it attracted a more floating population than some of the peripheral districts.

The extremely low rate of 26% in San Roque calls for particular attention, not least as this parish is the one which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. Two factors may be adduced as possible explanations. Firstly, as San Roque was a popular parish, it can be argued that parroquial Church influence weakened in intensity, as it descended the social scale. That this was not the invariable rule is clear from the parish of San Blas, which was precisely the parish with the highest attendance. As San Roque was a highly popular district, the proportion there may also have been distorted by the absence of a significant servant population. It was unfortunately not possible to identify servants as such, but the evidence of the free blacks is probably analogous. Of 141 recorded free blacks (132 being resident in the Sagrario), only 18 complied (or 13%), compared with 25 out of 33 slaves. This evidence certainly suggests that religious practice was identified by many blacks as an alien imposition to be shrugged off where possible. The high proportion of slaves receiving communion reflects their special legal position, but it seems likely that the social dominance exerted over Indian and Mestizo servants was cemented by religious pressures. Often whole households received communion in Quito in 1797, and in the later *padrón* of the village of Conocotog (1816), this process could be seen more clearly in a rural setting, in that almost all the workforce had received it on the *haciendas* [18]. In this perspective, religious practice emerges as one of the key features of the social order, and its élite character is reinforced.

Perhaps, however, we should qualify this by specifying that communion data clarifies the role of the secular clergy rather than that of the Church as an all-embracing entity. Another factor which I would argue lowered the figures for San Roque was that some of the people of the *barrio* were

probably receiving annual communion in the convent of San Francisco. Although the riots of the Franciscan Order date from the 1740's, they show unambiguously the close ties between San Francisco and San Roque (see Chapter 7). It is clear from other sources that there was considerable rivalry between the secular clergy and the Religious Orders, operating for example with regard to burials, many people taking their dead to the convents and monasteries and it was specifically high fees for burials which generated unrest in the *barrio* of San Roque in the early eighteenth century[19]. Although urban society was organised into a parroquial structure, we should not forget the older and parallel tradition of the *doctrina* for evangelising the indigenous population, an institution in which the Religious Orders played a prominent role. When we find the Franciscans deeply involved in what had formerly been an Indian district near their convent such as San Roque, we may simply be seeing the perpetuation of independent ties to the popular sectors within a long evangelising tradition. I have not seen this hypothesis applied to any other urban centre, but there were few Spanish American cities in which the Religious Orders occupied a position analagous to that which they held in Quito. Anyone who wishes to confirm that the Franciscan Order had deep roots in the popular society of the city may do so by visiting the present-day church which continues to attract a highly popular church-going attendance.

### **iii) Religious and artisanal forms of association; the smiths, barbers and weavers**

Of all the different faces of the Church, the lay brotherhoods, or confraternities (*cofradías*), constitute the one which most illuminates an urban social order which was far from being unstructured in its lower rungs. Confraternities were an inheritance from Mediæval Spain which existed throughout Colonial Spanish America, founded, by and for different social groups, in churches, monasteries or convents. Their function was to organise and direct communal religious activity, especially with regard to the worship of particular saints, and the festivals which punctuated the religious calendar formed the highlight and ultimate expression of that communal activity. From the sixteenth century onwards, they penetrated beyond the Spanish elite into the urban Indian and Mestizo sectors. The richer urban Indians were indeed quick to take to the confraternities to show their acceptance of the religious and cultural norms of the new society: the participation of the descendants of Atahualpa in lay brotherhoods may be cited as one example [20]. There also seems to have been a confraternity founded by the Mestizos in one of the convents of Quito, although this was not necessarily exclusively for Mestizo use[21].

Throughout the Colonial period, the lay brotherhoods formed a common theme in the social organisation of different strata of society, and one of the best means of examining its lower and intermediate groups. The confraternities have only recently begun to attract attention, perhaps because it has been hard to gain access to the relevant ecclesiastical archives. It is difficult to talk, therefore, of an existing orthodoxy, but one possible approach to confraternities is to view them as institutions which drew together different social classes, uniting them in collective activity, and therefore reinforcing vertical bonds within society: from this

perspective, the Church would, through the confraternities, be serving a stabilising role, cementing class alliances. With regard to the economic role of the lay brotherhoods, these have tended to be categorised as "mutual aid societies"[22], holding considerable capital (jewelry, statues, sometimes lands), and serving as a source of revenue for parish priests. How far does the evidence from Quito clarify these questions? If the material examined here has suggested a somewhat different emphasis, it is worth establishing to what extent this may be the result of focusing on urban as opposed to rural society, of examining particular social groups, or especially of the particularity of Quiteño society. It is possible that the lay brotherhoods played a more "vertical" role in at least some rural communities, where society was less diversified and different social groups would collaborate in the same confraternity; the preponderance of the Indian population in the countryside must nevertheless have been reflected in the ethnic composition of these confraternities. Some urban confraternities in Quito do seem to have had membership which cut across socio-racial boundaries [23], while multiple membership of confraternities may have created overlapping ties of spiritual kinship which transcended more immediate loyalties.

Nevertheless, the evidence collected here, which makes no pretence to be comprehensive, underlines much more strongly the way in which the confraternities reinforced horizontal bonds of cohesion within certain sectors, as well supporting wider class distinctions. A summary of what may have been the earliest organisation of the lay brotherhoods in Quito, confirming the existence of a Mestizo confraternity, shows that they reflected a distinctive hierarchisation of the urban social order from the earliest Colonial period:



**Table 3: 1**  
**Sixteenth century confraternities in Quito:**

Congregación de clérigos y estudiantes (Jesuitas)	Dominica
Cofradía de seglares	?
Cofradía de mestizos	Nuestra Señora de los Reyes
Cofradía de indios ladinos	Nuestra Señora de la Presentación
Cofradía de El Salvador	Morenos y Pardos
Cofradía de el Niño Jesús	"El resto de los Indios"

Source: "Cartas anuales jesuitas, 1600", but referring to divisions created "muchos años atrás" ; cited by H. Burgos in: "El Guaman, el Puma y el Amaru: Formación Estructural del Gobierno Indígena en Ecuador", Ph.D. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1975: p 256 (no exact reference given).

Note: The list is preceded by the following annotation:

"La ciudad sola (de Quito) se divide en tantas diferencias de gente que de muchos años atrás están divididas las congregaciones y cofradías, en proporción de sus condiciones porque se aplique a cada una la doctrina competente... seis congregaciones según los barrios, estados y suertes que hay en la ciudad; que son..."

For other areas, the hypothesis has been advanced that the confraternity may have served as a transposition of prehispanic kinship groups or *ayllus*, which were recreated in the confraternity as a form of protective mechanism in a Colonial environment[24]. If the lay brotherhoods enjoyed such a success in Spanish America, it is certainly possible that this was at least in part because they reflected existing types of social structure. However, at least in the urban setting of early Colonial Quito, the *cofradías* reflect extremely early a model of socio-racial segregation which points to an ecclesiastical role in both responding to and helping to shape the new realities. The division into confraternities of Mestizos, acculturated Indians ("Indios ladinos"), and "other Indians" in Table 3: 1 may be noted, because at least one trace of

this seems to have survived the whole Colonial period, an interesting testimony of cultural continuity (see below). It is unsurprising that the formation of confraternities does not seem to have followed prehispanic social structures in a city which did not have a dense prehispanic population, and was soon attracting immigrants from rural areas[25].

Burgos advances the hypothesis that the six confraternities may correspond to the six *barrios* in a ritual socio-political structure, for which, however, he offers little evidence[26]. If such a ritual division did exist, it may be wrong to interpret it too literally in terms of the socio-racial segregation of the *barrios*, not least in view of the inclusion of categories such as "Morenos y Pardos", Mestizos etc. Whatever the initial parish-confraternity pattern, there was little evidence of this structure by the time Diego Rodríguez Docampo compiled his account of the ecclesiastical state of Quito in the mid-seventeenth century. By that date, confraternities had multiplied, and although the names of the confraternities in Docampo's account are not identical with those in the earlier list, they reveal the same socio-racial hierarchisation. There is a confraternity for *morenos*, those of black or part-black origin [27], and others reserved for the Indian population[28]. Some confraternities were racially mixed[29], but Diego Rodríguez Docampo's own qualification for one of these makes it clear that their "vertical" nature by no means reached into the higher social strata: "it is a brotherhood for the natives and other people of the Republic, excluding the most important". ("Es hermandad de los naturales y demás jente de la república, *fuera de la esencial*"[30]).

The strengthening of horizontal loyalties through the lay brotherhoods was particularly true at certain levels of society, such as those of the urban merchants, craftsmen and artisans, and that is the aspect which the surviving documentation allows us to examine here. Docampo's mid-

seventeenth century account recalled the founding in 1581 of a confraternity by the merchants in thanks for a miracle at sea[31]. The confraternities formed an accompaniment to, and expression of, guild organisation; when the silver-smiths act together, it is explicitly as "the guild and confraternity of St. Eloy"[32]. As such, the data on the confraternities sheds an interesting light on artisanal or craft association. The evidence of the way festivals in Quito were organised (and financed) also provides a perspective on the forms of social hierarchy, as well as showing the economic role of the confraternities.

Data was collected on three urban guild-confraternities - the silver-smiths, the weavers and the barbers - illustrating quite distinct levels of prestige and economic activity. While the silver-smiths were white or Mestizo, the documentation cited here identified the weavers and barbers as specifically Indian; they were the "Indian barbers" or the "Indian weavers of this city"[33]. This is not of course to argue that the guild-confraternities did not have their own hierarchies of wealth and prestige. Like all institutions, the confraternities reflected the economic power and political possibilities of the society around it. The characteristics of social club- cum- religious association which we can find in the wealthier artisanal sector such as the silver-smiths diminished in proportion as one descended the social scale. It may be stressed, however, that the fervour of the festival, and its cooperative nature, must have transformed- or transcended - some of the exploitative features which we can document at the level of the most popular strata of urban society.

#### a)The silversmiths

The documentation relating to the silver-smiths presents the fewest problems and may be introduced first; if such groups have little in common with the weavers or barbers, it is precisely the comparison which is

instructive. The confraternity of St. Eloy was founded in the sixteenth century, in honour of the patron saint of this occupation, and the special provision was made that it should be reserved for Spaniards and not Indians[34]. The notarial records demonstrate the social transformation of certain artisan and craft occupations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, measured, for example, by the contracts between Spanish artisans and Indian apprentices[35]. In contrast, Sebastián Gutiérrez, who makes his will is peninsular born and extremely rich- he owns land and slaves, and has left dowries worth upto 4,100 pesos. The contract he makes the same day for the transfer of his office in the mint is with another Spaniard, the *platero* Miguel de Rodrigues[36].

This shortage of specie in the Audiencia of Quito may have encouraged fraudulent practice, but the eighteenth century municipal records suggest that the guild was well able to take care of itself by influencing the Council over the supervisory inspection of weights and measures[37]. The ability to influence the eighteenth century municipality is one measure of the collective influence of the guild; another is its capacity for religious action on behalf of its patron saint. In order to honour God and their patron saint, they declare in the 1750's, they wish to establish "a chapel dedicated to His Image, in which there would be an Altar with a fine ("desente") tabernacle, in which would be placed our glorious Patron"[38]. It was expensive to build a chapel; another wealthy confraternity had commissioned a chapel for the impressive sum of 4,500 pesos at the end of the seventeenth century[39]. Although a simple enough action, the chapel-building is cited here to indicate one level of action of the confraternities- that of a group committing itself to costly works to express their religious faith and collective self-confidence. To pass from the silver-smiths of Quito to their barber or weaver counterparts is to enter another world.

### b) The barbers

The *barberos* were an Indian occupation in eighteenth century Quito, but this occupation was an intermediate one, which as in Europe, consisted both of barbering and minor surgery. In view of their role as phlebotomists, the *barberos* were obliged to pass an examination before they could practice, while the medical skills of the *barberos* were fully mobilised during the 1785 epidemic[40]. In other major Andean cities, this kind of ancilliary position was often held by blacks; that the barbers were Indian in Quito is demonstrated both by the contemporary description, and by the evidence of the *padrón* of the parish of Santa Bárbara in 1768, when barbers were clearly identified as such[41]. Indian but belonging to the Spanish world- barbers, by definition, were urban dwellers serving a bearded, and therefore white or mixed-blood population. In 1762, the notification to enumerate the *cholos* of the city, lists Don Manuel Coronel, as Governor and Principal Master ("Maestro Mayor") of the "guild of the barbers of the Cathedral (parish)"- their work is in the main Spanish city[42]. The Spanish travellers Juan and Ulloa left an interesting description of them which makes it clear that they belonged to an acculturated Indian elite. With their linen breeches, gold- or silver-buckled shoes, sleeveless shirt and Spanish cape, the barbers were specifically picked out by the Spanish travellers as a group which stood out within the Indian population[43]. The illustrations of Indian barbers- fortunately they were sufficiently colourful to attract the painters' attentions- confirm the sartorial elegance of an occupation which wore clothes at the limit of non-Spanish dress[44].

Although classified as Indian (and it may be that "Indianness" formed part of the "tools of the trade"- i.e., the cultural expectations of the customer), the barbers form an urban group which was virtually a distinct social category. During one of the Declarations of Mestizo law-suits

examined in Chapter 6, Angelina Flores, a "white woman" gets exemption for her children, who are the sons of Diego de Alcocer, identified only as Master Barber; in other words, he may not be Spanish, but nor is he wholly Indian, as a barber who has married a Mestiza [45] In the cold climate of the post-1776 fiscal changes, at least one barber was able to get fairly respectable citizens to testify that he was mixed blood, which seems to have been a testimony to his respectability rather than his technical ethnic status[46].

Although it is possible to identify with some precision the cultural and social position of the barbers, it is much harder to say what their economic position was. The law-suit examined here certainly suggests that it would be wrong to imagine that acculturated urban Indians can be automatically pushed into the socio-economic category of a prosperous petty bourgeoisie. It is difficult to say how much barbers were paid; it is extremely unlikely that barbers ever passed before notaries to make contractual work agreements, and even if they did, this would not tell us how many transactions they had each week. As property purchasers, however, the barbers did leave some evidence in the notarial registers. A rich master barber, Don Juan Paltan, could afford an extremely expensive 500 *peso* tiled house in the *calle* Ronda in 1729[47]: he clearly belonged to a different economic level than the two barbers of over a generation later discussed below. As the barbers belonged economically to the urban monetary economy, it is possible that their condition was more difficult in periods of urban recession. This may be one factor to consider in the case brought by two Indian barbers in 1778[48].

The two barbers were called Diego Silva and Bartolomeo Dias- both Spanish names- and forty-five and seventeen years ago respectively, they had contracted debts with their confraternity. Why they had done so is not explicit in the documentation[49], but it is claimed that the different

confraternities of the city carried out the same practice, which suggests that the confraternities constituted one of the major agencies of credit circulation for the urban lower strata. Another document of the same period explicitly states that Indians frequently lost jewels belonging to the confraternities while drunk during festivals, and that the Indians in order to pay off their debts "remained enslaved all their lives"[50]. There is the suggestion in this case, however, that the origin of the indebtedness may have been forced loans, and the application of repayment requirements was so invidious in the extreme. The Indians receive money, but are obliged to repay their loan at the rate of 2 *pesos* for each 10 received, i.e. an annual interest rate of 20%. On a debt of 42 *pesos*, one has paid a total of 94 *pesos*: the other incurred a debt of 30 *pesos* 45 years earlier, and has repaid a total of 282 *pesos*!

These figures are so extreme that the superficial role of the confraternities in circulating credit has to be immediately qualified. This is closer to debt-peonage, paralleling the use of debt by rural landowners to control their labour force, a practice which has been shown to exist in the region of Quito, by Cushner's work on Jesuit haciendas[51]. The Indians are required to repay the annual 20% or cancel the entirety of their debt, a clearly impossible requirement. It is claimed that the officials of the confraternities, the *síndicos*, have enforced payment with "extraordinary violence"[52]. The confraternities may be circulating credit, in other words, only in the same sense that *censos* are a credit system; the initial loan is quickly transformed into a virtually permanent repayment programme which for the Indians might be termed a second tribute system. The figure of 6-8 *pesos* was a little higher than tribute, although as urban artisans, the barbers had access to the urban monetary economy. Unfortunately, as was stated above, it is not known how much a barber earned; in order to stress that this was a considerable sum, it may be

noted that annual income in the textile industry was 20-30 *pesosa* year, while the urban worker may have gained half a real for a day's work[53].

Little opposing evidence is offered, the suggestion merely being advanced that the guilty party may not be the priests, but that the problem might arise from the ignorance of the Indians concerning the crime of usury, from their "rustic nature", and their excess of religious devotion. Episcopal approval is granted to the Royal Provision ending the practice, with the proviso "if indeed it exists"[54]. The attempt to shift the burden of guilt onto the Indians is interesting, even if we do not fully accept it. Who are the Indians responsible? Although the Indians were considered collectively responsible through their ignorance, the officials of the confraternity may also have served as the villains of the piece. If these were indeed often Indian in the Indian confraternities- and in the lawsuit cited below, the *sindico* was specifically identified as such - this may suggest a form of social mobility within the confraternity, an ability of some of its members to turn the institution to their advantage at the expense of the rest. The temporary dispensation to a barber in 1785 to open a shop while he qualified in phlebotomy, was accompanied by the specific injunction that the Master-barbers should not take action against him[55]. It may be, therefore, that the barbers Diego Silva and Bartolomeo Dias were at the lower end of a somewhat closed guild-confraternity with its own hierarchies and singular forms of exploitation.

But the question of the role of the confraternities in fostering social mobility, in permitting Indians to develop positions of authority, is certainly a double-edged one. We may distinguish between different levels of authority within the confraternities. The *sindicos*, the officials considered implacable by our two barbers clearly do belong to the power structure of the organisation, although there is no more evidence than the points noted here to say who exactly they were. On the other hand, certain



positions, notably in the festivals, were much more ambiguous, conferring prestige, but involving- as they still do- a very high cost. Thus, paradoxically, the barbers Silva and Díaz complain that they were forced into fulfilling the role of "constable, mayor, *prioste* and other positions normal for officials of the guild". There is evidence from other areas of the reluctance with which Indians were sometimes forced into serving as *prioste*s, a key figure in the festival, this leading on occasion to their total ruin[56]. In his accounts for San Pedro de Conocotoc, in the Five Leagues of the city, the parish-priest notes the problem of securing *prioste*s for the festivals, and says that sometimes the festival had to go ahead without them[57]. The weavers' petition of 1780, examined below, suggests that it may not be wise to force too far the dichotomy between social prestige and economic pressures, and apply our own forms of reason to a quite different society. An Indian may be forced into an economically catastrophic honorific position in a festival, which at a different level, brings him enormous prestige; many societies function through similar contradictions, and it is misleading to attempt to iron out these differences, and impose an alien form of logic.

c) The weavers' festival petition of 1780

The evidence from the barbers' dispute suggests an economically exploitative and even physically coercive system, reinforcing the power-play of an unequal Colonial society. The evidence from the third confraternity- the petition of Quito's weaving officials dates from 1780 - while not necessarily contradicting that view, places the evidence in a wider setting of rivalry and social prestige. In underlining the financial burden of the festivals, it also suggests one of the ways in which the income of the confraternities was recycled, therefore helping to qualify the picture of a purely parasitic institution. Upto a certain point, it provides the religious dimension which is missing in the economic evidence.

The background to the petition is a series of attempts in the late eighteenth century to eradicate the dancers, the *dansantes*, the bejewelled participants in the festival of Corpus Christi[58]. The Indians had enthusiastically adopted this Christian festival, perhaps because it coincided with an important prehispanic harvest festival around May-June, and given it their own flavour, not the only example of religious syncretism and native cultural adaptation to the Colonial environment[59]. So much so indeed, that the fiscal in this case even identifies this Spanish inheritance as specifically Indian and refers to the "ancient customs" of the Indians! The dancers are considered "grave irreverences and not at all appropriate for the Divine Cult", the loss of jewelry leads to the enslavement of the Indians, while there is also the problem of disorder[60]. The voice of the fiscal is also the voice of the state: the measures against the dancers form part of a larger series of late eighteenth century attempts to control the excesses of popular enthusiasm[61].

Let the Indian weavers speak: the petition is short and direct;

" The weaving officials, Indians native to this city, with the most heartfelt submission appear before Your Excellency, and say that in Devotion at the Festival of Corpus Cristi we have showed our joy (*Alegria*) dancing in the procession with the usual costume, which is called *dansantes* ; and although this practice has been stopped in the interests of saving expenditure, yet since this devotion (corrected to: festivity) is voluntary, and moderate in expenditure according to our limited possibilities: We kneel to the piety of Your Excellency, according to his best desire. Quito, April 26, 1780."[62].

Who are these Indian weavers? Unfortunately, there is no evidence on whether they belong to textile *obrajes* or how the organisation of the textile factories would inter-relate with the confraternities. Independent textile workers with a small-scale domestic production did exist in the city of Quito, and it is probable that the confraternity grouped together these artisans who worked outside control of the textile factories- not least as by that date there was little *obraje* activity in the city of Quito (see chapter 2:ii). Five years after this petition, the Master weavers of the guild of weavers elected their Principal Master, and the minutes of their meeting have survived[63]. The first to vote was the *síndico* of the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora de la Presentación which confirms the inter-relationship of positions of authority within guild and confraternity. More interesting, however, is the fact that this confraternity, which two centuries earlier had been the confraternity of the acculturated Indians (see above), was still serving precisely the same role. Of the twelve Master weavers who vote, it is clear that all are Indian, either by their name, or the title Don, which was only carried by important whites or leading Indians. In this case, the acculturated Indians have remained precisely that: these weavers, like the barbers, have remained Indian despite all their cultural contact with the Spanish-Mestizo society of the capital. Unlike the barbers their production of low quality cloth for the poorer population of the city does not bring them into direct contact with

Spanish society.

According to a group who oppose them only "two or three of them" are interested in re-establishing the dancers[64]. The counter-petition is led by Don Manuel Coronel, already encountered above as Governor of the barbers, Don Santiago Rodríguez, like him a principal master of the barbers, Don Simon Tipantalsi, formerly principal master and now *síndico* of the office of embroiderers, Mariano Cantos, weaver by office (who five years later would be Don Mariano Cantos, and be voting as a Master in the elections of the guild of weavers) Don Asencio Calivezerra, current mayor (*alcalde*) of the office of shoemakers; and other officials (*alguaciles, alcaldes*) of distinct unidentified offices.

The Indians opposing the reintroduction of dancers include important, acculturated Indians; several have Spanish surnames; they are able in several instances to sign their own names, while the title "Don" shows their status. They represent, in other words, the cream of the urban Indian artisans and craftsmen, and a spectrum of artisanal or craft guilds (barbers, embroiderers, shoemakers) opposed to the reintroduction of the dancers. Why the weaving officials wished to reintroduce the dancers can only be guessed at, but the presence of a weaver on the list opposing the dancers may be noted. After several decades of recession in the textile industry, it is difficult to imagine that the weavers as a group were more capable than the rest of the artisan population of supporting the expense of the festival. We are left initially with two possibilities; the counter-petitioners' claim that they are a small minority, perhaps those officials who manage to play on the economic and social possibilities of the confraternities; and the petitioners' own claim that they wish to express their own devotion and *alegría*.

The Indians opposed to the festival make it clear that the festival is an expensive business: the economic drawbacks of the festivals are

graphically depicted. Each dancer will receive presents, perhaps a sucking-pig, mutton or poultry. On the other hand, he has to pay out roughly 36 pesos in renting jewelry, and has to spend generously on drink for those who come to celebrate in his house. The Indian officials tell a sad enough tale: of those who lost jewels and had to repay them slowly, of the length of time involved in making clothes, that "we are miserable folk and God knows how we satisfy the tribute..."[65].

So far, so clear; this is a familiar type of evidence, and goes in the sense of the barbers' allegations cited above. But the Indian officials strike a new note: "if today this festivity is claimed to be voluntary, next year we will have to participate", and if not, the other guilds will steal a step on us. The Protector is even more unambiguous: the prohibition should be against all, because if the weavers are allowed to dance, the other guilds will be forced to imitate them[66]. The festival is a high prestige game, and the barbers and the shoemakers cannot allow themselves to be out-mancevred by the weavers. We are approaching perhaps another interpretation of the weavers' actions in these conflicting rivalries. The Protector's comments clarify this point as well as providing an excellent description of the festivals:

In this capital (i.e Quito) the Indians of all the guilds are accustomed to go out in turn, dancing in the procession of Corpus of this Holy Cathedral, and successively in the other Churches; for which in rivalry with one another ("a competencia de unos de otros"), they dress up, and adorn themselves with many precious jewels, and in order to obtain these, they rent them at a not inconsiderable cost. For these dances, they prepare themselves and practice for many days in advance, and then continue celebrating them for various days. All these functions are accompanied by disorder with the drunkenness to which they blindly give themselves, either by their inclination to drink, or by the custom which the Indians have of carrying all their functions in abandonment to drunkenness and disorder... (they) lose their jewels [67].

Perhaps the most interesting part of this valuable description is at the beginning: the Indians are accustomed to go out dancing in turn ("por turnos"). The description of the Protector shows clearly that the festival was, despite its accompanying drunkenness and disorder, a highly structured event in which the confraternities tended to reinforce the ties within the different Indian occupations. A weaver will not only work with other weavers, he will prior to the festival spend a considerable run-up period practicing with them (and it may be noted that the weavers dated their petition the 26th April, quite some time before the actual festival)[68]. His dancing with them constitutes both an act of collective affirmation, and a challenge to the rival guilds. We can only imagine the panic of the other leading Indians at the thought of the weavers coming out as dansantes, and themselves unadorned!

#### **iv) Conclusion: the Church and social hierarchy**

In one sense, the exceptional place occupied by the Church in Quito society is beyond question, and few observers, whether contemporaries or historians, have failed to comment on it. This emphasis can certainly be misleading, however, if it leads us into approaching the Church as a monolithic institution, and one with a uniform degree of penetration into all sectors of Quito society. If the communion attendance figures are taken as one index, we could argue for a relatively low level of penetration into Quito society, and one which appears to have diminished as it descended the "free" social order, i.e. those who- unlike slaves or servants - had a say in the matter. Judging only from the slender data of the 1720's, noted above, this influence may well have virtually disappeared before it reached the floating, vagrant population. The sense in which the Religious Orders may partially have filled the vacuum left by the secular clergy only reinforces the importance of examining the Church through the diverse agencies in which it was embodied if we are to do justice to the complex symbiosis of Church and secular society. The following discussion attempts to synthesize the material on the Church in order to answer some of the questions set out at the beginning of this chapter, as well as to develop a number of points which relate to the rest of this study:

i) Whatever the level of formal compliance and actual religious faith at the lower levels of society, it is clear that the Church had a major role in shaping the social organisation of the artisanal classes through the lay brotherhoods. How far we choose to emphasize the sense in which the lay brotherhoods were "mutual aid societies" and how far its nature as an exploitative economic system, depends more on the world-view brought to the documentation than any inherent contradiction in the evidence. There certainly seems a sense in which the confraternities were a microcosm of the society around it, recreating patterns of social, religious and

occupational interaction which we find in the wider society. Although the confraternities reinforced horizontal ties at artisanal level, they certainly had their own internal hierarchies which were probably most marked in an occupation such as the barbers, where some members of the occupation worked for the highest social strata and therefore had the capital to diversify economically, while others were dependant on business with the lower strata of the city, and were probably the first to suffer in periods of economic difficulty. It is quite clear from the account of Juan and Ulloa that the Church had a high consumption- notably in festivals- which re-cycled much of its income [69], while we argued above that the Indians who were bullied into serving as *prioste* may well have received social prestige from a position which practically ruined them. Nevertheless, while recognising these points, I would argue that the categorisation of the lay brotherhoods as "mutual aid societies" must be regarded as fundamentally misleading with regard to the evidence from Quito. There is a sense in which the confraternities had established a regularised mechanism for the extraction of surplus from the Indian population which was analogous to the tribute system. Some urban Indians were in effect paying tribute twice, both to the secular authorities and to the confraternities. Bauer in his excellent survey of the role of the Church as a credit institution notes briefly the role of the confraternities in lending money at interest, but does not apply to the confraternities the distinction between liens and loans he makes so clearly for *censos* [70]. In Quito the role of the confraternities in credit circulation appears to have been exactly analogous to the functioning of the *censos*, i.e. a system which in theory involved credit circulation had in practice partly ossified into a system of permanent obligation. Quito's economic stagnation may have reinforced this tendency, but in view of the strength of Bauer's general point, we should certainly be attentive to the possibility of finding similar



conclusions for other regions.

ii) Several of the features of festivals which have been found for certain parts of New Granada do not seem to be directly applicable to Quito. For several parts of New Granada, confraternities cut through class and ethnic boundaries, and festivals were events which mobilised the whole community, often in a symbolic inversion of the social order. Spaniards dressed up as Indians, men as women, and by releasing social tensions in this way, festivals re-affirmed the cohesion of the whole community [71]. Although there is obviously a sense in which all festivals and major collective rituals symbolically unite the community, the critical question here is the degree and character of the interaction of the different social strata.

All the evidence on Quito shows clearly that the élite did not mingle with plebeians in the kind of festival which characterised the Colombian coast. Two festivals organised on Royal occasions- the birth of the son of Philip V in 1629, which was celebrated in 1631, and the celebrations of the accession of Charles IV in 1789- provide a clear picture of the organisation of these highly hierarchical and structured events. In 1631 the guilds of artisans, and the merchants paraded independently and indeed on separate days, prior to a symbolic re-enactment of the conquest[72]. During the 1789 festival, Doña Rosa Chiriboga went onto the balcony and threw money and sweets onto the crowd[73]. During Easter 1982, I saw some of her descendants on a balcony watching the Easter procession. The fact that at least in the nineteenth century the aristocratic families allowed the Indians access to their balconies during the election of the Indian *alcaldes* [74], suggests a passive involvement in the ceremony, rather than a temporary inversion of the social order. Data from all periods therefore underlines the strength of hierarchical traditions in Quito.

The closest we come to the form of inversion noted above may have

been during the bull-fights, on the evidence of Stevenson's account, but this was certainly a highly sedate Quiteño version of what was happening on the Colombian coast. Although Stevenson's account came from the early nineteenth century, we can corroborate the use of masks at the time of bull-fights from eighteenth century evidence [75].

At this time many of the nobility and grave ecclesiastics disguise themselves, and leave their galleries to mix in the motley group, and quiz their acquaintances in the galleries. This part of the diversion generally lasts for more than an hour, and after the whole is concluded, groups of masks parade the street with music and flambeaux... Some of the natives are remarkably skilful in making masks, and a person may procure, at a few hours' notice, an exact representation of the face of any individual in the city; whence, it very frequently happens, that people are seen double, one very gravely seated in a gallery, and a fac simile dancing about the circus, to the annoyance of the original, and the diversion of the spectators[76].

That religious festivals in eighteenth century Quito followed the first type of celebration rather than the extremely limited inversion described by Stevenson is suggested by the evidence of the weavers' festival cited above, which is confirmed by Juan and Ulloa's account[77]. In this respect, it is possible that Quito with its substantial Indian population and conservative élite resembled Peru more than it did the rest of the Viceroyalty of New Granada to which it had been transferred. What festivals appear to have done is license excesses *within* the established order, with alcohol playing an essential role. The "drunkenness and disorder" which the Protector (see above) identified as an integral part of the festival was also noted by Juan and Ulloa[78], while the open *cabildo* of 1765 which admittedly had its own reasons for deploring the effects of the *aguardiente* monopoly painted a bleak picture of the effects of drink[79]. Drink also forms one of the common threads which unites festivities and rebellions[80], and its presence may be noted in the social disorders discussed in Chapter 7. Some of the points made here can also be

discussed in relation to riots in that chapter. If I am not convinced that a "community cohesion" approach to riots is the most fertile one, this is in part because of the kind of social interaction between *élite* and *plebe* which we find in other areas, notably festivals.

Another type of festivity may be mentioned which has the most direct interest for questions of rioting and the social hierarchy, namely the mock battles which were fought between the *barrios* of the city, and were stopped in the late 1760's as a threat to the social order[81]. It would obviously be fascinating to have more detail on these ritualised disorders for the city of Quito. The socio-demographic evidence on the *barrios* of the city is, however, sufficiently clear to suggest that mock battles between districts is compatible with the interpretation adopted here. In Chapter 7 an attempt is made to inter-relate the class and *barrio* origin of disorders, underlining the role of the relatively homogeneous popular parish of San Roque as the "engine of unrest". The mixed independence, competitiveness and rivalry of the *barrios* is certainly clarified by the existence of "el combate de barrios". Although it is difficult to assess the extent to which confraternity and parish structure interacted, it is certainly striking to compare the existence of mock battles with the competitive rivalries between artisanal groups which the weavers' petition revealed. Although *fiestas* in Quito may not have served as the "explosive suspension of everyday rules" and therapeutic release of tensions on a Mexican scale[82], it is certainly clear that the Colonial Order was reinforced by its absorption of conflicting tensions and rivalries in the way discussed here.

iii) We may finally note the major role the Church played in shaping social structure, and establishing or perpetuating caste-like distinctions in Colonial society, a point which Hassaurek made for mid-nineteenth century Quito[81]. The fact that we find late eighteenth century weavers in

a confraternity founded for acculturated Indians in the sixteenth century certainly suggests that this form of socio-religious organisation had its role to play in preserving the "Indianness" of particular occupations. The key role of the parish priests in deciding ethnic classification at birth (and death) will emerge from the material on the Declarations of Mestizo presented in Chapter 6. The power of the Church in cementing social hierarchy was nowhere better illustrated than in the contrasting fates of the Espejo family. The role of the Church as one of the main agents of upward social mobility permitted Juan Pablo Espejo to become a clergyman, despite his humble origins, while his brother the philosopher's own career also received ecclesiastical assistance. On the other hand, it was also the final social vengeance of Quito society on its dissident rebel to place him in the register of deaths for "Indians, Mestizos and Mulattos" in the Sagrario, Quito [82], one of the numerous human statistics who make up Figure 5: 2.

1) For the Church in general, c.f. the history of González Suárez (*GS*), and the numerous works of Fray José María Vargas. For the alleged low standards of the Church in the Audiencia, c.f. N.P. Cushner *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito*, (State Univ. of New York Press, 1982): 23; "Cuaderno de Guachucal en la Provincia de los Pastos hasta la ciudad de Cuenca y Quito", (1766), The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 568(4) (Transcr. Juan Castro y Velázquez); and for one irregular source of income, c.f. the alleged bootleg production of *aguardiente* in the monasteries prior to the 1765 rebellion (see chapter 7). Cushner has worked on the Jesuits in other regions, so his opinion that the Church in Quito may indeed have been more unruly etc. has some authority. The Church as a social institution can be considered virtually unexamined despite the considerable emphasis on ecclesiastical history in the traditional historiography. In addition to Cushner's work on the Jesuits, c.f. E. Keeding, *Das Zeitalter der Aufklärung in der Provinz Quito*, (Köln-Wien : Böhlau, 1983), which clarifies the role of the Church in the reception of Enlightenment culture.

2) See the discussion in Chapter 5, where one possible demographic consequence of an ecclesiastical presence on this scale is discussed.

3) B. Lavallé, *Recherches sur l'apparition de la conscience créole dans la vice-royauté du Pérou: l'antagonisme hispano-creole dans les ordres religieux (XVI-XVII s.)*, (Univ. Lille III, 1978): 108, and passim. For another example of the early date of the creole "consciousness" of the Quiteños, c.f. M. Góngora, *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America*, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975): 214-5, citing: Antonio Equiluz, O.F.M., "Fray Gonzalo Tenorio y sus teorías...", *Misionaria Hispánica*, (48), (1959). Tenorio attributed his failure to publish in Spain to anti-creole prejudice.

4) This argument is not an explanation for why outbursts actually occurred. In the 1740's some Franciscans sided with the Visitor and others with local interests, while in the 1760's Quiteños had real economic reasons for rejecting the implementation of fiscal reform. But so many of the disputes in eighteenth century Quito (see *GS* for the religious disputes - references given in Chapter 7 1) and ii) involved this element that I would argue that it forms a common thread, albeit sometimes partially hidden, which runs through many different types of disturbance.

5) AGI Quito 72, "Residencia", Feb. 11, 1690: f9.

6) *Ibid* f8 ff.

7) AMC/Q, "Visita Pastoral ... Ilmo Pérez de Calama"(1790), "Relación jurada que yo el Doctor Don Nicolas Pastrana, cura de la Parroquia de San Pedro de Conocotoc...(1788-1792)".

8) c.f. *ibid* f 3, for produce given by the parishioners, but not sold and given to friends.

9) AAL, Apelaciones de Quito, Leg 15 (1682-9) Don Salvador Guerrero y Don Felix de Luna contra Don Juan Fermín de Aguirre(1689), ff11-13. See also the letter of Alsedo in 1732, AGI 132, cited in Chapter 1 note 2.

10) AHBC/E, Vol. 00010, "Diario de lo acaecido en San Francisco del Quito desde el día 22 de Mayo hasta 2 de Julio", (written by a peninsular Spaniard) f 1.

11) AGI Quito 289, Carta de 15 Oct, 1767.

12) AGI Quito 223, for the "Humilde Memorial de Pérez de Calama" (1790). These parishes would not be urban ones, and many others had at least coadjutors (c.f. note 11), but Calama's polemic certainly suggests the general state of neglect of the Church prior to his own efforts to reform it in the 1790's. These efforts ran up against the obdurate ecclesiastical resistance of the local Church. Calama's role as a renovator is exemplified in his role as patron of the Patriotic Society whose activities are documented in the historiography on Espejo cited below.

13) AGI Quito 181, "Autos.. sobre minoración de censos..de la Ciudad de Quito"(1755); and the discussion on *censos* above, on pp. 110-111. The reduction from 5% to 3% in 1755 did not eliminate the burden of *censos*, not least as it was not fully followed; c.f. AGI Quito 289, "(Carta) sobre lo representado por el oydor de Quito Don Serafín Veyan acerca de no observarse en aquella Provincia puntualmente la cédula expedida en 3 de Septiembre 1755 rebajando los censos de ella de 5 al 3%" (1768).

14) These are listed in the *Catálogo del Archivo General de la Orden Franciscana del Ecuador*, (ed. A. Kennedy Troya), Quito, 1980, entries 12-93; 12-107; 12-177; 12-179; 12-198. Other transactions in San Roque were 7-1 iii; 12-165; 12-232ii; and 12-368. The next most related parish was San Sebastián, also in the south of the city and near San Francisco. The fact that the Order had less influence in San Blas, Santa Bárbara, and San Marcos is not surprising in view of the socio-geographical division of the city emphasized in Chapter 1. The problem with the riots is

that as the parish of San Roque came out in support of one faction of the Franciscan Order, and the Franciscan Order was itself divided, it is difficult to talk in terms of Franciscan dominance *tout court*. I believe the answer to the question in the text is probably no, as popular violence was not directed against "enemy" Franciscan targets. This was certainly not a major cause of the riots, but the hypothesis allows us to stress that parish - Religious Order interaction should not be over-simplified.

15) The censuses listing communion data are in the AMC/Q; "Visita Pastoral ... Ilmo Pérez de Calama"(1790). They are for 1797 in all parishes except San Marcos which has an earlier (and complete) *padrón* of 1791. My debt to Monsr. Cadena for locating this document for me, and to Sr. J. Moreno Egas for sharing his calculations is acknowledged in Chapter 5, where the censuses are discussed in more detail and examined for their demographic evidence.

16) Baptism was not normally a service for which a fee was paid, which is one of the reasons it is a better index than recorded burials etc.

17) *GS*, 2: 953.

18) After I consulted this *padrón* in December 1982, Monsr. Cadena placed it in the same box ("Visita Pastoral"... doc. cit.) as the censuses of the 1790's.

19) For the competitiveness of the secular clergy and the Religious Orders over burials, c.f. AHBC/E 00029, Libros Verdes 1 "Lista de las personas... que han fallecido ... desde 23 de Agosto de 1785" (Sagrario) : f 256, 4 Sept 1785. Interestingly, the Franciscans are specifically picked out: "... sin poderlo remediar los Curas se entierran clandestinamente en las Religiones y Monasterios especialmente en las de San Francisco, San Buenaventura y San Diego". (See also Chapter 5). The petition against high burial fees in the early eighteenth century is discussed in Chapter 7 i).

20) See U. Oberem, "La familia del Inca Atahualpa"... in S. Moreno Y.; U. Oberem, *Contribución a la Etnohistoria Ecuatoriana*, (Otavalo, 1981): 182-4.

21) ANH/Q Not. 1 Diego Bravo de la Laguna. vol 3, (1593-7): f 385, "hermanos montañeses". For the use of the term "montañés", see Chapter 6. For a Mestizo confraternitly, see also Table 3:1.

22) O. Celestino and A. Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú: región*

*central*, (Frankfurt, 1981), for -rural - confraternities. c.f. the review of R. Keith in *HAHR*, 61, 1 (Feb. 1983): 171, "confraternities... which often served also as mutual aid societies". For a "vertical" interpretation of the confraternities, c.f. G. Graff, "Cofradías in the New Kingdom of Granada: Lay Fraternities in a Spanish American Frontier Society, 1600-1755", (Ph.D. University of Wisconsin, 1973), as used by A. McFarlane, "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada", *HAHR*, 64(1), (Feb. 1984): 50. Unfortunately I saw this reference when this chapter was already in draft form, and have not therefore been able to make direct use of Graff's study.

23) See the citations from Docampo below, but also the reservations given alongside them.

24) Celestino and Meyers, *op. cit.* have argued along these lines.

25) See Chapter 2: 1.

26) H. Burgos, "El Guaman, el Puma y el Amaru..." (Ph.D. University of Illinois: Urbana-Champaign, 1975): 257.

27) Diego Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y relación del estado eclesiástico del Obispado de San Francisco de Quito", *RGI*, 3: 37.

28) *Ibid* 37.

29) *Ibid* 33, 37.

30) *Ibid* 37 (my italics).

31) *Ibid* 10.

32) AMC/Q Cofradías (1655-1762), Cofradía de San Eloy (1754) f1; "gremio y confraternidad del Glorioso Sto Eloe". c.f., also the elections of the weavers in 1785, cited below for the connection of guild and confraternity.

33) ANH/Q Ind. 95 Doc: 14-V-1778 ; Ind. 100 Doc: 1780-IV-26.

34). The title of foundation is preserved in the AF/Q, Leg 2: 9, (a reference I owe to C. Caillavet). L. J. Johnson has examined some of the difficulties this group had in forming a corporate structure in Buenos Aires, but it is clear that they still formed a highly élite artisanal group;



"The Silversmiths of Buenos Aires: A Case Study in the Failure of Corporate Social Organisation, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 8 (2),(1976): 181-213.

35) See Chapter 2: 1).

36) ANH/Q 1 Not. (Diego Rodríguez Urban (1621-40), 9 Marzo 1634, ff44- 53.

37) AMQ, LCQ, vol. 131, f 133, Feb. 1775.

38) "Cofradía de San Eloy" doc. cit. f1.

39) AMC/Q Cofradías (1655-1762), "Cofradía (del Santísimo Sacramento) ...de la Catedral" (1699). Neither building programme was successfully carried out, giving rise to ecclesiastical law-suits.

40) AM/Q Vol. 37, Demandas y Juicios (1642-1687) : f 245. See the documentation from the AGI on the epidemic of 1785 cited in the list of epidemics in Chapter 5 which specifically mentions the mobilisation of the barbers. AHBC/I (Juicios), 41, "Autos de Yndulto de Mariano Folleco"(1784), for the barber's role in stitching up wounds after a fight (an example from Ibarra).

41) See the "Padrón de Santa Bárbara", *Museo Histórico* (Quito, 56, (1978): 93-122, a document discussed in Chapter 5.

42) ANH/Q Reb 1, Doc: 1762-V-24, a document examined in Chapter 7.

43) Juan and Ulloa, *Relación Histórica*, 367.

44) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. opposite p. 378. By the nineteenth century, the ruff round the neck had disappeared, and the barber wore long sleeves, but the "Barbero antiguo" was recognisably the same elegant figure: c.f. *Ecuador Pintoresco. Acuarelas de Joaquín Pinto*, (Barcelona-Quito, 1977): 28.

45) ANH/Q Mz. 1 doc: 2-VI- 1741.

46) This is the case-study of Ortuño examined in detail in Chapter 6.

47) ANH/Q 1 Not. Diego de Ocampo, 7 Feb. 1729, f 215-7. This is one of the most expensive house purchases I have seen for this period. Another barber in the 1768 *padrón* cited above, was barber and *pulpero*, which

suggests he had a rich enough clientèle to acquire capital and diversify economically.

48) ANH/Q.Ind. 95. Doc:14-V-1778, "Autos de Diego Silva Bartholo(meo) Dias Yndios Barberos sobre que se quite el abuso de plata de aumento de las cofradias".

49) The document simply states: "se distribuye cierta porcion de dinero entre los yndios", *ibid.*, f1.

50) ANH/Q Ind. 100 Doc: 1780-IV-26 f 2.

51) Cushner, *op. cit.* 128-9.

52) ANH/Q Ind. 95 Doc: 14-V-1778 f 1. i.e. "extraordinaria violencia".

53) This sentence is based on the general literature on *obrajes*, but a discussion of costs - including labour costs - is available in Tyrer, "The demographic and economic history", 184-229; c.f. Table 5-F on page 200.

54) ANH/Q Ind. 95 Doc: 14-V-1778 f 6, reply of the fiscal, May 1778; f7-8, episcopal agreement, 15 June, 1778.

55) AM/Q Vol. 37, Demandas y Juicios (1642-1687): f 245.

56) ANH/Q Ind. 83 Doc: 2-VII-1767, for the town of Cusubamba (Latacunga). AGI Quito 248, "Relación que forma el Sr. Juan Josef Villalengua y Márfil... Yndice de los Autos Acordados" included the provision that *caciques* and other Indians should not be forced to serve as *priostes* (23 Feb. 1776).

57) AMC/Q: "Relación jurada..." doc. cit. f7.

58) ANH/Q Ind: Doc: 1780-IV-26 f 4.

59) F. Salomon, "Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North-Andean Chiefdoms", (Ph.D. Cornell University, 1978): 113-4.

60) ANH/Q Ind: Doc: 1780-IV-26 f 4.

61) There were various attempts to control festivals, but this was notably at periods when there was a major threat of rioting, c.f. AGI Quito 289, "Yndice de las representaciones que Don Serafin Veyan"... (6 de Junio,

1768); and ANB Misc. de la Colonia, Tomo 67, Carta of Don Joseph de Cistue to Don Pedro Mesia de la Zerda, June 6, 1766, f 641, following the rebellion of 1765. See also the text of this chapter, below.

62) ANH/Q Ind: Doc: 1780-IV-26, f 1: "Los oficiales texedores, yndios naturales de esta ciudad, con el mayor rendimiento, y sumicion paresemos ante V.S. y decimos que por Devocion a la Festividad del Corpus Cristi emos echo la demostracion de Alegria bailando en la prosesion con el Ropaje acostumbrado que denomina Dansantes; siendo esta (--devocion--) festejo voluntario, y con moderacion en el gasto segun nuestras cortas facultades: Nos arrodillamos a la piedad de V. S. suplicandole que la licencia consedida verbalmente a este Nuestro gremio, la conseda V.S. por decreto Judicial a como fuere de su maior agrado. Quito, Abril 26, 1780.

63) AM/Q Vol. 37 f 323, for the election of the *texedores* in 1785.

64) ANH/Q Ind: Doc: 1780-IV-26, f 2-3.

65) Ibid, "que somos unos micerables, que Dios save como satisfacemos el Real Tributo".

66) Ibid, f 3.

67) Ibid, f 3: "en esta Capital acostumbran los Yndios de todos los gremios salir por turnos dansando en la procession de la fiesta del Corpus de esta Santa Yglecia Catedral, y subceciivamente en las demas Yglecias para lo qual a competencia de unos de otros se visten, y adornan con muchas alhajas preciosas, que para conseguir estos adornos los alquilan no a poca costa. Para estos bailes se previenen y ensayan muchos días antes, y luego continuan celebrandolos varios días. En todas estas funciones se siguen muchos disordenes con la embriagues a que se entregan torpemente ya por su inclinacion a la vevida, ya por la costumbre que los Yndios tienen de hacer todas sus funciones de forma que se entreguen a la embriagues, y desorden con el qual sucede frequentemente, que de las alahajas que han alquilado para su adorno se pierden algunas...", and remain economically "enslaved" as was noted above. The danger of losing jewelry is so acute in modern festivals that there is even a *cuentacamayo*, i.e. an official who keeps an eye on them. c.f. the study of a modern festival by B. Ares, *La Fiesta de Corazas. (Otavalo, Ecuador)*, (unpublished Memoria de Licenciatura, Univ. Madrid, 1978).

68) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 361, confirm that practice for the festivals began well in advance, and continued afterwards. For the timing of the 1765 rebellion, this allows us to confirm the correlation of the May

rebellion with Corpus Cristi (see chapter 7), by showing that organised festivities were under way before the event itself.

69) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 378.

70) A. J. Bauer, "The Church in the Economy of Spanish America: *Censos* and *Depósitos* in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *HAHR*, 63(4), (Nov. 1983): 722.

71) McFarlane, op. cit. 47-9; O. Fals Borda, *Mompox y Loba: Historia doble de la costa*, (Bogotá, 1980).

72) P. Herrera, *Apuntamientos...* (Quito, 1851: repr. E. Enríquez B. *Quito a través de los siglos*, Tomo II [Segunda parte], Quito, 1942): 51 ff.

73) Ibid 103.

74) See above, p. 42.

75) AGI Quito 289, "Yndice de las representaciones que Don Serafin Veyan"... (6 de Junio, 1768).

