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FROM COCHINEAL TO COFFEE: THE MAKING OF A NEW RURAL ECONOMY IN MIAHUATLÁN, OAXACA, 1780-1880

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines a dramatic agricultural transformation that occurred in the heavily indigenous region of Miahuatlán, Oaxaca (Mexico), between 1780 and 1880. Located on the southern edge of Oaxaca's Central Valleys and populated by indigenous family farmers and a small group of nonindigenous merchants and administrators, the district of Miahuatlán found itself at the center of production for two incredibly valuable agricultural commodities. The first half of my project (1780-1860) examines the decline and disintegration of Oaxaca's once-vibrant cochineal economy, an economy based in small-scale family farming that emerged around two important Spanish colonial institutions: a mercantilist monopoly and a system of trade known as the *repartimiento de mercancías*. I explore how these two crucial colonial institutions became undone towards the end of the eighteenth century and consider the subsequent decline in monetary income for Oaxaca's family farmers and merchants in the early years of independence. The second half of my project (1860-1880) then explores how southern Oaxaca became one of the leading centers of coffee cultivation in all of Mexico. Through the construction of a new Pacific port in the 1870s, the privatization of communal lands, and modest improvements in road networks, Miahuatlán underwent a significant economic transformation that involved medium- to large-scale coffee estates and new forms of contractual labor.

This project seeks to revise long-standing interpretations of agrarian change in pre-Revolutionary Mexico. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, sustained economic growth and political stability in Mexico resulted in the growth of large-scale commercial agriculture, disrupting long-standing social relations in the countryside and the widespread communal landholding of indigenous communities. Historians have long argued these processes caused significant land loss and provoked many of the tensions at the heart of the Mexican Revolution

of 1910. However, a closer look at economic growth in Oaxaca suggests that large-scale commercial agriculture did not always look the same or have the same consequences in different regions. In a place such as Oaxaca with a long history of semi-autonomous indigenous communities with strong peasant economies, large-scale commercial agriculture was far less disruptive, often mediated by previous forms of land use and labor recruitment. The case of Porfirian Oaxaca forces us to reconsider the processes and consequences of Latin America's export boom between 1850 and 1930 (often deemed the "Second Conquest of Latin America") and how this period shaped rural social relations.

INTRODUCTION

Miahuatlán: Place and People

This dissertation is about economic change in a very small place. Located on the southern edge of Oaxaca's Central Valleys and populated by Zapotec family farmers at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the district of Miahuatlán covers an area of approximately 4,000 square kilometers. The Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado entered the region in 1522, but Spanish settlers quickly faced resistance in the form of two local rebellions—one in 1525 and another in 1547.[1] Hernán Cortés assigned several individuals to oversee *encomiendas*, or grants of tribute collection, in the region, including a friend and close relative, Diego Becerra de Mendoza.[2] Decades earlier, the conquering Aztecs had also taken an interest in the district of Miahuatlán. The *pochteca*, or Aztec merchants that circulated Mesoamerica and exchanged goods between provinces of the empire, marveled at the agriculture of the small region, particularly its fields of maize. They decided to provide their own name for the region in Nahuatl—"Miahuatlán," or "land of the ears of corn."[3]

The district of Miahuatlán is composed of two basic ecological zones—a valley and a mountain range (the Sierra Madre del Sur). The Valley of Miahuatlán is an extension of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, consisting of small plains and low hills and featuring a tributary of the Atoyac River—the Miahuatlán River. The largest town in the Valley, also known as Miahuatlán, is the most populous center of the district and a major stop along the road from the

[1] María del Carmen Martínez, *El obispo fray Bernardo de Alburquerque: El marquesado del Valle de Oaxaca en el siglo XVI* (Oaxaca: Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, 1998), 76-78.
[2] Ibid.
[3] In Nahuatl, "miahuatl" means ear of corn and "tlan" site or place.

capital of Oaxaca to the Pacific Ocean.[4] The Valley itself reaches an altitude of 1600 meters above sea level and covers a territory of roughly 400 square kilometers. The climate is tropical and warm, with an average high temperature of 78 degrees Fahrenheit and a well-defined rainy season between April and October. Just south of the Valley, however, lies the Sierra de Miahuatlán, the second ecological zone of the district and a branch of the major mountain chain called the Sierra Madre del Sur. The average altitude is 2,000 meters above sea level, with certain areas reaching as high as 3,000 meters. The terrain is rough and uneven, with steep cliffs, deep ravines, and quite a bit of forest, or *monte*. The temperatures of the Sierra can fall much lower than the Valley, with the potential for frosts, and rain is more prevalent.

These climactic and topographic particularities have shaped long-standing agricultural practices in the region. At the time of Spanish conquest, the principal crops grown in Miahuatlán—as well as in many other portions of Mexico—were maize, beans, and chile. In the Sierra portion of the district, farmers practiced a system of slash-and-burn agriculture that allowed for regular maize harvests in the midst of heavy forest and shrubbery. At the beginning of the year, farmers would select a site for their harvest and cut away any vegetation in the area through the use of a hoe or machete, a process called the *roza*. In April, just before the rainy season, farmers would conduct an additional cleaning of the area and set the cleared ground on fire. Once the rain began falling, they could seed the area with kernels from the previous year's crop. Beans, chile, and squash were intermingled with the maize crop or planted separately. While this basic system of agriculture has continued up until present day (albeit with better tools and improved techniques), the arrival of the Spanish introduced more intensive forms of

[4] Throughout the colonial period and nineteenth century, this town was called San Andrés Miahuatlán. In the 1940s, it changed to "Miahuatlán de Porfirio Díaz," named after Porfirio Díaz, the general (and later president) who fought against the French in the area.

agriculture into the area, including the use of a plow in flatter portions of the region, such as the Valley.

In terms of political organization, Miahuatlán was composed of several different *señoríos*, or fiefdoms, at the time of Spanish conquest. These señoríos controlled a particular territory and also managed tribute collection for their residents. The five señoríos of Miahuatlán were Amatlán, Coatlán, Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec, and Teitipac.[5] In total, around 60,000 individuals resided in the region, but this number would fall dramatically in the following decades as epidemic diseases infected large portions of the native population.[6] Over the course of the colonial period, these different communities became *corregimientos* and eventually were grouped together under a single political jurisdiction in the seventeenth century, known as an *alcaldía mayor*.[7] The most detailed population statistics we have on colonial Miahuatlán come from the first official census conducted in New Spain between 1790 and 1794. This census found a total of 16,000 inhabitants living in Miahuatlán: 16 priests, 171 Spanish men and 143 Spanish women, 6,808 Indian men and 7,937 Indian women, and 454 mixed-blood men and 474 mixed-blood women (or *castas*).[8]

After Mexico's independence in 1821, Miahuatlán became integrated into the Mexican federal system, forming one of twenty-six districts in the state of Oaxaca (see Figure 1) and most villages in the district becoming municipalities.[9] A detailed *informe* from 1872 notes that

[5] Basilio Rojas, *Miahuatlán, un pueblo de México: monografía del Distrito de Miahuatlán, Estado de Oaxaca*, vol. 1 (México, D.F.: Gráfica Cervantina, 1962), 183-184; Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 187-190. Gerhard notes that both Miahuatlán and Coatlán were under the Aztec sphere of influence.
[6] Rojas, *Miahuatlán, un pueblo de México,* 2: 22.
[7] Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 189.
[8] Rojas, *Miahuatlán, un pueblo de México*, 2: 23.
[9] For studies of the municipalization process in Oaxaca, see Karen Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalism in early National Oaxaca and Yucatán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); J. Édgar Mendoza García, *Municipios, cofradías y tierras comunales: Los pueblos chocholtecos de Oaxaca en el siglo XIX* (México D.F.:

Miahuatlán was composed of 54 villages, 6 *haciendas*, and 4 *ranchos*, with a total population of 30,000 residents.[10] The *cabecera*, or head town of the district, was San Andrés Miahuatlán, with a population of 4,000 residents. Surrounding this village were smaller agrarian communities that had developed over the course of the colonial period, including the ranchos of Guixe, Xitlapehua, and Velató.[11] In the rest of the district, the original señoríos were now parishes, each with their own principal town: San Pablo Coatlán, Santa María Ozolotepec, San Juan Ozolotepec, San Luis Amatlán, San Agustín Mixtepec, San Sebastián Río Hondo, and Santiago Lapaguía.[12] Population growth had led to a more complex social and political organization compared to the colonial period. And yet, this is not all that had changed. The region had also undergone a significant agricultural transformation.

UBAJO, CIESAS, and Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2011); Rodolfo Pastor, *Campesinos y reformas: la mixteca, 1700-1856* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1987).

[10] *Memoria que el ejecutivo del estado presenta al congreso del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1872).

[11] See Chapter 4 for further details on these communities.

[12] As an example, San Pablo Coatlán was the head village of the following communities: San Pedro Coatlán, San Jerónimo Coatlán, Santo Domingo Coatlán, San Sebastián Coatlán, San Francisco Coatlán, San Miguel Coatlán, and Santa María Coatlán.

Figure 1: Map of Districts and Regions of Oaxaca (Present Day)

Source**:** Justin Henderson, *Moon Oaxaca (7th edition)* (Berkeley: Avalon Travel, 2015).

Historical Question(s)

Despite the widespread practice of subsistence agriculture at the start of the colonial period, the district of Miahuatlán also became connected to world markets through an important commodity—cochineal. Native to southern Mexico and a few other parts of the Americas, this rare insect was used to produce a strong crimson dye, which derived from the carminic acid present in female insects. Prior to the conquest, families in southern Mexico mastered the art of raising and protecting the insects over a three-month period as they fed off their host plant, the nopal cactus. After reaching a sufficient size, the insects were removed and killed through a variety of methods. The insects could then be crushed and mixed with water to yield a powerful red dye that fixed to articles of clothing. The Spanish took an immediate interest in the dyestuff,

transporting large quantities across the Atlantic and dispersing it across western Europe, where it was employed in the luxury textile industry. By the eighteenth century, the province of Oaxaca—and especially the district of Miahuatlán—was the center of production for this dyestuff, producing over a million pounds every year.

The first half of my project examines the decline and disintegration of this lucrative industry between 1780 and 1860. The Spanish developed the cochineal industry around two key institutions: a mercantilist monopoly and a system of trade known as the *repartimiento de mercancías*. However, with a series of imperial reforms in the late eighteenth century and the disintegration of the Spanish Empire in the early nineteenth century, the cochineal industry lost much of its previous structure and commercial protections. Cochineal production spread to other parts of the globe, and local farmers struggled to acquire the credit they were accustomed to. These were difficult years for the province of Oaxaca, and political officials began exploring various options for diversifying the region's economy. The final nail in the coffin for the industry would come in the 1860s, when chemists in Europe finally invented synthetic substitutes for natural dyes, including a red dye called alizarin in 1869.

The second half of my project examines the birth of a new economy in southern Oaxaca between 1860 and 1880—the coffee industry. Cochineal merchants from Miahuatlán who had been traveling to Veracruz began observing coffee fincas in Córdoba in the 1860s. They decided to form a *sociedad agrícola,* or agricultural association, in Miahuatlán in 1874 and invest in a new coffee *finca* called La Providencia. Over the next two decades, coffee cultivation spread across the district of Miahuatlán and other portions of southern Oaxaca, including the districts of Pochutla and Juquila. By 1890, there were over 40 coffee fincas in operation, producing several

million pounds of coffee every year.[13] This industry was supported by two significant infrastructure projects—a road from the district of Miahuatlán to the Pacific coast and a new port along the coast, called Puerto Ángel. By the end of the nineteenth century, this small region was once again connected to the world economy but this time through a new commodity.

My dissertation aims to understand how this significant agricultural transition occurred, including its ecological, legal, financial, political, and social dimensions. What role did climate and topography play in the development of these two different commodities? What impact did major colonial and national legislation—including the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786 and the Ley Lerdo of 1856—have on this small region? How did cochineal merchants manage declining prices and incomes and transition their business into land-based coffee operations? And what role did key political figures at the state and national level—including Benito Juárez, Matías Romero, and Porfirio Díaz—play in this whole process?

However, I am primarily interested in the social dimensions of this agricultural transition. The arrival of coffee in Miahuatlán involved a number of key elements of economic growth in late-nineteenth-century Mexico—large-scale commercial agriculture, infrastructure development, the privatization of communal lands, and the increase of contractual labor obligations. And yet, contrary to long-standing historical narratives of this time period, these economic changes did not undermine the basic social organization of this place.[14] Cochineal merchants became coffee plantation owners and many village lands were sold for coffee

[13] Francie Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca: The View from the South, Mexico 1867-1911* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 136-149.
[14] For the most classic case studies, see John Womack Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Vintage books, 1968); Allen Wells, *Yucatán's Gilded Age: Hacienda, Henequen, and International Harvester, 1860-1915* (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985). For a recent collection of essays exploring the idea of the "black legend" of the Porfiriato, see Antonio Escobar Ohmstede and Matthew Butler, eds., *Mexico in Transition: New Perspectives on Mexican Agrarian History, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (México, D.F.: CIESAS, 2013). A much fuller historiographical analysis can be found in Chapter 4.

cultivation, but indigenous communities remained largely intact and traditional farmlands remained in the hands of their previous owners. In other words, this process did not result in significant social dislocations, as it did in other parts of the Mexican countryside.

Why was this? This is where the first half of my project becomes so significant. As I argue, the rise of the cochineal trade in many ways solidified small-scale family farming as the bedrock of Oaxaca's economy, with Spanish settlers choosing to become merchants as opposed to major landowners.[15] The *hacienda* (or large rural estate) and mining activity were both limited in Oaxaca compared to other parts of New Spain, and indigenous residents held relative economic autonomy with little seasonal or permanent migration. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Oaxaca was a place of strong peasant economies and cohesive village structures, which would constrain and mediate the rise of large-scale commercial agriculture in the second half of the nineteenth century. The rise of coffee cultivation cannot be told without the story of the cochineal trade, and Miahuatlán's process of economic and social change only makes sense when told from this perspective.

Organization

Chapter 1 of this dissertation explores the rise of Oaxaca's cochineal economy over the course of the colonial period. I explain why cochineal surpassed a variety of other natural substances as a source of red dye for European textile makers. I then examine the complicated cultivation process for the insect dyestuff, which was completed by small-scale indigenous farmers on village communal lands. Although Spanish settlers never directly controlled the means of production for this commodity, they did control the trade and export of cochineal

[15] John Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); William Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972); John Chance, *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

dyestuff and built up an infrastructure to inspect the dye and make sure it met certain standards. I conclude the chapter by exploring the height of the cochineal economy between 1750 and 1780, which led to growing social conflicts in the province of Oaxaca and increased attention from other European powers as they tried to replicate the industry in their own colonial territories.

Chapter 2 focuses on the system of trade that underpinned this colonial economy—the *repartimiento de mercancías*. First emerging during the late sixteenth century, this system of commerce allowed local political officials—financed by wealthy merchants—to trade directly with indigenous residents through various forms of credit. In the case of cochineal, officials extended cash advances to Indians at the beginning of the production cycle, often in September or October, and received a certain amount of cochineal in late spring. I examine the impact of late-colonial Spanish legislation, specifically Article 12 of the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786, that sought to prohibit this trading practice. The prohibition of the repartimiento led to growing financial and legal uncertainty in the region and a decline in the volume of the cochineal trade.

Chapter 3 begins with Mexico's independence in 1821, which had a significant impact on the course of the cochineal trade. Oaxaca held a monopoly on production of the dyestuff for most of the colonial period. When the Spanish Empire collapsed in 1810, cochineal production spread to Guatemala and the Canary Islands, which emerged as viable competitors to Oaxaca's industry. As a result, the price of cochineal fell dramatically during the initial decades of independence. I analyze this period from the perspective Oaxaca's political economy, including taxation, infrastructure, and agricultural diversification. The state government tried to extract increasing revenues from cochineal merchants and use this money to build a system of roads in the state. The state also tried to encourage the cultivation of an array of other agricultural products,

including cacao, silk, and coffee. Chapter 3 concludes by highlighting the invention of synthetic dyes in Europe in the 1850s and 1860s, which marked a definitive end to the cochineal trade as a source of income for the region.

Chapter 4 examines the dramatic rise of coffee cultivation in the southern part of Oaxaca in the 1870s and 1880s. The main investors behind this industry were a group of cochineal merchants in the district of Miahuatlán who were struggling to recoup their losses from previous years. I focus on the impact of coffee cultivation on land tenure in the area, including the widespread sale of communal lands. Municipalities in Miahuatlán sold nearly 100,000 hectares of land, or 25% of the district's territory, to various coffee entrepreneurs. However, these lands were mainly *propios* and *ejidos*, or lands traditionally rented out or used for collective purposes (such as forests or pasturelands). In other words, this transfer of land did not result in significant land losses for most of the region's family farmers. I conclude the chapter by exploring how coffee entrepreneurs developed their recently purchased properties into medium-sized coffee fincas, in many cases selling them to outside investors for a significant profit.

The final chapter of the dissertation, Chapter 5, explores the rise of Puerto Ángel as the primary site where coffee was exported from the state of Oaxaca. For most of the nineteenth century, state officials in Oaxaca struggled to establish a port along the Pacific coast, instead relying on the port of Veracruz. However, beginning in the 1870s, state and federal officials cooperated in building a customs office and warehouse facilities at Puerto Ángel as well as a new wagon road that stretched from the capital of Oaxaca to the port. The main federal official behind these projects was Matías Romero, who was finance minister of the country but also from the state of Oaxaca. Beginning in the 1880s, coffee exports began steadily rising at the port, with shipments of coffee sent to Acapulco, Mazatlán, San Francisco, New York, and Hamburg. This

rise in economic activity provoked significant social conflicts in the region, especially between port employees and local residents. By 1890, Puerto Ángel was a major port along Mexico's Pacific coast, handling over a million pounds of coffee ever year.

CHAPTER 1
The Origins and Growth of the Cochineal Trade in Colonial Oaxaca

Introduction: The Spanish Discovery of Cochineal

In July 1519, as Hernán Cortés and the rest of his Spanish crew were exploring the Gulf coast of Mexico for the first time, they sent back an initial shipment of treasure to the Spanish Crown. This shipment included gold necklaces and bracelets, headdresses, deerskin shoes, mirrors, shields, and animal skins. The shipment also included "a variety of cotton robes; some all white, others chequered white and black, or red, green, yellow, and blue, the outside being shaggy, and the inside smooth, without color."[1] Later that year, as Hernán Cortés entered Tenochtitlán for the first time and met with the Aztec Emperor Moctezuma II, he received a gift of "five or six thousand pieces of rich cotton stuffs, woven and embroidered in different ways."[2] When Cortés explored the city of Tenochtitlán and observed the different products sold at marketplaces in the city, he noted the "different kinds of spun cotton, in all colours, so that it seems quite like one of the silk markets of Granada, although it is on a greater scale; also as many different colors for painters as can be found in Spain and of excellent hues."[3]

These fragments—taken from Hernán Cortés's initial letters to King Charles V in 1519 and 1520—offer us a glimpse into the Spanish discovery of cochineal dyestuff, the valuable insect dye present in Mesoamerica and certain parts of South America at the time of conquest. Derived from the bodies of female insects of the species *Dactylopius coccus*, this dyestuff become the second most valuable product exported from New Spain during the colonial period (only behind silver). The insects were raised on nopal cacti and once killed, dried, crushed, and

[1] Hernán Cortés, *Fernando Cortes: his five letters of relation to the Emperor Charles V,* trans. Frances Augustus MacNutt (Cleveland: A.H. Clark, 1908), 170-171.
[2] Ibid., 234.
[3] Ibid., 258.

mixed with water, yielded a fabulous crimson colored dye that fixed firmly to different types of fabric.

The dyestuff (known in Nahuatl as *nocheztli*, or "blood of cactus fruit") was used in a variety of different ways by pre-Hispanic societies, including the coloring of textiles, food, bodies, teeth, and buildings. The Mixtecs of Oaxaca employed the dye in coloring textiles, wood, and stone, and dying with cochineal became an art form taught in specialized schools in the region.[4] As a cosmetic, cochineal could be used by women to paint their faces, necks, breasts, and hands.[5] Finally, as a medicine, cochineal could be ground up and mixed with vinegar and then applied to wounds or to relieve pain in the head or stomach.[6]

The immediate interest that Spanish officials took in the crimson colored dye was far from accidental but rather firmly rooted in cultural trends that had been developing in Europe for some time. The color red held a particular symbolic importance in Renaissance Europe as a color of prestige and power, and garments of scarlet and crimson were common choices for members of the aristocracy, nobility, and clergy.[7] Renaissance beliefs regarding the color red could be traced as far back as the classical cultures of the Greeks and Romans, who had considered red a divine color and had used it for the statues of their gods, their garments for battle, and their sacred ceremonies.[8] In the Jewish tradition, the color red held a variety of different significances, often representing man, deity, and blood sacrifice.[9] From the 1100s onward, red became an

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[4] Raymond L. Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," *The Americas* 4, no. 4 (April 1948): 453.
[5] Ibid.
[6] R.A. Donkin, "Spanish Red: An Ethnogeographical Study of Cochineal and the Opuntia Cactus," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 67, no.5 (1977): 21.
[7] Amy Butler Greenfield, *A Perfect Red: Empire, Espionage, and the Quest for the Color of Desire* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 18-19.
[8] Ibid., 20.
[9] Ibid., 19.

official symbol of the Roman Catholic Church, with the pope decreeing in 1295 that cardinals would henceforth wear red robes.[10] Red gowns were also worn by many individuals in high government positions, including courtiers, lawyers, and councillors. Although red garments were occasionally worn by other members of society, including merchants, artists, peasants, and small farmers, these groups rarely did so due to legal prohibitions and prohibitive costs. Red garments were first and foremost a luxury product in early modern Europe.

Prior to the colonization of Mexico and the discovery of cochineal, the most favored source of red dye for European textile makers was the kermes insect. This insect was indigenous to the Mediterranean basin and used by dyers to produce "Venetian scarlet," one of the best and most expensive dyes in Europe.[11] When cloths dyed with cochineal first reached Spain from Mexico in the early 1520s, Charles V actually ordered Hernán Cortés to report whether the kermes insect had been discovered in the newly conquered lands.[12] Beyond the kermes insect, there was an array of other natural red dyes used in Europe, including madder, Brazilian dyewood, shellfish, Polish cochineal, Armenian cochineal, and lac.[13] Madder was the oldest vegetable-based dye in Europe, first used in ancient Egypt and later used by the Greeks and Romans and eventually developed into a popular dye known as "Turkey red" in the 1700s. Polish and Armenian cochineal—insects belonging to a similar family as Mexican cochineal but found in the roots of plants in eastern Europe and the Middle East—were also used heavily in the

[10] Ibid., 22.
[11] Ibid., 31-33.
[12] Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," 454.
[13] The most comprehensive summary of these different natural dyes can be found in Donkin, "Spanish Red," 6-11.

textile industry (popularly known as "Saint John's blood" and "Armenian red") but were extremely difficult to extract and more costly than kermes or madder.[14]

Why did Mexican cochineal surpass all these other substances as the favored source of red dye? Part of the answer lies in an experiment conducted by the Venetian silk guild in 1543, when it held a trial to see how silk dyed in cochineal compared to other substances, including the kermes insect.[15] The results of the test were striking and set the course for cochineal's ascension in the European textile industry for the rest of the century. In spite of similarities in appearance and consistency, cochineal's dye was ten times stronger per ounce than kermes and thirty times stronger than Armenian cochineal.[16] Moreover, the cochineal insect held certain properties that allowed its dye to be more easily absorbed by silk fabrics.[17] It quickly became the favored choice for dyers, not only to produce crimson and scarlet colors but also to produce soft pinks and rose. By the early 1600s, dyers in Suffolk, England, were consuming 40,000 pounds annually while dyers in France were consuming nearly 50,000 pounds.[18] The dyestuff quickly dominated the luxury textile market and would continue to do so through the nineteenth century, when synthetic dyes were finally invented.

In this chapter I examine in more detail the production, inspection, and transportation of cochineal dyestuff in the colony of New Spain from 1520 to 1780, with a particular focus on the province of Oaxaca. The first section explores the practices of indigenous farmers in planting

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[14] Polish cochineal (*Porphyrophora polinica*) was found in the roots of the knawel plant, while Armenian cochineal (*Porphyrophora hamelii*) was found in various grasses. Since both of these insects lived underground, the harvesting and collection process was extremely difficult and never rose to a large scale.
[15] Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 69-86.
[16] Raymond L. Lee, "American Cochineal in European Commerce, 1526-1625," *The Journal of Modern History* 23, no. 3 (September 1951): 206.
[17] Mexican cochineal insects produced carminic acid with far fewer lipids than Armenian cochineal, which allowed it to be absorbed by silk fibers more easily. See Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 75.
[18] Lee, "American Cochineal in European Commerce," 208-209.

nopal cacti and rearing and processing cochineal, a complex and labor-intensive practice that was not easily replicated by others. I rely on colonial accounts as well as present-day science to understand the challenges involved in the production process, including protecting the insects from a long list of predators. The second section examines the geography of production, explaining how the production of *grana fina* (or domesticated cochineal) became concentrated in the province of Oaxaca between 1550 and 1650. The third and final section examines the period of rising production and exports between 1750 and 1780, exploring how inspectors began inspecting the dyestuff more closely and differentiating the dyestuff into several different categories. This was also a period of growing social conflict between different economic actors in Oaxaca, as more and more money stood to be gained by those who could control suppliers in the region.

The Process of "Cultivation"

For most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European observers and chroniclers remained confused about what exactly cochineal was or how it was produced. The famous Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés wrote in 1535 that cochineal was a "fruit" derived from cacti, while the Franciscan missionary Toribio de Motolinía claimed that cochineal was a "seed."[19] Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, a Spanish man of letters who moved to New Spain in 1550, came much closer to the truth in 1554 when he described cochineal as a "worm-like creature."[20] Due to the Spanish protection of the industry and various restrictions on foreign visitors, other European observers were even more confused by the nature of cochineal, even as the dyestuff was imported to their countries and used in their textile industries. English

[19] Donkin, "Spanish Red," 44.
[20] Ibid.

commentators noted as late as the 1690s that cochineal was in fact of vegetable origin, describing it as a "berry," "herb," or "fruit the size of a walnut which is full of seed within."[21]

The first truly scientific and comprehensive account of the insect dye was not published until 1777, when the Mexican priest and scientist José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez wrote his famous "Memoria sobre la naturaleza, cultivo y beneficio de la grana," (1777) upon request from New Spain's viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli.[22] Alzate was born in the town of Ozumba (near Mexico City) in 1737 to a wealthy and intellectual family—his aunt was the Mexican poet sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.[23] He attended the prestigious Colegio de San Ildefonso in Mexico City, receiving a degree in theology and studying physics, chemistry, math, and astronomy. He would go on to write extensively in various periodicals in New Spain in the second half of the eighteenth century. In his "Memoria," Alzate covered nearly every aspect of the cochineal raising process, including the planting of nopals, the life cycle of the insect, and the insect's various predators. He also added a number of his own beautiful drawings of the cultivation process (see Figures 2 and 3). Alzate's treatise remains the most important contemporary scientific account we have of the cochineal industry, although it must be read critically and with reference to present-day botany and entomology.[24]

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[21] Ibid., 45.

[22] For a beautiful reprint of the original "Memoria," see Carlos Sánchez Silva and Alejandro de Ávila Blomberg, eds., *La grana y el nopal en los textos de Alzate* (México, D.F.: Conaculta, 2005). Another version can be found in María Justina Sarabia Viejo, *La grana y el añil: Técnicas tintóreas en México y América Central* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1994), 53-116.

[23] For a brief biography, see Juan Hernández Luna, *José Antonio Alzate: estudio biográfico y selección de Juan Hernández Luna* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1945).

[24] The other key contemporary accounts of the cochineal industry include Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes, *La vida económica y social de Nueva España al finalizar el siglo* XVI (México: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, [1599] 1944); "Informe de Fray Joaquín Vasco, Cura Párroco de Santa María Ecatepec*"* and "Informe de Fray Vicente Magán, Cura Párroco de Santa María Lachixio" in *La grana cochinilla,* ed. Barbro Dahlgren de Jordan (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, [1776] 1963), 45-86.

Cochineal, in Spanish *la grana cochinilla* or simply *grana*, is an insect belonging to the superfamily Coccoidea and the genus *Dactylopius* (the species is denoted *Dactylopius coccus*), which is native to tropical and subtropical Central and South America.[25] Cochineal has two basic types—wild cochineal, or *grana silvestre*, and domesticated cochineal, or *grana fina*. During the colonial period, wild cochineal could be found in various parts of the Americas, but domesticated cochineal was raised almost exclusively in southern Mexico.[26] The insects are parasitic and feed off of *Opuntia*, a genus of the cactus family (Cactaceae) that is also native to the Americas and in abundance in Mexico (known as prickly pear or in Spanish *nopal*). In terms of the insect's dyeing properties, only the wingless females (which outnumber the male insects at least 20 to 1) possess the red carminic acid that is used for dyeing.[27] Carminic acid, which represents 17 to 24% of the dried insect's weight, is thought to have developed in female insects as a form of protection against various predators.[28] The female insects have a life span of three months, over which time they feed off of the juices of the cactus and develop to a size of 6 mm in length and 4 mm in width.[29] About 70,000 female insects are needed to produce a pound of the dyestuff, which is fairly durable and well suited for long-distance commerce.

The actually rearing and preparation of cochineal is a complex and labor-intensive process, and throughout the colonial period remained the province of small-scale, indigenous

[25] Five of the nine species of Dactylopius are found in Mexico, and 13 of the 19 families of Coccoidea are found in Mexico. See Alejandro de Ávila Blomberg, "El insecto humanizado: Biología y mexicanidad en los textos de Alzate y sus contemporáneos acerca de la grana," in *La grana y el nopal*, 65.
[26] Wild cochineal was discovered in various parts of Central and South America, including Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Argentina. See Donkin, "Spanish Red," 21-36.
[27] The female-to-male ratio was originally believed to be as high as 200 to 1, but this estimate has been revised down in recent years. See Blomberg, "El insecto humanizado," 57.
[28] Ibid., 54.
[29] Ibid.

farmers in spite of others' attempts to replicate it.[30] The first step involved the planting of nopals, which was done about one or two leagues away from villages.[31] After clearing and burning any trees and shrubbery in the area, farmers would place three old cactus leaves in holes about eight inches deep and ten inches wide, leaving about half of the leaf above the soil. This planting was done before and after the rainy season in Oaxaca, i.e., during the months of May and June or November and December. The nopal needed to grow for about three years before it could be "seeded" with cochineal, during which the ground had to be cleaned about two times per year with the use of an iron hoe. This hoe was used to clear the grass around the nopal, allowing the plant to receive sufficient moisture and nutrients as well as protect it from various fungal diseases. The nopal tolerated various soil conditions but lasted longer under careful management and well-irrigated land. Nopaleries could last up to ten to fifteen years before requiring transplantation, and villagers often maintained two or three nopaleries at the same time to ensure consistent production.

In the months of April and May, villagers began the process of "seeding" the cacti with female cochineal insects. They would remove various cactus pads—up to 40 pads for a pound of cochineal—and deposit small, recently-hatched insects on them. These pads were then moved to a family's home, where they were carefully guarded for about twenty days before exposing the

[30] For a recent study of Spanish merchants and priests who tried to establish their own nopaleries, see Huemac Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo: grana cochinilla y conflicto en la jurisdicción de Nexapa, Nueva España, siglo XVIII," (Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2015), 136-142. The most famous case of foreigners' failed attempt to replicate the cultivation process can be found in Nicolas-Joseph Thiery de Menonville, *Travels to Guaxaca* (1777), trans. John Pinkerton (Philadelphia: Pinker and Conrad, 1810-1812). Menonville's venture is discussed in the epilogue of this chapter.

[31] I am relying on Alzate's basic description of the production process in José Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, "Memoria sobre la naturaleza, cultivo y benefio de la grana," in *La grana y el nopal*, 126-230. For a recent interpretation and summary of this text, see also Luis Alberto Arrioja Díaz Viruell, "El 'cultivo de grana' en el sur de México, 1752-1856," *Baetica: Estudios de Arte, Geografía, e Historia* 35 (2013): 253-270.

pads to open air and hanging them from sheds made of straw.[32] By August or September, when the female insects were at the point of giving birth, farmers began the process of selecting the best varieties and placing them in nests, or *nidos*, made of palm leaves and corn husks. These nests were returned to the original nopaleries and new insects would slowly hatch and emerge from the nests, spreading themselves across the nopal and feeding off the plant's juices. After two weeks, the nests were removed and moved to other nopaleries to allow the mother cochineal (*grana madre*) to continue giving birth until it finally died. The mother cochineal was eventually collected and dried and retained an equally strong red pigment compared to its offspring.

As the newly hatched cochineal spread across the nopal and fed off the cactus (becoming immobile for the rest of its life span), farmers began the long and tenuous process of carefully guarding the cochineal over the course of its three- to four-month life cycle. This required almost constant labor in the form of removing various insects and other predators that threatened the life of the insects. Some of the most common pests included turkeys, chickens, sparrows, rats, armadillos, lizards, worms, spiders, leeches, and snakes.[33] Farmers would purge every cactus leaf of different creatures as well as continue to prune the cactus of various fruit and flowers that threatened the development of the insects. In addition, dramatic changes in weather, such as excessive wind or rain or cold, could impede the cultivation process, and farmers often constructed mud walls or canopies of wood and straw and lit fires during times of frost. The Prussian explorer Alexander von Humboldt noted this tedious process somewhat crudely in his visit to Oaxaca at the turn of the nineteenth century:

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[32] These pads were often sold in marketplaces in Oaxaca at a price of 20 pads for 1 real.

[33] Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes described 13 different predators in 1599: *gallina de la tierra*, *gallina de Castilla, gorrión*, *lagartija*, *noxtequili* (*gusano*), *tenchicol* (*sabandija*), *nopaloquili* (*gusano*), *zacapochin* (*araña*), *nopalaque cueaychin* (*sanguijuela*), *chichan* (*gusanillo*), *cuymilin* (*gusanillo*), *tzotzon* (*gusano*), and *hahayote* (*sabandija*). See Gómez de Cervantes, *La vida económica*, 172-174, 202.

> Much care is necessary in cleaning the branches of the nopal. The Indian women make use of a squirrel, or stag's tail for that purpose; they squat down for hours together beside one plant; and notwithstanding the excessive price of cochineal, it is to be doubted if this cultivation would be profitable, in countries where the time and labor of man might be turned to account.[34]

Once the insects had reached a stage of maturity, farmers began the process of removing the insects from the nopal and killing and drying them. The insects were often removed using a deer tail and placed on a wooden plate called a *xicalpestle* (see Figure 2). There were numerous methods of killing the cochineal. The simplest technique involved placing the insects on a mat and using the heat of the sun, which would kill the insects in four days and often produce the finest quality dyestuff.[35] Another technique involved tossing the insects in a pot full of boiling water for three or four minutes, then removing them and allowing them to sun dry on mats (a process that took about four hours). This method appears in Figure 3 and was likely the most common form of processing in Oaxaca during the eighteenth century.[36] A variation of this method involved placing the insects in a linen bag and hanging the bag above a pot of boiling water, which would take several hours. By the late eighteenth century, dry ovens were also constructed to kill cochineal in larger quantities, particularly in Guatemala.[37] There were advantages and disadvantages to each of these methods, and usually the slower the drying method the higher the quality of grana.

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[34] Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1811), 3:74.
[35] This is the first technique described in Gómez de Cervantes, *La vida económica*, 174-176.
[36] This method was recounted by most of Alzate's informants in Alzate, "Memoria," 188-198.
[37] Donkin, "Spanish Red," 17.

Figure 2: Removal and Collection of Cochineal (1777)

Source: Alzate, "Memoria," Plancha 7.
Caption reads: "Fig. 1. Indio que recoje la cochinilla con una colita de venado. Fig. 2. dicha. Fig. 3. Xicalpestle en que aparan la cochinilla."

Figure 3: Killing of Cochineal (1777)

Source: Alzate, "Memoria," Plancha 8.
Caption reads: "Indio arrojando la cochinilla en una olla llena de agua, y puesta sobre brazas para matarla."

One of the main concerns that emerged during the colonial period was the falsification and adulteration of the dyestuff. Considering cochineal's high value per pound, many farmers and merchants began devising ways of increasing the weight of their product through various substances. One of the most common forms of adulteration was simply mixing *grana fina* with *grana silvestre*, the wild form of cochineal that was only half the size and did not yield as strong of a red dye.[38] Alzate emphasized that an array of other products was used to mimic dried

[38] Ibid., 18.

cochineal, including black onion seeds, chalk, ground corn, ants, and black beans.[39] He explained that one of the ways of identifying falsified cochineal was placing a small amount of the dyestuff in a flask full of water or vinegar. As the cochineal swelled, inspectors could identify if various body parts or other markers of the insect were present. In the following section I discuss how Spanish authorities established various offices of inspection and registration throughout New Spain to address these sorts of problems. Nonetheless, adulteration continued to be a significant issue throughout the colonial period, particularly as the price of cochineal grew.

Once the dyestuff arrived in Europe, there was a series of additional steps taken to apply the dyestuff to clothing and other garments. In eighteenth-century Europe, dying was still done in mostly small, specialized dying workshops. One historian described a dying workshop as "some 20 square feet in area, located near a stream of water. The floor was made of leached ashes, and the vats were usually placed in the centre."[40] These workshops had experimented with an array of natural dyes for years, including indigo, madder, and kermes, but cochineal quickly proved to be ten times more potent than kermes and up to 30 times more potent than Armenian red.[41] The basic process involved grounding the dyestuff into a powder and mixing it in a vat with boiling water and perhaps also a mordant, such as tannin, cream of tartar, alum, iron, or chrome. Cochineal worked best with silk and wool but could also be used with cotton if the right mordant was employed. Beyond yielding crimson and scarlet colors, cochineal could also produce pink and rose. Finally, the dyestuff was used in all sorts of other ways in European society, including as a makeup, paint, medicine, and an ingredient in various foods and beverages.[42]

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[39] Alzate, "Memoria," 199-201. Dried cochineal appears as black in its final form.
[40] Agustí Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles: A History of Natural Dyestuffs in Industrial Europe* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001), 44.
[41] Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 74-76.
[42] Ibid., 81-84.

The Concentration of Production in the Province of Oaxaca, 1550-1650

When the Spanish first arrived to Mesoamerica, they discovered the production of *grana fina* in various parts of the region. Cochineal was an important article of tribute in the Aztec Empire, and some of the best records we have on the pre-colonial geography of cochineal cultivation are the tribute lists uncovered at the time of conquest.[43] These lists reveal a clear pattern of extraction and tribute across the region, as the major Aztec city-states of Tenochtitlán, Texcoco, and Tlacopan (known as the Triple Alliance) acquired cochineal from their conquered territories south of the basin of Mexico. These supplying territories included the modern-day states of Tlaxcala, Puebla, and Oaxaca. The provinces of Tlaxiaco and Coixtlahuaca in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca and the province of Cuilapan in the central highlands of Oaxaca yielded around 10,000 pounds of the dyestuff on an annual basis.[44] However, recent research suggests the production of *grana fina* was much more widespread in New Spain, with areas such as Nueva Galicia in western Mexico and also some parts of the Yucatán peninsula producing the valuable dyestuff.[45]

The Spanish took an immediate interest in exporting cochineal, with the first shipment sailing back to Spain in 1526.[46] Cochineal was quickly transferred to the Spanish system of tribute and used as payment both in the royal system of tribute as well as the income of private Spanish *encomenderos*. In 1536, the Crown collected over 4,000 pounds of the dyestuff from the town of Huajuapan in the Mixteca Baja of Oaxaca; in the 1550s, the town of San Francisco

[43] For a detailed analysis of the *Martícula de tributos*, see Donkin, "Spanish Red," 21 and Appendix A; Dahlgren de Jordan, *La grana cochinilla*, 13. The other key sources for pre-Hispanic production include the *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi* and Bernardino de Sahagún's Florentine Codex.
[44] Donkin, "Spanish Red," 21; Dahlgren de Jordan, *La grana cochinilla*, 13. According to Dahlgren de Jordan, the province of Coixtlahuaca paid 6,000 pounds, the province of Cuilapan 3,000 pounds, and Tlaxiaco 1,000 pounds.
[45] Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 85.
[46] Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," 454.