76) W.B. Stevenson, *A historical and descriptive narrative...*, (London-Edinburgh, 1825): 308-9.

77) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 361-2.

78) Juan and Ulloa, op. cit. 373, 546.

79) AGI Quito 398, "Testimonio... echo por las Religiones y común de Quito" (1765), ff 598-667, numerous testimonies.

80) W.B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*, (Stanford, 1979).

81) AGI Quito 289, "Yndice de las representaciones que Don Serafin Veyan"... (6 de Junio, 1768).

82) Taylor, op. cit. esp. 118, citing Octavio Paz.

83) F. Hassaurek, *Four years...* p. 86.

84) Espejo has been given a prominent place as a precursor in Latin

America's movement for liberation, c.f. A. V. Efimov, *ЗКБАΔOP*, (Moscow, 1963): 153, and a voluminous Ecuadorian historiography. For Espejo's life, E. Beerman, "Eugenio Espejo and la sociedad económica de los amigos del país de Quito" (sic), in: A.G. Novales,(ed.), *Homenaje a Noél Salomon: Ilustración española e Independencia de América*, (Barcelona, 1979): 380-387; P. Astuto, "Eugenio Espejo: A man of the Enlightenment in Ecuador", *Revista de Historia de América*, 44, (Dic. 1957) : 369-391.

#### 4)The subterranean economy: the urban marketplace and the petty traders

##### **i) The dual economy: preliminary considerations**

Studies of modern Third World urban economies emphasize the contrast between the firm economy, based on rationalized production and capital re-investment, and the bazaar economy, which draws on the logic of the household economy to make full use of family labour, and inter-relates with the firm economy through goods and services based on exchange with peasant producers, ownership of "the tools of the trade" and the possession of urban plots of land. Rural forms of domestic economic organization are transferred to urban settings, and the suburbs of modern Latin American (or Asian) cities are the scene of small-scale agricultural work which supplements specifically urban forms of economic activity [1]. If this approach is particularly appropriate for the early stages of industrialisation, and for smaller provincial cities, it is held here to be directly relevant to the (by modern standards) extremely small and non-industrialised urban society of Colonial Quito. The characteristics of the *barrios* of the city as - although in varying degrees - semi-rural parishes have already been noted; houses had plots of land attached, while a certain amount of textile and quasi-industrial activity was located along the river Machángara outside the city, giving a centrifugal character to the city as a zone of economic activity and consumer of Indian and non-Indian labour [2].

The notion of the dual economy is used here as the point of departure for an examination of the systems of market distribution within the city of Quito. One of the most suggestive features of this model is that the urban bazaar economy draws much of its strength from the vitality of the

peasant economy around it [3]. The inter-relationship of peasant and bazaar economies in Colonial Quito is, however, partly subsumed into the problem of the nature and effectiveness of official controls on commerce, as well as specific legal and fiscal distinctions. Indians were liable to the payment of tribute, a system which despite its often brutal realities retained at least traces of the ideal of reciprocity. In theory certain ecclesiastical and other benefits- such as the services of the Protector of Indians- were paid for out of tribute income, while in the symmetrically conceived division into parallel Spanish and Indian polities Indians were not liable to payment of the sales tax. This legal distinction between Indian and non-Indian pre-supposed the existence of parallel Spanish and Indian economies, the former involving more expensive foodstuffs or the import -in theory from the metropolis- of luxury items; the latter with subsistence items on which the sales tax was not paid.

Although the break-down of this legal distinction, as well as widespread tax evasion, will be documented here, it may be emphasized that the peculiarity of the highly regulated Spanish Colonial economy contained certain inherent ambiguities which gave legal sanction to a form of bazaar economy. Exemption from *alcabala* payments was one device which enterprising Indians could use to play on some of the possibilities of the Spanish Colonial system (and therefore has particular interest for the social history of the urban Indian). Within the urban economy, subsistence agriculture was an explicitly untaxed form of activity which constituted a safety net for much of the popular strata within an often difficult monetary economy. In 1765 the Crown did impose a tax on the urban plots, but this led to the outburst of rebellion in the very parishes in which the measure was first projected, and may therefore be taken as confirmation of their importance in the popular economy[4]. The exclusion of Indians and Indian-type subsistence produce from *alcabala* payments means that

there is an important level of economic activity which does not appear in the official indices of sales-tax payments. Quito's bazaar economy was based not only on local production in urban plots, but on an inter-relationship with both the Indian peasant economy- which supplied it with subsistence food products -and with the dominant urban economy.

The existence of different levels of supply and distribution within the urban economy, interacting and sometimes competing with each other, has to be set within the municipality's long-running attempts to regulate the city's market system. R. J. Bromley has summarised the evidence on Colonial market regulation in the Audiencia which led to contraband to evade price and quality control and disputes over weights and measures. With regard to the profusion of official controls on commerce:

"From the Ordenanzas of the Viceroy Toledo in 1572 until the end of Spanish rule in 1821-1822, the legal apparatus of municipal controls on trading activity became more and more rigorous. Trade in colonial Andean America was not "free" but rather a highly regulated and disciplined activity. J. P. Moore describes Toledo's decrees as:

"a virtual municipal code... An ordinance charged the... inspector of the market with the changes in regulations regarding trade and business. He was obliged to fix prices for goods sold throughout the district..., to visit each business establishment during the first week of each year, to examine all models of weights and measures against falsification, and to deal sternly with hucksters who had a propensity for overcharging... Numerous decrees were drawn up to further the best interests of the (urban "white") community. They were intended to insure an adequate supply of pure drinking water, to prevent the adulteration of flour, and to provide sufficient meat through sanitary slaughtering of cattle and pigs".

Toledo's decrees were supplemented by later Viceroys, by the decrees of the Audiencia, and by the many decisions of the local municipal *cabildos*[5].



**ii) The *pulperías*, the petty traders and the urban market (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)**

In Quito, as Salomon points out, there was never a municipal *acta* creating a market on its foundation in 1534. An exchange system centralised in the "tianguéz" - the term imported by the Spaniards from the Nahuatl for "market"- existed in pre-hispanic Quito, and the earliest references to market activity in the Municipal records show that the Spaniards rapidly adapted it to the Colonial market economy[6]. The Indian traders in the "tianguéz" - located in the square of San Francisco- were subject to both European and Black slave interventions in the form of forced sales and illtreatment, as well as to the economic pressures of the Colonial market system which were still, however, not so overwhelming as to overcome the preference for barter over money transactions forty years after the conquest[7]. Although it was claimed in the late sixteenth century that the Audiencia had "fallen outside the mainstream of city life" because of its distance from the Indian market-place, commercial activity was progressively diffused to other parts of the city[8]. During the sixteenth century, new "tiangueces" were being established on such a scale that when the President of the Audiencia, Fernando de Santillán received his *residencia* in as early as 1568, witnesses affirmed that it was not always possible to establish which had been established by the President and which were "antigua cosa entre los yndios"[9].

For the late sixteenth century, the anonymous description of 1573 underlines urban dependence on food supply from Indian produce for the "tianguéz", as well as on white farm production. This independent small-scale supply for the urban market was to be an enduring feature of urban supply, although not all Indian produce was channelled through the market system. The Anonymous' clear description may serve as a summary of early Colonial urban supply:

The city is supplied with wheat and maize by citizens and other land-holding residents; in addition, there are many Indians who usually bring their produce to the "tianguéz", which is located in the square of the city, and where the fruits and vegetables which the land produces can be obtained. Beef is supplied from the municipal slaughterhouses, while sheep are killed by those who raise them... Indians supply and sell rabbits, partridges and other fowl, and chicken and eggs in their "tianguéz". On Mondays and Thursdays, the Indians of designated communities are required to bring rabbits, partridges, chicken and eggs... People prepare salt pork in their houses, but salt pork and ham are also often sold. Those who want dried beef make it in their houses, and venison is often found in the market. *Pulperos* sell cheese, lard and fat. Fodder and firewood are brought by designated *mitayos*, who come from a distance of twenty leagues to be hired...[10]

The overlapping of household food preparation (*tocino*, salt pork) with a type of produce sold in the market may be an early indication of the inter-play of domestic production with urban supply. Attempts to control the movement of pigs in the streets of the city form a frequent entry in the municipal records, and complement the evidence for urban plots of agricultural land, which was emphasized in Chapter 1[11]. Taking domestic urban production with the rural (Spanish and Indian) supply, we have at least three sources of produce for urban consumption subject to differing official norms; to these we should perhaps add the independently marketed production from the estates of the Religious Orders.

Protracted litigation during the mid-Colonial period shows, however, that the different forms of urban supply cannot be easily separated. In 1573 the anonymous observer, cited above, had already noted the role of the *pulperos* in marketing cheese and lard, and elsewhere mentioned retail commerce of cloth, cheese, sandals, ham and wine[12]. As retail merchants, the *pulperos* constituted a visible group operating through fixed outlets, and as such they were subject to the licensing and tax control of the municipality. In 1642, they brought an action against the

Indian women of the city who were alleged to be selling products which only *pulperos* were licensed to sell (ham, salt, cheese, tobacco etc.) and thereby undercutting their commerce[13]. This case was mentioned in Chapter 2 because it suggested that the interaction of the slave population with the free urban lower strata was more complicated- notably through patronage and compaternity- than the periodic *cabildo* complaints of Black violence against Indians in the market might suggest: in this case the slaves were able to steal food from Spanish households, and sell it to the market-women[14]. Specifically, the Indian women had been able to obtain *alfaxor*, *bocadillos*, and *turrone*s, (pastry, nougat etc.), all items which should have been subject to a specified tariff (*arancel*).

As a result of competition from the market-women, or *gateras*, it was claimed that many shops had gone out of business, and only twenty eight licensed shops remained in the city[15]. In the list of *composiciones* for the official confirmation of their *pulperías* on 26 Feb. and 20 May 1642, only the following names appeared:

**Table 4:1**

***Composiciones of Pulperos of Quito, 1642***

<b><i>Pulpero</i></b>	<b>Shop-owner</b>
Pedro de Vega, Mulato	Doña Francisca de Varas
Joan de Cassas	Gaspar Lazo
Joan de Salazar	Diego Ruiz de Padilla
Francisco de Toro	Pedro Bayllo
Francisco Gutierrez	"En la calle de Carvajal"
Pablo Sanchez	Doña Clara de Peralta
Pedro de Avendaño	Cristobal de Bastidas
Cristobal Ruiz	Diego de Peralta
Joan de Perez	Pedro de Molina
Diego de Betancur	Diego Gutierrez Pinto
Pasqual Nabarrete	"En su cassa"
Geronimo Correa	Diego Bautista
Lazaro Fernandez	Cosme de Casomiranda

Source ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. Doc: 7-VII-1642, f 4; *Composiciones* of 26 Feb. and 20 May 1642.

The list of *pulperos* paying fees for their title shows that only two of the thirteen owned their own shops, while the rest were owned by property-owners of the city such as Pedro de Dueñas Bayllo whose transactions as recorded before the notaries mark him out as one of the richer men in the city[16]. The presence of a free black in the list of *pulperos* may be noted as one of the scattered pieces of evidence which tend to place this category in the lower intermediate, and often mercantile section of the population. Obviously, the evidence presented before the court was with the intention of proving that the *pulperia* category of small business was being squeezed by unfair competition, but whatever the real economic reasons- and the *pulperos'* own explanation seems a reasonable one- the low level of licensed *pulperia* activity in the 1640's suggests that the tendency to take licensed commercial activity as an index to the economic growth and decline of Quito is highly misleading. Although we have few reliable indices to the level of commercial activity in the mid- seventeenth century, Phelan, Tyrer and Ortiz all concur in making this the heyday of Quito's textile economy, when we would expect to find intensive *pulperia* activity. What is clear is that the city's large Indian population- and part of white society- were not conducting their commercial activity through other channels.

Despite losing their case, Indian and Mestiza women continued to sell the same type of produce, and in 1667 the *pulperos* made a renewed appeal to have this activity stopped[17]. Maria Sinaylin and Maria Criolla, Indian market-women, prove that they have been enjoying a kind of *de facto* truce with the authorities, a nice example of the adaptation of Colonial principles to local realities. Although not technically allowed to sell *pulperia* produce they have been doing so; although as Indians, they are not liable to the *alcabala* sales tax, they have been paying it as a payment-slip of 6 *pesos* clearly shows[18]. The *pulperos'* petition

virtually confirms the existence of a kind of local pact, by alleging that the Indians are protected by important landowners who are selling the Indians their produce, and effectively by-passing the controlled market[19]. Although the use by the land-owners of parallel channels of urban supply is certainly interesting, the aspect which most concerns the overall theme of this study is the light shed on the urban Indian and Mestizo population. A number of points may be sifted from this mid-Colonial evidence, which, it is argued, sheds a general light on the *plebe* of the city.

i) The evidence reveals a network of complicated relationships which reach beyond the *plebe* and suggest that access to patronage was one of the key features of part of the urban lower strata, and one cutting across the obvious class boundaries. The market-women will have had ties with the Indian peasant economy (supplying chickens, eggs etc.) which had no reason to appear in the law-suits. Their other economic ties -with slaves, unspecified suppliers, and indirectly with the creole élite- established them as a counter-weight to the *pulperos*. On this evidence, the *pulperos* do not emerge as a group which had enormous weight in mid-Colonial Quito, neither owning their own shops, nor serving as intermediary in the most important transactions of the urban market. Access to patronage is obviously a difficult area to examine, but the evidence of compaternity (see Chapter 2 i) may help to clarify the role of important Spanish households with spheres of influence which reached beyond their actual members. These inter-locking ties certainly mean that class categories should be used with some flexibility.

ii) The fact that the traders in question were women may be stressed. Abundant other documentation shows that women played a key role in the

market economy[20] The most obvious point, that market activity allowed- as it still does- the family to make full use of domestic labour may be briefly noted. Perhaps the most interesting question, however, turns on ethnicity. In Chapter 2:1, we found Mestiza women "dressed as Indians" in the city of Quito in the 1630's, and stressed the selective nature of Colonial impositions in which tribute (and the *mita*) was a specifically male obligation. For urban market-women, on the other hand, the ethnic pressure was precisely the opposite, to be Indian, and avoid *alcabala* payments. Although the petitions of the *pulperos* allow for the possibility that some of the *gateras* and *recatonas* were Mestiza or Mulata, it is clear that these were usually Indian, but with a very loosely defined ethnicity. This ethnic ambiguity is clear from their surnames. Maria Criolla, (Creole), a surname we also find in a later case[21], is the classic evidence of an Indian undergoing the process of transculturation, belonging to the no-man's land between Indian and Spaniard.

The documentation on the 1640's and 1660's (cited above) was incorporated into later law-suits which turned on the obligation of Indians to pay *alcabala*, and there were limits to the possibilities of the popular strata to "play the system". *Alcabala* exemption was effectively accepted when applying to food stuffs of prime necessity, but Indians who went beyond this risked the imposition of the sales tax[22]. Nevertheless, between day-to-day transactions and cases actually brought to the attention of officials, there was undoubtedly more room for manoeuvre as an Indian than as a Mestiza. Some of the flexibility of urban social stratification in its lower rungs can be measured by a law-suit from Riobamba in 1695. The case was brought by Felisiana de Mora for 400 pesos, but Antonio de Riofrío, defending, claimed that she was a Mestiza and not an Indian, and was pretending to be an Indian in order to take advantage of the services of the Protector of the Indians[23]. One

inheritance of this ambiguity in socio-racial classification in urban popular society was to be some of the petitions to be declared Mestizo in the 1770's in the face of the effort of the reforming Bourbon administration to sort its way through this ethnic confusion (see Chapter 6).

iii) The tendency to take the number of licensed *pulperías* as an index to the level of economic activity is certainly brought into question. If *pulpería* activity was only on the scale claimed by the *pulperos* in 1642, by far the greater part of the commercial activity of the city in its period of expansion, was passing through other channels. There are, however, more fundamental problems with regard to the official data in this area. These will be discussed in more detail in part iii) of this chapter, as they suggest possible strategies of the urban population in the face of economic difficulties, and therefore clarify the themes which will be examined in the second half of this study.

### iii) Urban commercial activity and economic crisis (eighteenth century)

Javier Ortiz de la Tabla has called attention to the *padrón* of the farms, *obrajes*, and commercial establishments of the city and Five Leagues in 1770 which formed the basis of the administrator of *alcabalas* Antonio Romero de Tejada's summary of accounts for 1768-1775 [24]. Ortiz gives a clear and accurate summary of the *padrón*, and is attentive to its potential distortions as a fiscal document, but it will be argued here that the document is somewhat misleading when taken on its own as an index of the decline of the city. A rounder picture emerges when it is integrated with other forms of official evidence, and with the evidence for the inter-play of the different levels of commercial activity in the urban economy. Taking the documentation of the late 1760's located by Ortiz as a "fixed point" for covering a larger period, has the advantage that it may help to clarify the economic background of the Quito rebellion of 1765.

Before turning to the evidence on the 1760's it may be noted briefly that the nature of urban supply for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries followed the pattern outlined above. The dependence on the Indian population for the marketing of food produce continued, and in 1716, we come across accusations of ill-treatment of Indian market-women by slaves which take exactly the same form as those of the 1530's. It was claimed that this was on such a scale that the city was running short of food, which may indicate that these tensions tended to be aggravated by, and reflect more profound problems of dearth at periods of agricultural depression [25].

One "new" development was the emergence of a distinctive small-scale grocery called *chagro*, although this was clearly based on the deep-rooted tradition of domestic production and marketing of produce. In the late 1680's the *cabildo* claimed that there were unlicensed *pulperías* in



private houses. In defiance of official restrictions, wood etc. was being brought to the city and produce was being marketed in private houses called *chagras* in the *barrios* of the city[26]. It may be that the attempts noted above to control the marketing of certain types of produce in the markets of the city, however partial they may have been, encouraged the formation of these household "markets". The revealing terminology (the word *chagra* means "field") underlines the point made at the beginning of this chapter about the close interaction of the "subterranean economy" with the peasant economy of the surrounding areas. By the eighteenth century, in any case, these *chagras* - normally described as *chagros* in the eighteenth century documentation - had become an accepted part of the urban economy, dedicated to the supply of "different grain, bread and other foodstuffs... for poor people" ("en su casa una tienda en que haze vender diferentes granos, Pan, y otros comestibles en la misma forma.. que llaman chagro, para el abasto de la gente pobre, y veneficio del comun") [27]. That they had indeed become an accepted part of the commercial activity of the capital is clear from the fact that their presence was noted in the official documentation of c 1768, the *padrón* of *alcabalas* and in the *padrón* of the parish of Santa Bárbara in that year[28]. We will return to these "poor man's *pulperías*" when the post- 1760's evidence on the commercial activity of the capital is examined.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to set the commercial activity of the capital in the period 1768-1775 within a clear medium-term cycle of economic activity, but the attempt has to be made if we are to get a clear picture of economic change. For the period 1751-1800, the sales tax returns may be noted as offering a general guide to trade flows within the northern and central Highlands, as it was taxed on virtually all non-subsistence items[29]. Table 4:2 does this, but with the caveat that the major increase after 1778 was due to increased efficiency of

collection once the reformed Bourbon administration had re-assumed direct fiscal control. The low figures in the mid- 1760's may be noted, because they suggest a short- term downturn in commercial activity which helps to clarify the economic background of the 1765 rebellion. The period 1768-1775 itself was one of considerable fluctuations, but it is clear that the underlying trend of taxed commerce was upwards from at least the 1750's through to the fiscal reform of the late 1770's when fiscal pressures make the data hard to interpret. This evidence for modest economic growth from the 1750's onwards coincides with the demographic evidence cited in Chapter 5 for demographic stability c1730-80, and is sufficiently steady, despite short-term downturns, to suggest that the *padrón* of 1768-1775 is not itself evidence of major fiscal pressures which would distort the overall trend at that date.

The evidence that despite its long-term decline, the region was undergoing modest expansion during a "long" mid-eighteenth century period, certainly suggests a re-reading of the *padrón* of *alcabala*. During the seven years after 1768, the *padrón* of Antonio Romero de Tejada revealed the existence of four to six functioning workshops for the production and sale of hats (*sombrererías*), three to five tile factories (*tejares*), and only one pot-producer (*ollero*) in a sufficiently healthy state to pay *alcabala* [30]. There were also 124 recorded "shops" (*tiendas*)-whether open or shut- and 48 *pulperías* which were open for all or part of this period, of which 31 for the full seven years. Only two urban *obrajes* were functioning out of eleven which were recorded as licensed factories. This certainly indicates a low level of commercial and licensed industrial activity in the capital. The decline of the hat-factories was particularly marked as 38 different hat-factories had been recorded in the near or distant past, suggesting that conspicuous consumption (of hats etc.) had undergone a major decline in the eighteenth century[31], although

this was probably also because this production was *obraje*-related. Although licensed *obrajes* were probably never a good index of the scale of textile manufacturing, the fact that only two were functioning in the 1760's certainly confirms the decline of the eighteenth century industry.

The problem with "decline", however, is deciding what the base for comparison is. What were the "muchos años atrás" to which the collector of the sales-tax made reference when he said a business had closed long ago? If we place the *padrón* within an infinitely *longue durée*, it is probably true that Quito had declined, but this should not blind us to the medium-term and short-term cycles which are after all the measure of the human life. What the *padrón* tells us is the number of years a particular business was functioning during the period 1768-1775, but it is wrong to assume, as Ortiz appears to do, that all those recorded for less than seven years were going out of business. This point applies with particular force to the *tiendas* and *pulperías*. According to Ortiz there were 70 *pulperías* in the city of which 54.8% closed, and of whom six changed to *chagro*. Ortiz notes that only 28.4% of the shops remained open for the full seven years, while 12% were totally closed [32].

At least a few of those businesses functioning for only part of this period, however, were in fact new ones. Of the six people who were *chagro* for part of the period, and *pulperos* for the rest, at least one was a *chagro* who became a *pulpero* rather than the opposite[33], while several of the others are unclear. If we return to the case of the 1640's it was claimed there were only 28 *pulperos* in the city in 1642, while in 1683 there were 46 *pulperos*, which may be an overcount for comparative purposes as the total appears to have included religious *pulperías* which were exempt from the sales tax[34]. In other words, unless the commercial activity of the city was expanding rapidly in the eighteenth century- and it would have to be the most implacable revisionist who suggested this - it

is quite clear that the total of 70 *pulperías* does not mean that all these had ever been functioning simultaneously. On the contrary, there had been a considerable turn-over of *pulperia* activity, with some closing and others opening, and the expanded total of 70 was the accumulated total of the *pulperías* who had been kept on the fiscal record.

There is considerable evidence that business was conducted on a cyclical basis, and that people opened and shut their shops according to the state of the market, almost certainly retreating to other forms of activity, including urban plots when business was bad. The proximity of *chagro* and *pulperia* emphasizes the interaction of the subsistence economy with urban commerce. One of the entries in the *padrón* of *alcabalas* contains the revealing comment that at one stage a *pulpero* had simply had nothing to sell [35]. The Santa Bárbara census of 1768 does not include many dual occupations- perhaps simply because they were not required for its purposes- but those which are recorded are essentially for small-scale commercial activity: *barbero/pulpero*; *sombrerero/pulpero*; *albañil/chichero*; *estanquero/ carpintero* [36]. Ortiz' work demonstrates the diversification of the economic interests of the élite, and the notarial records (c.f. for example, Chap. 1 ii) b, the tailor who purchased an orchard in Pomasque) suggest that this aim ran through lower levels of Quito society. Fortunately, the coincidence of dates between the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara and the *padrón* of the *alcabalas* allows to establish differences between the two series of census data which shows clearly that either -if taken alone- provides a highly misleading picture of the commercial activity of the city. Although the Colonial form of designating streets and shops by varying criteria (the house of X, near the Convent of Y) make it difficult to compare the two censuses house by house, the essential point is quickly established. In the *padrón* of *alcabalas* of 1768-1775, there were only 124 shops ("tiendas"), most of them shut at any given moment

whereas in the single parish of Santa Bárbara in 1768 there were 110. What was a "shop" in these circumstances? Not all the "tiendas" in Santa Bárbara were actually "shops" where anything was sold, and "tienda" was almost certainly a highly elastic term. In many cases, artisans worked in their own houses, and when they had products to sell, they did so. In the period of agricultural depression around 1723, (discussed in Chapter 2 iii), witnesses claimed there were only eighty or ninety shops functioning, but perhaps more revealing is their commentary that many others had almost nothing to sell except a few products like salt or cotton[37].

Similarly, the one *ollería* for making pots did not exhaust the number of pot-makers in the city. In the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara we find eight, half of them women, with the ambiguous ethnic classification we have already found in the market-women of the city. Interestingly, they were located in and around the area of the *carnicería* which straddled the parishes of Santa Bárbara and San Blas, and a major concentration of *tiendas* were located in this area. In Chapter 1, we spoke of possible sub-*barrios*, small districts which did not have parish status, but had a real socio-economic meaning and the slaughterhouse certainly seems to have generated its own zone of economic and market activity around the square of the slaughterhouse. The 1830 *padrón* would reveal the existence of a production of leather in San Blas [38], while the notarial records reveal a residential specialisation of the Indian butchers in the district of Ichimbia (San Blas), i.e. in the scattered popular district near the slaughterhouse[39]. It may be that the ties we find between the *barrios* of San Blas and Santa Bárbara mask the common identity of a more restricted popular district which overlapped both.

We should certainly emphasize the low level of licensed commercial activity in the eighteenth century city, when it is noted that in a city of comparable size such as Caracas, there were 134 *pulperías* in 1816,

which Kinsbruner considers a low rather than a high total[40]. With regard to what might be termed industrial or quasi-industrial production in eighteenth century Quito, the *padrón* shows that this was extremely low and the city clearly had essentially administrative, ecclesiastical and commercial functions. The *padrón* shows evidence of long-term economic decline (the *obrajes, sombrererías*), and if the collector was only capable of finding one *ollería* capable of paying *alcabala*, that is a clear measure of the short-term economic difficulties of the city. In this sense an emphasis on Quito's decline is not misplaced, although from the general evidence of the demographic and/ or economic evidence for modest growth or at least stability from the c1730- c1780 (see especially Chapter 5) we should perhaps look for another term to designate this medium-term cycle.

I would argue, however, that once the economic activity of a stagnant city falls below a certain level, the conventional indices begin to lose much of their value, and we should begin to look for other ways of evaluating the evidence. This is not so much a problem of fiscal fraud which exists with virtually all official data, as of the very nature of urban small-scale commercial activity in "tiendas", "chagros" or "pulperías". Quito seems to have had what we might call structurally low levels of *pulpería* activity. From the totals we have for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it appears that the vitality of the subterranean economy, as well as independent marketing by the major land-owners were factors keeping this total low. Unlike a sea-port like Caracas which had direct ties with international trade, and had Catalans and Canarians who became its *pulperos*, the city of Quito's interaction was with the peasant economy of the countryside around it, and the *chagros* - and this is the modern Quiteño word for peasant- are symptomatic of this relationship. When commercial activity dropped there was the possibility of a retreat into a semi- subsistence economy, and our fiscal records of sales-tax

returns have difficulty following those who took this route. This interaction of different levels of economic activity took place on a continual basis, rather than as a permanent retreat from one form to another. Although the *chagros* and *pulperos* are not the only theme of this study, it is certainly relevant to see one of the forms of adaptation to Quito's decline; Part 2 of this study focuses in more detail on the impact of economic decline and fiscal pressure on the urban popular sectors.

**Table 4: 2**  
***Alcabala* income in the Royal Treasury of Quito, 1751-1800**

Year	Income	Year	Income
1751---	6,682	1776---	16,911
1752---	4,498	1777---	12,169
1753---	8,283	1778---	15,956
1754---	5,500	1779---	22,701
1755---	9,365	1780---	25,457
1756---	11,646	1781---	16,823
1757---	6,977	1782---	26,169
1758---	9,511	1783---	30,388
1759---	9,375	1784---	25,435
1760---	6,950	1785---	24,860
1761---	7,600	1786---	28,520
1762---	11,693	1787---	29,565
1763---	5,120	1788---	10,439
1764---	6,400	1789---	24,365
1765---	9,003	1790---	29,467
1766---	3,855	1791---	28,348
1767---	10,607	1792---	32,261
1768---	8,272	1793---	20,946
1769---	12,992	1794---	21,712
1770---	10,997	1795---	20,791
1771---	4,924	1796---	19,757
1772---	9,413	1797---	17,038
1773---	12,873	1798---	20,854
1774---	8,437	1799---	23,668
1775---	10,378	1800---	22,834

Source: AGI Contaduría 1539; AGI Quito 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424.

Note: Income is in *pesos* (Totals have been rounded to exclude *reales*.) The area covered is the Northern and Central Highlands, i.e. not the treasuries of Cuenca and Guayaquil.



1) B. Roberts, *Cities of Peasants: the Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World*, (London, 1968): 110ff, summarising the work of Clifford Geertz on Indonesia, McGee on South-East Asian cities, and his own research on Peru and Guatemala.

2) See above, Chapters 1 and 2ii.

3) Roberts, op. cit. p. 112

4) For the 1765 rebellion see Chapter 7.

5) R.J. Bromley, "Precolonial trade and the transition to a colonial market system in the Audiencia of Quito", *Nova Americana*, (Turin) 1, (1978): 275-6; J.P. Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs*, (Duke Univ. Press, 1966): 68-70; c.f. also, J.P. Moore, *The cabildo in Peru under the Bourbons*, (Duke Univ. Press, 1954).

6) F. Salomon, "Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North-Andean Chiefdoms", (Ph.D. Cornell University, 1978): 145; *LCQ*, T 1, (1535): 79-81. Salomon's account includes archival findings which partly supersede R.J. Bromley's overview, op. cit. pp. 269-283.

7) Salomon, op. cit. 146, 148-50; "La cibdad de Sant Francisco del Quito. 1573", *AGI*, 2: 228. The interventions of slaves in the market-place which Salomon cites (*LCQ*, for 1535 and 1548) was to be the subject on ongoing municipal concern, as recorded in the *LCQ*. For a later example, see below.

8) Salomon op. cit. 149, citing AGI Quito 9.

9) Salomon, op. cit. 150, citing the Vacas Galindo collection of AGI copies, 1 ser. vol. 27.

10) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco del Quito. 1573", *AGI*, 2: 220; " La cibdad se provee de trigo y maíz de vecinos y moradores que tienen por granjería la labranza; demás desto, hay muchos naturales que de ordinario lo traen a vender a su *tianguéz* que hacen en la plaza de la dicha ciudad, donde se hallan las legumbres y frutas que se dan en la tierra. La vaca se proveen de las carnicerías, y carneros matan de ordinario que tienen de su cría... Los conejos, perdices y otros pájaros, y gallinas y huevos, se proveen que los indios los suelen vender en su *tianguéz*; demás que lunes y jueves son obligados de cada un pueblo de los que para ello están señalados [traer] los conejos, perdices y gallinas y huevos que les está señalado... El tocino

hace cada uno en su casa, demás que de ordinario se venden tocinos y jamones... Cecina de vaca la hace el que quiere en su casa, y de venado se halla muchas veces en el tianguéz. Los quesos y sebo, manteca, hay pulperos que la venden. Los caballos comen yerba de ordinario y se proveen della y leña con indios mitayos que para ello están señalados y vienen desde veinte leguas de la ciudad a se alquilar..."

11) e.g. AM/Q Cartas de Cabildo (vol 54), 7 Jan 1772, f 24, cited in Chapter 1, and many other examples for all periods.

12) "La cibdad de Sant Francisco del Quito. 1573", op. cit. 218, 220.

13) ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 1 Doc: 7-VII-1642, f 2. Other products which were also mentioned were soap, honey, sugar, ink and ribbons, *ibid* f 6-7; pita fibre, jewels, knives, string, fish, *ibid* f 10; rice, biscuits etc., *ibid* f 12. These lists give us a clear picture of the produce theoretically marketed by the *pulperías*.

14) See above pp. 94.

15) ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 1 Doc: 7-VII-1642, f3.

16) e.g. ANH/Q 3 Not. Tomo 1, Francisco Díaz de Asteiza, 1653, f 3, f32, 33, etc.

17) *ibid* f 16.

18) *ibid* f 17-20.

19) *ibid* f 27.

20) c.f. for a late-Colonial case similar to that examined above, ANH/Q Gobierno Doc: 28-VI-1784, the *franjeros*, i.e. the people who make fringes for clothes, complaining of market-women selling those made by three or four "oficiales vagos". For the demographic evidence, see, for example, the *padrón* de Santa Bárbara, cited below, and in Chapters 5 and 6. I have not attempted to examine meat supply in this chapter, but there was an interesting legal battle over the land-owners' forcing the *indios carniceros* to purchase offal from the meat they killed at exaggerated prices. The *carniceros* purchased low quality meat which was then re-sold to poor people by the market-women: "porque nuestras mugeres son las regatonas, que la menudean", ANH/Q Ind. 80, Doc: 1764-17-V, f 2.

21) ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 1 Doc: 7-VII-1642 f 32. Although preserved in

the same documentation, this is a separate case from 1686; "Catalina Criolla" etc.

22) See the cases preserved in ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 1 Doc: 7-VII-1642; ANH/Q Ind. 94 Doc: 24-VII-1777.

23) ANH/Q Mz 1 Doc: 1695-VI-8.

24) "Panorama económico y social del corregimiento de Quito (1768-1775)", *Revista de Indias* (145-146) (Jul.-Dec. 1976): 83-98, based on the *padrón* preserved in AGI Quito 430.

25) AM/Q, LCQ 19 Sept. 1716, f 53, and for the agricultural depression of this period, see Chapter 2 iii.

26) AM/Q, LCQ (1686-90), f 9, entry for 1686.

27) ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 2 Doc: 1760-V-23, f 1.

28) c.f. the *padrón* of AGI Quito 430, cited above. My comments, unless otherwise stated, are based on my own reading of this document: c.f. also "Padrón de Santa Bárbara en 1768", *Museo Histórico* (Quito), 56, (1978): 93-122.

29) AGI Quito 430, "Testimonio de expediente relativo a la presentación de las Cuentas de Alcabalas", f18-19 lists the rates (normally 3%) on the products which entered Quito.

30) AGI Quito 430, "Padrón" op. cit.; for the *olleros*, Antonio Romero de Tejada notes: "Asimismo consta en dicha certificación quanto se travaxo en solicitar la cobranza de las expresadas ollerias de que resultó el reconocimiento de los hornos arruynados, y miseria en que manifestaban en ellos."

31) Quiteños had a preference for imported luxury goods over locally made items, but a decline on this scale seems relatively unambiguous.

32) Ortiz, op. cit. 97-8.

33) AGI Quito 430, "Padrón", op. cit. c.f. entry number 66 under pulpería; "esquina de la ollería de Mora frente de Leyba en San Blas. Pagó dicha pulpería 6 pesos por un año y medio que empesó a vender en ella su dueño". Five and a half years as *chagro*.

34) Aquiles Pérez, *Las Mitas en la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (Quito, 1947): 358-9. Pérez suggests that some of these were owned by the Jesuits.

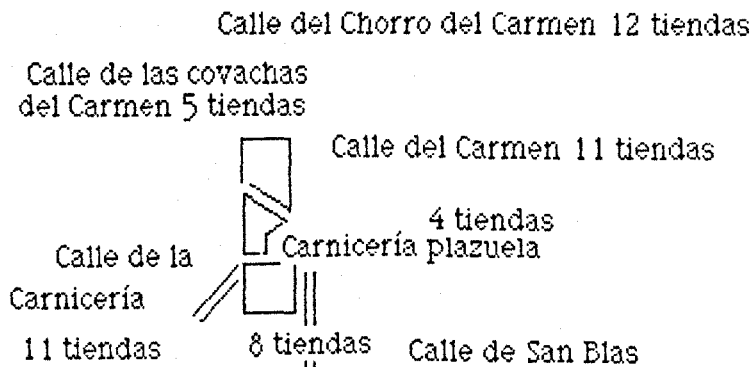
35) AGI Quito 430, "Padrón", op. cit. entry 22, under *pulperías*.

36) "Padrón de Santa Bárbara en 1768", op. cit. 94, 96, 116.

37) AGI Quito 181 "Autos sobre minoración de censos", testimony in 1723; ff 107, 109.

38) See Table 1:1.

39) ANH/Q 1 Not. Tomos 246 (1728-31), f 77; Tomo 276(1754-5), ff 582, 588-90. The "Padrón de Santa Bárbara en 1768", op. cit. suggests the following concentration of "tiendas":



40) J. Kinsbruner, "The pulperos of Caracas and San Juan during the first half of the nineteenth century", *Latin American Research Review*, (197): 68.

## 5: Demographic Change and Social Structure, 1690-1800

"La numeracion general de Indios es la Piedra fundamental del erario y del todo el gobierno político del Reyno del Peru como lo dare a conocer brevemente, siempre fue maxima politica en los soberanos procurar saber el numero de vasallos que tenian en los Limites de su imperio para conzeptuar sus fuerzas para imponer las capitulaciones y otros fines que penetra vuestra Magestad mejor que yo. Esto mismo mando Dios a Moyses en el Desierto de Sinay quando instruiendole de lo que habia de hacer con Israelitas, le ordenó empadronase a todos por sus casas y familias..."

Juan Romualdo Navarro, "Idea del Reyno de Quito, 1761-4", AGI Quito 223; J. Rumazo González, *Documentos...* Tomo VIII, p. 529.

"Tudo quanto se dize publica na America hispanhola sobre censo, é meramente hypothetico"...

Lisbôa: *Viagem...* (1866): 356.

### **i) Parish demographics, to 1780**

The Ecuadorian Highlands witnessed major demographic changes after the late seventeenth century. In the case of the Central Highlands, these have been carefully examined by R.D.F. Bromley, who identifies a process of urban recession, which constitutes a valuable model to test against the evidence for the region of Quito. In the late eighteenth century, the towns of Riobamba, Latacunga, and Ambato were declining in population, while the Central Highlands as a whole were already witnessing the beginnings of the Sierra-Coast emigration which was to be a major feature of nineteenth century Ecuadorian history[1]. Nevertheless, that area appears to have been much harder hit by catastrophes (such as earthquakes), as well as having a higher degree of dependence on the textile economy, than

may have been true of parts of the North and the South of the Audiencia[2]. To what extent did the capital of the Audiencia participate in the demographic crisis which affected at least part of the Audiencia? More particularly, with regard to the main theme of this study, how far did this demographic crisis work its way into changes in the existing social structure? Is it possible to detect its consequences in changes in the spatial distribution of the urban population, its sex ratio or ethnic composition?

The discussion which follows is based on different forms of parish, ecclesiastical or census data to the exclusion of the published contemporary descriptions of the city, which have hitherto - in the absence of detailed demographic data - been used by historians[3]. The mid-eighteenth century descriptions, for example, give its population as 50,000 or 60,000, which is upto twice the total indicated by the sources used here. Even full census data was liable to arbitrary distortions at the hands of administrators who sought to perfect their material when they came to preparing their official summaries; this cannot have been less true of general descriptions[4]. Although Juan de Velasco cites a census of 1757, and there was certainly census-taking activity in the 1760's, much of this was almost certainly partial and incomplete; prior to 1776, most enumerations were more linked to the collection of tribute from the Indian population than to any attempt to assess the overall population[5]. In the case of the city of Quito, there may also have been additional jurisdictional confusion between the city of Quito itself, and the Five Leagues of towns and villages which surrounded it[6]. As we cannot disentangle their genuine reliance on census data from pure guess-work, such contemporary descriptions are largely devoid of value. Where other types of data are lacking, what such accounts can do is provide a rule-of-thumb guide to the comparative size of different cities[7]. The

fact that the calculations from the demographic data used here almost halve existing estimates is not out of line with the disparity between eye-witness descriptions and more apparently solid evidence found to exist for other areas[8].

"Everything said...about population in Spanish America is merely hypothetical", but this is peculiarly true of the late-Colonial City of Quito. The parish, ecclesiastical, census, and tribute data all pose problems of interpretation, and some of these sources are so defective that reductionist logic might be that no information of value can be extracted from them at all. It is probable that the major censuses which were carried out after the imperial decree of 1776 were reasonably accurate for the smaller urban centres[9]. The size of the capital, however, made it easier to escape from the enumerators; as a section of the city's population consisted of *cholos* who could be reduced to tributary status by effective identification, widespread evasion was inevitable. The later census of 1825 took place in a climate of widespread fear of conscription, with similarly predictable consequences. While such sources may be tainted, they can teach us something-not least, indeed, the existence of such wide-scale evasion. Although none of these sources can be safely used on their own, they add up to a reasonably coherent whole when correlated with other types of evidence, such as that of the parish records. Taken together, all these sources provide a clear body of evidence charting population trends, and identifying periods of recovery, stagnation or intensified demographic crisis after the initial decline in the late seventeenth century.

Although tributary data, official censuses and ecclesiastical head-counts constitute, in certain degree, different types of demographic sources, it is proposed here to examine separately only the evidence of the parish records and take all other kinds of demographic data together. In the

case of the city of Quito, the non-parish evidence poses very similar problems- the avoidance of tribute, for example, which constitutes one of the major defects of fiscal tributary data, was, as noted above, precisely one of the main defects of the official censuses. Census data, whatever its provenance, requires similar criteria of critical examination; tributary data is only used here when it is in effect Indian census material, the fiscal returns being subject to fluctuations which largely deprive them of demographic value. For the period before the second half of the eighteenth century, reliance has essentially been placed on the parish records. Although tribute data can undoubtedly be used for to establish a tributary curve in rural areas, tribute evasion and ethnic change make it a somewhat less satisfactory instrument for the discussion of urban demographics.

Parish records were examined in the parishes of the Sagrario, San Blas, and Santa Bárbara. Those of San Marcos were also consulted, but extended research was not possible there for reasons which lay beyond my control; it is believed that the parishes of San Roque and San Sebastián also contain Colonial documentation[10]. The methodology- the "English method" of recording annual totals- was largely dictated by realism[11]. The disadvantage of this method is that it permits a much less complete reconstruction of family structures, than other methods. Its over-riding advantage is its rapidity, and in allowing an individual to examine the demographic history of a major city over more than a century, it supplies its own justification. Extracting annual totals was already enormously time-consuming, but it was possible to take more detailed soundings for particular periods. The emphasis on the registers of births and deaths reflected a wish to establish the overall growth of the city, and identify periods of stagnation or demographic crisis. In the case of the register of deaths we will see that many corpses were taken to the monasteries, while others went unburied at times of epidemics. Figure 5 ii) therefore



provides a "flattened curve" in which epidemics or disasters should be detectable in a rise in the curve, which does not, however, necessarily reflect the full impact of the disaster.

The method of calculating the changing total population, by relating annual baptismal rates to the known total in a census year, was used by R.D.F. Bromley for the Central Sierra. This method depends on a number of variables which may change the baptismal rate: epidemics, food shortages, age at baptism, geographical factors and ethnic differences may all be reflected in fewer births, or in a lower ratio of baptisms to births by allowing time for babies to die before baptism[12]. Although the present writer used this method in an article on Loja, its use provides obvious difficulties in relation to the much larger city of Quito. It depends, firstly, on the datum line of a reliable census, against which to examine the earlier evidence, and the censuses of the late 1770's by no means provide such a solid base. Next, although no evidence was seen that baptismal practices changed significantly in the eighteenth century, it would be unwise to extend this method far back into the mid- Colonial period; the earliest parish records of the Sagrario (preserved from the mid- sixteenth century onwards) show that at that period, the Sagrario was baptising infants from outside the city. Lastly, it was not possible to collect comprehensive data from all the parishes.

Despite these problems, the annual baptisms recorded in Figure 5:1 can contribute to our understanding of the demographic history of the city, if used with care. This is true, in particular, if we attempt to emphasize trends rather than totals. The Sagrario constituted such a major part of the population of the city, that even on its own its evolution is of considerable significance. According to the admittedly highly flawed census of 1825 its recorded population was 59.4% of the total population of the city, although it had certainly been growing in relation to the other

parishes during the late-Colonial period[13]. The evidence from Santa Bárbara and San Blas provides independent evidence that the data from the Sagrario is not being distorted by a differential growth between the urban centre and the peripheral parishes. Almost certainly, however, the parish of San Roque, for which it was not possible to examine the parish records, was declining more rapidly than other parishes. Generally described as the largest of the ancillary parishes in the mid- eighteenth century, it trailed Santa Bárbara and San Sebastián by the end of the century[14]. A possible explanation could be that the observers who described it as the most populous parish were misled by its more popular character as reflected in a large number of small households (c.f. below). This does not appear to be so, as Sr J. Moreno Egas informs me from his knowledge of the parish records that it had indeed been a large (and Indian) parish in the seventeenth century.

Figure 5: 1 was compiled from three year averages (1710-2, 1720-2 etc.) from the year 1710 onwards. The four totals prior to that date are taken from single years (1680, 1690 etc.) except for the total for 1670 in the Sagrario which is an average of the entries for 1669 and 1673. The baptismal records for Indians in Santa Bárbara from 1740 onwards have disappeared, but the gaps in the coverage of San Blas are due to the fact that only a series of soundings were taken for comparative purposes from that parish. The focus of this study on the eighteenth century explains the narrowness of the sample for the seventeenth century, along with the sheer volume of baptisms to be counted in the late seventeenth century records. Even allowing for the slenderness of the base, and the possibility that different types of baptism may have been included in the seventeenth century records (e.g. from the Five Leagues of the city), the figures certainly suggest that the population of the city may have peaked even before the epidemics of the 1690's which are considered the watershed of

the demographic history of the city.

Whether or not this was so, evidence from other sources leaves little doubt as to the major impact of the epidemic of the 1690's. Urban parish priests recorded 423 Indian tributaries dead in the city and there is evidence of major underreporting. Tyrer's estimate that the Indian population fell by 40% in the 1690's certainly suggests the scale of the disaster, which forthcoming research will emphasize[15]. The evidence for high mortality rates in the 1690's is so strong that we do not need to rely on the parish data to confirm it. Unfortunately, the surviving "Libro de Muertos de mestizos, montañeces, yndios, negros y mulatos, 1693-1729" of the AP/Q Sagrario begins during the epidemic, but there were ninety recorded deaths during July, twenty-two in August, twenty-two in September and ten in October. The relatively low number of baptisms in 1690 before the epidemic may have been the consequence of food shortages which preceded it, by leading to fewer pregnancies or more miscarriages [16].

Taking Figures 5:1 and 5:2 together, it is quite clear that the city had undergone a major demographic decline between the late seventeenth century and the 1720's. At this period, the baptismal and death registers reserved for Indians, Mestizos and Mulattoes in the Sagrario were Indian dominated and the comparison of the different parish evidence suggests that it was above all the Indian population of the city which was declining at this period. The relative impact of epidemics on the Indian population was commented on by many observers, and in a city like Loja where socio-racial segregation survived far better than in Quito, the existence of distinct Indian and white/mixed blood parishes made it possible to establish this differential impact very clearly[17]. The mortality rates in the Sagrario show that after a brief recovery after the 1690's epidemic—probably because the most vulnerable groups such as infants had already

been eliminated- there were high although steadily declining rates of Indian mortality 1700-20 followed by a new peak in the late 1720's. The evidence cited in Chapter 2: iii) for an agricultural depression whose effects were reinforced by epidemic- induced labour shortages is therefore confirmed by the demographic evidence.

After the 1730's Quito's population appears to have undergone some modest recovery, although punctuated by epidemics in the mid-1740's and mid 1760's. The considerable rise in baptisms between 1730-2 and 1740-2 and between 1750-2 and 1760-2 certainly suggests that the 1730's and 1750's were periods of modest demographic growth. The food shortages and epidemics of the mid-1740's and the 1759 epidemic described by Juan de Velasco do not appear in the graph of mortalities in Figure 5:2, although this does not mean they necessarily had no impact[18]. The fall in baptisms between 1740-2 and 1750-2 suggests that the population of the city may indeed have been affected in the 1740's. On the other hand, the sharp rise in baptisms in the 1750's suggests that the earthquake of 1755 and the claimed epidemic of 1759 had little impact, and were in any case insufficient to wipe out an underlying trend upwards. When this trend is taken together with the albeit somewhat unreliable *alcabala* figures for the 1750's given in Table 4:2, it can be argued that the background to the 1765 rebellion, far from being one of unremitting decline was in fact one of modest expansion followed by a short-term down-turn. The high mortality rate of the mid- 1760's is clearly visible on Figure 5:2.

Allowing for short-term cycles and the impact of epidemics, figures 5:1 and 5:2 suggest that the period from the 1730's to the 1780's was one of demographic recovery and relative stability. Tyrer has charted the auction value of the tithe in the *corregimiento* of Quito as a possible index to agricultural production and his graph is largely an inversion of Figure 5:2[19], with high tithe auction prices from the 1730's to around

1760, (although with a somewhat sharper falling off in the 1760's and 1770's than the demographic evidence might suggest). In other words, mortality rates in urban society- at least for the poorer Indian, Mestizo sectors recorded in Figure 5.2, although the white population in Figure 5.1 showed more stability- were closely following the rhythms of agricultural production, a correlation which need not surprise us in view of the documentation on the early eighteenth century agricultural depression cited in Chapter 2: iii) which specified the impact on urban society (diet etc.) of the rural depression. The depression of tithe prices in 1764-6 suggests a crisis of agricultural production around that date which ties with the epidemic of that period (and the Quito rebellion of 1765)[20]. For the 1780's and 1790's the parish evidence suggests rising mortality rates, and some possible demographic decline. As this can be cross-checked with other sources, however, this point is best discussed in part ii) of this chapter.