Huapanapan in Oaxaca paid around 300 pounds per year in tribute.[47] In Puebla and Tlaxcala, numerous townships paid yearly sums of cochineal not only to the Crown but also to local *encomenderos*, or Spanish settlers who had received grants of labor and tribute from the Spanish Crown. In Tecamachalco, Puebla, nearly 8,700 tributary Indians paid yearly amounts of cochineal to the widow of the original encomendero, Alonso Valiente.[48]

Beyond these networks of tribute, there were very few efforts on the part of the Spanish Crown to directly encourage or stimulate production. The discovery of silver production quickly consumed the attention of colonial officials, and there are only a few mentions of cochineal in the available documentation from New Spain's first two viceroys, Antonio de Mendoza (1535-1551) and Luis de Velasco (1551-1564).[49] However, this lack of governmental attention quickly changed in the second half of the sixteenth century, when a formal infrastructure began being built to stimulate production as well as register and inspect the dyestuff as it left the colony. The office of the *juez de grana* was established in Puebla in 1572.[50] This office was the first institution in the colony to formally regulate the production and trade of the dyestuff and emerged from merchant complaints regarding adulteration and falsification. The first person to assume the role was Bernardino de Otalora. He was provided a notary (*escribano*) and a weighmaster and received a salary of two and a half *reales* (approximately .25 pesos) for each *arroba* of cochineal he inspected (the fee assessed to merchants and producers).[51] In his office, cochineal was examined for cleanliness and quality, with special attention paid to the array of

[47] Ibid., 454-455.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 456.
[50] For a brief discussion of this important office, see Carlos Sánchez Silva, "Notas para una historia social de la grana cochinilla en Oaxaca," in *La grana y el nopal en los textos de Alzate* (México, D.F.: Conaculta, 2005), 14; Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," 468-469.
[51] Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," 469.

substances that could mimic the dyestuff. After inspection, the dyestuff was packaged and branded with a special iron and then held in a public warehouse before it could be sent to Veracruz for export.

Once in Veracruz, ship captains provided a statement to the *juez* confirming the grana had been received in good condition. These records offer an initial glimpse at the amounts of grana exported from the colony, although our information for the sixteenth century is still rather patchy.[52] Not all grana was being exported and much of it was funneled through alternative channels. In Table 1.1, I have presented some preliminary numbers on exports, which were collected by historian Raymond Lee as he studied records from the inspection office and the correspondence between viceroys of New Spain and King Phillip II. The first year we have data for is 1575, in which 175,00 pounds were exported from the colony. This number increased to 350,000 pounds in 1591 and continued to fluctuate throughout the time period as the infrastructure was being built for a consistent export channel. The value of cochineal was likely around 2 pesos per pound, but this is difficult to confirm considering the lack of data. Finally, it should be noted that while the majority of cochineal was exported from Veracruz, some of it was also shipped from other ports along the eastern coast of Central America, including Caballos in Honduras, which were much closer to production areas in southern Mexico.[53]

Table 1.1: Cochineal Exports from New Spain, 1575-1600

Year	Amount (pounds)
1575	175,000
1576	300,000
1580	230,000
1587	141,675
1591	350,000

[52] For a summary of the difficulties concerning measuring exports during this time, see Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 94-95.
[53] Lee, "Cochineal Production," 459-460.

Table 1.1 (Continued)

1594	325,000
1596	62,500
1598	175,000
1600	150,000

Source: Raymond Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," 458-459. For additional figures, see Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 94.

During these initial years of the export trade, one of the main sites of production and commerce of cochineal was the town of Cholula, located in Puebla.[54] At the time of the Spanish conquest, long-distance merchants in Cholula known as the *pochteca* controlled trade routes from central Mexico all the way to Guatemala, including the trafficking of cochineal. However, by the 1580s these merchants were displaced by Spanish commercial agents, including local political officials, who now dominated the cochineal trade and sought to purchase cochineal directly from Indians at low prices and resell it at a profit. These transactions reflected the birth of a system of commerce known as the *repartimiento de mercancías*, which will be discussed further in the following chapter. According to the *alcalde mayor* of Cholula at the time, Gabriel de Rojas, the area of Cholula was producing between 2,000 and 4,000 arrobas annually, or 50,000 to 100,000 pounds, which made up a significant portion of the exports from New Spain.[55] While a *juez de grana* was initially installed in Puebla in 1572, by 1608 Cholula had its own *juez*, who was in charge of inspecting and packaging dyestuff from the town and its environs.

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century, Cholula—as well as the rest of the Puebla-Tlaxcala region—would see a dramatic decline in cochineal production, paving the way

[54] The best research on the cochineal trade in Cholula is from Norma Castillo. See Norma Castillo, "Cholula en sangre de grana. La destrucción de las nopaleras de cochinilla como resistencia indígena ante el agravio español," *Historias*, 49 (2001): 45-66; Norma Castillo, "Auge y fin de la grana cochinilla en Cholula (1579-1663)," in Thomas Calvo and Alain Musset, eds., *Des Indes Occidentales Á L'Amérique Latine* (México: CEMCA, 2006), 387-410. For a recent analysis of her work, see Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 87-89.

[55] Castillo, "Cholula en sangre," 47.

for the province of Oaxaca to establish full control over the industry.[56] Why did this collapse in the cochineal trade in central Mexico occur? Historian Carlos Sánchez Silva has suggested three different reasons—the low prices paid by alcades mayores, high taxes on merchants, and the demographic collapse due to various epidemic diseases.[57] Historian Norma Castillo has concurred with these explanations, explaining that Indians began collectively destroying their *nopaleras* and planting magueys instead due to pressures placed on them by Spanish merchants and political officials.[58] However, much more detailed archival research needs to be completed to corroborate these claims. As research in Oaxaca has shown, the income derived from the cochineal trade was incredibly important for indigenous family farmers, and thus a widespread refusal to participate in the trade seems to have been an unlikely factor.[59]

During the sixteenth century, we have limited evidence regarding the exact quantities of cochineal produced in the province of Oaxaca. Although this area was a significant zone of cochineal cultivation during the pre-Hispanic period, during the early colonial period the cochineal trade complemented an array of other important economic activities in the region, including cattle raising and silk cultivation.[60] By the 1590s, the alcalde mayor of Antequera in Oaxaca began serving as a *juez de grana*, but his income was not very substantial, raising at most 600 pesos for 2,500 arrobas of cochineal.[61] The geography of cochineal cultivation in Oaxaca is also unclear. Scattered reports from the villages of Ozolotepec, Teococuilco, Cuicatlán,

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[56] Castillo, "Auge y fin," 403. In 1663, the region of Cholula ceased to produce any dyestuff.
[57] Carlos Sánchez Silva, *Indios, comerciantes, y burocracia en la Oaxaca poscolonial, 1786-1860* (Oaxaca: Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, 1998).
[58] Castillo, "Cholula en sangre," 62.
[59] Norma Castillo's research on this issue is unpersuasive and based on scattered accounts. For a more detailed look at the relationships between indigenous producers and alcaldes mayores, see Jeremy Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets: A Reinterpretation of the Repartimiento and Spanish-Indian Economic Relations in Colonial Oaxaca, 1750-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).
[60] Donkin, "Spanish Red," 25.
[61] Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 91.

Cuilapán, and Miahuatlán suggest that production was fairly widespread, with the Mixteca region serving as center of production. Nonetheless, as production declined in central Mexico, Oaxaca became the sole producer of this dyestuff, with at least 24,000 families from 146 different villages engaged in the trade in the first half of the eighteenth century.[62]

In Huemac Escalona Lüttig's recent (and excellent) dissertation on cochineal cultivation in the district of Nexapa, Oaxaca, he finds a gradual growth in cultivation over the course of the seventeenth century.[63] The first reports of extensive cultivation are from 1601, when the *comisionado de congregraciones* Torres de Santaren noted that the village of Liape had large *nopaleras* in production and encouraged them to join with the village of Olintepec. In 1634, the villages of Santiago Tecolotepec and Santa Lucía Mecaltepec raised complaints against the local alcalde mayor over the prices being offered for grana. Five years later, in 1639, the villages of Santiago Xilotepec and San Sebastián Xilotepec engaged in a decade-long dispute over lands devoted to nopaleras, with the area under dispute totaling around 13,000 hectares. By the 1670s, numerous villages were engaged in production and exchanging cochineal with local alcaldes mayores, often to meet tribute requirements and pay for religious festivals. Dominican friars in the region were instrumental in introducing cultivation techniques to residents and organizing local production. In the seventeenth century, 24 different villages in Nexapa engaged in production; by the eighteenth century, 48 villages were involved in the trade. The district of Nexapa became one of the centers of cultivation in all of Oaxaca.

[62] Ibid., 94.
[63] Ibid., 109-117.

Growing Exports and Regulation, 1750-1780

Between 1750 and 1780, Oaxaca's cochineal economy reached its apex in both production and exports. As Table 1.2 indicates, production amounts in Oaxaca reached over a million pounds during these years, marking the gradual growth of the industry over the past several decades but also reflecting certain favorable political and economic conditions. In 1751, the Spanish Crown chose to legalize the *repartimiento de mercancías*, the system of credit that allowed merchants to contract with producers of the dyestuff on a regular basis. Although this system had been informally tolerated for decades, the Bourbon government now sought formal sanctioning as a way of cracking down on tax evasion by *alcaldes mayores* as well as limiting the conflicts that arose between *alcaldes* and recipients of their loans.[64] On the other side of the Atlantic, industrialization in Europe contributed to important transformations in the labor organization and technology of textile production. The various steps involved in textile production—designing, bleaching, dying, spinning, weaving, etc.—were slowly being integrated and mechanized through the modern factory system, and producers demanded more raw materials than they ever had before.[65]

In Table 1.2, I have provided the available numbers for output, price, and total value of cochineal production in Oaxaca between 1758 and 1780. These numbers come from the cochineal registry established in the capital of Oaxaca, Antequera, in the 1750s.[66] This registry replaced the old system of *jueces de grana* that had regulated the trade up until that point, executing similar functions but now with more resources and stronger legal sanctions. The cochineal registry inspected all grana before it left the region, and inspectors had the power to

[64] Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 42-43.
[65] Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles*, 43-71.
[66] Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 148-149. See also Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 272n35.

either fine or imprison merchants that were caught transporting fraudulent dyestuff. As the registry's numbers indicate, cochineal output rose above a million pounds during many years, reaching 1,558,125 pounds in 1774 (the highest amount we have on record). Meanwhile, the price of cochineal hovered around 2 pesos per pound, at times going as high as 4 pesos per pound. However, this price only reflected the value of the dyestuff at one particular moment in the commodity chain; local political officials often paid around 12 reales, or 1.5 pesos, per pound to rural families who cultivated the dyestuff, regardless of the yearly demand or supply.[67] 1771 was the year in which the highest total value of dyestuff left the state, with over 4 million pesos worth of grana recorded at the registry.

Table 1.2: Cochineal Output, Price, and Total Value in Oaxaca, 1758-1780

Year	Output (pounds)	Price (pesos per pound)	Total Value (pesos)
1758	675,562	2.06	1,393,347
1759	686,812	2.06	1,416,550
1760	1,067,625	2.00	2,135,250
1761	788,625	1.88	1,478,672
1762	832,500	1.84	1,534,922
1763	599,625	1.94	1,161,773
1764	898,875	2.44	2,191,008
1765	1,082,250	2.31	2,502,753
1766	932,625	2.44	2,073,273
1767	849,375	2.44	2,070,352
1768	621,000	2.81	1,746,563
1769	1,024,312	3.06	3,136,957
1770	1,043,437	3.13	3,260,742
1771	1,050,187	4.00	4,200,750
1772	839,677	3.75	3,148,791
1773	782,437	3.19	2,494,020
1774	1,558,125	2.19	3,408,398
1775	837,000	2.00	1,674,000
1776	808,550	2.13	1,718,169
1777	1,244,812	1.88	2,334,023
1778	1,057,800	2.00	2,115,600
1779	842,625	1.88	1,579,922
1780	1,385,437	2.13	2,944,055

Source: *Memoria que el gobernador del estado presenta al primer congreso constitucional de Oaxaca en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1858* (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Ignacio Rincón, 1858), no. 13. Reprinted in Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 203-205

[67] Jeremy Baskes, "Colonial Institutions and Cross-Cultural Trade: Repartimiento Credit and Indigenous Production of Cochineal in Eighteenth-Century Oaxaca, Mexico," *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 1 (March 2005): 204-205.

During these years of increasing production, officials in Oaxaca began inspecting cochineal dyestuff more closely, differentiating the dyestuff into several different categories.[68] The cultivation process for cochineal was complex, and the final product was far from uniform, with numerous inconsistences in quality and consistency. Inspectors noted five different forms of the dyestuff: *grana fina*, *granilla*, *polvo de grana*, *tlasole o basura de grana*, and *grana silvestre*. *Grana fina* was the most desired product of the whole process—domesticated insects that were raised on nopaleries in the correct manner, protected from pests and then removed and killed using either the sun or boiling water. *Granilla* was an inferior or deteriorated form of *grana fina*, which had been affected by pests or had not received sufficient nutrients from the nopal.[69] *Polvo de grana* was the white powdery substance that covered the female cochineal insects as they grew on the cacti. *Tlasole o basura de grana* was a valueless mixture of the cocoons formed by male cochineal insects and their dead bodies on the cacti. Finally, *grana silvestre* was the wild form of cochineal, which was not raised by any human intervention but simply collected at the time of harvest.

In instructions sent by the viceroy of New Spain to inspectors in the capital of Oaxaca, the viceroy described the rules and guidelines for how to inspect cochineal shipments and register them appropriately.[70] Inspectors were instructed to examine *zurrones* (or small bags) of cochineal closely, trying to identify any substances, particularly *granilla* or *tlasole*, that augmented the weight of the product. If these substances were identified, the inspector would

[68] These categories of course existed before the eighteenth century, although it is unclear if they had ever been measured or assessed in an official form.
[69] Alzate described granilla in the following manner: "se entiende la que ha crecido desmedrada, sea por enfermedad o por falta de alimento suficiente: a esta la reputan por de inferior calidad, y acaso para el tinte servirá lo mismo: ya dixe antes que lo mismo es para el tinte diez Cochinillas que trescientas, si las trescientas pesan lo mismo que las diez." Alzate, "Memoria," 213.
[70] AGN, Impresos Oficiales, vol. 48, exp. 25: "Ordenanzas, methodo, o regla que se ha de observer a efecto de cerrar la puerta a la perpetración de fraudes en la grana cochinilla," 1773.

return the dyestuff to the owner, asking him to separate out these substances and resubmit the product. *Granilla* would be packaged separately and receive a different seal, and the owner would pay only half of the taxes, reflecting the lower value of the product. However, it is unclear how often regulators were successful in differentiating these products or if proper inspection even occurred on a consistent basis. The registry's statistics do not specify the amounts of each type of cochineal that were registered, and the vast majority of *zurrones* were labeled as *grana fina*.

While the registry's official statistics do not differentiate between the types of dyestuff, similar statistics from the port of Veracruz do provide us insight into the different types of product reaching the port. In Table 1.3, I have provided information from 1784, which includes the amounts of *grana fina*, *granilla*, *polvo de grana*, and *grana silvestre* that reached the port of Veracruz as well as the region they originated from. In 1784, 531,540 pounds of *grana fina* were registered at the port of Veracruz (the vast majority of exported dyestuff). Meanwhile, 27,273 pounds of *granilla* and 27,125 pounds of *grana silvestre* were registered, a small percentage of the total supply. Finally, only 10,000 pounds of *polvo de grana* were registered. In terms of geographical origins, Oaxaca (denoting the capital, Antequera) had by far the largest amount of *grana fina* (300,675 pounds), although this grana likely originated from different parts of the province. Where districts were specified, Jamiltepec, Tehuantepec, Nexapa, and Miahuatlán were all major producers. Finally, large quantities of *grana silvestre* arrived from Tehuantepec and Chiapas, suggesting that the non-domesticated variety of cochineal was often collected in remote or frontier areas of the colony.

Table 1.3: Cochineal Registered at the Port of Veracruz, 1784

Region	Grana Fina (pounds)	Granilla (pounds)	Polvo de Grana (pounds)	Grana Silvestre (pounds)
Oaxaca	300,675	25,875	9,750	200

Table 1.3 (Continued)

Nexapa	36,300	650	200	0
Tehuantepec	34,900	400	0	3,150
Jamiltepec	77,900	0	0	0
Teposcolula	17,725	0	0	0
Tehuacán	10,875	75	0	0
Yanhuitlán	5,025	0	0	0
Nochixtlán	3,050	25	150	0
Miahuatlán	32,725	250	0	0
Teotitlán del Camino	2,950	0	0	0
Villa Alta	9,475	0	0	0
Chilapa	125	0	0	0
Chiapas	0	0	0	23,775
Total	**531,450**	**27,275**	**10,100**	**27,125**

Source: AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 9, exp. 18.

In the following chapter I discuss further how the cochineal trade functioned in the district of Miahuatlán in the 1780s, one of the main centers of cochineal production in the province of Oaxaca. However, for these earlier boom years, we can rely on Huemec Escalona's recent work on the district of Nexapa to understand how increasing production affected key rural areas of Oaxaca. His dissertation shows how growing production led to a variety of different social conflicts in the district, especially between political officials, merchants, and parish priests who were managing the trade and competing for suppliers. In 1770, the alcalde mayor of Nexapa, Pantaleón Ruiz, tried to investigate and bring down a group of merchants who were undermining his monopoly over trade in the district.[71] Ruiz claimed a group of six merchants was selling excessive amounts of *aguardiente* to residents of the villages of Santiago Xilotepec and Santa María Ecatepec. This turned out to be merely a pretense to force out potential buyers of cochineal dyestuff from these villages. Similarly, in 1774, the parish priest of Nexapa, Juan Tomás Zubiría, engaged in a dispute with a Spanish merchant over trade relations with residents in the village of Lachixonaci, including the collection of cochineal debts.[72] As with the previous

[71] Escalona Lüttig, "Rojo profundo," 259-272.
[72] Ibid., 272-290

case, this conflict arose from efforts to control commercial relations with key villages in the district.

Escalona's work shows how increasing income and commercial activity spurred tensions between different economic actors. These same tensions were present in the district of Miahuatlán towards the end of the century (as I show in the following chapter). However, the 1770s marked a high point for the cochineal trade in Oaxaca, a moment of economic activity that would never be replicated. As the colonial period ended and Mexico gained its independence, a whole host of factors contributed to the decline of the cochineal trade, including the loss of a monopoly over the insect dye. As accounts from the nineteenth century show, officials in Oaxaca would look back on the late colonial period as a golden era, one of great prosperity for the region.[73] Whether this era was indeed prosperous for every member of Oaxaca's society is an open and important question. Nonetheless, the cochineal trade decisively shaped the region's social structure and economic organization and deserves continued attention by historians of colonial Mexico.

Epilogue: Nicolas-Joseph Thiéry de Menonville (1777)

One of the most fascinating aspects of the cochineal trade was how rare and coveted the insect dye was in the Atlantic World. Although the Spanish exerted careful control over the industry through an artificial monopoly, the insect dye was also a natural monopoly since the species *Dactylopius coccus* existed in few other parts of the world. The French, British, and Dutch all attempted to uncover the insect in their respective American territories but with no success.[74] They also tried to uncover potential substitutes, in the form of berries from Guiana in

[73] See, for example, Matías Romero, *El estado de Oaxaca* (Barcelona: Tipo-Litografía de Espasa y Comp., 1886).
[74] Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 165.

the 1590s and a North African beetle in the 1750s, but none of these substances produced the same powerful crimson color.[75] The closest a European nation came to discovering cochineal was in 1755, when a Swedish botanist uncovered a wild variety of cochineal, or *grana silvestre*, in the Dutch colony of Surinam in South America.[76] Daniel Rolander, the botanist, successfully transported a cochineal-covered nopal across the Atlantic in a glass container, only to have it mishandled and destroyed once it reached a greenhouse in Sweden.

In 1776, the French government decided it was going to go to even greater lengths to acquire the valuable insect dye. After being humiliated by their rival Great Britain in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and losing much of their colonial territory in North America and India, the French were committed to making the most of the colonies they had left, even if that meant funding a secret expedition to Mexico to acquire the rare insect. In autumn of 1776, a French botanist named Nicolas-Joseph Thiéry de Menonville set sail from France to the island of Saint-Domingue in the French Caribbean. With government backing, Menonville proceeded to travel to Havana, Veracruz, and then Oaxaca, where he obtained and smuggled cochineal out of the Spanish colony in June 1777.[77] Although by the time he returned to Saint-Domingue much of the cochineal had died and the insect never thrived in France's colony, his first-hand account is one of the most important documents we have for understanding how valuable, mysterious, and sought-after Oaxaca's cochineal was in the Atlantic World.[78]

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[75] Ibid., 165-166.
[76] Ibid., 167-168.
[77] The French Government paid Menonville 6,000 *livres* for this venture, but they did not officially recognize the trip.
[78] Nicolas-Joseph Thiéry de Menonville, *Travels to Guaxaca*, trans. John Pinkerton (Philadelphia: Pinker and Conrad, 1810-1812). For analyses of this trip, see Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 165-182; James E. McClellan III, *Colonialism and Science: Saint Domingue in the Old Regime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 152-156; Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 39-44.

Menonville entered Mexico with a passport that identified him as both a botanist and a physician. He admitted in his account that the latter title was largely an exaggeration, founded upon a diploma he had received at one point but a profession he never actually practiced. He spent several weeks at the port of Veracruz, making acquaintances with various Spanish political officials and naval captains. He offered them information about France and its territories, at one point admitting that *grana silvestre*, or wild cochineal, could be found in various parts of Saint-Domingue. A Spanish naval captain took him further inland to visit a small nopalery, where Menonville learned about the cochineal raising process. During another conversation with a merchant, Menonville confirmed that the cochineal grown in Oaxaca was preferable to that of either Tlaxcala or Guadalajara, and he decided he would travel to Oaxaca to acquire his specimen. Although he was denied formal permission for the trip by the viceroy of New Spain, he chose to proceed ahead with the journey, travelling mostly by foot and avoiding all major towns where possible.

Menonville reached Oaxaca in a couple weeks. He somehow managed to avoid staying in major population centers, lodging in the outskirts of cities such as Córdoba, Orizaba, and Tehuacán. He was joined at one point by a fellow traveler but completed most of the journey on his own, receiving shelter and food from various different residents along the way. When he finally arrived in Oaxaca, Menonville found an inn run by a local Frenchman, where he chose to stay as he determined how to acquire local cochineal samples. Finally, one morning, he woke up at 3 a.m. and travelled with two Indian servants to a nearby nopalery. Upon entering the garden, he encountered the "negro owner" of the plantation, to which he explained that he needed a few leaves of nopal to make an ointment for gout. The owner agreed to sell him the plants, and Menonville selected eight branches, each two feet long, completely covered with cochineal. He

placed the branches in two boxes and covered them with towels, paying the owner a dollar and quickly returning to the inn with his servants. Having completed this momentous task, Menonville described his feelings in hyperbolic yet revealing language:

> My heart beat in a manner that [begs] description: it seemed to me as if I was bearing away the golden fleece, but, at the same time, as if the furious dragon, placed over it as a guard, was following close at my heels; all the way along I kept humming the famous line, *At length I have it in my power*…[79]

Several days later, Menonville embarked on his journey back to Veracruz, this time with the aid of a muleteer to carry his precious cargo. Menonville purchased several more cochineal-covered nopals on his way out of Oaxaca, opening the boxes each night to allow the plants to breathe. Menonville finally arrived in Veracruz and departed for Havana in early June, somehow managing to conceal his cargo from customs officials. Menonville did not reach Port-au-Prince until September 25, by which time most of his nopals had already rotted. He still received a piece of property from the government in Saint-Domingue and annual pension of 6,000 *livres* to run a royal garden.[80] Menonville died only two years later in 1880, and his successors were never able to develop *grana fina* on the island, instead focusing their attention on pockets of *grana silvestre* that already existed.

Although Nicolas-Joseph Thiéry de Menonville never achieved his goal of bringing cochineal production to the French colony, his trip was still an incredible accomplishment and a testament to how valuable the dyestuff was during this time. European powers were mystified by the production *grana fina* and were desperate to acquire the product at a cheaper cost. They were finally able to do so several decades later, only when the Spanish Empire collapsed and cochineal production spread to other parts of the Americas.

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[79] Ibid., 827.
[80] McClellan III, *Colonialism and Science*, 154-155.

CHAPTER 2
Commerce, Credit, and Coercion: The Real Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786 and its Aftermath

Introduction: The Origins of Article 12

> Neither the *subdelegados* cited, nor the *alcaldes ordinarios*, nor the governors who still remain, nor any other person whatsoever may distribute [*repartir*] to Indians, Spaniards, mestizos, and the other castes, any personal property, produce, or any cattle, under the irremissible penalty of losing their value in favor of the Indians thus injured…It is to be understood that the Indians and my other vassals of my dominions are free to trade wherever and with whomever it suits them, in order to provide themselves with everything they may need.
>
> -Article 12 of the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes, 1786[1]

The Real Ordenanza de Intendentes was a vast and transformative piece of Spanish colonial legislation. Issued by the Spanish Crown in December 1786 and reaching 410 pages and 306 articles, this comprehensive legal text was the culmination of a long and contested effort by Bourbon reformers, especially José de Gálvez, to reorganize and streamline political authority across the Spanish American colonies.[2] Gálvez believed two colonial officials in particular had to be replaced—the viceroy and the *alcalde mayor*. While viceroys were over-worked and governed too vast a territory, district officials called alcaldes mayores were a "ruinous plague," committed only to self-enrichment and embezzling the Crown of much-needed tax revenue. The

[1] Translation is from Lillian Fisher, *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (New York: Gordian Press, 1969), 108. The original Spanish: "Pero ni los dichos Subdelegados, ni los Alcaldes Ordinarios, ni los Gobernadores que quedan existentes, ni otra personal alguna sin excepcion, han de poder repartir a los Indios, Españoles, Mestizos y demas castas, efectos, frutos ni ganados algunos, baxo la pena irremisible de perder su valor en beneficio de los Naturales perjudicados…entendiéndose que los Indios y demas Vasallos mios de aquellos Dominios, quedan, por consecuencia, en libertad de comerciar donde y con quien les acomode para surtirse de todo lo que necesiten."

[2] For key articles and monographs on the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes, see: David Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Colin MacLachlan, *Spain's Empire in the New World* (University of California Press, 1988); Brian Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Lillian Fisher, *The Intendant System*; Steve Stern, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire, 1759-1804: Failure of a Bourbon Reform in Mexico and Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 61, no. 1 (February 1981): 2-28.

solution to these problems was a system of intendants, or provincial administrators, modeled after the French civil servants established in the seventeenth century.[3]

In New Spain, 12 different intendancies were organized (including Oaxaca), and each intendant was given authority over four distinct spheres of governance: justice, war, finance, and *policía* (or general administration). They were also given the power to nominate lower-level district officials, called *subdelegados*, who received a salary of 5% of the tribute they collected in their jurisdictions (Article 132). Subdelegados replaced the long-standing alcaldes mayores, who had been corrupted over time by not receiving an adequate salary from the Crown. Moreover, alcaldes mayores were part and parcel of an infamous system of commerce known as the *repartimiento de mercancías*. Article 12 of the Real Ordenanza (as well as Article 61) outlawed this long-standing colonial institution, freeing Indians to trade with whomever they wished and enforcing stiff penalties on anybody that tried to distribute (*repartir*) goods to Indian communities.[4]

What exactly was the repartimiento de mercancías? This may seem like an odd question to ask, especially considering the extensive amount of scholarship devoted to the topic. However, historians remained fairly divided about how to interpret this pervasive yet vexing commercial exchange that occurred between local political officials and indigenous communities. According

[3] Intendancies were established by the Spanish Crown in Cuba in 1764, Buenos Aires in 1782, Peru in 1784, and finally New Spain in 1786. For the case of Peru, see John Fisher, *Government and Society in Colonial Peru. The Intendant System, 1784-1814* (London: Athlone Press, 1970) and Alfredo Moreno Cebrian, *El Corregidor de indios y la economía peruana del siglo XVIII (Los repartos forzosos de mercancías)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1977). For Argentina, see John Lynch *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata* (London: Athlone Press, 1958).

[4] Article 61 of the Real Ordenanza stated: "It shall be the worthy object, and the special duty of the intendants not only to encourage and extend in the territories of their respective districts most adaptable to it, the cultivation of the valuable *grana fina* or cochineal which formerly was raised in abundance in many provinces of that empire but today is confined to the province of Oaxaca, by effectively aiding the Indians who shall devote themselves to this very useful occupation in order that they may trade freely the aforesaid kingdom, or on their own account send it to Spain if they wish."

to most traditional accounts, the repartimiento was a forced, at times violent, system of commerce that emerged in the context of the demographic crisis of the late sixteenth century and a lack of internal market for agricultural goods.[5] The repartimiento worked in one of three ways across New Spain and other parts of Spanish America (especially Peru). The first type of exchange was an exchange of cash for goods, in which alcaldes mayores extended cash advances to Indians, who were then required to pay for these loans at a future date in kind, either in cochineal (grana), raw cotton, cotton textiles, wheat, or corn. The second type of repartimiento was an exchange of goods for cash, in which local officials supplied a variety of goods—most often livestock, including mules and horses—on credit, and Indians were required to pay for these goods in several installments over the course of a year. The third type of repartimiento was an exchange of goods for goods, in which local officials supplied raw materials such as seeds or raw cotton to be returned as a finished product by a particular date.

In the province of Oaxaca, the most common form of repartimiento was the exchange of cash for goods, particularly for two lucrative commodities: cochineal and cotton textiles. As the second most valuable good exported from New Spain, cochineal garnered the attention of many throughout the colony that sought to profit from this trade. By the end of seventeenth century, the Crown decided to start selling the posts of alcaldes mayores, and the different prices that

[5] For traditional interpretations of the repartimiento, see Margarita Menegus, ed., *El repartimiento forzoso de mercancías en México, Perú, y Filipinas* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 2000); Rodolfo Pastor, "El repartimieto de mercancías y los alcaldes mayores novohispanos: un sistema de explotación, de sus orígenes a la crisis de 1810," in *El gobierno provincial en la Nueva España, 1570-1787*, ed. Woodrow Borah (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985), 201-236; John Chance, *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Carlos Sánchez Silva, *Indios, comerciantes, y burocracia en la Oaxaca poscolonial, 1786-1860* (Oaxaca: Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, 1998); Carlos Sánchez Silva, "Indios y repartimientos en Oaxaca a principios del Siglo XIX," in *Indio, nación, y comunidad en el México del siglo XIX*, ed. Antonio Escobar Ohmstede (México: CIESAS, 1993), 105-118; María de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi, *Economía y vida de los españoles en la Mixteca Alta: 1519-1720* (México: INAH, 1990); Jürgen Golte, *Repartos y rebeliones: Túpac Amaru y las contradiciones de la economía colonial* (Perú: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1980); Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*.

emerged reflected the potential profitability of overseeing the repartimiento in a certain locality. Districts in Oaxaca rich in cochineal cultivation—such as Xicayan, Nexapa, or Miahuatlán—garnered prices as high as 15,000 pesos.[6] With the aid of merchant backers (*aviadores*) in Antequera and Mexico City, local officials extended cash advances to Indians at the beginning of the production cycle, often in September or October. Money was loaned at a rate of 1.5 pesos (or 12 reales) per pound of cochineal, and this rate remained fairly stable throughout the eighteenth century. By the end of the cochineal harvest in late spring, villagers were required to return the amount of cochineal they had contracted with the alcalde. If they were unable to meet their debts (which was not uncommon), the alcalde mayor and his assistants had various options available to them, including arresting the debtor, confiscating his belongings, or simply offering more time.

Jeremy Baskes's *Indians, Merchants, and Markets* (2000) stands as an important yet controversial contribution to the scholarly literature on the repartimiento.[7] Relying heavily on archival evidence from the state of Oaxaca as well as principles from institutional economics, Baskes argues that peasants participated voluntarily in the repartimiento as a way of acquiring necessary cash and goods that would have otherwise been unavailable to them. Alcaldes mayores served as the necessary intermediaries between merchants and indigenous communities since merchants were unwilling to trade with Indians under conditions of great risk and uncertainty without the judicial oversight of a local magistrate. Moreover, local officials lacked the necessary coercive power and resources to force large populations of Indians to participate in the

[6] Jeremy Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets: A Reinterpretation of the Repartimiento and Spanish-Indian Economic Relations in Colonial Oaxaca, 1750-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 27-28.
[7] Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets.* See also Jeremy Baskes, "Coerced or Voluntary? The Repartimiento and Market Participation of Peasants in Late Colonial Oaxaca," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (February 1996): 1-28.

system. In other words, the repartimiento was a voluntary system of credit, which worked quite well in a cross-cultural, translingual, highly uncertain environment.

Baskes's argument has stood up quite well to criticism in recent years, but it is important to recognize that his argument is not as novel or radical as it might initially seem. Previous scholars have recognized the importance of the repartimiento in offering indigenous communities much-needed currency that was unavailable to them in local markets based on barter, called the *tianguis*.[8] Moreover, others have attempted to construct a regional typology of the repartimiento, arguing that repartimientos became more diverse and less coercive as one moved from southern to northern Mexico.[9] In other words, the notion that the repartimiento could be a voluntary, non-coercive, mutually beneficial transaction has existed in the literature for quite some time.

Historiographical debates about the degree of coercion involved in the repartimiento often overlook another crucial element of this institution's history—the continuous (but often failed) efforts on the part of the Spanish Crown to either regulate or prohibit the trade. As early as the late 1500s, royal officials began issuing specific legislation that sought to curtail the repartimiento, largely in the form of *reales cédulas*.[10] In August 1649, the Crown issued a real cédula calling for criminal proceedings to take place against the alcaldes mayores. This was done in response to Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's insistence that the repartimiento was a form of trade monopoly, in which local officials sold goods at exorbitant prices, violently expelled

[8] Marcello Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses: El proceso de constitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), 173.
[9] Horst Pietschmann, "Agricultura e industria rural indígena en el México de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII," in *Empresarios, indios y estado: Perfil de la economía mexicana (siglo XVIII)*, eds. Arij Ouweneel and María Cristina Torales Pacheco (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1992), 131-132.
[10] Early reales cédulas prohibiting the repartimiento were issued in 1551, 1563, 1578 and 1594. See Pastor, "El repartimiento de mercancías," 211.

their trade rivals, and failed to pay the royal sales tax (or *alcabala*).[11] In May 1662, the Crown issued another real cédula, this time in response to the violent and widespread rebellion that transpired in the heavily indigenous region of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca. The alcalde mayor of the region, Juan de Avellán (whose repartimiento was estimated at around 20,000 pesos), was killed by his Indian subjects, who later burnt down the local *casas reales*.[12] The real cédula of 1662 called for the confiscation of all goods involved in the repartimiento and their reversion to the Crown.[13] Finally, in 1751, the Crown chose to officially legalize and regulate the repartimiento; special juntas were formed in the colonies to establish a maximum sales volume for each district (along with official unit prices) and required the alcaldes mayores to pay a 4% sales tax. There is no evidence that price lists were ever actually formed in New Spain, and the law had the unintended consequence of actually increasing the volume and profitability of the repartimiento in the years leading up to 1786.[14]

Historians have agreed that Article 12 of the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes faced a similar fate as these other legal statutes, as it failed to eliminate the repartimiento by the end of the colonial period. Carlos Sánchez Silva has identified approximately 30 conflicts over the repartimiento between 1787 and 1818 for the province of Oaxaca alone.[15] Meanwhile, Stanley Stein has argued that Article 12's failure resulted from an entrenched interest group of merchants

[11] Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 11-12.
[12] For studies of this prominent colonial rebellion, see Basilio Rojas, *La rebelión de Tehuantepec* (México: Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, 1964); Brian Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Marcello Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses*.
[13] Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 14.
[14] Stern, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire," 9.
[15] Sánchez Silva, "Indios y repartimientos," 114.

and bureaucrats in the colony, which benefited from the repartimiento and was able to contest its prohibition, including achieving an almost-complete reversal of the law in November of 1794.[16]

In this chapter I examine in a little more detail the persistence of the repartimiento in the district of Miahuatlán, Oaxaca, between 1786 and 1810, considering how this institution evolved during these final years of the colonial period. In this lucrative area of the colony, the repartimiento began to encompass other key economic actors, including merchants and local priests. These figures now competed with the local district head—the subdelegado—over who could distribute, or *repartir*, goods and cash loans to local residents and used Article 12 to advance their interests against him.[17] Moreover, Article 12 was also taken up by indigenous villagers in the region, not necessarily to contest the repartimiento but rather to assert an array of other grievances against the district head and his deputies. These decades marked the important transformation of a vital system of credit, which led to growing financial and legal uncertainty and an overall decline in the volume of the cochineal trade.

The Repartimiento of Don Gregorio López de Novales, 1792

In 1790, only one year after taking office and four years after the Real Ordenanza had been issued, the Viceroy of New Spain Juan Vicente de Güemes requested detailed information from the province of Oaxaca regarding how the prohibition of the repartimiento was being implemented. It was still unclear to many how this transcendent policy was affecting politics and commerce in Oaxaca, much less whether it had been fully applied. The intendant of Oaxaca, José

[16] On November 12, 1794, the Junta Superior de Real Hacienda in Mexico City recommended to the Viceroy that the ban be lifted and subdelegados be allowed to issue repartimientos. This recommendation, while producing a great deal of confusion, did not become written law. See Stern, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire," 27-28; Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 87-94.

[17] Luis Arrioja has a found a similar evolution of the repartimiento in the district of Villa Alta, Oaxaca, after 1786. Nevertheless, he still argues against Baskes's interpretation of the institution. See Luis Alberto Arrioja Díaz Viruell, *Pueblos de indios y tierras comunales, Villa Alta, Oaxaca: 1742-1856* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2011), 425-462.

Antonio Mora y Peysal (a long defender of the prohibition), wrote a lengthy letter emphasizing the numerous successes of the policy while also trying to hide many of its limitations.[18] According to Mora, in 1788 the Indians had produced a surplus of corn, which was sold to the public granary in Antequera. Mora insisted Indians were having no problems acquiring the necessary materials for their cochineal harvests, and that in 1789 the cochineal harvest had been abundant. While he acknowledged the harvest declined significantly in 1790, this was only due to an excess of rain and not a lack of credit (the precise critique of those who were against the prohibition).[19] Mora also claimed Indians were finally able to engage in commercial transactions at normal market prices, purchasing cattle from local haciendas at nearly half the prices they were accustomed to paying from alcaldes mayores. While Mora was confident that no repartimientos had taken place in the areas surrounding the capital, he was not as sure for those regions that lay further outside of the capital, including Miahuatlán.

Over the course of the following year, Mora y Peysal began to encounter many of the difficulties in implementing this policy in regions outside of the central valleys. One of those regions—the district of Miahuatlán—became a crucial test for whether this law could begin to undermine the deep-seated business relationships at the heart of the repartimiento. In March 1791, the subdelegado of Miahuatlán, José María de Cevallos, and the merchant Simón Gutiérrez attempted to form a commercial arrangement that was immediately rebuked by Mora y Peysal. According to the terms of the contract, Gutiérrez was going to supply three shops that Cevallos was proposing to open in the district of Miahuatlán. Moreover, Gutiérrez was going to provide

[18] Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 51; Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 72-76.
[19] On this particular point, Mora y Peysal was largely correct. 1789 and 1790 were difficult years for the province—not only did a lack of rainfall produce a crop failure and the death of many livestock, but in 1790 a smallpox epidemic broke out, causing significant population losses in the communities of Miahuatlán, Teposcolula, Tamazulapan, Tejupa, Yanhuitlán, and Ixtepeji.

Indians with the necessary cattle and horses as well as the cash for their cochineal harvests. Meanwhile, there were very strict rules for how the profits of this system could be distributed—Cevallos was going to receive his share at the termination of the deal, while Gutiérrez would receive his share at the end of each year.[20] This deal was a clever and duplicitous effort on the part of Cevallos and Gutiérrez to maintain the basic structure of the repartimiento while appearing to engage in lawful commerce. Even though the intendant of Oaxaca sought swift action in trying to arrest Simón Gutiérrez under Article 12, Gutiérrez was able to claim ignorance about the illegality of the contract. This was only the beginning of what would prove to be a turbulent year for Mora y Peysal, as he desperately tried to implement his ban in different areas of the province.

With the contract between Cevallos and Gutiérrez now terminated, other merchants in Oaxaca began taking an interest in engaging with Indians on their own terms, independent of local political intermediaries. On November 2, don Gregorio López de Novales, a merchant residing in Miahuatlán, sent his assistant don Juan José Brena to the *partido* of Coatlán to sell a large herd of livestock (*ganado menor*) to several villages in the jurisdiction, including the *cabecera* San Pablo Coatlán.[21] Shortly after the sale, on November 9, the subdelegado of Miahuatlán (Cevallos) chose to confiscate much of the livestock that had been sold, claiming the actions were illegal and in violation of Article 12.[22] Cevallos sent a letter to the intendant claiming he had conducted a thorough investigation in the days following the transaction, even bringing Juan Brena into his offices to interrogate him about the details of the sale. Cevallos

[20] AGN, Subdelegados, leg. 35. See also Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 81-82.
[21] The other villages in the partido included: Santa María Coatlán, San Francisco Coatlán, San Pedro Coatlán, Santo Domingo Coatlán, San Sebastián Coatlán, San Jerónimo Coatlán, and San Miguel Coatlán.
[22] AGEO, Real Intendencia leg. 65, exp. 5: "Don Gregorio Lopez de Novales, residente de la jurisdiccion de Miahuatlán, otorga poder para tratar un asunto referente a la libertad de comercio," 1792.

concluded the livestock were sold at excessive and onerous prices (in other words, a repartimiento) and ordered the animals be kept in San Andrés Miahuatlán until the intendant gave him further orders.

On November 10, Gregorio López de Novales sent a long letter to the capital claiming the subdelegado was impeding his ability to sell freely in the district. The subdelegado had threatened his associate, Juan Brena, with imprisonment and had forcefully confiscated livestock from the villages of Coatlán (even though many of the residents had already requested further animals). Gutiérrez presented his own interpretation of Article 12, explaining that he was allowed to "sell, negotiate, and contract in any jurisdiction without causing harm to Indians…whether the sale be on credit, for cash, or an exchange, and does not exceed just and usual prices."[23] Although he had sold the livestock at 32 pesos per mule, López insisted that each mule had cost him 22 pesos, 2 reales, and by extending these products to villagers on credit he was incurring a great risk of never getting his money back. He argued the prices were just and legal according to the law and asked for the embargo to be overturned. Over the course of November, judicial authorities began investigating what exactly occurred in San Pablo Coatlán, interrogating many of the officials in the villages in question. According to their testimony, a clear outline of events eventually emerged…

Prior to November 2, Brena had contacted the alcaldes of San Pablo Coatlán, Damian Jiménez and Francisco Ambrocio, about the possibility of selling livestock to the villages in their partido, to which they agreed to take part only if the animals were of good quality and could be sold on credit. On November 2, Brena arrived in San Pablo with 66 heads of livestock and

[23] The quote in Spanish: "…para que en cualquier jurisdicción puedan vender, tratar, y contratar sin causar vexación a los Indios en las estipulaciones concertadas, sean ventas al fiado, o a dinero de contado, o por via de permutas, con calidad de que no se exceden de los justos y acostumbrados precios…"

brought them to the local corral, where villagers from across the partido arrived to select which animals they wanted to purchase. Much of the livestock were between the ages of one and a half and two years old and were sold at the following rates—32 pesos per female mule, 31 pesos per male mule, and 12 pesos per horse (or colt).[24] They were sold on credit, and villagers were given a term of 10 months (or until the next cochineal harvest) to repay the merchant.[25] Five of the animals were rejected for being either in poor health or a deteriorated condition. As records indicate, many of the residents wanted to purchase more animals but were unable to do so due to limited supply. Considering the limited supply of animals and number of interested parties, it is worth highlighting the process by which these animals were distributed among the villages. Whether the leaders of each village bargained with each other or the *cabecera* (San Pablo Coatlán) chose to distribute according to need, it is clear that this process involved deeply entrenched social practices that had existed for some time and had developed during the period of the repartimiento. This is why the events of the day proved to be so controversial and why such an extensive investigation eventually took place.

The two alcaldes of San Pablo Coatlán, Damián Jiménez and Francisco Ambrocio, as well as the *escribano* of the village, Manuel Román, were all questioned on November 22 about what exactly occurred. This questioning was extensive and revealed many of the difficulties involved in adjudicating commercial activities in the wake of the prohibition of the repartimiento. The alcaldes confirmed the prices of livestock (32 pesos per female mule, 31

[24] A mule typically cost between 28 to 50 pesos under the repartimiento, depending on the quality of the animal. Twenty-eight pesos represented 112 workdays for the average villager, assuming a colonial wage of 2 reales per day. See Baskes, "Coerced or Voluntary?" 7.

[25] The livestock were distributed in the following manner: Santa María Coatlán (7 mules, 1 horse), San Francisco Coatlán (6 mules and 1 horse), San Pedro Coatlán (2 mules, 1 horse), Santo Domingo Coatlán (11 mules), San Sebastián Coatlán (11 mules, 4 horses), San Jerónimo Coatlán (1 mule, 1 horses) and San Miguel Coatlán (1 horse).

pesos per male mule, and 12 pesos per horse) as well as the quantities sold and the process of distribution among the villages. However, they were asked a series of further questions that went into even greater depth about the nature of the commercial activity. Specifically, they were asked if that they had at all been "compelled" to purchase any heads of livestock or if they had chosen to do so at their own volition. The alcaldes insisted they had neither been compelled nor forced to purchase any livestock and had chosen to do so at their own volition. They were further pressed about whether the transaction was at all different from the repartimientos conducted in previous years by alcaldes mayores. They responded that the two were in fact quite similar, but that under the previous repartimientos the terms of trade were somewhat different since they were forced to pay for half of the price of the livestock up front and another half six months later.

This illuminating testimony reveals the complexities of distinguishing between the repartimientos of old and the new commercial transactions taking place after 1786. While the district head (alcalde mayor or subdelegado) was no longer in charge of overseeing the trades, many aspects of the previous repartimientos were still in effect, except now directed by independent merchants. The middleman had essentially been cut out, and the element of coercion was no longer as salient.[26] Moreover, there were no major changes in the prices of many goods, such as livestock, as advocates of the prohibition—including the intendant of Oaxaca himself—argued would occur. After all, in such remote areas where markets were not very competitive, villagers were restricted in terms of the number of individuals they could contract with. Finally, villages in Miahuatlán continued to distribute merchandise in similar ways as they had done before. These rituals of distribution were unaffected—at least in the short run—by Article 12 or

[26] Luis Arrioja has found a similar process occurring in Villa Alta, Oaxaca, in which merchants began assuming the role of the alcalde mayor. See Arrioja, *Pueblos de indios*, 448.

any other actions taken by Mexico City or Madrid. Over the course of the 1790s, tensions between merchants and local political officials in Miahuatlán continued to fester, and a region-wide rebellion finally broke out in 1798, this time under a different subdelegado named Fausto de Corres.

The Rebellion against Fausto de Corres, 1798-1801

While the intendant of Oaxaca, Mora y Peysal, may have been optimistic in the early 1790s about his ability to implement the prohibition of the repartimiento, by the end of the decade he had fallen in great dismay, conceding the law was far from being applied in many areas. He explained to officials in Mexico City that "Subdelegados of the Intendancy of Oaxaca were behaving with a license and abandon that perhaps could not even be compared with former abuses, when the alcaldes mayors, without restraints to contain their cupidity, attempted to enrich themselves by the most reprehensible means."[27]

The inability to prevent subdelegados from issuing repartimientos was at the top of Mora's mind, but there were deeper, more fundamental problems occurring as many subdelegado positions were simply left unfilled. Article 132 of the Real Ordenanza aimed to reform the salaries of these local administrators, tying their income to 5% of the tribute they collected in their jurisdictions. Nonetheless, very early on in the process it was clear this salary was inadequate for the position in question, especially considering the complex system of exemptions, reservations, and reductions involved in Indian tribute collection. Moreover, incoming subdelegados were also required to recruit one or more guarantors (or *fiadores*) to ensure the Crown of its revenue collection. During the time of the repartimiento, many wealthy

[27] This quote, like many of Mora y Peysal's statements regarding the repartimiento, must be read with caution. He was a prominent critic of the repartimiento and at numerous moments described the system in ways that were not reflective of reality but rather reflective of his own personal or political goals. See Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 89.

backers in Oaxaca and Mexico City gladly lent their support to this cause. Now, many of these same individuals were simply unwilling to offer their financial support considering the risks involved. Throughout most of the 1790s, many potential subdelegados were simply not allowed to assume political office until securing the proper *fianza*.

On January 1, 1797, Francisco (Fausto) de Corres assumed the position of subdelegado in the district of Miahuatlán, a position that, until recently, was highly coveted by all in the province. Fausto de Corres had a long and illustrious history in Bourbon Spanish government. Before arriving in New Spain, Corres served as an official in the Principal Accounting House in the province of Burgos, Spain, between 1753 and 1757 and later served in the same position in Toledo between 1757 and 1765. He arrived in New Spain in 1765 with José de Gálvez and played a crucial role as an administrator during Gálvez's time as Visitor-General in Mexico. By the early 1770s, Corres was already considered a potential candidate for intendant of Oaxaca but ended up serving as an alcalde mayor in Miahuatlán instead. He later served various other roles as an administrator in the province of Oaxaca, only to return to the district of Miahuatlán by the late 1790s, this time as a subdelegado.[28] Along with his two aides—a Spanish merchant named Juan Ramón López de Sagredo and an assistant don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez—Fausto de Corres became one the principal violators of Article 12, leading to numerous admonishments from the intendant but also severe social tensions and violence within his district. This would set the stage for one of the most turbulent periods in Miahuatlán's late-colonial history.

As soon as Corres took office in January 1797, he chose to place his deputy, don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, in the village of San Pablo Coatlán, overseeing tribute collection and governing procedures for eight villages and nearly 2,000 indigenous residents in the partido of

[28] For a brief biography of Fausto de Corres, see Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 156.

Coatlán. Within a year, many of these communities had developed a long list of grievances against Gutiérrez, which they chose to send to the intendant of Oaxaca in early 1798.[29] Gutiérrez had essentially assumed the role of despot in the region, demanding numerous personal services from villagers as well as assisting Corres in the reintroduction of the repartimiento de mercancías. Gutiérrez had recruited villagers to work at his residence in San Pablo Coatlán, including tending to his four plots of *nopaleras* for grana production, extracting firewood and charcoal from nearby forests, and herding his livestock. This labor lasted from 5 in the morning until nightly prayers and paid around 2 reales per day. Villagers in Coatlán were required to loan Gutiérrez various animals, including mules (either *de carga* or *de silla*), which he kept for several weeks and frequently mistreated. He paid only 6 reales to 1 peso for these rentals and returned the animals in poor condition.

Villagers also described the reintroduction of the repartimiento de mercancías, the system of credit that had diminished significantly under the previous subdelegado, José María de Cevallos. Corres entrusted Gutiérrez with the selling of mules, at a rate of 38 pesos per female mule and 37 pesos per male mule (slightly higher than what merchants were offering in the early 1790s), and villagers were required to repay these loans in several months. Moreover, the repartimiento of grana was also practiced extensively, at a rate of 12 reales per pound (the standard rate for most of the eighteenth century). By the end of the first year, six Indians had failed to return these loans on time and were submitted to severe punishment. They were placed

[29] AGEO, Real Intendencia, leg. 65, exp. 17: "Los oficiales de republica de cabecera de San Pablo Coatlan y sus sujetos: Santa Maria, San Miguel, San Pedro, de la jurisdiccion de Miahuatlán, otorgan poder para tartar sus cuentas en la real audiencia, y se quejan de los excesos cometidos por don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, teniente de justicia," 1798.

in a pillory and lashed 25, 50, or even 80 times.[30] In their letters to the intendant, villagers insisted that all these events were directly contrary to royal laws, particularly Article 12 of the Real Ordenanza, which freed them from such obligations. It is important to recognize, however, that these loans were only a secondary concern to many residents (compared to the other economic extractions taking place), and their complaints focused largely on the procedures for collection. Finally, many alcaldes and regidores suggested Gutiérrez be removed from office in San Pablo Coatlán and that villages be allowed to bring their tribute to San Andrés Miahuatlán, which was only eight leagues away. This is how it was done under the previous subdelegado, José María de Cevallos, and many longed for a return to his days of leadership.

As Fausto de Corres sought to strengthen his political and financial control over the region, other prominent figures in Miahuatlán began to see an opportunity to lead the movement against him. One of these figures was Joaquín de Urquijo, a parish priest from the village of San Juan Ozolotepec. Urquijo was in charge of serving the entire partido of Ozolotepec, which included 14 villages and nearly 3,000 residents.[31] As soon as grievances began emerging in early 1798 against Gutiérrez's actions, Urquijo wrote a letter to the intendant of Oaxaca decrying the rule of the subdelegado Corres and the two merchants that were working for him—Gregorio López de Novales and Juan Ramón López de Sagredo.[32] As you may recall, López de Novales was the same merchant that had come into conflict with the previous subdelegado, José María de

[30] This type of punishment was not uncommon for the time period. In the district of Villa Alta in 1790, *principales* from the village of San Miguel Talea refused to accept 300 pesos that were loaned to them for the production of cotton textiles. As a result, the subdelegado put them in a pillory and gave them each 50 lashes. They were then imprisoned for three days and forced to accept the money. See Luis Arrioja, *Pueblos de Indios*, 434.
[31] These included: San Ildefonso Ozolotepec, San Juan Ozolotepec, San Antonio Ozolotepec, San Francisco Ozolotepec, San José Ozolotepec, Santa Cruz Ozolotepec, Santa María Ozolotepec, San Marcial Ozolotepec, San Miguel Ozolotepec, San Pablo Ozolotepec, San Gregorio Ozolotepec, Santo Domingo Ozolotepec, San Esteban Ozolotepec.
[32] AGEO, Real Intendencia, leg. 65, exp 17.

Cevallos. Urquijo insisted that both of these merchants be removed from the district and not be allowed to reenter until an investigation was conducted. Interestingly, neither of these two men was front and center of the accusations emerging against Gutiérrez in Coatlán but still appear in Urquijo's letter to the intendant. Urquijo also demanded the rest of Corres's assistants—which included don Pedro Fernando de Xavi, don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, and don Mathias Corres—be removed from the district and kept at a distance of 15 leagues until the investigation was completed.

On the surface, Urquijo's actions may have appeared genuine, especially in the context of the prohibition of the repartimiento. He was merely a humble leader of the local Church, protecting his parishioners from the avarice of a local political official and his merchant associates. However, it soon became clear that Urquijo was attempting to wrestle control from Corres to serve his own personal ends. Urquijo, along with his brother don Manuel de Urquijo and his cousin don José de Castresana, had extensive financial dealings with local residents in Ozolotepec, many of which came to surface in 1798. They had been engaging in similar practices as Gutiérrez in Coatlán—renting mules from villagers as well as requiring villagers to sell them grana at lower prices (in other words, a repartimiento). In one particular case, Urquijo had invested money in a *nopalera* in the village of San Juan Ozolotepec (belonging to the local cofradía), of which half of the profits was supposed to be devoted to repairs and additions to the local church, including the construction of two new towers. However, several villagers—including Luis Hernández, Nicolás de Rosas, José Raymundo, and Nicolás de Luna—all testified that much of the money had in fact been pocketed by Urquijo and his associates, up to 230 pesos. While several parishioners came to the defense of Urquijo, it was clear from these denunciations that Urquijo was in competition with Fausto de Corres for political and economic control of the

region. This type of dynamic between local political officials and priests has been identified in many other parts of Mexico during the colonial period.[33]

As Joaquín de Urquijo was attempting to unseat Fausto de Corres from power in Miahautlán, in September of 1798 tensions finally boiled over between Gutiérrez and residents from the partido of Coatlán. On September 16, 1798, Gutiérrez took the drastic action of imprisoning all the *mayores* (adults) from the villages of Santo Domingo Coatlán and San Pedro Coatlán, which totaled between 100 to 150 people.[34] Ostensibly, this action was done when these communities refused to loan Gutiérrez two cargo mules (*mulas de carga*), but this move was clearly the result of growing tensions between the deputy and various residents. Gutiérrez employed Leonardo Jiménez, an Indian from the San Pablo Coatlán, to direct the operation. Jiménez, along with several aides, arrived in the villages of Santo Domingo and San Pedro on Sunday afternoon, right after mass when each of these communities came together for their weekly celebrations and prayer. The arrest was apparently quite peaceful, with no major resistance occurring in the moment. The villagers were brought to the local prison in San Pablo, where they were held for several days. These actions soon became a rallying cry for many in the partido, as riots broke out in San Pablo Coatlán against Gutiérrez and the subdelegado,

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[33] AGEO, Real Intendencia leg. 65, exp. 14: "Pleito presentado por el pueblo de San Juan Ozolotepec contra su cura, don Joaquin de Urquijo, sobre el manejo de los bienes de la cofradia y otros asuntos," 1796; AGEO Real Intendencia leg. 65, exp. 18: "Superior Despacho del excelentisimo Señor Virrey y diligencia practicada, para la justificación de los excesos y perjuicios de que se quejaban los naturales del partido de San Juan Ozolotepec, contra el brigadier don Joaquin de Urquijo, cura de este partido," 1798. For a brief analysis of the conflicts between priests and alcaldes mayors in Oaxaca, see Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 81-82. For other parts of Mexico, see William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[34] AGEO, Real Intendencia leg 66, exp. 4: "El virrey de Nueva España, su fiscal protector y asesor general dirigen a don Antonio de Mora y Peysal Intendente de Oaxaca, decreto en testimonio para que resuelva respecto a la transaccion de los indios de Ozolotepec con Joaquin Urquijo cura que fue, sobre repartimiento que hizo Fausto Corres subdelegado de Miahuatlán y sobre el alboroto en el pueblo de Santa Maria Coatlan del año 1798 por culpa de Juan Ramon Lopez Sagredo comisionado de justicia por dicho subdelegado se incluye la provision con los autos y diligencias," 1800-1801. For a brief summary of these events, see Carlos Sánchez Silva, "Indios y repartimientos," 115.

demanding the immediate release of the prisoners. Raymundo López, a resident from San Miguel Coatlán, eventually succeeded in convincing Jiménez to give him the keys to the prison, and together they released the residents only several days later.

On September 27, only several days after the prisoners had been released from jail, Fausto de Corres was travelling through the village Santa María Coatlán to visit a new mill being constructed alongside the local church. The *fiscal* of Santa María Coatlán, Urbano Martín, accosted him and threatened him with a dispatch from Mexico City. Whether the dispatch was real or a forgery, we will never know, but Martín insisted that procedures were underway to challenge Corres's rule in the district. In response to these events, Gutiérrez and Sagredo, the two merchants working for Corres, decided that forceful action had to be taken. At midnight on October 1, Gutiérrez, Sagredo, and 200 men, armed both with pistols and knives, ambushed the village of Santa María Coatlán.[35] Four men were placed in front of each house, and the *principales* of the village were all tied up and required to hand over money and cochineal. One particular witness, Isidro Antonio, claimed that several men entered his home and began rummaging through his possessions. He was forced to flee and hide behind a nearby hill as events unfolded. In subsequent accounts of the ambush, Sagredo insisted that his men were holding only *armas blancas* (knives, swords, etc.) and no firearms (*armas de fuego*). Moreover, he claimed they never intended to seriously injury or kill any residents. Sixteen people total were injured in the attack, but no deaths.

In the aftermath of October 1, four Indians were imprisoned in the capital—Leonardo Jiménez (San Pablo Coatlán), Juan Antonio Juárez (Santa María Coatlán), Urbano Martín (Santa María Coatlán), and Isidro Antonio (Santa María Coatlán). In addition, Juan Antonio Gutiérrez

[35] Santa María Coatlán had approximately 300 residents at this time.

and Juan Ramón López de Sagredo were also put in jail. All six individuals were questioned extensively between 1800 and 1801, producing slightly different versions of events. From the perspective of authorities, it was still unclear exactly who had done what and to whom. In the midst of all this questioning, López de Sagredo wrote a letter to the intendant on March 13, 1801, requesting a temporary leave from prison to take care of various business concerns in Miahuatlán. He claimed he had cooperated fully with authorities on all questions asked and had been in prison for nearly two years now for actions he committed under the direction of Fausto de Corres. He was hoping to be released on bond for a small period of time, likely to tie up loose ends and collect outstanding debts in Miahuatlán. The intendant of Oaxaca, Mora y Peysal, rejected Sagredo's request and chose to proceed with the investigation.

Meanwhile, Fausto de Corres, who interestingly was not imprisoned during this time, finished out his five-year term as subdelegado and left office in early 1802. It appears he had escaped the situation without any serious reprimand, although he had clearly directed his deputies and assistants to commit the acts that landed them in jail. Corres was able to maintain some degree of plausible deniability throughout the investigation, allowing him to finish out his term. Nonetheless, he was still *persona non grata* in the region and does not appear to have held any business arrangements with residents of Miahuatlán going forward. Corres was replaced in 1802 by a new subdelegado, named José Carlos Gordon y Urquijo.[36] Urquijo's reign in Miahuatlán was apparently quite peaceful, and he was followed in 1807 by another subdelegado, Manuel María de Ortega. The subsequent pages are devoted to understanding how politics and business evolved under Ortega's leadership, including the ongoing presence of the repartimiento.

[36] The position of subdelegado was initially given to José Carlos Enríquez in 1802 but then transferred to Gordon y Urquijo in 1803. See AGN, Reales Cédulas, vol. 189.

The Disputed Estate of Manuel María de Ortega, 1811-1812

On September 19, 1811, Captain Manuel María de Ortega, subdelegado of the district of Miahuatlán, traveled from his residence in the village of San Andrés Miahuatlán to Antequera, the capital city of Oaxaca. Ortega had fallen gravely ill in recent days and was traveling to Antequera to receive the urgent medical care he needed to save his life. Ortega died only several days later, abruptly ending his tenure of four years (1807-1811) as the principal administrator of the district of Miahuatlán, one of the prime centers of cochineal cultivation in all of Oaxaca. These years had been relatively peaceful compared to those of his predecessors, with no major uprisings or disputes on record. Nonetheless, Ortega continued to operate the repartimiento throughout his time in office, a practice that connected him to numerous wealthy and powerful individuals throughout the province. These dense, interpersonal networks of financial obligation became immediately strained as many tried to secure what they could from his lucrative estate.[37]

Vicente Reyes Rojas, a military officer residing in Miahuatlán, wrote an urgent letter to officials in Miahuatlán on October 2 demanding an immediate embargo of Ortega's property (this letter was promptly forwarded to the intendant of Oaxaca, José Antonio Mora y Peysal). As Rojas explained in his letter, he had served as a *fiador*, or guarantor, for Ortega in December 1808, when Ortega took out a loan of 6,052 pesos (to be paid back in 5 years) from several pious works in the city, including the Colegio de Niñas Educadas.[38] On the surface, none of this

[37] AGEO, Real Intendencia, leg. 66, exp. 15: "Autos seguidos por Vicente Reyes Rojas, sargento de la compania de Miahuatlán, principal fiador de Manuel Ortega, subdelegado que fue de aquel patido, tras su fallecimiento, realiza las diligencias correspondientes ante el encargado de justicia para el aseguramientos de los bienes del dicho Ortega," 1811-1812.

[38] A *fiador*, or guarantor, served two important roles in colonial Oaxaca. First, the Crown often required alcaldes mayores, and later subdelegados, to recruit fiadores before entering into office. In this way, the Crown ensured the collection of revenues entrusted to that office. Second, fiadores often operated outside the political realm, guaranteeing large loans to various individuals in case of default (this was the type of agreement made between Vicente Rojas and Manuel Ortega). See Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico*, 4, 67-71.

activity was particularly unusual—in late-colonial Mexico, the Church, through its many charities, continued to act as an important creditor, even after the Consolidación de Vales Reales of 1804.[39]

However, Rojas was now demanding an embargo of Ortega's property because he was concerned he would not be able to meet his financial commitments as a guarantor.[40] Rojas heard rumors—rumors that proved to be true—that large quantities of cochineal were being taken from Ortega's residence in Miahuatlán and delivered to a retired coronel in Antequera, named don Pedro García Henríquez. Indeed, on October 3, 15 *sobornales* of grana (which could be sold for as much as 13,000 pesos) were transported by mule from Ortega's residence in Miahuatlán to Henríquez's residence in Antequera. This operation was overseen by Ortega's cousin, don Antonio María Izquierdo, who was the executor of Ortega's will but had completed this transaction illegally since a proper inventory had not yet been conducted.

Izquierdo's explanation on October 23 was both rambling and incoherent, as he offered a myriad of reasons that could only be interpreted as a clear cover-up. He claimed he was still suffering from the ongoing trauma of his cousin's death, which had "captured his spirits" and left him weak for several days. Moreover, he argued that he had sent the sobornales out of fear of losing them while, at the same time, arguing that he believed there was sufficient evidence Coronel Henríquez had rightfully paid for them. Finally, he suggested that Rojas had not yet presented the proper paper work to confirm his role as a fiador. These reasons only compounded and contradicted each other, as Izquierdo was clearly searching for any excuse he could find to

[39] In 1786, Pablo de Ortega, the alcalde mayor of the district of Villa Alta, had received a similar loan of 25,000 pesos from the same school, at a rate of 5% for 2 years, requiring three different guarantors.
[40] As it turns out, Rojas had offered his home as collateral in order to serve as a guarantor, revealing the multiple layers of credit and risk involved in colonial finance.

explain a premature and extralegal distribution of his cousin's estate. Regardless of what Izquierdo told judicial authorities, he had engaged in some form of *quid pro quo* with Henríquez, or, at the very least, had been pressured by Henríquez to send him the stocks of grana immediately.

Meanwhile, Coronel Henríquez, in Antequera, had to present an argument for why such an unusual transaction had taken place after Ortega's death. The 15 sobornales of grana were already in his possession, but lawyers were trying to confiscate them and return them to Miahuatlán as part of Ortega's estate. Henríquez explained that these sobornales were rightfully his since he had provided Ortega with 14,831 pesos to invest in the production of cochineal in the villages of Miahuatlán and Coatlán. This agreement was not a normal contract or loan but rather a different type of arrangement, in which the money lent had to be returned in kind (i.e., cochineal). As such, Henríquez argued the deal was not susceptible to a revocatory action by one of Ortega's creditors, which was precisely the action being taken by Rojas.[41] Henríquez failed to offer very persuasive evidence of the deal, merely an invoice dated "September 30" (after Ortega's death) listing what was owed to him by the subdelegado. Manuel María Mimiaga, a lawyer from the Real Audiencia in Mexico City who was now overseeing the case, decided that Henríquez could retain the 15 sobornales as an initial deposit on what he was owed. In the meantime, a proper and legal inventory of Ortega's property had to take place before any further disputes arose.

[41] A revocatory action is a principle in civil law that allows creditors to contest a contract made by a debtor if that contract increases the debtor's insolvency.

The inventory and appraisal of Ortega's movable and immovable property began on November 2 and was a long, drawn-out affair.[42] Mimiaga hired two assistants, don Joaquín Casas and don Juan Nepomuceno de la Riva, to help with the procedure. Ortega's home, district store, rental properties, and outstanding debts all had to be carefully valued, a meticulous process that took several weeks and the aid of numerous individuals. For Ortega's home alone, a silversmith, tailor, carpenter, blacksmith, and chair-maker were all hired to appraise his various belongings, which totaled 877 pesos. Meanwhile, Ortega also owned a store in Miahuatlán, through which he sold various foodstuffs and articles of clothing to local inhabitants. According to the intendant of Oaxaca at the time, Mora y Peysal, the alcalde mayor's shop had long been a pernicious institution in Oaxaca, in which large quantities of liquor were sold to Indians to keep them further in debt.[43] At least according to this inventory, this claim proves to be inaccurate since liquor was almost non-existent from the store's stock. Instead, an array of other goods, including sugar, butter, salt, chocolate, boots, and blankets seemed to predominate, with no single good valued at more than five pesos. While many of these items may have been sold to Indians at inflated prices, the store seemed to provide an array of useful, if luxury, goods that indigenous residents could purchase with their disposable income and likely not find in local markets. The store's stock was vast, with over 100 items valued at 4,404 pesos.

However, the most intriguing aspect of Ortega's inventory (for the purposes of this chapter) was the detailed accounts of his dealings with the region's indigenous inhabitants. Three distinct lists were drawn up, each of which is summarized in Table 2.1 and reproduced in full in Appendix A. Ortega operated two types of repartimiento in Miahuatlán—the system of exchange

[42] AGEO, Real Intendencia, leg. 66, exp. 11: "Inventario de los bienes pertenecientes al difunto capitan Manuel Maria de Ortega, subdelegado que fue del partido de Miahuatlán," 1811.
[43] Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 80.

that was ostensibly abolished in 1786 by the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes. The first of these was an exchange of money for cochineal, the most common type of repartimiento throughout the colonial period. Ortega advanced money at a rate of 2 pesos per pound of cochineal—this was significantly higher than the more common rate of 1.5 pesos (or 12 reales) for most of the colonial period. As Jeremy Baskes has argued, the rate of 1.5 pesos remained fairly stable as a way of avoiding complicated and costly negotiations. The repartimiento was inherently a verbal and cross-cultural endeavor and retaining a stable rate of exchange was one of the most effective ways of minimizing transaction costs.[44] The fact that Ortega was offering 2 pesos per pound likely meant that Indians had acquired much greater bargaining power by this point in time, especially considering the events of 1798. According to the inventory, Ortega was owed 534 pounds, 9 ounces of cochineal from 111 inhabitants in 20 different villages. Santiago Hernández María Marta, from the village San Juan Ozolotepec, owed Ortega 83 pounds of cochineal, by far the largest debtor. However, most of these debts were fairly evenly distributed, with no single individual owing more than 10 pounds.

Table 2.1: Three Debts Owed to Manuel Ortega, 1811

	Number of villages	Number of inhabitants	Total Owed (either in pounds/ounces or pesos/reales)
Cochineal owed (money advanced at a rate of 2 pesos/lb)	20	111	534lb, 9oz
Money owed (lent for cochineal cultivation)	2	12	459P$, 2R$
Money owed (lent at a 33% interest rate)	11	50	224P$, 2R$

Source: AGEO, Real Intendencia, leg. 66, exp 11.

[44] Jeremy Baskes, "Colonial Institutions and Cross-Cultural Trade: Repartimiento Credit and Indigenous Production of Cochineal in Eighteenth-Century Oaxaca, Mexico," *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 1 (March 2005): 204-206.

There was a second list for this type of repartimiento as well, much smaller, of those who owed Ortega money that was supposed to be employed in the production of cochineal. This list included 12 inhabitants from two villages (San Andrés Miahuatlán and San Miguel Suchixtepec), totaling 459 pesos, 2 reales. As opposed to the debt owed in cochineal, this debt was confined to a small set of individuals. These individuals had either chosen not to employ the money in cochineal or were simply unable to pay their debts. Ana Jacinta, from the village San Miguel Suchixtepec, was the largest debtor, owing 241 pesos, 4 reales. Meanwhile, her son, José Santiago Aguilar, owed 105 pesos, 2 reales. It is unclear what the situation of this particular family was—perhaps the male head of household had recently passed away or the family had fallen on rough times—but the size of their debt suggests that it had accumulated over several years. The tactics available to colonial officials for collecting debts—whether offering more time, imprisoning the debtor, or simply confiscating belongings—often times failed and incurred very high administrative costs.[45] Hence, the evasion of debts was not an uncommon practice and very difficult to resolve. What is important to remember is that Ana Jacinta and her son were largely outliers within this region. Most villagers in Miahuatlán continued to pay back their debts in a fairly timely manner, within the several months that it took to complete the harvest.

The second type of repartimiento, which interestingly has not been discussed very much in the literature on colonial Oaxaca, was a simple loan, made at a rate (in this case) of 12 reales to be paid at 2 pesos, or a 33% interest rate. According to the inventory, 50 inhabitants from 11 different villages owed Ortega 244 pesos, 2 reales. Antonio Nicolás, from village of Miahuatlán, owed Ortega the largest amount at 32 pesos. However, these debts were fairly evenly distributed, with most individuals owing no more than 10 pesos. The fact that this type of repartimiento—a

[45] Baskes, "Coerced or Voluntary?" 7-8.

cash-for-cash loan—was widely practiced in Miahuatlán is in and of itself quite interesting. For the most part, historians have understood the repartimiento as either an exchange of goods for cash or the other way around. It may have been that the repartimiento had become much more flexible by this point in time since it was now formally prohibited and subdelegados faced increased competition from other merchants operating in their jurisdictions.

As can be gathered from these numbers, Ortega's financial connections extended deep into the district he governed, as he operated a system of loaning money to indigenous residents that had to be returned either in kind (cochineal) or in specie. I do not have the evidence to track how these debts were resolved—whether they were transferred to the next subdelegado or directed to Coronel Henríquez in Antequera. However, to a large degree this is the wrong question to ask because what is clear from the evidence available is that the repartimiento de mercancías, which had been prohibited by law two and half decades earlier, was still practiced, overtly recognized by many of the actors involved. Nonetheless, it had been challenged in recent years, and by 1810 had become a very different institution, one that was more generous and flexible to those who participated in it.

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This chapter has tried to understand how a specific law—in this case, Article 12 of the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes—was applied and interpreted in a specific region of New Spain towards the end of the colonial period. The case of Article 12 proves to be fascinating since it shows how a law that seemingly failed at its core objective was at the same time incredibly influential for social and economic life in a particular place. In Miahuatlán, a southern district of Oaxaca that had always been at the center of the cochineal trade, the repartimiento continued to be practiced throughout these decades, as various subdelegados, in association with a small

group of merchants, extended loans of money and goods to various indigenous inhabitants, who were then required to repay these loans in several months. This established way of doing business served the needs of many (both wealthy and poor alike) and was not bound to change anytime soon.

Nonetheless, with the emergence of Article 12, new actors entered the business, including independent merchants and parish priests, who sought to supplant the local political official that was no longer allowed to legally oversee the trade. The fact that the repartimiento evolved in this way confirms the hypothesis that these loans were an incredibly important part of indigenous economic life. After all, the repartimiento offered villagers much-needed work animals, including mules and horses, that they could only afford on credit. Moreover, cash repartimientos could be used to meet tribute or religious fees or to purchase necessary food and certain luxury goods. Violence was part of this system, but it took place in the latter stages of the transaction (i.e., the enforcement of the contract), which is an important distinction few historians have made.

From a broader perspective, it is without question that the prohibition of the repartimiento led to economic contraction in Oaxaca as a whole, resulting in declining revenues, incomes and profits for those involved in the cochineal trade.[46] As Table 2.2 demonstrates, while in the 1770s cochineal production averaged around 1,000,000 pounds per year, by the 1800 it had fallen to 300,000 and never fully recovered. Several historians have argued that this decline was in fact the result of demand-side changes in Europe, including the depression of the 1780s and the

[46] A detailed macroeconomic analysis of the cochineal trade during these years is beyond the purview of this chapter. For historians that have attempted this work, see Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets* and Luis Arrioja, "El 'cultivo de la grana' en el sur de México, 1752-1856," *Baetica: Estudios de arte, geografía, e historia* 35 (2013): 253-270.

Napoleonic Wars of the 1790s (which increased the risks of transatlantic trade).[47] However, demand-side changes cannot overshadow the severe instability provoked by the 1786 prohibition, which disrupted accustomed methods of credit and financing. Without legal recognition of the repartimiento, cochineal cultivation simply could not continue at its elevated levels.

In 1809, the new intendant of Oaxaca, Joseph María Lasso, insisted that the prohibition of the repartimiento had to be revoked in order to save the dying industry. Meanwhile, in a report compiled by the Real Audiencia in Mexico City in 1810, administrators argued that immediate government intervention was the only option left to prevent the complete collapse of the industry.[48] However, none of these efforts proved very fruitful since over the course of the next decade Mexico became engulfed in a massive civil war, which eventually led to its independence in 1821.

Table 2.2: Cochineal Output, Price, and Total Value in Oaxaca, 1770-1810

Year	Output (pounds)	Price (pesos per pound)	Total Value (pesos)
1770	1,043,437	3.13	3,260,742
1771	1,050,187	4.00	4,200,750
1772	839,577	3.75	3,148,791
1773	782,437	3.19	2,494,020
1774	1,558,125	2.19	3,408,398
1775	837,000	2.00	1,674,000
1776	808,550	2.13	1,718,169
1777	1,244,812	1.88	2,334,023
1778	1,050,187	2.00	2,115,600
1779	842,625	1.88	1,579,922
1780	1,385,437	2.13	2,944,005
1781	464,625	2.13	987,328
1782	1,035,675	2.13	2,265,539
1783	999,000	2.25	2,227,500
1784	535,900	2.00	1,171,800
1785	535,750	2.13	1,142,719
1786	610,875	2.06	1,259,930
1787	451,875	2.00	902,250
1788	317,662	2.00	635,324

[47] Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 139-184.
[48] Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 128

Table 2.2 (Continued)

1789	478,125	1.94	926,367
1790	471,150	2.00	942,300
1791	538,650	2.06	1,410,341
1792	433,125	1.88	839,086
1793	334,250	1.69	564,047
1794	655,500	1.31	860,409
1795	584,125	1.50	876,188
1796	207,450	2.19	453,797
1797	493,425	1.94	956,011
1798	512,325	2.25	1,152,731
1799	452,675	2.44	1,103,395
1800	374,400	2.38	889,200
1801	406,012	2.25	913,258
1802	433,550	2.38	1,029,681
1803	559,350	2.63	1,468,230
1804	346,500	3.56	1,134,406
1805	191,250	2.875	549,844
1806	251,550	3.375	848,981
1807	341,550	3.625	1,143,119
1808	358,200	3.625	1,298,475
1809	343,350	4.125	1,416,319
1810	545,727	3.625	1,978,262

Source: *Memoria que el gobernador del estado presenta al primer congreso constitucional de Oaxaca en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1858* (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Ignacio Rincón, 1858), no. 13. Reprinted in Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 203-205.

The next chapter of this dissertation will explore in greater depth how the cochineal industry evolved after independence, including the state's efforts to both revitalize the industry as well as transition to other commodities. However, it is worth mentioning here that early national legislation in Oaxaca—including the Constitution of 1825 and the Civil Code of 1828—did not recognize the repartimiento as a legitimate form of commerce. Instead, this legislation sought to import new, more modern forms of contracts into the province and severely prosecute any regression to previous forms of distribution.[49] However, late-colonial legislation, including the Real Ordenanza de Intendentes, did have an immediate impact on the way indigenous communities, merchants, and political officials interacted with each other. Although the repartimiento continued in some form well into the nineteenth century, it had become a much

[49] Arrioja, *Pueblos de indios y tierras comunales*, 446.

more diverse and limited institution, in large part due to Article 12. The repartimiento system of old had come to an end, with new actors emerging and commerce becoming a much more contested domain.