## ii) Demographic Change and Family Structure, 1780-1800

Census data is abundant but defective from the 1770's onwards. The series of major imperial censuses commissioned in the late 1770's were followed by censuses in 1814, 1825, c.1831 and c.1840. Of these sources, Hamerly has noted the census total of 1780 for Quito when the recorded population of the city was 24,939, and that of 1840 when the total was 20,035[21], but they have not otherwise not been examined in detail for the city. In addition to the parish evidence cited in the previous section, this section will also make use of Indian tributary listings, but most of all, a series of church censuses which provide the house-to-house data which with one exception- the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768 summarised in Table 6:1 - is otherwise lacking on the eighteenth century city.

Before turning to the Church *padrónes* it is appropriate to re-emphasize the point (stressed at the beginning of this chapter) that the official censuses are highly defective documents. In the climate of fear of fiscal exactions which the documentation of Chapter 6 clearly shows, it is unsurprising to find that the census activity of c 1780 had great difficulty in giving an accurate demographic picture of the capital. The parallel census which Villalengua carried out in the late 1770's was used by R.D.F. Bromley to corroborate the accuracy of the official c 1780 series in the central Sierra, but for Quito it only confirms the data's general inaccuracy; instead of a total of 24, 939 for 1780, it gives one of 21,960 for only a very slightly earlier date[22]. Browning and Robinson have stressed the importance of working directly on census data rather than compilations, and the compilations which followed in the 1780's did not merely limit themselves to adding and subtracting births and deaths, but saw major defects creep in[23]. These compilations have been excluded from consideration here, except for the census of 1781 which is an early one, and does not appear to have suffered the distortions which later

compilations accumulated. The official who transcribed the 1814 census refused to believe the relatively plausible total of 20,627 he encountered on account of the evasion which had occurred when people hid to avoid a military levy[24]. Consequently, he took the total of 65,133 from the entire Five Leagues of the city in 1785, and gave this as his total- an inaccuracy which found its way into the secondary literature. Fear of military levies, and absence on military duties also affected the total of 1825, while that of c 1831 shows clear signs of major technical defects[25].

The defects of the official censuses therefore make a series of *padrones* carried out by the parish priests of Quito in 1797 all the more valuable at exactly mid-point between the major census-taking activity of c.1780, and the censuses of 1814 and 1825[26]. These *padrones* are exceptional for a number of reasons, and discussion of late-Colonial demographics will be centred on them. In allowing us to examine demographic change in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, they enable us to go beyond the general comparison of census data from a much earlier date with censuses carried out during or after the troubled Independence period which began in 1809. Consequently, it becomes possible to clarify the demographic consequences of the Independence wars, by having a clearer understanding of demographic trends in the late pre-Independence period. The church censuses are invaluable because, whatever their flaws, these defects are not identical to those of the secular *padrones*. One of the great handicaps of the official state censuses was the unwillingness of Indians (and others) to be included in a census, and subsequently find themselves liable to fiscal exactions. Virtually any form of census-taking probably involved evasion, but the church censuses were at least taken by parish priests who knew the district well, and whose census activity was not directly linked to tribute collection or a military levy. In this sense, they provide a valuable

independent perspective on the official censuses, not least because in this case there is no evidence that they were themselves re-used for any official census.[27] Lastly, the censuses are invaluable in providing house-to-house data. Although occupational data, race and age is either not given or highly incomplete we can begin to establish household size, male-female ratios, and family patterns, all key elements for the demographic structure of a society.

Unfortunately, for the purposes of this study, the *padrones* were not complete censuses; the purpose of the Church *padrón* was pastoral, and all names were marked as to whether the person had attended annual communion the previous year. Adults and older children who were capable of attending communion were listed but not apparently younger children (or *párbulos*). In the official censuses of around 1780, property-owners probably did not object to listing slaves, so the total of 588 slaves in the census total of 1781 was probably roughly accurate; in the church *padrones* of 1797 there were less than 200 blacks including only 33 slaves. Were slaves as "property" not worth declaring in a church census? Although it is possible that free blacks were not identified as such in the census it is extremely difficult to believe that slaves were being included with the general population. The Monastic Orders, who were numerous in Quito appeared in the official censuses of the 1780's, but would not appear in parish reports. As with all censuses there is evidence of evasion. The parish priest of San Sebastián complained that the heads of households were hiding people. It was unfortunately possible to locate only part of the Sagrario *padrón* and the total for that parish was provided by the kindness of Sr Jorge Moreno Egas[28]. Its total of 5,890 seems low compared with the totals of 7,943 and 9,430 in the (highly defective) censuses of 1825 and 1830, both of which otherwise gave an extremely low total for the city. Although it is possible that the Sagrario (along with Santa Bárbara



which was a form of extension of it) was becoming increasingly important demographically in relation to the other parishes (see below), it is probable that the Sagrario total of 1797 was an undercount, and that the size of the parish made it harder for the parish priests to enumerate the population. The fact that an earthquake hit Quito only a few months earlier cannot be ignored as a factor creating disruption, although there is no evidence that mortality in Quito was on the scale it had been in the central Highlands[29)

With these *caveats*, it is clear that the proportion of *párbulos*, those too young to be considered capable of participating in religious practice, is the essential calculation if we are to extract meaningful data from the *padrón*; and this depends clearly on the correlation of the data of the 1797 censuses with that of other sources. The full surviving census of the city closest in date to 1797 is that of c.1830, which is considered too far from the church *padrón* to provide an accurate point of comparison. Instead, two partial *padrones* have been used, that of Santa Bárbara in 1768, and that of San Marcos in 1791. The complete *padrón* of Santa Bárbara was checked against the partial ecclesiastical one of 1797, because separate investigation of its parish records provided a check on the data. The census of San Marcos appeared in the same group of documents as the 1797, but after close examination I have no doubt that it does not belong to the same series of *padrones*. It is dated March 30, 1791 while the other *padrones* were carried out in the month of July; it is completely different in character from the other *padrones*, identifying Mestizos as such and specifying *párbulos*, and appears to be a complete census, rather than a list of those eligible for communion. There is evidence that there was ecclesiastical census-taking activity in 1791 when the energetic Pérez de Calama was Bishop in Quito, and the *padrón* must have belonged to that series; on 18 June 1791, Calama wrote that he

had completed this official *visita* [30]. It is possible that the census of 1797 was not carried out for San Marcos, and that the 1791 census was updated instead; unlike the other parishes there is a supplementary communion list for 1799. Obviously, if this *padrón* was carried out six years earlier, we cannot technically consider the 1797 series to be complete, but in view of the margin of accuracy within which we have to calculate, comparing data between 1791 and 1797 does not provide a major additional distortion. Although the epidemics of the 1790's may have lowered the city's population between the two dates, the complete San Marcos census can still be used to construct an age pyramid to check against the 1797 series; epidemics preceded both dates by similar intervals.

It is possible that those classified as *párbulos* in the *padrón* of San Marcos were not identical as an age group to those excluded from the 1797 series, and *párbulo* may have been quite an elastic category. But since the proportion of young children in a society varies with family size, fertility, child mortality, and adult migration, it is appropriate to discuss in detail the missing *párbulos* of 1797- not only because of the interest of the census itself, but because posing the problem illuminates the whole demographic structure of late-Colonial Quito. The age pyramids compiled from complete censuses for districts in the Province of Tunja, New Granada in 1777-8, relate to a socially different society with a smaller Indian presence, but show the potential width of the age pyramid at its lower (i.e. younger) levels. In that area, 19.5% of the population was aged under 4, while 36.4% was aged under ten, and therefore probably already including children of the age at which they would attend communion [31]. The classification of *párbulos* may not have been a matter of scientific exactitude, but the *padrón* of San Marcos in 1791 suggests a much lower proportion of *párbulos* than in Tunja; only (14.7%) of the population of

San Marcos was recorded as *párbulo* at that date. Almost certainly this is too low; no *párbulos* were recorded on the *haciendas*, and it is questionable whether very young babies were included. Even allowing for these distortions, it is argued that the *padrón* of San Marcos is essentially accurate in suggesting a low proportion of young children.

This point is supported by the inter-related evidence on epidemics and family structure. The period of high fluctuating mortality of the 1780's and 1790's, which is demonstrated in Graph 5:2, was certainly felt most strongly in the youngest age groups who acquired less immunity to disease. The ratio of adult to child mortality was recorded during the 1785 epidemic in Quito[32]. During the months of September and October this ratio was 1: 1.7, (1,166 recorded child mortalities out of a total of 1,859). Even this total slightly underestimates the impact on child mortality in the subsidiary parishes, as the adult to child death ratio was inverted in the Sagrario. In part this confirms the distinctive character of the Sagrario as the place of residence of the creole élite in which the low proportion of child burials reflected both better child health and superior food consumption. It also reflected the demographic imbalance towards adults, created by the presence of a sizeable servant population, an imbalance documented by the reports of the parish priests of the Sagrario who reported [33] The change in the ratio was so extreme between the months of September and October, however, (112 adults died out of 136 in September, the total dropping to 53 out of 84 in October), that it is appropriate to recall the Sagrario was also the city of Quito, receiving many of the bodies left in the streets or outside houses; comparing the parish report of the Sagrario with the official letters sent by the President to the Viceroy suggests that the President may have simplified his data by including as adults at least one mass burial of these abandoned corpses[34]. Whether children received the same attention as

adults with regard to receiving a registered burial is a moot point, and may mean that an already high child mortality rate provides a minimum rather than a maximum estimate.

Epidemics created a demographic structure weighted towards the upper age groups. Cook has examined similar effects for early Colonial Peru which was ravaged by the epidemics which followed (and preceded) the Spanish conquest. In the Peruvian community of Acari in 1593, for example, only 14.21 % of the population were aged under 9, and the age pyramid bears fully the marks of epidemics[35]. How severe were the epidemics of the 1780's and 1790's in Quito? The estimations of parish priests which were summarised by Colonial officials give a clear picture of the epidemic of 1785 and can be correlated with the evidence of the parish records. The epidemic having begun in mid-August 1785, the President was already writing to the Viceroy on Sept. 18, 1785, that a third of the inhabitants of the city (8,000 people) were sick with measles[36] There were 1,859 burials in September and October, while the baptismal records of "Indians, Mulattoes and some Mestizos" shows clearly that these were the peak months of the epidemic (7 buried in July, 19 in August, 48 in September, 61 in October and 11 in November)[37]. Allowing for undercounting suggested by the picking up of bodies, and for some continuation of the epidemic outside the dates for which we have official totals, and it is reasonable to suggest that Quito lost around 10% of its population in the 1785 epidemic, on a total population of about 25,000.

Figure 5 : 1 ( recorded burials of Indians, Mulattoes and some Mestizos in the Sagrario), shows clearly that the epidemic of 1785 was only the high point of a period of high fluctuating mortality, in which other epidemics had an impact on almost the same scale. This may have been a consequence of another medium term climactic and agricultural cycle like 1690-1720 as we know that epidemics were closely inter-related with

agricultural shortages. If there was such a change, it was probably not localised to Quito. For other regions, we have evidence of excessive rain in 1784-5, 1803-4, and 1817-21, and for droughts in 1771-2, 1790-1, 1792-3, 1794-5, 1804-5, 1808-9, and 1809-10[38]. Droughts in particular were liable to cause food shortages, and bring epidemics in their wake, and these dates correlate fairly well with the epidemics recorded in Figure 5:1. The 1780's and 1790's were also a period in which the liberalising of trade regulations had unexamined consequences on the economy of the Audiencia, while trade patterns were also disrupted by the European wars in the 1790's. The problem of assessing the impact of *comercio libre* is subsumed into the general question of Bourbon fiscal reform, because it is obvious that the indices of increased *alcabala* and other tax revenue cannot be directly correlated with the level of economic activity at a time when the Crown was increasing fiscal pressure[39]. In this sense, the evidence of high fluctuating mortality in the 1780's and 1790's provides independent evidence of an intensifying of economic crisis towards the end of the eighteenth century, and one which is probably less subject to deformations than official fiscal data. In the south of the Audiencia, a similar change in mortality rates was found after the 1790's[40]. Local conditions of the interruption of the trade in Peruvian Bark (*cascarilla*) for quinine played a role, but the region was also linked to the rest of the Audiencia through overland mule traffic, and comparing the evidence from the south of the Audiencia with that from Quito suggests that much of the Highlands entered a period of high mortality rates in the 1780's and 1790's, probably as the combined result of the two factors identified here. The evidence on the central Highlands, for which we have the studies of R.D.F. Bromley, is compatible with this thesis, but other pressures - and notably the devastation of earthquakes- mean that the relative importance of these factors was diminished within a generalised demographic crisis.

If it is clear that the high mortality rates of the 1780's and 1790's had a selective impact on the population killing many more children than adults, there are other arguments for postulating low family size for the late-Colonial city. For family structure, the male-female ratio is particularly crucial. The male-female ratio was affected by a number of factors, notably urban domestic service, and male emigration but the phenomenon of tribute evasion probably exaggerated the imbalance in the late 1770's and 1780's, and the avoidance of conscription certainly did so in 1814 and 1825. The possibility of differential mortality rates has to be considered for the period of the Independence wars, but was potentially less important in the second half of the eighteenth century. Another factor, the exceptional role of the church in Quito society should not be neglected. Excluding ecclesiastics, the census data of 1781 the urban sex ratio was 75.8 (10,436 men against 13,774 women). If we believe the official censuses, these numbered over a thousand around 1780 in this mainly masculine vocation[41]. Few if any Colonial cities in Spanish America had a concentration of clergy and the religious orders on this scale. Mexico City had 1,134 ecclesiastics around 1790 but for a population several times larger, while Lima, also a much larger city, had 1,306[42]. Quito's total was equivalent to 4.4% of the total population, or 6.3% of the white population, and perhaps an ever higher proportion of the creole élite. According to the *oidor* Dr Don Gregorio Hurtado de Mendoca in 1765, the "extinction" of noble families and the growth of the Mestizo class could be attributed to the influence of the Church, and the absence of an alternative career structure[43]. In a sense, the figures cited above are far more eloquent of the place occupied by the church in Quito society than even those aspects (church architecture, extensive landholding) which have not escaped the attention of historians. If we include ecclesiastics in the general population the sex ratio changes to 81.0, although of course not all

to 81.0, although of course not all the clergy were from the city itself so the role of the Church in transforming Quito's demographic structure was somewhat less extreme than these figures suggest.

The official censuses show a number of defects with regard to the urban sex ratio in the capital, but their evidence may be examined even if we subsequently choose to ignore it. Table 5:1 presents the evidence of the official censuses, and the church census of 1797:

**Table 5: 1**  
**Sex ratio in Quito, 1781-1830 (Men per 100 women)**

	Urban	Barrios	Rural(5 Leagues)
1781	75.8	----	106.6
1797	53.3	55.8	----
1825	(97.5)	63.4	102.7
1830	(97.1)	67.0	84.8

Source: See the appendix to this chapter.

Note: This total excludes the clergy, who disappear as an independent category from the census of 1830. "Urban" means the six parishes of the city, i.e. excluding Santa Prisca, but this includes some semi-rural parts. The "barrios" means all parishes excluding the nuclear centre of the Sagrario. For the reasons given in the text, the sex ratio in the "barrios" is probably a better guide than the total urban population in 1825 and 1830. The 1797 total includes the 1791 census for San Marcos.

How far does table 5: 1 reflect the real sex composition of the city? It is probably best to take the most reliable data as a fixed point before attempting to interpret more questionable data. Comparison of the 1781 census with the Villalengua enumeration suggests that it provides an

essentially accurate picture of the rural Five Leagues of the city. Although its data for the city is somewhat less reliable, the broad pattern of a masculine dominated countryside, and a female dominated city is extremely clear. Latacunga, Ambato and Riobamba also had a higher proportion of women in the urban centres than in the countryside around 1780, but the pattern there was by no means as marked as in Quito[44]. Unlike those urban centres, Quito's immediate rural hinterland had a surplus of men, which suggests that at that date the rural district of Quito was not losing as many men through out-migration as the central Sierra, and that as a larger urban centre, Quito was absorbing a higher proportion of the female population of its rural hinterland for domestic service. The broad pattern of male countryside and female city is nicely illustrated at an individual level by the example, cited by Cushner, of the labourer Pascual who worked on the Jesuit estate of the Chillós in the early eighteenth century, while his wife lived in the city[45]. The scale of the imbalance around 1780 also documents the process of male Indian tribute evasion in the capital, the cultural dimension of which will be examined in the next chapter.

The *padrones* of the 1790's, however, suggest that domestic service and male tribute evasion were factors which cover more profound explanations for imbalance in the urban sex ratio. Table 5:1 records an increasing surplus of women over men in the 1797 series, compared with 1781. Can this be accounted for in terms of the incomplete character of the series? The fact that women attended communion far more than men may suggest that there was an inbuilt bias towards women in ecclesiastical head-counts, in the same sense that tribute lists sometimes maximised male figures by omitting elderly widows etc[46]. It is extremely difficult to believe that this was an important factor, not least because it was probably compensated by the men who had less to fear from



a church census, than a civil one. Although the census of 1797 did not include young children, this can only have had a minor impact on the sex ratio. At its lower levels a population pyramid tends to be relatively balanced between the sexes, and major imbalance only comes later, with differential mortality rates, migration patterns etc. [47]. The contrast between 1781 and 1797 appears considerable, but taken together the two censuses show conclusively that there was a major surplus of women over men in late-eighteenth century Quito, while it is also argued that the censuses are essentially accurate in suggesting that this difference was widening in the late eighteenth century. San Marcos presents few features in its social composition which suggest it was likely to be much out of line with the city as a whole; the ratio of 67.0 men to 100 women in 1791 may therefore be cautiously taken as a link between the higher ratio in 1781 and the lower one of six years later, suggesting also that much of the change was in the 1790's.

The high fluctuating mortality of the 1780's and the 1790's was noted above, and calculations for 1780 -1797 will suggest demographic decline between those two dates. A falling male: female ratio is entirely consistent with the hypothesis of absolute demographic decline. What is extremely striking in the 1797 censuses is that the sex ratio was uniform across the parishes, despite their range of social composition. Only San Sebastián came close to the ratio of San Marcos of six years earlier (at 66.9), but that may reflect its semi-rural characteristics. In the other parishes the rate was virtually uniform: 50.5 in the Sagrario, 46.1 in Santa Bárbara, 48.1 in San Roque, 53.2 in San Blas. The ratio in Sagrario and Santa Bárbara is easily explicable in terms of the domestic servant population, but these figures show clearly that domestic service is only a very partial explanation. The popular parish of San Roque was characterised by very small nucleated households in the 1797 series from

which we may deduce a low servant population, and yet it exhibited exactly the same characteristics as the other parishes. Two factors- male emigration and higher male mortality in wars and civil disorders- have been emphasized as possible explanations for the changes in the urban sex ratio in the central Sierra, 1780-1825[48]. The value of the 1797 censuses is that it allows to separate the importance of these two factors by showing clearly that this ratio was changing markedly *before* the wars of Independence.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Guayaquil began to receive both long-term and seasonal migration from the Highlands[49], and the Quito evidence suggests that the city's female surplus was considerably affected by male migration to the coast during the 1780's and 1790's. If, as the demographic evidence suggests, the effects of economic depression were being particularly felt in the *corregimiento* of Quito at the end of the eighteenth century, migration could have been the parallel process of males to the coast, and some females from the rural district to the capital. The changing sex ratio in Table 5: 1 is compatible with this hypothesis; some female immigration would also have softened the impact of male migration on the total of the urban population, although that impact remained considerable. Unfortunately we do not have data for the rural district in 1797, so it is difficult to say whether urban society was worse affected than rural districts. The relative stability of the rural population in the official censuses between 1780 and 1830 certainly suggests that this was the case, and that those involved in the urban monetary economy were less able to ride out economic difficulties than those involved in agricultural production. This interpretation would certainly shift the emphasis onto the overall difficulties of the region's economy rather than a medium-term climatic cycle, but the two interpretations are not incompatible.

The censuses of 1825 and 1830 cannot be considered reliable for the urban sex ratio. An official commented on the 1825 census that many were absent on their duties, while others fled to avoid conscription[50] In all logic, this should have meant a lower male: female ratio, and yet this actually rose compared with the eighteenth century censuses. All this rise was concentrated in the Sagrario where men outnumbered women in the two censuses. Whether this was the consequence of temporary barracking of soldiers, fewer domestic servants, or simply the highly incomplete nature of the census is difficult to say; the character of the 1825 and 1830 censuses in establishing military quotas, and drawing up lists of males should certainly not be overlooked[51]. As, in particular, the census of 1825 only established a population of 13,374, there is a clear argument for ignoring it as totally defective. On the other hand, we have two independent censuses for dates which are relatively close together, and which do not appear to have been copied from each other; I also believe that a very low population estimate for early nineteenth century Quito has to be seriously considered despite the evidence of evasion and fraud. If we discount the estimate for the Sagrario, and analyse the 1825 and 1830 censuses for other parishes (see Table 5: 1), the pattern is far clearer, and can be related to the evidence for the late eighteenth century. The urban-rural contrast in the sex ratio was sustained, but the changing ratio 1825-30 may suggest that men had left the city during the Independence period (to avoid conscription etc), but were returning by 1830. Although the male: female ratio was lower than in 1781, it was apparently higher than in 1797. The exact figures may be disputed, but there can be little doubt that the surplus of women over men in the *barrios* in 1825/1830 was, if anything, an exaggeration due to male evasion.

For the period c.1780-c.1830 as a whole, and sifting the solid evidence from the unreliable, it is clear that the proportion of men in the city of Quito was falling, while its rural district retained a higher ratio of men to women. What is equally clear is that this process antedates the effects of the wars of Independence and is primarily due to other factors. The relative demographic stability of the rural district certainly suggests that the effects of war were felt more in the cities than in the countryside, but the war was more the agent of disruption and temporary evasion than the cause of high male mortality rates; it may have reinforced but it did not initiate more deep-rooted patterns of migration. The proportion of married women to married men dropped between 1781 and 1825, which suggests the presence of some war widows, but this change was slight; in 1825, there was still a ratio of 95.5 married men to 100 married women in the city and natural longevity may explain part of the difference. Although changes in the sex ratio can be documented, it is possible that the demographic preponderance of women formed a permanent feature of eighteenth and nineteenth century Quito. It was, at any rate, sufficiently clear to be noted by observers prior and subsequent to the periods for which census data was examined. The Spanish observers Juan and Ulloa already noted this imbalance in the 1740's:

It may be noted that in that country (describing the city of Quito) the feminine sex is more abundant than the masculine; and this stands out all the more because there is not the movement or absence of men which is common in those of Europe. It is customary to see families full of women and rarely men; in the same way, it is in the nature of men raised at ease that they are normally unhealthy from 30 onwards, while the women maintain more health and vigour. Perhaps the climate contributes, and food may also be a factor, but I attribute the principal reason to the excess of abandoning themselves from a very early age to sensuality; so that the vigour of their stomachs declining in vigour, they do not have strength for their digestion, and many of them bring up their food half an hour or an hour after eating it...[52].

Nineteenth century observers of Quito made similar observations[53].

Although influenced by a number of different factors- domestic service, differential mortality, church influence, some migration - Quito's demographic structure struck contemporary observers as essentially homogeneous, as though the sex ratio was naturally tilted towards women by a law of nature. We do not of course have to follow Juan and Ulloa in their emphasis on differential mortality rates, but it is certainly a warning against placing exclusive emphasis on any other one factor. If Juan and Ulloa were referring mainly to the élite, the church may have played a role in sifting off men into the Religious Orders and the Clergy. At lower levels, it would be unwise to follow Juan and Ulloa too rapidly in denying the role of migration even as early as the 1740's. The symbiotic relationship of city and country mean that short-term and seasonal movement certainly took place on a scale which the static nature of the censuses, as a series of still-photos, cannot catch. We have already noted Cushner's early eighteenth century labourer Pascual, who worked on the Jesuit estate of the Chillós, while his wife lived in Quito[54]. At an individual level, the complementarity of urban and rural labour requirements could not be more nicely illustrated. The inverse correlation of changes in urban and rural sex ratios in the censuses of Quito and its Five Leagues underlines the demographic interdependence of city and countryside, the city continually absorbing and "rejecting" its rural population. On the evidence of Quito we should add gender to the familiar demographic contrast between the white Spanish Colonial city and the Indian countryside.

Some of the social consequences of the male : female ratio will be stressed later; the consequences for family structure may be noted here. Tyrer summarising the partial Indian censuses of 1733, noted that many Indian men were delaying marriage until they were in the 25-29 age group, and having children in their thirties; "Thus, in the most active years of an

Indian male's life, he was very often childless"[55]. In strict logic, Tyrer's own objection to this argument- that we do not know the age at which Indian women married- is not merely a minor reservation, but sufficient to deprive the argument of its validity. In turn-of-the-century rural Ireland -as depicted by the playwright Synge, and confirmed by the demographers- men stayed unmarried until their late thirties or early forties, and then married women half their own age; the only impediments to demographic growth in these circumstances would be economic rather than biological. It is quite possible but by no means sure that urban women- whether Indian or white- married late. Unfortunately, the marriage registers consulted (those of the Sagrario, Quito) did not give age at marriage. Few censuses give age and sex before the mid-nineteenth century, but one of the exceptions- that for the town of Riobamba in 1836- suggested that Indian women married about three years younger than white women, and both Indian and white women in the towns married about four years younger than in the countryside. Nevertheless, it was also found that fewer women married in the city than in the countryside than in the city[56].

As Quito had a high proportion of unmarried women it is reasonable to hypothesize a low rate of marriages for the city. According to the 1781 census- later compilations show wild fluctuations- 2,007 out of 3,495 women were single and fractionally over 6,000 out of 9,523 white women. The high proportion of unmarried domestic servants in the Sagrario was clearly demonstrated by the mortality rates in the 1785 epidemic (see Table 5.5). High illegitimacy rates were one consequence of this imbalance, on the soundings taken for the eighteenth century city. In Santa Bárbara in 1760, the Baptismal register (of "Españoles") revealed that only 50.9% were legitimate, although only 28.5% were illegitimate, the difference being made up of abandoned children, *hijos expósitos*, a category which will receive more attention in the next chapter. Low family size is clear

from the census of the same parish in 1768. 78.9 % of both Indian and non-élite households had four members or less, while as many as 32.9% of Indian households appear to have had only two members. Only élite households- those with members titled "Don"- had larger numbers (Table 5.6). Whatever age at marriage was, the high child mortality discussed above also contributed to low family size.

Low family size, and high child mortality suggest an age pyramid strongly weighted towards the upper age groups, and it is therefore possible to return to the Church census of 1797, with the probability that its listing of adults and older children capable of communion represents a large majority of the urban population. The defects of the 1797 census were discussed above, and require little amplification. It is nevertheless believed that by correlating its evidence with independent variables, it is possible to establish a reasonable estimate of the population of the city at that date. Two methods were used, as a means of reducing dependence on any single source; neither method can provide extreme accuracy, but together they allow us to place the city within a plausible population range. Evasion means that all estimates are considered minimum ones :

Method 1: The *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768 means that we have two *padrones* of the parish at an interval of thirty years, and it is therefore possible to compare the full census of 1768 with the incomplete one of 1797. The record of white baptisms suggests that Santa Bárbara's white and Mestizo population underwent modest growth from the 1720's onwards. Although the baptismal records of the Indian population have not survived, it is probable from a comparison of the two *padrones* that the process of "whitening" which had characterised the early eighteenth century continued during the second half of the century. Some decline in the Indian population therefore probably partially offset the modest expansion of the white population. The stability in the number of extended

households between the two censuses (182 as against 188 in 1797) also suggests that the parish was relatively stable. The 1797 census shows a fall of 28.0% from 2,757 in 1768 to 1,984 in 1797; an equivalent ratio will be hypothesized for the other parishes, but it may be considered high rather than an underestimation. Although Santa Bárbara may have grown slightly between the two dates, its character as a demographically stable élite parish meant that the proportion of *párbulos* was probably somewhat higher than in other parishes (i.e. that fewer children had been killed in epidemics). Applying a similar ratio to all the other parishes except San Marcos increases their combined 1797 total from 11,170 to 15,329. Although the population of San Marcos may have declined 1791-7, its 1791 total of 1,405 would bring the 1797 estimate to 16,733.

Method 2: The complete *padrón* of San Marcos in 1791 lists 206 *párbulos* out of 1,405, i.e. a proportion of 14.7 %. Although this appears low, epidemics and high child mortality preceded the *padrón* of 1791- as well as that of 1797. As was noted above, *párbulo* must have been a fairly elastic category, but a comparable age pyramid for 1797 would give a total population of 15,137, again using the 1791 San Marcos *padrón* to complete the data.

In order to make the ecclesiastical census comparable to that of 1781, we should add 1,500 to include the slaves and many ecclesiastics who were excluded, bringing the total population of the city to 16,637-18,233 for 1797. This is not the "real" population of the city at that date, but no census in Ecuador has ever given the real population. As recently as 1982, during the most recent census, when I was in Quito, there were reports of villages where the enumerators had met physical resistance while some streets and even parishes of cities as important as Guayaquil and Quito went apparently uncouned. The remarkably exact totals which Colonial officials arrived at were often the product of quite arbitrary



manipulation of the figures, and where data was inadequate, they did not resort to the practice of rounded approximations; in 1825, the compiler noted evasion, and suggested that the total for the Province of Pichincha should be raised by a third, i.e. by exactly 44,387[57]. The value of the house- to- house data when it survives, is that it demonstrates the existence of genuine census-taking activity i.e. reliance has not been placed on parish records, previous compilations etc. The estimate that the population of the city of Quito was rather under 20,000 in 1797 is probably as close as we can get to an accurate summary of the church *padrones*, no matter how refined the demographic techniques we apply. Even this cautious total reveals a major change from the total of around 25,000 in the official series of *padrones* which have hithertoe been cited for c.1780. The difference is particularly striking as it would be normal to expect more rather than less evasion in a civil census i.e. a logical reading of the official c.1780 census pushes its total upto at least 27-28,000. Relating the official census for Quito to the independent Villalengua enumeration, and to the 1797 census certainly suggests a re-evaluation of the official series, but the essential point should not be lost in a welter of source-criticism: what is abundantly clear is that the city was in clear demographic decline c.1780-1797.

Evidence from four areas confirms this decline:

- i) The changing sex ratio 1781-1797 confirms the hypothesis of demographic decline, as an increase in the surplus of women over men is consistent with the phenomenum of mainly male migration from the city (see above).
- ii) The mid- 1780's and 1790's were a period of high fluctuating mortality and epidemic impact (see above and Figure 5:2).
- iii) The Baptismal records of the Sagrario suggest slight decline, while those of Santa Bárbara show modest white growth although Indian decline

may have offset this. Both these parishes represent the wealthier social strata; the evidence of San Blas suggests that the popular sectors were relatively more affected. In that parish, both Indian and white baptisms were in decline, but the decline in Indian baptisms was more pronounced. Annual Indian baptisms were the following in San Blas:

1790-45	1791-42	1792-40	1793-38	1794-54
1795-42				
1796-31	1797-20	1798-27.		

The low total in 1797 certainly suggests that the earthquake of that year may have been a marginal factor, but decline clearly precedes it. The tributary data (see below) confirms the parish records with regard to the decline of the Indian population.

iv) The rise in Indian tributaries 1779-81 is almost certainly more the result of more efficient tribute collection rather than demographic change. Thereafter the number declines notably after the 1780's, the 1785 epidemic emerging as a watershed.

Possible explanations for Quito's population decline were suggested above. From the evidence of Quito and its Five Leagues, it certainly looks as though the rural district of the capital weathered the period after the mid 1780's, better than the capital itself. Quito can therefore be said to have participated in the process of urban recession which characterised much of Spanish America at this period, and which has been documented for some parts of the Audiencia[58]. The wars of Independence have generally been taken as a major factor in the demographic history of the Audiencia, and in its most extreme form one (otherwise valuable) recent synthesis of the period 1759-1859 argued that the population of the Sierra rose from 405,000 to 515,100, 1780-1810, only to plummet to 392,160 by 1825[59]. The evidence from Quito does not support this argument, and in an article on Loja, I found that that region's growth was little affected by

the wars of Independence, whether directly, or indirectly through acting as a region of refuge. Although the evidence for the impact of the wars of Independence is probably best examined on a regional basis, the evidence from both Quito and the south of the Audiencia certainly suggests that their role has tended to be exaggerated.

The totals of 20,627 in 1814, 13,374 in 1825 and 17,164 in 1830 have to be used with care, but although undoubtedly too low as a result of evasion and/or war disruption, they do not have to be taken as totally "freak" totals in view of the evidence for decline and low population totals in the late eighteenth century. Far from suggesting a population decline as a result of the disturbances of 1809, the 1814 total suggests slight recovery after 1797. Undoubtedly there was disruption during the Independence wars, but if we allow for considerable known undercounting in the census of 1825, and compare the results with the previous censuses of 1797 and 1814, the results are perhaps less dramatic than if only the total of 1780 is used as a datum line. The city did not return to its late eighteenth century level until the mid-nineteenth century; the 1840 census gave a population of around 20,000, rising to 52,000 in 1906[60].

### iii) An overview of Quito's demographic evolution, 1690-1830

An attempt will be made here both to synthesize the evidence examined above, and inter-relate it to those themes in Quito's demographic evolution which are central to the rest of this study.

a)The chronology of crisis Medium-term cycles of intensified demographic crisis were noted above from the 1690's to the 1720's and after the 1780's, along with possible shorter-term downturns such as in the mid-1740's and mid- 1760's. The importance of the censuses of 1797 is that they allow us to separate the differential impact of the Wars of Independence and other factors, and show clearly that a changing male-female ratio and absolute demographic decline were already marked in the 1780's and 1790's. The trends which R.D.F. Bromley identified for the central Sierra 1780-1814-1825 can already be found 1780-1797 in Quito which suggests that the impact of catastrophes (earthquakes, wars) to which she ascribes a major role, essentially reinforced underlying trends throughout the central and -at least part of- the northern Highlands. By 1814 there was some demographic recovery, followed by a downturn as a result of disruption (avoidance of conscription etc.), -but probably not very high mortality rates - as a result of the Wars of Independence. Although the epidemic of 1785 was not in itself as catastrophic in impact as that of the 1690's, it seems to have marked a watershed in a period of high mortality, epidemic impact, possible climatic changes, fiscal pressure and economic decline. With regard to population totals, the parish evidence suggests much lower estimates than those often cited for the city (see Table 5:2). Even c1780, the total of around 25,000 which an intelligent reading would assume was an under-estimate in view of evasion has to be set against the alternative total of 21,960 which a parallel census uncovered. In this light, it is probably wrong to assume that the population was greatly undercounted in the official census of c1780, not least as the Church census of 1797, although coming after a period of demographic

decline, confirms that low population totals characterised the late-Colonial city.

b) Ruralisation and migration Table 5:3 shows clearly the demographic stability of the rural district of the capital 1780-1830. Given that the total of 1814 for Cumbayá is missing, the differences between the censuses are very small indeed, in a period when the totals for the capital underline a process of urban recession. In one sense, this is surprising at a time when the rural textile industry was probably unable to absorb urban migrants, and officials claimed that rural farms were actually cutting down on labour requirements (see for example, the report of Carondelet cited in note 39). In the region of Quito neither the positive pull of the countryside, nor the impact of catastrophes are entirely sufficient to explain the ruralisation of the district, and it is probably better to stress the parasitic nature of the urban centre, whose expansion, monetary circulation, and commercial role for the neighbouring region were all dependent on the vitality of the regional economy. Mobility as a response to economic and other pressures emerges clearly from the documentation. This was both permanent and seasonal, with the beginnings of migration to the coast, and with continual movement between the capital and the city's rural district. This demographic inter-dependence is suggested by the differing ratios of urban and rural population in Table 5:4 (B) which suggest that classification of place of residence may not have been altogether automatic, a factor which may help to explain some of the differences of the censuses.

c) The urban centre and the barrios Periods of urban decline appear to have been above all those of the decline of the more popular *barrios*. Figure 5:1 and the data cited above suggest that San Blas was undergoing a major decline at the end of the eighteenth century, and one which San Roque had already undergone at an earlier date. In Chapter 2 iii) I signalled

a note of caution at the contemporary judgement in the 1720's that the people of the *barrios* were moving to the centre of the city. In periods of crisis, the Sagrario -or Santa Bárbara as it became a more élite parish- followed the same trends as the other parishes only in a less extreme form. Their growth was not absolute but relative.

For the demographic structure of the parishes, I have drawn up Table 5:8 for the purposes of stressing the popular character of San Roque and San Sebastián. For San Blas, there is an independent census of a later date in the section "Empadronamientos" of the ANH/Q (26, Doc :1826, San Blas) which confirms its popular character, while the Sagrario's élite character is clear from its parish records. The difference in "typical" household size between the popular and the socially mixed parishes was greater than these figures suggest, as I have not attempted to correct the totals to eliminate a small number of units which exaggerated the figures for the popular parishes, whereas Santa Bárbara had a small popular district which brought its average down (see above, Chap 4). Table 5.6 and Table 5.8 are not comparable. The *padrón* of Santa Bárbara allows us to separate nucleated households within extended houses, which is not always possible in the *padrón* of 1797; in 1797 the term "household" is used for the units which begin "Casa de X", and may be clusters of nucleated households. What is clear from a close reading of the *padrones* is that the houses in the popular parishes - but especially San Roque- did not include the great houses which Caldas likened to villages, with a multiplicity of families in them (See Chapter 1). The houses in these districts were small popular households, and the socially mixed households with an élite presence were virtually absent. Whereas in Santa Bárbara and San Marcos, these were virtually the norm (70.4% and 77.8% respectively), in San Roque and San Sebastián, they were virtually absent ( at 8.8% and 9.3%). This demographic evidence should certainly be taken alongside the social characteristics of the parishes examined in Chapter 1, when we turn to examine social unrest

in Chapter 7.

d) Demographic imbalance and sex differentiation: the role of women

The main points about the male-female ratio were stressed above, but it is appropriate to relate them to the evidence for feminine economic activity noted in Chapter 4, which emphasized the central role of women in the small-scale market economy. The evidence clearly shows that the female predominance in the city was only partly due to the domestic servant population, being related in addition to the other factors outlined above. The changing male: female ratio was reflected in changing patterns of property ownership. In 1768, 41.3% of houses appear to have been owned by women in the parish of Santa Bárbara, a proportion which had risen to 58.2% in the parish by the time of the 1831 census. The documentation assembled by S. Moreno Yánez in his study of *Sublevaciones Indígenas* includes frequent references to the role of women in riots and it is certainly worth reconsidering that participation in the light of the economic and demographic evidence cited here. When we find the women of Baños, for example, resisting fiscal reform, this must owe much to the centrality of women in the household economy, but also to their small-scale market activity. In societies where migration meant that men were often absent, whether permanently or seasonally, the demographic preponderance of women must have been translated into a distinctive socio-economic position of which the documentation can only provide hints.

e) Ethnic Change Figure 5: 1 poses a number of problems with regard to ethnic change, notably the width of the category of "Indians, Mestizos and Mulattoes" in the baptismal records of the Sagrario. In this respect, the figures for San Blas and Santa Bárbara are initially more revealing, showing the great fall in the Indian population of the city during the

eighteenth century. The low proportion of the urban population which was Indian around 1780 confirms this process (see Tables 5:4 (A) and 5:4 (B)), as well as emphasizing the urban-rural contrast in demographic structure, the rural district being overwhelmingly Indian. Figure 5:3 shows that the urban Indian population was falling at a faster rate than that of the rural areas. The reasons for this change in the ethnic composition of the city are suggested by the evidence cited above, in Chapter 2 ii and 2 iii, and in Chapter 6: selective epidemic impact, the decline of the urban economy, and ethnic transformation. With regard to the more contradictory evidence of the Sagrario, I believe it monitors two independent processes, a) the absolute decline of the urban Indian population and b) the growing selectiveness of the category "white" which meant that the Mestizos and poor whites were progressively pushed out of the baptismal register which became increasingly reserved for the white élite. Upto about the 1730's, Figure 5:1 shows a major fall in the Indian population; thereafter I believe this process, which may have slowed down around that date, was being hidden by this independent factor. Some confirmation of this is clear from the social exclusiveness apparent in J. Moreno's recent transcription of white early nineteenth century baptisms, which appeared too late to be used here (J. Moreno Egas, *Vecinos de la Catedral de Quito bautizados entre 1801 y 1831*, Quito, 1984). One of the most interesting features of Figure 5: 1 is that this trend towards social exclusiveness was temporarily reversed between 1770-2 and 1780-2. One possible explanation is suggested by the evidence of the next chapter: in the cool fiscal climate of the 1770's, it was absolutely essential for poor whites and Mestizos to have their children baptised in the book reserved for Spaniards if they were to avoid the risk of being pushed into the category of Indian tributaries by zealous officials.



FIGURE 5:1. ANNUAL BAPTISMS IN THREE QUITO PARISHES: SAGRARIO, SANTA BARBARA, SAN BLAS. 1670-1797.

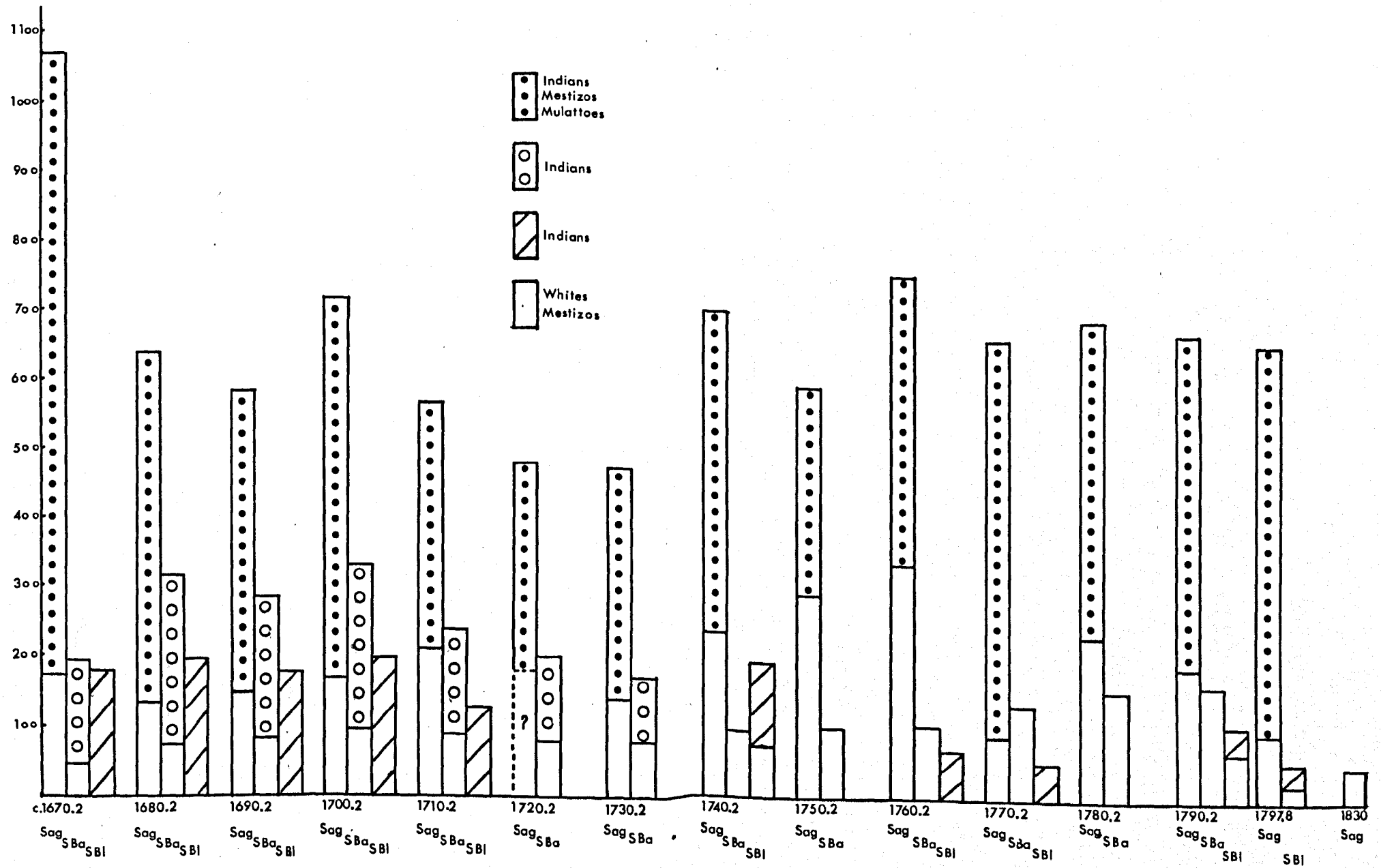


FIGURE 5;2. RECORDED BURIALS OF INDIANS, MESTIZOS, MULATTOES: THE SAGRARIO, QUITO. 1690-1800.

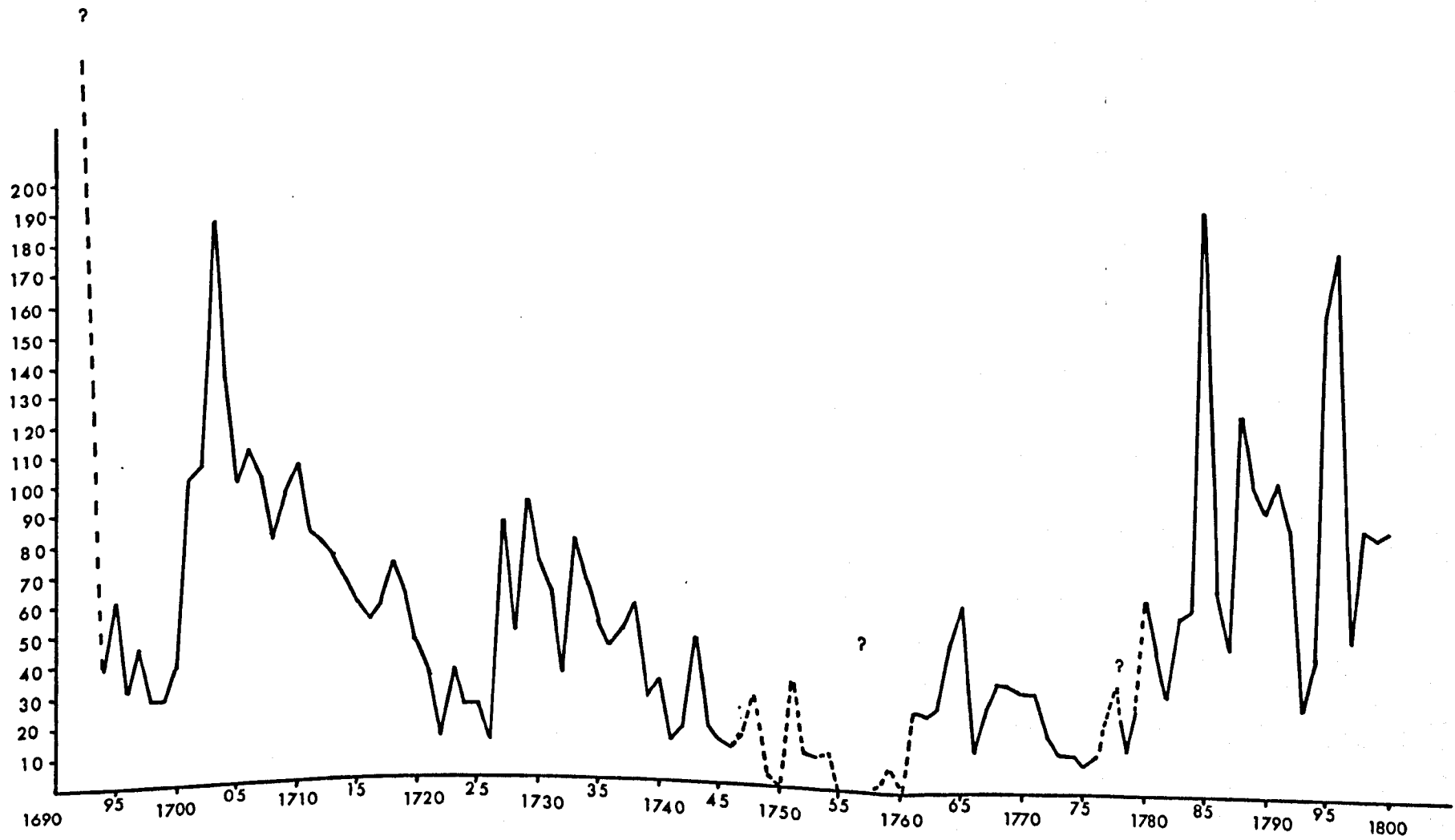
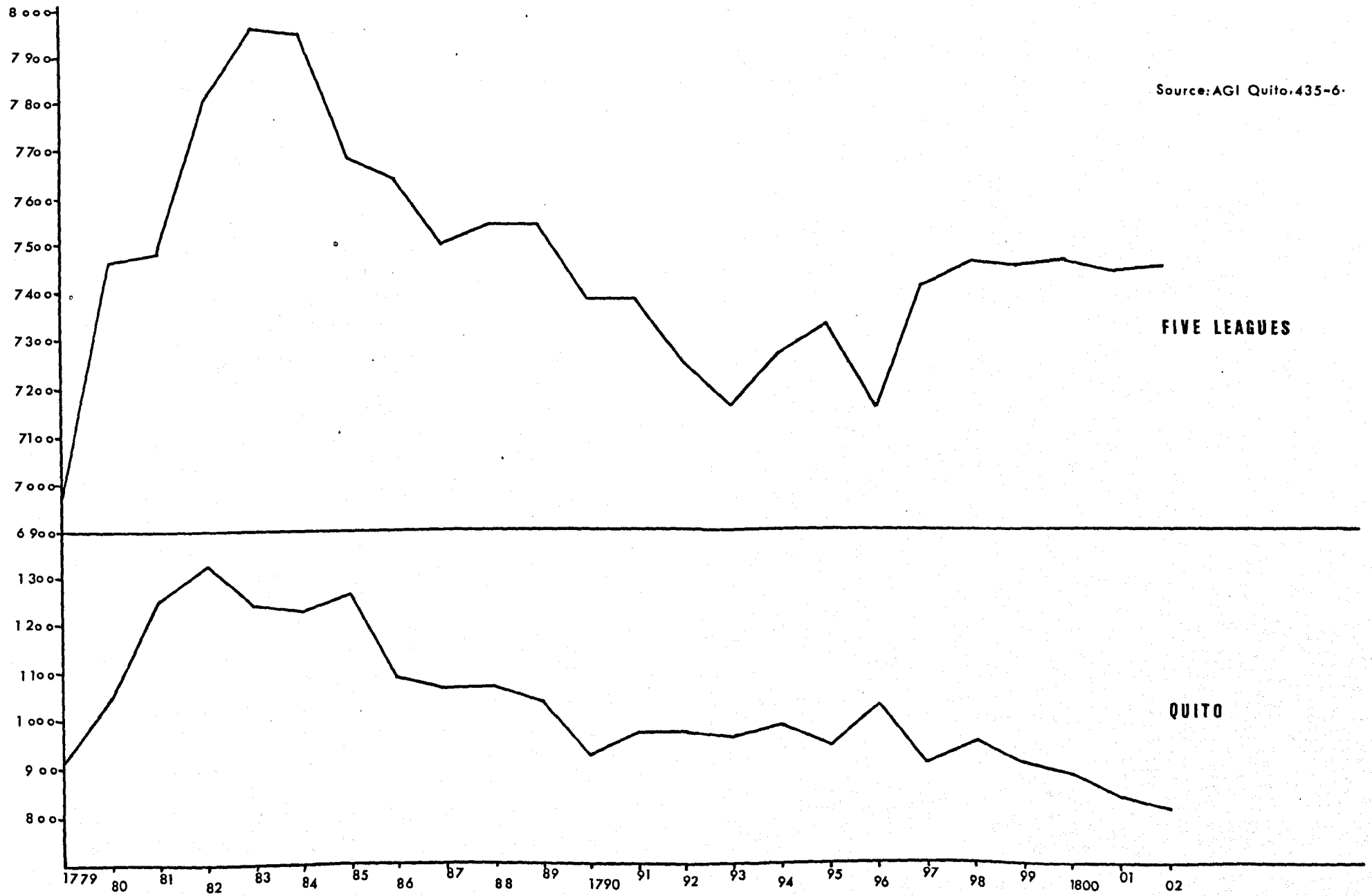


FIGURE 5:3. INDIAN TRIBUTARIES OF QUITO AND THE FIVE LEAGUES, 1779-1802.



**Appendix to Chapter 5: census data**

- 1765** ANB Colonia, Aguardientes del Ecuador, Tomo II, f 436-459, census of the very small Peninsular Spanish population at the time of their temporary expulsion.
- 1768** "Padrón de Santa Bárbara en 1768", *Museo Histórico* (Quito), 56, (1978): 93-122. This census of the single parish of Santa Bárbara is from the AM/Q, but it is not known whether similar censuses exist for other parishes at the same date.
- c. 1780** A) The "Villalengua enumeration" carried out in the late 1770's, and preserved in AGI Quito 381, under a summary made in 1783. Essentially a tribute document, but also included figures for the overall population.
- B) The independent series of imperial censuses, for which there are multiple copies in Seville, Bogotá and Quito (c.f. also, e.g. B.M. Eg. 1809, f 45). The 1780 summary cited by M. Hamerly "La demografía", p. 210 is in the section of the ANH/Q now called Empadronamientos. The 1781 summary which has been extensively cited here was taken from the ANB Hacienda Real, varios no. 2893, a single volume entitled "Censos del Ecuador": "Ciudad de San Francisco del Quito y su corregimiento. Padrón hecho en el año de 1781..." The same volume includes later summaries. The apparent disappearance of census data on Quito from this archive was noted in the introduction. For a summary of 1782, AGI Quito 242; for one of 1783, c.f. AGI Quito 378A; for one of 1784, "Censos del Ecuador", doc. cit.; for one of 1785, AGI Quito 243. In general, the census summaries have not been extensively used for comparative purposes, except to provide a base-line, c 1780 (in conjunction with the c1780 source A mentioned above): the copies of 1783 onwards appear to have numerous insuperable defects. (Between 1781 and 1783, there is an inexplicable drop in the number of Indian *solteras* from 2,007 to 308. In 1784, the total for the Five Leagues is clearly erroneous, being over 87,000 etc.)
- 1797** Church *padrones* of 1797 of those capable of attending communion, i.e. excluding young children. These documents come from the unclassified AMC/Q lying in a box marked "Visita Pastoral- Ilmo Pérez de Calama (1790)", with the exception of the Sagrario, part of which was in one of the early boxes marked "Capellanías". Data on this parish was kindly

supplied by Sr J. Moreno Egas, and I am equally indebted to Mnsr. Cadena for locating the censuses for me. The census for San Marcos is from 1791 and is complete.

- 1814** ANB Miscelánea de la República, Tomo 123 (i): f 191. This is a compilation made in 1825 which in the case of Loja turned out to be a mixture of data from previous periods including data of 1789, (itself not an original census), c.f. M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica". For Quito the data is explicitly from 1814, although the official who compiled the total noted that much of the population had hidden and argued that the total of 20,627 in 1814 was too low as it almost certainly was. He supplied a total of 65,133 from the data of 1785 (i.e. confusing the city with the *corregimiento*).
- 1825** ANB Miscelánea de la República, Tomo 123 (i): f 188. The census of 1825 carries the following annotation: "se sabe positivamente que es mayor la poblacion de la Provincia de Pichincha, y que... no no ha sido posible evitar la ocultación de muchas personas que han creido ser esta una operacion que les perjudica; de modo que teniendo en consideración esta circunstancia, y la de hallarse ausentes provisionalmente por sus diligencias o por el temor de las levas debe fijamente aumentarse al censo de la Provincia un tercio mas de poblacion..."
- c 1830/1** AM/Q, "Padrón de población ... de Quito y Latacunga y Ambato", vol 64.
- 1840** M. Hamerly, "La demografía", p. 210.

Note: this list does not include Indian tribute lists.

Table 5:2

## The population of the city of Quito, 1670-1830

Date	Census	Estimate
1670-80	---	40,000>
1740's	---	c30,000
1765	---	c30,000
c1780 (late 1770's)	21,960	25,000>
c1780 (1781)	25,325	25,000>
1797	(16,637>- 18,233>)	<20,000
1814	20,627	22,000
1825	13,374	<20,000
c1830/1	17,164	<20,000
1840	20,035	---

Sources The censuses are listed in the appendix above. The lower estimate for c 1780 is from the Villalengua enumeration. For the earlier dates, the estimations are necessarily more speculative, but for population trends see Figure 5:1. For around 1680, Munive's estimate of 30,000 Indians in the capital (or nearby areas?) may not be accurate, but suggests a much higher population than we find in the early eighteenth century (AGI Quito 69, Carta de Munive, 30 July, 1681, f 332). For the 1740's, Juan and Ulloa's estimate of around 60,000 can probably be used as a guide to the relative size of the city (see Chapter 5 above), and therefore halved in line with the evidence for other regions, and with the baptismal evidence of Figure 5:1. Estimates have been given for all censuses except 1840, as I have no knowledge of the circumstances in which it was carried out; in general, Republican censuses have probably an even worse reputation than Colonial ones.

**Table 5: 3**  
**Quito and the Five Leagues: minimum population estimates**  
**provided by official census data, 1781-1830**

	<b>1781</b>	<b>1814</b>	<b>1825</b>	<b>c1830</b>
Quito/6 parishes	25,325	(20,627>)	(13,374>)	(17,162>)
Santa Prisca	1,611	973	1,000	961
Magdalena	943	1,397	743	1,015
Chillogallo	2,023	2,583	2,559	2,185
Chimbacalle	614	815	935	918
Aloag	1,051	1,086	1,031	805
Aloasi	1,076	1,112	994	1,048
Machachi	2,041	2,721	2,535	3,336
Amaguaña	2,341	1,454	2,605	2,419
Uyumbicho	1,185	1,449	1,218	1,956
Sangolquí	4,536	3,178	4,076	3,342
Pintag	2,270	2,082	2,024	2,589
Alangasi	1,221	1,471	1,114	1,106
Conocoto	2,025	1,710	1,782	1,309
Guápulo	343	196	461	186
Cumbayá	616	----	728	530
Tumbaco	2,090	1,524	2,118	1,679
Puembo	1,195	1,295	934	1,625
Yaruquí	1,713	1,788	1,849	1,936
Quinche	1,638	1,418	1,659	1,596
Guayallabamba	832	1,690	818	1,061
Cotacollao	1,907	1,750	1,625	2,222
San Antonio	559	739	796	645
Perucho	877	878	1,885	2,062
Calacalí	998	1,554	1,403	1,084
Zámbiza	2,923	2,353	2,547	4,297
Nanegal	255	----	111	87
Gualea	256	----	169	----
Mindo	229	----	----	140
Cansacoto	273	---	---	---
<b>Total Five Leagues</b>	<b>40,495</b>	<b>38,472&gt;</b>	<b>40,876</b>	<b>43,432</b>
<b>Quito/ 5 Leagues</b>	<b>65,820</b>	<b>59,099</b>	<b>54,250</b>	<b>60,594</b>

Source: See the appendix above.

**Table 5: 4 (A)**  
**Ethnic Classification of the population of Quito and the Five Leagues, 1781**

	A) Ecclesiastics		B) White men		C) White women		D) Indian men		E) Indian women		F) Blacks		G) Total	
	A)	B)	C)	D)	E)	F)	G)							
Quito/6 p.	1,112	7,129	9,526	2,615	3,495	1448	25,325							
Santa Prisca	1	24	27	743	812	4	1,611							
Magdalena	1	16	14	449	454	9	943							
Chillogallo	2	55	66	1142	752	6	2,023							
Chimbacalle	2	10	7	394	196	5	614							
Aloag	2	57	45	409	530	8	1,051							
Aloasí	1	41	35	562	435	2	1,076							
Machachi	2	84	73	974	894	14	2,041							
Amaguaña	1	44	54	1,115	1,121	6	2,341							
Uyumbicho	2	49	48	531	550	5	1,185							
Sangolquí	2	68	78	2,684	1,698	6	4,536							
Pintag	2	62	59	1,054	1,091	2	2,270							
Alangasí	2	18	21	577	595	8	1,221							
Conocoto	2	40	47	1,160	771	5	2,025							
Guápulo	3	9	14	151	166	----	343							
Cumbaya	2	25	24	335	230	----	616							
Tumbaco	1	77	109	799	1,104	----	2,090							
Puembo	1	84	62	508	535	5	1,195							
Yaruqui	1	61	81	785	781	4	1,713							
Quinche	3	84	128	540	873	10	1,638							
Guayallab.	3	60	162	287	310	10	832							
Cotocollao	2	56	65	890	889	5	1,907							
S. Antonio	2	10	34	286	225	2	559							
Perucho	1	65	75	392	341	3	877							
Pomasque	21	50	85	364	329	5	854							
Calacalí	2	76	60	460	400	----	998							
Zámbiza	1	53	36	1,391	1,436	6	2,923							
Nanegal	2	12	10	113	116	2	255							
Gualea	2	13	14	109	118	----	256							
Mindo	2	7	8	102	107	3	229							
Cansacoto	2	7	5	115	144	----	273							
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,185</b>	<b>8,446</b>	<b>11,072</b>	<b>22,036</b>	<b>21,498</b>	<b>1,583</b>	<b>65,820</b>							



Source to Table 5:4 (A): see the appendix above.

Note to Table 5:4 (A). The total is slightly corrected for the district. A total of 65,933 is given, the main difference being that that 296 *libres casados* and 221 *libres solteros* was calculated to be a total of 617 instead of 517. (There are also ten too many female slaves). In Chillogallo, there were only 82 girls and single women compared with 670 married women, so this may be a mistake; did Chillogallo's proximity to the capital mean that young Indian women were working there as servants?

**Table 5:4 (B)**  
**Ethnic Classification in Quito and the Five Leagues, c1780**  
**(percentages)**

	Source A		Source B	
	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian
City (Six parishes)	30.1	69.9	24.1	75.9
Five Leagues	79.5	21.5	92.4	7.6

Source A) is the "Villalengua enumeration" cited in the appendix; Source B) is the census summary of 1781.

**Table 5: 5**  
**Major Epidemics: the city of Quito, 1690-1820**

- c1693** (Measles+). A major epidemic with multiple sources: see S.A. Browne, "The effects of Epidemic Disease in Colonial Ecuador: The Epidemics of 1692 to 1695", Paper presented at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 1982.
- 1720's** R.D.F. Bromley "Urban Growth and Decline", 43-5, citing AGI Quito 129; Quito 204 for other areas. A major pan-Andean epidemic which had less impact on Quito than in Peru: see Figure 5:2
- 1740's** *GS*, 2 : 1049, preceded by food shortages in 1743 and 1744 according to Juan and Ulloa, c.f. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban growth and Decline", p. 45.
- 1759** B.M. Kings 219, f 40, and: Juan de Velasco, *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional*, (1789), (Quito, 1977-8) : 140. This probably had less impact than Velasco suggested.
- 1764-6** ANB Misc. de la Colonia, Tomo 60, f 441; Carta de Felix de Llano, Quito, Dec. 17, 1765. AGI Quito 398 f 495; Carta del Audiencia, Aug 25, 1765. A. Pérez, *Las Mitos en la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (Quito, 1947): 346 citing "Escritos de Espejo". See Figure 5:2.
- 1785** (Measles+). Parish reports, AHBC/E, vol 29, Lib. Verd. 1: 252ff.; ANB, Misc. de la Colonia, Tomo 2, f 814; Villalengua to the Viceroy, Sept. 18, 1785; *ibidem*. 18 Oct. & 18 Nov. 1785, AGI Quito 243. See Figure 5:2.
- 1788** APQ/ Sagrario, Lib. de Muertos, (Inds.1767-1800) f 94.
- 1792** Tyrer, 90 citing ANH/Q Gobierno, 1793.
- 1795-6** See Figure 5: 2 of recorded Indian/Mestizo deaths in the APQ/ Sagrario. No independent corroboration.
- 1804** Tyrer, 90 citing ANH/Q varios, 1804.
- 1816** (Smallpox). M. Minchom, *Historia demográfica de Loja y su Provincia...* for the south of the Audiencia. R.D.F.Bromley "Urban Growth and Decline", p.197, for the Central Sierra. No specific corroboration for Quito.

Note: Although the nature of non-indicated epidemics is not known, the sign (+) acknowledges the fact that the "peste" often included inter-related diseases. c.f. Villalengua to the Viceroy, 18 Octubre 1785, AGI Quito 243; "Sarampion complicada de otros graves males".

**Table 5: 6**  
**Number of Persons per Household, Santa Bárbara, 1768**

	1-2	2-4	4-8	8>
Elite	18	13	16	17
White/Mestizo	60	67	26	8
Indians*	25	35	13	3
Mulatos	---	3	1	1

Source: "Padrón de Santa Bárbara", see appendix.

Note: Many houses, usually of the élite, do not specify the members of the family and servants etc. Of a total population of 2,757 people, 46.9 % are unspecified. "Elite" is here defined by titles such as "Don" etc., although these are not a totally reliable guide. Many households were grouped together in the same house.

\* For large Indian households, c.f. a *pregonero*, (6, p. 101, house 32), a *tejedor*, (14, p. 103, house 42), a *cantor*(7, p. 104, house 51), a *frutero*, (7, p. 104, house 52), a *barbero* (9, p. 112, house 109), a *maestro barbero*, (9, p. 117, house 141)

**Table 5:7**  
**Deaths in the Sagrario in the Epidemic of 1785**

	<b>Españoles</b>	<b>Montañeses</b>	<b>Indios</b>	<b>Pardos y Negros</b>
Men	11	7	7	0
Married Women	5	2	6	1
Single Women	6	7	26	5
Children	13	9	18	1

Source: Documentation of the AHBC/E cited in Table 5: 5, under the epidemic of 1785.

Note: The preponderance of a servant population in the Sagrario is clearly demonstrated in the sex imbalance in the Indian and black population, but see the text where it is clear that there was an imbalance towards women even in the more popular parishes. A lower proportion of children died in the Sagrario than in other parishes (see the text). The use of the category "montañes" reinforces the point that the Church had a major role in shaping socio-racial distinctions, given that this category did not exist in the official censuses (see Chapter 3). It also shows clearly that the root sense of "montañes" was certainly "mestizo", a point made in Chapter 6.

**Table 5: 8**  
**The Social Composition of Four Quito Parishes, 1797**

	Elite Households	White/Mestizo Households	Indian Households	Persons per Household
San Marcos	70	18	2	15.6
Santa Bárbara	133	42	14	10.5
San Sebastián	17	154	11	11.5
San Roque	23	151	28	8.6

Source: Church census of 1797, see appendix.

Note: In this table, I was interested in establishing *élite - plebe* interaction. An "élite" household is one with the presence- usually as owner but sometimes as inhabitant- of someone with the title "Don", "Captain" etc. Some of these households include an Indian presence (as servants etc.) but have not been classified as Indian. In San Sebastián eight *haciendas* have been included as élite households, and this has slightly swollen household size. In the case of San Roque, the popular character of the parish make it difficult to assign ethnic status to households: almost certainly many of those not specifically marked Indian were Indian (e.g. with Indian surnames). (The median household size in San Roque was certainly smaller than the average household size) The proportion per household for San Marcos has been raised by the fact that it is a complete *padrón* i.e. includes young children. Despite its imperfections, I have not tried to correct the above data, because I believe it gives a generally accurate picture of the parishes for comparative purposes.

### Notes to Chapter 5:

1) R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador", (Ph.D. University of Wales, 1977).

2) c.f. M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica de Loja y su Provincia: Desde 1700 hasta fines de la Colonia", *Cultura, Revista del Banco Central del Ecuador*, (Edición monográfica dedicada a la Provincia de Loja), 15, (Quito) (1983): 149-169. M. Hamerly suggested that this might have been because of the role of the north and south as "regions of refuge" in the Wars of Independence, but Loja's growth antedates this period. Ibidem. It will be argued below that the demographic impact of the Wars of Independence requires some reassessment.

3) For the city of Quito, the estimates of observers nearly always give estimates far higher than the evidence of the parish records, census data etc. suggests. Juan de Velasco gives a post-1759 epidemic total of 70,000 in his *Historia del Reino de Quito...* (Quito, 1977-8): vol. 3, p.119. Giandomenico Coleti, who lived in Quito, for example, gives a total of 58,000 in his *Dizionario storico-geografico dell'America Meridionale*, (Venezia, 1771): vol. 2, p. 106, although this may have been for a wealthier past, when compared with other descriptions by the same author. c.f. another description of the same author and those of Montúfar (Selva Alegre), etc. cited by J. Ortiz de la Tabla, "Panorama económico y social del Corregimiento de Quito...", *Revista de Indias*, (145/146), (1976): 86-7, who gives a total of 44,000. C. Borchart de Moreno cites Juan and Ulloa, Antonio de Alcedo etc for high population totals, and argues that the Indian population of the city was growing in the last century of Colonial rule: *Pichincha*, (ed. S. Moreno Yáñez, Quito, 1981): 207, 214. Most historians mentioning the population of Quito have either relied exclusively on contemporary observers, and given totals which are too high, or mixed early descriptions with census data which tends to produce inexplicable fluctuations in the population of the city.

I would argue that the main interest of these estimates is a) the element of creole patriotism which makes, for example, Juan de Velasco give higher totals than other observers, and b) the comparative aspect noted below. For the demographic history of the eighteenth century Audiencia, I have found only the work of R.D.F. Bromley, M. Hamerly, and R.B. Tyrer helpful, along with J. Estrada Ycaza, *Regionalismo y Migración* (Guayaquil, 1977), who makes use of these authors. c.f. Bromley, op. cit., M. Hamerly, "La demografía Histórica del Distrito de Cuenca", *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, (Quito), Vol. LIII (116), (Jul.-Dec. 1970): 203-229; *Historia social y económica de la antigua Provincia de Guayaquil, 1763-1842*, (Guayaquil, 1973). R.B. Tyrer, "The

Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia de Quito: Indian Population and the Textile industry", (Ph.D. Berkeley: University of California, 1976). Tyrer has presented the total of the 1781 census summary, op. cit. 72, but arrives at a total which is too low, in part because he does not include the ecclesiastics as a separate demographic category. Where, as in this case, one was dealing with a sheet summarising a *padrón* which is lost, the figures were cross-checked, i.e. the columns of the census summary were checked both horizontally and vertically to confirm the totals.

4) See the appendix to this chapter. The officials who presented the data on 1814 and 1825 did this. For the first, see note 6. The second suggested a possible but arbitrary increase in the total to allow for evasion etc. Fortunately, in these cases, they explained what they were doing, but when this type of mistake or interpretation was re-copied, it often lost the explanation in the process.

5) Juan de Velasco mentions a census of 1757, op. cit. vol 3, 118, basing himself on the *oidor* Navarro. Navarro's "Idea del Reyno de Quito"(1761-4), in AGI Quito 223, (a document published by Rumazo González) is, however, quite inaccurate. The totals it gives are higher than those which located census data for the same period suggested; its totals may be compared with those in M. Minchom, op. cit. 149-169.

6) The official who summarised the census data of 1814, for example, confused the Five Leagues with the city and rejected a relatively plausible total of around 20,000 replacing it with one for the Five Leagues. See the appendix to this chapter.

7) R.D.F. Bromley, op. cit. 56-8. In this respect, Caldas' comments may be noted. Caldas, who visited the city in 1805 criticized Juan and Ulloa's estimates of around 60,000 by saying that the population was only 35-40,000 (Francisco José de Caldas, "Viaje de Quito a Popayan", *Semanario de la Nueva Granada*, Paris, 1849: p. 504). Far from being a criticism, Caldas' comments are in fact a confirmation of Juan and Ulloa's description. Although both estimates are too high, I believe they give a fair reflection of the city's decline between the 1740's and 1800. If we cut these estimates in half, we have a disparity between the better observers and the more objective data which is roughly in line with Bromley's findings on the Central Sierra.

8) c.f. note 7 and "Una acotación", by J. Estrada Ycaza, *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas*, Año 3, (6), (Dec. 1974): 93-5.

- 9) R.D.F. Bromley, *op. cit.* 148.
- 10) I am very grateful to the parish priests of the Sagrario, Santa Bárbara and San Blas for their assistance. The parish priest of San Marcos had unfortunately recently died when I consulted these archives in December 1982, and it was not therefore possible to carry out extended research there.
- 11) For a discussion of "el método inglés" c.f. C.F.S. Cardoso and H. Pérez Brignoli, *Los Métodos de la historia*, (Barcelona, 1976):135-6.
- 12) R.D.F. Bromley, *op. cit.* 52-4.
- 13) See Figure 5:1 for the rising proportion of the urban population being baptised in the Sagrario in the eighteenth century.
- 14) c.f. for example the letter of Alsedo which described it as the largest in 1732 (letter cited in Chap 1: note 2). AGI Quito, 206, R1. Audiencia, Jan 12, 1748, "este barrio de San Roque es el mas numeroso de esta ciudad"... The same point was still being made in 1765, according to the officials reporting in AGI Quito 398.
- 15) Tyrer, *op. cit.* 40-1, S. Browne, "The effects of Epidemic Disease in Colonial Ecuador: the Epidemics of 1692 to 1695", Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in 1982.
- 16) R.D.F. Bromley, *op. cit.* 52-3.
- 17) M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica", *op. cit.* for the figures of white (and mixed- blood) and Indian baptisms.
- 18) For the references, see Table 5: 5.
- 19) Tyrer, *op. cit.* 82. The auction value could obviously be affected by other factors such as the capacity of bidders to pay.
- 20) Tyrer, *op. cit.* 62.
- 21) M. Hamerly, "La Demografía...", p. 210.
- 22) This *padrón* is preserved in AGI Quito 381.
- 23) D.G. Browning and D.J. Robinson, "The origins and comparability of Peruvian Population Data:1776-1815", (Discussion Paper, Syracuse, Univ.,



1976). See the appendix to this chapter.

24) ANB Misc. de la Rep. Tomo 123 (i), f 191.

25) ANB Misc. de la Rep. Tomo 123 (i) f 188, and see the appendix to this chapter.

26) See note 28 below.

27) In Loja, for example, the parish census of 1813 in one urban parish formed the basis of the census of 1814. c.f. M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica", op. cit. citing a *padrón* in the church of San Juan del Valle.

28) For the location of this document in the AMC/Q see the appendix to this chapter. I am greatly indebted to Sr J. Moreno Egas for sharing his calculations with me. All the calculations relating to the Sagrario are his, as I was unable to locate the whole of this census: for the other parishes I did my own calculations. The use I have made of this data is, I should add, my own responsibility. I am equally indebted to Monsr. Cadena who directed me to this document.

29) See above, pp. 37, 75-6.

30) AGI Quito 379, Carta de Joseph (Pérez de Calama), Bishop of Quito, 18 June, 1791.

31) Hernando Gómez Buendía "Análisis demográfica y social de 7 poblaciones de la Provincia de Tunja en el Siglo XVIII", *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, (Bogotá), (1970): Table 1, p 26.

32) Villalengua to the Viceroy, 18 Oct. & 18 Nov. 1785, AGI Quito 243.

33) Parish report, 23 Aug. to 4 Sept. 1785, AHBC/E, vol 29, Lib. Verd. 1: 255.

34) *Ibidem.*, f 256; "53 expuestos a las puertas de dicha Santa Yglesia". c.f., also APQ/ Sagrario, Lib. de Muertos ("Indios...") (1757-1800): f 94, for an example from the later epidemic of 1788; "tambien cinco cadaveres en el sementerio cuios apellidos se ignoran por ser botados, y se hace mencion de ellos aqui por curiosidad, y cuenta".

35) N.D. Cook, *Demographic Collapse. Indian Peru, 1520-1620*, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981): 166-170.

36) ANB, Misc. de la Colonia, Tomo 2, f 814; Villalengua to the Viceroy, Sept. 18, 1785.

37) See note 32. In view of the evidence cited in note 34, these totals cannot be safely correlated with the overall total for the parish to establish the differential ethnic impact of the 1785 epidemic.

38) M. Hamerly, "La demografía", 210, listing his references in note 41. However, most of these references seem to be to the coast.

39) See Table 4: 2 for *alcabala* figures. For the impact of *comercio libre*, *Relaciones de Mando*, ed. F. Posada and P.M. Ibañez, Bogotá, 1910: 108, a document cited by A.J. Kuethe, "The Military Reform in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, 1773-1796", (Ph.D. University of Florida): 2, a Ph.D. subsequently published. Numerous official reports commented on Quito's late-Colonial predicament. c.f the "Informe" of Carondelet, Nov. 21, 1800, published in *Documentos...*, (ed. J. Rumazo González): vol 5, 290-307.

40) M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica", appendices.

41) For the total, see the appendix to this chapter.

42) B. Roberts, *Cities of Peasants...*, (London, 1978), 42 based on Brading for Mexico.

43) AGI, 398, 4 July 1765, f 343.

44) R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban-rural demographic contrasts in Highland Ecuador", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 5 (3) (1979): 288-9.

45) N.P. Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito*, (New York, 1982): 128.

46) M. Minchom, "Historia demográfica", op. cit.

47) See I. Langenberg, *Urbanisation und Bevölkerungsstruktur der Stadt Guatemala in der Ausgehenden Kolonialzeit*, (Köln-Wien, 1981): 117, 124.

48) R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban-rural demographic contrasts", 288.

49) c.f. M. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua Provincia de Guayaquil*, op. cit. Chap. 2.

50) See the demographic sources in the appendix to this chapter.

51) When I examined this document I was interested only in the peripheral parishes, so I have not sought the explanation for the defects in the *padrón* of the Sagrario, which a careful reading could probably establish.

52) "Se nota en aquel País, que abunda mas en él el Sexo Feminino, que el Masculino; y es esto mas reparable por no haver allí el extravio, ó ausencia de Hombres, que es regular en los de Europa. Suelen verse las Familias cargadas de Mugerres, y ser raros los Varones: assimismo la Naturaleza de los Hombres por lo regular entre la Gente criada con regalo es endeble desde los 30 años en adelante: al contrario las Mugerres mantienen mas salud, y robustèz; puede contribuir el Clima, y pueden coadyubar los Alimentos: pero yo atribuyo la causa principal al exceso de entregarse desde una edad muy corta à la Sensualidad; de que proviene, que descaeciendo el vigor de los Estomagos, no tengan fortaleza para hacer la digestion, y muchos vuelvan la comida à media hora, ó una, despues de haverla tomada diariamente..." Jorge Juan- Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación Histórica del Viaje a la América Meridional*, (Madrid, 1978): 372.

53) See, for example, H.E. Bates, *Central America, The West Indies and South America*, (London, 1882): 336, an observation possibly taken from the traveller Orton. Many nineteenth century observers continued to plagiarise Juan and Ulloa, but surely in this respect they followed the evidence of their eyes.

54) See above note 45.

55) Tyrer, op. cit. p. 59.

56) R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban-rural demographic contrasts", 289.

57) See above, and the appendix.

58) See the work of R.D.F Bromley, for the Central Sierra.

59) N.D. Mills, and G. Ortiz, "Economía y sociedad en el Ecuador poscolonial, 1759-1859", *Cultura, Revista del Banco Central del Ecuador*, 9 (Enero-Abril, 1980): 139. The figure for 1810 is taken from E.

Ayala, *Lucha Política...* (Quito, 1978): 39, who, however does not give his source. There does not appear to have been a census in 1810 and the only other source given for that year is Stevenson, for a clearly impossible figure of 75,000 for the city of Quito in 1810. (Mills and Ortiz, op. cit. 142.)

60) L. Linke, *Ecuador, Country of Contrasts*, (Oxford Univ. Press, 3rd edn. 1960): p 6.

## 6: Mobility and Socio-Racial Status: the Declarations of Mestizo.

### i) Sources and possibilities of the Declarations of Mestizo

It is widely recognised today that the boundary between Indians and whites in Andean society is, after extensive race mixture and cultural cross-influences, largely socio-cultural rather than racial[1]. The law-suits whereby those considered to be Indian by the tribute-collecting authorities attempted to establish themselves as mixed-blood, show the extent to which socio-racial boundaries had already become fluid and confused before- and probably well before-the 1770's. These law-suits - "Declarations of Mestizo"- illuminate the social attitudes of the popular sectors going before justice to say how they define themselves socially and racially, as well as providing a multiple perspective (witnesses, Crown officials) which allows us to see how other groups respond to those pretensions. In comprehensiveness and detail they provide virtually a prosopographical picture of a section of the lower strata, clarifying some of the mechanisms of social mobility within what tends to appear an immobile, hierarchical system in macro-analyses. Lastly, the series adds an unusual perspective on the social and economic consequences of the Bourbon programme of administrative reorganisation, offering a micro-level view of the consequences of fiscal reform on the individual lives of some of Charles III's most humble and remote subjects.

Examples of this type of document were located for Ecuador, Columbia, and Peru, and almost certainly the problem of sorting their way through an ethnic maze was posed to administrators, *caciques* and tax-farmers in other parts of Colonial Spanish America. No systematic attention, however, appears to have been given to this type of document[2]. The quantity and quality of the material on the northern and central Highlands in the late-Colonial period stands out in comparison with the data located for other

areas, and as they form a single body of documentation, they will be examined as such. Nevertheless, both the content and geographical spread of the cases gives them a particular interest for the study of the urban popular society of the city of Quito, demonstrating the "hidden" migration of Indians to the capital, and the role of the city as an agent of acculturation. Many socio-racial attitudes were common to urban and rural society, and cannot be arbitrarily separated; where they differ, those differences require attention. The cases picked out for detailed attention are from urban Quito itself.

The superior quality of these documents reflects, in part, the legalistic scrupulousness of the Spanish Colonial authorities who were prepared to go over individual cases with considerable care, hear three witnesses once and then another set on appeal. Although cumbersome and liable to delays, the Spanish Colonial system was enormously thorough, and a comparison with a similar series of documents on nineteenth century Peru reveals the extent to which more summary administrative procedures would deprive the historical record of much of its richness; in the Colonial Declarations much more evidence emerges about the social and cultural background of those involved[3]. With regard to the quantity of cases preserved in the Ecuadorian archives, the flurry of law-suits corresponded to a particular conjuncture of the late 1770's and 1780's in the Audiencia of Quito. As the response to the same fiscal pressures in most of Peru, as well as parts of the Audiencia of Quito, was full-scale rebellion rather than litigation, it is argued that the greater number of cases found for the Audiencia of Quito is probably not accidental.

Although a number of other examples were located in other sections and different archives, the bulk of the Declarations are in the section "Mestizos" of the Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito, which consists of seven boxes containing 266 cases in 252 folders[4]. In the Audiencia of

Quito, the earliest cases date from the 1680's and the latest from 1815; the earliest cases come from the whole of the Audiencia including Popayán, the coast and the extreme south, while after the 1770's the cases are nearly all from the northern and central Highlands. Only 34 petitions of Declaration of Mestizo are preserved from the period prior to 1776; there are 210 cases between 1776 and 1787, and the cases become more irregular after that date. Thus the spread of the cases gradually narrows, both temporally and spatially, towards Quito and its region. The explanation for the decline of cases from outlying regions may only partly lie in the creation of the *gobernaciones* of Cuenca and Guayaquil[5]. A decree of 1776 specified that decisions on tribute exemption because of Indians being injured would be heard by *corregidores in situ* when they were in isolated areas; it can be assumed that the different forms of tribute exemption were considered equivalent for official purposes, as a number of exemptions on other grounds were included in the main series of Declarations of Mestizos[6].

The concentration of the cases into a little over a decade after 1776, corresponded to a period when the re-invigorated Spanish Crown assumed a more direct control over tribute collection, and began in Colonial Quito, as in the rest of Spanish America, the census-taking which reinforced its drive to establish- or, from an official view-point, re-establish - its fiscal rights. During the 1770's the definition of the tribute-paying Indian became a matter of official concern, throwing into high relief the long period of official neglect which had preceded it.

The position prior to 1776 was one of official laxity, widespread tribute evasion, confusion between the socio-racial categories of Indian and Mestizo and variations in local customary practice. Within the capital, acculturated Indian residents had acquired the clothing and sometimes the skills which enabled them to "lose" themselves in the city, although no

legal exemption from tribute existed for urban Indians[7]. Official reports emphasized that this form of evasion was on a wide scale, and over six hundred of these Indians were picked up in the early 1760's[8]. This numeration of the *cholos*, as they were pejoratively called, generated the tensions which are examined in Chapter 7. The same groups, and in at least one documented case the same person, were one of the most obvious targets of the renewed census-taking in the late 1770's. It is difficult to quantify these *cholos*, because they are precisely the Indians who escaped the enumerators, but there are various indices which suggest their presence, notably an exaggerated female-male ratio, which may have been partly due to masculine census evasion, (although other factors were certainly more important: see Chapter 6).

In rural areas, the problems of tribute evasion were of a different order, involving Indians hidden by landowners on their *haciendas* or in remote villages[9]. Customary practice on the eve of reform varied considerably from one area to another. The Audiencia reported that "in some *pueblos* it is the custom that sons of an Indian woman and white man pay the Royal tribute, while others of the same condition do not pay"[10]. This confused situation on the eve of reform can only have been encouraged by irregular practice in tribute collection, which varied in the intensity of its application from one region to another. Crown revenues from tribute were diverted into the hands of tax-farmers and local officials, and the inadequate- or sometimes deliberately misleading- summaries of tributary data provided an inadequate base for the Crown's systematic exploitation of its tribute revenues [11].

The official inspection in the late 1770's involved the overhaul of the fiscal administration, and the establishment of the imperial census in the territory of Quito in order to put tribute collection on a firmer footing. In the Audiencia of Quito, the reorganised administration did not attempt to



impose the separate census category of Mestizo, as it did in Peru and Columbia, nor did it - in principle - attempt to bring new groups into the tribute paying population. The attempt to "follow custom" can be seen in the series of Mestizo law-suits, where a certain number of illegitimate sons of Indian women were given interim judgements in their favour, if they were commonly considered Mestizos. This category normally had to pay tribute, and after 1787, the more restrictive classification was generally adopted[12]. The aims of the Bourbon reform policy in Colonial Quito were therefore relatively modest, and can therefore best be categorised as an attempt to impose order on a confused social reality for strictly fiscal purposes, rather than a full-scale recreation of the caste society.

Despite this measure of flexibility, defining custom was not necessarily an easy matter, and the mere act of counting heads and extracting nominally owed tribute threatened certain groups. The urban *cholos* were simply Indians from the point of view of official policy, while the *forasteros*, or Indian migrants, enjoyed a privileged tax status, and therefore felt vulnerable to strict census control which could lead to their relegation to the category of *llactayos*[13]. In certain rural areas, customary practice had gradually blurred the cultural distinction between Indians and poor Mestizos, and these Mestizos ("dressed as Indians") were clearly vulnerable to a reinvigorated tribute system. Other groups can be identified which were incorporated by efficiency rather than design into the tributary population such as the foundlings, or *hijos expósitos*, the determination of whose ethnic status had not come up before the tribunals prior to the late 1770's.

The most important instrument of effective tribute collection was adequate demographic evidence, and the censuses, or *padrones*, were rightly seen by the popular sectors as a highly dangerous device to impose

additional fiscal burdens. The connection between the Mestizo law-suits and census activity is explicit in the documentation: the petitioners sometimes state that they have been picked up and identified as Indian during the census, while the series includes a number of somewhat summary hearings which the Visitor and Enumerator Juan Josef Villalengua y Márfil heard while he was actually carrying out the census in the area of Ambato in mid- 1777[14]. The two major phases of census activity in the early-mid 1760's and late 1770's, both met with violent if localised resistance. Guano, where the attempt to carry out the census in 1778 met with armed rebellion, produced no litigation: the Mestizos and Indians there argued their case with stones[15]. The Mestizo petitioners, on the other hand, came from areas where the census had been successfully carried out. Those who went to the time and expense of bringing their complaint before justice constitute a self-selected group; they were not normally vagrants or the lumpen poor, and thought they could probably win their cases, as indeed they often did. The Declarations of Mestizo and rebellions therefore provide mutually complimentary evidence - they permit us to see how the Bourbon system rode out the difficulties of its administering of the reform programme, and show the impact on different groups and areas. For the city of Quito, the rebellion of the 1765 was followed by relative tranquility during the second wave of rebellion in the late 1770's; along with the stifling of unrest in 1780 examined in Chapter 7, the Declarations of Mestizo complete the evidence for the city around that date.

## ii) "Mestizos": the petitions for tribute exemption

The following petitions for tribute-exemption have been taken from the Archivo Nacional de Historia (Quito), Section "Mestizos". In order to make the data comprehensive, archival references are also given for the few cases in that section which are not petitions. A few similar types of documents- notably appeals for tribute-exemption from injured Indians, and one or two Declarations of Mestizo- can also be found in the section Indigenas but are not included here; as is made clear in the text, the following list cannot include all cases which passed before the tribunals. Each document was normally in a folder carrying its date, and this date is given as the archival reference, even when incorrect. Some folders in this section include more than one case, sometimes inter-related, sometimes not. The first number for each entry is my own classification of the Declarations; the second number is the place of the folder in the box as it was found in 1981-3. Case number 1 below, for example, was a folder marked 1-IX-1686 but in fact comprises two cases, one of them from 1772, in which the earlier documentation was probably presented as evidence. The cases correspond to the following boxes of documents:

Cases 1-35	Box 1; Documents 1- 36.
Cases 36-84	Box 2; Documents 1- 29.
Cases 85-121	Box 3; Documents 1- 37.
Cases 122-158	Box 4; Documents 1- 39.
Cases 159-195	Box 5; Documents 1- 37.
Cases 196- 235	Box 6; Documents 1- 41.
Cases 236-266	Box 7; Documents 1- 33.

(i.e. the ANH/Q series "Mestizos" consists of 266 cases in 252 folders.)

I have - for the moment - resisted the temptation to give this data

statistical analysis, because I believe it supplies a clear portrayal of the socio-racial dimension of popular society in the form in which it is presented here. The cases display utter confusion with regard to ethnic status; in particular there were few cases where the terms "español" and "mestizo" were not used virtually inter-changeably, or as relative terms: "closer to white than to mixed-blood". Attention is called to the more revealing socio-racial (and occupational) data by the use of bold type in the notes. The area given is where the petitioner was normally resident: not enough data emerged to establish patterns of migration except to the extent indicated in the text. It is sometimes unclear how cases ended.

Abbreviations:

Ca	<i>Cacica</i> , Indian leader (fem.)
DE	Important white (Captain, <i>Don</i> etc.)
D. of M.	Declaration of Mestizo
E	<i>Español</i> , white: here, sometimes mixed-blood
Ea	<i>Española</i> , white woman
Guayaq.	Guayaquil
HE	<i>Hijo expósito</i> , foundling
HL	<i>Hijo legítimo</i> , legitimate son
HN	<i>Hijo natural</i> , illegitimate son
la	<i>India</i> , Indian woman
L	<i>Libre</i> , exempt
Latac.	Latacunga
M	Mestizo, Person of mixed Indian-white descent
Ma	Mestiza
Mo	<i>Montaños</i> , "upper" Mestizo
N-P	Denied, and/or further proof demanded.
Nat.	Natural, "native of.."
p	<i>Padre</i> , father
Pd	<i>Pardo</i> , Person of part Negro ancestry
PNC	<i>Padre no conocido</i> , unknown father
Pr	More proof required.
SLQuito	Village within 5 leagues jurisdiction of Quito
RP	Recognised and/or raised by a clearly white father
Riob.	Riobamba
Tgo	<i>Testigo</i> , witness
vec	<i>vecino</i> , freeman, citizen

1)*	1)1-IX-1686	Bias de Orta	Licto(Riob.)	HL/HN? de DE & Ca.(RP)	L.
2)*	1) Same doc. (but:1772; descendant of above)	Juan de Horta	Licto( Riob.)	HL de E&Ea/Ca?	
---	2)1695-VI-8			Not D. of M.	
3)*	3)1706-1-19	Diego Velasco	Popayán	H de E(DE?) & Ca	L
4)	4) 10-IV-1731	F.Dabalos	Latac.	HN de Pd & Mo	L
5)	5) 12-V-1733	M. Maldonado	Angamarca	Latac. H de E & la (RP)	L
6)*	6)1736-IX-21	P. Aguilar & sons	Guaranda	H de I & Ma	
	7)25-IX-1736	(Same case)			
---	8)1737-IX-2			Not D. of M.	
7)*	9) 2-VI-1741	Angelina Flores (for children)		HL Maest. Barbero & Ea	L
	(1782)	Seferino Alcocer		(Same case)	L

\*1) Recognition from an important father, raised by him in Spanish dress, "dandole escuela de donde se huyo y se puso en avitos de yndio"(f3).

\*2) For the association of office (as well as clothing) with ethnicity, c.f. f5: tgo, Nicolas de la Torre, scribe ("oficio de pluma") vec. of Quito: "le imputaron que hera yndio por el traje en que lo ben y en el oficio de **cargador...**"

f13: Juan de Horta " e vivido como Huerfano siempre en **Avitos de yndio**".

\*3) Educated and socially accepted as white, f7: "lo a visto muchas veses en la Ciudad de Popaián calzado de pie y pierna y servido de espada y dega en las calles publicas y plas de dicha ciudad donde se a visto a sido tenido por **mestizo y hombre blanco** de todos los Criollos de dicha ciudad".

\*6) Tgo, Petrona Rodrigues de Agama, ves. de Chimbo, f 3 of Doc 7, (in 29-1-1707): "el qual es **Mestizo Romo** por haver sido su padre yndio". [See also Doc. 28) 1772-II-28 for the same family.]

\*7) S. Alcocer claims on the basis of exemption won by brothers in 1741, when he was not yet born.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
8)	10) 24-II-1744	Joseph Proaño	vec.Quito; nat.Latac.	HN de E & la	
9)	11) 1745-VIII-9	A. de la Torre	Ylapo, Riob.	HN de E & Ca(RP)	
10)*	12) 1747-XII-20	Manuel Alvares	(Moving)	HN de E(P=platero)	L
11)	13)1750-IX-4	Mathias Redon	Hambato	HN de E&la	L ?
12)	14) 1750-IX-19	Domingo de Rojas	Cariamanga	HN de DE& la	L
13) *	15) 21-VI-1751	Y.Barrionuevo (for his sons)	Quito	H de l (arpista and mae- stro de capilla) & Ea	L
14)*	15) 21-VI-1751 (but 1789)	wife of Mariano Ortiz	Guailabamba SL Quito		Incomplete
15)	16)1750-IX-25 (but 1782)	Mariano Tovar		PNC& Ea	L
16)*	17) 7-III-1752 (with brothers)	Jazinto Meneses res. Pelileo	vec.Ambato	H de E & la	

\*10) "... **El oficio de transportar cartas** de uno a otro lugar de la carrera de esta ciudad (i.e. Pasto) hasta la de Cartagena tomando aquel bestuario propio del monasterio jurgando me por esto Yndio".

\*13) Tgo, Lic. Don Agustin de Saldaña Abogado de esta Real Audiencia, f4; Pedro Espinosa de los Monteros (father of Barrionuevo's wife) "hombre español, en el sentido que se dicen españoles a distincion de los yndios y Mestizos, por que fue **hombre muy blanco**, y rubio el qual fue casado con Ysidora Solano tambien muger blanca".

\*14) "Hoja suelta", the case hasn't survived: "V.A. se sirvio mandar que informara la Contaduria general de tributos a cuia oficina... se ha pasado el expediente reteniendola la secretaria de camara cerca de 2 meses con pretesto de que se ha traspapelado, a fin de que pague dicho mi marido 4 reales por el trabajo de buscarlo a uno de los oficiales. Entre tanto se regreso mi marido al Pueblo de Guailabamba por atender una corta sementerita, y un crecido numero de hijos que se hallan pereciendo en su ausencia, no habiendo quedado aqui otra Persona que haya por el sino sola yo que me hallo consumido de miseria pidiendo limosna sin quieran darme oido los oficiales de dicha secretaria que es Don Luis Cifuentes..."

\*16) Have paid alcabala and went to Guayaquil at their own cost at the time of the threat from the English. The Fiscal (f2) complains of the negligence of the *curas* with regard to the baptism.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
17)*	18) 17-IV-1752	G. de la Cruz	Quito	H de E & la	L
18)	19) 13-VIII-1754	Bonifacio Billalva	Latac. Mulalo	HN de E(RP)	L
19)	20) 1755-VII-I	Javier de Luna	Angamarca Latac	HL de E & Ca	L
20)	21) 26-XI-1756	Visente Gusman	Ambato	HN de E & la	L
21)*	22) 10-III-1758	Juan Aldas	Quito	HL de Ms	
22)	23) 2-VIII-1759 (but 1786)	Pedro Cayasedo	vec. Jipijapa	HN de 7 & Ma	L
23)*	24) 26-VIII-1766 (but 1781)	Joseph Puluche (Indian name)	vec. Cuenca	HL de M"en Abito de Yndlo"	
24)	25) 28-XII-1768	P. Nolasco Alban (for brother)	Sigchos, nat. de Saquisili, Latac		HL de E.
25)	26) 1769-IX-16	Andres Valencia	San Andres, Latac.	H de E & la (RP)	L
26)	27) 20-XII-1771	Manuel Corrales in Saquisili	Vec. Latac.	HN de E(RP)	
27)*	28) 1772-11-28	Aguilar family	Guaranda	poor Ms	
28)	29) 30-III-1773	Domingo Miranda	Otavalo	HL Ms	incomplete
29)*	30) 1773-VIII-1	L&M de la Vega	Morro, Guayaq.	HL de E/"cuarteron de M .. maestro sombrero"	
30)	31) 1774-VI-22	Pedro de la Peña	Quito	PNC&Ma	L
31)	32) I-VI-1775 (but 1784-1793)	Mariano Sandoval	Saquisili	HL de E & la	

\*17) f2; Mother was "muger blanca, bendedora de cosa de la tierra".

\*21)f2; The father had paid tribute despite being Mestizo because his mother had had him illicitly to a white despite being married to an Indian; he had been recognised by his father. But see the note to n° 58.

\*23) Paid alcabala, but "en avito de Indio por su humildad".

\*27) For the role of ethnicity in matrimonial alliances; f 7-8 of Doc. 28; "Tanto que hasta nuestras mugeres con quenes nos hemos casado son mestisas y el matrimonio que han hecho a sido en la buena fee de que somos mestisos y no Yndios Tributa/rios".)  
[Same family as Docs 6-7].

\*29) f 4; Tgo that the father "...nunca lo ocuparon en oficio alguno correspondiente a Yndio por el motivo de haver sido mestisso".



<u>Case</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
32)	33) 11-III-1776	Manuel Zuniga (with relative)	Guanujo	HN de DE & Ca	L
33)*	34) 26-IV-1776	Y Asencio Bastidas		H de E?	N-Pr
34)	35) 21-V-1776	Visente Molina (with brothers)	Latac.	HL de I & Ea	L
35)	36) 10-XII-1776	Clemente Angulo	Cuenca	HL de Ea	Pr
36)*	1) 14-III-1777	Mariano Alvarez	Latac.	poor M	
37)	Same doc. (--- tgo, f15; "recevido mas de español que de mestizos")	Hilario Bonilla	Pugilí	HN de E & Ma	L
38)	Same doc.	Bernardo Mexia	Pugilí	HL de E & Ia	L
39)	Same doc.	J.F.&M. Suarez	Pugilí	HL de Es	L
40) *	Same doc.	Asencio Cadena	Pugilí	HL de E & Ia	L
41)	Same doc.	Joseph Ribero	Pugilí	HN de E & Ma	L

\*33) F2; "Han estado cobrando Tributos por muchos años, assí porque Yo, acomandome al traje que me vistieron los que me criaron e usado el traje de yndio, como mucho mas, porque ignore el privilegio que me faborecia de no pagar tales tributos siendo hijo legitimo de españoles.." and because of threats. F.4; Denied until he supplies more proof; he has been baptised in the book of Indians, and dressed and paid tribute as an Indian.