CHAPTER 3
A Lost Monopoly: Taxation, Infrastructure, and Agriculture in Early National Oaxaca

Introduction: The Economic Consequences of Independence

Over the course of the colonial period, Oaxaca's economy had thrived under the protection of the Spanish Crown, receiving a monopoly on cochineal production in the early seventeenth century that inhibited the production of the insect elsewhere in Spanish America. In 1572, the viceroy of New Spain created the office of the *juez de grana* (judge of cochineal), who was instructed to weigh and inspect all the cochineal being produced in southern Mexico before it was transported to Veracruz.[1] While several surrounding provinces initially produced the insect, including Puebla and Tlaxcala, by the end of the seventeenth century Oaxaca became the sole producer of this valuable agricultural commodity.[2]

This monopoly was part of a broader mercantilist effort on the part of the Spanish Crown to concentrate scarce capital, labor, and management resources around specialized exports in Spanish America. In the case of cochineal, one of the most important reasons for restricting production was quality control. Since cochineal garnered such a high price per pound, colonial officials were concerned with the adulteration of cochineal with foreign substances. In addition to quality control, foreign interlopers were also an important consideration and restricting production to Oaxaca allowed for better oversight over potential interventions by foreign merchants.[3] By the end of the eighteenth century, the Spanish had established an entire trading

[1] The *juez de grana* was initially placed in Puebla in 1572 but then moved to Oaxaca in 1593. See Carlos Sánchez Silva, "Notas para una historia social de la grana cochinilla en Oaxaca," in *La grana y el nopal*, 14; Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," 468-469.
[2] Arrioja, "El 'cultivo de grana'," 256.
[3] For the most famous case of foreign encroachment on the Spanish cochineal trade, see Menonville, *Travels to Guaxaca*.

network around Oaxaca's cochineal, one that would begin to unravel as independence movements spread across much of Spanish America in 1810.[4]

On January 17 and August 31, 1819, the Spanish Crown issued two orders that reflected the incipient breakdown of this carefully constructed trading network. The Consejo de Indias advised the King of Spain to allow the cultivation of cochineal in the Kingdom of Guatemala and the province of Yucatán, breaking a long-standing policy that had stood in place for nearly two centuries.[5] This was a desperate measure by the Crown to garner extra revenue in a time of crisis, as it was both bankrupt and on the verge of collapse. On January 17, the Crown instructed the captain general of Guatemala to communicate the news to the intendant of San Salvador and the *alcaldes mayores* of the different jurisdictions of the Kingdom, including Verapaz, Sonsonate, Antigua Guatemala, Amatitemes, and Zacatepec. These officials were ordered to encourage the production of the insect in their territories as well as financially support their residents in this endeavor. Cochineal was also declared temporarily free of any tithes, sales tax, or export duties. On August 31, 1819, the Crown issued similar orders to the province of Yucatán, ordering the ayuntamiento of Mérida to encourage the production of the dyestuff. In fact, a process was already underway to transport large quantities of the insect from Chiapas to Yucatán, where residents could begin to produce and harvest the insect on a larger scale.

This careful and controlled opening of the industry would not last very long, as Mexico finally achieved its independence in 1821. In subsequent decades, the cochineal industry spread to various parts of the globe, including Central America, southern Spain, the Canary Islands,

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[4] It should be noted that the Crown also attempted to establish a royal monopoly (i.e., full state control) over cochineal production in the early 1600s, but this never succeeded due to resistance from merchants. See Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 107.

[5] AGN, Reales Cédulas, vol. 221, exp. 123; Brian Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico: 1750-1821* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 144.

North Africa, and even parts of India.[6] One of the first beneficiaries of the dissolution of Oaxaca's colonial monopoly was Guatemala, a former colonial Kingdom that in 1823 became a member of the United Provinces of Central America. During the early part of the colonial period, the Spanish had discovered pockets of cochineal production in Guatemala and other parts of Mesoamerica but eventually chose to concentrate the industry in Oaxaca for the purposes of a more efficient trading network. In 1810, as the Spanish Empire became increasingly under threat, merchants in Guatemala began petitioning the Crown to allow cochineal exports from their province. They brought in live insects from Oaxaca for experimentation and in 1818 published a pamphlet for indigenous villagers with instructions on how to cultivate the insect.[7] In 1819, the Crown officially recognized the Kingdom as a site of production and ordered various measures to stimulate the production of the dyestuff, including allowing money from the *cajas de comunidad* to be advanced to different growers.[8]

In the following decades, Guatemala's cochineal output greatly surpassed that of Oaxaca's, reaching two million pounds by the 1850s.[9] One of the primary reasons for Guatemala's success was the addition of large-scale plantations. While in many parts of Guatemala small-scale operations with Indian growers prevailed (as they had in Oaxaca), in Amatitlán, Guatemala, large-scale operations with as many as 400,000 nopals developed.[10] A group of ladino landowners were successful in offering sufficiently high wages to recruit Indians

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[6] Carlos Sánchez Silva and Miguel Suárez Bosa, "Evolución de la producción y el comercio mundial de la grana cochinilla, siglos XVI-XIX," *Revista de Indias* LXVI, no. 237 (2006): 475.
[7] David McCreery, *Rural Guatemala* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 114-115; Antonio López, *Instrucción para cultivar los nopales y beneficiar la grana fina dispuesta por el R.P. Predicador General Fr. Antonio López del S.O. de predicadores y cura de Cubulco la da a luz la Real Sociedad Económica de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Reimpresas a expensas del Real Consulado de dicha ciudad, 1818).
[8] AGN, Reales Cédulas, vol. 221, exp. 123.
[9] Manuel Rubio Sánchez, *Historial del cultivo de la grana o cochinilla en Guatemala* (Guatemala, C.A.: Tipografía Nacional, 1994), 134.
[10] Donkin, "Spanish Red," 13, 30-31.

as day laborers from surrounding villages, in many cases offering initial advances on these wages. As the governor of Guatemala noted at the time, "Most of the inhabitants work as laborers on cochineal plantations…including the women when it comes time for seeding and harvesting the crop…the majority occupy themselves as day laborers on the large grana plantations, while at the same time having their corn plantings and small patches of nopal plants."[11] Amatitlán became so monocultural that local food production began to decline, and food staples had to be brought in from surrounding areas to meet the needs of a growing population. Although the techniques for cultivation were not radically different on plantations compared to small family plots, owners did employ large-scale drying stoves to speed up the final stages of processing.[12] By the 1860s, Guatemala's cochineal output was valued at over one million pesos, well above Oaxaca's production value at this time.

The other primary source of international competition was the Spanish Canary Islands. Although the Canary Islands' entrance into the market did not occur until the 1850s, their adoption of the insect was closely connected to the end of Spanish colonial rule. In 1820, on the eve of Mexico's independence, a Crown official in Veracruz sent a shipment of cochineal-covered nopals to an economic society in Cádiz, Spain.[13] The aim was to initiate the cultivation of the insect in the south of Spain before losing the industry for good in Oaxaca. Although attempts were subsequently made to cultivate cochineal in places such as Seville, Málaga, Valencia, and Murcia, these efforts largely failed due to climatic impediments. Finally, in 1853, a fungus destroyed the Canary Islands' grapevines, and cochineal appeared as a crucial lifeline in a moment of crisis. With the aid of tax incentives and price supports from the Spanish

[11] McCreery, *Rural Guatemala,* 127.
[12] Ibid., 114.
[13] Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 205-208.

government, cochineal exports on the island grew to one million pounds within a couple of years and four million pounds by the late 1860s.[14] The Spanish finally succeeded in replicating the lucrative industry they once controlled in Oaxaca, and Oaxaca was now only one of three major players in the world cochineal market.

The diffusion of cochineal cultivation after 1820 led to a growth of supply in the world market and a precipitous decline in prices. Table 3.1 displays the quantity, price, and total value of Oaxaca's cochineal output between 1820 and 1858. The price of cochineal, which had consistently stayed around 2 pesos per pound throughout most of the colonial period, began to steadily drop in the initial decades of independence, reaching .5 pesos by the 1850s (nearly a fourth of its original value). Meanwhile, production remained around 400,000 to 600,000 pounds for most of this period. During Benito Juárez's governorship between 1847 and 1852, production reached almost a million pounds, perhaps due to a limited set of government policies to reinvigorate the trade, but eventually fell back down to 500,000 pounds during the 1850s.[15] Finally, the total value of cochineal output in Oaxaca also fell dramatically over this time, from over 1,000,000 pesos in 1820 to 200,000 pesos in 1858. As one historian has aptly written: "Throughout the colonial era, Oaxaca was one of Mexico's most prosperous provinces. With the end of the colonial period, Oaxaca became one of Mexico's poorest states."[16]

Table 3.1: Cochineal Output, Price, and Total Value in Oaxaca, 1820-1858

Year	Output (pounds)	Price (pesos per pound)	Total Value (pesos)
1820	375,662	**3.5**	1,314,775
1821	311,787	**2.875**	896,389

[14] Ibid., 215-216; Carlos Sánchez Silva and Miguel Suárez Bosa, "Evolucion de la producción y el comercio mundial de la grana cochinilla," 485-488.
[15] Juárez greatly improved the infrastructure of the state, including the road system. See section of this chapter entitled "The Port of Huatulco." He also reduced taxes on the cochineal industry. See Arrioja, "El 'cultivo de grana'," 266.
[16] Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 186.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

1822	432,062	**2.313**	1,001,457
1823	408,150	**2.063**	841,809
1824	377,412	**2.094**	790,207
1825	394,037	**2.375**	935,839
1826	357,617	**2.250**	804,628
1827	610,187	**2.250**	1,395,421
1828	398,187	**1.813**	721,715
1829	498,862	**1.625**	810,652
1830	400,437	**1.563**	625,684
1831	389,000	**1.063**	413,313
1832	342,050	**1.281**	438,252
1833	328,925	**1.313**	431,714
1834	455,825	**1.313**	598,270
1835	597,400	**1.375**	821,425
1836	597,400	**1.344**	802,756
1837	544,400	**1.094**	595,438
1838	564,600	**1.063**	599,888
1839	928,800	**0.875**	812,700
1840	511,400	**0.938**	479,438
1841	618,000	**0.813**	502,125
1842	516,200	**0.641**	330,610
1843	468,800	**0.750**	351,000
1844	424,600	**0.938**	398,063
1845	462,700	**0.969**	448,241
1846	729,200	**0.969**	706,413
1847	406,400	**0.781**	317,500
1848	968,800	**0.719**	696,325
1849	899,200	**0.625**	562,000
1850	970,800	**0.688**	642,425
1851	866,400	**0.516**	446,738
1852	943,600	**0.594**	560,263
1853	715,400	**0.875**	625,975
1854	782,800	**0.656**	513,713
1855	647,125	**0.750**	556,247
1856	395,200	**0.813**	418,006
1857	569,072	**0.713**	427,020
1858	514,537	**0.688**	228,339

Source: *Memoria que el gobernador del estado presenta al primer congreso constitucional de Oaxaca en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1858* (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Ignacio Rincón, 1858), no. 13. These numbers come from el Registro de Grana, a registry located in the capital of Oaxaca where merchants were required to submit their cochineal for weighing and purity checks.

An important question to consider is whether political officials in Oaxaca recognized how the cochineal market was rapidly changing. In the 1820s, the state government attributed the decline of the cochineal trade to two domestic causes: (1) a lack of currency, and (2) a lack of judicial enforcement over contracts.[17] The government recommended the state's treasury increase the money supply by 2% and suggested enacting new laws to ensure villagers repaid their debts to merchants. In the early 1830s, political officials believed consumption of the insect dye had declined in Europe, arguing the textile industry no longer preferred the crimson color and was using alternative dying agents.[18] Finally, in 1835, the governor of Oaxaca pointed to the growing production of the insect in Central America, which was completed at much lower costs and bound to outcompete Oaxaca in European markets.[19] By the 1840s, the government newspaper put out a report in which it finally conceded Oaxaca no longer held a monopoly over the insect, explaining that cochineal was now cultivated in both Guatemala and the Canary Islands (as well as diverse areas such as the north coast of Africa, Andalucía, Cádiz, Malta, and Egypt).[20]

In this chapter I examine how the declining cochineal trade shaped government policy in Oaxaca during the initial decades of independence, particularly in the areas of taxation, infrastructure, and agriculture. Historians of nineteenth-century Oaxaca—especially American historians—have often interpreted politics during this period though the ideological currents of

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[17] *Memoria que el gobernador del estado de Oaxaca presentó en la apertura de las sesiones ordinarias del Segundo Congreso Constitucional del mismo, verificado el 2 de julio de 1827* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Gobierno del Estado, 1827), 8-9.

[18] *Exposición que el tercer gobernador del estado hizo en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la Constitución Particular del mismo a la 4a. Legislatura Constitucional al abrir sus segundas sesiones ordinarias el 2 de julio de 1832* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno, 1832), 26.

[19] *Exposición que el gobernador constitucional del estado hizo en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la Constitución Particular del mismo a la Sexta Legislatura en sus segundas sesiones ordinarias el mes de julio de 1835* (Oaxaca: Impreso por Antonio Valdés y Moya, 1835), 13-14.

[20] Sánchez Silva*, Indios, comericantes y burocracia*, 102.

liberalism and federalism, which while useful do not explain the specific economic policies and projects undertaken by the state government.[21] The first section of this chapter explores the state government's efforts to tax cochineal in some form, particularly in the 1830s and 1860s, and the resistance it provoked among merchants in the capital of Oaxaca. The second section then explores how the government directed tax revenue towards various infrastructure projects in the state, including the port of Huatulco—Oaxaca's only functioning Pacific port and the main alternative to the port of Veracruz. The third section focuses on the government's efforts to reform land tenure and diversify agriculture during these years, particularly through products such a silk, cacao, and coffee. The fourth and final section examines a last-ditch effort by the state government to save the dying cochineal industry in the 1860s through a new cochineal registry. By this point in time, the invention of synthetic dyes in Europe marked a definitive end to the cochineal trade as a source of income and wealth for this region.

Taxation in Early National Oaxaca

In 1824, the governor of Oaxaca, José María Murguía y Galardi, introduced a new tax code for the state's citizens.[22] He conceded that many of the state's residents were quite poor and were unlikely to afford many of the taxes described. Nevertheless, he insisted that the greater good was served through these small sacrifices and that the state legislature had a responsibility to spend the tax revenue wisely. The new head tax was called the *contribución personal* and included a sliding scale of rates to bring as many residents as possible into the taxpaying

[21] Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Karen Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalism in early National Oaxaca and Yucatán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Brian Hamnett, "Oaxaca: las principales familias y el federalismo de 1823" and "La iglesia en Oaxaca en la primeras décadas del siglo XIX" in *Lecturas históricas del estado de Oaxaca*, vol. 3, ed. María de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi (México, D.F.: INAH, 1990). Mexican historiography has avoided these ideological straightjackets but has still only scratched the surface of Oaxaca's early national political economy. See Sánchez Silva, *Indios, comerciantes y burocracia*; Arrioja, *Pueblos de indios y tierras comunales*.

[22] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 74-75.

community. For Oaxacan males between the ages of sixteen and seventy who held a job or a piece of property, the going tax rate was one *real* per month, or about .12 pesos.[23] Even at this low rate, many villagers could still not afford to complete their tax obligations, and rising tax debts as well as ineffective tax collection became common concerns for the state government. A large part of the problem involved who was responsible for collecting the head tax—elected municipal officials. In the transition from colony to republic, most of Oaxaca's 900 or so villages became municipalities, with an array of new procedures for electing town officials. These officials were given the responsibility of dividing their communities into classes of taxpayers and updating the lists each year. These leaders often took liberties in the process, lessening the tax burden on their constituents as a way of maintaining popular support. In the early 1830s, the governor of Oaxaca lamented the sad state of affairs when it came to the collection of the head tax, insisting that state administrators with lifelong appointments should take control of the process.[24] Nevertheless, the *contribución personal* continued to be an important source of revenue for the state each year, making up over a third of its revenue, or between 100,000 and 150,000 pesos.[25]

The second most important source of revenue for the state government was the *alcabala*, or sales tax. This sales tax dated back to the early colonial period, when the Spanish Crown implemented a tax of 2% on the sale of a variety of different goods in New Spain.[26] Certain key social groups were exempted from paying this tax, including the clergy and Indians. In the case

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[23] Ibid.
[24] *Exposición que el vice-gobernador en ejercicio del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo del Estado hizo en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la Constitución Particular del mismo a la Cuarta Legislatura Constitucional al abrir sus primeras sesiones ordinarias el 2 de julio de 1831* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno del Estado, 1831).
[25] Sánchez Silva, *Indios, comerciantes y burocracia*, 113-124.
[26] For the original text of this law, see *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las indias: tomo segundo* (Madrid: por la viuda de don Joaquín Ibarra, 1791), Libro 8, Título 13, 498-510. Over the course of the colonial period, this tax fluctuated from 2% to as high as 14%.

of Oaxaca, this meant that the alcabala was rarely charged on cochineal sales since they occurred between indigenous farmers and non-indigenous merchants or political officials.[27] The only instance when the alcabala was charged to cochineal was once it arrived in Veracruz for export, and this rate was often 3%.[28] In early national Oaxaca, the most common goods charged the alcabala were cotton textiles, cacao, alcohol (especially wine and aguardiente), indigo, yarn, and tobacco.[29] In total, taxes on these goods amounted to as much as 100,000 pesos per year, which was a significant number but still small compared to the revenue that could be generated by applying some sort of tax on the state's most significant agricultural product—cochineal.

Political officials in Oaxaca continually wrestled with imposing all sorts of taxes on cochineal after independence, including a levy on the amount of cochineal leaving the state each year. During the War of Independence, royalist forces had already experimented with this form of tax, charging a duty of 6.25 pesos per arroba (or .25 pesos per pound) in 1816 for the "maintenance of troops" in the city of Antequera.[30] Forty-nine different merchants contributed to this tax, paying a total of $68,157 on 272,628 pounds of cochineal (see Appendix B). Four years later, in 1820, the royalist government implemented a similar tax, charging four pesos per arroba for a total revenue of $40,884 (see Appendix C). These taxes were issued during a time of war, when the Spanish government was under threat from a growing insurgency and in desperate need of revenue. However, in the years after independence, the newly-formed state government faced

[27] There were numerous instances where the alcabala was charged unfairly and produced significant conflict. For one notable case involving 30 Indians traveling to Antequera with 10 arrobas of cochineal, see AGEO, Tesorería Principal, leg. 9, exp.8: "Los de Santiago Yosundua se quejan, ante el administrador de las reales alcabalas, de que el guarda de la garita de San Antonio les quito la grana que traian a vender a la ciudad de Oaxaca," 1789.
[28] Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 150-154.
[29] For the alcabala records of 1831, see AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 62, exp. 6: "Aduana General de Alcabalas. Libro de las entradas de efectos con escala en estos almacenes y sus salidas en todo el presente año," 1831.
[30] AGEO, Tesorería Principal, leg. 8, exp. 12: "Cuaderno de recaudación y cuenta del impuesto sobre granas del año 1816," 1816-1817.

similar fiscal pressures and was forced to adopt similar measures. In 1830, the state experimented with a tax of four pesos per arroba on cochineal exiting the state, which yielded over 64,000 pesos in a single year.[31] While this may have been a useful source of revenue in the short run, it was not sustainable considering the direction the industry was headed. Within a couple years the state chose to abolish this tax, declaring it harmful to the declining trade and no longer appropriate considering the current price of the commodity.[32]

Tax records from the 1830s, however, do provide us insight into the key actors involved in the cochineal trade. In Table 3.2, I have summarized the results of the 1830 tax, including the merchants who paid the tax, their market share, the total value of their cochineal shipments, and the amount of tax they paid. This list, when compared to tax records from the late colonial period (see Appendix B and C), demonstrates how the merchant class in Oaxaca was evolving during this time. Many of the merchants in 1830 were the direct descendants of Spanish merchants who had arrived in Oaxaca during the eighteenth century.[33] Ignacio Goytia, who held 6% of the market in 1820 and 4% in 1830, was the son of Antonio Francisco Goytia, a prominent colonial merchant who was one of four Oaxacan Deputies of Commerce selected by the Consulado of Mexico in 1807.[34] Ignacio Goytia went on to serve as governor of Oaxaca on two occasions—1836-1837 and 1838-1839. Another major merchant family was the Guergué family, from the Navarre region of Spain.[35] José Joaquín Guergué (son of José Antonio Guergué) held 17% of the

[31] AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 67, exp. 4: "Administración general de alcabalas. Libro principal para la recaudación del derecho de cuatro pesos por arroba sobre las granas que se extraigan fuera de este estado en todo el año," 1830. See Table 3.2.
[32] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1832*, 26.
[33] Sánchez Silva, *Indios, comerciantes y burocracia*, 148. Sánchez Silva uncovers the following families that migrated from the northern region of Spain: Goytia, Solar Campero, Echarri, Iribarren, Esperón, Magro, Iturribarría, Ceraín, Ibáñez de Corbera, Manero y Pineda, Régules Villasante, Larrazábal, Larrañaga, Mantecón, de la Portilla, Monterrubio, Villasante, Fagoaga, Cajiga, and Fernández del Campo.
[34] Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico*, 160.
[35] Sánchez Silva, *Indios, comerciantes y burocracia*, 144-145.

market in 1820 and 3% in 1830, when he began to explore other economic opportunities in the state, including mining. Jose Joaquín eventually married the daughter of Manuel Solar Campero, another prominent Spanish merchant. Manuel Solar Campero was forced to flee Oaxaca in 1812 after the arrival of Morelos's troops. He eventually spent time in Campeche, Veracruz, and Puebla before returning to Spain in 1820.

Table 3.2: Cochineal Merchants and Taxes Owed, 1830

Merchant	Cochineal (pounds)	% of Market	Total Value (pesos)	Taxes Owed (pesos)
José Hernández	53,225	13%	$83,191	$8,516
José María Espada	22,663	6%	$35,422	$3,626
Federico Montgomery	22,150	6%	$34,620	$3,544
Félix Hernández	21,175	6%	$33,097	$3,388
Nicolás Reyes	21,087	6%	$32,959	$3,374
Valle and Co.	16,275	4%	$25,438	$2,604
Francisco del Villar	15,087	4%	$23,581	$2,414
Manuel de la Peña	14,750	4%	$23,054	$2,360
Ignacio Goytia	14,350	4%	$22,429	$2,296
Antonio Moncada	13,225	4%	$20,671	$2,116
Francisco Miguel López	13,150	4%	$20,553	$2,104
Rafael Quijano	12,888	4%	$20,144	$2,062
Bartolo Linares	10,600	3%	$16,568	$1,696
José Guergué	9,838	3%	$15,377	$1,574
Justo Luis Villar	8,638	2%	$13,501	$1,382
Manuel García y Goytia	8,463	2%	$13,228	$1,354
José Urbano Martínez	6,838	2%	$10,688	$1,094
Nicolás Franco and Co.	5,188	1%	$8,109	$830
Luis Fernando del Campo	4,775	1%	$7,432	$764
Bernardo Benito	4,688	1%	$7,327	$750
Antonio Maza	4,313	1%	$6,741	$690
José Cardenas	4,025	1%	$6,291	$488
Lucas Almodóvar	3,325	1%	$5,197	$532
Pablo Cruz	3,000	1%	$4,689	$480
Torillo Espada	2,812	1%	$4,395	$450
Nicolás Faure and Co.	2,800	1%	$4,376	$448
42+ merchants				
Total	**404,793**		**$632,691**	**$64,767**

Source: AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 67, exp. 4.

Beyond these major Spanish families, there were also several new players in the cochineal market. Unfortunately, we have very little information on these individuals beyond simply their surnames. The Hernández family, including José Hernández and Félix Hernández, held 19% of the market while the Villar family, including Francisco del Villar and Justo Luis

Villar, held 6% of the market. These families may have represented a more native-born group of merchants (i.e., creoles) that had previously been excluded from the trade due to the strong merchant guilds during the colonial period.[36] Indeed, the number of merchants involved in the industry expanded significantly during this time, from 49 in 1816 to 68 in 1830. There were also several new foreign actors involved in the trade. Federico Montgomery (British) held a 6% share of the market while Nicolás Faure and Company (French) held a 1% share. A final name that is worth noting is the merchant Rafael Quijano (Spanish). The Quijano family would go on to form Quijano and Company, a key mercantile association that owned a majority of the cochineal industry in the 1860s and eventually moved to the coffee industry in the 1880s.[37]

While the issue of taxation would die down after the 1830s, in the early 1860s the state government would once again renew its efforts to raise revenue through a widespread tax on cochineal. On August 10, 1860, the governor of Oaxaca, Marcos Pérez, issued a tax of 6.25 centavos per pound (or .0625 pesos) on all cochineal leaving the state, insisting that the state was facing dire shortages in revenue as it tried to complete various infrastructure projects.[38] This tax rate was considerably lower compared to taxes issued earlier in the century and with good reason. By this point in time, the value of cochineal had fallen to around .5 pesos per pound, and previous tax rates were simply no longer economically viable. Even at this low rate, however, merchants in Oaxaca quickly protested the new tax, and in 1862 the new governor, Ramón Cajiga, was forced to lower the tax even further to 4.5 centavos.[39]

[36] Brian Hamnett, "Oaxaca: Las principales familias y el federalismo de 1823."
[37] See Chapters 4 and 5.
[38] *Colección de leyes y decretos del estado libre de Oaxaca*, vol. 3 (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1873), 3.
[39] Ibid., 344.

When the French occupied Mexico between 1862 and 1867, merchants in Oaxaca began petitioning the new emperor of Mexico, Maximilian, to eliminate these taxes altogether, explaining that they posed an existential threat to an industry that faced increasing competition from other parts of the world.[40] In 1866, a new cochineal registry was formed in the state, which sought to protect the industry even further and applied a meager duty of 12.5 centavos per arroba.[41] As the industry faced its final days with the invention of synthetic dyes in Europe, the state seemed to have finally given up on relying on this industry as a source of revenue.

The Port of Huatulco

As the state desperately tried to acquire sufficient resources to fill basic administrative positions and develop its economy, it was working up against an array of geographic challenges that were unique to Oaxaca. Oaxaca was one of Mexico's most mountainous states, crossed by three different mountain ranges—the Sierra Madre Oriental, the Sierra Madre del Sur, and the Sierra Atravesada. These mountains had featured prominently in Oaxaca's history, impeding both the Aztecs and the Spanish in their efforts to conquer and administer the region. They also explained the survival of Oaxaca's sixteen different ethnic groups and the methods these groups developed for managing profound ecological diversity. The rough topography of Oaxaca became a major hurdle in the state's efforts to develop infrastructure in the initial decades of independence. In 1858, the governor of Oaxaca reflected on the unique challenges of constructing proper infrastructure in the state: "The topographic position of the state—mountainous and lacking in population—has always made it difficult and very costly to complete

[40] AGN, Segundo Imperio, caja 44, exp. 71: "Solicitud de los comerciantes de Oaxaca para no pagar impuestos por la grana y el añil," (1865).
[41] *Colección de leyes, decretos y circulares del estado libre de Oaxaca*, vol. 4 (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1898), 167-170.

different road projects; numerous administrations have spent a great deal of time and money on these projects."[42]

There were a number of infrastructure projects that drew the attention of Oaxaca's governors during the initial years of independence. The most significant project involved constructing a *camino de ruedas* (or wagon road) from Oaxaca to Tehuacán (Puebla), a distance of over 220 km and a crucial leg of the journey from Oaxaca to the port of Veracruz (where cochineal was exported). The road from Oaxaca to Tehuacán was mostly a dirt path at this point, navigable only by mule or horseback. Through construction such as widening, digging ditches, and building bridges, the state government wanted to allow wheeled vehicles (e.g., carts, wagons, and carriages) to make the long journey and increase the flow of commerce. In the early 1830s, the government focused on improving a number of bridges in the district of Huajuapan, located in the northern part of the state and bordering the neighboring state of Puebla.[43] Throughout the rest of the 1830s, the government issued various decrees and earmarked funds for the roadway, but little progress was made due to numerous bureaucratic and financial hurdles.[44]

When Benito Juárez became governor in 1847, he made a renewed effort to complete the road. By the end of his governorship, nearly 80 km of the roadway had been completed, from Oaxaca to Santiago Dominguillo, near the border with Puebla.[45] The highway was finally completed in the 1860s with the aid of French investment.[46] Although these efforts were able to

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[42] *Memoria… de 1858*, 18.
[43] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1831*, 14-15. The government provided $1,260 in assistance to the department of Huajuapan for this construction.
[44] *Exposición…el mes de julio de 1835*, 12-13.
[45] *Exposición que el gobernador del estado hace en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la constitución al soberano congreso al abrir sus primeras sesiones ordinarias el día 2 de julio de 1852* (Oaxaca: Impreso por Ignacio Rincón, 1852), 22-23.
[46] Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca*, 47.

reduce the amount of time it took to get from Oaxaca City to Veracruz, it was still a journey that took several weeks and limited the amount of goods that could be exported from the state.

If Veracruz continued to be a distant port through which Oaxaca had to export its goods, the port of Huatulco located on the Pacific coast remained a viable option for handling the state's foreign commerce. The port of Huatulco had a long and storied history, dating back to the early colonial period when the Spanish initially viewed Huatulco as the best natural port along the Pacific coast.[47] Beginning in 1537, three or four ships traveled annually between Huatulco and Peru, exchanging various goods for Peruvian silver and mercury. In addition, a vibrant coastal trade emerged between Huatulco and Central America, which involved slaves, clothing, livestock, and cacao.[48] In April 1579, the English pirate Sir Francis Drake arrived at the port and proceeded to loot the town, taking several thousand pesos worth of gold and silver and also holding numerous prisoners aboard his ship the "Golden Hind."[49] In August 1587, another famous English pirate, Sir Thomas Cavendish, arrived at Huatulco, burning the local church and confiscating small amounts of cacao and indigo from the local customs house.[50] By the end of the sixteenth century, Huatulco was already eclipsed by the port of Acapulco as the primary Spanish port along the Pacific. In 1616, the viceroy of New Spain Diego Fernández de Córdoba finally ordered the port of Huatulco abandoned due to threats from Dutch pirates.[51]

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[47] Nahui Ollin Vázquez Mendoza, *Pueblo a orilla del mar. Huatulco en el siglo XVI (1522-1616)* (Oaxaca: Secretaría de las Culturas y Artes de Oaxaca, 2013), 186-187. Hernán Cortés initially favored Tehuantepec as the primary Spanish port along the Pacific but eventually moved his attention to Huatulco due to more favorable winds and currents and also easier anchorage.
[48] Peter Gerhard, *Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain, 1575-1742* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960), 34.
[49] Ibid., 60-77.
[50] Ibid., 81-94.
[51] Vázquez Mendoza, *Pueblo a orilla del mar*, 20-21.

For the rest of the colonial period, Huatulco likely served as an occasional stop for ships and a prime haven for contraband and piracy. Once Mexico achieved its independence in 1821, the state and federal government took a renewed interest in rehabilitating the port. In 1824, the Mexican government officially recognized the port of Huatulco as a site of domestic and foreign trade, offering a tax exemption on all products exported from the port (except for cochineal).[52] During these years, Huatulco handled less than 1% of Mexico's Pacific trade, or about 5,000 pesos worth of imports annually.[53] In a governor's report from 1827, José Ignacio de Morales lamented the awful condition of the port.[54] First, the town nearest to the port, Santa María Huatulco, was 25 km away while the nearest site for provisions and water was over 15 km away. Second, the port itself was nearly deserted, with little shelter or warehouses to store merchandise. The governor acknowledged that any ship arriving at Huatulco would suffer enormous costs and delays due to the lack of proper facilities. Adding to these problems, customs officials were supposed to collect import and anchorage duties as well as additional taxes on goods transported to the capital of Oaxaca. There were not sufficient mules or muleteers to adequately transport goods to the capital, a trip of over 200 km over rough terrain. Thus, Morales made a rather radical proposal to the federal government, asking them to suspend all import and export taxes collected at Huatulco for the next eight to ten years. In the meantime, he assured them that he would work to repopulate the area surrounding the port as well as begin to renovate the port's facilities.

[52] Juan Manuel Vergara Muñoz, "Contrabando en el puerto de Huatulco: 1790-1831," (B.A. Thesis, Universidad Autonóma Metropolitana, 2010), 80.
[53] Ibid., 56.
[54] *Memoria…el 2 de julio de 1827*, 8-10.

Activity slowly began to grow at Huatulco during these years, as various ships anchored at the port and customs officials processed shipments and collected various taxes. In 1827, three ships docked at the port of Huatulco—the Amelia on June 5, the Isabela on July 27, and the Ayacucho on November 27.[55] The Amelia was an English ship, which had travelled from the port of Valparaiso (on the coast of Chile) to the port of Acapulco (500 km north of Huatulco) and was on its way back down when it stopped at Huatulco. The Amelia unloaded mostly luxury goods at the port, including fine textiles, wine, and aguardiente. These goods were purchased by one merchant in Oaxaca, José Antonio Silva, although a few goods were also purchased by local merchants in the district of Pochutla along the coast, including Estanislao Rodríguez and Domingo Alonso. On July 27, the Isabela, another English ship traveling from South America, dropped off a similar set of goods at Huatulco, including crystal hardware. Finally, towards the end of the year, a Peruvian ship named the Ayacucho left Callao and made a stop at Huatulco, dropping off cotton textiles as well as cacao. Cacao became a common adulterant for cochineal during these years.

This level and type of commerce probably continued for several years, as a handful of ships docked at Huatulco each year and dropped off luxury items that were purchased by prominent merchants in the capital. In Appendix D, I have compiled more detailed information on the commercial traffic between Huatulco and the city of Oaxaca between 1830 and 1832. In 1830, the value of goods transported was about $5,000 while in 1831 this value rose to at least $14,000. The consignees of these shipments were five merchants in Oaxaca—Federico Montgomery, Nicolás Faure, Ignacio Goytia, José Guergué, and José Antonio Rodríguez. As

[55] AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 62, exp. 1: "Libro de copia para el de los manifestos de buques que lleguen con carga y la decarguen en el puerto de Huatulco," 1827-1828.

discussed in the previous section, these were all merchants heavily invested in the cochineal trade at this time and who held considerable control over commercial traffic throughout the region. While many of the luxury goods imported at Huatulco were consumed in capital of Oaxaca, they were also transported to Puebla and Mexico City. Treasury records shed light on the array of muleteers who took part in this trade, many of whom were indigenous and of local origin.[56] Over 40 different mule drivers helped carry around 60 shipments between Huatulco and Oaxaca during these two years, including Manuel de los Santos, Nicolás González, and Estanislao Rodríguez. These mule drivers would make stops in the villages of Miahuatlán and Ejutla before arriving in Oaxaca, a journey of over 200 km that took a couple weeks.

The state government worked tirelessly to improve the port's settlement and facilities. In 1830, various families were relocated to the port of Huatulco and offered various tax incentives.[57] Within a year, these families were forced to retreat to the inland town of Santa María Huatulco due to threats from pirates. Finally, they settled about 6 km away from the coast and began to offer support and provisions for the ships arriving at Huatulco. The governor of the department of Ejutla, meanwhile, was working on establishing a more permanent settlement at the port and asked for similar tax incentives for his residents.[58] All of these projects were made more urgent by the fact the federal government was considering a bill to close all ports in the southern Pacific (with the exception of Acapulco) due to ongoing issues with contraband and piracy.[59] In 1832, the governor of Oaxaca was able to report the inauguration of a new town at

[56] AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 64, exp. 1: "Aduana maritima de Huatulco. Libro en que constan los asientos de la guias que se expiden en esta administración. Comienza el 1 de julio de 1831 y concluye el 30 de junio de 1832," 1831-1832.
[57] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1831*, 8.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

the port called San Rafael del Puerto.[60] Two hundred ten people had been relocated to this new settlement, and the first mass had just been conducted at the newly built church. Settlers were in the process of building new homes, clearing surrounding forests, and planting their crops for the first harvest. The governor insisted that the town was going to attract many more settlers since it contained a good climate, fertile lands, and plentiful water.

However, these hopes would prove to be short-lived. Within a couple of years, reports surfaced that cholera had the struck the town of San Rafael, killing many of its 210 members and causing others to flee.[61] The governor insisted that supplies were being sent to help the members of the settlement and that soon a new dock was going to be built along the beach. However, the renovation project had clearly begun to falter, and at some point in the 1840s the federal government chose to close the port for good. As with so many infrastructure projects in the state, the port of Huatulco gained new life in the late 1840s when Benito Juárez became governor. In August 1848, Juárez issued a detailed colonization plan to settle the area surrounding the port and form a new town called Villa del Crespo.[62] All of the settlers of Villa del Crespo would be exempt from paying any head tax or church duties/offerings for 10 years and avoid draft obligations with the military. More importantly, each family would receive a plot of land for their home (50 square yards), a yoke of bulls, work tools, a travel allowance, seeds necessary for their first harvest, and a weekly ration of corn, beans, chile, and salt for the first six months of settlement.[63] Settlers were required to stay at Villa del Crespo for at least five years or be forced

[60] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1832*, 10-12
[61] *Exposición…el mes de julio de 1835*, 4-5.
[62] *Colección de leyes y decretos del estado libre y soberano de Oaxaca*, vol. 1 (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1851), 600-606.
[63] The state government committed 5,000 pesos to cover these expenses.

to return all these goods and risk further penalties. However, if settlers remained for at least 10 years, they would receive full title to their lands.[64]

Beyond the new colonization plan, Benito Juárez also worked towards finishing the road that stretched from Huatulco to the capital of Oaxaca. In 1848, he organized a committee that would oversee the construction of the road, including the governor of the department of Ejutla, Nicolás Rojas, and the subprefects of the districts of Pochutla and Miahuatlán, Apolonio Manzano and Eustaquio Manzano.[65] Juárez proposed a rather bold scheme to recruit laborers for the highway construction—the state would established one or two prisons along the road, and prisoners from across the state would be sent to these facilities, where they would complete their sentences and be forced to work along the roadway.[66] It is unclear whether this labor recruitment strategy was ever fully realized, but prisoners likely formed a significant part of the labor force to complete the project. In 1849, Nicolás Rojas reported that a road had been built from Huatulco to San José Chacalapa, a distance of about 20 km, but that construction was delayed due to heavy rains.[67] By 1852, the government ceremoniously announced that approximately 100 km of the roadway had been fully completed, mostly from the capital to the village of Ocotlán.[68] Although this roadway would suffer damages over the course of the next two decades, it served as the foundation for growing commerce in the second half of the nineteenth century. By this point in

[64] If settlers stayed for 7 years, they would receive half of the value of their property, and if they stayed only 5 years, they would receive a quarter of its value.
[65] *Exposición que en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la constitución del estado hace el gobernador del mismo al soberano congreso al abrir sus sesiones el 2 de julio del año 1848* (Oaxaca: Impreso por Ignacio Rincón, 1848), 15.
[66] Ibid., no. 4. Nicolás Rojas was the brother of Basilio Rojas, a prominent schoolteacher in the district of Miahuatlán, who would oversee construction of the rest of the roadway in the 1870s. See Chapter 5.
[67] *Exposición que en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la constitución del estado hace el gobernador del mismo al soberano congreso al abrir sus sesiones el 2 de julio del año 1849* (Oaxaca: Impreso por Ignacio Rincón, 1849), no. 3.
[68] *Exposición…el día 2 de julio de 1852,* no. 11.

time, Puerto Ángel—not Huatulco—served as the principal port along the Pacific coast, as Huatulco remained a small and struggling outpost.

Agricultural Diversification

> The entire surface of this state—from the very tops of its mountains, to the banks of its rivers, to the shores of its oceans—is covered with a multitude of natural products that come from the three kingdoms of animal, plant, and mineral. Many of these products are both rare and precious, and offer us innumerable opportunities.
>
> -Governor José López Ortigoza, 1831[69]

As state officials in Oaxaca explored options to diversify agricultural production during the initial years after independence, one of the greatest impediments they described was a poor distribution of land in the state. Many of the state's lands were held collectively by indigenous villages; at the time of independence, there were approximately 921 villages, consisting of over 400,000 inhabitants. Officials believed the state's territory—approximately 10 million hectares—could support three times as many inhabitants, but landed property needed to be better distributed and organized.[70] Some villages held lands that were uncultivated, while other villages were in desperate need of more land. Moreover, some of the most fertile and important pieces of land were privately held and underutilized.