\*36) Tgo (f3), that his father with "su rostro blanco de la barba bien cubierta y los ojos zarcos y de oficio **Petaquero y sillero** (i.e. one who made leather trunks and saddles) que lo conocian todos por hombre **blanco aunque vestido de indio**... ignora si dichos sus Padres pagavan, o no, tributos pero lo que assegura el testigo es **todos los tenian y conocian por blancos**".

f4; tgo, presbytero; that he had baptised the son of a white man, and ;"tal siguiente día haviendole instado el testigo aque dejasse de vestir el traje de Yndio ofresiendole que aun a su costa le daría vestido de español, le respondió dicha Alvarez, que estava amañado en dicho traje".

\*40) He is denounced "en la actual numeracion" (f20-1). According to Villalengua, he is exempt because of the "uniform custom" in this corregimiento; this series of cases (14-III-1777: cases 36-52) are therefore explicitly linked to the "Villalengua census", consisting of a series of rapid in situ hearings while Villalengua, Jues Visitador y Num. was actually carrying out the census in Latacunga in 1777.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
42)	Same doc.	Ambros..Salazar	Cusubamba/Pugili	HN de Es	L
43)	Same doc.	X.L. Ximenez	Mollehambato	HL de l forastero &Ma	L
44)	Same doc.	Mathias Enrique	Mulalo	HL de E&Ia	
45)*	Same doc.	Francisco Carrera	Mulalo	HN de Is	N
46)	Same doc.	Manuel de Andrade	Angamarca	HN de E&Ia (RP)	
47)*	Same doc.	Christoval Mendisubal		HN de la soltera	N
48)	Same doc.	Clemente Clavijo (with brothers)	Latac.	HL de E & Ia	L
49)*	Same doc.	P.C.&S Benavides		HN de Ia	Interim L
50)*	Same doc.	P. Altamirano	Mulalo	HN de Ia	N
51)*	Same doc.	A.&X. Altamirano	Mulalo	H de I/M &M	L
52)	Same doc.	Antonio de Escobar	Tanicuchi, Latac.	HL de Ms	L
53)	Same doc. but 1779	Domingo O.	Quito	HN de Ea. PNC	

\*45) f. 33; It was made known to the Indians that even if they hadn't paid before they should appear for the present census. Carrera had never paid before... "y Razon de su Madre a causa de haver anda(do) bago desde el Asiento de Hambato, hasta la Ciudad Cuenca por buscar algun (al)ivio para su persona, y el de su pobre Madre." Although he hadn't previously paid, he was included in the current list.

\*47) Refused because the Vicregal decree of 15 Sept. 1774 specifies that the HN follows mother.

\*49) f 50(May 1777) "Y estar pendiente la consulta sobre si los mestizos de esta clase deven pagar... se suspende por ahora la resolucion..."

\*50) N. despite earlier D. of M.(1755).

\*51) Sons of n\* 50, but gain exemption through the mother.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
54)* 2)15-XI-1777	Pedro de la Peña	Quito	HL de E/M& I/Ma	L
55) Same doc. (but 1780.)	Manuel de la Peña	Quito	(brother of above, but more doc. needed)	
56) 3)1777-XII-23	Ylario Briito (with brothers)	Uyumbicho 5L Quito	HL de E & Ca.	Pr
57) 4)19-X-1778	Miguel Berdugo	Cuenca		L
58)* 5)29-V-1779	Thomas Ortiz	Ambato	HN de maiordomo & la	N
59)* 6)9-XI-1779	Juan Francisco Xavier Guebara	Quito	H de Ms	Pr.

\*54) Tgo, Cap. Don Ventura Guerrero Ponce de Leon, f3; the mother was "hermana de una mestiza criada de su cassa, y que aunque en realidad, no puede decir que dicha Manuela Asencia Zambrano sea Yndia o Mestiza, pero que a dicha su Hermana la tiene, y conose por mestiza, por demostrarlo su color, remitiendose solamente a una certificacion que dicho Pedro le ha manifestado de la fee de Baptismo de su Madre, que se dice se halla la partida en el libro de Españoles". Pedro de la Peña claims he is clearly Mestizo and then adds quite a distinct supplementary argument ; petition of 30 May 1777, f6; "Otro si: Digo que por quanto soy dessendiente, y muy inmediato de los casiques de la Governacion de esta Provincia, que en todos sus Partidos, devo tener el amparo de ser sugeto de recomendacion por ser dessendientes de los Titusuntos, por Reales Cedula recomendados desde la dessendencia de Pillas Ynca Ango de Salazar marido de Doña Antonia Titusunta, quien en fuerza de lo que consiguieron de su majestad sus Autores, merecieron de la Real Dignacion su extensivo beneplacito, como consta de Autos en la controversia que esta Doña Antonia siguió con Don Patricio Valensuela sobre el Gobierno que pretendia obtener en la Poblacion de San Pablo cuyo Proresso para en la Secretaria de Camara con su determinacion. Soy dessendientes de los Cassiques de Angamarca y Chicayza Nobles por naturaleza; y por tanto digno de atencion a lo que pido. De suerte que **soy noble por naturaleza**, y assi por todos los cassigazgos de esta comarca estoy entroncado para que deba gozar de el Real Agrado que su Benignidad tiene conseguido a los de mi nacion, sin que me se syndique de Yndio Tributante.

\*58) The fiscal, f 16; "los yndios hijos de yndia casada, se tengan y reputen por el marido".

\*59) f 2; "Y digo que el cobrador menor del actual mayor de los RI Tributos de esta Ciudad y sus cinco leguas, sin mas Justificacion, que **el color prieto de mi rostro, que por ser accidental** ni construye ser Yndio ni español, me reduxo a esta Carcel Real" for non-payment of tribute.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
60)* 7)1779-XI-2 (1779-1787)	B.&J.Aspirueta	Quito	HN de DE & Ia	N; appealed
61)* 8)1779-XI-15	Juan de Dios Guzman	Quito	HE, maestro organista	L
62)* 9)22-XI-1779	Antonio de Ortuño	Quito	Barbero HN de E & I/Ma	L
63) 10)22-V-1779			Not D. of M.	
64)* 11)22-XII-1779	Francisco Xavier Hidalgo	Quito nat. Latac.	Violinista, HE? H de Es?	N Pr

\*60) Dr Don Julian Cavezas "... sobre que se declare de mestizos a dos mozos que he criado..."

\*61) Abandoned at the doors of a Spanish house and raised by an Indian. Tgo, Don Manuel Coronel Cacique y Gov. de esta Santa Yglecia Cathedral, 22 Nov. 1779, f 5;

"que habra el espacio de dies y ocho años poco mas o menos en tiempo que Don Josef LLanos, y el Mayorasgo Don Francisco Maria de Larrea Zurbano fueron cobradores del ramo de tributos de esta ciudad, y sus cinco leguas de orden de los Señores Presidente, y oydores de esta Real Audiencia abiendose mandado numerar a los Yndios para la paga de tributos, como tal Governador salio para este efecto en compania de Don Leandro Sepia y Oro Casique y Governador de varias parcialidades y Don Gregorio Silvestre Governador que en aquel tiempo fue de la Parroquia de Santa Barbara de esta ciudad, y con efecto numeraron quinientas y dies Personas que se hallaban vestidos de españoles, y entre ellos la parte que presenta, quien habiendo hecho demonstracion de haver sido Hijodalgo espuesto a las Puertas ... quedó este libre."

According to Ygnacio de Montesdoca, cartacuentero y Recaudor (i.e. of tribute), Indian mothers use the device of abandoning their children to evade tributary status for them; " el deshorden con que los Yndios defraudan en mucha parte los Reales Tributos poniendo sus hijos a las puertas de sus vezzinos o allegados abandonandolos enteramente como se presume a la fin de que no les comprehenda la obligacion de tributar es forzoso que los expositos que tuvieren aspecto y tendencia de Yndio de mulato, o de Mestizo o Negro tributen" Exempt on appearance.

\*62) See the text of Chapter 6.

\*64) See the text of Chapter 6.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
65)	12)26-1-1780	Francisco Muela	Pintag, 5L Quito	H de E & la	
66)*	Same doc. (but 1690)	Santiago Coronel de Mora(+brother)	Cuenca	H de E&la	
67)	13)10-IV-1780	Eugenio Hidalgo	Ambato	HN de Es	L
68)	14)13-V-1780	Eusevio Navarette	Quito	HL de M & la	L
69)	(Same folder includes <u>21-VI-1782</u> )	J & M Betancur	Conocoto 5L Quito	HL de Es	L
70)	15)1780-VII-5	Andres Guznay	Riob.	HN de E & Ma	Pr
71)*	16) 7-VII-1780	Fr.Xavier Esquivel	Quito	HL de Mo	Pr
72)*	17) 28-VII-1780	Santiago Agullar	Quito	H de E & Ma	L
73)	18) 28-VIII-1780	C. Vera	Quito	HE? HN de E & Ma	Pr
74)*	19)) 18-VIII-1780	Pedro Rodriguez	Quito	HL de E & Ca	L
75)*	20) 19-VIII-1780	Nicolas Aro	Quito	HN de E & la	L

\*66) f 12; "al dicho Nuestro Padre no lo quiso numerar el General Don Miguel de Sorofia siendo corregidor de dicha ciudad de Cuenca por constarle ser hijo natural del dicho Capitan Don Juan Coronel de Mora como lo declara Alonso Coronel de Mora sin embargo de haverle hallado con Manta y camiseta."

\*71) f2; "parese ser hijo legitimo de **montaños, que asi llaman a los Mestizos.**"

\*72) f7-8; " que por la numeracion practicada por el Señor Fiscal, se me dio por Yndio mediante el Governador de la Parroquia de San Blas, bien pudo suseder sobre el falso supuesto de ser yo yndio. Porque como los Governadores de los Pueblos y Parroquias no son casiques, no saben lo que hazen, y solo por presumpción y acreditarse de exactos hazen que se numeren los que les parese, o los que son de su antipatia, sin pleno conocimiento como el que tienen los caciques, por que estos andan de lugar en lugar onde se hallan sus sugetos dispersos."

\*74) Petition de Pedro Rodriguez, f 9; " pero siendo cierto, que la prueba fundada en el color es equiboca y nada concluyente por no haver cosa mas ordinaria que españoles muy prietos, y mulatos de estremada blancura, que en lugares distantes de sus Patrias pueden comodamente negar lo pleveyo de su origen..."

\*75)"Velero y comersiante a los Yumbos"(f13), (candles), bapt. Sagrario.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
76) 21) 1780-VIII-26	Jochin Arroyo	Quito	Pd HL de E&Mulata	Disappears
77) 22) 31-VIII-1780	J.E.Betancourt	Quito		Incomplete
78) 23) 9-IX-1780	Pedro Hidalgo	Quito	HE	L
79) 24) 1780-IX-14	Theodoro B.	Pinlag,5LQuito	HL de E 1la	L
80) 25) 20-X-1780(A)		Aloasi,5LQuito	HL de Es	L
81)* 26) 20-X-1780(B)	M&G Aguirre	S.Antonio de Lulubamba,5L Quito	HN de Ea	L
82)* 27) 10-XI-1780	J. &B. Rodriguez	Quito	H de Ea	L
83) 28) 26-1-1781		Cuenca	HL de Ms	L
84) 29) 6-III-1781	Manuel Yllescas	Cuenca	HI de Ms	L
85) 1)7-III-1781	Gabriel de Yepes	Quito,nat Ibarra	HN de Es	L
86) 2) 9-III-1781	J. Fernandes	Chillogallo,5LQuito	HL de E& la	L
87) 3) 12-III-1781	F.X.Yepes C.	Ibarra	HL de Es	L
88) 4) 20-III-1781	C. Beltran de G.	Quito,ves.Alausi,5LQ.	HN de Es	L
89)* 5)20-III-1781	F&M Sanches	Ibarra	H de Ms	
90)* 6) 22-III-1781	P.&A. Aguirre	Sangolquf,5L Quito	HI de E & Ca	L
91) 7) 25-III-1781	J. Chaquínga (Ind. name)	Quito	HL de l escultor & Ma	
92) 8)3-IV-1781	M. Suarez	Quito	HL de Mo.s	L

\*81) Baptismal records destroyed and responsibility therefore falls on two sets of three witnesses.

\*82) Of San Roque, "violently" taken by Balthazar Carriedo, and tribute money returned.

\*89) f5; Of the mother, tgo., Manuel Solis "ignora si fue Yndia o Española, o Mestisa, porque usaba faldellin, y no traia urco como Yndio... La dicha muger era blanca y calçada"; a cousin, a "mercader", was married to a "señora". The tgo. Don Josef Vinuesa, vec. of Ibarra, said the father was "reputado... por Hombre Español aunque forastero" He knew relatives of his in Quito, "ambas de buena color".

90) f3; Cartacuentero (i.e. of tribute) refers to many "Yndios con traxe y vestuario de Mestisos, y por esto, en los que por su aspecto dan a sospechar el fraude...deberan presenciarse". Exemption is on personal appearance.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
93) 9) 6-IV-1781	A. de Ynojosa	S. Antonio, Ibar.	HL de E&Ca	L
94) 10) 7-IV-1781	M.&P. Ruls	Caguasquí, Ibar.	HL de M(H de E&Ca) & la	Pr
95) 11) 30-IV-1781	F.X. Aldana	Sangolquí, SLQ.	HL de Es "Old Christians"	L
96)* 12) 2-V-1781	A. Enríquez	Ibarra, Nat. Tulcan	HL de E & Ca	L
97)* 13) 4-V-1781	S. Beltrán Marqués	Aloasí, SL Quito	HE	L
98)* 14) 4-V-1781	Damascio Cáceres	Quito	H de HE(Ea)	L

\* 96) With regard to the geographical spread of the cases, c.f. f 3; they are from Tulcan, and cannot afford to pay witnesses to come on a three or four days journey; in this case the witnesses testify in Tulcan. F6, tgo. that the mother "hera blanca, tenida por mestiza".

\*97) f1; "Yo no soy mestizo sino español como lo demuestro por mi persona". Asked to "presenciarse" before the court, and granted exemption.

\*98) f2, "Siendo esta por su clase y apellido espa(---)". The Procurador, f11, suggests an error "suponiendo que para ello se hubiese prosedida con la combeniente aberiguasion (their underlining) esto es en la cobranza del año de setenta y nueve, ninguna hubo como no ignora V.A. por que siendo la primer cobranza de quenta de Su Magestad a barrios y a mi parte se les cogio de improvisso, como se ha experimentado con muchos, que no habiendo tenido excusa la paga que hisieron en aquel año, se precavieron, y se estan precabiendo en calificar sus personas en provar que son blancos, otros lisiados, mudos, y sordos, y multitud de inutiles, que aun siendo Yndios forzosamente a reconosido V.A. son de toda equidad, y Justisia el liberarlos de aquella paga o sea por su imposibilidad no obstante de ser yndios, o por haber los declarado por blancos, y que no habiendo exemplar que la gente blanca pague tributos, espera mi parte de la suma piedad de V.A. que lo declare libre... En toda filosofia el color es accidente, sin que nadie lo pueda dudar... es que no se debe fijar la considerasion en el color del sugeto, para graduarlo en esta o la otra esfera. Mi parte si le fuera permitido y no causara pudor a las familias nobles de la Ciudad nombrara sugetos individualmente, pero no obstante V.A. mismo hara brebemente reflexión de uno u otro sugeto distinguido, que si este se hallara abatido de la pobreza o por mejor decir vestido de un capisayo de gerga (rough cloth vest), quien creería fuese Don Fulano de tal, y tal bes fuera para la inteligensia de los cobradores el primero que debía pagar tributos..."

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
99)* 15) 4-V-1781	Thomas Y. Robles (wife's petn)	Quito/nat Latac.	HE Barber	L
100)* 16) 1781-V-9	Juan Mexia	Aloasi, 5LQuito	HL de Es	L
101) 17) 10-V-1781	A. Torres	Mira, nat.Punta	HL de Mo & IA	L
102) 18) 12-V-1781	J.M. de Arteaga	Ibarra	H de Es	L
103) 19) 14-V-1781	B. Paes	Ibarra	HE at hacienda	L
104) 20) 25-V-1781	B. Higuera(for sons)	Tusa	HL de E&Ia	L
105)* 21) 2-VI-1781	Pedro Betancur	Conocotoc	HL de E/M& Ca	L
106) 22) 8-VI-1781	B.&M. Aguirre	Sangolquí	HL de DE& Ca	L
107)* 23) 9-VI-1781(A)	F. Camelo	Alaquez, Latac.	HL de Mos	Pr
108)* 24) 9-VI-1781(B)	A. Quiros	Quito	H de Es	Incomplete

\*99) Foundling, but raised in an Indian house; like many cases of foundlings, he has to make a personal appearance for the court to decide on his appearance. Robles claims (petition, f3) that he was arrested in the street after he had been denounced as an Indian by his mother-in-law!

\*100) White witnesses; the cobrador can only explain that with regard to the "motivo... no se decubre otro, que el de una simple denuncia"(f4).

\*105) Pedro de B., and his brothers had been picked up in the enumeration of the fiscal Juan Josef de Villalengua in 1777, i.e. we can date the phase of census/tribute collecting activity within the vicinity of the capital, after 1777. For a discussion of the censuses, see Chapter 5.

\*107) The declaration (f4) emphasizes that none in the family had paid tribute "y que solo los vieron pagar la Alcavala, como tales Mestizos, **sin haberse exercitado en los Ministerios que se ocupan los yndios**".

\*108) Tgo. Don Francisco Xavier Rivadeneyra; " Dixo que con el motibo de vivir desde su tierna edad en el Varrío de San Roque de esta Ciudad, save y le consta que Bacilia Quiros madre legitima del que lo presenta es hija al pareser de Padres Españoles, y como tales fueron reputados en dicho varrio..."



<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
109)* 25) 9-VI-1781(C)	A. Calderon	Ibarra.nat. Guapulo5LQuito	HL de Es	L
110) 26) 3-VII-1781	A. Manosalbas	Quito	HL de Mulato&Ma	
111) 27) 7-VII-1781	J. Hidalgo	Quito	HE Latonero(tinworker)	N
112)* 28)17-VII-1781	G. de la Parra	nat.Uyumbicho 5LQ res.Cotacollao5LQ	HL de E/M s	L
113) 29) 1781-VII-28	M. Reinoso	Quito	HL deEs Latonero/linworker	N
114) 30) 30-VII-1781	G.F. Ceballos	Quito	HE	L
115) 31) 3-VIII-1781	M.F. Hidalgo	Quito	HE	N
116)* 32) 1781-IX-13	M.J.&M.B.Mosquera	Quito	HL de Cacique &Ea	L*

\*109) For flexibility in surnames, and the role of migration, c.f. f1; "haviendome Retirado ha estos Países por gana que me dió, me puse el apelativo de Sarabias". For the relativity of anonymity in a medium-sized urban centres, c.f. the testimony of Vicente Sisneros (f2); "por tal Quiteño tiene conosimiento de casi todas las Jentes de esa ciudad. y que conosió a Esteban Calderon hombre blanco, casado con Pasquala Seballos, muxer blanca, que vivian en el barrio de la Merced de dicha Ciudad". For the importance of compaternity, f4; not only the parents but the godfather was white.

\*112) Don Manuel A. vec. & mercader of Quito, tgo, f 3; " Dijo que Enrique da la Parra y Rosa de la Guerra natural y vecinos del Pueblo de Uumbicho, contrayeron con el testigo urbana amistad y correspondencia, por motivo de que estos le venían a bender algunas especies de el campo y por esto reconocio ser personas blancas".

\*116) f 8; El Contador; "... la costumbre observada en esta Provincia aserca de la cobranza de tributos de los hijos legitimos de Yndio en muger blanca o mestiza, y segun las noticias que le han comunicado los Asentistas y sus cobradores, resulta haver cobrado en algunos Pueblos, a esta clase de Mestizos y que en otros no se encuentra exemplar proviniendo sin duda esta variedad de que unos llanamente han convenido en la paga como hijos de yndios siguiendo el Pueblo y condicion de sus Padres, y otros la han resistido amparandose de la calidad de sus Madres... "(Quito, Oct.30, 1781) El Fiscal" dice (f 9) que haviendo advertido en la vicita y numeracion de su cargo la variedad con que en unos mismos pueblos, los hijos legitmos de yndio en mestiza o blanca, y los de mestizos en yndia pagavan sin dificultad el tributo, y otros lo resistian tubo a bien representarlo a V.A. con los motivos que ocurrían para que absteniendose por entonses de introducir una novedad poco segura, se tratase de informar la conveniente (cont.)

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
117)* 33) 1781-IX-14	M.Mosquera	Lulumbamba 5L Quito	PNC& H de E?	L
118)* 34) 25-IX-1781A)	M. Hidalgo	Lulumbamba 5L Quito	HE	N
119) 35) 25-IX-1781B) (.)(.)	M.Naranjo	Patate,Ambato	HL de Ms	L

\*116) cont.) practica. Pero como este Regio Tribunal dirigiese la consulta al Superior Gobierno, prosiguió el presente Ministro **numerando a los Mestizos de la mencionada clase** para mayor seguridad, y que segun las resultas que se esperavan, se facilitase la cobranza; y repecto de haver resuelto el Superior Gobierno, se estuviera a la costumbre siendo asi que esta no tenia firmeza, y por no hallar se establecida dió motivo a consultar lo que segun la diversidad experimentada se deviese practicar, podra V.A. esepтуando por ahora de la satisfacion de Reales Tributos a Manuel Justo, Martin y Bonifacio Mosquera que han producido prevenir a los Administradores de este Ramo, que con la posible suavidad, sin extrepito, y sin violencia procuren formalisar indistintamente la exaccion a fin de establecer en toda la Provincia la expresada practica, mirando por el aumento del Real interes de que daran cuenta, manejandose con la moderacion, y tiento que demanda el casso, o como sobre todo pareciese a V.A. mas conforme a Justicia sin haser novedad considerable, con los que hallarse en poiseccion de no tributar, entendiendose de aquellos de que trata el Despacho del Superior Gobierno. ( Villalengua, Quito, Nov. 27, 1781.) Judgement; "Administradores..con.. suavidad.. sin..violencia.. formalisen..la exaccion de tributos."

\*117) The collector had personally checked the parish records after receiving a denunciation; he found that the father was unknown, and the mother had the title Doña; f12, "y como este es el comun modo de llamar de Doña sin mas nombre que esta expresion; y como este es el comun modo de llamar a las Yndias, diciendolas Doña, no me quedó duda... ".el ser algo claro de color, por que havia encontrado en el discurso de la cobranza barios yndios indisputibles, de color tan clara y aun mas que la de el expresado Mosquera". Allegations of tampering with the parish records(f13).

\*118) Don Ambrocio Pilpicuje, Casique de San Antonio de L., f9; "lo allo... en un saguan, de edad de uno o dos dias, con un papelito al pecho en el que les encargaban que qualquiera que lo cogiese lo bautisen y le consta al testigo que lo Bautiso, en dicho Pueblo el Cura Ynter(ino)". Raised by Indian family.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
120)* 36) 1781-X-5	Martin Alvarado	Gualaseo	HN de DE & la	L, then Pr*
121)* 37) 28-XI-1781	Francisco Marin	Ibarra	HN de Es	L
122) 1) 1-XII-1781	F.Bastidas	Nr. Guamote	HL de Pd(sastre) & Ma	L
123) 2) 3-XII-1781	Y,J,&E. Betancur	Conocotog	HL de Es	L
124) 3)12-XII-1781	B.Barrera(&son)	Nr.Otavalo	HL de E & Ca	L
125)* 4)1782-1-8	F.X. Villamarin	Quito, parents fr. Ibarra	Musico, HL de Es	L
126)* 5) 1782-1-18	M.D. Chaves	Quito	HL de M	L
127) 6) 20-1-1782	T.Hurtado y Chirib. Angamarca		PNC	L
128) 7) 1782-1-26	Pablo Juan	Quito	HE, sirviendo hacienda	N "aspecto"
129) 8) 1782-1-28	J.Espinosa	Cuenca	HE in white house	L incomplete

120) Illegitimate son of a noble father and Indian mother, the "first generation" type of mestizo.(See successful cases 1 and 3) The father was "español y Noble, HL de Padres conocidos, gozo de la Genealogía de Mestizo fino que por medio de este tengo el honor de poder ascender a qualquier estado: lo que assi se califica por el semblante del dicho mi Padre, como por el mio que soy retrato suyo; y como tal su engendrado, me tiene en su poder, conociendome por su Hijo Natural". Testimony from his own father that he had recognised him, and that he had been "alimentado" as his son. On 11 October, 1781 he is granted a D. of M. He is again molested for tribute and the case comes up again; the Contador points out that the the Viceregal administration has asked that illegitimate children of whites pay tribute(f 6; Sept 22, 1781); the fiscal asks for more details(f 6; Nov.5, 1781). Case abandoned?

\*121) His appearance is Spanish; "governandose solo por la circunstancia equívoca de que no andaba calzado"(f3).

\*125) For the importance of the distinction between "new" mestizos, with Indian parents or grandparents, and those who are further removed from Indian society, c.f. Felipe Briones, sastre, montañas of Quito testifying of the parents; "les tratase ni aun de mestisos, como lo acreditavan sus colores y personeria sin que jamas fuesen notados de que haygan desendidos de Yndios".

\*126) Pedro Gonsales, (f 1-2), "Dixo que por ser de un mismo Barrio, (i.e. San Blas, Quito) y vesindad inmediata conosio a Felipe Chaves" and other relatives. c.f. 108) & 109) above.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type (claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
130) 9) 1782-I-30	J. Faustino & M. Fuenmayor	Conocoto, SLQ	HL de E & Ia	L
131) 10) 18-II-1782	F-X. Cabrera	Quito	HL de E & Ia?	Pr
132) 11) 22-II-1782	C. Parra	Quito	HL de M & Ea	L
133) 12) 23-II-1782	A.H. Ponquillo	Quito	HL de Mo & Ea	L
134) 13) 26-II-1782	Joseph Carrasco	Quito	HN de Ea, maes. Batioja	L
135) 14) 1782-27-11	F. Riofrio	Ibarra	HL de Mos	L
136) 15) 9-IV-1782	F. X. Flores	Quito	HN de Ea	L
137)* 16) 9-IV-1782	J. Castillo	vec. Atontaqui	HE	Pr
138) 17) 12-IV-1782	F.X. Suarez	Quito	HN de maiordomo & Ea	L
136) 15) 9-IV-1782	F. X. Flores	Quito	HN de Ea	L
137)* 16) 9-IV-1782	J. Castillo	vec. Atontaqui	HE	Pr
138) 17) 12-IV-1782	F.X. Suarez	Quito	HN de maiordomo & Ea	L
139) 18) 1782-IV-26	M. Lamar	Uyumbicho, SLQ	HL de M & Ia	L
--- 19) 26-IV-1782.	(Pedro Guaman Quispi, yndio de San Luis, Riob., sordo, mudo = libre de trib)			
140) 20) 30-IV-1782	J.M. Ydrobo	Cuenca	HN	L
141)* 21) 29-V-1782	Juan Betancur	Conocotog	H de Ea	
142) 22) 3-VI-1782	Pedro Xara	Yaruqui	HL de Es	L
143) 23) 4-VI-1782	Pedro Narbaes	Tusa	PNC/HN de Es	L
144) 24) 1782-VI-28	F. Albares	S. Antonio	HL de E & Ia	L
145)* 25) 1782-VIII-1	Fabian Mora	Cuenca	HN de E & Ca	N

\*137) f 4; J.C. was brought into the numeration by the "Gobernador y Casique de la Parcialidad de Bag.s (i.e. vagabundos) de la Corona Real", presumably the parcialidad which grouped together for tribute purposes those Indians who did not form part of any known parcialidad.

\*141) N's 105, 123, and 141 are different cases, although the petitioners are presumably distantly (?) related.

\*145) The Contador argues (f9) that the sons of an unmarried woman follow the mother, while the exemption of the cacique only applies to the eldest son; and in any case, an illegitimate son being a mestizo should not inherit a Cacicazgo. In other words, this category falls between two stools, and gets caught despite obvious claims to exemption.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type (claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
146) 26) 3-IX-1782	G. Rodrigues	Pintag	HN de E & Ma	L
147) 27) 22-IX-1782	J.E. Lusero	Quito, nat.Mira	HL de E&Pd	Pr?
148) 28) 1782-IX-23	Pedro Cabrera	Cuenca	HN de Es,soldado	L
149) 29) 28-IX-1782	Visente Sandoval	Vec. Latac.	HN de Ea	L
150) 30) 2-X-1782	Manuel Ayala	Otavalo	HL de E&Ia	L
151) 31) 1783-1-28	Jasinto Andrade	Cuenca	HE	Incomplete
152) 32) 1783-III-6	Juan Calbache	Machache	HL de Mos	L
--- 33) 1783-III-11			Not D. of M.	
153)* 34) 26-III-1783	A.B.&F. Muela	Pintag,5LQuito	HNs	N
154) 35) 3-IX-1783	Y. Balensuela	San Pablo	HE	L
155) 36) 19-IX-1783	Luis Gonsales	Cuenca	HL de E& Ea/Ia?	Pr
156) 37) 3-II-1784	B. Calvache	Mulalo Latac.	HL de M&Mulata	L
157) 38) 21-II-1784	L.Bastides	Maria Magdalena 5L Quito	HN de Ea	L
158) 39) 13-III-1784	A.&M. Lucero	Mulalo	H de Ms	L
159) 1) 18-III-1784	Y. Rodrigues	Quito	HL de Ea	Pr
160) 2) 1784-V-22	Thomas Hidalgo	Quito	raised as M by religiosa	fugitive
161) 3) 5-VI-1784	M. Tapia		HL de M & Mulata	Pr
162) 4) 6-VII-1784	Mariano Toro	Nono, 5LQ	HL de Mo	Interim
163) 5) 10-VII-1784	Grac. Xaramillo	Angamarca	HL de Mo & Ea	L
164) 6) 7-VIII-1784	M.E. Alvarado	Cuenca	HN de DE & Ea	L

\*153) Service in the position of prioste in the confraternities is cited as proof of the value of the brothers- somewhat ambiguously in view of the "aunque"; f 1; "... aunque hemos estado, y estamos gozando de la prehemencia de montañeses, hemos servido en dicho pueblo de Priostes en las Cofradias que tiene la Yglecia, como tambien en otras cosas que se nos han asignado, sin repugnancia alguna, gastando lo que se ha ofrecido, a fuerza de nuestro trabajo personal.

f2; "Nos hemos casado con mugeres blancas conocidas en dicho pueblo, como tambien nuestros antepasados han estado casados con mugeres blancas" c.f.case 27.

On 28 Oct. 1776, they are given an Interim D. of M. as illegitimate sons of an Indian woman; in 1783, more information is demanded about the mother(f7), and they lose.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type (claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
165) 7) 10-IX-1784	C. Reynos	Quinche,SLQ	HL de Es	L
166)* 8) 23-IX-1784A)	M. Espinosa	Quito	H de Es	L
167) 9) 23-IX-1784	J.G. Padilla	Quito	HL de E&Ia	L
168) 10) 27-IX-1784	V. Balencia	Quito	HL de Ea	L
169) 11) 1784-X-9	J.A. Navarrele	Quito	HL de E	
170)* 12) 11-X-1784	J. Traves	Puxili,Latac.	HE	N
171)* 13) 20-X-1784	P. Narbaes	Quito	HL de E&Ca	L
172) 14) 23-X-1784	J.C.Garzon	Quito	HN de Es	L
173)* 15) 30-X-1784	P.A. Torres	Quito	HL de Ms	N appealed
174)* 16) 13-XI-1784	G.F.Montenegro	Quito	HE barbero	N
175) 17) 16-XI-1784	J.M. Esparsa	Quito	HE/HN de Ma	Pr

\*166) f2; "Los apellidos de mis padres estan claramente diciendo que soy español; porque estos apellidos no usaron los yndios sino de otros muy distintos, y propios de su nacion".

\*170) f 4, Petition; "llevando adelante la cobranssa que me tiene hecha, con el supuesto apellido de Hidalgo que nunca lo he tenido..." Traves had been left at the door of a pardo, and c.f. f7 for the assumption that a foundling belongs to the same race as the door he is left at. In this case, it is denied, and it is claimed that he looks Indian rather than pardo.

\*171) Doña Maria Jasinta Cuebas, tgo; the father married "Petrona Visuña, solo por satisfacer al Publico y en fuersa de su onor, por ser esta desendiente de casiques"(f6).

\*173) f1-2; The parents are married in San Blas, the children in Santa Bárbara.

\*174) c.f. also case 62). Gregorio Flores Montenegro "le dio a una Doña Maria Flores Montenegro para que estubiese en su compania, y que siempre lo ha conosido y reputado como tal montañes de donde se tomó el apelativo de Flores Montenegro. Que asimismo save que asi Don Nuño Apolinar de la Cueba como otros cobradores del ramo real de tributos pretendieron el cobrarlos al pretendiente, y que abocandose dicho Doña Zumarraga con ellos, los disuadio de la empresa hasiendoles constar seria que era montañes y no Yndio, y que con motivo del oficio de Barbero que exerse como maestro le ha resurado muchos años " and never pays tribute. Denied on appearance.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type (claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
176) 18) 13-XII-1784	Matias Surita		H de Ea	Pr
177)* 19) 1785-1-15	R. Guevara	Ambato	HL de Es	L
178) 20) 25-I-1785	F. Guano	Mulalo, Latac.	HL de E&Ia	
179) 21) 12-II-1785	J. Carrera y Z.	Conocoto, SLQ	HL/HN at Indian house	
180) 22)	R. Velasquez	Atoasi, SLQ	HL de E&Ia	
181) 23) 1785-V-9	A. Valdeon	Licto	H de Ea	Pr
182) 24) 17-VI-1785	M.M. Aroca		HL de E&Ia	L
183) 25) 22-VII-1785	F. Sanchez	Quito nat Mulalo	HL de Es	
184) 26) 28-VII-1785	Simon Beltran	Saquisilí	HL de E&Ia of cacique orig.	L
185) 27) 8-VIII-1785	J.Y. Candilexo	Riob.	HL de Es/Ms/mulato?	L
186) 28) 13-IX-1785	Y.&F. Correa	Xiron, Cuenca	HN de E(RP)	
187) 29) 28-IX-1785	B. Hidalgo	Quito nat Riob	HN	N
188) 30) 4-X-1785	M. Fernandes	Alangasi, SLQ	HL de E&Ca	L
189) 31) 20-X-1785	Francisco X de la V.	Quito	HL de E/M&Ma	L
190) 32) 1785-XI-11	Simon Villaroel	Quito	HE	N
191) 33) 12-XI-1785	D. Matute	Gualaseo, Cuenca	HL de M&Ca	Pr
192) 34) 1785-XI-26	Y.F. Fernandes	nr Ambato	HL de Mo	L
193) 35) 18-III-1786	D. Mendes	Machachi, SLQ	HL de Es	Pr
194) 36) 19-IV-1786	My M. Mendia	Xiron, Cuenca	HL de M/E&criolla de Cuenca	L
195) 37) 15-V-1786	R.B.D. Rosas	Sapuyes	HL de E&Ca	L
196)* 1) 1-VII-1786	Juan de D. de la Cruz	Quito	HL de Es (soldado miliciano)	L

\*177) f2; "españoles de humilde esfera, pobres".

\*196) Juan de Dios de la Cruz, picked up in Latacunga where he had gone selling "varias expesies". He had left fine pearls with the cura, who had then paid his tribute for him. In a number of cases, witnesses seem to have been a kind of guarantor, sharing economic interests, and otherwise having dealings with the petitioner; the witnesses here, for example, are two plateros and a person who drills holes in pearls for necklaces ("taladreador de perlas"). His baptismal entry cannot be found; "dice ser haver sido Baptisado el año pasado de 1758 en la capilla, que como chosa hicieron en esta Plaza mayor por los terremotos"

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Result</u>
197) 2) 8-VII-1786	P. Espinosa	Jiron,Cuenca	HL de Ms	L
198)* 3) 16-VII-1786	R.Hati Villaiba	Quito	H de E	
199) 4) 28-VIII-1786	A. Alban	ves.Latac.	H de M&Ja/Ma	Pr
200)* 5) 23-IX-1786	A.Hidalgo	Quito	H?Tailor raised by Indians	L
201)* 6) 5-X-1786	Thomas Bermeo	Loxa,in Quito	H de I/Ms forasteros	Pr
202) 7) 14-X-1786	Meichor Espinosa	Quito,nalPuenbo	HL de Ms	Interim L
203) 8) 16-VI-1786	Manuel Tapia	Quito/Sangolquí	H de Ms	L
204) 9) 23-XI-1786	Pedro Texada	Quito	HN de Ea	L

\*198) Ramon Hati Villaiba, i.e. with a clearly non-Spanish surname, which is used against him(f8). The ambiguity of cacical descent, which is a form of nobility but can also associate a person with Indian, and therefore tributary status, is clear from this case; Hati Villaiba denies that he has claimed to be the son of a Cacique of 7 pueblos(f8).

\*200) He is a tailor, button-maker or maker of adornments for clothing. He is a Mestizo raised by Indians but in respect of cultural distinctions. Juan Bansas, Mestizo, tgo., f2: "Dixo : que con el motivo de ser oficial sastre conosió a Antonio Hidalgo donde un Yndio nombrado Mateo Solirosa de oficio ornillero y Botonero que se hallava de edad de 7 a 8 años aprendiendo uno de los oficios dichos, y lo vio bestido de mestiso con su chupa azul de paño". He knows nothing of his background.

\*201) Evidence heard in Loja, and sent to Quito. Thomas Bermeo was an Indian claiming Mestizo status, because of his services as an interpreter and canoeist/ferryman(balsero) on the expedition "a la reducion de los Yndios Ynfieles" down the rivers of the Amazonian region of Samora(f1). With regard to his services, one of the witnesses asked him how much he earned " a que le reponio dicho Bermeo que nada por que havia hido solo por hacer merito". According to another witness(f2), the canoe overturned "de modo que perdio sus vienecitos y todo lo que hiba a dentro". Thomas Bermeo's petition, f 4; "... que aunque no soy Yndio, por que mis Padres no lo fueron, siendome bastantemente dificultosa la Prueba, assi por los muchos Años a que murieron, como por que fueron forasteros, y cada uno de distinta parte." The Court in Quito is not impressed by the testimony and affidavits made in Loja, and asks(24 Nov. 1786; f6) for further inquiries from the Corregidor, notably on the possible Mestizo parentage of Bermeo. It refuses in effect to allow the category of Mestizo to serve as a cover for other types of claim to tribute exemption.



<u>Case</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Result</u>
205)	10) 9-XII-1786	Santiago T. Calle	Cuenca	HL de E&Ia	L
206)	11) 12-XII-1786	J. de D. Fuentes	San Antonio/Ibar	HN de Ms?	Pr
207)	12) 1786-XII-19	Gregorio Montero	Latac.	H de Ma	Pr
208)*	13) 7-I-1787	Manuel Garrido	Quito	HL de I lexero & DEa	N
209)	14) 30-III-1787	L. Gonzales	Azogues,Cuenca		L
210)	15)1787-IV-18	F. Lopez&family	Montechristi,Guayaq.		
211)*	16) 8-V-1787	M.G.&A. Morocho	Cuenca	HN de Ea	N
212)	17) 27-VII-1787	V.Peres de VillamarDaule		HL/HN de DE& I/Ma	N
213)	18) 1787-VIII-8	A.Villasisy P.	Barbacoas	HN de Es	L
214)*	19) 18-VIII-1787	V.&M. Muela	Calacali 5L Q Pintag	HL de E&Ia	N then L*
215)	20) 26-X-1787	J.B.E.&M. Sals	Pilaguin,Ambat	HN de E(cura)&Ea	L
216)	21) 15-XI-1787	F.Verdesotto	Quito	HL de E&Ma	L
217)	22) 26-XI-1787	L.A.N.M. Artiedo	Puntal,Ibar.		
218)	23)15-I-1788 (1788-1800)		Quito	HL de Ma	Pr
219)	24)22-I-1788	Manuel Salazar	Chillogallo,SLQ	HL de E&Ia	L
220)	25) 5-II-1788	P. Villacres	Ambato	HN de Es	Pr

\*208) The mother was sister of a noble, who "por su total Yndigencia y mal juicio se caso con Luis Maita Yndio". The mother was (f4) "conosida, reputada y tenida por señora" who "por su total Yndigencia y mal juicio se caso con Luis Maita Yndio"(f2). According to the decision of the Junta de Real Hazienda, the H.L.s "de yndios en mugeres" will now pay tribute(f6). The decree of 1787 therefore covers this new category from this case onwards; legitimate sons henceforward follow the father and not the mother.

\*211) c.f. f51.

\*214) f6; initially denied on 20 June 1788, because of the decision of the Junta General de Real Hacienda in 1787 (see case 208), and subsequently granted on 15 Jan. 1789.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Result</u>
221)* 26) 26-II-1788(A)	J. Barriga	Ysmiligui	HE/PNC*	Interim L
222) 27) 26-II-1788(B)	N. Soto	Ysimbili,Latac.	HN de Ea	L
223) 28) 4-IV-1788	T.M. Albarado	Guayaq.nat.Quito	HL de whites	L
224) 29) 22-IV-1788	M.A.&S. Nuñez	Ambato	HL de E& la	L
224) 30) 1788-IV-23	M.Parreño	PintagSLQ	HL de Es	L
225) 31) 7-VI-1788	M.Moreno	Ambato	HL de E&la	L
226) 32) 1788-VII-3	P. Barragan	Ambato	HL de Es	L
227) 33) 10-VII-1788	J.Lorenzo,M.Paredes	Pillaro	HE	L
228) 34) 30-IX-1788	Pedro Leon	Ambato	HL de E&la	Unfinished
229) 35) 3-X-1788	V.S.P.	nr.Riob.	HE at house of Ca	Pr
230) 36) 14-XI-1788	A.Portero	Ambato	HN de Ma	L
231) 37) 22-XI-1788	P.&M.Chaves	Cuenca	HL de E& Ca	
232) 38) 3-XII-1788	J. de la Cruz	nr.Ambato	HNde cura&Ma (H.ca.)Esp.milicia L	
233)* 39) 22-XII-1788	J.Vallejo	Guano	HL de M* &la	L
234)* 40) 15-II-1789	G.Nolberto	Latac.	HN de Ea/la?	
235) 41)	M. Yanes	Ambato	HL de E&la	Pr
236) 1) 18-III-1769 (i.e. earlier doc.)	M. Arze	ves.Quito res. Alguasi	HL de Mo & Ea	L
237) 2) 21-III-1789	C. Yanes	Ambato	HE raised as white	L

\*221)The fiscal, f6; "es hijo de padres no conosidos; terminos en que algunos Parrocos poco advertidos, suelen esplicar la condission de los Expositos".

\*233) Josef Vallejo is legitimate, but he is the son of a Mestizo who was the illegitimate son of an Indian. The contador acknowledges the "duda" with regard to this type of case(f 11; Dec.22, 1791). On 10 Jan. 1792, he is found to be exempt (f 12).

\*234) He has a different name "Nolberto Titusunata" and his mother Paula Velasquez was Indian, daughter of a casique.

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Result</u>
238) 3) 1789-IV-3	M. Hidalgo	Macachache,SLQ	HE	L
239)* 4) 22-V-1789	L. Flores	Latac.	HE	L
240) 5)) 1789-VI-7	T. Cuebas	Saquisili	HL de Es	L
241)* 6) 23- VI-1789	Francisco Vinuesa	Mira,Ibar.	HE	
242)* 7) 15-VIII-1789	C.Herrera	Forastero Pelileo, nat	SLQ* HN adopted Cura	L
243) 8) 9-IX-1789	L&F Lescano	Ambato	HE	Pr
244)* 9) 13-X-1789	R.Garses	nr Ambato	HN de E. musico	L

\*239) f2, Petition; "me balga ser Yo hijodalgo como a ejecutado con otros montañeses". According to the Procurador, "es notario que la Madres Yndias nunca echan a puertas ajenas a sus Hijos aunque sean procreados de Padre Blanco como que no se a experimentado tal cosa asta el día"(f 4).

\*241) Socio-racial downgrading accompanies downward social mobility; tgo., f 4; "se ignora los motivos porque han sugetado al Real Tributo al referido Francisco Binuesa y solo a llegado a su noticia que como dicho Francisco Binuesa estubiese pobre, y por esta rason entrase a servir en la Hacienda de San Nicolas como lo hubiesen puesto en el libro de consiertos, en la numeracion lo asentaron en clase de Yndio sin serlo". Binuesa initiates a second action to try to recover tribute money already paid.

\*242) For baptismal practice, note that he was born in the Barrio de La Loma but baptised in the pueblo of Zambisa. He was adopted by Padre Fray Juan de Herrera, and understood that his father was "un sujeto de distincion y honor". The petition dated 13 Oct, 1790 (f 5) claims that he is persecuted in Pelileo, being alone as a forastero.

\*244) Mathias Ortiz, tgo., f 4; "se hizo musico de la Yglesia... y en esta virtud el presentante a sido tenido, tratado y reputado por Mestizo".

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
245)* 10) 18-I-1790	D.&J.Paz	Pungala, Riob.	HL de E&Ia	L
246) 11) 15-III-1790	P.Sellany T.	Jipijapa	HL de Ms	L
247) 12) 18-I-1790	T.Pasmifio	Machachi	H de M&Ea	L
248) 13) 30-IV-1791	E.&M.Roxas	Sangolquí	H de HE	Pr
249) 14) 7-XI-1791	P.Samora	Quito	HN de Ea in absence of husband=HE	L ?
250) 15) 26-V-1793	M. Reynoso	Calacali	HN de Ea	L
251)* 16) 7-IX-1793	T.Gutierrez+relatives	Jipijapa	HL de Ms	L
252) 17) 7-IX-1795	J.M. Noriega	Quito/Quinche	HL de Es	Pr
253) 18) 6-IX-1796	A.Salazar	Ambato	HN de E&Ia(legitimised)	L
254) 19) 7-III-1797	Balthasar L.	Pintag,SLQ	HN de Es	L
255) 20) 23-VII-11797	M. Sanches	Ibar.	HL de M&Ia	L
256)* 21) 11-X-1797	D.Ayala	Pimampiro,Ibar Mos		Incomplete

\*245) For forced participation in the fiestas, c.f. the petition of Pas; "Otro si digo: Que con el motivo de la mucha consternacion en que me an puesto los Cassiques por los reales tributos; y por temor del apremo y captura, no e podido concurrir de traje en las fiestas reales de Riobamba. Por lo que el Teniente de Pungala me presissa a, que pague 4 pesos de multa fuera de la pena de 4 messes de carcel. Por lo que suplico a la dignacion de V.S. que atendendo a que el no aver concurrido a tan devida festividad no es por morosidad, ni omicion mia sino por mis atrassos, y pobresa, y demas justas causas."

\*251) Don Ygnacio Barveran, tgo. "son mestizos de mui buena presencia, y color"(f4); "... nunca se han ocupado los que lo presentan en oficios, ni cargos de yndios"(f 4). See the text- and the demographic evidence of Chapter 5- for a discussion of what constituted "offices" and "cargos" of Indians.

256) f1; R. Xaramillo, procurador de pobres; "ni el ni sus antepasados han estado sujetos a la pencion tributaria, por no haver sido Yndios, sino Mestizos que de aquellos se distinguen con el nombre de Montaneses, y blancos de dicho pueblo..."

<u>Case Classification</u>	<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Type(claimed)</u>	<u>Result</u>
257)* 22) 23-X-1797	D.M.Alvarado	Quito	HE	Interim L
258) 23) 9-I-1798	F.Guerrero & others from Nono	5LQ & res. Calacali	HL de E & Ia	
259) 24) 17-VI-1798	B.Nieto	Taguacundo	(I sastre?) HL de Es/HE	L
260) 25) 7-VIII-1799 (really 1699)	Don T. Davalos	Latac.	HN de DE & Ia	
261) 25) 1-V-1801	A.A.Carillo	S.Andres,Riob.	HL de M & Ia	L
262) 27) 14-III-1800	J.M. Garrido	Quito	HL de L & Ea	Pr
--- 28) 1804-1-29	G. Masqui & sons of Santiago de Quimfac; claim to pay at the diminished rate of 3 pesos and 2 reales in the Real Corona, as hijos expósitos, foundlings.			
263) 29) 21-III-1804	J.M.Muños	Saquisili	HL de Ms	L
264) 30) 1806-XI-12	J.Arias y Ordoñez	Cuenca	HN de E & Ma	L
--- 31) 30-IV-1813	Pedro Sinali, Indian of Yaruquies(Riobamba) can hardly walk and therefore claims tribute exemption; his payment is first halved and then stopped.			
265) 32)* 29-VII-1815	M. Quinchoango	Perucho	H gañan consierto/I?	
266) 33) 7-VI-1850 (really 7-XI-1750)	G. de Fuenmayor	Quito	HL de E & I	L

257) The contador, f 4 ; " considerando V.S. que en los Yndios hay tambien muchos hijos naturales, y este sin duda es uno de ellos, segun su fisonomia. Juan Romualdo Ortiz, 28 Nov. 1797, f 6; "Que le consta al testigo de vista, y es, que habiendo vivido segun hace recuerdo inmediata a las casa del (1?)fisiado Don Ramon Redín assi a la Merced, oyó una novedad o bulla de Gente, y pasó a una tienda de la casa del citado Don Ramon, con efecto se informo de el caso havian acabado de botar a una criatura en las Puertas de unas de aquellas tiendas que en el nombre de aquella a quien boto a la citada criatura no tiene presente, a quien le suplico el Declarante que lo criara, y si viviese le havia de dar al testigo para enañarle su mismo oficio de sillero: tiene tambien presente que entre los Pañales de la dicha Criatura le hallaron un papel en el que avisaba estar ya Bautisado: con efecto haviendose criado este muchacho quasi sin perder de vista, ya que tubo 5 o 6 años le pidio a su Madre adooctiba diciendole que cumpliera su palabra, y vaya comprendiendo poco a poco el oficio, quien assi lo executo, y lo tomo para si a dicho muchacho, y hasta la ocacion precente lo ha mantenido en dicho su oficio, y es realmente buen oficial sillero, por sus buenas costumbres y aplicasion."

f7, same tgo; "reputado por mestizo ha hijodalgo".