In March 1824, the state government issued a decree that prohibited the concession of any more *fundos legales*, or village centers, and called on the state's congress to begin considering a law to repartition village communal lands.[71] In September 1826, the government commissioned a group of five individuals to begin conducting a detailed survey of the state's lands, which would include lists of property holders and various maps.[72] The commission was

[69] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1831*, 16.
[70] *Memoria…el 2 de julio de 1827*, 3-6.
[71] *Colección de leyes y decretos del estado de Oaxaca*, vol. 1 (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado de Oaxaca, 1909), 16-18.
[72] Ibid., 303-304.

tasked with estimating the amount of land necessary for a single family's sustenance and constructing a new *ley agraria*, or agrarian law, that would organize the state's landed property. By the middle of 1827, this commission had made very little progress, and the state tried to organize a new group of four individuals to begin touring the state and collecting similar information.[73] The state believed it could not rely on district governors or village officials to complete these surveys since they were bound to misrepresent their holdings and offer inaccurate information.

By the early 1830s, the state realized it could simply not complete this type of work without the cooperation of local officials. Oaxaca's terrain was simply too vast and too complicated, with an array of topographic and hydrographic peculiarities that could not be properly measured or identified without local knowledge. In 1831, the vice-governor ordered the governors of each department to begin conducting detailed visits of their jurisdictions, determining which lands were being held and which lands could be considered *terrenos baldíos*, or public lands.[74] They were also instructed to collect all sorts of additional information, including population figures, the number of primary schools in their department, public health information, and the current resources available in village coffers, or *cajas de comunidad*. The vice governor went as far to explain that the whole goal of this program was help design a new agrarian law, which would take all available lands across the state and put them in the hands of private landowners who could make them productive and generate public wealth.[75] To some degree, this had been the whole goal of agrarian proposals since the 1820s and seemed to be made more urgent by the declining value of the cochineal trade. By 1832, a preliminary report

[73] *Memoria…el 2 de julio de 1827*, 3-6.
[74] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1831*, 6.
[75] Ibid., 15-16.

had been compiled by the governors' visits, which confirmed vast areas of underutilized and fertile land in the state, some of which were nominally owned by villages but could easily be redistributed to new landowners.[76]

While collecting information was one thing, enacting legislation that would lead to widespread land sales and adjudications was a whole other matter. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, nothing was accomplished on this front. When Benito Juárez became governor in the late 1840s, there was renewed effort to enact some sort of land reform. Juárez issued two significant land laws during his governorship—the Reglamento para la Administración, Inversión, y Seguridad de los Bienes Municipales (1849) and the "Decreto para que se averigüe cuales son los terrenos baldíos del estado" (1852).[77] The 1849 Reglamento stipulated that all village property should be sold or rented through public auctions, or *subastas públicas,* to the highest bidder. While details regarding these auctions were sparse, they were supposed to include all lands, *ranchos*, waters, forests, and homes that could be considered corporate property and would be supervised by a municipal commission. Juárez issued another decree in August 1852 that aimed to identify *terrenos baldíos* in the state through a process of visits and land demarcations that harkened back to the 1830s. Governors of each department were ordered to appoint individuals to complete detailed land surveys, and there was legal process through which villages and individuals could claim possession of a certain territory. Both of these proposals—the Reglamento of 1849 and the Decreto of 1852—did not lead to any significant change in land tenure, as they were largely ignored by local officials. As we will see in the following chapter,

[76] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1832*, 24-25.
[77] *Colección de leyes y decretos del estado*, 1: 672-674; 2: 56-58.

only federal legislation and new commercial opportunities in the second half of the century would usher in any real change.

In spite of failed efforts to reform village land tenure, the government did try to stimulate agriculture through various other means. Products such as silk, cacao, vanilla, coffee, and indigo were all heavily discussed in government documentation, and reports filtered in from around the state regarding experimentation with these different crops and the various advantages and disadvantages of pursuing their cultivation. Each of these products was described as the "next big thing," a fresh start after years of declining cochineal income and rising debt. One product in particular that drew the attention of both the state and federal government was the cultivation of silk worms (sericulture), largely due to its similarities to cochineal production.[78] Oaxacan officials were instructed to send samples of mulberry trees and silk worms to Mexico City, and the federal government subsequently deemed these products some of the best in Mexico. In 1831, two young boys from Oaxaca, one from the department of Huajuapan and the other from Teposcolula, were sent to Coyoacán (Mexico City) to receive extensive training on sericulture and silk spinning.[79] A year later, the governor of Oaxaca decided to construct two new schools on sericulture in the departments of Huajuapan and Teposcolula, which would eventually be run by the two boys once they returned.[80] The governor also received samples of silkworms from the two departments and distributed them across the state in order to stimulate the industry.[81]

Two other crops that gained notoriety during these years were indigo and cacao—both of which had interesting connections to the cochineal trade. Indigo was another type of natural dye,

[78] Female silk moths would lay 300-500 eggs on the leaves of mulberry trees, and these larvae eventually spun cocoons that yielded several hundred meters of silk.
[79] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1831*, 18-19.
[80] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1832*, 26-27.
[81] Ibid.

found in the flowering plant *Indigofera suffruticosa*, which produced a deep blue color once it was processed. Indigo was cultivated in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (the southeastern portion of the state) and then transported to the city of Oaxaca, where it was assessed the alcabala and moved to Puebla, Mexico City, and Veracruz.[82] In 1862, Governor Ramón Cajiga included indigo in the same tax legislation as cochineal, charging a duty of 4.5 centavos per pound as it was exported from the state.[83] As cochineal shipments were leaving the state, regulators noted that one of the main ingredients used to adulterate cochineal was cacao. While cacao was imported from South America via Huatulco, there were occasional efforts to initiate cultivation of the cacao tree within the state. In 1832, a judge of first instance from the district of Yautepec began communicating with the state government on behalf of a small group of villages who wanted to begin cultivating cacao trees.[84] The judge explained that the villagers were seeking a new source of income after years of declining cochineal prices, and they were hoping the state could withhold the *contribución personal*, or head tax, for several years as they began their new venture. It is unclear whether anything materialized from these negotiations, but this was likely a small side project designed to produce one of the most common adulterants of cochineal during this time.

Finally, it is worth briefly noting the initial emergence of coffee cultivation during these years (especially considering the significance it held towards the end of the century). As early as 1831, the governor of Oaxaca noted that coffee was being cultivated in the districts of Jamiltepec and Villa Alta.[85] He explained that cultivation methods were still rudimentary, but that coffee,

[82] See alcabala records in AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 62, exp. 6; leg. 64, exp. 2.
[83] *Colección de leyes y decretos del estado libre de Oaxaca*, 3: 509.
[84] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1832*, 30.
[85] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1831*, 19.

compared to cochineal, seemed to have very few pests or limiting factors, except perhaps for dryness. In 1852, Benito Juárez mentioned in a yearly report that coffee was being cultivated in various villages in the district of Villa Alta (near his home town of Guelatao) but that it was still not being exported from the state.[86] In 1854, a parish priest named José María Cortés maintained several coffee bushes in a small orchard next to his home in the town of San Agustín Loxicha, located in the district of Pochutla.[87] We do not have a great deal of information on this venture, but it was highlighted in Matías Romero's *El estado de Oaxaca* (published in 1886) as a foundational moment for coffee cultivation in Oaxaca and later picked up by twentieth-century historians of Oaxaca, including Basilio Rojas.[88]

El Registro de Grana (1866)

While the state government encouraged the development of various agricultural products, it was also considering last-ditch efforts to save the dying cochineal industry. During the initial years after independence, these efforts consisted of simple tax cuts or trading restrictions.[89] However, the most significant moment of investment came in 1866, when Porfirio Díaz, the general who had recently gained control over Oaxaca from the French, decided to construct a new cochineal registry in the capital of Oaxaca.[90] The primary goal of this registry was to inspect all the cochineal shipments arriving in Oaxaca before they were sent to Veracruz for export.[91] Díaz believed that part of the reason why Oaxaca's cochineal economy was suffering was the

[86] *Exposición…el 2 de julio de 1852*, 15.
[87] Romero, *El estado de Oaxaca*, 122.
[88] Basilio Rojas, *El café: Historia sucinta de la deliciosa rubiácea* (México: 1964), 47. Further research must be done to determine how truly significant this venture was.
[89] For a summary of these initiatives, see Arrioja, "El 'cultivo de grana'," 266.
[90] *Colección de leyes, decretos y circulares*, 4: 167-170.
[91] This type of registry had already existed in Oaxaca since the colonial period but seemed to have disintegrated during the early national period. For a brief discussion of the institution, see Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets*, 272n35.

quality of cochineal had begun to decline in the last several years, particularly due to adulteration through foreign substances.[92] The new cochineal registry had an annual budget of $2,500. This budget included the salaries of four main employees—a head administrator ($800), two inspectors ($500 each), and a building manager ($100)—as well as the rental of the building ($400) and other miscellaneous costs ($200). While none of the registry's employees was allowed to be active merchants in the trade, Díaz appointed a committee of three cochineal merchants to supervise the registry on an annual basis. Over the next several years, this registry took on the responsibility of overseeing all the cochineal being produced in Oaxaca and charging a small registration tax of 12.5 centavos per arroba.

As the part of the registry's mission, annual records were kept of the different merchants involved in the trade and how much cochineal each was being inspected each year (at least up until 1880, the last year any data was published from this institution).[93] In Table 3.3, I have presented the data for fiscal year 1868-1869. Over the course of this year, the registry recorded a total of 492,250 pounds of cochineal, valued at roughly $246,125. This amount of cochineal was fairly similar to that of 1830 (see p. 11), but the value of the product had fallen considerably—by roughly 60%. In terms of the merchants involved in the trade, there was a great deal of turnover from earlier in the century. Hardly any of the merchants active in 1830 were still active in 1868, although certain families were still present (e.g., Quijano and Hernández). The industry also become much more concentrated—five merchants now controlled 75% of the market, while 46

[92] This was not the main reason behind the decline of the industry. No evidence suggests that cochineal produced in either Guatemala or the Canary Islands was superior to that produced in Oaxaca. Nonetheless, adulteration had been a significant problem since the colonial period, particularly through substances such as chalk, powdered clay, flour, sand, and even cacao.

[93] *Cuarta memoria presentada por el poder ejecutivo del estado libre y soberano de Oaxaca al legislativo del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1880), no. 23.

merchants controlled the other 25%. The most prominent merchants were Quijano and Company (20%), Maqueo y Hermanos (19%), Allende y Sobrino (14%), Guillermo Duncan (12%), and Juan S. Trápaga (10%).

Table 3.3: Cochineal Merchants, 1868-1869

Merchant	Cochineal (pounds)	% of Market	Total Value (pesos)[a]
Quijano and Co.	97,100	20%	48,550
Maqueo y Hermanos	95,600	19%	47,800
Allende y Sobrino	58,600	14%	29,300
Guillermo Duncan	57,400	12%	28,700
Juan S. Trápaga	51,400	10%	25,700
Díaz y García	18,800	4%	9,400
Eustaquio Irigoyen	18,000	4%	9,000
Joaquín Cajiga	16,000	3%	8,000
Luis Varela	12,400	3%	6,200
Eduardo Herrera	6,600	1%	3,300
Anacleto Lastra	6,000	1%	3,000
José Zorrilla	5,600	1%	2,800
Luis García	4,200	1%	2,100
Anacleto Milicua	3,400	1%	1,700
Esteban Chapital	3,200	1%	1,600
Manuel Arenas	2,800	1%	1,400
Antonio Larrañaga	2,600	1%	1,300
34+ merchants			
Total	**492,250**		**246,125**

Source: *Memoria que el ejecutivo del estado presenta al congreso del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1869), no. 29.

[a] I have estimated the price of cochineal at .5 pesos for this year.

Many of these merchants were foreign families that had arrived in Oaxaca during the initial decades after independence and slowly built up their investments in the region. The company Maqueo y Hermanos originated with Esteban Maqueo, a Milanese entrepreneur who arrived in Oaxaca in the 1830s and began purchasing large swaths of land, particularly in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.[94] Esteban Maqueo was eventually assassinated in the Tehuantepec region in 1865 during the War of the French Intervention, in large part due to land conflicts he had ignited with local residents. Another major foreign actor was Juan S. Trápaga, who had migrated from Spain (Santander) during the 1830s and eventually invited several family

[94] Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca*, 318-329.

members over.[95] José Zorrilla Trápaga, who owned 1% of the cochineal market in 1868, was the nephew of Juan S. Trápaga and had come over to Oaxaca in 1846 at the age of seventeen upon his uncle's invitation. This reflected a common pattern among many of these migrants, as one or two individuals initially settled in the region and eventually invited other family members over if economic prospects were good.

As the cochineal industry continued to decline during the 1870s, the market exhibited an increasing concentration among a small group of foreign actors and their immediate descendants. In 1875, Constantino Rickards, a British investor and mine operator, owned 19% of the market, Allende y Sobrino owned 17%, and Quijano and Company owned 10%.[96] These were the only individuals who could afford to hold a major stake in the industry as prices continued to decline. However, it is important to emphasize that these merchants only reflected the upper tier of the industry. Throughout the state, local merchants acted as important middlemen for these foreign merchants, trading with indigenous farmers and operating the cochineal trade on a more everyday basis.[97] In the district of Miahuatlán, for example, merchants such as Ramón Ruiz, Jesús Sánchez, and Juan María Mijangos were all active in the cochineal trade and had risen to prominent political positions in the district.[98] As we will see in the following chapter, they were also forced to reckon with the impending collapse of the industry and transition their business to coffee cultivation.

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[95] Ibid., 249.
[96] *Memoria que el Ejecutivo del Estado presenta al H. Congreso del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1875), no. 78.
[97] During the colonial period, merchants in the city of Oaxaca or Mexico City simply acted as *aviadores*, or financial backers, for local political officials that interacted with indigenous villages through the system of credit known as the repartimiento de mercancías (see Chapter 2). Something similar probably existed after independence.
[98] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 1, exp. 5, 1865. Ramón Ruiz held the position of alcalde municipal of San Andrés Miahuatlán in 1865 and eventually became jefe político during the 1870s (see Chapter 5).

Epilogue: The Invention of Synthetic Dyes, 1856-1878

As political officials, merchants, and indigenous farmers in Oaxaca struggled with the dwindling cochineal trade, events in Europe would finally force many of these groups to adopt a new form of livelihood. In 1856, William Henry Perkin, a young English chemist who was studying at the Royal College of Chemistry in London, discovered a process through which to create a synthetic purple dye out of aniline, a coal tar oil.[99] Perkin was building off of research conducted in the 1830s and 1840s that identified similarities between the oil that came from coal tar and oil that came from plants such as indigo. Perkin's ability to transform coal tar oil into a usable purple dye in 1856 was monumental. While European nations had previously relied upon animal- and plant-based dyes to color their textiles, Perkin's new dye—called mauve—could be quickly created in a lab from raw materials available on the continent. Many of the concerns typically associated with natural dyes—seasonal variations in supply, weather-related changes in color, contamination by unwanted matter—were now eliminated with synthetic ones. Over the next couple of years, Perkin worked to devise methods of fixing his synthetic dye to various fabrics, but the real race was now on to develop a synthetic dye that could match the prized crimson color cochineal offered.

In 1858, François Emmanuel Verguin, a chemist in Lyon, France, began trying to replicate Perkin's process and transform aniline oil into a usable red dye. Verguin mixed aniline with anhydrous stannic chloride, a metal chloride, which yielded a red colorant that he subsequently named fuchsine, after the fuchsia plant.[100] This process was patented and

[99] Anthony S. Travis, *The Rainbow Makers: The Origins of the Synthetic Dyestuffs Industry in Western Europe* (London: Associated University Presses, 1993), 31-64. For additional information on William Henry Perkin and the invention of mauve, see Simon Garfield, *Mauve: How One Man Invented a Color that Changed the World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001).
[100] Travis, *The Rainbow Makers*, 67-72.

manufactured in France in 1859, but researchers in England were able to form a similar red dye through mixing aniline with arsenic acid, producing a purplish red dye they called magenta in 1860.[101] During these same years, chemists back in France were able to manipulate a mixture of aniline and arsenic acid to begin producing various types of blue dyes, including Lyon blue in 1861 and diphenylamine blue in 1866.[102] Throughout the rest of the 1860s, new and advanced equipment was invented that could mass produce these dyes, including large, steam-powered reactors that replaced simple iron tanks for mixing various chemical agents.

In the late 1860s, German chemists Carl Graebe and Carl Liebermann finally developed a red dye called alizarin, which was a chemical replica of the active ingredient found in the madder plant (*Rubia*).[103] Madder and cochineal were both natural dyes that had been used in the European textile industry to color textiles red. However, madder was already grown on the continent and did not offer the same rich crimson color derived from the cochineal insect. Nonetheless, alizarin was the first artificial red dye with wide-ranging practical use and completely eliminated the use of the madder plant in the textile industry. In the following years, several other red dyes were invented in Germany, including eosine, roccelline, and finally Biebrich scarlet in 1878, which was almost identical to the red pigment produced by cochineal.[104] Thus, within a matter of decades, advances in chemistry made Oaxaca's rare insect no longer practical for use in the European textile industry.

Oaxaca's cochineal production and exports quickly reflected this stark reality. As Table 3.4 indicates, in 1878 Oaxaca's cochineal output was 404,166 pounds; by 1889, it was down to

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., 72-73. For a full chronology of dye inventions, see Franco Brunello, *The Art of Dyeing in the History of Mankind* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1973), 301.
[103] Travis, *The Rainbow Makers*, 163-203.
[104] Greenfield, *A Perfect Red*, 229-234.

3,667 pounds. Meanwhile, cochineal exports followed a similar path, falling from 481,892 pounds in 1878 to 0 by the late 1880s. Similar developments transpired in other major cochineal-producing areas—Guatemala's exports, which were well over one million pounds in the early 1870s, fell to a couple thousand pounds in 1884.[105] In the Spanish Canary Islands, the economy completely collapsed, resulting in widespread emigration and an eventual transition to the banana industry.[106] The invention of synthetic dyes represented the final nail in the coffin for Oaxaca's cochineal industry, an industry that had faced growing international competition and declining prices for several decades.

Table 3.4: Mexican Cochineal Exports and Oaxacan Cochineal Output, 1877-1889

Year	Mexico Cochineal Exports (pounds)	Oaxaca Cochineal Output (pounds)
1877	160,963	[a]
1878	481,892	404,166
1879	273,385	
1880	117,491	
1881	64,143	
1882	12,042	498,410
1883	29,176	494,665
1884	11,165	
1885	80,577	
1886	0	
1887	0	
1888		
1889		3,667

Source**:** *Estadísticas económicas del Porfiriato: Comercio exterior de México, 1877-1911* (México: El Colegio de México, 1960), 388; Leticia Reina and José Sánchez Cortés, eds., *Historia de la cuestión agraria mexicana: estado de Oaxaca*, vol. 1 (México: Juan Pablos Editor, 1988), 309; *Boletín Semestral de la Dirección General de Estadística de la República Mexicana, 1889* (México: Tipografía de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1892).

[a] Blank space denotes no information available.

[105] Ibid., 231.
[106] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4
Conventional Sales and Public Auctions: The Privatization of Communal Lands in Miahuatlán, Oaxaca, 1856-1890

Introduction: The Ley Lerdo of 1856

During the first half of the nineteenth century, politicians in the state of Oaxaca made several attempts to reform village corporate property, none of which was particularly successful. As early as March 1824, the governor decreed that in order to stimulate agriculture, the state should engage in some form of redistribution of property since many villages held too many lands (which remained vacant or uncultivated), while others lacked sufficient lands for their sustenance.[1] Seven years later, in 1831, the vice governor ordered the head of each department to conduct a topographic inspection of his region, determining which lands were being used and which ones remained uncultivated. After this process was complete, the state would design a *ley agraria,* which would privatize all vacant lands, distributing them to owners that could generate enormous public wealth.[2] In 1849, Governor Benito Juárez ordered the "sale or rental of all lands, *ranchos*, waters, forests, houses, and any of other property belonging to municipalities" be conducted through public auction and asked the officials of each department to engage in a "scrupulous investigation" of all property that belonged to each municipality.[3] By 1852, he conceded that these efforts had largely failed, noting in his yearly governor's report: "there is no

[1] *Colección de leyes y decretos del estado libre de Oaxaca,* vol. 1 (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado de Oaxaca, 1909), 303-304.
[2] *Exposición que el vice-gobernador en ejercicio del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo del Estado hizo en cumplimento del artículo 83 de la Constitución Particular del mismo, a la Cuarta Legislatura Constitucional al abrir sus primeras sesiones el 2 de julio de 1831* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno del Estado, 1831), 6, 15-16.
[3] *Colección de leyes*, 1: 672-674.

reason to persuade any conformity with these principles…villages oppose aggressively any land reform, even though it is beneficial for agriculture."[4]

These ill-fated attempts reflected a common pattern across early national Mexico as many states engaged in efforts to break apart village corporate landholding, none of which gained much traction. On June 25, 1856, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, finance minister of Mexico, published the Ley de Desamortización de Fincas Rústicas y Urbanas Propiedad de Corporaciones Civiles y Eclesiásticas, commonly known as the "Ley Lerdo," which prohibited civil and ecclesiastical corporations from holding landed property.[5] This law represented a legal watershed in Mexico's nineteenth-century history, although its effects would not be felt for several years due to political instability and the French occupation. Article 1 stated that civil and ecclesiastical corporations were required to adjudicate lands to their respective lessees, calculating their current rent as a 6% *rédito*, or interest rate, on the total value of the property. This transaction was defined as a *censo redimible* (redeemable annuity), which essentially meant a mortgage but with no specific time frame for repayment.

Article 8 of the Ley Lerdo, however, exempted certain types of property from the privatization process, including the *ejidos* of the ayuntamientos. During this time, villages in Mexico held four different types of property—*tierras de común repartimiento* (usufruct parcels distributed among families for farming), *propios* (lands rented out by the community to generate municipal funds), *ejidos* (forest or pasture that could be used collectively by the community), and

[4] *Exposición que el gobernador del estado hace en cumplimiento del artículo 83 de la Constitución al soberano Congreso al abrir sus primeras sesiones ordinarias el día 2 de julio de 1852* (Oaxaca: Impreso por Ignacio Rincón, 1852), 10-11.
[5] For the full text of this law, see Luis G. Labastida, *Colección de leyes, decretos, reglamentos, circulares, órdenes, y acuerdos relativos a la desamortización de los bienes de las corporaciones civilies y religiosas y a la nacionalización de los que administran las últimas* (México: Tipografía de la Oficina Impresora de Estampillas, 1893), 3-6.

the *fundo legal* (homes and buildings at the center of the village). The exemption of the ejido was actually taken out of the law when it was incorporated into Article 27 of the 1857 Constitution just a year later, which generated a great deal of confusion in the years to come.

A little over a month after the Ley Lerdo was issued, the federal government published another law, the Reglamento of July 30, 1856, which added several new stipulations to the privatization process (many of which are crucial for the case study of Miahuatlán).[6] Article 1 of the Reglamento explicitly incorporated the tierras de común repartimiento into the disentailment process and stated that any rents paid in non-monetary forms (e.g., in goods or in labor) should also be calculated as a 6% rédito. However, the Reglamento also provided details regarding two additional types of procedures for privatizing property: public auctions (*almonedas públicas)* and conventional sales (*ventas convencionales*).[7] The Reglamento specified that bids for these public auctions should be a minimum of two-thirds of the value of the land (Article 20), with purchasers paying an eighth of the price up front. Moreover, there was a period of nine days in which to convene bidders, who would then participate in a series of three auctions over the course of a week (Article 21). The Reglamento also noted that any lessees could purchase their lands conventionally (Article 10), and that municipalities could also sell conventionally any lands that did not have a clear tenant (Article 11). As we will see, many municipalities in Oaxaca chose to participate in these conventional sales, although the terms of conventional sales often resembled those outlined in the Ley Lerdo.

[6] Ibid., 9-13.
[7] Article 5 of the Ley Lerdo stated that any lands currently not rented (or adjudicated within the time frame of three months) could be sold through public auction to the highest bidder.

In the state of Oaxaca, the first major privatization law passed after the Ley Lerdo (and the Reglamento of July 30) was the Reglamento of March 25, 1862.[8] This law did not dramatically alter the prescriptions put in place by the Ley Lerdo but did include a number of specific provisions that were adapted to the political and social organization of the state. While land adjudications and sales had moved at a slow place in the years following the Ley Lerdo, the 1862 Reglamento aimed to expedite the process, ordering the *jefes políticos* of each district to oversee *repartos* in consultation with the municipal president of each village. Article 2 explained that repartos should begin with the *cabecera*, or district seat, and proceed outward to surrounding villages. Article 6 echoed the same exemptions put in place by Article 8 of the Ley Lerdo—the ejido and *montes* of each village should not be subdivided, along with any private property that already existed. The Reglamento of 1862 also included a number of articles that aimed to promote an egalitarian distribution of land. Article 7 specified that repartos should be as inclusive as possible, including widows with children, while Article 8 declared that parcels of land distributed to each resident should not be worth more than 200 pesos.[9] Finally, the Reglamento also included a number of specific provisions on how to handle boundary disputes between villages, which were a constant source of conflict during these years.

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Ever since Andrés Molina Enríquez's deeply influential *Los grandes problemas nacionales,* published in 1909, numerous scholars, both in Mexico and the United States, have

[8] *Colección de leyes*, 3: 362-369.
[9] Historians have noted that an egalitarian distribution of land was a common feature of state legislation regarding land disentailment (even though the Ley Lerdo included no such prescriptions) and ultimately benefited certain families over others. See Emilio Kourí, "Sobre la propiedad communal de los pueblos. De la reforma a la revolución," *Historia Mexicana* 66, no. 4: 1949-1950

tried to understand the impact of these different property laws on the Mexican countryside.[10] According to Molina Enrqíuez's analysis at the time, these laws had a devasting impact on Mexico's rural indigenous communities since many of these communities were not sufficiently evolved to manage private property. The privatization process may have distributed small parcels of land to village residents, but they were unable to hold on to this property for very long, quickly selling it off to mestizo landholders. While steeped in a scientific racism that might seem deeply misguided today, Molina Enríquez's analysis greatly impacted Mexican policy makers at the time and shaped the type of post-revolutionary land reform that took place in the 1920s and 1930s.

During these years after the Revolution, a group of scholars in the United States, principal among them Frank Tannenbaum, offered a fairly similar account of the agrarian changes leading up to the Revolution of 1910.[11] While not relying as heavily or as explicitly on Molina's evolutionary classification of Indians (but still certainly influenced by it), they concluded that the land privatization policies of the 1850s led to a growing concentration of land among ranchos and haciendas, forcing many indigenous residents off their land and onto these estates as dependent laborers.

Beginning in the 1950s, a new generation of historians tackled some of these same questions regarding the economic and social changes that took place in the second half the nineteenth century. Daniel Cosío Villegas, Moisés González Navarro, and Jesús Silva Herzog

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[10] Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales* (Mexico City: Imprenta de A. Carranza e Hijos, 1909). For important interpretations of this text, see Emilio Kourí, "Interpreting the Expropriation of Indian Pueblo Lands in Porfirian Mexico: The Unexamined Legacies of Andrés Molina Enríquez," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (February 2002): 69-117; Emilio Kourí, ed., *En busca de Molina Enríquez: Cien años de Los grandes problemas nacionales* (Mexico: El Colegio de México and Centro Katz-The University of Chicago, 2009).

[11] Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929). See also George McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York: The American Geographical Society, 1923).

each published extensive works regarding the agrarian history of nineteenth-century Mexico.[12] However, these authors merely offered a more refined version of the same story—indigenous communities were, on the whole, opposed to privatization policies, and when they did occur, merely augmented the landholdings of those who were not a part of these communities. Even Moisés González Navarro's "Indio y propiedad en Oaxaca," which focused exclusively on the state of Oaxaca (where few ranchos or haciendas even existed at the time), did little more than summarize state legislation and offer vague statistics regarding land tenure. When it came to scholarship in the United States, historians such as John Womack and Alan Wells published compelling stories of large-scale commercial agriculture and land dispossession in Porfirian Mexico, including the cases of sugar in Morelos and henequen in the Yucatán.[13] Indeed, John Womack's text is still one of the best books we have on Zapatismo. But how applicable were these stories to other parts of the country?

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a group of historians, including Frank Schenk, Daniela Marino, and Emilio Kourí, published separate historiographical essays that each expressed a certain dissatisfaction with the current literature of land disentailment.[14] While the number of journal articles and monographs on the topic was growing, the field had yet to stray far from the compelling, but problematic, narrative set down by revolutionary-era historians.

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[12] Daniel Cosío Villegas, ed., *Historia moderna de México*, 10 vols. (Mexico City: Ed. Hermes, 1958-1972); Jesús Silva Herzog, *El agrarismo y la reforma agraria* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1959); Moisés González Navarro, "Indio y propiedad en Oaxaca," *Historia Mexicana* 8, no. 2 (1958): 175-191.

[13] John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968); Allen Wells, *Yucatán's Gilded Age: Hacienda, Henequen, and International Harvester, 1860-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

[14] Frank Schenk, "Muchas palabras, poca historia: una historiografía de la desamortización de las tierras comunales en México," *Cuadernos de Historia Latinoamericana (AHILA)* 7 (1999); Daniela Marino, "La desamortizacion de las tierras de los pueblos (centro de México, siglo XIX)," *América Latina en la Historia Económica. Boletín de fuentes* 16 (2001): 33-43; Kourí, "Interpretating the Expropriation of Indian Pueblo Lands." I have not been able to obtain Frank Schenk's article, so I am relying on others' interpretations of this piece.

Spurred by the conclusions of these authors, a revisionist scholarship has emerged over the past fifteen years that has significantly complicated our understanding of how land tenure changed in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This scholarship has moved beyond traditional geographic centers, such as central Mexico, and incorporated new types of documentary evidence, especially from municipal archives. Emilio Kourí, Edgar Mendoza, and Fernando Pérez Montesinos have each pointed to the importance of an indigenous agrarian middle class (in places such as northern Veracruz, the Mixteca of Oaxaca, and the Meseta Purépecha in Michoacán) that engaged in land repartition as a way of consolidating and expanding its landholdings, often at the expense of other indigenous farmers.[15] Meanwhile, in a place like Chiapas, Casey Lurtz and Justus Fenner have suggested that both land colonization companies and individual coffee entrepreneurs operated in frontier areas of the state, avoiding significant conflicts with existing dwellers. Even in these unchartered areas, land was often acquired by local residents, not foreign actors, and accumulated on a much smaller scale than was previously thought.[16]

In this chapter I present my own contribution to this scholarship, examining the impact of land disentailment legislation—both federal and state—on communal lands in the district of Miahuatlán, Oaxaca, between 1856 and 1890. Over the course of three decades, villages in Miahuatlán sold nearly 100,000 hectares of land, or 25% of the total area of the district, to

[15] Emilio Kourí, *A Pueblo Divided: Business, Property, and Community in Papantla, Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); J. Édgar Mendoza García, *Municipios, cofradías y tierras comunales: Los pueblos chocholtecos de Oaxaca en el siglo XIX* (México D.F.: UBAJO, CIESAS, and Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2011); Fernando Pérez Montesinos, "Poised to Break: Liberalism, Land Reform, and Communites in the Purépecha Highlands of Michoacán, Mexico, 1800-1915," (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2014).
[16] Casey Lurtz, *From the Grounds Up; Building an Export Economy in Southern Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019); Justus Fenner *La llegada al Sur: La controvertida historia de los deslindes de terrenos baldíos en Chiapas, en su contexto internacional y nacional, 1881-1917* (México: UNAM, 2012). I should note here that the privatization of communal lands and colonization of *terrenos baldíos* were two distinct processes, which are easily conflated.

various individuals and corporations, for a total value of $40,000.[17] This privatization process occurred in two distinct stages (which represent the first two sections of this chapter). During the first stage (1856-1874), the wealthy elite of San Andrés Miahuatlán (the district seat) purchased their homes and ranchos, worth a total of $24,000. These transactions were simple adjudications to their respective owners, although towards the end of the period we begin to see the use of public auctions for individuals seeking additional plots of land. During the second stage (1874-1890), a local commercial elite, mainly white and mestizo, began purchasing lands for coffee cultivation in two specific villages—Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo. These lands were purchased through public auctions and conventional sales and consisted mostly of village propios and ejidos (lands traditionally rented or used for public purposes, such as pasturelands or forests). In total, 35 properties were sold as part of this market, worth about $12,000. Many of these properties developed into significant coffee fincas in the region, some with at least 100,000 coffee trees. In the third and final section of this chapter, I examine the resale of many of these properties to a national and foreign elite throughout the 1880s, as many local landowners sold their growing coffee operations to others for a considerable profit.

The story I have uncovered in Miahuatlán resembles fairly closely what Edgar Mendoza found in his 1998 study of land disentailment in the district of Cuicatlán in the Cañada region of Oaxaca.[18] Between 1889 and 1900, five villages in Cuicatlán sold a total of 120,000 hectares, or about 50% of the territory of the district.[19] A combination of factors, including a new property

[17] 100,000 hectares is a rough estimate since notarial records from this time do not include the hectarage of land sold. However, I have calculated this number based on the sales I do have information for as well as additional primary and secondary sources.
[18] Edgar Mendoza, "Privatización de la propiedad communal y crecimiento agrícola en la región de la Cañada. El distrito político de Cuicatlán, 1890-1910," in *La desamortización civil en Oaxaca*, ed. Carlos Sánchez Silva (Oaxaca: UABJO, 2007). I have also relied on his unpublished master's thesis, "Desamortización comunal y expansion agrícola en el distrito de Cuicatlán, Oaxaca, 1856-1910," (MA Thesis, Instituto Mora, 1998).
[19] Ibid., 114-115.

law in 1890, the construction of a railroad, and the development of a coffee industry, led to a mass sale of village propios and ejidos to a local commercial elite and several state bureaucrats.

The cases of Cuicatlán and Miahuatlán, however, reflect a process of economic growth and land accumulation that stands at odds with traditional narratives of Porfirian Mexico. As my chapter shows, most of the conflicts that emerged in Miahuatlán were not over land but rather the payment of yearly dues, i.e., the réditos of 6% owed each year on properties sold. The tierras de común repartimiento, or small usufruct parcels cultivated by village residents, were never threatened by this boom in coffee production, and municipalities stood to gain enormously from selling other plots of land (the propios and ejidos) to various entrepreneurs. These were lands that, historically, had rarely been used in the region due to the small-scale, highly intensive cochineal economy but now became increasingly valuable as coffee replaced this dying local economy.

1856-1874: Limited Land Sales in San Andrés Miahuatlán

According to Articles 9 and 10 of the Ley Lerdo, landholding corporations in Mexico had approximately three months to complete the necessary adjudications and sales of their entailed property. Article 10 specified that if these adjudications were not completed within the stipulated time frame, tenants could lose their right to the property in question, allowing any sublessee or other individual to present a valid claim to land. As a final recourse, if no one came forward, the land could be auctioned off to the highest bidder.[20] Scholars have agreed that in the state of Oaxaca, as well as in other parts of Mexico, land disentailment moved at a much slower pace.[21]

[20] Labastida, *Colección de leyes*, 4.
[21] Antonio Escobar Ohmstede, Romana Falcón, and Martín Sánchez Rodríguez, "Introducción," in *La desamortización civil desde perspectivas plurales*, eds. Antonio Escobar Ohmstede, Romana Falcón, and Martín Sánchez Rodríguez (Ciudad de México: El Colegio de México, 2017), 28. As these authors point out, Oaxaca was initially viewed as an exception to the rule that the Ley Lerdo was implemented slowly across the countryside.

After all, there were very few incentives for any of the parties involved to engage in these transactions, in spite of the harsh terms put forward by the Ley Lerdo.

However, in the district of Miahuatlán, an initial set of sales emerged after the promulgation of the Ley Lerdo that is worth considering. Between August 27 and October 27, 1856, nine properties were adjudicated in the district, many of which were located in the cabecera of San Andrés Miahuatlán. These properties included the larger landholdings of wealthy elite, denoted as *sitios* or *ranchos*, as well as a few *molinos*, or mills, located in smaller villages. These sales totaled approximately $14,216 in value and included the corresponding rédito of 6% as well as the *alcabala*, or sales tax, of 5%.[22] As Table 4.1 indicates, the most valuable property sold during this time was the rancho of Xitlapehua in San Andrés Miahuatlán for $5000, while the least valuable was a molino in the village of San Andrés Mixtepec for $233.

Table 4.1: Properties Privatized in the District of Miahuatlán, 1856-1874

Date	Name	Purchaser	Price (pesos)	Rédito (pesos)	Village	Size (hectares)	Type of Sale
1856							
Aug 27	(casa de comercio)	Francisco Vera	300	30	Miahuatlán	[a]	
Sep 24	Guelaviguina	Hilario Jarquín	1416	85	San Ildefonso Amatlán		
Sep 24	(molino)	Hipólito Cariano López	324		San Agustín Mixtepec		
Sep 25	Guixe	José María García	2500	150	Miahuatlán		
Sep 25	Cañada del Ramón	Juan María Mijangos	200	12	Miahuatlán		
Sep 25	Xitlapehua	Bernardino Ruiz	5000	300	Miahuatlán		
Sep 25	Velató	Eugenio Pacheco	3283	197	Miahuatlán		

However, local case studies have proven this to be largely incorrect. See Escobar Ohmstede, "La desamortización civil en los Valles Centrales de Oaxaca en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, 1856-1905: ¿simulación o realidad?" in ibid.; Mendoza, *Municipios, tierras comunales, y cofradías*; Mendoza, "Privatización de la propiedad."

[22] For a summary of these nine transactions, see AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 4, exp. 21: "El C. Luis Ograrrio del juzgado de primera instancia de Miahuatlán, presenta relación de adjudicaciones hechas por 23 personas del 27 de agosto de 1856 a 27 de octubre de 1856, a favor del comun de la cabecera y otras poblaciones de Oaxaca," 1866.

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Sep 29	(molino)	Tomas Pérez	233	14	San Andrés Mixtepec		
Oct 27	Santa Isabel Loguene	Manuel María Maya	960		San Vicente Coatlán		
1857-1863							
	Lachidoblas	Bernardino Ruiz	100	6	San Ildefonso Amatlán		
	La Pila	Eucebio Jarquín	866.65	52	Miahuatlán		
	El Rosario	Francisco Ruiz	683.33	41	Miahuatlán		
	Los Dolores	Basilio Rojas	442	26.50	Miahuatlán		
	(casa)	Vicente Ruiz	2125	127.50	Miahuatlán		
	(casa y sitio)	Basilio Rojas	1000	60	Miahuatlán		
	(casa y sitio)	Mariano Ruiz	1000	60	Miahuatlán		
	Hacienda de Monjas		833	50	Miahuatlán		
	(varios terrenos)		1425	85.50	Miahuatlán		
	(2 molinos)		483	29	Santa María Ozolotepec		
	(molino)		383	23	San Mateo Río Hondo		
	(molino)		283	17	Santo Domingo Amatlán		
1869-1872							
1869	Lachicná	Nicolás Arrona	74.66	4.50	San Mateo Río Hondo	800	almoneda pública
1870	Llano del Pochotle	Ynocencio Burgoa	31.07	1.86	Miahuatlán	4.5	almoneda pública
1870	Pochotle	José María Valladores	22.97	1.37	Miahuatlán	3.5	almoneda pública
1870	Pochotle	Juan María Mijangos	40	2	Miahuatlán	10	almoneda pública
1872	Pochotle	Cesáreo Pérez	54.60	3.27	Miahuatlán	6.25	almoneda pública

Source: AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 4,9; AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1393-1395.

[a] Blank space denotes no information available.

The three major agricultural sites adjudicated as part of this process were the ranchos of Guixe, Xitlapehua, and Velató (worth a total of $10,783). These landholding communities had emerged during the colonial period, as groups of villagers migrated away from San Andrés Miahuatlán to form their own separate enterprises devoted to agriculture and husbandry. Census records from 1854 (as summarized in Table 4.2) provide further insight into the basic

demographics of these communities. Each rancho had between 50 to 100 male residents, most of whom were married and between the ages of 16 and 29. Women and children were not included in these figures, so each rancho likely had several hundred residents. Male workers included a mix of *labradores* and *jornaleros*. The title of labrador during this time implied some degree of land ownership, in this case likely tenant farmers, while jornaleros were day laborers of various sorts, particularly farmhands.[23] The balance between labradores and jornaleros in each of these sites was slightly different: the rancho of Velató had 58 labradores and 0 jornaleros, the rancho of Xitlapehua had 39 labradores and 43 jornaleros, and the rancho of Guixe had 13 labradores and 30 jornaleros. These demographics are useful to compare to the village of San Andrés Miahuatlán, where occupations were much more diverse and many more single males resided. These ranchos were clearly more settled and agrarian communities, devoted exclusively to cattle raising or farming.

Table 4.2: Haciendas and Ranchos in San Andrés Miahuatlán, 1854

	Males 16-60	Labradores	Jornaleros	Other Profession	Single	Married	Viudo	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
San Andrés Miahuatlán	701	290	237	174	174	507	20	337	183	92	89
Hacienda de Monjas	330	171	148	0	39	281	10	165	78	39	48
Rancho de Guixe	43	13	30	0	6	37	0	20	14	3	6
Rancho de Velató	58	58	0	0	13	43	2	30	13	9	6
Rancho de Xitlapehua	85	39	43	0	1	83	1	41	21	15	8

Source: AGEO, Censos y Padrones, Miahuatlán, leg. 2.

Although it is difficult to trace how the privatization process affected the management of these properties, in the years following the Ley Lerdo many of these ranchos were submitted to

[23] For a similar analysis of census figures and the labrador/jornalero distinction, see Kourí, *A Pueblo Divided*, 54-55, 185.

an array of new fiscal measures that generated substantial controversy. On November 12, 1858, only two years after the Ley Lerdo was issued, the government of Oaxaca decreed a temporary tax on all disentailed properties.[24] The government was requiring each landowner to pay a year's worth of réditos over the course of four monthly installments, beginning with the date of the decree. In response to this new tax burden, the owner of the rancho of Guixe, José María García (who was due to pay another $150 in tax), pled his case to authorities, claiming he had paid all necessary réditos up until that point but also aligning himself with larger political currents of the time period.[25] José María García pledged his allegiance to the liberal Plan de Ayutla of 1854 while also describing persecution by the former conservative governor of Oaxaca, Ignacio Martínez Pinillos.[26] In the end, several wealthy individuals residing in Miahuatlán, including Bernardino Ruiz and Ramón Ruiz, came to the support of José Maria Garcia, allowing him to avoid the new tax burden. However, this episode reflected the new types of fiscal conflicts that would emerge after the Ley Lerdo, in which the state tried to take advantage of an array of recently privatized properties and the revenues they generated.

Between 1857 and 1863, land disentailment in the district of Miahuatlán followed a fairly similar pattern as in 1856—a concentration of sales in San Andrés Miahuatlán with a handful of sales in other smaller villages in the district. As Table 4.1 indicates, the houses of prominent individuals in San Andrés Miahuatlán, including Vicente Ruiz, Mariano Ruiz, and Basilio Rojas, were all sold, as well as part of the Hacienda de Monjas, owned by Bernardino Ruiz. The Hacienda de Monjas was the largest private landholding in the district at this time, consisting of

[24] *Colección de leyes*, 2: 548-551.
[25] AGEO Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 27, exp. 7, 1858.
[26] Ignacio Martínez Pinillos infamously abandoned the liberal governor Ignacio Mejía in January 1853, choosing to join a rebellion in the Isthmus in support of Santa Ana and the Plan de Jalisco. He later served as governor of Oaxaca from February 1853 to August 1855.

over 300 male laborers and their families. Beyond the cabecera, however, privatizations remained fairly sparse, with only two molinos sold in the village of Santa María Ozolotepec, another in San Mateo Río Hondo, and one more in Santo Domingo Amatlán. According to budget records from 1864, the yearly rents from these properties became an important source of revenue for municipalities.[27] San Andrés Miahuatlán had a yearly revenue of $1682 from its various disentailed properties, which served to pay the salaries of various officials and funded jails, schools, and hospitals in the community. Other villages in the district had revenues no greater than $200, receiving money from one or two disentailed properties but instead relying on an array of traditional taxes and sources of tribute.

Although no villages in Miahuatlán engaged in full-blown *repartos de tierras* during these initial years after the Ley Lerdo, several villages in neighboring districts did begin to distribute large swaths of land to their residents, igniting land conflicts with several haciendas in the district of Miahuatlán. One notable case occurred in February 1857, when the village of San Juan Coatecas Altas (located in the neighboring district of Ejutla) distributed nearly 250 hectares of land to 90 of its residents, territory that was valued at 960 pesos with a yearly rédito of $57.50.[28] Municipal officials in San Juan Coatecas Altas argued they had closely followed the regulations of Articles 1 and 2 of the Reglamento of July 30, 1856, which called for estimating the monetary value of rents that had traditionally been paid either in kind or in personal service. They were distributing lands that had traditionally been tierras de común repartimiento, with each individual receiving an equal portion of land of 10 and a half *almudes*, or a couple

[27] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 19, exp. 13, 1863.
[28] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 19, exp. 4: "Anastacio Ortiz dueño de la Hacienda de S. Nicolas interpone recurso de nulidad de adjudicación a varios vecinos," 1857.

hectares.[29] As it turns out, this territory had long been contested with the Haciendas of San Nicolás and San Guillermo in Miahuatlán. The owners of these two haciendas, the brothers Anastacio and Toribio Ortiz, disputed the privatization process, particularly the manner in which the village of Coatecas Altas was appraising and demarcating its territory.[30] While there is not enough room in this section to cover the extensive details of this conflict (which are described in a 200-page long report that includes land titles from the early 1700s), it is important to emphasize that repartos were initiated precisely in these types of situations, when there was an ongoing conflict and privatization became a crucial legal tool to acquire or defend land that was currently under threat.[31]

Towards the end of the 1860s, a new wave of privatizations developed in the district of Miahuatlán, centered on frontier areas that could be used for new agricultural endeavors. These acquisitions—summarized at the end of Table 4.1—included the use of *almonedas públicas*, or public auctions. Public auctions were an important part of both the Ley Lerdo and the Reglamento of July 30, designed to be used in cases where lands either did not have a clear tenant or there were multiple conflicting claims. The Reglamento of July 30 outlined specific procedures for these auctions, including the time allotted to accept bids (nine days), how the auction should be publicized (through *periódicos oficiales*), how many rounds of bidding should take place (three rounds), and the minimum amount of money accepted as a bid (two-thirds of the appraised value).[32] Of course, municipal officials did not always follow these procedures, and

[29] An almud was a unit of volume equal to 4.625 liters and correlated roughly to .25 hectares.
[30] During the 1830s and 1840s, tenant farmers from these two haciendas and villagers from Coatecas Altas had engaged in numerous conflicts, at times violent, over use rights in the disputed territory.
[31] Edgar Mendoza has found many examples of this in the Mixteca. In 1856, the village of Tepelmeme sought to privatize a territory worth $6,124 on its northern border with the village of Tetitlán. These two villages had been in conflict over the territory since 1838. For this and other cases, see Mendoza, *Municipios, cofradías, y tierras comunales*, 341-345.
[32] Labastida, *Colección de leyes*, 12.

these procedures also evolved over time, due to legal changes and the everyday realities of the land market. In the case of Miahuatlán, one of the first auctions that took place was in the village of San Mateo Río Hondo in 1869, when Nicolás Arrona purchased a territory called Lachicná for $74.66.[33] Lachicná was 800 hectares in size and appraised by two different appraisers, one designated by Arrona and the other by the municipality. They both agreed that the land was worth around $112, and since no other bidders emerged for the sale, Lachicná was sold to Arrona at the first auction that took place on July 19, for exactly two-thirds of the appraised value.

In the years following this sale, public auctions in Miahuatlán became much more competitive, particularly for a desirable area of land in San Andrés Miahuatlán known as the Llano del Pochotle. This fertile plain, located outside of the cabecera, was seen as favorable for different agricultural purposes, leading to several auctions involving multiple bidders (as well as private sales between individuals, known as *ventas reales*). In February 1870, Ynocencio Burgoa and Margarito García engaged in a bidding war over a 4.5-hectare piece of land in Pochotle, which was appraised for 27 pesos. The bidding began at $20.25 and slowly rose to a final offer of $35.50, made by Ynocencio Burgoa (an eighth of the price was then deducted for a final sale of $31.07).[34] In October 1872, another bidding war emerged over a slightly larger piece of land, 25 almudes or 6 hectares, between three different individuals: Cesáreo Pérez, Jesús Sánchez, and Mateo Mijangos. Initially appraised at $43.75, this piece of land was slowly bid up to a final price of $62.40, offered by Cesáreo Pérez.[35] These plots of land, while certainly not large enough for a major agricultural enterprise, were still bigger than most parcels of land distributed amongst

[33] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1393:186-197.
[34] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1394: 21-29. The reduction of an eighth of the price stems from Article 11 of the Ley Lerdo, which called for those purchasing lands in these auctions to pay an eighth of the price up front. See Labastida, *Colección de leyes*, 4.
[35] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1395: 60-69.

villagers in the region (the tierras de común repartimiento). Moreover, the rates used to appraise land in the Llano del Pochotle were much higher compared to other parts of the district. In San Mateo Río Hondo in 1869, Nicolás Arrona had purchased Lachicná at a rate of .14 pesos per hectare; in the Llano del Pochotle, land was being valued for as much as 6 pesos per hectare. These rates varied greatly in Miahuatlán up until 1890, when land values became much more standardized, ranging from .5 to 1 peso per hectare depending on the quality of land.

In the first two decades after the Ley Lerdo, a limited but growing land market had developed in the district of Miahuatlán, centered on the cabecera of San Andrés Miahuatlán. Due to a lack of economic opportunities in the region as well as ongoing political instability in the country as a whole, most municipal officials, investors, and family farmers in Miahuatlán were simply unwilling or uninterested in engaging in these complex transactions, in spite of the harsh mandates put forward by the Ley Lerdo. Land disentailment legislation was used either by large landholders to confirm their vast holdings or by villagers who were interested in protecting certain contested territories. Nonetheless, these social actors were slowly becoming aware of the necessary procedures for privatizing property, procedures that served as the foundation for important adjudications in the years to come. Beginning in 1874, a dynamic land market emerged in the southern portion of the district, heavily focused on two specific villages—Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo—and one specific product—coffee.

1874-1890: Conventional Sales in Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo

Over the course of the 1870s and 1880s, a vibrant coffee economy developed in the districts of Miahuatlán and Pochutla, profoundly shaping agriculture, commerce, and infrastructure in southern Oaxaca for years to come. This all began in May 1874, when a small group of merchants in Miahuatlán, led by Ramón Ruiz, decided to form a *socidedad agrícola*

devoted to coffee investment, called Ramón Ruiz y Compañía. This agricultural company rented a piece of land from the village of Santa María Ozolotepec for 12 pesos per year and established their first coffee finca called La Providencia. By 1880, La Providencia had 140,000 coffee trees and was in production with 26 other fincas in the region. By 1896, this number jumped to 46, and the state of Oaxaca was producing over 3 million pounds of coffee, comparable only to the states of Chiapas and Veracruz.[36] This industry blossomed on two *cerros*, or mountains, along the border of Miahuatlán and Pochutla, known as Cerro de la Pluma and Cerro del Espino. Cerro de la Pluma eventually became its own municipality in 1880, called Pluma Hidalgo, with several hundred residents.[37] As Matías Romero noted in the late 1870s, Cerro del Espino and Cerro de la Pluma held many conditions favorable for the cultivation of coffee—proximity to the ocean, sufficient humidity, plenty of rain, and limited wind.[38]

Cultivating coffee was not as labor-intensive as raising cochineal, but it did require several years of preparatory work and regular maintenance to ensure yearly harvests. The first steps involved clearing forests and vegetation along selected hillsides and constructing the necessary houses and buildings for managers, workers, and processing.[39] Coffee seeds were initially placed in raised seedbeds, or *almácigas*, for their first year of growth. The seedlings were placed fairly close to each other—often less than a foot apart—and were protected by local foliage from excessive sunshine or cold winds. After a year, the coffee plants were transplanted to their final site, placed several feet apart from each other. While coffee was grown under shade

[36] Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca*, 136-149.
[37] *Colección de leyes*, 10: 136-137.
[38] Romero, *El estado de Oaxaca*, 108-109.
[39]A nineteenth-century description of the cultivation process (from the state of Veracruz) can be found in "Consejos de un agricultor práctico: La siembra del café," *Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado Libre y Soberano de Oaxaca*, February 23, 1894. A more local but twentieth-century description can be found in Basilio Rojas, *El café: Historia sucinta de la deliciosa rubiácea* (México: 1964), 22-29.

in most parts of Mexico during this time, including Veracruz, Chiapas, and Colima, in Cerro de la Pluma shade was not as common or necessary due to the high levels of humidity.[40] After transplantation, coffee trees required several cleanings per year to remove surrounding weeds and protect the plant from pests. Red cherries would begin showing after three years, with the first harvest occurring in the fourth year. A healthy coffee tree could yield at least ten pounds of coffee cherries per year, which equaled about two pounds of coffee beans.

The processing of the coffee cherries was the next major step of the production process and involved quite a bit of equipment (processing was not always done on the finca, however). Coffee cherries were initially placed in tanks of water, allowing the ripe and dense cherries to fall to the bottom while unripe ones floated to the top.[41] The ripe cherries were then put through a pulper machine (*despulpadora*), which consisted of two wooden or copper cylinders that removed the pulp of the cherry without harming the bean or surrounding parchment. The beans were then washed again to remove any remaining pulp and placed on patios or mats to sun dry, sometimes under cover to protect from the rains. The drying process took five days in drier areas and up to fifteen days in more humid areas, such as Cerro de la Pluma.[42] The dried coffee beans were then placed through a huller machine (*descascaradora*) to remove the outer parchment and finally sorted either by hand or with a sorting machine (*separadora*).

While a handful of historians have traced in broad terms the rise of this industry in southern Oaxaca, none has examined in detail the land adjudications that took place, including

[40] "La sombra para el cafeto," *Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado Libre y Soberano de Oaxaca*, April 21, 1894.
[41] A local and nineteenth-century description of processing can be found in "Beneficio del café," *Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado Libre y Soberano de Oaxaca*, March 30, 1897.
[42] For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of different types of drying methods during this time, see "Desecación del café," *Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado Libre y Soberano de Oaxaca*, May 30, 1896.

the specific procedures and laws that were applied as well as the actual prices and rents involved in these transactions.[43] In Table 4.3, I have summarized 35 land transactions that took place in the district of Miahuatlán between the years of 1874 and 1890. These transactions include conventional sales (ventas convencionales), public auctions (almonedas públicas), rentals (*arrendamientos*), and donations (*donaciones*). These transactions took place between municipalities and individuals and do not include the eventual resale market that emerged between individuals (which is discussed in the following section). Moreover, this is not a comprehensive list of all the land privatizations that took place in Miahuatlán (which probably neared 100 or so) but rather a sampling of those that were clearly devoted to the prospect of coffee cultivation.

In total, approximately $12,000 worth of land was sold for this purpose, mostly in the villages of Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo (a few coffee fincas also emerged in the villages of Santo Domingo Coatlán and Xanica). The average price paid for a piece of land was between $200 and $400, with the corresponding rédito of 6% levied each year. Unfortunately, notarial records from this time period do not include specific information on the hectarage of land sold. The four public auctions that took place in 1883 do include land sizes (ranging from 4,000 to 22,000 hectares), but it is difficult to extrapolate too much from these purchases since land values (i.e., pesos per hectare) varied greatly in this region.[44] Most properties were likely smaller than these auctions, ranging from a couple hundred to a couple thousand hectares.

[43] Only two historians have really dealt with this industry in detail: Basilio Rojas (1964) and Francie Chassen-López (2004). Their accounts are cited throughout this chapter for context, but neither includes the use of notarial records or any other archival sources for land tenure.
[44] See p.8.

Table 4.3: Land Transactions in Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo, 1874-1890

Year	Name	Purchaser	Value (pesos)	Rédito (pesos)	Village	Size (hectares)	Type of Sale
1874	La Providencia	Ramón Ruiz y Cía.	(none)	12	Santa María Ozolotepec		arrendamiento
1876	La Concepción	Quijano y Cía	233	14	Santa María Ozolotepec		
	La Purísima		422		Santa María Ozolotepec		
1876	Regadío	Basilio Rojas	375	22.5	Santo Domingo Coatlán		
1877	La Asunción	Jesús Sánchez	150	9	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1877	La Luz	Espiridión Pérez	66.66	4	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1877	La Soledad	Jesús Rojas	433.33	26	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1877		Manuel López y J.S. Camacho	(none)	6	San Mateo Río Hondo		arrendamiento
1877	Santa Elena	Ramón Ruiz			Santa María Ozolotepec		arrendamiento
1877	La Guadalupe	Juan María Mijangos			Santa María Ozolotepec		arrendamiento
1878	El Carmen	Juan Francisco Mijangos	200	12	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1878		Cesáreo Pérez	66.68	4	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1878	El Porvenir	Pablo Martínez and F. García	250	15	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1878	La Esmeralda	Fidencio Mijangos	300	18	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1878	La Independencia	Jesús Rojas	250	15	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1878		Benito Mijangos	167	10.02	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1878	Nacimiento del río Coapinole	Benito Mijangos	333	19.98	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1879		Teófilo Díaz +2	175	10.50	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1880	La Sirena	Pedro and Teófilo Díaz	200	12	Xanica		venta convencional
1880	La Cabaña	Juliana Ruiz de Pérez	400	24	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1881	La Venta	Jesús Sánchez	425	25.50	Santa María Ozolotepec		venta convencional
1881	El Félix	Francisco Loaeza	200	12	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1881	Santa Rosa	José Santos Camacho	100	6	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1883	Lasensa	Jesús Sánchez	333	20	Santa María Ozolotepec		arrendamiento

Table 4.3 (Continued)

1883	Cerro de la Culebra	Ignacio Canseco + 2	1059	63.54	Santa María Ozolotepec	6,400	almoneda pública
1883	La Cieneguilla	Jesús Sánchez y Rafael Flores	900	54	Santa María Ozolotepec	5,307	almoneda pública
1883	Cerro de San Pedro	Alejo Pérez	300	18	Santa María Ozolotepec	4,800	almoneda pública
1883	Cerro de León	Remigio Ruiz +2	1750	105	Santa María Ozolotepec	22,400	almoneda pública
1885		Jesús Sánchez	100	6	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1885	Yerba Santa	Dionicio and Pablo Cruz	400	24	Santa María Ozolotepec		donación perfecta
1885	Santa Ana	Jesús Sánchez	200	12	San Mateo Río Hondo		
1886	El Refugio	Francisco Mijangos	250	15	Santa María Ozolotepec		
1887	Lachiní	Ramón Ruiz +2	1500	90	San Mateo Río Hondo		venta convencional
1887	Colón	Hipólito Hernández + 6	450	27	San Mateo Río Hondo	900	venta convencional
1889		Soc. Languer y Arrillaga	150		Santa María Ozolotepec		

Source: AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1397-1402; AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 19, 27.

Who were the different individuals and organizations that took part in this land market? For the most part, buyers were local commercial elites, many former merchants who were involved in the cochineal trade and now looking to invest in new agricultural endeavors. Ramón Ruiz and Company, which rented La Providencia in 1874, included the merchants Ramón Ruiz, Jesús Sánchez, Juan María Mijangos, Juan Francisco Mijangos, Alejo Pérez, and Eduardo Ramírez. Ramón Ruiz went on to purchase three more territories in Miahuatlán, worth a total of $2,283.[45] Jesús Sánchez also became a prominent figure in this land market, purchasing six territories worth $2,108, including the fincas of La Asunción and La Venta. The Mijangos

[45] This total does include the rental of Santa Elena, his largest coffee finca, which at some point was likely purchased.

family, which included Juan María Mijangos, Juan Francisco Mijangos, Benito Mijangos, and Felipa Garay de Mijangos, purchased a total of six properties, worth about $1,250.

Beyond these individuals and families, a few larger corporations also become involved in purchasing lands for coffee cultivation, although their role became more significant in later stages of the market (particularly in the resale market). Quijano y Compañía (Spanish), headed by Francisco Quijano and based in the capital of Oaxaca, purchased the finca of La Concepción in 1876 for $233 while the Sociedad Languer y Arrillaga, based in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, purchased a territory in 1889 for 150 pesos. Pablo Martínez, a Spanish lawyer, along with the jefe político of the district, Feliciano García, purchased a finca in 1878 called El Porvenir for $250.

The most common type of adjudication during this time was a conventional sale, which accounted for at least 19 of the 35 transactions that took place.[46] The Reglamento of July 30, 1856, introduced the different procedures for ventas convencionales in Articles 10, 11 and 12.[47] Article 10 noted that current lessees could renounce their right to adjudication, choosing to purchase their lands conventionally. Article 11 allowed civil and ecclesiastical corporations to sell conventionally any lands currently not rented while Article 12 allowed these corporations to sell conventionally any lands current lessees chose not to claim.

In the district of Miahuatlán, conventional sales took a few different forms, although certain basic features always stayed the same. Lands were purchased as a *censo redimible* (or redeemable annuity), with the new owner paying a yearly rédito, or interest rate, of 6% until the initial capital (or land value) was paid off. During the 1870s, the most common type of

[46] There are several transactions in Table 4.3 that I do not have precise information for, so the number of conventional sales was likely between 20-25.
[47] Labastida, *Colección de leyes*, 10-11.

conventional sale was a *censo reservativo redimible*, while in the 1880s the *censo consignativo redimible* became more common. These two types of censos both implied the transfer of property and a yearly payment until the capital was paid off. Moreover, while many of these conventional sales did not include term limits for when the new owner (or *censatario*) had to pay back the initial value of the land, beginning in the 1880s it became more and more common for these sales to include a period of 10 years.[48]

To understand exactly how these sales transpired and the different actors involved, I want to briefly explore a few notable examples. In 1880, Juliana Ruiz de Pérez, the wife of Alejo Pérez (a founding member of Ramón Ruiz and Company), purchased a territory in the village of Santa María Ozolotepec called La Cabaña for $400 (with a yearly rédito of 24 pesos).[49] Juliana Ruiz de Pérez was one of the few women who purchased land as part of this market. In the late 1890s, after her husband passed away, she owned and managed the Hacienda de San Nicolás, which was the second largest hacienda in this district and had close to 200 laborers and their families.[50] In May 1880, Juliana purchased La Cabaña, which she had been renting for about a year from Santa María Ozolotepec. La Cabaña was described as largely uncultivated at the time of purchase. Although the municipality owned most of the land, part of the territory also belonged to Manuel Santos Flores, a resident who chose to cede his portion for the sale. La Cabaña was in the heart of Cerro de la Pluma, bordering the finca of Santa Elena, owned by Ramón Ruiz, which at this point had well over 100,000 coffee trees.

[48] I have not uncovered exactly where this period of 10 years originates from. Neither the Ley Lerdo nor the Reglamento includes any mention of it, and it is also not a part of the Reglamento of 1862. In fact, I think this time frame originates from long-standing rental practices in the region, in which lands were often leased for 9 or 10 years.
[49] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 27, exp. 28, 1886; AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán) 1398: 59-62.
[50] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán leg. 27, exp. 39, 1899.

However, Juliana's purchase came at a particularly complicated moment, when Cerro de la Pluma was in the process of becoming its own municipality, called Pluma Hidalgo. By 1886, Rodrigo Martínez, the *síndico procurador* of Santa María Ozolotepec, was complaining that Pluma Hidalgo was now claiming ownership over La Cabaña, including any réditos owed. Although it is unclear how this disputed was resolved, La Cabaña developed into a significant coffee finca in the region, valued in 1896 at $3,786, nearly 10 times its original value, and still owned by Juliana Ruiz de Pérez.[51]

While La Cabaña was purchased as a redeemable annuity with no specific time frame for repayment, other sales included more specific requirements that generated substantial conflict. On January 24, 1880, Pedro Díaz, a resident of the rancho of Xitlapehua near the cabecera of San Andrés Miahuatlán, purchased a piece of land in the village of Xanica for 200 pesos.[52] Xanica was far from the traditional zone where most coffee fincas were being purchased at this time, substantially east of both Cerro de la Pluma and Cerro del Espino. According to Basilio Rojas's account of these years, Pedro Díaz was aware of the activities of Ramón Ruíz and others in Cerro de la Pluma but chose not to get involved, instead operating independently with his brother Teófilo Díaz.[53] In Xanica, Pedro Díaz began cultivating coffee on the hillside of a cerro named "La Sirena," renting the land in 1877 and eventually purchasing it outright in 1880. The purchase was a *venta a plazo*, so Díaz agreed to pay 12 pesos per year as a rédito and pay back the original price of 200 pesos within 10 years.

[51] Rojas, *El café*, 82-83.
[52] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 27, exp. 29, 1890.
[53] Rojas, *El café*, 64. According to Rojas's romantic and semi-literary account of this venture, Pedro Díaz lived his life by two popular phrases: "que no hay mancuerna que no se ahorque," and "que vale más andar solo que mal acompañado."

In 1890, at the end of this period of 10 years, tensions developed between Pedro Díaz and the village of Xanica over the exact terms of this agreement. Díaz was now offering to pay the municipality 320 pesos, which included the value of the land as well as the overdue réditos he had failed to pay over the course of the previous decade. Although it was not uncommon for landowners to fail to pay these yearly dues, in this particular instance the municipal president of Xanica rejected any claim Díaz had to land. According to Díaz, numerous residents from Xanica began invading his finca, destroying two houses, harassing his manager Justo Cortés and his family, and disrupting cultivation at a crucial moment of transplantation. Pedro Díaz ultimately retained the rights to his land when the case was presented before the district's judiciary, and six years later he was still operating his finca La Sirena, which now had over 20,000 coffee trees and was worth close to 3,000 pesos.[54]

In 1883, as the land market in Miahuatlán was beginning to heat up, several large-scale purchases took place in the district through public auction. Four public auctions occurred in 1883: Cerro de la Culebra (6,400 hectares) in September, La Cieneguilla (5,307 hectares) in September, Cerro de San Pedro (4,800 hectares) in December, and Cerro de León (22,400 hectares) in December.[55] In total, about 39,000 hectares were sold, valued at around $6,600 (over half of the total value of lands sold between 1874 and 1890). Compared to the conventional sales that took place during these years, these public auctions were much more complex and litigious, involving various legal and financial procedures that were not present in other sales. To begin with, three different individuals were charged with appraising the territory—one selected by the municipality, another by the buyer, and a third agreed upon between the parties in case of a

[54] Ibid., 82-83.
[55] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1399: 116-258.

disagreement.[56] This process was similar to appraisals conducted earlier in the district (see p.7), but was now a much more meticulous affair—Cerro de la Culebra, purchased by Ignacio Canseco y socios in September, was divided into nine different sections to arrive at a final value of 1800 pesos for 6,400 hectares. Moreover, each buyer was required to present a *fiador*, or guarantor, to assure the village of its yearly payments.[57] Jesús Sánchez served as both guarantor for Ignacio Canseco's purchase in September and a buyer of property later that month, purchasing La Cieneguilla along with Rafael Flores. Unlike previous public auctions in the district, these purchases did not involve multiple bidders—in each case, only one buyer participated in the auction proceedings, purchasing the territory for exactly two-thirds of the appraised value.

The lands purchased as part of these auctions were mostly frontier areas in these villages, with little existing agriculture or industry present in the area. They were speculative purchases, acquired during a boom in coffee cultivation and the potential for lucrative gains down the road. Interestingly, three out of the four contracts that were signed in 1883 were ultimately rescinded in the following years—Cerro de la Culebra in August 1888, Cerro de San Pedro in September 1889, and Cerro de León in November 1889.[58] Why exactly did these contracts end? It is hard to know the individual circumstances of each case, but the most likely reason was that buyers were simply unable to make much of what they acquired, choosing to return the lands to the village and avoid paying the dues owed each year. In the case of Cerro de León, by 1889 one of the three buyers, Rudecindo Zurita, had passed away, and his two co-owners, Remigio Ruiz and

[56] Article 20 of the Reglamento of July 30 outlined the process for selecting appraisers. See Labastida, *Colección de leyes*, 12.
[57] Article 17 of the Ley Lerdo required those purchasing lands in these auctions to offer a guarantor. Meanwhile, for lands adjudicated to current lessees, a guarantor was only required if lessees had previously done so. See ibid., 4-5.
[58] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1401: 237-240; 1402: 75-87, 117-122.

Nicolás Hernández, chose to terminate the contract. The only contract that lasted was the purchase of La Cieneguilla, completed by Jesús Sánchez and Rafael Flores. In 1885, Rafael Flores ceded his portion to Jesús Sánchez, who became the full owner of La Cieneguilla and continued paying the yearly réditos to the municipality. In 1893, after the Reglamento of 1890 and various changes to the land market in Miahuatlán, Santa María Ozolotepec reappraised La Cieneguilla for $2653.50, with an annual rédito of $159.18. In 1910, at the age of 64 years old and nearing his death bed, Jesús Sánchez finally paid off the full price of $2653.50.[59]

I have focused on conventional sales and public auctions, but there were a few other types of adjudications that deserve brief mention. Probably the most common form of acquiring territory, aside from privatization, was simply renting land. I have noted four rentals in Table 4.3, but the number was likely greater. Moreover, many lands that were purchased conventionally (which I have discussed in this section) were initially rented for a couple years. Perhaps the most interesting rental of these years was the finca La Providencia, which was rented by Ramón Ruiz and Company in 1874 for 12 pesos per year and never seems to have been purchased outright until 1890. By this point in time, Quijano y Compañía was now managing the coffee finca and sought to acquire the territory for a value of 200 pesos, with a yearly rédito of 12 pesos.[60] Quijano y Compañía argued that La Providencia had essentially been sold and alienated back in 1874 and the government should merely confirm its status. However, the municipality of Santa María Ozolotepec argued they had rented indefinitely (but not sold) the property and were now willing to negotiate a sale but for more money. In the end, the village sold La Providencia to

[59] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 20, exp. 3: "Adjudicación del sitio 'La Cieneguilla' a favor de Jesus S. Sanchez y Rafael Flores," 1893; exp 6: "Relativo a la adjudicación de un terreno a favor de Jesus Sanchez," 1910.
[60] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 19, exp. 26: "Relativo a la adjudicación de un terreno a favor de Francisco Quijano," 1890.

Francisco Quijano for 233 pesos and a yearly rédito of 14 pesos. This dispute revealed the confusion that could often arise between rentals and purchases since both could, *de facto*, function very similarly at this time.

Between 1874 and 1890, numerous properties were sold in the villages of Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo, constituting a significant change in land tenure in this part of the state. This vibrant land market had little to do with any new legislation but rather was the result of new business opportunities—especially coffee cultivation—and the potential for certain individuals to make a great deal of money, either through cultivation or simply speculation. Importantly, these land sales did not constitute a significant loss of land for the region's indigenous residents—most of the lands sold were either propios or ejidos, or lands that had traditionally been rented or used for public purposes anyway (especially forests) and could now be sold for substantial gain. Nonetheless, tensions did arise between new landowners and municipalities over the terms of these contracts, particularly the payment of yearly dues. After all, these contracts still lacked the necessary enforcement mechanisms since laws were weak and could easily be abused, manipulated, or simply evaded. In the following section, I briefly explore how these new landowners transformed the lands they acquired, including the process through which they sold these lands to others for a considerable profit.

1880-1890: A Growing Resale Market

Since coffee trees notoriously take several years to begin yielding any fruits (assuming everything is done correctly), a robust resale market was slow to develop in the district of Miahuatlán. According to available records, the first official sale of a coffee farm took place in 1880, when Manuel López sold his share of a coffee farm to his partner, José Santos Camacho,

for $250.[61] Manuel López and José Santos Camacho had jointly rented a piece of land in the village of San Mateo Río Hondo in 1877 for 6 pesos per year. Within 3 years, they had developed a coffee finca of over 10,000 coffee trees, with 3,000 trees failing for various reasons. The sale was a *venta real*, with José Santos Camacho taking on ownership of the finca while also assuming the obligation of paying the yearly rent of 6 pesos to the municipality of San Mateo Río Hondo.

Over the course of the following decade, at least 10 more of these sales took place in Miahuatlán and are summarized in Table 4.4 of this section. In total, approximately $72,180 worth of land was sold, nearly six times the amount initially sold by villages for coffee cultivation. Most of these sales were either between individuals or between individuals and *sociedades agrícolas*—associations devoted to coffee investment and other ventures, including Quijano and Company and Ibañez and Company. Some of the individuals discussed in the previous section were still active in this market. Jesús Sánchez purchased $27,000 worth of property, the most of any single individual or organization. Quijano and Company purchased nearly $22,500 of property while Manuel Ramírez Varela, a new player in this land market and a resident of Mexico City, purchased $7,000 worth. While individuals initially purchased lands in Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo for a couple hundred pesos, within five to ten years a well-functioning coffee finca could be worth thousands. These sales did not simply include the land itself but also an array of other movable and immovable property, including

[61] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1398: 14-16.

homes, animals, various tools (e.g., machetes, hoes, axes), and at least one pulper (*despulpadora*).[62]

Table 4.4: Properties Resold in Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo, 1880-1890

Year	Name	Seller	Purchaser	Original Price $	Resale Price $	Size (coffee trees)	Village
1880		Manuel López	J.S. Camacho		500[a]	10,000	San Mateo Río Hondo
1883	Los Reyes	Francisco Mijangos	Manuel R. Varela	500	5,500	40,000	Santa María Ozolotepec
1883	La Purísima y La Trinidad	Vicente Ruiz	Quijano y Cía.		13,000	115,000	San Mateo Río Hondo
1884	La Asunción	Jesús Sánchez	Quijano y Cía.	150	9,500	113,000	Santa María Ozolotepec
1884		Federico López	Severiana Velazquez	84	180	4,000	San Mateo Río Hondo
1885	El Rosario	J.S. Camacho	Jesús Sánchez	100	3,000	20,000	San Mateo Río Hondo
1886	La Venta	Jesús Sánchez	M. Bojorques + 2	425	2,000	25,000	Santa María Ozolotepec
1886	La Guadalupe	Felipa Mijangos	Antonino Rojas	216.50	7,000		Santa María Ozolotepec
1888	La Esmeralda y La Independencia	Ibañez y Cía.	Jesús Sánchez		24,000		San Mateo Río Hondo
1888	La Venta	M. Bojorques +2	Manuel R. Varela	2000	1,500	48,000	Santa María Ozolotepec
1890	La Luz	Espiridión Pérez	Agustín Aragón	66.66	6,000	22,000	Santa María Ozolotepec

Source: AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1398-1402.

[a] Manuel López sold his 50% share of the coffee finca for $250, so I have appraised the whole finca for $500.

In 1877, Espiridión Pérez purchased a territory in the village of Santa María Ozolotepec for only $66.66.[63] This was one of the smaller purchases that comprised the initial privatization process, with most lands selling for no less than 200 pesos. However, over the course of the next 13 years, Pérez developed a medium-sized coffee finca in the territory called La Luz, which had

[62] The most expansive sale I have uncovered included the following items: pulpers, sorter, fan, animals, machetes, hoes, axes, crowbars, bedrolls, tables, chairs, and a desk. See AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1401: 223-229.

[63] See Table 4.3.

around 22,000 coffee trees. In 1890, he chose to sell La Luz to Agustín Aragón and his wife Octaviana Bustamante for $6000, representing a nearly 1000% increase in value.[64] As records of this sale indicate, not all of this money went directly to Pérez. He had accrued numerous debts over the years, which had to be paid off as part of the sale. Pérez sent $2,150 to the Señores Allende and Sobrino in the city of Oaxaca for a mortgage he had taken out with them while $400 went to Nabor Alderete and Company to pay off an additional loan. In the end, Pérez received only about half of the total resale amount, reflecting the various costs owners took on as they grew their coffee operations.[65]

The purchase and resale of the finca La Luz was one of the simpler transactions that took place during these years. In most instances, coffee farms were divided among various different owners and then sold to others only partially, with numerous strings attached. To highlight some of the intricacies of this market, I want to briefly examine the histories of two important properties: La Guadalupe and La Venta.

La Guadalupe was initially rented in the village of Santa María Ozolotepec by Juan María Mijangos in 1877 for an unspecified amount (likely between 10 and 20 pesos).[66] Six years later, in 1883, his wife, Felipa Garay de Mijangos (who was now managing La Guadalupe after her husband's death), chose to purchase the territory from the municipality for a price of $216.50.[67] While it was not unusual for lessees to purchase their lands several years later, the timing of this particular sale proved to be very interesting since Felipa sold a portion of La Guadalupe to

[64] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1402: 190-193.
[65] For a very rough estimate of the costs involved in producing coffee during these years, including labor and maintenance costs, see Romero, *El estado de Oaxaca*, 61-68.
[66] See Table 4.3.
[67] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1399: 45-48.

Francisco Mijangos (a family member) only six days later for $500.[68] This portion had become its own separate coffee finca at this point, called Los Reyes, which now had nearly 40,000 coffee trees. As part of the terms of the sale, Felipa assumed the obligation of paying the yearly rédito to the municipality of 13 pesos as well as the sale price of $216.50 within 10 years. Felipa and Francisco were clearly aiming to formalize their existing land arrangements with the municipality, conducting in-family business that was long overdue. However, this activity had a very specific aim—Francisco Mijangos sold Los Reyes later that month to Manuel Ramírez Varela for a whopping $5,500.[69] Francisco Mijangos and Manuel Ramírez Varela had been jointly operating Los Reyes for several years now, and for reasons not immediately clear in the documentation, Francisco chose to exit this partnership, selling his portion of the coffee finca for a considerable sum of money.

Felipa Garay de Mijangos, on the other hand, continued operating La Guadalupe for several more years after this. As part of her husband's will, she inherited both La Guadalupe as well as a fairly sizable family home in San Andrés Miahuatlán. Her husband, Juan María Mijangos, had been a prominent merchant in the region, forming part of the initial group of men that began Ramón Ruiz and Company and the famous coffee finca La Providencia. Juan María and Felipa had ten children together, two of which died shortly after childbirth. When Juan María passed away in the early 1880s, Felipa retained full control of La Guadalupe as well as half of the family home, the other half divided among six of their children. In September 1886, Felipa, along with four of these children, decided to sell much of the family property to Antonino

[68] Ibid., 51-54.
[69] Ibid., 57-61. Varela paid Francisco $1,500 up front, another $3000 in eight days once the terms of the sale were finalized, and another $1000 after 20 months.

Rojas, for a total of $9,500.[70] The finca La Guadalupe was now worth $7000, Felipa's half of the home $1500, and the other four children's portion $1000. Antonino Rojas was obligated to continue paying the finca's yearly rédito of 13 pesos to Santa María Ozolotepec while also recognizing its initial value of $216.50. By 1896, Rojas had apparently changed the name of this finca to La Consolación, which was now worth only $5,534.[71] Felipa Garay de Mijangos, on the other hand, chose to exit the coffee business altogether and liquidate much of the family's assets, no longer owning any major properties in either Santa María Ozolotepec or San Mateo Río Hondo.