\*265) f3; "Y que aun por su buena color se le daba el tratamiento de **veracocho**", i.e. white.

### iii) Case Studies

#### a) Antonio de Ortuño, barber of the city of Quito, 26 Nov. 1779.

Antonio de Ortuño, barber of the city of Quito petitions to be recognised as mestizo on the 26 Nov. 1779, claiming to be the illegitimate son of Manuela Sumbe, a mestiza, by a Spaniard Antonio de Ortuño. What he terms "mistake or accident" have meant that his baptismal entry was in the book reserved for the Indians, but three witnesses back up his story. Next, and not for the first time in this series of hearings, there are delays until on February 29th 1780, the General Administrator of Tribute demands that he presents the baptismal certificate of his mother. Many of the petitions end at this point, and it proves difficult; his mother was brought to Quito at the age of two, and it is not known where she was baptised; in any case, claims the defence, the parish priests simply say what those who assist at the baptism tell them to.

Three more witnesses are summoned, this time to establish whether his mother had been brought up as a young mestiza in the house of Doña Manuela de Ontañan. The first of these, apparently white, does not seem to know whether she is mestiza or Indian; the second witness is a black slave who had worked in the same house, and says she was mestiza; the third a *montañés* confirms this version. According to the treasury representatives, the Indian had been denounced as one of those who had hidden during the census; that the mother had been brought as a servant "that she came given ("regalada"), and it is known that for this purpose they always seek Indians and not mestizas"; that her surname is Indian. On December 19th 1780, the decision goes against Ortuño, until more proof is offered.

On August 31st 1781, three more witnesses are heard and this time the defence have done their work, bringing in more prestigious witnesses; Don Josef Paliz, *vecino* and master silver-smith had gone often into the house

of Da Manuela, and "saw that by her colour and condition the mother didn't have a trace of Indian but was mestiza, and was treated as such in the said house, with esteem and love, and not with rigour and violence like the Indians"(1) Two more witnesses- one a saddle-maker - confirm this version, and Antonio de Ortuño refutes the argument that only Indians were taken for service; the young Indians rarely leave their villages because of debt, being sold into textile factories. Finally Ortuño is asked to make a personal appearance so that the Court can judge his "quality" and on Sept. 17th decides in his favour (Case 62).

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#### Social Background

Antonio de Ortuño's mother had been integrated as a servant into a wealthy Spanish household. Its wealth is suggested by the presence of a black slave: in eighteenth century Quito, there was only a very small-scale, almost exclusively feminine slave market for domestic labour and slaves were expensive. The practice of using very young Indian children as domestic labour raised almost within the family and subject to strong acculturating influences was noted in the sixteenth century(\*), and continues in present-day Ecuador. While this would not make the son less Indian from a legal point of view, it would effect a single-generation transformation from rural Indian to acculturated urban resident.

#### Occupation.

The barbers constituted an Indian occupation, although an acculturated elite one with clothing at the limit of Spanish dress; apart from this ambiguous case, there was little evidence for the existence of Mestizos in this occupation. For the social position of the barbers, and the evidence that this was an Indian occupation, see Chapter 3 (ii) b.

Result

In view of the shortage of documentary proof, and the fact that the barbers were an overwhelmingly Indian occupation, it is clear that this case turned almost exclusively on social acceptance. An unusually large number of witnesses were produced, and the case only decided when the court saw the "quality" of the petitioner. The evidence of the third set of witnesses appears to have been decisive, because of their social prestige as established artisans. That a member of an elite Indian occupation should be opting to be Mestizo rather than Indian should not pass unnoticed, this being a parallel rather than superior status from the point of view of the upper Indian elite- evidence of the extent to which tribute was a burden in the cold fiscal climate of the late 1770's?

Other comments

Ortuño had been denounced as an Indian who had hidden during the census, confirming the atmosphere of fear and evasion surrounding it. Other features of the case which may be noted are the differential treatment meted out to Indian and Mestiza servants, and the evidence of debt-peonage.

(\*c.f. *RG1*, 11,319, for Indians given as servants when young so that they acquire "good customs" ("buenas costumbres").



b) Francisco Xavier Hidalgo, Violinist of the city of Quito, 1779

According to a certificate of the parish priest of the Sagrario, Quito, an abandoned child called Francisco Xavier was baptised in the cathedral parish on the 18th of January, 1743. Thirty years later Francisco Xavier Hidalgo- a good Spanish name- appeared before the court to petition for exemption as one who has enjoyed the "privilege of gentleman ("hidalgo") by virtue of being a foundling", an abandoned child who was brought up and given the necessary education by a Spanish woman. Despite he claims, having enjoyed exemption from tribute all his life, he has been pressured by the tribute collectors. The three witnesses located by the treasury officials give quite a different story. Juan de Navarrete, citizen of Quito, testifies on the 16th December, 1779; "that he knew Xavier, whose surname he does not know, but that it is the same who produced the preceding text, and that he is the same who was held and commonly reputed in Latacunga to be an Indian, and was called *cholo*, which name is given to those who are legitimately Indian; that he is native of Latacunga where the witness knew the mother of the said Xavier who was clearly Indian, known and held as such; for this motive, apart from the aforementioned reputation, they called him *yapango*"(\*)

The second witness, Josefa Leon, also of Quito, confirms this version;

"She knew Francisco Xavier, the violinist, whose surname she does not remember, knows he is Indian, because he was the son of an Indian she knew, called Maria, *papacato* (') by office which is how they call the market women ("recatonas y gateras"), that the said Indian, held and commonly reputed as such, lived in the house of the deceased Don Diego Donoso; that he was not native of this city but from Latacunga."

The third witness Juan de la Cruz adds that Xavier was falsely calling himself Cardenas, that his father was an Indian tailor who sewed shirts; and his maternal aunt still a petty trader. With this evidence, the Court has

little doubt in arguing that the person he calls "Francisco Xavier Hidalgo, alias the violinist Hidalgo" has managed to procure the baptismal entry of some other inhabitant of the city, and on the 5th Feb. 1780, the President orders that he pay tribute.

The same month, Hidalgo appeals with a new version of his past- he is the son of Fernando Cardenas and María Santos Narbaez, known to be pure-blooded Spaniards, who had never held mechanical offices, and if they had left him at the doors of Doña Juliana Gordillo, this had been because she was an appropriate choice for bringing him up. Three witnesses, two from Latacunga, and one from Quito back up this version. In Hidalgo's petition of the 1st March 1780, he signs with an expanded name; Francisco Xabier Hidalgo y Cardenas. The case is not immediately redecided, but Hidalgo badgers the court officials and finally repetitions the President late the same year. In November of the same year the court decides. Ygnacio Montes de Oca, representative of the tribute branch of the treasury, delivers a blistering attack on Hidalgo's evidence, picking out contradictions in the evidence of the second set of witnesses, and showing the extent to which plebeian pretensions to *hidalguía* were contemptuously viewed:

"(The first witness) wants us to understand that legitimacy and a consummate nobility were the offspring of the collusion of these fellows ("estas gentes")...

"He certainly believed in the beginning that someone else's birth certificate would save him, and tried to acquire his liberty, making use of his quality of foundling; further, when it was revealed that his mother was called María la Gatera, María the market-woman, devoid of means, he added Doña, and the surname Santos, with which, and by his friendship with the witnesses, he ennobled her; and in this way, he who a little earlier, did not know his parents, and was *hijodalgo* found them shortly afterwards, and adorned with a brilliant nobility, no less."

On December 11th, 1780, the court asks Hidalgo to supply his parents' birth- certificates, and this time we lose trace of him definitively. (Case 64).

(\*) *Yapango, Ilapango*, (quichua) i.e. barefooted. Stevenson says this word was used of the Mestizos in the early nineteenth century, but it is clearly close in sense to *cholo*. c.f. W.B. Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive...* (London-Edinburgh, 1825): 303.

(') *Papacato*, (quichua) i.e. one who sells potatoes in the market- place. "En *quichua*, mercado es *ccatu*, vocablo que también se vulgarizó, así en *Quito* como en el *Perú* propio, en la forma ridícula de *gato*"; note of Jiménez de la Espada, *RGI*, II; 220, n1.

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#### Social Background

Foundling? *Cholo* from the central Sierra? If, as seems most logical, we follow the Court in considering Hidalgo to belong to the latter category, he can be considered the prototype of the emigrant to the urban centres who is able to escape the restrictions of race and tribute in the anonymity- relative, as this case clearly demonstrates- of the urban centres. Two of Hidalgo's close female relatives (mother and maternal aunt) have been market-women, confirming in an individual case the evidence of Chapter 4.

#### Occupation

Street musician. Only the officials call him a violinist, not the defence, so he clearly did not belong to the more protected category of Church musician. See cases 61, 125, 244 for musicians who won their cases, and 244 for the measure of protection afforded by the Church.

#### Result

Hidalgo is a resourceful fellow, who knows how to sign his own name

(although rather badly), organise a lively defence and persuade witnesses to testify on his behalf; the *cholo* living off his wits has taken on many of the traits of a Spanish urban resident, even if his pretensions not go down well in court.

#### Other comments

The documentation reveals enormous fluidity in eighteenth century surnames; a change of surname was one of the essential features of a successful transition into white society, "Hidalgo", of course, signifying the minor Spanish nobleman class. *Chalashca* was one of the names for urban Mestizos recorded for the Central Sierra, meaning "Collector of other people's surnames"\*. The mutations of Hidalgo's surname are an extreme expression of the altogether typical fluidity in surnames in eighteenth century society. The ambiguity of the *expósito*, (foundling) category may also be noted. Both these points are discussed below.

\* P. Peñaherrera de Costales and A. Costales Samaniego, *Katekii, o Historia Cultural del Campesinado de Chimborazo*, (Llacta, II (1V), Quito, 1957): 235.

#### **iv) The language of race: a discussion of socio-racial terminology**

The petitions which are discussed here form the plebeian counterpart to the genealogical preoccupations which ran through much of the intermediate and higher strata of Colonial society, the transposition of the traditional Spanish concern with *limpieza de sangre* as an expression of honour, to the racially diverse society of Spanish America. Jaramillo Uribe has assembled for New Granada a rich material on the litigation which the usurpation of the title "Don" caused, as well as that caused by "offences to honour" [16]. When we find the same values at a lower social level, this is testimony to the osmosis by which Spanish ideals and values penetrated into much of the popular strata of Colonial society, not least of course because these paralleled so closely the hierarchical values of traditional Andean society. Blood, honour, office: the concern with what constituted "vile and mechanical offices" was an entirely Spanish one which in both Spain and Spanish America was reinforced by a quasi-racial dimension (New and Old Christians in Spain/ Indians and "Castes" in Spanish America).

It was in the nature of the legal process that the petitioners should attempt to make their self-assessments intelligible to Court officials, but the language of the petitions nevertheless illuminates unconscious values, and provides a means of access into one dimension of popular ideology. The linguistic confusion is striking; the documentation reveals a confused world of subtle gradations, fantastic shades of meaning and - to our logic - plain contradictions:

- "Mestizo y hombre blanco" (3)
- "Hombre muy blanco" (13)
- "de buena color" (89)
- "Old Christians" (95)
- "hera blanca, tenuta por mestiza" (96)

In one sense, although rich, the language of the petitions is far less so than the extraordinary compilations of caste distinctions which have been recorded for Spanish America as a whole. The paintings in the Museo de América in Madrid, for example, represent a series of caste distinctions which bear little resemblance to what we find in the Quito documentation[17]. In part, this is because they are highly schematised, and probably did not accurately describe the reality anywhere in Spanish America. Nevertheless, the absence of blacks or part-blacks from the Declarations certainly simplified things. Of the 266 cases, only 8 turned on petitioners of black or part-black origin, i.e. 3.1%, roughly the proportion of blacks in Quito society as a whole.

The relative absence of blacks only throws into sharper relief the polarisation of the popular sectors into Indians and non-Indians. For the region of Quito there was no legal category of Mestizo in the official censuses, and I would argue that this lack of legal definition is an accurate reflection of the socio-racial nature of Quito society. The absence of the category of Mestizo may of course have been both cause and effect; it is probable that official efforts to push people into census or tax categories was itself a major factor in shaping social differentiation. Although the categories of "poor white" and Mestizo are often set in contra-distinction to each other, no clear borderline emerged from the Declarations. A person was of more or less "good colour" as he distanced himself socially and racially from the category of Indian. The attempt to define this distance formed the terrain of the law-suits: few were sure how they defined themselves, but all were sure that they were not Indian.

Thus we find few of the elaborate sub-divisions which existed whether theoretically or in reality elsewhere in Spanish America, and it may be no coincidence that almost the only exception came from one of the few cases

which was heard from the more ethnically diverse coastal region, i.e. where we find a "cuarterón" (one quarter Mestizo) (29). Quite certainly, the "rules of the game" changed considerably in those few parts of the Audiencia with a substantial black presence, and the need to define ethnicity twice over, in relation to both the Indian and Black population, produced a more complicated language of race. We should not forget the peculiarity of a Peruvian type society (i.e. white society, and large Indian peasantry) belonging to the Viceroyalty of New Granada with its more substantial black population. Greater stigma was attached to a degree of black ancestry than to part-Indian descent. In the case of Loja, where the city had a relatively significant black presence, we find both the cases of insults to honour examined by Jaramillo Uribe for the rest of New Granada, and an attempt to interpose a mixed Mestizo/ Free Coloured category between the white élite and the Indian and Slave populations[18]. At Viceregal level the ethnic distinctiveness of the Audiencia of Quito could help to explain its absence of a Mestizo category, if the standard forms of ethnic classification were held to apply to a less polarised and more diffused racial mix than was true of Quito, where (essentially) the categories of white and Indian were considered sufficient.

Although we encounter a relatively narrow range of socio-racial terminology, the language of race is highly revealing, and requires some attention if we are not to misread the data. Four key terms will be noted here: *Cholo*, *Don*, *Mestizo*, and *Montaños*. Although the first three terms are common to a larger area, the term "montaños" seems to have been used more in the Audiencia of Quito than in most areas of Spanish America, although it was certainly used more widely in the early Colonial period [19].

Cholo/llapango For the early Colonial period, one definition of *cholo* was given in Chapter 2: 1. However, in the late-Colonial documentation, *cholos* were acculturated Indians, perhaps on their way into Mestizo society. For a classic example of the urban *cholo* see the petition of Francisco Xavier Hidalgo, discussed in 6 iii) b. Although the ambiguous status of this category meant that "cholo" tended to be assimilated into "mestizo", the term still referred essentially to the Indian population; "cholo which is how they call the Indians" (see the petition of Hidalgo, above). Stevenson found in the early nineteenth century that the term *llapango*, (barefooted) was used of the Mestizos, whereas its prime sense in 6 iii) b. was clearly *cholo* (see above). Whether this was an evolution from the eighteenth century meaning, a reflection of the fluidity of socio-racial terms, or perhaps an oversimplification (or misunderstanding) of the terms used in Quito, it is difficult to say. Stevenson's description is interesting and may be cited in full:

The dress of the mestisos is composed of a jacket and small-clothes; a long Spanish cloak of blue cloth, manufactured in the country, and a black hat; these are called *llapangos*, a Quichua word signifying barefooted. The females often wear a large hoop, and a gaudy petticoat made of English flannel, red, pink, yellow, or pale blue, ornamented with a profusion of ribbon, lace, fringe, and spangles, wrought into a kind of arabesque about half a yard deep, near the bottom of the coat, below which a broad white lace hangs, attached to an under garment. The bodice is generally of brocade or tissue, or of embroidered satin, laced very tight round the waist; the bosom and sleeves of this are ornamented with white lace, ribbons and spangles; a narrow shawl of English flannel to correspond with the petticoat is thrown over the shoulders; the head is uncovered but ornamented with a fillet, ribbons, and flowers, and the hair hangs in small tresses down the back. Like the men, the women seldom wear shoes or stockings, and it is considered a trait in their beauty to have small white feet, and red heels, to procure which cosmetics and rouge are often called in to lend their assistance: the practice is very common among a certain description of females[20].



Although Stevenson describes these *Ilapangos* as Mestizos, it is probable from the dress of the masculine *Ilapangos* that they were essentially *cholos* in the process of transculturation. "Upper" Mestizos often wore more European style trousers and sometimes had shoes[21]. With regard to the feminine category of *Ilapanga* it is - as always - rather harder to fix them in a clear ethnic category, and their dress is totally acculturated. On the other hand, Stevenson's final hint of an association of at least part of this category with prostitution may be noted. In 1861 Holinski remarked only on the *Ilapangas* and not the *Ilapangos*, and made similar comments, so it may be that the former were closer to becoming an urban "type", while the latter were indeed a transitional category on its way into assimilation into white society[22].

Don Jaramillo Uribe has documented the law-suits created by the usurpation of the title "Don", which was technically a mark of nobility, although it had been somewhat democratized in its actual usage[23]. For the region of Quito, we may emphasize the continuation of its use by important Indians to the extent that a tribute collector (see case 117) identified someone as Indian almost entirely because his mother had this title. In the Baptismal register of the Sagrario for whites in the Sagrario, Quito (1762-70), we find at folio 179 the baptism of a child of Don Miguel Garcia and Doña Josefa Jara y Almeida, written in different handwriting from that of the priest. The entry which follows on f 180 states that the baptismal entry for the son of Miguel Chuquimarca had been torn out of the book of Indians, and a new entry written in for him in the book of whites, "aumentado con muchos dones". The importance of the Church as the *de facto* arbiter in determining social distinctions is only re-emphasized.

Mestizo An official writing in the late 1770's at the time when the administration was concerned about real and potential threats of disorder distinguished between three types of Mestizos. The first were "cholos", Indians seeking to avoid tribute obligations, the second were children of "plebeian" fathers and Indian mothers, and the third were the illegitimate offspring of noble fathers; the former two categories were afraid of censuses for fear of being reduced to tributary status, while the third were considered a naturally lively and scandalous group[24]. The first two categories of Mestizos emerge clearly from the documentation in section ii) of this chapter, although it may be appropriate to call attention to Martín Alvarado (120) who belongs to the third category, and whose fortunes were markedly different in the 1770's and 1780's than they would have been in an earlier period (compare with cases 1, 3, 12, 32, 106). This "first generation" type of Mestizo forms a link with the material of Chapter 2: i), but he is clearly a very small part of the total Mestizo population by the late eighteenth century.

For a definition of the Mestizo we may turn to Garcilaso de la Vega, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century; "The children of Spaniards by Indians are called mestizos, meaning that we are a mixture of two races. The word was applied by the first Spaniards who had children by Indian women, and because it was used by our fathers, as well as on account of its meaning, I call myself by it in public and am proud of it, though in the Indies, if a person is told : "You're a mestizo" or "He's a mestizo it is taken as an insult." [24]. The term "mestizo" continued to have pejorative associations, as indeed is clear from the analysis of the three types of Mestizo cited above. In the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768, if Xavier Casas, street seller, has been classified as Mestizo, while everybody else is Indian, Mulatto or unspecified, this is clearly not because the Mestizos are a tiny minority, but because the categorisation as Mestizo

is a comment on his unstable way of life (see Table 6: 1). In this sense, the early Colonial definition of the Mestizos as idle and potentially seditious (see Chapter 2 i) had a long life and requires little additional comment. There was relatively little auto-identification as Mestizo in the petitions, and "Mestizo" was clearly a category which pulled towards white society when it could (see *inter alia*, 13, 97)

One important distinction should be stressed as regards internal differentiation within the popular Mestizo sectors, namely the distinction between new Mestizos, and those who were further removed from Indian society. The designation of a person as a "Mestizo Romo", (i.e. "mule", because of the split ancestry, and with an Indian father) comes up in one of the earlier cases (6), but it is clear that the distinction remained an important one. Case 125 was merely one example of many who stressed the remoteness of Indian ancestry, and the phrase "mestizo limpio" signified those who were not the illegitimate offspring of white and Indian but the children of Mestizos on both sides. The putative plotted uprising of these Mestizos against the *cholos* of the city in 1762, shows that this distinction was a real one. How many generations separated a *cholo* from a "Mestizo limpio" is another question, and what is striking in the ethnic tensions in San Roque is that a parish which may have been quite strongly Indian in the second half of the seventeenth century acquired such a strong "Mestizo" identity during the first half of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 7).

Some degree of racial mixture affected different social strata, and left its mark in a clear if often unstated consciousness of socio-racial gradations within white society. The defender of Damacio Cáceres observed: "one or another distinguished subject, if he were found downcast by poverty, or to be more exact, dressed in a rough cloth poncho, who would believe that he was Don-so- and-so, and perhaps in the mind of the

collector, he would be the first to pay tribute" (case 98). Although there may not have been "insults to honour" cases on the scale of much of New Granada, this racial consciousness is nevertheless revealed by quarrels brought before the law-courts- in this case, an ecclesiastical one- when unspoken racial attitudes were brought to the surface. In 1805, in Sidcay (near Cuenca) a coadjutor and his priest were engaged in a furious dispute: "saying he was senile, a scoundrel, a thief, *cholo*, Mestizo, and other equally outrageous insults" ("palabras de que el Dr. Perez era un Viejo, Picaro, Ladron, Cholo, Mestizo, y otras injurias igualmente enormes")[25].

Montañés Tyrer defines "montañés" in terms of the "gente decente", arguing that it was a "term which in Quito literally meant a mountain man, usually applying to a mestizo but including poor whites as well"[26]. In a study of the present-day Province of Cañar, C. Muñoz- Bernard refers to "montañeses" as coming from the wooded zones of Dudas and Zhoray, or being labourers on the *haciendas*, but does not specifically identify them as Mestizos[27]. Although we often find terms such as "white", "Mestizo" etc. used interchangeably, this should not blind us to their root meaning, and there is no doubt that from the sixteenth to at least the nineteenth century - and I suspect beyond - the prime sense of *montañés* was Mestizo. Garcilaso de la Vega gives an extremely clear definition of this term for the sixteenth century, and his sensitivity to racial differences -as the son of a Spaniard and Inca princess- give his testimony particular interest. After giving the definition of Mestizo cited above, he continues, as follows:

"... if a person is told: "You're a mestizo" or "He's a mestizo it is taken as an insult. This is the reason why they have adopted with such enthusiasm the name *montañés* which some potentate applied to them, among other slights and insults, instead of the word *mestizo*. They do not stop to consider that, although in Spain the word *montañés* is an honourable appellation, on account of the privileges that have been

bestowed on the natives of the Asturian and Basque mountains, if it is applied to anyone who is not from these parts, it assumes a pejorative sense derived from its original meaning "something from the mountains". This is brought out by our great master Antonio de Lebrija, to whom all good Latinists in Spain are indebted in his vocabulary. In the general language of Peru the word for a mountaineer is *sacharuna*, properly "savage", and who-ever applied the word *montañés* was privately calling them savages: those of my own generation, not understanding this malicious implication, took pride in the insulting insult, when they should have rather avoided and abominated it, using the name our fathers bestowed on us rather than accepting new-fangled indignities"[28].

In Spain "la montaña de Burgos" was the region where even the lower social strata were considered not to have Jewish or Moorish blood, because the Arab conquest had not reached the extreme north-east of the country [29]. The new lease of life of this Spanish term in the Indies was therefore a direct expression of the traditional Spanish concern with purity of blood as an expression of honour. Distant echoes of this preoccupation can be found in the Mestizo law-suits of the late-eighteenth century, when petitioners pleaded as *mestizos limpios*, of "pure mixed-blood". *Montañeses* were Mestizos of an "honourable", middling status in society, and in the late-Colonial period, people of this status could be labelled either "white", "montañés", or "mestizo". Although it may certainly be argued that there was no clear borderline between *montañés* and "poor white", and we can find abundant contradictory usages, the term still carried the root sense of mixed-blood, (and had nothing to do with the Ecuadorian *montaña*); "Montañés, which is how they call the Mestizos"(71). At least in the registers of the Sagrario, this was quite an explicit category, and in the nineteenth century, the term continued to be used in the same sense [30]. The present-day Ecuadorians I asked were unable to explain the term (not apparently through any reluctance to discuss the subject). This is perhaps unsurprising; racial terms are sustained mainly by abuse (*cholo*, etc.), and the auto-identification of

mestizos as whites or near-whites, was already in evidence in the eighteenth century petitions. The term may have survived better outside the capital. In view of the Colonial and nineteenth century meaning of the term, it is likely that the people of Dudas and Zhoray, cited above, are in fact present-day *montañeses*, (or descendants of *montañeses*) in the sense discussed here.

### v) Classification of categories

The cases presented in section ii) can essentially be broken down into the following categories:

i) The children of Spanish and Indian mother, the latter often belonging to the class of the *cacicas*.

ii) The children of Indian father and white mother, (6, 34, 116, 208). For the legal position, see 116. Case 208 appears to be an unusual example of this form of matrimonial alliance, and shows that inter-ethnic marriages could be a reflection of downward as well as upward social mobility.

iii) "Indios vestidos de españoles". Indians who have assimilated urban skills and adopted Spanish culture. Case study iii) b above exemplifies this kind of case, although statistically the "real" *cholo* was less likely to bring his case before the tribunals than a person who was Mestizo.

iv) "Spaniards dressed as Indians". Mestizos usually in rural areas who are partly assimilated into Indian culture, or who for reasons of poverty go "dressed as Indians", but who have enjoyed recognition of their Mestizo status until over - zealous *caciques* or tax-collectors try to re-incorporate them into the category of tribute payer. The long-running battle of the Aguilar family exemplifies this group (cases 6, 23, 28, 36).

v) *Hijos expósitos*, foundlings, for whom there was no easy criterion for establishing ethnicity.

vi) "Poor whites", i.e. people who find themselves before the law-courts because their low economic status makes it difficult for census takers to separate them from Indians, and who have been sometimes subject to denunciation of evil-wishers.

vii) The Declarations also merge into other kinds of document relating to tribute exemption, such as those who have served the Church in varying capacities, served on a dangerous expedition in the jungle or fought the

English in Guayaquil (e.g. 16, 201: see also for the importance of Church service, 153, 244).

The case - studies cited earlier serve as a warning against attempting any clear separation of these categories. In the course of an inventive defence a petitioner might - and often did - advance many different explanations of why he was not Indian, some of them quite contradictory. The advantage of setting out all the cases in section ii) is that it allows us to establish discussion on a solid documentary base, without being dependent on the presentation of a series of tables which a more restricted format requires. A degree of flexibility in handling this data is certainly in order. If we calculate the illegitimacy rate, for example, we find that only 31% of the petitioners were legitimate. It is appropriate, however, to emphasize the legal background. The Viceregal decree of Sept. 1774 specified that illegitimate children followed the mother, and despite some elasticity in the application of this decree (in the light of variations in local custom - c.f. 49), this was the guide-line in the majority of the cases in the series. The decisions of the Junta of the Treasury in 22 Dec. 1787, and of the Viceroyalty in 23 June 1789 specified that the legitimate sons of Indian men in white women would follow their father, while the illegitimate sons of white men in Indian women followed the mother. In a sense, it was true that a son raised by an Indian woman, but who was biologically Mestizo, might be closer to Indian than to white society. On the other hand, we noted above case 120, the illegitimate son who was recognised and raised by his Spanish father, and would certainly have had no problems with tribute collectors prior to the 1770's. In effect, it was precisely illegitimacy which formed the legal basis of decision-making on ethnic status in the 1770's and 1780's. The evidence on legitimacy in section ii) is therefore necessarily the most over-simplified aspect of all the data: some of the cases described here as "legitimate" turned precisely



on the question of whether they really were.

The quantification of the data poses problems in other respects, and the absence of firm occupational data on all cases is certainly a handicap. Although a Lockhart-style "Men of Quito" study may be somewhat beyond the possibilities of the documentation, the existence of a major series does have the effect of serving as a break on the material and prevents it being merely anecdotal. I would argue that this is one of the defects of an interesting collection of life stories on "Struggle and Survival in Colonial America", which shows the survival strategies of "ordinary people" in Colonial Spanish (and North) America [31]. It is clear that the petitioners were a self-selected group, and the loose sheet which found its way into one of the law-suits (14), is eloquent on the sufferings which a legal action could entail: delays, loss of money, and absence from home for those who attempted to bring an action from outlying areas(14, but see also 96). Those who did bring an action were those who thought they could succeed, and there were certainly many others who did not bring actions, (or whose cases were not located) who were equally affected.

In view of these points, it is difficult to answer statistically a certain number of relevant questions, but they are ones which may nevertheless be posed. Was it getting more difficult to obtain a favourable decision from the law-courts after 1776? Can we consider the 200 and more petitioners brought before the law-courts after the late 1770's - or the 68 from Quito - to be a significant or a small total? It is certainly clear from section II) that in the fiscal climate of the late 1770's, more people were being turned down than prior to that date. Although it is not always clear how a case ended, the pre-1776 cases were successful, whereas a small but steady minority of petitioners were turned down from the late 1770's onwards. The great flurry of law-suits in the late-1770's itself attests to increased official pressure, but we should not ignore one caveat, namely

that some of the cases from the period before 1776 which we find in the series are there precisely because they succeeded, and are brought in evidence by their children, or grand-children. Although those actually going before the tribunals were probably less than 1% of the total adult male population, the atmosphere of denunciations (99,100 etc.), fear and evasion complements the evidence of a climate of repression around 1780 which is suggested by the data cited in Chapter 7, below.

It is argued that whatever the flexibility of official practice, it is clear that new groups were in reality being incorporated into the tributary population. Figure 5:3 shows a major rise in the tributary population of the city at exactly the time the Mestizo petitions were being brought, and for a period for which there is no evidence of a sudden increase of the population. The rise in the number of tributaries suggests that the enormous income in tribute income at the same date [32] was not therefore simply a consequence of increased efficiency, but of a real widening of the tribute net. Case 116 includes the explicit testimony of Villalengua that in the face of variations in local custom he had "enumerated" the indeterminate Mestizos, and the possibility that he counted them as Indian may help to explain the fact noted by R.D.F. Bromley for the Central Sierra that his enumeration uncovered more tributaries than the parallel imperial census[33]. In the case of Quito, the Villalengua enumeration gave a total of 2,944 Indian males and 3,674 females, compared with 2,615 Indian males and 3,495 Indian females in the 1781 census summary[34]. We can interpret the difference either in terms of the greater efficiency of Villalengua's efforts to pick up Indian tributaries, or, more particularly, the inclusion of these marginal Mestizos. The fact that the difference in number of males was slightly greater than that of females emphasizes the fiscal character of the Villalengua enumeration. In either case, it is difficult to believe that we can advance much closer quantitatively to the

problem of either evasion or the number of "new" Indians, except to say that both undoubtedly existed.

Who were the "new" Indians? Obviously, from the point of view of Crown officials, the *cholos* were simply tax evaders, and greater efficiency was by definition a widening of the tribute net. The "poor whites" are interesting because they underline the relativity of socio-racial categories. Francisco Binuesa is obliged by poverty to work as a labourer on an *hacienda* and finds that downward social mobility is accompanied by a weakening of his ethnic status (241: see also, e.g. 177). In the atmosphere of denunciations, some who were probably Mestizo were re-classified. Although smaller categories than the *cholos*, two of the seven categories mentioned at the head of this section will be discussed here, as they shed a revealing light on the process of ethnic classification (and re-classification) in the 1770's and 1780's:

a) The foundlings (*hijos expósitos*) The foundlings may be discussed first, because they represent a group, a section of which can be shown to have been directly threatened by incorporation into the Indian tributary population in the period of Bourbon fiscal reform. None of these cases come up before the late 1770's whereas after 1776, they form around 10% of the total, i.e 23 cases which are the following: 61, 64 (?), 78, 97, 103, 114, 115, 118, 128, 129, 137, 170, 174, 190, 221, 229, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243, 248, 257. Clearly in pre-reform days, categories like this passed relatively easily into the non-tribute paying sector of the population, whereas after the 1770's, they were subject to official scrutiny. One tribute official had no doubt that this category was quite simply one of tribute fraud: "the Indians defraud... the Treasury placing their children at the doors of their neighbours, or abandoning them entirely"(61).

The descriptions of how the babies were found (118, 257) are particularly interesting in one respect, because they specify that the infants had been found with a paper indicating that it had already been baptised. Although in one sense, this is a nice confirmation for the historical demographers that baptism was indeed a virtually universal practice, in another sense it suggests that some caution is in order before using the *hijos expósitos* as a clear index to periods of economic difficulty[35]. In Quito, many babies were being baptised and only then abandoned, and these baptisms would not then presumably re-appear in the registers. The fiscal in case 221 specifies the inexactitude of the classification of the different types of non-legitimate children. The essential correlation of the proportion of *hijos expósitos* with periods of economic crisis may well be correct, but this evidence suggests that our figures for foundlings are often minimum rather than maximum estimates, and that foundlings may well have been a far more considerable presence in Spanish American society than has generally been argued.

A high proportion of both illegitimate children and foundlings was noted for Santa Bárbara in the previous chapter, and there are other indices to indicate a high rate of abandoned children in the eighteenth century city. In 1765, a period of dearth, epidemic and rebellion, 24.5% of baptisms in the book reserved for whites were foundlings, 59.0% being legitimate. Comparing this with the figures in the same register for the early nineteenth century, admittedly at a time when the category of white had become more socially exclusive, suggests that this was indeed a large total, and a small point to be taken into account in relation to the socio-economic background to the Quito rebellion[36]. At the same period, the proportion of abandoned children in the book reserved for Indians, Mestizos and Mulattoes was much lower, being only 7.8% of the total although in view of the official's comments noted above about the

difficulty of separating *hijos expósitos* from illegitimate children, we should perhaps pay attention to the rate of "natural children" (*hijos naturales*), which was high at 30.8%. Were Indian and Mestizo children being left at white doors as the official cited above obviously believed? In other words, did the placing of foundlings at the door of Spanish households, keep the total of Indian and Mestizo *hijos expósitos* exaggeratedly low?

During the law-suits differing views were expressed on this point (c.f. 239 as against 257); there was sometimes the assumption that children belonged to the same race as the doors they were left at (170). In any case, the courts were not greatly influenced by this point, and the foundlings were the one category decided essentially on the grounds of physiognomy; the foundling was asked to make a personal appearance so that the court could judge his appearance. Whatever the actual racial origin of the foundling, there can be little question that the role of the Spanish household served as a transitional stage in his assimilation into white society. The case of Antonio de Ortuño above can be cited for a similar example of the acculturating role of the Spanish household. It is clear from surviving civil law-suits, that *hijos expósitos* had a status which was often distinct from that of servant, and could reach that of adopted child. Actions with blood relatives over inheritances underline the ambiguity of this category[37]. In this respect, it is interesting to note the claims to *hidalguía* of the *hijos expósitos*; cases 64, 78, 115, 118, 170, and 238 all had the name Hidalgo or were alleged to have taken it.

b) The offspring of Spaniards and *cacicas* The series of petitions uncovers another "special" group which may be briefly noted. During the mid-Colonial period, matrimonial alliances between Spaniards and *cacicas* permitted the white or Mestizo to integrate himself as an "intruder" into positions of authority within the Indian communities, and was also a factor which was ultimately to play an important role in the transfer of land from Indian to Spanish hands[38]. This was not a process which stopped in the eighteenth century- and in 1982 the newspaper "El comercio" of Quito reported that mestizos were marrying Colorada Indians in an attempt to obtain their land[39]- but the series does allow us to take stock of some of its unforeseen consequences in the late-Colonial period.

The offspring of Spaniards and *cacicas* appear relatively frequently in the series, and it is probable that many of those classified here as the children of Spaniards and Indians belong to this category. Those petitioners with clear cacical links were the following: **1, 2, 3, 9, 19, 32, 54, 56, 74, 90, 93, 96, 105, 106, 124, 145, 171, 184, 188, 191, 195,** (i.e. 21 cases or around 8% of the total, although probably in reality somewhat greater: we may also take note of **116** for the rarer example of a *cacique* married to a white). This was by no means a new category, and indeed the earliest examples tend to be examples of this process (**1, 3** etc.). There was nevertheless certainly a sense in which the fiscal reforms of the late 1770's may have had the long-term effect levelling out the distinctions within Indian society, both by assuming a more direct control of tribute collection, and partly by-passing the *caciques*, and by gradually imposing uniform criteria of tribute eligibility. Although this meant that the *caciques* and their eldest sons continued to be exempt, association with the cacical class- which was also association with nobility - was not a decisive advantage, although it might be adduced as an additional argument (**54, 145**). In other words, noble Indian ancestry as

such provided no special protection by the late 1770's, unless the petitioner could validate his claim on other grounds.

#### **vi) "Vile and mechanical offices"**

One of the repeated refrains in the documentation is that the petitioner and his family have never "exercised the offices which belong to Indians" (107). The association of office with ethnicity is so strong that some people seem to have been picked up largely because of their occupation, these exceptions to caste-like distinctions therefore in certain measure proving the rule (see 2, 241 etc.). What were the "offices" of Indians? For this, the evidence of the Petitions can be somewhat misleading, because all the cases are by definition the marginal ones, and it is therefore appropriate to turn to the demographic evidence which is not deformed in this way. The only known full house- to- house census for the eighteenth century city, providing relatively complete ethnic and occupational data is the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768, a document already cited in the previous chapter. The pattern which emerges is a relatively clear one, although the notes to the table make a number of points which should be taken into account before attempting to correlate occupational data and socio-racial classification:

**Table 6:1**  
**Occupational and socio-racial classification: the parish of Santa Bárbara, Quito, 1768\*.**

	Socio-ethnic classification*		
	Indian	"White"	"Don"
<u>Production for Indian</u> <u>/popular consumption</u>			
Weaver ( <i>tejedor</i> )[a]	11	---	---
Producer, maize beer ( <i>chichero</i> )	7	2	---
Firework-maker ( <i>cohetero</i> )[b]	---	(1)[b]	---
Pot-maker/dealer ( <i>ollero</i> )[c]	---	(8)[c]	---
<u>Food/Market</u>			
Baker ( <i>panadera</i> )[d]	---	1	---
Market-woman ( <i>gatera</i> )[e]	1	---	---
Ibid, red pepper ( <i>vendedora aji</i> )[f]	1	---	---
Street-seller ( <i>vendedor, calle</i> )[g]	---	1Mestizo	---
Butcher ( <i>carnicera</i> )[h]	1	---	---
Fruit-seller ( <i>frutero</i> )[i]	2	---	---
Sugar dealer ( <i>tratante azucarero</i> )	1	---	---
<i>Chagro</i> [j]	1	2 + 2 mulatas	--
<u>Services to white society.</u>			
Mason ( <i>albañil</i> )	2	---	---
House-servant ( <i>huasicama</i> )	1	---	---
Servants ( <i>sirvientes/criados</i> )	-----	45 > -----	---
Town crier ( <i>pregonero</i> )	1	---	---
Coachman ( <i>reatero</i> )	1	2	---
Clothes-presser ( <i>prensadora</i> )	---	1	---
Barber/minor surgeon ( <i>barbero</i> )[k]	6	---	---
<u>Services to the Church.</u>			
Chorister ( <i>cantor</i> )	1	---	---
Sachristan ( <i>sacristán</i> )	1	2	---
<u>Artisans[1]</u>			
<u>Leather</u>			
Cobbler ( <i>zapatero</i> )	9	1	---
Artisan, damask ( <i>damasquero</i> )	1	---	---
Saddle-maker ( <i>sillero</i> )	---	2	---
<u>Furniture/Construction</u>			
Carpenter, cabinet-maker ( <i>carpintero</i> ) <sup>3</sup>		3	---



Table 6:1 (cont.)

Varnisher ( <i>barnizador</i> )	1	---	---
<u>Clothing</u>			
Embroiderer ( <i>bordador</i> )	2	1	---
Tailor ( <i>sastre</i> )[m]	2	15	---
Hat-maker ( <i>sombrerero</i> )	---	3	---
Button-maker ( <i>botonero</i> )	1	---	---
<u>Specialised production</u>			
Guitar-maker ( <i>guitarrero</i> )	---	1	---
Lantern-maker ( <i>farolero</i> )	---	1	---
Cigar-maker ( <i>cigarrero</i> )	---	1	---
<u>Jewelry/ Metal</u>			
Crucifix-maker ( <i>crucero</i> )	---	1	---
Rosary-maker ( <i>rosariero</i> )	---	1	---
Blacksmith ( <i>herrero</i> )	---	7	
Silver-smith ( <i>platero</i> )	---	3	---
<u>Artists</u>			
Musician ( <i>músico</i> )	---	2	---
Painter ( <i>pintor</i> )	---	1	1
<u>Commerce[n]</u>			
<i>Chagro</i> : see <u>Food/Market</u>			
<i>Pulpero</i> [o]	1	6	---
Monopolist ( <i>estanquero</i> )[p]	1	7	---
Merchant ( <i>mercader</i> )	---	1	4
<u>Church</u>			
Priest ( <i>curas, presbíteros</i> )		-----8-----	
<i>Obrero</i> ?[q]	---	1	---
<u>Officials, Liberal professions</u>			
Scribe ( <i>plumario</i> )	---	1	2
Notary ( <i>notario</i> )	---	---	1
Lawyer ( <i>abogado</i> )	---	---	1
Military Officer ( <i>militares</i> )	---	---	5
Royal Officials ( <i>funcionarios Reales</i> )--	---	---	5
<u>Land-owners/users[r]</u>			
Farmer ( <i>labrador, chacarero</i> )	---	15	1
" " " " ( <i>granjero</i> )	---	---	1
Sugar-producer ( <i>azucarero</i> )	---	---	1

Source for Table 6:1: based on the "Padrón de Santa Bárbara en 1768", document of the AM/Q published in: *Museo Histórico* (Quito), 56, (1978): 93-122.

\* "White" means unspecified non-Indians, and non-blacks who did not have the title "Don" i.e. it includes Mestizos. The use of the title "Don" is here taken to denote upper-class status, although this is by no means an exact category. Indians are those specified as such, although a number of other people- especially women- with Indian names may also have been so. It may be stressed that the above is data on a partly élite parish, and occupational categories were therefore largely orientated around white consumption and requirements. Occupational data in this *padrón* is incomplete.

Notes to Table 6: 1:

a) These weavers are placed in this category, because the absence of textile specialisation (*tintorero, hilador, etc.*) suggests they were involved in small-scale domestic production, rather than employed in workshops. There were probably more independent weavers in the more popular parishes than in Santa Bárbara, weaving, e.g. cotton cloth for trousers and woolen *ponchos* for Indian clothing.

b) "Cohetero" was not related to weapons. This *cohetero* has an Indian name although he is not identified as such. See the portrait in: *Ecuador Pintoresco. Acuarelas de J. Pinto*, (Barcelona - Quito, 1977) : Illustration 1 (1901). Such later pictorial sources often provide the only non-census data on some of the more popular occupations, which generally escape the notarial records. Fireworks were- and are- an essential part of Indian festivals, (as well as eighteenth century riots).

c) Five had no specified surnames, and may have been Indian (or perhaps, more strictly *cholo?*); four of the eight were women. Indian women involved in small-scale commercial activity were classified less rigidly than men, as non-tribute-payers. The *olleros* were all near the slaughterhouse.

d) *Panadero de Quito* in: ...*Acuarelas*, op. cit. Ilustr. 9 (1900).

e) "En *quichua*, mercado es *ccatu*, vocablo que también se vulgarizó, así en *Quito* como en el *Perú* propio, en la forma ridícula de *gato*"; note of Jiménez de la Espada, *RGI*, II; 220, n1.

f) Portrait in the collection Castro y Velázquez, Guayaquil, n. 22. (Nineteenth century *costumbrista* (customs) paintings). *Ají* was often consumed with *chicha*, and formed a key part of the Indian diet c.f. W.B. Stevenson, *A historical and descriptive narrative of twenty years' residence* (London-Edinburgh, 1825) : Vol 2 : 315.

g) Explicitly Mestizo, whereas nearly all poor non-Indians were not classified in ethnic terms. i.e. the street-seller had did not have a fixed place in a hierarchical society, and this classification was a value-judgement on him.

h) Collection Castro y Velázquez, Guayaquil, n. 85. See also Chapter 4.

i) ...*Acuarelas*, Ilustr. 32(1900). *Imágenes del Ecuador del Siglo XIX*, Juan Agustín Guerrero, (Quito: Fundación Hallo, 1981) : 58.

j) Women. *Chagro*, deriv. quichua, *chagra*, field; " a shop in which is sold different grains, bread and other foodstuffs, which they call chagro, for the provision of poor people" ("una tienda en que haze vender diferentes granos, Pan y otros comestibles... que llaman chagro, para el abasto de la gente pobre" (ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 2: Doc 1760-V-23 : f 1).

k) See Chapter 3. These barbers have Spanish surnames, which reinforces the point that this was a highly acculturated Indian occupation.

l) 67 artisans, i.e. a significant artisanal production for white consumption, and urban tastes, but in a parish with a population of 2,757. Whether this is considered a large or a small total depends of course on the degree of parish specialisation in artisanal production- whether Santa Bárbara's artisans were also supplying the Cathedral-parish, or whether popular parishes such as San Roque were supplying the city as a whole, including a relatively white parish like Santa Bárbara. Only the localisation of similar *padrones* for the other parishes can answer this question.

m) In Santa Bárbara in 1768, the tailors were overwhelmingly white, and the two Indians had Spanish names. On the other hand, the *padrones* of 1733, cited in the text, revealed 7 Indian *sastres* in San Roque, but apparently none in the surviving *padrones* for the other parishes. This occupation was obviously "whiter" in an élite parish than in San Roque, where the tailors were supplying poor quality products to the popular

sectors, and where it may have been more closely linked to weaving activity.

n) Four people involved in commerce had dual occupations (p94, *barber/pulpero*, *sombrerero /pulpero*; (p96) *albañil /chichero*; (p116) *estanquero/ carpintero*). Furthermore, commercial activity was certainly not restricted to those in this category (or food/market above), as many of the above artisans also commercialised their products through the *tiendas* which they owned or rented.

o) *Pulperos* owned or rented licensed retail outlets for knives, cheese, alcohol etc. Some *pulperos* converted to *chagro* in economic difficulties (see Chapter 4).

p) The *estanco* was notably the brandy monopoly, but tobacco, playing cards and official paper (*papel sellado*) were also state monopolies.

q) Probably a *demandero* (or alms collector) for the church rather than a manual labourer, in view of the ethnic classification. In *Acuarelas*, op. cit. 41 (1900), and in *Imágenes...* op. cit. 98, he is represented as a poor white.

r) Many of the most important landowners were resident in the Sagrario, not Santa Bárbara.

With regard to the data in Chapter 6:1, it is appropriate to stress that, although socially mixed, Santa Bárbara was an élite parish, and the economic activities of the popular sectors were more orientated around élite consumption and requirements than they would have been in San Roque, San Sebastián or San Blas. The occupational data is certainly different from the other parishes to judge from the *padrones* of the Indian population in 1733. The fact that tailors were white in Santa Bárbara is derived essentially from the parish's élite character. In San Roque, for example, we find Indian tailors serving the more popular sectors in 1733 [40]. In a parish like San Roque, tailoring was probably more clearly linked to weaving which the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara confirms to be an exclusively Indian activity. The data on the small-scale production for popular consumption in Table 6:1 is more mixed, but as this was a more feminine activity, ethnic classification is less reliable for the reasons given in previous chapters.

The *padrón* of Santa Bárbara confirms the descriptions of Juan and Ulloa in the 1740's and Stevenson in the early nineteenth century with regard to ethnic classification. According to Juan and Ulloa, the shoemakers, masons, weavers, and barbers were all Indian, the barbers constituting the most élite acculturated group. Mestizos were picked out for their talent as silver-smiths, painters, and sculptors, the Quiteño school of painters being one of the most celebrated in Spanish America [41]. Stevenson's account follows Juan and Ulloa, and may have been partly inspired by them, but he incorporates material from his own experiences:

The indians, both men and women, are of a low stature, well proportioned, very muscular and strong; they bear a general resemblance to the Indians in Peru, but they are more subject to their masters. Those that are employed in the city are household servants, in which capacity they are very useful, partly on account of the equanimity of their temper and their blind submission to their masters... They are capable of supporting very heavy burthens; a man will carry on his back during the greater part of the

day a large earthen jar holding from twelve to sixteen gallons of water... The Indian women who employ themselves in bringing from the surrounding villages any produce to the market at Quito, carry their burthens in the same manner as the men. I have often seen them so covered with a cargo of brushwood, lucern, green barley, or other light bulky articles, that the load seemed to move along of itself, the carrier being completely enveloped.

Many Indians in the city become butchers, weavers, shoemakers, &c.... Some of the Indians are barbers and manage the razor with the greatest dexterity...[42].