The other property I want to highlight is the finca La Venta, initially purchased by Jesús Sánchez in 1881 for $425 from Santa María Ozolotepec.[72] Jesús Sánchez was a major figure in this land market, purchasing numerous properties from the villages of Santa María Ozolotepec and San Mateo Río Hondo throughout the 1870s and 1880s as well as buying property from other finca owners in the region. His largest purchase came in 1888, when he purchased two coffee fincas, La Esmeralda and La Independencia, from Ibañez and Company for 24,000 pesos. Back in May 1881, Sánchez acquired La Venta for a much smaller amount, $425, and within several years had developed a medium-sized finca on the land, with over 25,000 coffee trees. In 1886, Sánchez chose to sell La Venta to a group of three brothers—Manuel, Pedro, and Felipe Bojorques—for 2000 pesos, nearly 5 times the initial purchase price.[73] These brothers were required to pay Sánchez in five yearly installments of $400, beginning in May 1887. However, as with many of these transactions, the terms of the sale were not so simple. In this case, the

[70] Ibid., 1401: 48-52.
[71] Rojas, *El café,* 82-83.
[72] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 27, exp. 28, 1886. Also see Table 4.3.
[73] AHNO, Jueces Receptores (Miahuatlán), 1401: 42-46.

brothers continued to maintain a business arrangement with Sánchez, in which they sold certain amounts of coffee to him for agreed-upon prices. In 1887, the brothers agreed to sell their harvest exclusively to Jesús Sánchez at a rate of 10 pesos per *quintal*, for a total of $750.[74]

The Bojorques brothers succeeded in doubling the size of La Venta within several years to about 48,000 coffee trees. This required a great deal of capital infusion, perhaps with external financing from Jesús Sánchez. Nonetheless, they ultimately chose to exit the venture prematurely, either due to disagreements with Sánchez or simply an unwillingness to oversee the operation any further. In September 1888, they sold La Venta to Manuel Ramírez Varela for $1500, a slight decrease in value from the price of $2000 several years earlier.[75] As part of the sale, they agreed to pay Sánchez a lump-sum payment of $1000, which he chose to accept as a substitute for the $1700 they still owed him. Although Sánchez lost a significant amount of money as part of this deal, his experience was probably not that atypical for the time period. Coffee production was still a high risky and experimental endeavor, with different actors entering and exiting, some succeeding and others failing. Although many parties signed contracts as part of this business, rarely were the terms of these contract ever fully realized, with limited legal recourse for those that might have felt aggrieved. In 1890, the state government would pass a new set of laws governing property adjudications in the state, which seemed to offer a clearer set of rules as the industry expanded to the southern district of Pochutla.

Epilogue: The Reglamento of 1890

On June 26, 1890, the state of Oaxaca published the Reglamento para el Reparto y Adjudicación de los Terrenos Comunales, the most significant piece of property legislation in the

[74] Ibid., 150-154. A quintal was 100 pounds.
[75] Ibid., 241-245.

state since the Reglamento of 1862.[76] This law significantly expanded the scope of the privatization process while also offering more details regarding how repartos (or subdivisions within villages) should take place. In the case of Miahuatlán, few, if any, villages had undertaken these subdivisions, while in other parts of Oaxaca they were much more common.[77] As opposed to the Reglamento of 1862, the Reglamento of 1890 now included the ejidos of the pueblos in the privatization process. Article 2 outlined three types of territories that were subject to privatization: (1) the ejidos and *montes* that had previously been exempted by Article 6 of the Reglamento of 1862, (2) the lands distributed year to year by municipalities to their residents (i.e., the tierras de común repartimiento), and (3) the lands of *cofradías* not instituted canonically.[78] As my chapter has shown, many ejidos were in fact already being sold by municipalities, in direct contradiction to standing law. The Reglamento of 1890 only formalized a process that was well underway in the state.

Most of the Reglamento was devoted to explaining how villages should begin conducting coordinated and egalitarian distributions of lands to their residents, i.e., repartos. Article 3 gave villages a period of two months to submit a detailed application to their district head. This application was supposed to include information on the lands the community possessed (including hectarage, boundaries, neighbors, etc.) as well as a list of current residents, including unmarried, widows, and heads of family.[79] Once these reports were submitted, the jefe político of each district, along with an appraiser, was charged with dividing the land into *lotes*, or parcels,

[76] *Colección de leyes*, 15: 64-73.
[77] For examples of repartos in the Mixteca, see Menegus, *La Mixteca Baja entre la revolucion y la reforma. Cacicazgo, territorialidad y gobierno, siglos XVIII-XIX* (Oaxaca: UABJO, 2009); Mendoza, *Municipios, cofradías y tierras comunales*. By 1890, it is fair to say that most villages in the state had not completed these subdivisions, which was the impetus behind the new reglamento.
[78] The fundo legal was exempted from privatization.
[79] Article 5 explained that any lands not included as part of these applications were subject to public auction and sale according to the procedures outlined in the Ley Lerdo and Reglamento of 1856.

worth 100 pesos each (Article 32). Residents that were already cultivating or making use of a particular lote would retain possession, while vacant lands could be distributed to other families in need (particularly widows with children). If any lotes still remained after this process, they would be offered to unmarried residents (either older than 21 or under 21 without a legal guardian). Article 33 added that if villages did not have sufficient territory to subdivide their lands in this manner, the value of 100 pesos could be reduced so as to make the distribution possible.

While this process may have seemed clear enough on paper, in practice it proved to be much more complicated since topography varied greatly in any single village and land was not distributed particularly equally. In the district of Miahuatlán, most villages submitted their applications for repartos shortly after the Reglamento, but only a few seem to have actually carried out the process.[80] One notable case was the village of San Ildefonso Amatlán, which applied for subdivision on August 29, 1890, and finally completed the process on August 9, 1894.[81] San Ildefonso Amatlán was substantially north of both Cerro de la Pluma and Cerro del Espino (where most of the sales discussed in this chapter took place), bordering the cabecera of San Andrés Miahuatlán. San Ildefonso Amatlán had a population of around 504 residents at this time, including 131 families that were set to take part in the reparto.[82] As the Reglamento ordered, the jefe político of the district, Feliciano García, along with an appraiser, Julio Lopéz, took charge of the process in late 1893, evaluating and demarcating the area of the village. López

[80] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 19, exp. 9: "Relativo a noticias solicitadas de terrenos adjudicados," 1890.
[81] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 19, exp. 1: "Relativo al deslinde de sus terrenos," 1893; exp. 2: "Reparto de terrenos promovido por el president municipal," 1895; exp. 3: "Relativo al reparto de terrenos promovidos por el presidente municipal," 1890.
[82] AGEO, Censos y Padrones, Miahuatlán, leg. 1, exp. 3.

determined the village held 2,849 hectares of land eligible for subdivision, placing a value of $1.80 on each hectare. Since there was not sufficient land for all residents to receive lotes worth $100, these parcels were reduced down to a value of $39.50, with each family receiving approximately 21 hectares.

In the months after the subdivision, it became clear that not everyone in the pueblo was particularly satisfied with the process. While the numbers may have added up, this did not mean that new allotment of land made any sense, either socially or ecologically. On February 15, 1895, the new municipal president of the village, Juan Felipe Peralta (who had not been in power during the previous year), wrote a lengthy letter to the jefe político decrying the whole process and calling for a new reparto to take place. Peralta seemed to be advocating on behalf of a very specific group of families in the village, although he did his best to try to articulate his concerns as universally as possible. He described a growing sense of disorder in the village, with residents not knowing where to cultivate and numerous tensions emerging between farmers as they tried to locate their respective lote. He explained that certain families in the village (a minority, he admitted) held discontiguous plots of land, which were not recognized by the reparto. Peralta believed these families should be allowed to have each of their territories compose a single lote, up until the assigned value in pesos. Peralta was clearly advocating on behalf of a wealthier group of farmers in the village, but he was also pointing out an obvious problem with the Reglamento, which disrupted long-standing patterns of land use by requiring families to possess only one continuous portion of land.

Whether San Ildefonso Amatlán ever received a new reparto is still unclear, although Peralta was facing an uphill battle in trying to convince the jefe político to redo what had been an incredibly lengthy process stretching out over several months. The reparto of San Ildefonso

Amatlán, however, represents only a small fraction of the lands that were ultimately adjudicated during these years. As my chapter has shown, federal law—specifically the Ley Lerdo and the Reglamento of July 30—was much more impactful in this region compared to state law, since most lands were privatized either through single adjudications, public auctions, or conventional sales. By 1890, the economic organization of this small region in Mexico had changed in a significant way, as a new commodity—coffee—offered the potential for lucrative gains for a local mercantile elite. These entrepreneurs purchased lands that, historically, were of little importance to local inhabitants but still constituted a significant portion of this district's area (nearly 25%). Still a major producer of coffee today, the district of Miahuatlán—and southern Oaxaca more broadly—was indelibly shaped by the land transactions I have described in these pages.

CHAPTER 5
The Rise of Puerto Ángel: Customs, Infrastructure, and Property, 1868-1888

Introduction: Mexico's Pacific Trade in the Nineteenth Century

In 1892, Edward J. Howell, a British commercial agent who had traveled extensively throughout Mexico, wrote a book entitled *Mexico: Its Progress and Commercial Possibilities*, which aimed to describe the opportunities and limitations of Mexico's economy for British investors.[1] As part of this report, he included detailed information on all of Mexico's ports, including nine on the Atlantic and twelve on the Pacific. In his section on Pacific ports, he focused on two specific ports—Mazatlán (located in the state of Sinaloa) and Acapulco (located in the state of Guerrero). Howell described Mazatlán as Mexico's "principal shipping port on the Pacific," with well-built houses and public offices and a vibrant hinterland of mining and textile factories. He described Acapulco as having a "good and well-sheltered harbor," where vessels from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company stopped three or four times a month for coaling and provisions. However, Howell spent very little time discussing other ports along Mexico's Pacific coast, including Puerto Ángel. In a mere paragraph, he noted the following about the small port in the state of Oaxaca:

> The town is insignificant, and of small commercial importance, only serving as a base of supplies for the immediate neighborhood, as there is only an open roadstead and no anchorage or shelter whatever; sailing vessels frequenting the port run great risks from the W. and S.W. gales…owing to the broken nature of the country, and consequent high costs of transportation, few agricultural products are raised for export.[2]

We cannot know for certain whether Howell ever visited Puerto Ángel—he may have received his information secondhand—but his description of the port, as of 1892, was deeply misleading and also factually inaccurate. Puerto Ángel had both shelter and anchorage—the port

[1] E.J. Howell, *Mexico: Its Progress and Commercial Possibilities* (London: W.B. Whittingham & Co., LTD., 1892).
[2] Ibid., 119-120.

included a functioning customs office, numerous merchant houses, warehouse facilities, and anchorage that could hold at least 30 ships. While the town of Puerto Ángel was still small, several hundred residents from the neighboring town of San Pedro Pochutla had migrated there in the early 1870s, beginning a new life and constructing new homes and businesses. The ships docking at the port may have faced risks from west and southwest winds, but they were also protected from these winds by the extensive mountains surrounding the port. Finally, a new road had almost been completed from the capital of Oaxaca to the port (a distance of 240 km), allowing coffee planters in the districts of Miahuatlán and Pochutla to export over a million pounds of coffee per year, destined for faraway cities such as San Francisco, New York, and Hamburg. All of this had transpired in the span of two decades, a significant achievement that was completely lost in Howell's book.

This chapter is devoted to explaining how Puerto Ángel grew from an isolated, desolate outpost in 1868—when it was first opened for foreign commerce—to a fully-fledged port town in 1888, with numerous ships arriving each month and carrying coffee to the United States and Europe. This story was overlooked not only by Edward Howell in 1892 but also by subsequent historians of nineteenth-century Mexico, who have never seen Puerto Ángel as a primary node in Mexico's Pacific trading system.[3]

To understand why this is the case, we have to begin our story in 1815, the year the final ship set sail from the port of Acapulco to Manila (Philippines) as part of the famous trading route

[3] The most prominent example is Karina Busto Ibarra, "El espacio del Pacífico mexicano: puertos, rutas, navegación y redes comerciales, 1848-1927," (PhD diss., El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2008). See also Jaime Olveda and Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, eds., *Los puertos noroccidentales de México* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1994). Tellingly, there is not a single monograph or journal article (in English or Spanish) on Puerto Ángel for the nineteenth century.

known as the "Manila Galleon."[4] Over the course of the colonial period, the Spanish had constructed a durable and protected trading system, in which limited ships carried East Asian manufactures (particularly silk and porcelain) to colonial Mexico in exchange for silver and gold. When this system collapsed in 1815 due to the wars of independence, the port of Acapulco suffered immediate decline, and by 1827 the Pacific coast of Mexico accounted for only 7% of the country's imports and 3% of the country's exports.[5] In this vacuum, German and British interests, most prominently Barron, Forbes, and Company, set up shop in the northern ports of Mazatlán and San Blas, continuing to export limited amounts of silver in exchange for various manufactured goods, particularly textiles, from East Asia and Europe.[6]

The major turning point in Mexico's nineteenth-century Pacific history was the California Gold Rush, which began in 1849 and led to a vibrant shipping and transportation network between the cities of San Francisco and Panama. Gold seekers on the Atlantic coast of the United States who wanted to travel to California had to pass through the Panamanian isthmus since the transcontinental railroad was not completed until 1869. During the 1850s and 1860s, 15,000 to 20,000 people crossed the isthmus on an annual basis, assisted by the Panamanian railroad (finished in 1850).[7] Once they crossed Panama, gold seekers made the long, three- to

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[4] The most famous book on the Manila Galleon is William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1939). See also Fernando Benítez, *El galeón del Pacífico: Acapulco-Manila, 1565-1815* (México: Gobierno Constitucional del Estado de Guerrero, 1992); Gemma Araneta-Cruz, *El galeón de Manila, un mar de historias: Primeras Jornadas Culturales Mexicano-Filipinas* (México, D.F.: JGH Editores, 1997).

[5] Ines Herrera Canales, "Comercio y comerciantes de la costa del Pacífico mexicano a mediados del siglo XIX," *Historias* 20, no. 2 (1988): 129-136. I should note here that a vibrant coastal trade (*comercio de cabotaje*) also existed during these years, much greater than on Mexico's Gulf coast.

[6] Araceli Ibarra Bellón, *El comercio y el poder en México, 1821-1864: La lucha por las fuentes financieras entre el Estado central y las regiones* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998). See also Vera Valdés Lakowsky, "Cambios en las relaciones transpacíficas: del Hispanis Mare Pacificum al Océano Pacífico como vía de comunicación internacional," *Estudios de Asia y Africa* 20, no. 1 (1985): 58-81; John Mayo, *Commerce and Contraband on Mexico's West Coast in the Era of Barron, Forbes, & Co., 1821-1859* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

[7] Ruth Mandujano López, "From Sail to Steam: Coastal Mexico and the Reconfiguration of the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History* 12, no. 2 (December 2010): 260.

four-week voyage up the Pacific coast to San Francisco. Steamships had to stop along the way, and thus the ports of Acapulco, Mazatlán, and San Blas became the critical midway points for this journey, providing vessels with food, water, and coal. These ports and their hinterlands also became the primary sources of clothing, food, and tools for the growing population of San Francisco—San Blas and Mazatlán accounted for nearly 98% of the items imported at the customs office in San Francisco between 1849 and 1853.[8] Recent research has shown that the port of Acapulco also played a central role in this process. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company made Acapulco its primary coaling station, and customs revenue at Acapulco exploded from 200 pesos in 1849 to 100,000 pesos in 1852.[9] Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, seasonal migrants circulated frequently along Mexico's Pacific coast as San Francisco became saturated with workers and miners.

Once the gold rush faded, Mexico's Pacific coast entered a new economic phase in the 1870s as railroads, the telegraph, and increasing steamship lines coincided with expanding commerce and production along the Pacific coast. The most central work exploring this era is Karina Busto Ibarra's "El espacio del Pacífico mexicano: puertos, rutas, navegación y redes comerciales, 1848-1927" (2008), which argues that a four-tiered hierarchy emerged among Mexico's Pacific ports: primary ports (Mazatlán), strategic ports (Acapulco and Salina Cruz), secondary ports (Guaymas, La Paz, Manzanillo, San Blas, and Santa Rosalía), and layover ports (Altata, Bahía, Magdalena, Ensenada, Topolobampo, **Puerto Ángel**, Tonalá, and San Benito).[10] Ibarra constructs this typology according to several different criteria, including a port's

[8] Ines Herrera Canales, "Comercio y comerciantes," 130.
[9] Marcel Anduiza, "From Pacific Gateway to Tourist City: Migration, Revolution, and Tourism Development in Acapulco, Mexico," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2018), Chapter 1.
[10] Karina Busto Ibarra, "El espacio del Pacífico," 164-179.

population, industrial development, volume and diversity of imports and exports, hinterland, and infrastructure.

My aim in this chapter is not to dismiss this sort of classification but rather to suggest that, by 1890, Puerto Ángel served a much more central role in Mexico's Pacific trading system than merely a layover stop. As a result of coffee production from the interior of Oaxaca, Puerto Ángel's exports were second only to those of Mazatlán in dollar terms by the mid 1880s.[11] For the first time in the nineteenth century, a port developed on the Pacific coast primarily from internal economic forces—coffee production—as opposed to external demand or transportation networks.

This chapter is divided into three chronological sections, each of which explores the growth of Puerto Ángel between 1868 and 1888. The first section examines the initial years after 1868 (the year Benito Juárez first opened the port to foreign commerce), when construction began on a new dock and warehouse facilities, and the land surrounding the port was distributed to residents from the neighboring town of San Pedro Pochutla. During these years, Matías Romero, the finance minister of Mexico, became heavily involved in trying to appoint officials to manage the customs office at Puerto Ángel. The second section covers the period from 1872 to 1879, in which the state government desperately tried to complete a *camino de ruedas* (or wagon road) from the capital of Oaxaca to the port, recruiting laborers from various communities in the districts of Miahuatlán and Pochutla. The third and final section examines the period of growing coffee exports from 1880 to 1888, which led to the growing involvement of President Porfirio Díaz in the affairs of the port and to numerous social conflicts in the region between port

[11] Sandra Kuntz Ficker, *Las exportaciones mexicanas durante la primera globalización, 1870-1929* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2010), 139.

employees and local residents. By 1890, Puerto Ángel contained all the elements—good and bad—of a major port of entry, where diverse groups of people intermingled in an environment of growing income and wealth, but also social unrest.

Initial Construction and Settlement, 1868-1873

Towards the end of the French occupation, several prominent individuals in Oaxaca began petitioning the federal government to open Puerto Ángel up for foreign commerce, or *comercio de altura*. Although the port had officially been opened for domestic trade (*comercio de cabotaje*) in September 1857, subsequent civil war and political strife prevented any real development beyond this status. During the course of the French occupation, numerous ships began embarking at the port, leading many in the state to view Puerto Ángel as a viable option for the state's commerce. In December 1866, M.A. Luzárraga, a Spanish merchant residing in Oaxaca, wrote an extensive article in the state's official newspaper describing the advantages of Puerto Ángel compared to other ports along the Pacific coast, including Huatulco.[12] Puerto Ángel was the easiest to reach by road from the capital, although significant work still needed to be done to make sections of the roadway navigable for wheeled vehicles. Puerto Ángel was also only a couple leagues away from the municipality of San Pedro Pochutla. San Pedro Pochutla had over 2,000 residents at this time, compared to only 200 in Huatulco, and could easily provide all the necessary supplies to ships and travelers passing through the port as well as aid in the necessary construction and maintenance.[13] Luzárraga insisted that it was necessary to concentrate commerce in one specific port, as opposed to several, including Huatulco, Escondido, and

[12] M.A. Luzárraga, "Mas sobre mejoras materiales.—Puerto Angel.—El porvenir de Oaxaca," *Boletín Oficial del Cuartel General de la Linea de Oriente*, December 20, 1866.
[13] For population figures of villages in the district of Pochutla in 1872, see *Memoria que el ejecutivo del estado presenta al congreso del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1873).

Chacahua. Focusing on Puerto Ángel would ease the collection of tax duties as well as limit the opportunities for contraband.

The following year, Luis Pombo, an important lawyer and judge in the state of Oaxaca, wrote a similar piece in the state's newspaper supporting Puerto Ángel's status as an international port.[14] From Pombo's perspective, Oaxaca's coastal areas did not produce any goods that could be consumed heavily in the interior of the country and thus had to begin searching for new markets. Moreover, the state's merchants had long depended too heavily on the port of Veracruz, which involved significant costs in time and money transporting goods over that stretch of the country. In terms of the road between the capital of Oaxaca and Puerto Ángel, Pombo believed little work needed to be done to make it fully operational for carts and wagons. The section between San Pedro Pochutla and the port was already in good condition while the section between San Pedro Pochutla and the Copalita River needed only minor repairs. From there, approximately 60 kilometers were left to the Central Valleys, a section of the road that would require significant construction. However, Pombo seemed optimistic that the residents of the districts of Miahuatlán and Pochutla were up to the task. He concluded his article by expressing enthusiasm about the prospects of establishing commercial relationships between Oaxaca and other parts of the world, including South America, California, and especially Panama, which served as a critical trading juncture between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

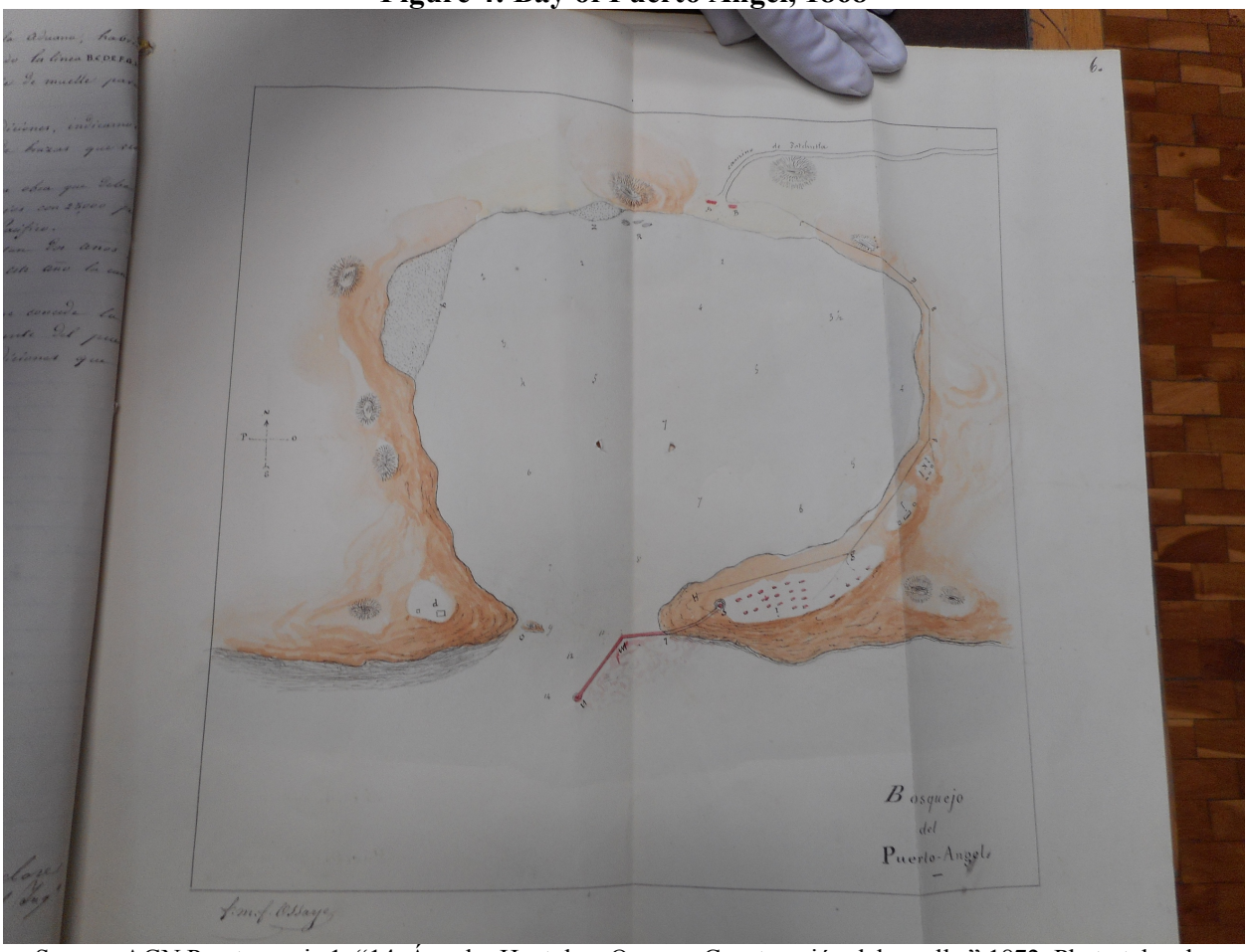
Spurred by these different arguments and the conclusion of the war with the French, Benito Juárez, president of Mexico, officially declared Puerto Ángel open to domestic and foreign trade on January 30, 1868.[15] This marked a significant moment in the port's history,

[14] Luis Pombo, "Puerto—Angel," *La Victoria*, August 5, 1867.
[15] *La Victoria,* February 11, 1868.

although significant work still needed to be done to make the port even viable for large-scale commercial activities. Towards the end of the year, officials at the customs office in Puerto Ángel sent a detailed report to the state government outlining the different projects that had to be completed.[16] They included a preliminary sketch of the port, which I have presented as Figure 4. One of the first projects they described was a new breakwater, or long artificial structure that would reduce the intensity of waves and make it easier for ships to anchor and harbor at the port. This breakwater had to be 150 meters in length and located at the opening of the bay (drawn in red in Figure 4). In order to obtain the materials necessary for this structure, customs officials suggested leveling two hills at the mouth of the port (one about 90 meters in height and the other 50 meters) to about 20 meters. This excavation would have the added benefit of allowing air to circulate more freely in the bay, improving the health of travelers and residents alike.

[16] AGN, Puertos, caja 1: "14. Ángel y Huatulco, Oaxaca. Construcción del muelle," 1872.

Figure 4: Bay of Puerto Ángel, 1868



Source: AGN Puertos, caja 1: "14. Ángel y Huatulco, Oaxaca. Construcción del muelle," 1872. Photo taken by author.

Beyond the breakwater, significant progress also had to be made on a dock for the arriving ships and new buildings for the customs office and warehouses. The two cabins at the mouth of the port, labeled A and B on the map, were not big enough for these operations and were also located too close to the water. Customs officials recommended constructing several new buildings at the opening of the bay, just to the east (see red dots in Figure 4). Since most ships could not see the port beyond five or six miles, these structures would serve the role of directing ships as they arrived. Once these structures were built, a new road would also have to be constructed along the eastern shore of the bay, forming a dock where ships could unload their

cargo. This area was still covered with rocks and other natural structures, so significant excavation had to be completed. According to the planners, all of this work—the breakwater, leveling of nearby hills, new buildings, and a new road and dock—could be done in two years, assuming sufficient financing from the government and cooperation from nearby residents. Also, the price tag for these projects was 25,000 pesos. Over the course of the following years, construction would slowly proceed at the port (not exactly on schedule), with money arriving from various sources, both local and national.

As Puerto Ángel began growing during these years, a major political figure in Mexico City took an interest in overseeing operations at the port—Matías Romero. Matías Romero was serving as finance minister under Benito Juárez, having previously served as an ambassador between the United States and Mexico during the 1860s.[17] Romero was born in the state of Oaxaca and took an active interest in his home state's economic development in the second half of the nineteenth century. In January 1869, he sent his friend Andrés Ruiz to Puerto Ángel to begin overseeing the customs office at the port. Upon arrival, Ruiz sent a letter to Matías Romero describing the state of the office, which was in complete disarray, with no consistent records of arrivals and departures and a lack of basic working materials, such as a desk, chairs, etc.[18] With some additional financial support, Ruiz believed he could quickly organize the office and get it up and running for future business. In March 1869, Ruiz sent another letter to Romero describing a trip he made offshore to visit a steamship passing by called *Salvador* from Panama.[19] Ruiz discussed with two American captains on board the progress being made at the port and the

[17] For more on Romero's diplomatic relationship with the U.S., see Thomas Schoonover, ed., *Mexican Lobby: Matías Romero in Washington, 1861-1867* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986).
[18] AHMR, vol. 1, 3731: Andrés Ruiz to Matías Romero, Pochutla. January 20, 1869.
[19] AHMR, vol. 1, 4625: Andrés Ruiz to Matías Romero, Pochutla. March 24, 1869.

potential of docking there in the future. Ruiz urged Romero to send instructions and money to begin construction of a proper customs house immediately.

As the days and months went by, Ruiz became frustrated by the lack of activity at the port. In May, he reported no arrivals at the port and expressed concerns he simply would not be able to sustain himself at the current rate of business.[20] Finally, in July, Ruiz withdrew from the position altogether, passing over control of the customs office to Bruno Almaraz.[21] Ruiz cited illness as part of the reason for his departure (which was not uncommon for seaports), but his resignation was clearly the result of a lack of financial opportunities at the post. In January 1872, Matías Romero was finally able to secure a contract between Mexico and the Panama Railroad Company (a publicly traded company based in New York) for a new steamship line that would stop at all ports in the states of Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, including Puerto Ángel.[22] This was a significant achievement for Romero, who was working on a number of different development projects in southern Mexico, including a potential canal and railroad through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.[23] In March 1872, Romero tried to recruit another head of the customs office at Puerto Ángel, José Demetrio Mejía de León.[24] Mejía initially accepted the offer, contingent on an initial payment of 500 pesos to cover the costs of transportation and a means of subsistence until the port saw greater movement. However, by June, Mejía decided against the whole endeavor, hearing from Ruiz and Almaraz about the miserable conditions at the port. He

[20] AHMR, vol. 1, 5365: Andrés Ruiz to Matías Romero, Pochutla. May 12, 1869.
[21] AHMR, vol. 1, 6703: Andrés Ruiz to Matías Romero, Pochutla. July 28, 1869.
[22] AHMR, vol. 1, 17489: Circular, Matías Romero, Mexico. March 19, 1872.
[23] For discussions surrounding these projects, see Matías Romero's correspondence with Thomas H. Nelson and Simon Stevens in AHMR, vol. 1, 9054, 9399, 9410, 9656, 9742, 10361, 11487, 11973, 13056, 18439.
[24] AHMR, vol. 1, 17506: José Demterio Mejía de León to Matías Romero, Oaxaca. March 20, 1872; 17664: José Demetrio Mejía de León to Matías Romero, Oaxaca. April 2, 1872.

asked Romero to find him a better job elsewhere, either in Mexico City or at a more established port.[25]

As Romero struggled to recruit qualified administrators to live and work at Puerto Ángel, his office was also working on establishing a more settled community in the area surrounding the port. The town of San Pedro Pochutla was only 15 kilometers away, but this was still too far to become the port's main urban center. In January 1873, the Ministry of Finance in Mexico City and local officials in Puerto Ángel began discussing the legal status of lands surrounding the port.[26] The Ministry of Finance wanted to know whether these lands could be considered *terrenos baldíos,* or public lands, which were subject to the rules and procedures of the 1863 Ley Sobre Ocupación y Enajenación de Terrenos Baldíos.[27] According to this law, any lands not privately owned, nor destined for public use, nor granted to an authorized corporate body were subject to purchase through a federal judge. However, the municipality of San Pedro Pochutla, led by its jefe político Jacinto Domínguez, was able to successfully claim ownership of the lands, arguing these lands were part of the pueblo's *ejido*. This was a critical legal maneuver since it allowed the village to oversee the privatization process according to procedures laid out in the 1856 Ley Lerdo and its corresponding legislation.[28]

On March 14, 1873, San Pedro Pochutla distributed 67 plots of land to 70 different individuals, for a total of 205,000 square *varas*, or about 14 hectares of land.[29] Most of these

[25] AHMR, vol. 1, 18500: José Demetrio Mejía de León to Matías Romero, Oaxaca. June 26, 1872.
[26] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 22, exp. 1: "Relativo a la consulta de a quien pertenecen los terrenos del Puerto y si se pueden adjudicar por ser baldíos," 1873.
[27]For a copy of this law, see Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano, eds., *Legislación mexicana o colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la Independencia de la República* (México: Imprenta del Comercio, 1876-1912), 9: 637-640.
[28] For a discussion of the Ley Lerdo and other disentailment legislation, see Chapter 4.
[29] AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 22, exp. 2: "Relativo a las propiedades en Puerto Angel," 1873. A vara is slightly less than a yard.

plots were under a hectare, with the most common dimensions being 20 x 15 varas. These were small parcels, likely destined for residential purposes or small businesses but not extensive farming or husbandry.

In Table 5.1, I have included information on all the residents who purchased land in Puerto Ángel, including the type of parcel they acquired and its location. Of the 67 plots, only 10 were labeled *solares*, or plots of land with some form of residential structure. This meant that the urban core of Puerto Ángel was still quite small at this point, with only a limited area that was previously inhabited. In terms of the location of other plots, the vast majority were facing either the ocean or the *camino nacional*. Thirty of the sixty-seven plots were directly facing the ocean to the south, while fourteen of the sixty-seven were facing the *camino nacional*, or main roadway, from the east or west. Moreover, the order of the sales seems to have proceeded from the most to least desirable locations. The first two purchases went to Alejo Gabriel and Emiterio Martínez, each for 22,000 square varas and facing the ocean, while the last 13 purchases were facing neither the ocean nor the main roadway, instead surrounded by others' properties.

Table 5.1: Land Allotment in Puerto Ángel, March 14, 1873

No	Name	Size (square varas)	Type	Location
1	Alejo Gabriel	22,000		ocean, south/east/west
2	Emiterio Martínez	22,000		ocean, west/east
3	Victoriano Díaz	1,250		ocean, west
4	Francisco Quijano	3,500		
5	Román Gaspar	2,500		
6	Hipólito Cruz	2,500		ocean, south
7	Hermenegildo Arista	1,250		camino nacional, north
8	José Sires	1,250		camino nacional, north
9	María del Rosario García	1,250		camino nacional, north
10	Andrés Gaspar	2,500		ocean, west
11	Juan Gaspar	2,500		ocean, west
12	Albino Velazquez	3,750		ocean, south
13	José Silva	1,250		ocean, south
14	Tomasa Ziga	2,500		ocean, south
15	Luciano Silva	2,500		ocean, south
16	Felix Silva	2,500		ocean, south
17	Amado de la Cruz	2,500		ocean, south
18	José Justo Ziga	2,500		ocean, south

Table 5.1 (Continued)

19	Mucio Ziga	3,750		ocean, south
20	Bernardina Gaspar	3,750		ocean, south
21	María del Rosario Ziga	3,750		ocean, south
22	Faustino de los Santos	3,750		ocean, south
23	Prudencio Abesilla	3,750		ocean, south
24	José Antonio Ziga	3,750		ocean, south
25	Tomasa María de los Cansecos			ocean, south
26	Marcos Osorio	5,000		ocean, south
27	Luis Osorio	5,000		ocean, south
28	Gabina Sánchez	5,000		ocean, south
29	Laureano Castillo	5,000		ocean, south
30	José María Gaspar	5,000		ocean, south
31	Anastacio Gaspar	5,000		ocean, south
32	Juan de la Cruz	5,000		ocean, south
33	Nemecio Cruz	5,000		ocean, south
34	Zotero Martínez	5,000		ocean, south
35	Juan Ynocente Gabral	5,000		ocean, south
36	Demetrio Arista	1,250		camino nacional, east
37	Nemecio Pérez	1,250		camino nacional, east
38	Juan Pérez	2,500		camino nacional, east
39	Doroteo y Felix Palacios	5,000		
40	José Domingo Castañeda	625	Solar	camino nacional, west
41	Andrés Velázquez	625	Solar	
42	Manuel Ruiz	1,250		camino nacional, west
43	Norberto Pérez	1,250	Solar	camino nacional, west
44	Juan Evangelista	1,250	Solar	camino nacional, west
45	Doroteo Vázquez	1,250	Solar	camino nacional, west
46	Pedro Martínez	1,250	Solar	camino nacional, west
47	Patricio Alberto	1,250	Solar	camino nacional, west
48	Procopio Carmona	1,250	Solar	camino nacional, west
49	Abelino Agustín	1,250	Solar	
50	Severo Martínez	1,250	Solar	
51	José Bruno y Miguel Juan (hijo)	2,500		
52	José Cipriano Rodríguez	3,750		
53	Florencio Rodríguez	5,000		ocean, south
54	Antonio Salinas	1,250		
55	Jose Bastida	1,250		
56	Catarino Carmona	1,250		
57	Fermin Ramos	1,250		
58	Manuel Marcos Martínez	1,250		
59	Emiterio Ramos	1,250		
60	Andrés García	1,250		
61	Juan Noverto	1,250		
62	Sebastián Lázaro	1,250		
63	Felipe Arista	1,250		
64	Prudencio Bojorques e hijo	2,500		
65	Regina Cárdenas	1,250		
66	Teófilo Cabrera	1,250		
67	Nabor Ruiz	1,250		

Source: AGEO, Repartos y Adjudicaciones, leg. 22, exp. 2: "Relativo a las propiedades en Puerto Angel," 1873.

Who were the individuals purchasing these lands and why were they interested in living in Puerto Ángel? This is not an easy question to answer since census records from this period are scarce and records from Puerto Ángel are also rather limited. The only foreigner who purchased land was Francisco Quijano, who acquired 3,500 square varas of property.[30] Francisco Quijano was a Spanish merchant residing in the capital of Oaxaca, nearly 250 kilometers away from Puerto Ángel. His merchant house, Quijano and Company, was heavily involved in the cochineal trade at this time, selling nearly 1,576 *arrobas* (or 39,400 pounds) of cochineal in 1875, the third largest of any individual or organization in Oaxaca.[31] Quijano's interest in purchasing land in Puerto Ángel seems rather obvious—he could save enormous amounts of money trying to export cochineal from Puerto Ángel as opposed to Veracruz, as well as try to transition to other endeavors. As we saw in Chapter 4, Quijano moved rather quickly to the coffee business, owning several major coffee fincas in the districts of Miahuatlán and Pochutla in the 1880s. His company also operated in the state of Chiapas, and he communicated frequently with Matías Romero in the early 1870s about trying to export various goods from the Soconusco, including cotton.[32]

Aside from Francisco Quijano, the vast majority of settlers in Puerto Ángel were from San Pedro Pochutla, the neighboring municipality of 2,000 residents. These residents migrated in family units, with certain surnames appearing more frequently than others in Table 5.1. The Gaspars, which included Román, Andrés, Juan, Bernardina, José María, and Anastacio Gaspar, claimed 21,250 square varas of land while the Zigas, including Tomasa, José Justo, Mucio, María del Rosario, and José Antonio Ziga, received 16,250 square varas. The most prominent

[30] See no. 4 in Table 5.1.
[31] *Memoria del Ejecutivo del Estado presentada al H. Congreso del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1875), 65.
[32] AHMR, vol. 1, 14442: Quijano y Compañia to Matías Romero, Oaxaca. June 28, 1871; 15795: Quijano y Compañia to Matías Romero, Oaxaca. October 25, 1871.

figure of this group was José Justo Ziga, who went on to serve as jefe político of the district during the 1880s, communicating frequently with both Matías Romero and Porfirio Díaz. In the early 1870s, however, these families were just starting out in Puerto Ángel, building new homes and beginning businesses in what was still a rather difficult place to live. These families likely had certain resources that allowed them to make this move in the first place. For most residents of San Pedro Pochutla, Puerto Ángel was probably not a viable option, especially considering the miserable conditions at the port. Beginning in 1872, major work would commence on a road between the capital and Puerto Ángel, which required the labor of hundreds of residents in the region and consumed the attention of state officials for most of the following decade.

The Construction of a Wagon Road, 1872-1879

During his time as governor of Oaxaca between 1847 and 1852, Benito Juárez devoted a great deal of time and resources trying to complete a road between the capital of Oaxaca and the port of Huatulco. At a distance of over 200 km, this path crossed various hills and mountains, going through the towns of Ocotlán, Ejutla, Miahuatlán, San José del Pacífico, and finally Huatulco. His goal was to transform this path from a *camino de herradura*, navigable only by foot or horseback, to a *camino de ruedas*, navigable by various wheeled vehicles, including carts, wagons, and carriages. By 1852, about 30,000 workers had completed 100 km of this road, making the trip to the Pacific coast a great deal easier even though activity at the port was still quite limited.[33] Over the next two decades, war and political stability consumed the attention of the state government, leaving the road with little maintenance and gradual decline. Once the French occupation was finally over, the state decided to renew efforts to build a navigable road

[33] *Exposición que el gobernador del estado hace en cumplimiento del artículo 83 de la Constitución al soberano Congreso al abrir sus primeras sesiones ordinarias el día 2 de julio de 1852* (Oaxaca: Impreso por Ignacio Rincón, 1852), no. 22. See also Chapter 3.

to the coast, this time ending in Puerto Ángel. Between 1867 and 1871, the governor of Oaxaca, Félix Díaz, along with the aid of an engineer named Ignacio Garfías, completed a passage of the road between Ejutla and Miahuatlán, about 40 km in length. However, they struggled to finish the rest of the road due to insufficient funding from the Ministry of Development.[34]

On April 17, 1872, a group of 30 different property owners, merchants, businessmen, and politicians met in the assembly hall of the state government to form a committee that would oversee the construction of the rest of the roadway.[35] Among those in attendance were Francisco Quijano, the Spanish merchant who was heavily involved in the cochineal trade and set to purchase land in Puerto Ángel; Constantino Rickards, a British entrepreneur heavily invested in the mining industry in Oaxaca; and Carlos Sodi, an Italian engineer living in Oaxaca.[36] There were also several native-born elites at the meeting, including state politicians José Esperón and Miguel Castro. However, Basilio Rojas was named director of the project, a native of the district of Miahuatlán who had served as an important political leader, school teacher, merchant, and landowner in the district for several decades. He was tasked with serving as the critical intermediary between the state government and local communities in Miahuatlán and Pochutla, which would have to supply the labor force to complete the road. In terms of financing, the committee was able to secure 1000 pesos monthly from the federal government and 1000 pesos monthly from the state government, in addition to various personal contributions from different committee members.