The Santa Bárbara *padrón* confirms that the shoemakers, masons, weavers, and barbers were Indian occupations, with just one shoemaker out of ten apparently being Mestizo. Stevenson's account stresses the association of Indians with domestic service and with carrying, an "office" which was so closely associated with Indian ethnic status, that a Mestizo was picked up by the tribute collectors for exercising it (see case 2). Stevenson's account also reminds us that a *padrón* of one urban parish does not provide an adequate delineation of the social characteristics of the city as it neglects the interaction of the city with its rural district, an interaction which was stressed above (for a discussion of the market-women and the relation of the peasant and urban economies, in particular, see chapter 4).

In general, the Quito evidence shows an extremely high correlation of ethnicity and class/occupational criteria. Along with manual labour which was exclusively Indian, the "vile and mechanical offices" were largely the artisanal occupations (shoemakers etc) which occupied the same place in sixteenth century Spanish society. In this sense, urban Quito continued to be a Colonial society, and one which maintained the distinctions and notions of honour which were characteristic of Mediæval Castille. The popular strata was as highly imbued with the Castillian Ideal of office as an expression of honour as any other strata in Colonial society, and perhaps even more so because it was this which marked them off from the

allegedly inferior Indian society:

---"He was a musician for the Church... and has therefore always been esteemed to be a Mestizo" (244).

---"Mestizos of good colour... They have never occupied offices of Indians" (251).

**vii) "Indians dressed as Spaniards": the urban centre as an agent of acculturation**

Although the demographic evidence may suggest a fairly rigid system of social stratification, the evidence of the Declarations suggests that this is too static a view. Mörner's argument for Colonial élites that "social mobility or circulation within the established structures is far more striking than structural change" [43] seems to me entirely applicable to the lower strata in Colonial society. Despite Quito's structural immobility, there is ample evidence of considerable fluidity in the functioning of what is perhaps best not oversimplified as a caste system.

As one petitioner put it, "there is nothing more ordinary than dark Spaniards and extremely white mulatos, who in places far from their patrias can easily deny their plebeian origin"(74). The six hundred and more *cholos* picked up in the city in the early 1760's (61) attests to a hidden migration to the city of Indians who passed into the Spanish world and therefore testifies to one of the mechanisms of social mobility in Colonial society. These *cholos* do not appear in the censuses, so it is difficult to quantify them: the demographic evidence suggests that the Indian population of the city was undergoing a decline relative to the total population and ethnic transformation may have played some role in this. It is equally clear that the city was not expanding, and that its capacity to absorb new immigrants was limited in the late-Colonial period. The real

agent of social mobility and ethnic change was to be the great migration to the coast in the nineteenth century.

The violinist Hidalgo, (Petition iii) b above) certainly provides us with the prototype of one kind of social climber. A change of surname formed one indispensable element, but often enough there would be several changes of surname, and confusion as to what the real one was, a reminder that this was inherently less fixed in Colonial society than it is today. One petitioner changed his name "because I felt like it" (109), while another explicitly builds his defence on the fact that he does not have a name like those of the Indian "nation" (166). One of the very few Indian surnames in this series did not fail to give its holder problems(198). Clothing formed another essential element: a loose vest of fine blue cloth and a pair of shoes would make an Indian unrecognisable as such, as many cases testify. The petition of Hidalgo is also interesting because it also allows us into the world of the street-wise lower strata, those living off their wits who do not often appear in the documentation. Lisbôa, visiting Quito in the nineteenth century was struck by the number of beggars, and there were certainly many in the eighteenth century[44]. This substratum of Quito society lay beyond the usual criteria of ethnicity, as the periodic attempts to "enumerate" and fix these groups in the more organised structure of (Indian) society clearly shows[45].

The transforming role of the urban centre is one of the most striking features of the documentation. Although this initially suggested an analysis along the lines of the Mediæval German city in which "city air" was creating "freemen", (i.e. providing the anonymity which allowed Indians to escape tribute), this is by no means the only perspective, not least because the demographic evidence cited above does not fully support it. Reading the documentation closely, what is striking is the extent to which a city of 30,000 people, and divided into several smaller *barrio* -



villages was not in fact an anonymous entity. Witnesses stress that they know X "because he lives in the same *barrio*" (108, 126). Vicente Sisneros testifies that "as a Quiteño he knows almost all the people in the city" (109). Prior to the 1770's a *forastero* could and (probably did) escape tribute obligations as easily by moving to another rural area as he did by moving to an urban centre[46]. If the urban *cholo* succeeded in evading the tribute collectors, he was nevertheless familiar enough to his neighbours and did not blur automatically into a homogeneous mass with the rest of the urban population. For evidence of this, there are the ethnic tensions between "pure" Mestizos and the new arrivals, who were perceived as a danger which might pull the entire Mestizo population into the tribute paying class (see Chapter 7). Nor in a wider sense, is it necessarily best to approach ethnicity in terms of a linear advance from Indian to white society. The present chapter has been organised in accordance with the theme of the rest of this study, but the "Spaniards dressed as Indians", the Mestizos who are culturally very close to Indian society, shed an interesting counter-light on Colonial society. Even urban society had its own equivalents to the "Spaniards dressed as Indians" like Lyman Johnson's Mestizo shoemaker in Buenos Aires who pretended to be an Indian and became an officer in the militia reserved for the Indians[47]. In chapter 4, Felisiana de Mora was mentioned, the Mestiza who was alleged to have pretended to be Indian to avail herself of the services of the Protector of the Indians. There were many ways of "playing the system" in Colonial society, some of them quite surprising, although the fiscal reforms of the 1770's must have ironed out some of these anachronisms.

The tightening up of custom and the pressure on part of the lower Mestizo class in the 1770's and 1780's only throws into relief the fluidity of Colonial society prior to that date. Caste was not functioning as a legally sanctioned system, essentially because the mechanisms which kept

it in place- notably tribute collection- were not of a type or efficiency to operate with any rigidity. Migration was probably the simplest- and the most important- device for changing ethnic or tax status, both between Indian and white society, and within the Indian population itself by means of the separate tax-category of the *Corona Real* [48]. Although Quito society was in this sense quite flexible, the actual degree of movement across ethnic frontiers is quite a different question. The Declarations of Mestizo show that this movement existed, but its scale is harder to assess. The demographic evidence suggests that although real, it was never of an order to substantially modify Quito's social structure which was virtually one of stasis. Conservative, inward- looking, and based on a large Indian population, Quito did not exhibit the dynamic features which make it unsurprising to find the break-down of the caste system in Mexico or other areas[49]. In Chapter 3, we already noted the existence of an urban confraternity for acculturated Indians which seems to have fulfilled the same role for the length of the Colonial period. The evidence of this chapter also stresses the durability of caste-like distinctions in Quito society: upto a certain point, these have lasted until today.

### Notes to Chapter 6

1) Part of the material of this chapter was presented as a paper at the History Seminar of the Institute of Latin American Studies in London in May 1984. I am very grateful to Prof. J. Lynch and the other participants in this seminar amongst whom I would particularly like to mention Dr. A. McFarlane, and Dr. L. Newson.

For what defines ethnicity in the present-day Andes, there is a voluminous literature. Language and clothes form essential elements, although language was by no means a solid guide in Colonial Quito, (as was noted above). There is general agreement that "la raza de un hombre no coincide con su raza", J. Ossio, "Relaciones Interétnicas y verticalidad en los Andes", *Debates en Antropología*, 2 (Quito, May 1978): 7, here citing Fuenzalida.

2) J. Estrada Ycaza has called attention to this type of document, c.f. "Petición de Juan Tomás Alvarez para que no se le cobre tributo por no ser indio" (Guayaquil, 19-III-1789), *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas*, no 13, (June, 1978) pp. 113, a document of the same archive (EP/J) 158. The ongoing published indices to this archive in the same review unfortunately list only a handful of cases.

3) c.f. AGN/L Legajo 3, Cuaderno 63, Año 1842, Tributos, Informes, Cajamarca, "Expedientes de algunos indígenas que han seguido para pasar a Castas del Distrito de Cajabamba", (1841-2), ff 105.

4) ANH/Q Mestizos (Mz). In this chapter, references to documents from this section will be given as a number in bold type, and refer to the cases presented in section II). e.g. (3) refers to the document of 1706-1-19 which is the third case.

5) See above, p. 84, footnote 92.

6) AGI Quito 248 "Relación que forma el Sr Don Juan Josef Villalengua y Marfil, Presidente", "Yndice de los Autos Acordados"(1783), decree of 26 April 1776 referring to Indians of Loxa, Cuenca, Riobamba, Quijos and Macas.

7) There were various reports of these *cholos* c.f. AGI Quito 138, Carta de Don Nicolas Ponce de Leon, n.d. but received 1736, f 63; c.f. also note 8 below. Indians of Lima, for example, were in quasi-possession of the right to not pay tribute in the late eighteenth century, c.f. BNP/L Año 1797, c931, "Juan de Dios Chubirayco, yndio originario del pueblo del cercado, sobre que se empare en la posesión de no pagar los reales tributos", Lima, 16 Feb. 1797, ff9. This exemption was, however, a quid pro

quo for labour services rendered by the urban Indians (*ibid*, f7).

8), AGI Estado (1792-1817), no 137, f 12-15, and case 61, below.

9) For a discussion of the functioning of the tribute system, c.f. Tyrer's introductory essay on demography in his : "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry", (Ph.D. Berkeley, 1976): 2- 78, which is based on tributary data. See also the discussion in Chapter 7 of tensions between local interests and the Crown in the early eighteenth century.

10) ANB Colonia Tributos XVI, " La Real Audiencia de Quito sobre que se declare si los Mestisos de aquella Provincia deben pagar tributto", f 567: "hallarse en algunos Pueblos introducida la costumbre de que los hijos de Yndia, y hombre blanco, sin embargo de ser Mestisos, paguen el Real Tributo, y por el contrario otros de igual naturaleza esten en posecion de no pagarlo..." (1777) ANH/Q Mz

11) For a different region, c.f. M. Minchom "Historia demográfica de Loja y su Provincia: Desde 1700 hasta fines de la Colonia," *Cultura, Revista del Banco Central del Ecuador*, (Quito), 15 (1983): 149-169. In this case, comparing the official estimates with the original *padrón* suggested that the *corregidor* may have been deliberately under-estimating tributary population to rake off maximum profit.

12) See cases 208 and 214.

13) For a discussion of these categories, c.f. M. Minchom, "The making of a white province: demographic movement and ethnic transformation in the south of the Audiencia de Quito, 1670-1830", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines*, (Paris-Lima), XII (3-4), 1983: 23-39.

14) Cases 36-52.

15) For an account of this uprising, c.f. S. Moreno Yánez, *Sublevaciones Indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito*, (Quito, 2nd edn., 1978): 196 ff., and *passim* for other uprisings.

16) J. Jaramillo Uribe, "Mestizaje y diferenciación en el Nuevo Reino de Granada en la Segunda mitad del siglo xviii", *Anuario Colombiano de Historia y de la Cultura*, 1:2 (1964): 21 ff.

17) See, for example, the painting "Castas", Inv. 26, Esc. Mex s XVIII in the Museo de América, Madrid. These paintings have been widely

reproduced, for example, by Mörner in his book, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, (Boston, 1967).

18) See M. Minchom, "The making of a white province", op. cit. 36-8.

19) For the term's use in the early Colonial period, see the quotation from Garcilaso de la Vega, below. The term does not appear much in Mörner's discussion of socio-racial terminology for Spanish America as a whole, (c.f. Mörner, op. cit. Chap 5), although a Paraguayan example is cited for the early Colonial period.

20) W.B. Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative...*, (London-Edinburgh, 1825): vol 2, 303-4.

21) To judge by later paintings, in any case: c.f. *Imágenes del Ecuador del Siglo XIX. Juan Agustín Guerrero*, (Quito, 1981): 106 for an artisan explicitly "vestido a la Antigua", (although in this case with bare feet), as well as the paintings of Mestizos in the collection Castro y Velázquez, Guayaquil.

22) A. Holinski, *L'Equateur. Scènes de la vie sud-américaine*. (Paris, 1861): 161-3.

23) For a discussion of the title "Don", c.f. Jaramillo Uribe, op. cit. 43-8.

24) Manuel Ponton to the Audiencia, 1. Dec. 1778, ANH/Q Pres. 1778, vol 12, doc. 150, letter cited by S. Moreno Yáñez, op. cit. 218.

For the second quotation, Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, (trans. H.V. Livermore, Austin, 1966): Part 1, Book 9 : 607.

25) AA/C, unclassified, "Dr. Don José Raymundo Perez v. Prev<sup>o</sup> Don Agustín Checa" 1805.

26) Tyrer, op. cit. 97.

27) C. Muñoz-Bernand, "Les Renaissants de Pindilig", (Thèse, Paris, 1981): 39, 109.

28) Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, op. cit. Part 1, Book 9 : 607.

29) c.f., for example, the definition in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*.

30) c.f. Hassaurek, *Four years...* (Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1967): 85.

31) D.G. Sweet and G.B. Nash, *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, (Univ. of California Press, 1981).

32) Tribute income entering the Royal Treasury in Quito rose to an extraordinary degree:

1773- 46, 115 *pesos*

1774- 49, 020

1775- 64,892

1776- 52,032

1777- 41,678

1778- 51, 050

1779- 113,570

1780- 97,017

1781- 91,386

1782- 112,880

1783- 106,410

Source: AGI Quito, 417, 418,  
419, 420, 421.

These figures are for the whole of the northern and central highlands, and changes in accounting procedure c 1779 do not appear to have been a major factor, i.e. the change was a real one. Although tribute income stayed at between 100,000 and 150,000 *pesos* in the 1790's from this area, Royal officials regarded this as inadequate. The Audiencia, as a whole, produced 210,347 *pesos* in 1790, but this was argued to be a low total for a region with 60,000 Indians which allegedly ought to produce 260,000 *pesos*. The lack of specie made money payment difficult, and it is rather a mark of the efficiency of the reformed fiscal administration that the fall-short was so small c.f. ANB, *Cartas de Contrabandos*, Tomo XI, Carta del Contador General de Tributos de Quito, Quito, 3 July, 1792, ff 104-6. c.f. also for the difficulty of paying tribute in specie after the late 1770's, c.f. the "Cedula Real del 5 de Octubre de 1776 sobre petición de los Indios que se les cobre el tributo como antes", doc. from ANH/Q Cédulas Reales, repr. in *Eugenio Espejo, conciencia Crítica de su Epoca*, (Collective work, Universidad Católica, Quito, 1978): 48.

For evidence of the pressures to which Mestizos were subject, c.f. Espejo's "Defensa de los curas de Riobamba" (1786), *Escritos*, Tomo III (Quito, 1923): 8, where it is claimed that Mestizos have been forced into tribute payment in the region of Riobamba by the collector Barreto, while the better-off ones have had to pay 50 *pesos* clandestinely to avoid being classified as tribute-payers. In other words, the documentary proof (Espejo, the petitions) confirms the statistical data that there were new tribute paying groups despite relative official flexibility.

33) R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline...", (Ph.D. university of Wales, 1977): 151.

34) For the sources see the appendix to Chapter 5.

35) The possibility of using *expósitos* as an index to times of dearth etc. has been noted by a number of historical demographers. For a general model of parish demographics, c.f. N.D. Cook, "La población de la parroquia de Yanahuara, 1738-47: un modelo para el estudio de las parroquias coloniales peruanas", in *Collaguas 1*, (ed. F. Pease, Lima, 1977): 13-34. For the documentation on Mexican *expósitos*, c.f. "Expósitos e Hidalgo, la polarización social de la Nueva España", *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico: Tercera Serie, Tomo V, Num 2 (16)*, (April-Jun. 1981): 3-34.

36) c.f. J. Moreno Egas, *Vecinos de la Catedral de Quito Bautizados entre 1801 y 1831*, (Quito, 1984). The proportion rarely rose above 10% during that period, although c.f. the reservation in the text.

37) These law-suits are relatively numerous in the section Hijos Expósitos y Naturales of the ANH/Q. The same point can be made through the evidence of testaments in the notaries, c.f., for example, ANH/Q I Not. vol 246, ff 67-9, for the testament of Doña María Romero:

"Declaro que desde que nacio Pedro Ponse, lo he criado a mis espensas, por haverme lo botado, a las Puertas de mi cassa, y como a hijo, que hubiera nacido de mis entrañas, lo he querido manteniendolo con mi pobreza ..." (14 May, 1728).

38) For a brief mention of this point see the Introduction above. For land transfer, c.f. the work of C. Borchart de Moreno, listed in the bibliography.

39) "El Comercio" (Quito), 19 de Abril, 1982, C 11, headline, "Mestizos se casan con coloradas en un afán de apoderarse de sus tierras".

40) These *padrones* were cited by Tyrer, op. cit. 410, and were reclassified in the boxes of Indígenas 46, 47, 48, 49 of the ANH/Q. Tyrer calculated 6 tailors for the whole of the city, and I counted 6 and one "sastre y tratante" for the parish of San Roque alone, so it is clear that the Indian tailors were concentrated in this parish.

41) Juan and Ulloa, *Relación Histórica...* (Madrid, 1978): 365-6.

42) W. B. Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative...* (London-Edinburgh, 1825): 298-300.

43) M. Mörner, "Economic Factors and Stratification", *HAHR*, 63 (2), (May, 1983): 368.

44) M.R. Lisbôa, *Relação de uma viagem a Venezuela, Nova Granada, e Ecuador*, (Bruxelles, 1866): 357. *GS*, 2: 953, for an early eighteenth century testimony.

45) e.g. AGI Quito 248 "Yndice de los autos", decree 13 Nov. 1789, that the *Alcaldes de barrios* should enumerate the "vagos, borrachos y malentendidos".

46) c.f. M. Minchom, "The making of a white province", op. cit. passim.

47) Lyman L. Johnson, "Francisco Baquero..." in: *Struggle and Survival*, op. cit. 86-101, but especially 91, 95.

48) c.f. M. Minchom, "The making of a white province", op. cit 28-35.

49) See, e.g. J.K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca*, (Stanford, 1978).



## 7: Religious Riots and Civil Disturbances

"y habiendo vajado a la muralla de San Francisco les dieron una voz diciendo Ave María a que respondieron sin pecado concebida y entonces le preguntaron de que varrio, y el testigo y su compañero le respondieron que de San Roque, ha que dixeron que estaba bien..."

ANH/Q Reb Doc: 1748-1-1, f 30

"Fuenteovejuna !! Viva el rey Fernando!  
i Mueran malos cristianos y traidores!"

Lope de Vega, "Fuenteovejuna", Act III, Scene VII

The *plebe*, the amorphous lower strata, took on a very real meaning for Colonial administrators at moments of extreme social tension; they became the "vulgar and licentious *plebe*"; prone to outbursts of drunken and irrational violence, easily led astray by troublemakers[1]. Relatively structured patterns of behaviour have been traced in what contemporaries and many historians thought of as the random violence of the mob. Since the 1970's, studies of popular movements in early modern Europe have emphasized that "popular violence is often the organized- and ritualized-expression of particular aims, and also that it has its own calendar, tending to occur at major festivals" dividing as to class orientated interpretations, and those based on community cohesion[2]. Once the "spasmodic view of history" is laid to rest, in which popular riots appear as aberrant deviations from normality, the patterns of collective behaviour which are uncovered make it possible to integrate much more closely the study of riots with the examination of the society which produces them[3]. The social organisation of the popular sectors, their religious beliefs and forms of association become directly comparable with their usually coherent behaviour in disturbances. In this perspective, the evidence from the riots supplements and draws together a number of threads from earlier chapters; it may also be the only way of measuring communal cohesion and testing this against the evidence for class antagonism.

The 1765 Quito rebellion, provides the most obvious vantage- point from which to view the urban popular society of the city, as it was then that the *barrios* were fully mobilised in a major eruption of popular disorder. That rebellion has other features, however, and existing - but more particularly forthcoming - research discusses the ideology of rebellion, and the way patrician resistance to Bourbon fiscal reform fused with popular protest. In a wider context, McFarlane has emphasized the connection between riots and festivals in New Granada disorders, and has shown clearly that the concept of "moral economy" can be validly extended from the European pre-industrial crowd to the very different world of the North Andean rioters. All historians of the 1765 rebellion have pointed to the possible connivance of the creole élite and sought explanations based- in greater or lesser measure- on community cohesion rather than class conflict [4]. So far, the present study has necessarily had to be developed in closer dialogue with the sources than with historians; for the 1765 rebellion, the existence of a significant historiography has suggested a sharpening of focus. Much of the general background of events and themes is accepted, but it was felt that an examination of urban popular society in Quito had its own light to shed on popular participation in the rebellion. In particular, a number of lesser riots and disorders were examined to see how they inter-related with the major outbreak of 1765. As the orientation of this chapter is quite narrowly defined, it may be appropriate to summarise the questions which have been asked:

- 1) Rebellions in late-Colonial Andean society have been seen as a reponse to fiscal pressures from the re-organised Bourbon Monarchy, a description which clearly applies to the Rebellion of 1765. Identifying riots from the period which pre-dates the Bourbon reforms may not necessarily weaken this connection, but may suggest transformations in the forms of popular protest, as well as clarifying the extent to which the

economic decline of the city was linked to social unrest.

ii). Can the influence of the demographic and social characteristics of the popular districts of the city be detected in differential participation in riot and social disorder? What light does *barrio* identity have to shed on social disorder, and conversely, how far do Quito's riots clarify the nature and social function of the *barrios*, and the inter-relationship between them?

iii). It is argued here that the riots of the 1740's constituted a major outburst of class antagonism, albeit provoked by, and closely linked to, religious factors. The 1765 rebellion has tended to be seen as the expression of local class alliances, and there is certainly evidence of a degree of creole complicity. How far, if at all, can we synthesise these two approaches into a coherent record of class relations in late- Colonial Quito?

iv) Point iii) can also be examined in relation to festivals, which have been definitively linked to riots. This connection has been taken in support of a community cohesion interpretation of social disorder- i.e. both riots and festivals forming part of a collective act of communal affirmation, and spilling into each other. The detailed data on Quito suggests that festivals there did not break or invert the social order, and are not incompatible with an essentially class interpretation of riots adopted here.

### 1) Traditions of Popular Protest.

Almost three years to the day before the great Quito rebellion of 1765, two fly-posters appeared in the parish of San Roque: "Mestizos of San Roque, by Father and Mother, let us all be one... Rise up! Let those who pay tribute perish under fire!"[5]. Fly-posters were the common prelude to rebellion, and the Spanish authorities expressed concern despite the extravagant protests of loyalty of forty-eight leaders of the parish. According to the *fiscal*, "the insolence of some bad arrivals, with such laudable virtues that instead of exercising them, they disseminate offensive broadsides and stir up the vulgar and licentious *plebe*, without more cause than the laxity, and lack of punishment experienced *in other past disturbances*" (my emphasis)[6]. The scare of 1762 is of interest in its own right, but of particular interest is the fact that officials were already identifying a clear tradition of urban street disturbances even before the great Quito rebellion of 1765. What were the "past disturbances" mentioned by the *fiscal*?

Although the *fiscal's* comments suggest there had been several previous disturbances, it is likely that the Franciscan riots of the late 1740's were uppermost in his mind. These mobilised the same parish of San Roque, and were indeed dealt with by the relative "laxity and lack of punishment" to which he referred, when a general pardon was issued to the whole parish. It is difficult to identify all minor rioting, and for Colonial officials, any collective gathering involving drink and festivities could involve a threat to the established order. In order to classify the different forms of unrest, it is considered helpful to identify all known eighteenth century riots, religious disturbances and near-riots. Table VII: 1 does this, stopping at 1780, the date at which the second wave of Bourbon fiscal reform generated riots and rebellions throughout the Andean region. Data was also collected on the events of 1809, when an autonomous junta was

established, while the alleged conspiracy of the philosopher, doctor and propagandist Espejo forms a link between the eighteenth century disturbances and the Independence period[7]. It is argued, nevertheless, that the present body of material (1700-80) has its own coherence within the present study, not least as it dovetails chronologically with the litigation examined in the previous chapter to provide an overview of some of the social tensions which preceded and accompanied the Bourbon reforms.

How comprehensive is Table 7:1? It is likely that only the Franciscan riots of 1747, and the Quito rebellion of 1765 brought the urban crowd fully into play. The list of religious disputes closely follows González Suárez, but the ecclesiastical slant of his writing mean that he was unlikely to neglect any major outbreaks. The examples of "attempted" disturbances obviously reflect the possibilities of the material localised. Their inclusion- and that of some of the religious disputes- requires the clarification that Table 7:1 is not so much a "list" as a kind of barometre of social tension. Frequent attempts have been made to compile such lists of Andean rebellions to see how far they were provoked by particular economic and political conjunctures. Although it is certain that no two historians would establish even loosely comparable lists, there is a broad consensus that the latter part of the eighteenth century was a period of widespread rebellion throughout the Andean region, partly in response to fiscal pressures[8]. An over rigid quantification of riots and rebellions can prevent us recognising social tensions in unfamiliar dress. I suspect that if we had more studies of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries- and recognised that disorder does not have to take a single form- the disparity with the well-studied late-Colonial period might seem less extreme. My list partly antedates the main period of fiscal reform. Differing criteria of selection, notably the inclusion of religious

disturbances, exaggerate the contrast while urban riots do not of course have to obey the rhythms which have been established for rural rebellions. Nevertheless, while accepting the broad hypothesis for the Andean region, that a wave of riots and rebellions were caused by fiscal pressures in the late eighteenth century, it is clear that in the case of Quito these were preceded by social tensions generated, in part, by the process of economic decline.

In order to map out the social history of eighteenth century Quito, apparently different types of occurrence have been grouped together, but these are far less dissimilar than they tend to appear in an historiography polarised between the ecclesiastical disputes described by González Suárez, and more recent ethnohistorical interests. The term "religious dispute" is itself misleading. These were by no means sedate affairs, and were frequently very violent; in the controversy in the Jesuit seminary of San Luis in 1725, for example, swords, blunderbusses, pistols and shotguns were used[9]. More important for the purposes of this study was the mobilisation of social groups outside the Religious Orders (or the secular clergy). Close familial ties between the Church and creole society may partly explain this capacity of religious disputes to mobilise a wider society. The demographic importance of the Church- and notably the Religious Orders- in Quito has already been noted, as has the economic symbiosis of the creole élite and the Church[10]. The Franciscans were a more strictly evangelising order than the other Orders, and the evidence of 1747 suggests they had more direct ties with the popular strata. In a city where church and society were closely interdependent, religious institutions mirrored the social preoccupations of the society around it, and nearly all the elements which we find in secular disorders can also be found in religious disturbances.

This point can be illustrated by virtually all the religious disputes

listed here. In the ecclesiastical schism of 1718, the localism of a society which rejected the alien intrusion of outside authorities or groups (whether Religious inspector, State official in 1765 or peninsular Spaniards) also seems to have come into play, to judge from the account of González Suárez[11]. The disorders at San Luis in 1725 were provoked by seminarists who participated in festivals against the permission of the Rector, but ethnic and class prejudices appear to have influenced the dispute[12]. Above all religious disputes provided a forum for the tensions of creoles and peninsular Spaniards, and one which extended well beyond the bounds of the Religious Orders. There was nothing new in creole-peninsular confrontations in the Religious Orders which had often turned on the system of rotation of the leading posts known as the *alternativa*[13]. But even if behind the eighteenth century disputes lay a long process of maturing of creole consciousness, it is equally clear that the early eighteenth century religious disputes reveal a degree of animosity towards peninsular Spaniards, which directly anticipates the anti-Spanish rioting of 1765. The 1730's religious confrontations, in particular, led directly into violent tensions between creoles and peninsulars in which the secular *cabildo* became closely involved[14].

The scope of this study does not require detailed examination of the above disturbances. The Franciscan riots of the 1740's, on the other hand, will be discussed in detail, because they mobilised an entire *barrio*, revealed profound class tensions, and had the highest degree of popular participation. It may be reiterated that demonstrating the existence of early eighteenth century disorders- notably religious ones- by no means "disproves" the correlation of late eighteenth century rebellions with Bourbon fiscal reform, but it can certainly sharpen our analysis of that late-Colonial conjuncture. What were the differences and the similarities with earlier disorders? How far were both phases of disturbances linked to

Quito's economic difficulties? The immediate cause or "trigger" is known for all eighteenth century disturbances, and in no case do these correspond - although perhaps only at first sight - to "hunger riots". Although the general correlation of economic crises with social unrest is too familiar to need extended discussion, Quito was in decline or stagnation for at least a century and a half after the late seventeenth century, so economic decline is too blunt an instrument to be used for the detailed analysis of particular outbreaks. Within an overall process of decline and stagnation we have to look for periods of intensified crisis.

Certain correlations with economic change can be suggested, even if it is emphasized that these always interacted with political, fiscal or religious factors. An early economic crisis between the 1690's and 1720's has already been suggested[15] Although the result was not open rebellion, the latter part of this period witnessed certain tensions which in many ways foreshadow the major outbreak of 1765. In 1717, the Audiencia was suppressed and formed part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada from 1718 until 1722, when it was re-established and again formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Like the later phase of intensified bureaucratic vigour in the second half of the eighteenth century, early reformism took place at a time when the creole élite considered itself in a disastrous economic state. A cycle of bad harvests is attested during the later appeal for the lowering of *censos*[16], and the *cabildo* complained about rising sugar prices in August 1717, referring to the "notorious" lack of specie of the Audiencia, which was to become a constant refrain in the late- Colonial documentation[17] From 1716 to late 1719, there were continuous confrontations between local and official interests, including on 1 Feb 1718, *cabildo* complaints of the "calamitous state" of city and Province, and the convening of an open *cabildo* against the wishes of the *corregidor* [18]. The *causus belli* turned, unsurprisingly, on the



economic interests of the élite, notably the projected inspection of *haciendas*, *obrajes*, and mills, and official attempts to control the tribute system, regulate Indian labour against the wishes of the landholding élite, and collect from the *hacendados* on "dead souls" [19] ("indios ausentes y muertos").

The tensions of this period never constituted a direct threat to Royal interests but they are suggestive in showing the way that economic crisis could provoke or reinforce a clash of local and official interests. The convening of an open council meeting was one of the devices by which local groups expressed grievances and was to be re-used in the 1765 rebellion, and the 1809 uprising. Most interestingly, the political tensions of 1716-9 seem to have interacted with popular unrest on a major scale. Thirty years later the Audiencia recalled disturbances from San Roque during the transit of the Viceroy Villalonga on his way to Bogotá in 1719[20]. The people of San Roque had "insulted" the Viceroy on that occasion ("le perdieron el respeto"). Unfortunately the way in which this "disrespect" was expressed is not specified, but we may suspect it was tumultuous as similar disrespect was shown to the recently appointed Peninsular Bishop, Dr Don Luis Francisco Romero, [21] allegedly to the extent of trying to burn down his house and kill him. If this was the local popular response to major political changes and ecclesiastical schism, it shows clearly that élite division and resistance helped to stimulate popular disorder at moments of economic crisis, and- given the background of the suppression of the Audiencia- that notions of local autonomy ran deep in Quito society. The rioters of San Roque, however, certainly do not seem to have been deferential respectors of persons, to judge from the brief summary of a generation later: when the President of the Audiencia put an end to their action, they also... "le perdieron el respeto".

The continued economic difficulties of the 1720's involving a freeze

and a drought in 1723-1724, and high rising mortality in the late 1720's, also seem to have stimulated popular unrest[22]. The *cabildo*, usually more concerned with élite than with popular matters was sufficiently concerned to discuss the state in which the "Vulgo y Barrios" of the city found themselves, as a result of the "lamentable poverty" of the Province[23]. Perhaps they had little choice: popular agitation was expressed in a mass demonstration in support of a petition presented by the leaders of the *barrio* of San Roque. The petition was against independent collectors of payment for burials etc. arguing that the parish priests should collect payment otherwise poor people would go unburied [24]. Once again the refrain is the poverty of the city and Province. The parish of San Roque again played the dominant role, and the presence of an organised *barrio* leadership drawing up an extremely well conceived petition, appealing for an open *cabildo*, and urging the council to support the familiar formular of "obeying but not carrying out" the decree, shows that this was a highly organised, settled leadership "knowing the ropes" in the Spanish Colonial system.

In the 1710's and 1720's potential disorders of a political dimension were largely defused, in part by the diversity of Spanish Colonial institutions, in which legal devices (the open *cabildo*, petitions), and often competing authorities (*cabildo*, *corregidor*, *Audiencia*) formed a mesh of overlapping interests into which tensions could be absorbed. Official pressures were certainly negligible in comparison with the major reforms of the 1760's and 1770's. The official *visita* does not appear to have been carried out, and the tribute reform of 1718, which initially permitted high profits for the *corregidores*, ultimately led to the partial transfer of tribute-collection to tax-farmers upto the reforms of the late 1770's[25]. Nevertheless, the pattern of future disturbances was set: the background of declarations of impending economic catastrophe, the clash

of local and outside -or official- interests, the use of the open *cabildo*, and- not least- popular unrest and the particular role of San Roque. Similar checks did not operate on religious disputes, which may help to explain why they were so relatively unrestrained at this period. Perhaps the religious disputes of 1718 or 1725 can be related to the economic and political climate of that period, but there is no known sharpening of economic difficulties or political background to explain those of the 1730's. On the other hand, the religious and social tensions of the 1730's do not seem to have had a major popular dimension, and the *plebe* seems to have been notably quiescent in the 1730's and 1750's when the demographic evidence suggests the city was stable or growing

For both the main popular riots, there is clear evidence of a short-term deterioration of conditions immediately prior to their outbreak. Historians working on Latin-American materials for the Colonial period have tended to argue that rebellions were largely independent of crises in agricultural production[26]. It may be that far less importance has been attached to this factor than in Europe because the agrarian history of Latin America is so much less well-known. The chronology of urban rioting certainly suggests that urban society was closely responding to the economic rhythms of the countryside. The major outbursts of the 1740's and 1760's both followed food shortages, and epidemics[27]. It will be argued that the catastrophes described by Juan de Velasco for the 1750's (earthquake, epidemic) did not have the relationship to the Quito rebellion which Pérez argued, and that the rebellion of 1765 was in fact preceded by a period of modest growth followed by a short-term downturn, the "J-curve" which sociologists have often argued is more likely to precipitate disturbances than continual decline[28]. A concatenation of factors, both short-term and more profound, create major disturbances and food shortages or epidemics may be triggers, but do not provide the essential explanation. The rest of

this chapter seeks to shed a more detailed light on the main popular disorders in eighteenth century- 1747 and 1765- before examining Quito's "missing" revolution, the relative calm around 1780 when the riots and full-scale rebellions swept much of the Andean region, but left the city largely untouched.

Much of the analysis which follows will focus on the *barrio* of San Roque. Characterised by virtually endemic disorder which periodically erupted into major disturbances, that parish emerges as the key to an understanding of social disorder in the late-Colonial city. The agitation of the *plebe* in 1719 and 1726 involved this parish. In 1747, the parish rioted on a major scale, and San Roque's seditious character was already sufficiently notorious to attract the critical comment of the Audiencia that San Roque was the "most populated" parish, where "the lads have always been the most audacious", ("y siempre los mosos de el los mas atrevidos")[29]. In 1762, the authorities feared another uprising from the same source, and the *fisca*/(cited at the head of this chapter) referred to the "past disturbances". In this perspective, it is clear that the outbreak of the 1765 rebellion in the same parish was by no means fortuitous, and that uncovering the origins of San Roque's seditiousness will clarify the nature and purposes of popular participation in the 1765 rebellion. What made San Roque so distinctive?

**ii) The *barrios* and social order : the Franciscan Disturbances and the parish of San Roque, 1719-1765**

a) The *plebe* of San Roque: socio-demographic and religious background

An attempt will be made here to draw together and synthesize the data on San Roque included in earlier discussions of the spatial characteristics of Colonial Quito (Chapter 1), religious compliance (Chapter 3), and demographic decline (Chapter 5), in order to see what peculiarities of its social structure- if any- underlay such a distinctive tradition. If we wish to uncover patterns which have validity for the *plebe* of the city as a whole, it is not only the character of San Roque which requires examination, but its articulation with the other *barrios* of the city. The broad division of the city into two halves- San Roque- San Sebastián, on the one hand, Santa Bárbara, San Blas, on the other- has been noted. This division was a ritual one- with the Colonial perpetuation of pre- hispanic divisions- but also a geographical one. The Sagrario, and parts of the other parishes (notably San Marcos, and parts of Santa Bárbara) formed a nucleus of "white" settlement onto which each popular parish gave radially. But the interaction of the popular parishes with each other provided an intermediate stage in the building-blocks (parish, aggregation of parishes, city) from which Quito was built. Alliances, or attempted alliances- between *barrios* formed a clear feature of social disorder. The fact that the nuclear district divided the two main concentrations of popular residence- San Sebastián/ San Roque, and San Blas/the slaughterhouse district of Santa Bárbara- tended to restrict the geographical scope of potential disorder and reinforce these lateral connections. San Roque's links with San Sebastián were notably illustrated in the May rebellion of 1765, when San Roque's action was supported by San Sebastián. In 1748, however, there were also suggestions of an alliance with San Sebastián (but also with San Blas).

If we place the San Sebastián scare of 1779 alongside the predominant

role of San Roque, it becomes clear that virtually all disturbances originated in the south of the city, with the exception of the period of generalised breakdown of order which followed the May uprising in 1765. It is therefore appropriate to consider whether San Roque's apparent particularity does not simply mask a broad difference between the north and south of the city. On the evidence of the 1733 *padrones*, which were unfortunately from a period well after the main period of textile activity, it is probably unwise to seek a direct explanation in changes in the weaving industry. At that date 51.3% of surviving recorded male adult Indians were in *obraje* or weaving activities in San Roque; but these figures were greatly swelled by a single *obraje*, that of D. Antonio Pastrana, and the proportion in the city as a whole was a comparable 49.5%. San Sebastián was more textile related[30]. It is possible that the decline of the *obrajes* affected parts of the city more than others, but changes in the structure of the urban economy may also have owed much to the wider re-orientation of trade routes in the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the great export market for Quito's textiles had been Lima, while the decline in their competitiveness was (inadequately) compensated by the markets of southern Colombia. If it may reasonably be hypothesized that most commerce entered by the south of the city in the seventeenth century, the *alcabala* records show clearly that at the end of the eighteenth century most commerce passed by San Blas[31]. The demographic data suggests that this commerce did not generate much urban occupational specialisation- no "urban" *arrieros*, or muleteers, were found in any of the admittedly incomplete eighteenth century *padrones*- but must have been a stimulus to the local economy. To judge from the *padrón* of Santa Bárbara in 1768, the *carnicería* generated market activity in an area overlapping Santa Bárbara and San Blas, and this commercial activity was probably reinforced by trade with the north. This

did not prevent San Blas declining in the eighteenth century, but almost certainly San Roque's decline preceded it. It may be that after around 1700, Quito was beginning to look north rather than south in more ways than one[32].

But the north- south dichotomy is adduced here only as a background factor, and it is argued that the essential distinctiveness of San Roque can be found in the parish itself. In the absence of the equivalent of the Santa Bárbara *padrón*, a number of points can nevertheless be deduced from admittedly incomplete demographic evidence relating to size, social composition, and demographic change. San Roque was the largest parish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[33], but all the eighteenth century evidence suggests major demographic decline. Although the demographic assessments of contemporary observers have to be used with caution, they are probably reasonably accurate with regard to the *relative* importance of districts; from 1730 to 1765 they were unanimous in commenting that the parish was still the largest of the popular *barrios*, although they were probably not taking into account the Cathedral-parish of the Sagrario [34]. On the other hand, the flawed series of *padrones* of 1797, and 1825, demonstrate clearly that San Roque no longer enjoyed its predominant role by that period, trailing the Sagrario, and also Santa Bárbara and San Sebastián. San Roque was declining, and it appears that, as with the rest of the city, a concomitant of decline was ethnic transformation. San Roque was a highly Indian parish in the 16th and 17th centuries[35], while the parish we will see in the eighteenth century riots was ethnically mixed, but Mestizo dominated. In 1733, an incomplete Indian *padrón* included 150 adult male tributaries in the parish. By the 1797 census only 28 households out of 202 in the parish appear to have been Indian, although some Indians lived in other houses. As the 1762 scare will show, ethnic change has to be considered with economic and demographic change as a potential cause of

social disorder.

Despite the absence of full occupational data for the relevant period, clear distinguishing features emerge from the demographic evidence. San Roque was characterised by small, usually nucleated households instead of the two-tier socially mixed households of the élite parishes. Caldas' characterisation of houses in the latter as "small villages" is completely borne out by the Santa Bárbara *padrón*, where occupational and ethnic diversity accompanied shared residence. The social interaction which this presupposed in the élite districts- the annual permission of Indians to mount to the second floor on the election of the *alcalde*, for example[36]- can be equated with a degree of social control. One of the clearest testimonies of this came in 1779 when it was argued that a certain defendant had not been involved in disorders, by virtue of the district he lived in (see below). In San Roque, as was noted in Chapter 5, there were few "Dons".

Once the popular character of the parish is emphasized, the hypotheses already advanced for the absolute and relative decline of the parish (weaving, regional commerce) can be put in their correct perspective. Although in European cities groups like the silk-workers played an important role in urban riots, their real equivalents in social terms in Quito were not *obraje* or *chorrillo* weavers, whose Indian quasi-rural characteristics were emphasized in Chapter 2, but the independent artisans linked to the urban monetary economy. Far from being the parish of the weavers, San Roque's real importance was precisely the opposite, as the parish of the popular artisanal groups, who were probably more affected by economic decline than the weavers - more exactly the non-independent weavers- because they could be less easily- or willingly- re-absorbed into the rural economy. This point will emerge with particular clarity in the 1762 petition cited below. The 1733 Indian *padrones* are



unfortunately incomplete, but the relatively high concentration of Indian tailors, carpinters, and barbers in San Roque may be noted[37].

The location of San Roque reinforces this point. Major parts of San Sebastián and San Blas lay at some distance from the main nucleus of the city, and were marked off by *quebradas*. San Roque, on the other hand, gave directly onto the centre, and except for a small extension over the *quebrada* Jerusalem, it was not a disguised semi-rural parish. In terms of the social geography of rebellion, this is not a minor point, as riots turned on the control of the nuclear district, the locus of authority. Defining our question in negative terms, the semi-rural or élite character of the rest of the city may help to explain why the other parishes did not rebel, and this in turn, by a process of elimination, leads us back to San Roque. It may be that we should paradoxically stress the typicality of San Roque, rather than its exceptional character. A large, urban parish, popular and declining, giving directly onto the city, and with a restricted élite presence- by stressing these factors, we already have a partial explanation for why San Roque should play such a leading role.

The demographic and socio-economic evidence culled from the main body of this study and discussed above, nevertheless provides only the most general background unless we resort to a purely mechanistic interpretation of social disorder. There are two areas where we can stress the interplay of San Roque's socio-economic characteristics with considerations of an ideological dimension, namely religion and "community". The idea of the *común*, the commonwealth, had a legitimating function in rebellion. The common good of the community - a kind of "unwritten constitution", in Phelan's phrase- formed the basis for the conservative appeal against irregular Bourbon innovations in taxation, or perceived abuses in the body politic. Just as local interests "obeyed without complying", rioters divorced Royal authority from their attacks on

Royal policy (or its local representatives). "Long live the King and down with bad Government" ("Viva el Rey, y muera el mal gobierno!") formed the refrain in popular riots in the King of Spain's more distant dominions, just as it did in Spain (and Europe) itself. The ideal of the commonwealth which was notably invoked at élite level during the open *cabildo* which preceded the 1765 rebellion can also be found in the popular defense of customary arrangements which characterised that major outbreak [38].

The ideal of the *común* has normally been used to reinforce interpretations of rebellion as the expression of class alliances [39], but some caution is in order in relating an ideology as general as the "public good" to the specific motivations of the popular sectors. There is certainly a sense in which the whole community rejected "alien" intrusions - notably "inspectors", whether religious or fiscal - but the ideal of the *común* operated at many different levels, and took on different shades of meaning in different hands. At least for the *plebe* of Quito, this ideal becomes a more flexible instrument for analysis of social disorder when it is transferred to *barrio* level. Who, for the men and women of San Roque, were the "community"? Although the concept certainly evoked a larger ideal, all the evidence from the unrest in San Roque reinforces the sense in which "community cohesion" is better described as *barrio* cohesion. The appeal for an open *cabildo* in 1726 was certainly to the wider community for the bypassing of official justice within the ideological framework noted above; even more striking is the fact that it was a *barrio* petition submitted by a clearly defined popular leadership. The same organised communal leadership emerges from the 1762 documentation cited below, and evidence from the 1747 riots attest to the remarkable identity of the *barrio*. If we note San Roque's identity as a fairly homogeneous popular parish with clear collective leadership and a strong sense of community, we perhaps approach the distinctiveness of the *barrio*. San Roque, unlike

any other parish in the city, was both a community and a social class, and to locate the origins of social disorder in that district is also to underline the popular roots of social disorder.

San Roque's particularity, however, was clearly reinforced by religious factors. In Chapter 3, it was noted that the parish of San Roque bordered on San Francisco, and that the most evangelising of all the Religious Orders was linked to the Indian population of that district in the early and mid-Colonial period possibly partially supplanting the secular clergy in ministering to the local population. This localised influence of the Franciscan Order can be taken as the counterpart to the absence of élite control in the parish if we wish to seek a "hidden hand" interpretation of social disorder. It is argued, however, that the Franciscan riots of the 1740's suggest a more complicated symbiosis of *barrio* and Religious Order. The problem of interpreting the riots of the 1740's is that San Roque allied itself with one faction of the Franciscan movement so it would be inappropriate to oversimplify the interaction of Religious Order and *barrio*. Taken together, the disorders of San Roque constitute such a coherent yet varied tradition - with religious, fiscal, and ethnic motivations involved - that it is logical to make the men and women of San Roque the principal agents of their collective actions.

The place of religion and "community" in San Roque can notably be elucidated from the pre-1765 disorders before the role of San Roque was subsumed in the more general rebellion of that year. The tensions of 1719-26 were discussed above, while there is no evidence of unrest in the parish during the 1730's. During 1747, the parish became directly involved in a Franciscan schism, and a close examination of the disturbances of that year sheds an extremely interesting light on the parish [40]. González Suárez' late nineteenth century account emphasized the sense in which this was a religious dispute, and his account was largely followed by the few

Ecuadorian historians who commented on the disturbances, while its popular dimension appears to have been entirely overlooked[41]. González Suárez' account will be mainly followed for the Franciscan background, before we examine the documentary evidence for bringing this dispute directly into line with San Roque's traditions of sedition and "disrespect".

b) "Viva Maria, and the *Barrio* of San Roque"; the riots of 1747-8.

This dispute began, like so many disturbances in Quito, with the arrival of an "alien" although in this case he was neither tax inspector nor enumerator. In 1747, the Franciscan authorities in Lima sent a *visitador* to carry out an official inspection despite an initial local reluctance to accept this; the *visitador* was eventually received but immediately became embroiled in a direct confrontation with the local Franciscans. After duly excommunicating them all, he sought refuge with the Jesuits. Why the Franciscans were so averse to an official inspection can only be conjectured; the general denunciations of the Religious Orders (noted in Chapter 3), or the denunciations of illicit bootlegging of brandy in monasteries in 1765[42], suggest possible explanations, although probably the intrusion of official controls from outside was in itself unwelcome to the Religious Orders. From St. Francis' own lifetime onwards, the Franciscan movement had been characterised by opposing currents of more or less strict adherence to the rule of poverty, and on the evidence of the riots, the more severe tendency was emanating from Lima. The potentially damaging nature of an official inspection was in any case revealed when the Commissary (*Comisario*) of Lima, Ibáñez Cuevas arrived from Lima to take direct control of the situation, and after a period of calm, proceeded to take the *residencia* of the ex-Provincial, Fray Bartolomé de Alácano -who had instigated early resistance to the *visita* prior to 1747- as well as Fray José Morrón who had occupied the post at the beginning of the inspection.

Both were imprisoned and brought to Quito from the Franciscan seminary in Pomasque, amidst a major schism of the Franciscan Order. The schism hardened with the liberation of Padre Alácano as he was being

escorted south to exile, and Padre Morrón's release by a mainly secular group which included some friars on 2 Dec. 1747[43]. Padre Morrón's release was the catalyst for major disturbances. The Commissary engineered a purge of the Franciscan Order, and led his followers, loyalists and plebeians, in a procession through the city, ropes round the neck in penitent fashion. Plebeians carrying the statue of Saint Francis led the way, followed by the Commissary carrying the Blessed Sacraments. As they went, they sang *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, and women followed the procession with rags and junk crying out that Religion was finishing, that the World was coming to an end. In the Square of Santo Domingo, the Commissary, brandishing the Sacraments, issued ritual curses against Padre Morrón, the Audiencia, the President and the city itself, before leading the procession on to San Diego[44].

As we will see, the "plebeians" accompanying Ibáñez Cuevas were the people of San Roque, and the Commissary's procession already provides interesting evidence of the dimensions the schism was beginning to take. How far we can take the chiliastic overtones is difficult to say, and there is little evidence that unrest took the form of a full-scale Messianic movement. Dearth and epidemic in the city of Quito in the mid-1740's [45] may have sharpened religious sensibilities in this respect just as they did in Mediæval Europe. It is clear, however, that religious ritual was playing a role in legitimizing the popular violence which was to ensue. The Commissary's move to the Franciscan retreat of San Diego just outside the city involved the symbolic act of closing San Francisco, and the patronage of a statue of St. Francis in the procession underlined the Commissary's claim to set true Christianity against the wicked city which was being abandoned (Quito, Egypt). Already, the action was going beyond a Franciscan dispute to take on a clear social dimension, and in this process, the *plebe* of San Roque were being mobilised not only behind one faction

of the Franciscan movement, but also with the outsider and against the status quo. Behind the religious motivation lay class antagonism, which the Commissary seems to have been only too happy to play on[46].

This was heady stuff, and during December, the parish became an almost autonomous district. Using what Colonial officials saw mainly as an excuse for "scandal" and "tumult", large crowds from San Roque guarded San Francisco and the Commissary in his retreat in San Diego, and Royal Officials had great difficulty doing their rounds [47]. On the 31 December 1747 Manuel de la Parra, variously described as a *zambo* or mulatto tailor of San Roque was arrested for attacking an official, the Lieutenant of the *Alguacil Mayor de Corte*. In view of the correspondence of both major outbreaks in 1765 with festivals, the timing of the outbreak was probably no coincidence; although I have no specific data on the role of New Year in eighteenth century Quito, it was both a religious festival, and the time of the municipal elections[48]. It is possible, however, that in this case the link between festivities and rioting was an indirect one. Rioting did not directly spill over from festivities, but was certainly lubricated by the drinking (mentioned below) which formed an integral part of both types of collective occurrence. It may be that the arrest of Parra was symptomatic of the rising tensions prior to New Year, and expectations of trouble on both sides. The actions of rioters from San Roque who on the 31st December 1747 liberated Parra, and two days later attacked the President's house formed the subject of an inquiry by the Audiencia; at this point we must therefore part company from González Suárez, who made only a brief (and inaccurate) reference to the crowd's "drunken fury" [49] and turn to the evidence collected by the Audiencia which gives a clear picture of popular action [50].

The first disturbance - the attack on the prison to liberate Parra - was the subject of a graphic account by one of Parra's fellow-prisoners, Miguel Falcon, an *escorchedero* (i.e. who made brocade), who found himself imprisoned for debt [51]. Falcon's inside account shows clearly that this was a carefully planned attack rather than a "blind fury". Prior to the attack, Parra was visited at the grills of the prison by Feliciano Chuchilargo, a gilder (*dorador*), and the timing of the attack was carefully co-ordinated to coincide with the departure of the guard. The main doors of the prison were assaulted, but had been shored up with stones, so firewood was brought to burn the doors. The rioters- or the rescuers- entered the prison carrying naked swords and cutlasses, faces partially masked by handkerchieves. The first to arrive at the inside bars were the gilder Chuquilargo and Francisco Marques, a carpenter who used his professional skills with chisel and mallet to set to work on the interior grill. When this did not go quickly enough, the two of them smashed a hole in it with a rock and told Parra to come out, " for this is how one behaved with friends, and how should he sleep in prison, being of the parish of San Roque" (... *que así se hacía con los amigos y que como había de dormir en la cárcel siendo del Barrio de San Roque*.) [52].

The attack was extremely well organised with a commando group of around twenty-five men carrying out the assault on the prison while a larger crowd which may have been several hundred strong lent moral support in the street outside [53]. The total defiance of the rioters was reflected in violence to symbols of property and authority- although not to persons- when the locks of the prison were smashed on the way out i.e. after the aims of the rescuers had already been accomplished. Other prisoners were invited to leave but refused. The crowd left *vitoreando*, celebrating the victory of the *barrio* of San Roque.

Although we cannot know in detail the socio- ethnic composition of the



crowd, a major clue is already provided by the role played in releasing a Mulatto tailor by a gilder (with an Indian name), and with the participation of a carpenter (who was probably Mestizo to judge from his surname). The riots certainly seem therefore to have been multi-ethnic (a fact to be kept in mind when we turn to the 1762 tensions) as well as strongly rooted in the artisanal class- at least at its leadership levels. The little additional occupational data which is available confirms that it was by no means the lowest social strata who were involved. Later the same night, for example, Manuel Zapata, nicknamed Capulí, claimed that he closed down the shop where he sold *aguardiente* while the rioters passed, and two of them- one a painter- came in to request drink[54]. An alternative version by the witness Maria Josepha made Manuel Zapata himself one of the rioters, visiting a shop where brandy was sold and explaining that he had rescued Parra because he was his "friend"[55]. The same witness later identified Vasilio and Eusebio, hat-makers (*sambrereros*) as rioters in the second disturbance. The quest for ringleaders of a higher social class uncovered relatively little[56], while the *pulperos* who animated the "lads" of San Roque by giving them drink in the second disturbance [57] do not carry the social composition of the rioters into the higher reaches of Quito society. As well as confirming the connection with drink, the witnesses' accounts emphasize the popular community character of the riot. Although the data cited above provides only a fractional sample of those involved, a list of the occupational data shows an extremely coherent pattern:

Tailor gilder carpenter painter shop-keeper hat-makers *pulperos*.

In the first riot, the slogans were against specific targets notably officials, and the traditional slogan of "Long with the King and Down with Bad Government!" was shouted, along with a more interesting variation: "Viva el Varrio de San Roque, muera el mal Gobierno y el Theniente Matta, *y aquí ya no hay justicia*". (My italics) "There is no justice here now"; the

same sense of popular action as a legitimate form of informal justice, directed not against the King, but his evil counsellors was vividly expressed by one rioter when he returned excited from the riot and exclaimed "breaking an old animal-pen like the prison wasn't a crime"[58].

As in 1765, there was not one but two popular actions, the second being more violent than the first, and the difference between the two riots shows the pace with which popular motivation could change. The second attack began with fireworks (as had the first) and with the ringing of church bells. One witness recorded that a child from his house had gone to San Sebastián and heard that they were being convoked for a riot by the people of San Roque. The sign to join was to be three fireworks, first one flash, then two with the second, and three with the third[59]. The fact that the fireworks were being used more for their coded meaning than for their festival dimension sounds a note of caution against overemphasizing the symbolic function of the fireworks, although the two ideas are not contradictory. The testimony is interesting because it confirms the San Roque-San Sebastián axe which was emphasized in Chapter 1 and was to come into play in the 1765 rebellion. Although there was concern that San Sebastián and also San Blas might be implicated[60], all witnesses stressed the role of San Roque in the 1747-8 disorders. The quotation given at the head of this chapter underlines the strength of *barria* identity in which other *barrios* might be convoked in support, but never merged their identities. The fact that the three *barrios* considered to be potential sources of disorder were San Roque, San Sebastián and San Blas may be considered a confirmation of their popular nature.

What is striking in the disorders of 1747-8 is the combination of unity of spirit with diversity of motivation. To judge from the slogans shouted, as recorded by nearly all the witnesses, the popular ideology of San Roque was a syncretic mix of Franciscan religious influence, levelling ideas of

justice and the possible acquisition of wealth at the expense of the rich, anti-peninsular Spanish sentiment as well as a more generalised hatred of the authorities of the city[61]. The one common thread was loyalty to the parish of San Roque, and perhaps to the King. Although González Suárez' account emphasized both the dominance of the Franciscan Comisary and the role of Parra as a popular leader, both these elements seem to have been less important than he suggested in explaining popular action. Parra was explicitly a "friend", a person of San Roque who should not have to sleep in prison. Although the quest for "hidden hands" may have led towards the Franciscans, the first riot at least was clearly a collective action of the "lads" of San Roque. It is difficult to say how far we should take the Marian aspect or the Biblical language, but this seems to have been effortlessly integrated into the traditional expressions of popular protest:

"... contra los chapetones (i.e. peninsular Spaniards) que decían lleguen acá los Judíos, Viva la Lei de Dios, Viva la Yglesia y muera el mal gobierno"[62].

The people of San Roque blockaded themselves in the square of San Francisco, but were dislodged by thirty or forty men with firearms and naked swords. The end was to be flight via the *quebradas*, and the virtual abandonment of the parish in a climate of fear[63].

c) Conspiracy and ethnic tension, 1762

Document 61 of the Declarations of Mestizo (see Chapter 6) was the case of Juan de Dios Guzman, who was picked up once as an Indian in the enumeration of the early 1760's and again in the next wave of census-taking around 1779. This enumeration was the cause of the fly-posters (cited above) which appeared on 19 May, 1762, that the Mestizos on both sides of the family should rise up and kill the *cholos* of the city. There is little evidence that such an uprising was close to realisation, but the existence of an alleged conspiracy suggests a number of interesting points.

The date may be noted. The first rebellion of 1765 was to break out almost exactly three years to a day later, which suggests that the run-up to the festival of Corpus Cristi which formed the background to the 1765 rebellion was indeed no coincidence. The next interest of the document comes from the rare light it sheds on inter-ethnic identity in the lower strata. The Quito rebellion was to reveal possible tension between the urban Mestizos and the Indian population of the Five Leagues, but the conspiracy of 1762 shows that these tensions existed within a differentiated Mestizo/Cholo urban population. Forty eight leaders of the gremio (guild) from San Roque sign their names well, as they make extravagant claims of their loyalty to Royal authority. It is explained that the fly-posters have appeared because of the numeration of "the *cholos* who are the kind of people who being by their nature Indian, dress as Mestizos"[64], and are promptly exempt from tribute. The Mestizos don't "work the fields" and do other mechanical offices which only the Indians do[64].

The case is a small one, and there were to be no known repercussions, but is nevertheless highly revealing when taken between the riots of the 1740's and the great eruption of 1765. Once again San Roque was the source of tension, and showing that it had a highly organised leadership

and clear character. The fact that Mestizos were appealing for action as such is of particular interest because the Declarations of Mestizos- due account taken of their judicial character- suggest that there was little auto-identification by the Mestizo class who saw themselves as white or near-white. Here the popular parish of San Roque appeared to have a specifically Mestizo identity, although the circumstances of a census may have helped to create this. It was specified by officials that the idea had developed that the Mestizos were going to be enumerated along with the Indians[64], an example of the role of rumour which we find in all the eighteenth century disturbances. Obviously, it is possible that the fly-posters had their own code meaning, and that the possibility of disturbances of a different order were what really concerned the officials. Nevertheless, the simplest reading of the document is that in their fear of being reduced to the status of the *cholas*, i.e. Indians, the Mestizos directed their aggression against the groups who were on the rung beneath them, rather than against the Colonial system as such. In this sense, the conservative Royalist dimension of eighteenth century civil disorders is only confirmed.

### iii) The impact of the Bourbon Reforms and the 1765 rebellion

The last and greatest uprising of the "lords of San Roque" was to be the Quito rebellion which broke out in that parish on May 22, 1765, initiated once again with fireworks and the ringing of bells. The immediate background to the outbreak was the official attempt to assert direct control over the *aguardiente* monopoly and enforce a closer control over the sales tax. This was unpopular at virtually all levels of Quito society, as the *cabildo abierto* of 1764 was to show, while at the popular level, the registering of plots of land as a preparation for taxing them began in San Roque on May 21 and may have been the catalyst for action - independent evidence that these plots were indeed a major part of the urban economy.

There were two great riots in 1765 as well as a virtually generalised breakdown of order. After the initial attack on the customs house in May 1765, there was a major battle for control of the main square on St. John's day in June and the temporary expulsion of peninsular Spaniards from the city; only the year afterwards was order completely restored. Quito's great rebellion has attracted historical attention in the form of a short account by Perez, and McFarlane's forthcoming article [65]. The possible complicity of the creole elite has been noted, although the "hidden hand" theories of contemporary officials are by definition difficult to verify. It is not felt that it is necessary to go over ground which has been covered elsewhere, and the scope of the present discussion has been restricted accordingly.

One or two points will nevertheless be made insofar as they are suggested by the material which has already been discussed elsewhere in this study. With regard to the background of the Quito rebellion, Perez pointed out that the earthquake of 1755 and the epidemic of 1759 may have been background factors which created a climate of economic difficulty, basing himself on Juan de Velasco [66]. Recalling the demographic evidence

of Chapter 5, however, the city appears to have been expanding in the 1750's, while neither the earthquake of 1755 or 1759 had much of an impact on either recorded Indian mortalities, or the baptisms of any group. McFarlane notes that the trade conjuncture was unfavourable in 1764 and 1765 with the end of the Anglo-Spanish war, and the renewal of international trade competition for Quito's textiles.

This unfavourable conjuncture in 1764-6 can be tightened if we assemble the points made in previous chapters, namely agricultural crisis and low tithe yields, high number of *hijas expósitas*, low sales tax figures, and the epidemic of 1765. Whether or not Juan de Velasco remembered the 1759 epidemic because he himself fell ill in it, the 1765 epidemic shows up more clearly in the demographic indices and has a more direct relevance for the 1765 rebellion (see Figure 5: 2). Recio a Jesuit who lived in Quito at the time of the Quito rebellion specifically remembers this as running prior to, during, and after the Quito rebellion, but there is other documentary proof as to its impact[67]. The importance of the epidemic was probably two way; in the aftermath of the rebellion, the Audiencia claimed in Aug. 25, 1765, that the epidemics were having a tranquilising effect on the population by immobilising so many households through sickness; at that date the epidemic was affecting much of the Highlands[68]. On the other hand, along with food shortages the epidemic may bring the Quito rebellion closer to the European style- "hunger riot", although I would only argue that this was a secondary factor. In view of the short-term conjuncture, it is probably best to see the background to the 1765 rebellion as general stagnation, short term recovery, and abrupt down-turn - which may be closer to the classic breeding ground for rebellion than longterm decline.

Secondly, McFarlane's general emphasis on the connection between riots and festivals can be confirmed. In Chapter 3, we noted that the

preparations for Corpus Cristi took place weeks before the event while the festival of Corpus Cristi fell on June 6 in 1765[69]. The riot of 22 May was therefore well within the build-up period for that festival, one of competitive rivalries as the evidence of Chapter 3 suggests. On the other hand, it was equally argued that festivals do not necessarily reinforce a community cohesion approach to riots in the form they were organised in Quito.

Next, the fact that the Quito rebellion broke out in San Roque also imposes a note of caution against exaggerating the degree of élite complicity in the 1765 rebellion. If we should look for any "hidden hands", a comparison with the disturbances of the 1740's suggests that the Franciscans are among the most plausible candidates. During incidents in the Franciscan schism which did not directly concern this study, the Franciscans carried out a rescue wearing masks [70], while the presence of masked men among the rioters was considered one of the suspicious features of the 1765 rebellion. Identifying San Roque as a popular parish with its own leadership, and traditions of disorder, however, underlines the popular roots of the 1765 rebellion. Nor should we forget that if in San Roque a district was synonymous with a social class, there was also a sense in which the peninsular Spaniards were synonymous with a social class, if we believe Juan and Ulloa's comments that trade was carried out by this group[71].



#### iv) Reaction and unrest: Quito in 1780

We are used to seeking out the causes of major disturbances, or revolutions, but we rarely seek explanations for events which did not happen. While the rest of the Andean region was swept by major rebellions around 1780, both to the north (with the Comunero rebellion), and to the south (with the Túpac Amaru and Túpac Catari rebellions), both the city of Quito - and to a lesser extent the Audiencia- were in a state of uneasy peace. This tranquility was specifically commented upon by the Audiencia when they received news of the revolt in Pasto in 1781 and were worried about the risk of contagion to the capital[72]. This relative tranquility may be noted here as an epilogue to the data presented on the eighteenth century riots. Although this study has gone beyond 1780 to examine demographic data which clarifies late-Colonial population trends, that date forms a natural conclusion to part of the material examined in this study. The censuses of around that date may not provide clear demographic data, but they certainly illuminate the climate of fear and evasion which prevailed when they were carried out. The litigation of the Mestizos caught up in the activist fiscal policies of the Crown emphasizes the same point.

Three points may be briefly noted. Firstly, there was obviously a sense in which Quito had already had its great eruption in 1765, and that uprising had served as an outlet for social tensions. Secondly, there were the reforms carried out with the reform of the militia which Kuethe has examined[73]. Thirdly, there was an attempted uprising in Quito at around this date- or officials thought there was- and the manner in which this was repressed is altogether demonstrative of the atmosphere of repression reigning in the capital at around this date. In 1779, Francisco Xavier de la Cruz and his companions were tried for having beaten a drum in the *barrio* of San Sebastián, allegedly in order to call for a rebellion.

The heavy measures of security which emerge from this case - the patrols of the guards contrast with the riots of the 1740's when officials were forced to do their rounds with a single black slave- suggest that Kuethe may well be correct on focusing on forms of control, as well as on popular motivation. When witnesses were asked whether one of the accused had participated in civil disorders, the altogether revealing reply came that "as he lives inside the city he was not a companion of the "mosos" of the *barrios*". [74]. The *barrio* roots of social disorder could not be more clearly demonstrated.

**Table 7: 1**  
**Social Tension Chart, 1700-1780.**

Date	Nature	Participation		Barrio	Background
			Creole		
1717[a] -1726	suppression Audiencia /social unrest	E/P	?	San Roque	Ec.crisis dearth epidemic
1718[b]	Ecclesiastical schism	R	Localism	----	----
1725[c]	San Luis seminary	R/F	C?	----	Festival
1734[d]	Election Rector	R(Jesuits)/F	C v Pen.	----	----
1747 [e]	Franciscan Visitor	R/F/P	Localism	San Roque	Food shortages, epidemics. New Year
1762 [f]	Census/Fiscal	P (Attempt)	M v Ind.	San Roque	Prepn Corpus C. Festival
22-V-1765[g]	Fiscal	P/E/R?	anti-Pen.	San Roque (+San Sebast.)	Food shortages Epidemics.Prepn Corpus Christi
18-6-1765[h]	Election cura /Release prisoner	P/R	----	Santa Barbara /San Blas	Breakdown of authority
24-6-1765[i]	As 22-V-1765	P	anti-pen	Barrios	San Juan festiv
1779 [j]	Fiscal	P (attempt)(R ?)		----	San Sebast.

Sources: a). AM/Q, LCQ, 5-2-1726; P. Herrera "Apuntamientos..." (1851), 91; AGI 206,RI. Audiencia, Jan 12, 1748, f14. b). GS, 2: 930ff; c) Ibid. 946ff; d) Ibid 993 ff. e) Ibid. 1089ff; ANH/Q Reb.1 Doc:1748-1-1; AGI Quito 206,207; f). ANH/Q Reb. 1 Doc: 24-V-1762.;g) Multiple sources, especially AGI 398, 399; h) AHBC/E vol 00010, f1, "Diario de lo acaecido desde el día 22 de Mayo", f 1; i) as g); j) ANH/Q Indígenas 97 doc: 1779-IV-27. For the sources on epidemics, see Table 5: 5.

Abbreviations: C= Creole; E= Tensions between the local élite and Royal authority; F= Secular factions brought out in support of one side in an ecclesiastical dispute; I= Ind; M= Mestizo; P= Popular tension or riot; Pen = Peninsular; R= Religious involvement.

## Notes to Chapter 7

1) See the citation in note 6 below.

2) P. Burke "The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of the Masaniello", *Past and Present*, 99 (May 1983): 3. (I found this article suggestive for the interpretation of Quito riots). For an overview of Andean rebellions, c.f. L. G. Campbell, "Recent research on Andean Peasant Revolt, 1750-1820", *Latin American Research Review*, 14, (Spring 1979): 3-49. The recent article by A. McFarlane shows that many of the insights of European historiography can be extended to Latin America; "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada", *HAHR*, 64 (1), (Feb. 1984): 17-54. c.f. also, W.B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*, (Stanford Univ. Press, 1979). The connection between riots and festivals which these authors emphasize is also implicit in much of the documentation on rural rebellions in: S. Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones Indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito, desde comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta finales de la Colonia*, (Bonn, 1976; Quito, 1978). As its title indicates, this study focuses on rural Indian uprisings.

3) The phrase is from E. P. Thompson, "The moral economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century", *Past and Present*, 50 (Feb. 1971): 76-136.

4) c.f. also note 2. I am greatly indebted to Dr A. McFarlane for his kindness in allowing me to read a copy of his forthcoming article on the Quito rebellion in May 1984. I learnt that this research was being carried out while I was still in Ecuador, and the focus of my own research narrowed to the aspects discussed in the text. A brief account of the rebellion was included in his article "Civil Disorders", op.cit. Although McFarlane's account now supersedes it, J. Perez' account was of value during the preparation of this study; *Los movimientos precursores de la emancipación en Hispanoamérica*, (Madrid, 1977): 46-64.

5) ANH/Q Reb. Doc:1762-V-24, f 1; "Mestizos de San Roque de Padre y Madre, que todos somos unos, alsense, que los que pagasen tributos moriran a velasos".

6) Ibid. f 5; "la insolencia de algunos mal advenidos con tan notables virtudes que en lugar de egercitarlas promueven discordias, esparzen papelones ofensivos, y alteran el vulgo y pleve licenciada, sin mas fundamento que la tolerancia y falta de castigo experimentado en otras

ocurrencias pasadas".

7) The 1809 rebellion is considered to be beyond the chronological range of this study. Items on Espejo have been listed in the bibliography.

8) Campbell, op. cit. 4, cites the list of Carlos Rama. c.f. also A. Flores Gelindo, "La revolución tupamarista y los pueblos andinos (una crítica y un proyecto)", *Allpanchis* (Cusco) XV (17-18), (1981): 254. Perez and McFarlane both stress the impact of the Bourbon reforms in their analysis of the 1765 Rebellion. c.f. also S. Moreno Yáñez, "Una rebelion indígena anticolonial", in: *Contribución a la Etnohistoria Ecuatoriana*, (Otavalo, 1981): 393-5, citing J. R. Fisher, "La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y el Programa de la Reforma Imperial de Carlos III", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, XXVIII (1971): 405-421.

9) See the references in Table 7:1.

10) See above, Chapters 3 and 5.

11) See the references in Table 7:1.

12) AGI Quito 203, (on San Luis, 1725): Tgos Juan Agustin de La Rosa, and Mro Don Fernando Ladrón de Guevara.

13) Lavallé, cited in Chapter 3.

14) 65 993 ff.

15) See above, Chapters 2iii) and 5i).

16) See Chapter 2 iii).

17) AM/Q, LCQ, 3 Aug. 1717 (f76).

18) AM/Q, LCQ, 1 Feb. 1718 (f98).

19) AM/Q, LCQ, 4 March, 1716 (f39).

20) AGI Quito 206, Rl. Audiencia, Jan 12, 1748, f14.

21) 652:935.

22) For the background, see chapters 2 and 5.

23) AM/Q, LCQ, 5 Feb. 1726 (f54-55).

24) Ibid. f 56.

25) The tribute reform of 1718 led to *corregidores* making underestimates on their tributary lists, and large profits, Tyrer p. 47. AM/Q, LCQ, 4 March, 1716 (f39), for Indians hidden on haciendas.

26) In addition to the literature summarised by Campbell, op. cit. see W.B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*, (Stanford Univ. Press, 1979): 129. Florescano's work may be correct for Mexico without being transferrable elsewhere.

27) See the references in the list of epidemics in Chapter 5.

28) See the discussion in L. Stone, "Theories of Revolution", in: *The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642*, (London, 1972): 3-25, but especially, 15-16.

29) See below.

30) Tyrer, 414-5, my own calculations for San Roque and San Sebastián.

31) e.g. AGI Quito 432, año 1793, Pliego 1. San Blas seems to have received around 70% at that period. The other entrances were Magdalena and Recoleta.

32) i.e. with the transfer to New Granada.

33) Personal communication of J. Moreno Egas from the parish registers.

34) AGI Quito 132, Carta de Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, June 8, 1732; f5, "el Barrio de la mas numerosa Parroquia de San Roque". AGI 206, Rl. Audiencia, Jan 12, 1748, f 14, cited above, "el mas numeroso de esta ciudad", and at the time of the Quito rebellion in 1765, according to the reports in AGI Quito 398.

35) e.g. ANH/Q 3 Not. 1 21 Feb 1656, f 96.

36) See Chapter 1.

37) Tyrer counted 483 recorded Indian occupations in the whole of the city, op. cit. 414-5; in the original docs, I counted 150 recorded occupations in the surviving *padrones* for San Roque. I counted 7 *sastres*, (one with dual occupation) whereas Tyrer found 6(?) for the whole series; 5 *carpinteros*, out of 10 found by Tyrer for the whole city; 3 *barberos*, compared with 8; and 5 *zapateros*, compared with 12.

38) See McFarlane, "The Quito Rebellion".

39) See also, J.L. Phelan, *El Pueblo y El Rey*, (Bogotá, 1980).

40) The account in *GS* is essentially based on AGI Quito 206-7.

41) *GS* neglects the popular dimension and has been largely followed by later Ecuadorian historians.

42) McFarlane, op. cit. following AGI Quito 398.

43) *GS* 1089 ff.

44) *GS* 1093, AGI 206, RI. Audiencia, Jan 12, 1748, f 14.

45) See the list of epidemics in Chapter 5.

46) See *GS* op. cit.

47) ANH/Q Reb. 1: Doc: 1748-1-1, Don Joseph de Quintana y Asevedo, f 52 ff.

48) C. de Gangotena y Jijón, "Fiestas que se celebraban en Quito a fines del siglo XVIII", *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, (Quito), VII, (1923): 263, the festival of the Circumcision, Jan 1.

49) *GS* 1094.

50) ANH/Q reb 1 Doc: 1748-1-1 witnesses heard mainly 9 Jan. 1748 onwards. The citations which follow are from this document unless otherwise specified.

51) f12-13.

52) f13.

53) According to the Audiencia there were more than a thousand, f 3. Don Joaquin de Alava, f32, 400 people involved.

54) Tgo Manuel Zapata, f33.

55) f39.

56) Manuel Guerrero y Ponce, tgo, 9 Jan. 1749, f 13-14 only saw one person of "distinto fuero".

57) Maria Josepha f40.

58) Francisca Goribar, f45-7, testimony confirmed by the Indian and his wife, f 49. "por haver rotto un Potrero viejo como la Carzel no hera delitto"

59) Tgo Doctor Don Rafael de Ortega, f43-4.

60) Doctor Don Gabriel de Piedrahita, f34-5.

61) Multiple e.g.s passim.

62) f 44.

63) f 56.

64) ANH/Q Reb 1: Doc: 24-V-1762, f 1.

64)b Ibid, f 2.

64)c Ibid f 5.

65) c.f. McFarlane, and Perez op. cit.

66) Perez, op. cit. 48.

67) B. Recio, *Compendiosa relación...* (Madrid, 1947): 402. ANB Misc. de la Colonia, Tomo 60, f 441; Carta de Felix de Llano, Quito, Dec. 17, 1765. AGI Quito 398 f 495; Carta del Audiencia, Aug 25, 1765, "Escritos de Espejo" cit. A. Pérez, *Las Mitas en la Real Audiencia de Quito*, (Quito,



1947): 346.

68) AGI Quito 398 f 495; Carta del Audiencia, Aug 25, 1765, mentions Latacunga, Ambato and also Zambisa in the Five Leagues.

69) Calculated from John J. Bond, *Handy book of Rules* (London, 1875): 140.

70) This is a detail from AGI Quito 206, which ~~GS~~ omitted from his account.

71) Juan and Ulloa, *Relación Histórica...* (Madrid, 1978): 373, 402.

72) BM Eg 1808, 17 July 1781, f 573.

73) A. Kuethe, *The Military Reform*, 117 ff.

74) ANH/Q Ind. 97 Doc: 1779-IV-27, f 43.

## 8) Conclusion

An attempt has been made to summarise the evidence frequently during the text as well as to inter-relate the different areas of discussion; this chapter will therefore limit itself to noting two questions which can be raised more easily than answered. How far is Quito's popular society "typical" of Colonial Andean cities? How far can we talk of a popular Quiteño response to the pressures of economic decline and fiscal pressure in the late-Colonial period? The first question will be easier to answer when there are more similar studies, while the second prejudices the problem of whether economic decline is really the best way of approaching late-Colonial Quito society at all.

Quito's major periods of intensified economic and demographic crisis appear to have been concentrated into two periods, at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and again from the 1780's when it was reinforced by direct fiscal pressure. Although a general correlation of the rhythms of economic decline with social disorder is apparent from the material in chapter 7, the two major pre-Independence eruptions of the late-Colonial period, occurred after periods in which the city was relatively stable, being preceded by quite short-term downturns in the mid 1740's and 1760's (dearth, epidemic etc.). To relate the 1765 rebellion to Quito's long-term decline may therefore be somewhat misleading. Clarifying the differential social impact of periods of intensified economic crisis may not be easy, but a number of points can be stressed about the impact at popular level of economic decline and fiscal pressure:

i) It is appropriate to emphasize the complementarity of different forms of economic activity (artisanal occupation, small-scale commercial

activity, urban plots). If the "trigger" of the 1765 rebellion was the imposition of a tax on urban plots, this may well reflect its key importance in the household economy. The switches from *chagra* to *pulperia* and back again warn us to use occupational and tax categories with care. Licensed commercial activity emerges as a very poor guide to the level and character of small-scale economic activity.

ii) Migration was one of the key release mechanisms in Colonial society; one of the essential defences against fiscal exactions or economic pressure was simply to move. In the case of the city of Quito, this included long-distance migration, but the demographic evidence for the late eighteenth century also suggests continual movement between the city and its immediate rural district, which may have absorbed part of the urban population in a process of ruralisation which was marked at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The fact that the male-female ratio was changing significantly and the total urban population falling in the 1780's and 1790's suggests that the major demographic role which has been attributed to the Wars of Independence requires re-examination.

iii) Litigation and rebellion (i.e. chapters 6 and 7). The defence of customary arrangements and sense of natural justice which characterised the latter bring them close to the former as a safety outlet for social tensions.

How typical we choose to make the *plebe* of Quito depends on the criteria of comparison. Flores-Galindo's recent examination of the Colonial *plebe* of Lima (see the bibliography) speaks of a distinctive "urban Colonial culture", of which one of the principal elements- the black presence- is essentially missing in Quito. Unlike coastal cities or Viceregal capitals, Quito's lifeline was with the peasant economy surrounding it, and its urban geography discussed in the first chapter also

reinforced the quasi-rural nature of the *barrios*. Lima, too, had its river marking off the more or less fashionable areas, but it remains to be seen whether Lima or other Colonial cities had the same level of "village" identity which we find in a parish like San Roque. Almost certainly many did have, given the strength of identity of equivalent districts in Early Modern European cities. Whether we choose to characterise Quito society as immobile seems to me largely a matter of perspective. From a macro view-point, Quito was probably one of the most hierarchical, and immobile urban centres in Spanish America, with extremely caste-like values. The city was founded as, and remained, a white Colonial implantation in predominantly Indian countryside with a non-assimilated Indian labour force which supplied manual labour (and some specific artisanal and service functions). One of the values of the series of Declarations of Mestizos is that it allows us to penetrate to the micro-level where we can test our generalisations - about caste or the impact of the Bourbon Reforms - against the individual life, as well as witness the permeability of a social system which left considerable room for manoeuvre in its lower levels.

## Glossary

<u>Aduana</u>	Customs house
<u>Aguardiente</u>	Brandy, spirit
<u>Alcabala</u>	Sales tax
<u>Alcalde</u>	Mayor
<u>Alférez</u>	Ensign
<u>Alguacil</u>	Sergeant: also, an official in a confraternity
<u>Arancel</u>	List of tariffs
<u>Arbitrista</u>	Utopian reformist
<u>Arrabal</u>	"Population contiguous and adjacent to cities and towns, <i>outside</i> its walls"... ( <i>Diccionario... Autoridades</i> ). See: <i>Barrio</i>
<u>Arriero</u>	Mule driver
<u>Asiento</u>	Population centre with a statute inferior to <i>villa</i>
<u>Audiencia</u>	Major judicial and administrative entity legally subordinate to a Viceroyalty
<u>Ayllu</u>	Indian kinship group
<u>Bare</u>	See: <i>vara</i>
<u>Barbero</u>	Barber (and minor surgeon)
<u>Barrio</u>	Popular district of the city, derived from the word for "field". ( <i>Diccionario... Autoridades</i> )
<u>Bayeta</u>	Loosely woven cloth
<u>Bordador</u>	Embroiderer
<u>Botonero</u>	Button-maker
<u>Cabildo</u>	Municipal council
<u>Cabildo abierto</u>	Extraordinary "open" council meeting
<u>Cacica</u>	Indian leader (fem.)
<u>Cacicazgo</u>	Position held by <i>cacique</i>
<u>Cacique</u>	Indian leader
<u>Capellanía</u>	Chaplaincy
<u>Cargador</u>	Carrier (porter of heavy loads)
<u>Carnicería</u>	Municipally controlled slaughterhouse and meatmarket
<u>Casta</u>	Caste; the non-white, non-Indian population. (In the Audiencia of Quito, this refers mainly to the black or part-black population)
<u>Cédula</u>	Decree
<u>Censo</u>	Financial obligations assumed on property (especially to the Church), in exchange for loans, or for religious reasons
<u>Chácara</u>	See <u>Chagra</u>
<u>Chagra</u>	(quich.) field
<u>Chagro</u>	(quich. deriv. of <i>chagra</i> ) "a shop in which is sold different grains, bread and other foodstuffs.. which they call <i>chagra</i> "

	for the provision of poor people"(una tienda en que haze vender diferentes granos, Pan y otros comestibles... que llaman chagro, para el abasto de la gente pobre"[ANH/Q Carn. y Pulp. 2: 1760-V-23: f1])
<u>Chichero</u>	Maker of maize beer ( <i>chicha</i> )
<u>China</u>	Indian girl, sometimes feminine of <i>chala</i>
<u>Cholo*</u>	Acculturated Indian in the process of becoming Mestizo
<u>Chorrillo</u>	Small urban textile workshop producing coarse cloth
<u>Cofradía</u>	Confraternity, religious lay brotherhood
<u>Compadrazgo</u>	Compaternity
<u>Compadre</u>	God-father
<u>Composición</u>	Fee paid to legalise a title (to land and other property)
<u>Corona Real</u>	"Royal Crown", tribute category grouping together Indians detached from the <i>llacta</i> . (Often therefore: <i>forasteros de la Corona Real</i> )
<u>Corregidor</u>	Official with administrative and judicial authority over a district
<u>Corregimiento</u>	District administered by a <i>corregidor</i>
<u>Criollo</u>	Creole, person of European descent born in the Indies
<u>Cuadro</u>	Urban block, smaller in Quito than elsewhere
<u>Curaca</u>	See <i>Cacique</i> . (rare in the Audiencia of Quito)
<u>Cura</u>	Parish priest
<u>Dansante</u>	Dancer dressed up for religious festivals
<u>Diezmo</u>	Tithe
<u>Doctrina</u>	In Spanish America, the form of Indian evangelization.
<u>Don*</u>	(femin. <i>Doña</i> ) Courtesy title reserved to the white élite and important Indians
<u>Ejido</u>	Common land
<u>Encomienda</u>	System of "entrusting" Indian groups to <i>encomenderos</i> to whom tribute was paid
<u>Encomendero</u>	Holder of <i>encomienda</i>
<u>Faldellín</u>	Underskirt
<u>Fiesta</u>	(Religious) festival
<u>Fiscal</u>	State Prosecutor
<u>Forastero</u>	Outsider or Indian migrant, formalised as a tax category; <i>forasteros</i> paid less than the <i>llactayos</i> (normally around 4 pesos a year, or a little over half the <i>llactaya</i> rate)
<u>Gremio</u>	Guild
<u>Guasicama</u>	( <i>Guasi</i> , (Quich.), house). Indian providing household labour
<u>Hacendado</u>	Major landowner
<u>Hacienda</u>	Large landed estate
<u>Hato</u>	Sheep- or cattle-pen

<u>Hidalgo</u>	Originally, a member of the Spanish gentry
<u>Hijo Expósito</u>	Foundling
<u>Huerta</u>	Fruit and vegetable garden
<u>Jerga</u>	Coarse dark cloth
<u>Latonero</u>	Tin-worker
<u>Legua</u>	League, variable unit of time-space; "the distance covered in an hour", c. 3.4 miles (5.5 kilometres)
<u>Llacta</u>	See: <i>llactaya</i>
<u>Llactayo</u>	Indian belonging to the <i>llacta</i> , i.e. the settled land-holding Indian community. The <i>llac-tayo</i> paid a higher rate of tribute than the <i>farastero</i> and was liable to <i>mita</i> service
<u>Limpio</u>	Pure, c.f. the Spanish concept "limpieza de sangre", "purity of blood"
<u>Majordomo</u>	Majordomo, administrator
<u>Mercader</u>	Merchant
<u>Mestizaje</u>	Process of racial and cultural mixing
<u>Mestizo*</u>	Person of mixed Indian and white extraction. See also <i>montañés</i>
<u>Mita</u>	System of forced rotating Indian labour
<u>Mitayo</u>	Indian liable to the <i>mita</i>
<u>Molino</u>	Mill
<u>Montañés*</u>	Mestizo of good social standing
<u>Morador</u>	Resident with lower status than a <i>vecino</i>
<u>Moreno</u>	Person of part-black origin
<u>Mulato</u>	Person of mixed Negro and white extraction
<u>Obraje</u>	Textile workshop
<u>Obrajero</u>	Owner of an <i>obraje</i>
<u>Padrón</u>	Census
<u>Paño azul</u>	Fine quality woolen export cloth
<u>Pardo</u>	Person of part negro descent
<u>Patacón</u>	See <i>peso</i>
<u>Peinadillo</u>	Term used to describe the mobile Indian population in the early Colonial period
<u>Peninsular</u>	White born in Spain
<u>Peso</u>	Unit of Spanish currency, divided into 8 reales
<u>Petaquero</u>	Trunk-maker
<u>Pintor</u>	Painter
<u>Platero</u>	Silver-smith
<u>Plaza</u>	Square; also often serving as market-place
<u>Plebe</u>	Plebeian social strata
<u>Pregonero</u>	Town crier
<u>Prioste</u>	Official in a confraternity

<u>Procurador</u>	Attorney
<u>Propios</u>	Public lands and rents
<u>Protector de Naturales</u>	Protector of the Indians
<u>Pueblo</u>	Village
<u>Pulpería</u>	Licensed retail outlet for salt, cheese, alcohol, knives etc.
<u>Pulpero</u>	Person who owns or rents a <i>pulpería</i>
<u>Quadra</u>	See: <i>cuadra</i>
<u>Quebrada</u>	Ravine, river-gulley
<u>Quinta</u>	Small farm
<u>Quintos</u>	Indians who were liable for the supply of 1/5 of their labour force for the <i>mita</i> . (See also: <i>llactaya</i> )
<u>Real</u>	One-eighth of a <i>peso</i>
<u>Reducción</u>	(pl. <i>reducciones</i> ) Reorganisation of the Indian communities into concentrated village settlement in the late sixteenth century
<u>Regatona</u>	(from <i>catu</i> (Quich.), market). Marketwoman
<u>Relación</u>	Account
<u>Residencia</u>	Official inquiry at the end of a period of office
<u>Sambo</u>	see <i>Zambo</i>
<u>Sapatero</u>	see: <i>Zapatero</i>
<u>Sastre</u>	Tailor
<u>Sayal</u>	Poor quality coarse cloth
<u>Sierra</u>	Highlands
<u>Sillero</u>	Saddlemaker
<u>Síndico</u>	Administrator of a confraternity
<u>Solar</u>	Urban plot for construction (in Quito 1/4 of a <i>cuadra</i> )
<u>Texedor</u>	Weaver
<u>Tienda</u>	Shop
<u>Vara</u>	33 inches (83.5 cm)
<u>Vecino</u>	Citizen, freeman of the city
<u>Ville</u>	Town
<u>Visita</u>	Official administrative or ecclesiastical inspection
<u>Visitador</u>	Official or ecclesiastic who carries out a <i>visita</i>
<u>Zambo</u>	Person of Indian and Negro descent
<u>Zapatero</u>	Shoe-maker

\* Terms indicated with an asterisk are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.



## ABBREVIATIONS

AA/C	Archivo Arzobispal, Cuenca
AA/L	Archivo Arzobispal, Lima
AF/Q	Archivo Franciscano, Quito
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
- Quito	- Section Audiencia de Quito
AGN/L	Archivo General de la Nación, Lima
AHBC/E	Archivo Histórico del Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito
AHBC/I	Archivo Histórico del Banco Central, Ibarra
AM/Q	Archivo Municipal, Quito
-LCQ	- Libros de Cabildo
AMC/Q	Archivo Metropolitano de la Curia, Quito
ANB	Archivo Nacional, Bogotá
ANH/Q	Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito
- Carn. y Pulp.	- Section Carnicerías y Pulperías
- Ind.	- Section Indígenas
- Mz.	- Section Mestizos
- Not.	- Notarial Register
- Pres.	- Section Presidencia de Quito
- Reb.	- Section Rebeliones
ANH/C	Archivo Nacional de Historia, Azuay (Cuenca)
AP/Q	Parish Archives, Quito
	- Sagrario
	- San Blas
	- Santa Bárbara
BM	British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London
BN/ M	National Library (Madrid)
BNP/L	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima
<i>GS</i>	F. González Suárez, <i>Historia General de la República del Ecuador (1890-)</i> , 3 vols, Quito, 1969-70
<i>HAHR</i>	<i>Hispanic American Historical Review</i>
<i>LCQ</i>	<i>Libro de cabildo</i> , published by the Municipality of Quito
<i>RGI</i>	<i>Relaciones Geográficas de Indias: Perú</i> , ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada, 3 vols, Madrid, 1965

## MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Note: conditions (and classification) were relatively fluid in Ecuadorian archives, 1981-3. References are to the materials, as organised at that period.

### ECUADOR

Archivo Arzobispal, Cuenca (unclassified)

Archivo Histórico del Banco Central del Ecuador (Quito)

---- Fondo Jijon y Canaaño, 00010; 00029, 'Libros Verdes I; Ia Colección, Ms Azules T 7.

Archivo Histórico del Banco Central, Ibarra (unclassified)

Archivo Municipal, Quito

---- vol 54 (cartas de cabildo); vol 64, "Padrón de población... de Quito y Latacunga y Ambato" (1830-I). The Libros de Cabildo of Quito, housed in this archive, have been published upto 1657 (see Part II of the bibliography). c.f. also, vol 37, Demandas y Juicios (1642-87).

Archivo Metropolitano de la Curia, Quito (unclassified)

---- Particular use was made of the ecclesiastical padrones of the 1790's, contained in a box marked "Visita Pastoral- Ilmo Pérez de Calama (1790)". The Director of the archive placed later censuses of neighbouring villages in this box, after I consulted them in December 1982.

Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito

---- The resources of this archive were discussed in the Introduction. The following sections were of particular relevance:

Carnicerías y Pulperías I. doc 7-VII-1642.

Empadronamientos Census data. Vol 26 for a summary of San Blas, Quito, in 1826. This section includes nineteenth century censuses of Quito, but for the eighteenth century, there is only data in summary form.

Gobierno Mixed official documentation, similar to Presidencia de Quito, below.

Hijos Naturales y Expósitos For this category, see p 298-300 above.

Indígenas Litigation in which Indians were involved, and therefore a mixed body of documentation; but weighted towards land-litigation.

Mestizos For a list of the documents in this section, see above, p 253 ff.

Notaries The volume numbers in the catalogue of the ANH/Q do not always correspond to those marked on the binding of the notarial records: the date

of a transaction is therefore the essential reference. A relatively complete <sup>series</sup>  
Pobreza Somewhat less rich than its name suggests, this section consists of civil law-suits brought by those claiming the "legal aid" permitted on establishing the status of pobre de solemnidad.

Presidencia de Quito Official correspondence, sometimes duplicated in Sevilla and Bogotá. A catalogue of this section apparently exists.

Rebeliones The first five boxes consist essentially of the documentation used by S. Moreno Yánez for his study Sublevaciones Indígenas. Chapter 7 above, made use of two documents in the first box ( Docs: I748-I-I and .24-v-I762), but this section was of restricted access 1981-3. I was briefly allowed to consult two boxes on the nineteenth century, which, however, appeared to relate mainly to military uprisings.

#### Archivo Nacional de Historia, Azuay (Cuenca)

--- In process of being classified in 1981-3, this archive is catalogued for the Republican period, but only partially for the eighteenth century.

#### Parish Archives, Quito

--- Registers of births and deaths in the Sagrario, Santa Bárbara, and San Blas. San Marcos was also visited, but could not be systematically used. For transcriptions of some entries in the Sagrario, c.f. J. Moreno Egas' ongoing publications in the Revista del Centro Nacional de Investigaciones Genealógicas...

### COLOMBIA

#### Archivo Nacional, Bogotá

Cartas de Contrabandos, Tomo XI

Censos Varios departamentos, Tomo 8

Colonia- Aguardientes del Ecuador, Tomo 2.

Colonia Tributos XVI

Hacienda Real, varios no. 2893, vol: "Censos del Ecuador"

Miscelánea de la Colonia; 2; 60

Miscelánea de la Republica, 123 (1)

PERU

Archivo Arzobispal, Lima

Apelaciones de Quito, Leg I5.

Archivo General de la Nación, Lima

Superior Gobierno, Leg I5. Cuad 400.

Tributos, Informes, Leg 3. Cuad 63.

Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima

"Estado actual...", April 30, I747, c 88I.

"Juan de Dios Chubirayco...", I797, c93I.

SPAIN

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

Ms 3I98

Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla

Audiencia de Quito 8 I7 28 32 69 72 I32 I38 I8I I88 203 206  
207 223 242 243 254 276 289 378A 379 38I 398 399 4I6 4I7 4I8  
4I9 420 42I 422 423 424 430 432 435 436

Contaduría I539

Estado (Quito, I792-I8I7)

Mapas y Planos Panamá I34

BRITAIN

British Museum, Department of Manuscripts

Additional I5,33I I7,588

Eg I,808 I,809

Kings 2I9

FRANCE

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Cartes et Plans C 3593

DENMARK

The Royal Library of Copenhagen

"Cuaderno de Guachucal en la Provincia de los Pastos hasta la ciudad de Cuenca y Quito", (1766), Ny kgl. Samling 568 (4) ( consulted in the transcription of Juan Castro y Velázquez).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AA/C Archbishop's Archives, Cuenca
- AA/L Archbishop's Archives, Lima
- AF/Q Archive of the Franciscan Order, Quito
- AGI Archive of the Indies, Sevilla
- Quito - Section Audiencia de Quito
- AGN/L Archivo General de la Nación, Lima
- AM/Q Municipal Archives, Quito
- LCQ - Libro de cabildo
- AMC/Q Archbishop's Archives, Quito
- ANB Archivo Nacional, Bogotá
- ANH/C Archivo Nacional de Historia ( Cuenca )
- ANH/Q Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito
- Carn. y Pulp. - Section Carnicerías y Pulperías
- Ind. - Section Indígenas
- Mz. - Section Mestizos
- Not. - Section of notarial records
- Pres. - Section Presidencia de Quito
- Reb. - Section Rebeliones
- BM British Museum, London
- BN/ M National Library, (Madrid)
- BNP/L National Library of Peru, (Lima)
- GS Historia General de la República del Ecuador (1890-)  
3 vols, Quito, 1969-70.
- HAHR Hispanic American Historical Review
- LCQ Libro de cabildo, published by the Municipality of Quito
- RGI Relaciones Geográficas de Indias : Perú, ( ed. M. Jiménez  
de la Espada, 3 vols, Madrid, 1965.

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Using manuscript data collected in European and Latin-American archives, this study examines the urban popular strata (*plebe*) of eighteenth century Quito. An economically stagnant, medium-sized Colonial Andean city of around 30,000 inhabitants, Quito presents different features from larger urban centres like Lima, and its *plebe* is best examined in an urban-rural continuum. Quito's distinctive urban morphology is stressed in which the main Spanish city was largely separated by ravines from the popular peripheral parishes (*barrios*) with their artisanal population. Small-scale urban agricultural activity and the close interaction of the urban economy with surrounding rural Indian peasant society sustained a dual economy with parallel systems of urban supply. Urban weaving may also be considered an extension of traditional rural activity in its small-scale, domestic urban form. Institutionally, urban social structure was shaped by parroquial organisation, and by a Spanish-perpetuated ritual pre-hispanic division of the city, which influenced the inter-relationship of the *barrios*. The role of the Church is stressed, notably through the confraternities which reinforced horizontal ties at the artisanal level and played a key role in the socio-economic organisation of the popular strata; like other religious institutions, the confraternities' role in credit circulation had partly ossified into forms of perpetual obligation.

From the late seventeenth century, the region entered an economic crisis, partly as a consequence of the loss of competitiveness of its cloth exporting industry; difficulties were later reinforced by increased fiscal pressure from the Spanish monarchy. Demographic evidence clarifies the chronology of crisis, and underlines the absolute and relative decline of Quito's urban Indian population, as a result of economic decline, differential epidemic impact, and the absorption of Indians into the cultural category of Mestizo (mixed-blood). Cultural absorption was not smooth, generating ethnic tensions between established urban Mestizos and new arrivals. A partial official attempt to reinvigorate caste distinctions for fiscal purposes in the late 1770's provoked litigation by Mestizos seeking tribute exemption as non-Indians. This documentation underlines the socio-racial confusion at the lower levels of society, and the role of the urban centre as an agent of acculturation; about 250 cases, examined in detail, supplied varied data on the urban (and rural) lower strata. From this micro-perspective, social mobility, demographic movement and the fluidity of race boundaries emerge as dynamic features in contra-distinction to the evidence of a structurally immobile society suggested by the correlation between ethnic classification and certain occupational categories. Finally, the impact of economic decline and fiscal reorganisation can be seen in urban riots. Although official fiscal pressures generated broad social opposition during the Quito rebellion of 1765, that outbreak was the culmination of a series of smaller disturbances which illuminate class and ethnic antagonisms. Their class origin is clarified by analysis of the socio-demographic character of the *barrios*. The parish of San Roque played a key role throughout; this was the most homogeneous popular parish with a strong collective identity, a low level of formal religious compliance (but links with the Franciscan order), and without the customary large socially mixed two-tier households which facilitated social control. Official fiscal pressures in 1765 "secularised" a tradition of urban religious riot into which class antagonisms and anti-Spanish prejudice had previously been channelled.