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[34] "La carretera de Puerto-Angel," *La Victoria*, April 23, 1868; "El camino de Puerto-Angel," *La Victoria*, June 25, 1868.
[35] "El camino de Puerto Angel," *El Regenerador*, April 19, 1872.
[36] For more on information on these individuals (labeled by historians as the "Vallistocracia"), see Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca*, 247-261.

Over the course of the rest of the year, very little work was completed on the project. Between April 29 and May 6, the new engineer and several committee members took a week-long visit of the roadway, traveling from Miahuatlán all the way to Puerto Ángel to identify the state of the road and the work that needed to be done.[37] They pointed to certain difficult areas, including a site named "la Cueva," which had steep cliffs and rockslides, and the rivers of Copalita and San Juan. However, they believed these difficulties were surmountable and calculated about 40 km of significant work that had to be completed. As the months went by, no major excavation or construction took place. In February 1873, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, president of Mexico, issued new orders regarding the federal government's role in the project. He decided that the port of Veracruz would fund the project and named a new engineer to the project, Ricardo Orozco.[38] Orozco would work alongside Basilio Rojas as construction got underway, and their relationship proved pivotal to the project's success over the following years.

In June 1873, work finally commenced on the roadway, specifically the section between San Andrés Miahuatlán and San José del Pacífico. In Table 5.2, I have noted the key distances and altitudes of this passage, including several important points: Cerro del Chapaneco, Agua del Sol, La Venta, and Rancho de Arrona. This was a fairly level passage, with only minor variations of 1500 to 1700 meters above sea level. Nonetheless, much of the road still had to be cleared and widened to allow for safe passage of wagons and carriages. In Table 5.3, I have provided information regarding five crucial weeks of construction between 1873 and 1874. This is not an exhaustive account of all the work that took place (which probably occurred on a monthly basis) but rather a sampling of significant moments of progress as detailed in the state's official

[37] Ramón Ruiz, "Camino de Puerto Angel," *El Regenerador*, May 21, 1872.
[38] "El camino de Oaxaca a Puerto Angel.—El ingeniero D. Ricardo Orozco y el ministro de fomento," *El Regenerador*, February 25, 1873.

newspaper. This table includes information on the numbers of workers involved in a specific project (which ranged between 30-50) and their foreman, or *capataz*. The most significant foreman was probably Mateo Mijanogs, who supervised construction at La Venta in March 1874. The Mijangos family was an important family in this region, owning several coffee fincas in the 1870s and 1880s (see Chapter 4). The final column of the table includes information on the number of *jornales*, or day wages, paid to workers during the week. In May 1873, Basilio Rojas set the wage for workers on the highway at 18.75 centavos per day, slightly on the lower end for daily wages during this time.[39] In July 1873, Rojas raised the jornal to 25 centavos, likely as a way of recruiting more workers to the project during months of harvest.[40]

Table 5.2: Roadway between Oaxaca and Puerto Ángel, 1872

	Distance from Capital (Km)	Altitude (Meters above sea level)	Status
Oaxaca (capital)	0	1605	
Ocotlán	34	1550	Complete
Ejutla	62	1477	Complete
Miahuatlán	105	1620	Complete
Cerro del Chapaneco	118	1700	Construction
Agua del Sol	125	1650	Construction
La Venta	131	1550	Construction
Rancho de Arrona	133	1475	Construction
San José del Pacífico	141	1550	Construction
Puerto Ángel	247		Incomplete

Source: *Memoria constitucional de la administración pública del estado libre y soberano de Oaxaca presentada por el poder ejecutivo al legislativo del mismo* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1879), 143-145.

Table 5.3: Construction between Miahuatlán and San José del Pacífico, 1873-1874

Date	Site	Foreman	Workers	Day wages paid (jornales)
1873				
June 15-June 21	Cerro del Chapaneco		112	
June 15-June 21	Agua del Sol		200	
Aug 17-Aug 23	Agua del Sol		28	139
Aug 17-Aug 23	Agua del Sol		18	19
Aug 17-Aug 23	La Venta		20	114
Aug 17-Aug 23	Cerro del Chapaneco		60	254.5

[39] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 24, exp. 16, 1873. Matías Romero compared the daily wages for agricultural work in Mexico to other countries in Romero, *El estado de Oaxaca*, 137-139.
[40] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 22, exp. 36, "Miahuatlán/Correspondencia girada por la jefatura política del distrito en el mes de julio," 1873.

Table 5.3 (Continued)

Aug 17-Aug 23	Cerro del Chapaneco		36	216
Aug 17-Aug 23	Cerro del Chapaneco		19	120
Aug 17-Aug 23	Cerro del Chapaneco		19	114
1874				
Mar 8-Mar 14	Cerro del Chapaneco	Víctor Ramírez	64	395.5
Mar 8-Mar 14	Cerro del Chapaneco	Pedro Cortés	45	264
Mar 8-Mar 14	Cerro del Chapaneco	Román Zavaleta	47	269.5
Mar 8-Mar 14	Cerro del Chapaneco	Leandro Ortega	33	199
Mar 8-Mar 14	La Venta	Martín Cortés	38	236
Mar 8-Mar 14	La Venta	Estebán Simón	35	240
Mar 8-Mar 14	La Venta	Mateo Mijangos	41	257
Mar 15-Mar 21	Cerro del Chapaneco	Víctor Ramírez	65	389.5
Mar 15-Mar 21	Cerro del Chapaneco	Pedro Cortés	44	258
Mar 15-Mar 21	Cerro del Chapaneco	Roman Zavaleta	32	188
Mar 15-Mar 21	Cerro del Chapaneco	Leandro Ortega	34	204
Mar 15-Mar 21	La Venta	Martín Cortés	35	212
Mar 15-Mar 21	La Venta	Estebán Simón	35	223
Mar 15-Mar 21	La Venta	Mateo Mijangos	34	215
Mar 22-Mar 28	La Venta	Martín Cortés	45	275
Mar 22-Mar 28	La Venta	Estebán Simón	45	278
Mar 22-Mar 28	La Venta	Mateo Mijangos	45	270

Source: *El Regenerador*, June 24, 1873-April 17, 1874.

The specific tasks workers completed on the project included extensive excavation and clearing (often with the use of dynamite), construction of ditches alongside the road for drainage, and establishment of various embankments to support the road at uneasy passages. Between June 25 and June 31, 1872, 112 workers at the section between Miahuatlán and Cerro del Chapeneco built 2000 meters, or 2 km, worth of ditches along each side the road.[41] These ditches were crucial for drainage since the region was prone to heavy rains, particularly during the summer months. During the same week, at a section called Agua del Sol further down the road, 200 workers excavated 1465 cubic meters of limestone, using 526 cubic meters of this material to build a new embankment. They also used wood to construct a new bridge and built four provisional huts to house future workers. Depending on the type of work, the government spent

[41] "Relación de las obras ejecutadas en el camino en la semana del 15 a 21 de junio de 1873," *El Regenerador*, June 24, 1873.

between $1000 to $2000 per month, mostly on supplies, including steel, coal, lime, iron, wood, and especially gunpower, which was by far the most expensive product used.[42]

How did Basilio Rojas and engineer Ricardo Orozco work with local residents to recruit sufficient workers for the project? We have limited evidence regarding how this process took place, but we do have correspondence between Orozco and the state government. On June 30, 1874, Orozco wrote a letter to the governor of Oaxaca complaining that extensive rains had caused damage to the road, and he was struggling to recruit sufficient workers to complete the necessary repairs.[43] He requested additional workers from Ramón Ruiz, the jefe político of the district of Miahuatlán, who was acting as another crucial intermediary (along with Basilio Rojas) between the state and local communities. Ruiz wrote to Orozco explaining that villagers were in the midst of completing their harvests during June and July. Orozco eventually sent a summary to the state government of 149 workers he received to complete the repairs. These laborers came from 19 different villages and haciendas in the district of Miahuatlán, including 24 from San Miguel Coatlán, 17 from San Francisco Logueche, 15 from Cuixtla, 14 from Hacienda de Santa Ana, and 12 from San Mateo Río Hondo.[44] In other words, this was a diverse set of workers, which arrived from across the region rather than any specific community. Moreover, Orozco seemed to have little control over who might show up on a given day or week. He eventually demanded the government try to recruit workers from elsewhere in the state.

[42] See monthly budgets in *El Regenerador*, December 9, 1873; March 17, 1874.
[43] AGEO, Gobierno de los Distritos: Miahuatlán, leg. 24, exp. 20: "Miahuatlán a Puerto Angel. Carretera que se está construyendo entre dichos distritos," 1874.
[44] The rest were from San Miguel Yogovana (10), Hacienda de Monjas (9) San Francisco Coatlán (8), Santa María Coatlán (6), San Luis Amatlán (5), Santo Tomás Tamazulapam (4), San Pedro Amatlán (4), and San José del Pacífico (3).

As work was being completed on the road between Miahuatlán and Puerto Ángel, the federal government was also working on establishing additional agreements with major steamship companies that could pass through the newly founded port. In June 1872, Matías Romero negotiated a five-year contract with the Panama Railroad Company, which would operate a new steamship line that traveled monthly between Acapulco and Panama, stopping at Puerto Ángel.[45] However, within a couple years the agreement broke down, with the Mexican government struggling to pay the monthly subsidy of $2,500. On March 1, 1874, the Mexican government signed another five-year contract, this time with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.[46] According to the terms of this contract, the company would operate a monthly, round-trip passage between San Francisco and Panama, stopping at nine different ports along Mexico's western coast, including Acapulco, Mazatlán, and Puerto Ángel. The Mexican government would pay a monthly subsidy of $4,500 and exempt the company from major import and export duties, including tonnage and anchorage fees. In return, the company offered a security deposit of $8,000 to ensure compliance with the terms of the contract. By April 1875, the contract was already suspended, with the company choosing only to stop in Acapulco. Until further economic activity could be generated, Puerto Ángel was unlikely to serve as an appealing stop for major steamship companies.

In 1879, Matías Romero, no longer working for the federal government but still committed to matters of economic development in Oaxaca, wrote his book *El estado de Oaxaca* (published in 1886), which analyzed the growth of the coffee industry in the state. He believed

[45] "Contrato celebrado entre el gobierno federal de México y la compañia del ferrocarril de Panamá para el establecimiento de una línea de vapores de Panamá a Acapulco, tocando en varios puntos de la América Central," *El Regenerador*, February 20, 1872.
[46] "Artículos de un contrato celebrado entre la compañia de Vapores-Correos de Pacífico y la Repulica de los Estados Unidos de México," *El Regenerador*, December 29, 1874.

this industry represented the state's best hope for economic growth after the collapse of the cochineal economy. In his book, he offered a brief update on the roadway between Oaxaca and Puerto Ángel, which at this point had still not advanced beyond San José del Pacífico.[47] In the late 1870s, most of the work being done was simple repairs and maintenance, including cleaning ditches, covering potholes, and clearing rock and dirt from repeated landslides.[48] Romero explained that coffee producers in Cerro de la Pluma were still choosing to export their coffee through the port of Veracruz instead of Puerto Ángel. Although Cerro de la Pluma was only 50 km away from Puerto Ángel, coffee producers were travelling 62 km west to San José del Pacífico, then 140 km north to the capital of Oaxaca, another 221 km northeast to Tehuacán (Puebla), and finally 224 km east to the port of Veracruz. Romero urged the state government to work with local communities to complete the road to Puerto Ángel. Over the course of the following years, Romero's vision proved to be somewhat misguided. Although the state made little progress on the road to Puerto Ángel, coffee exports did begin to grow in Puerto Ángel, reaching nearly a million pounds by the late 1880s. Puerto Ángel slowly became a bustling port, with its own set of political and social tensions.

Growing Exports and Social Conflict, 1880-1888

During his first term as president of Mexico between 1876 and 1880, Porfirio Díaz remained actively involved in the political and economic affairs of his home state of Oaxaca. Born in the city of Oaxaca in 1833, Díaz was a mestizo of Mixtec ancestry, attending the same school—the Instituto de Ciencias y Artes de Oaxaca—as both Benito Juárez and Matías Romero.[49] During the 1850s, Díaz served as an influential jefe político in the district of Ixtlán,

[47] Romero, *El estado de Oaxaca*, 128-132.
[48] *La Victoria*, June 4, 1878; June 28, 1878; July 2, 1878; July 5, 1878.
[49] Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca*, 351-358.

Oaxaca, organizing a powerful local militia that served under him during the War of the Reform and the War of the French Intervention.[50] When Benito Juárez sought reelection as president of Mexico in 1867, Porfirio Díaz chose to challenge his former ally, breaking the long-time alliance between the two liberal politicians and generals. Díaz tried to overthrow Juaréz in 1871 (unsuccessfully) with the Plan de la Noria and later succeeded against Juárez's successor, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, in 1876 with the Plan de Tuxtepec. Once in office, Díaz remained heavily involved in Oaxacan politics, selecting governors and committing federal resources to various infrastructure projects, including the Tehuantepec National Railway.[51] He also held a majority ownership stake in a coffee finca in the district of Cuicatlán, Oaxaca, called "El Faro," which by the 1890s had over 500,000 coffee trees, making it one of the largest coffee operations in the state.[52]

In 1880, the final year of his first term as president, Porfirio Díaz began communicating with several individuals at Puerto Ángel regarding the progress being made at the port. On June 30, Manuel Díaz Ordaz, an employee who had been appointed by Díaz, wrote to the president complaining that the state's treasury had withheld his salary for two months.[53] Díaz Ordaz explained that he had fulfilled his duties at the port, including loading 561 sacks of coffee aboard the ship *South Carolina* on July 24, destined for Panama and Hamburg. As part of this operation, 300 sacks of coffee (as well as 80 sacks of shell pears) were warehoused at the port until the *South Carolina* could return and transport these goods up the coast to Mazatlán and San

[50] For analysis of this militia and Díaz's commitment to these soldiers during his presidency, see Patrick McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
[51] Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca,* 364-370.
[52] Edgar Mendoza, "Desamortización comunal y expansion agrícola en el distrito de Cuicatlán, Oaxaca, 1856-1910."
[53] CPD, leg. 5, caja 5, 002475: Manuel Díaz Ordaz to Porfirio Díaz, June 30, 1880.

Francisco. President Díaz responded to Díaz Ordaz on July 10, confirming that he had passed along his concerns to the Treasury Department and was pleased to hear about the new shipments of coffee.[54] In September, Díaz Ordaz wrote again to the president, complaining he had not been paid for four months and was still owed his salary from January to June, 1878.[55] Díaz Ordaz ultimately made the decision to leave his post, returning to the city of Oaxaca so that he could spend more time with his kids and ensure they had a proper inheritance.

Díaz Ordaz's situation was not atypical for those working at the port. Although coffee shipments were slowly growing, there was still not enough economic activity to provide a solid livelihood for those working at the port, and the state government had limited resources to invest in the area. Two other employees—Félix Gómez (captain of the port) and José Reyes (*comandante de celadores*, or head watchman)—wrote similar letters to Porfirio Díaz expressing frustration regarding working conditions.[56] Gómez, in particular, was dismayed by the lack of proper working materials at the port's office, and the reluctance of the state to cover any of the costs he had incurred in trying to manage the port. He had not been paid in five months and was hoping Porfirio Díaz could eventually land him a job at another port. Gómez asked the president to provide him with a two-month leave of absence (with pay) to travel to the city of Oaxaca and collect enough materials so that he could return to the port and complete his job. José Reyes, meanwhile, described the struggles he was having in trying to support his family at the port. Reyes traveled with his wife, Rosa Donaciana Reyes, and their maid to the town of San Pedro Pochutla, about 15 kilometers away, to collect food and other supplies. Two kilometers along the

[54] CPD, leg. 5, caja 5, 002476: Porfirio Díaz to Manuel Díaz Ordaz, July 10, 1880.
[55] CPD, leg. 5, caja 7, 003302: Manuel Díaz Ordaz to Porfirio Díaz, September 8, 1880.
[56] CPD, leg. 5, caja 7, 003129: Félix Gómez to Porfirio Díaz, September 8, 1880; CPD, leg. 6, caja 8, 003709: José Reyes to Porfirio Díaz, October 26, 1880.

way, they were stopped by heavy rains and eventually fell ill before arriving. Reyes was trying to construct a new home in Puerto Ángel and asked Díaz for any financial support he could provide them.

From these letters, it appeared as if not much had changed at Puerto Ángel since the early 1870s, when Matías Romero struggled to recruit various administrators to work at the isolated port. This was not an easy place to live in, even for those who had the ear of the president and could count on outside resources. However, these conditions changed significantly in the next couple years. Coffee fincas established in Cerro de la Pluma in the 1870s finally began producing coffee in large enough quantities, and the pace of exports picked up at the port, in spite of poor infrastructure.

In Table 5.4, I have presented information regarding exports at the port between July 1881 and July 1883. Over the course of these two fiscal years, a total of 7,000 sacks of coffee, valued at $42,000, were shipped from Puerto Ángel to various ports across the globe, including Hamburg, New York, Mazatlán, San Francisco, and Acapulco.[57] These shipments were carried on four American-owned ships—*Costa Rica*, *Salvador*, *City of Panama*, and *South Carolina*—to either Panama or Acapulco and then transferred to other vessels for longer voyages. In the case of New York and Hamburg, coffee had to be transported across Panama by railroad since the Panama Canal was not completed yet. Beyond coffee, no other significant exports emerged during these years, with only smaller shipments of shell pears, animal hides, sugar, and other miscellaneous goods sent to various locations in Mexico and Central America, including Guatemala.

[57] A sack of coffee weighed 69 kg. Thus, about 480,000 kilos of coffee were shipped during these two years.

Table 5.4: Exports from Puerto Ángel, July 1881-July 1883

Date	Ship Name	Product	Final Destination	Units/Sacks	Value (pesos)
1881					
December 3	Costa Rica	Shell pearls	Hamburg	52	396.80
1882					
February 25	Salvador	Animal hides	Panama	41	41.00
March 13	Salvador	Coffee	Hamburg	300	2070.80
March 30	City of Panama	Coffee	New York	300	2070.90
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	600	4414.80
May 1	Costa Rica	Coffee	Hamburg	760	5253.61
June 14	Costa Rica	Coffee	San Francisco	40	276.12
July 31	City of Panama	Coffee	Hamburg	40	276.12
"	"	Coffee	New York	269	1846.89
"	"	Animal hides	Guatemala	3	41.00
1883					
January 13	City of Panama	Coffee	Mazatlán	100	670.00
February 14	South Carolina	Coffee	Mazatlán	600	4141.80
February 26	South Carolina	Coffee	Hamburg	150	1035.45
March 18	City of Panama	Coffee	San Francisco	1000	4062.00
"	"	Coffee	Mazatlán	325	2243.47
"	"	Coffee	Mazatlán	40	230.10
March 26	City of Panama	Miscellaneous	Panama	6	421.94
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	181	1066.65
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	287	1981.16
April 18	South Carolina	Coffee	Mazatlán	250	1015.50
"	"	Coffee	Mazatlán	103	711.00
"	"	Coffee	Mazatlán	161	1111.30
"	"	Coffee	San Francisco	500	2031.00
April 26	South Carolina	Miscellaneous	Guatemala	8	303.25
"	"	Coffee	New York	186	755.53
"	"	Coffee	New York	368	2540.30
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	23	151.80
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	95	627.00
May 17	City of Panama	Coffee	Acapulco	4	110.40
"	"	Miscellaneous	Acapulco	4	230.00
May 27	City of Panama	Coffee	Hamburg	58	400.20
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	21	144.90
"	"	Coffee	Hamburg	46	317.50
"	"	Sugar	Tehuantepec	26	103.50
June 28	South Carolina	Coffee	Hamburg	194	1380.50
"	"	Corn	Salina Cruz	84	210.66
"	"	Palm and fiber	Guatemala	10	100.00

Source: *Memoria que presenta el general Mariano Jiménez, gobernador interino constitucional del estado, al H. Congreso del mismo el 17 de septiembre de 1883* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1884), 95-96, 180-181.

The most common destination for coffee was the port city of Hamburg, Germany. In total, 2,755 sacks of coffee, worth $18,847.50, were sent to this European hub and then dispersed to various locations across western Europe. The principal consignee, or buyer, of this coffee was

Octling Gebruder and Company, which controlled all shipments from Puerto Ángel to Hamburg. The second most common destination for coffee was Mazatlán, Mexico, which received 1,579 sacks of coffee, worth $10,123. Two buyers controlled this market—Peña and Company and F. Echeguren, Hermano y Sobrina—who transported the coffee into the interior of Mexico, particularly the growing states of Durango and Chihuahua. Finally, the cities of San Francisco and New York also received significant quantities of coffee–1,540 sacks in San Francisco and 1,123 in New York. Several major consignees were active in this market, including Cabrera, Roma and Company (San Francisco) and H. Marquardt and Company (New York).

As economic activity grew at the port, a whole range of positions surrounding maritime trade became increasingly valuable and sought after. While Porfirio Díaz struggled to recruit individuals to live and work at Puerto Ángel in the early 1880s, by the mid 1880s he was receiving numerous requests from those who wanted to benefit from this economic activity. Francisco Meijueiro, who served as governor of Oaxaca between 1877 and 1881, asked Díaz to name his son, Carlos Meijueiro, as head of the paymaster's office on the road between Oaxaca and Puerto Ángel.[58] This road, which had been under construction and was still not completely finished, gained considerable traffic during these years. Díaz agreed to Meijueiro's request, in part because the two men had a long relationship dating back to the mid-century, when both fought together during the War of the French Intervention.[59]

Díaz's military relationships figured prominently in many of these requests. On June 2, 1886, Pedro Bojorques, a resident of Miahuatlán who had moved to Puerto Ángel in the early

[58] CPD, leg. 10, caja 23, 11273-11274: Francisco Meijueiro to Porfirio Díaz, December 18, 1885.
[59] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra*, 59-62. Meijueiro sided with Benito Juárez against Díaz in 1867 and 1871 but later joined with Díaz in 1876 during the Plan of Tuxtepec. See Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca*, 356-357.

1870s, wrote to Porfirio Díaz asking to be named as *vigía*, or lookout, for the port.[60] As part of this petition, Bojorques explained that his family had hosted General Díaz in 1866 in Miahuatlán as Díaz was fighting against the French. During this visit, Díaz had told Pedro, a young boy at the time, that he could write to him in the future if he ever needed support. Bojorques was now deploying this story (whether true or not) as a way of receiving a promotion at the port.

The rise in exports and financial opportunities provoked significant social conflicts in the district of Pochutla, as different factions jockeyed for power and control over the region. These conflicts never rose to the level of an organized regional rebellion but did involve significant violence and drew the attention of both the state and federal government. On April 20, 1888, the captain of the port, Manuel Pérez Abreu, along with 3 accomplices—Luciano Silva (lookout), José Arista (*boga,* or rower), and Vicente Gaspar (rower)—assassinated a judge in the town of San Pedro Pochutla.[61] This assassination provoked the state government to send 50 troops to the region and prompted Porfirio Díaz to communicate extensively with José Canseco, the jefe político of Pochutla, throughout the whole affair. The origins of this incident lay in the tenure of Pochutla's previous jefe político, José Justo Ziga. Ziga had purchased 2,500 square varas of land in Puerto Ángel in the early 1870s and had eventually risen to power in the region, overseeing land adjudications and appointing various individuals to important positions at the port. By 1887, he was reviled by many of his constituents, accused of numerous abuses of power, including blatant acts of nepotism.[62]

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[60] CPD, leg. 11, caja 14, 006610: Pedro Bojorques to Porfirio Díaz, June 2, 1886.
[61] The telegrams surrounding this event can be found in *Memoria presentada por el Ejecutivo al H. Congreso del Estado el 17 de septiembre de 1888* (Oaxaca: Imprenta del Estado, 1888), 72-86.
[62] CPD, leg. 13, caja 7, 003338-003339: Agustín Canseco to Porfirio Díaz, April 27, 1888. Ziga helped his godson acquire significant land in the town of Santa María Tonameca, about 10 km west of San Pedro Pochutla, and helped his cousin, Carlos Ziga, acquire the position of *contador*, or accountant, at the port. He also took land from several individuals in Cerro del Espino (where coffee production was growing at this time) and expelled a priest from Pochutla in late 1887.

At some point in early 1888, Ziga was stripped of his power as jefe político, a move that threatened a small group of individuals that had benefited from Ziga's rule, including Abreu. On April 18, 1888, Abreu and Ziga travelled to San Pedro Pochutla to confront a lead opponent of Ziga, Manuel Pérez Ramírez, in the main plaza of the village. They failed to apprehend Pérez Ramírez at gunpoint, which in turn prompted a popular uprising against Abreu and his employees at the port. On April 19, Abreu sent a desperate telegram to Oaxaca describing a chaotic scene at the port, in which he was hunkered down in his office with other employees, under threat from "drunken mobs." He demanded that federal troops be sent to Pochutla to reestablish order. However, events only escalated from there. On April 20, Abreu, along with 3 employees from the port, rode into San Pedro Pochutla on horseback and murdered the *alcalde segundo* of the village, Jose María Gaspar. During this encounter, the lookout of the port, Luciano Silva, was injured and apprehended, while Abreu, along with two rowers, fled towards the port of Huatulco. From Huatulco, they sailed by canoe approximately 160 km eastward to the port of Salina Cruz in the district of Tehuantepec. Upon arrival, authorities in Tehuantepec reported that Abreu was bruised and had one gunshot wound, while the other two individuals were unharmed.

Local authorities in Tehuantepec cooperated with the state government in holding Abreu and his accomplices until a full investigation could take place. Once this investigation was completed, Tehuantepec officials sent the men back to Pochutla to receive sentencing on June 1. There is no record of what exactly happened to Abreu or Ziga, but Abreu was likely facing significant time in jail. Meanwhile, Carlos Ziga, Justo's cousin, continued to work at Puerto

Ángel as an accountant, and José Canseco wrote a letter to Porfirio Díaz in June confirming that Carlos had not been involved in any of the events surrounding the assassination.[63]

Nonetheless, the assassination of José María Gaspar revealed the significant tensions that had developed in this region with the rise of Puerto Ángel. As money flowed in from coffee exports, political officials, like Justo Ziga, were bound to protect the port's interests, often at the expense of other segments of society. The jefe político was put in the difficult position of overseeing a major port of entry, where diverse groups of people—local residents, federal employees, and national and foreign investors—all intermingled in an environment of growing wealth and opportunity. This was unimaginable just two decades ago, when Benito Juárez had opened the small outpost to foreign commerce. Now, Puerto Ángel represented a major node of Mexico's Pacific commerce, attracting all those who wanted to gain from coffee and its worldwide consumption.

Epilogue: *El Avisador de Puerto Ángel*, 1888-1890

On December 15, 1888, Puerto Ángel released the first issue of its own bimonthly newspaper, *El Avisador de Puerto Ángel*, which aimed to cover "agriculture, commerce, economics, sciences, arts, and industry" for the port and the surrounding district of Pochutla.[64] The editor of the newspaper was José Muñuzuri, who served as an administrator at the port and the municipal president of San Pedro Pochutla. As Muñuzuri explained in the first issue, the magazine was designed to disseminate information about the region to various travelers, both national and foreign, who passed through the port on a regular basis.[65] Muñuzuri believed Puerto Ángel had been overlooked by many of these individuals, as they still believed the port lacked

[63] CPD, leg. 13, caja 17, 008366-008367: Carlos Ziga to Porfirio Díaz, August 6, 1888.
[64] *El Avisador de Puerto Ángel,* December 15, 1888, Hemeroteca Nacional Digital de México.
[65] José Muñuzuri, "El Avisador de Puerto Angel," ibid.

sufficient legal guarantees and adequate infrastructure. Muñuzuri claimed the region had the potential for double or triple the number of coffee fincas (which at this point was between 40 and 50). The port was exporting over a million pounds of coffee each year, although production still lagged far behind others parts of Mexico and Central America.

As the months went by and different entrepreneurs contributed to the *Avisador*, it became clear not everyone was on the same page as Muñuzuri. Hilario Cuevas, an important coffee entreprenuer in the neighboring district of Juquila, wrote a letter to the newspaper on February 12, 1889 (published the following day), which argued that the port's tariffs were too high and customs procedures involved too much paperwork.[66] Cuevas believed capital was moving to Australia, the United States, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, and that Oaxaca could only hope to complete with these areas if it reformed its customs regime. Customs regulations included onerous restrictions on ships selling their goods on board, requiring them to do so at the customs office instead.

However, other more optimistic voices emerged regarding the port's potential for handling growing commerce. Manuel Abreu, who apparently had evaded jail time and was now working for the country's coast guard, wrote in March 1889 about the virtues of the topography of the port.[67] Although the anchorage of the port was not extensive, Abreu explained that the port could still handle 30 ships of at least 400 tons since ships were protected from winds by the mountains surrounding the port. The port still needed a new dock and a new lighthouse, but these were not difficult projects considering the abundant natural materials available in the area.

[66] Hilario Cuevas, "Decadencia de nuestra agricultura.—Sin protección eficaz nuestra producción agrícola siempre sera nula.—Necesidad de que nuestro arancel de aduanas se reforme," ibid., February 13, 1889.
[67] Manuel P. Abreu, "Puerto Angel," ibid., March 13, 1889.

As part of his editorial, Abreu noted the exceptional service of Quijano and Company, a merchant house that handled both domestic and foreign cargo and transported goods along the Pacific coast of Mexico. Quijano and Company, headed by Francisco Quijano, was the largest merchant house operating at the port, handling over $100,000 worth of merchandise each year. The company also operated a small fleet of boats (*lanchas*) as well as a foundry, which produced coffee pulpers, mills, and mincers. In Figure 5, I have included a popular advertisement for the company, which was printed in almost every issue of the *Avisador*. The advertisement explained that the company handled shipments between Acapulco, Salina Cruz, Barra de Tecoanapa, and Puerto Ángel, taking care of clients' goods through various stages of the trading process, including loading, unloading, and customs. Beyond Quijano and Company, several other smaller merchant houses also operated at Puerto Ángel—Alberto G. Balderrán ($50,000 worth of goods per year), Pablo Martínez ($10,000), Leonardo Pacheco ($5,000), and the partners Eduardo S. Ocejo and Laureano Castillo ($5,000).[68] As with Quijano and Company, many of these merchants operated side businesses at the port, including the resale of hardware, clothing, and cigarettes.

[68] José Muñuzuri, "Adelante!!" ibid., April 1, 1889.

Figure 5: Quijano and Company Advertisement, May 10, 1889

Source: *El Avisador de Puerto Ángel*, May 10, 1889.

The port's newspaper (*El Avisador*) would not last very long, publishing its final issue on September 12, 1890. By this point in time, the editor José Muñuzuri had found himself in serious trouble with the region's residents, committing a series of abuses that led to his exit as municipal president of San Pedro Pochutla. Muñuzuri accumulated a long list of transgressions during his time in power, including compelling residents to work for him for little to no pay, imprisoning various individuals without just cause, defaming and slandering women, levying unjust fines,

and diverting municipal revenues for his own benefit (i.e., embezzlement).[69] In early September, Ramón González, the jefe político of Pochutla, wrote a letter to a congressman in Mexico City asking for his help in removing Muñuzuri from the region.[70] Muñuzuri had been convicted by a local judge for embezzlement, but his sentence was not upheld by the state's higher court. González was hoping the congressman could gain the attention of the president in resolving the matter. On September 23, Gregorio Chávez, the newly elected governor of Oaxaca, wrote a similar letter directly to the president, asking Porfirio Díaz to remove Muñuzuri from the port and assign him to a different location.[71] Díaz agreed with Chávez's assessment, and by the end of the year Muñuzuri was no longer working at Puerto Ángel.

Muñuzuri's fall from grace was an example of the types of conflicts that could emerge at Mexico's ports, as outsiders, appointed to work at the port as federal employees, rose to positions of power in the region. These outsiders' relationship to local inhabitants was always tenuous and volatile, and they could not count on the same types of popular support as homegrown leaders. In the case of Muñuzuri, his departure from Puerto Ángel had serious repercussions for other employees at the port who had served alongside him and supported him. One of those employees was Marco del Moral, who worked at the port for nine years, both as an accountant and a lookout. In December 1890, Moral was laid off by the state government due to his ties to Muñuzuri.[72] Moral wrote a letter to Porfirio Díaz on December 23, pleading with him to intervene and reverse the state's decision. As Moral explained, his wife had passed away two years earlier, and he was taking care of his two young daughters, one six years old and the other

[69] CPD, leg. 15, caja 24, 011999: Apolinar Cruz to Porfirio Díaz, September 28, 1890.
[70] CPD, leg. 15, caja 22, 010781: Ramón González to Eutimio Cervantes, September 4, 1890.
[71] CPD, leg. 15, caja 22, 010838-010839: Gregorio Chávez to Porfirio Díaz, September 23, 1890.
[72] CPD, leg. 15, caja 29, 014325: Marco del Moral to Porfirio Díaz, December 22, 1890.

four years old. While there is no indication that the president intervened to save Moral's job, Moral's story reflects the ongoing difficulties of working at Puerto Ángel, even as coffee exports grew and money flowed into this region. This was not an easy place to live in, much less raise a family, as the port was prone to sudden changes in administration and leadership. Over the course of two decades, Puerto Ángel had produced its fair share of winners and losers in this rapidly changing environment, a reality that was unlikely to change anytime soon.

CONCLUSION

Change and Continuity in Miahuatlán

If Nicolas-Joseph Thiéry de Menonville, the French botanist who travelled to Oaxaca in 1777 to smuggle cochineal out of New Spain, had returned 100 years later to visit this same region, he would been dumbstruck. He could not have imagined that the valuable trade that drew him across the Atlantic and into the interior of Mexico was no longer practiced. Most residents in the district of Miahuatlán, however, were no longer interested in maintaining nopaleries or protecting cochineal insects over their three-month life span. The price of cochineal had been steadily falling since the 1820s and after 1870 was no longer worth producing except for occasional local use. The instruments used for protecting the insects from predators and removing the insects from cacti, such as a deer's tail or a wooden plate called a *xicalpestle*, were employed for other purposes now, as were the pots of water and sun mats used for processing. If Menonville had visited any homes in Miahuatlán, he would not have seen the customary pads of nopal covered with insects hanging from the sheds of families' homes. These were all vestiges of a way of life that was no longer viable and had now been put to rest.

Menonville, however, would have been enchanted by a new industry, one that he was keenly aware of living in France in the eighteenth (or nineteenth) century. He would have visited a coffee finca in Cerro de la Pluma, marveling at the rows of coffee trees planted along the hill sides and the equipment used for washing, pulping, hulling, polishing, and sorting the coffee once it was picked. These hills had been empty forests in the eighteenth century, mostly unused or occasionally foraged. Menonville would have noticed a new wagon road that stretched from the capital of Oaxaca to the Pacific coast. This road was a dirt path in the late eighteenth century, navigable only by foot or mule. It now led travelers on wagons or carriages to a brand-new port

along the coast—Puerto Ángel. Steamships were docking at the port on a regular basis and transporting coffee across the world, including northern Mexico, the United States, and Europe. Menonville would have visited the merchant house of Quijano and Company, which now owned multiple coffee fincas in Cerro de la Pluma and was operating a vibrant import-export business at the port.

And yet, Menonville would have been so captivated by these changes that he would have missed out on the significant ways in which the district of Miahuatlán was still the same. While many lands had been sold for coffee, these were mainly propios and ejidos, or lands traditionally rented out or used for collective purposes. Farm lands—the tierras de común repartimiento—were still distributed among the families of each pueblo. Even if the village had undergone a reparto—the land subdivision mandated by state legislation—these subdivisions were fairly egalitarian processes, with most families receiving what they needed for their daily sustenance. Moreover, the fundo legal, or village center where residents had their homes, was largely unaffected by these new laws governing property. Farmers still spent a considerable amount of time cultivating traditional crops such as maize, beans, and chile through slash-and-burn methods or engaging in small-scale artisanal crafts.

These continuities in agrarian life are not insignificant. In this dissertation, I have traced the major legal, financial, and economic changes that took place in Miahuatlán over the course of the nineteenth century. These included new forms of credit, new types of taxes, new laws governing property, and new methods of commerce. In spite of these changes, the district of Miahuatlán was still, fundamentally, a place of small-scale family farmers with sufficient access to land. This reality runs up against entrenched understandings of what took place in Mexico in the late nineteenth century. In regions that experienced large-scale commercial agriculture or

industrial growth, this economic expansion caused significant social dislocations in the countryside, many of which were at the heart of the social revolution that swept hold of the country in 1910.[1]

In a place like Oaxaca, these processes looked quite different. Due to the success of the cochineal trade in the colonial period—an industry that never lasted in central Mexico—the province of Oaxaca developed a social structure in which small-scale family farming was the foundation of the region's economy. Indigenous communities held most of the arable land, and the Spanish—or any other foreigners that eventually settled in Oaxaca in the colonial period or early nineteenth century—devoted themselves to commerce and trade. Most of Oaxaca's villages became municipalities in the nineteenth century, giving them a great deal of autonomy and control over landed resources. These municipal governments mediated any economic changes that took place in the late nineteenth century—selling certain lands, extracting yearly rents, and providing labor for certain infrastructure projects. Local governments were made up of diverse interests, but they were still willing to defend their residents against any significant encroachments on their basic way of life.

The Revolution in Oaxaca (1910-1920)

What role did Oaxaca's residents play in the Mexican Revolution of 1910? This is a long-standing and controversial question, ever since Ronald Waterbury's 1975 essay: "Non-revolutionary Peasants: Oaxaca Compared to Morelos in the Mexican Revolution."[2] Waterbury argued that Oaxaca's peasants were essentially "passive" participants in the Revolution,

[1] There are ongoing historiographical debates about the social origins of the Mexican Revolution. For a recent essay considering these origins, see John Womack Jr., "The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920," in *Mexico Since Independence,* ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 125-200.
[2] Ronald Waterbury, "Non-Revolutionary Peasants: Oaxaca Compared to Morelos in the Mexican Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 4 (October 1975): 410-442.

interested more in maintaining the status quo than fighting for genuine social change. While there were several uprisings in the state—including a protracted Sovereignty Movement between 1915 and 1920—these movements were not agrarian in nature but rather based in the reactionary interests of local elites. Waterbury founded his argument on a comparison of the socioeconomic conditions in the states of Oaxaca and Morelos before the Revolution. While large-scale sugar plantations had undermined village corporate property in Morelos, in Oaxaca "changes in the agrarian sector were minimal," with many cash crops, such as coffee, cultivated by small-scale farmers instead.[3] In this dissertation, I have emphasized that the district of Miahuatlán did experience similar economic changes as other parts of the country, including large-scale commercial agriculture, but these changes were controlled and mediated by local municipal governments, thus limiting widespread disenfranchisement.

Recent research, however, has shown a fairly volatile and complex situation in Oaxaca between 1910 and 1920, one in which the political vacuum left by the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz resulted in a variety of different social conflicts and uprisings across the state. In the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the mayor of Juchitán, José "Che" Gómez, led a separatist movement against Oaxaca's governor Benito Juárez Maza in late 1911.[4] This movement was focused on the issue of local autonomy but did include agrarian demands, including control over salt mines and restitution of ancient village lands.[5] In the summer of 1912, residents from the village of Ixtepeji in the Sierra Juárez (north of the state capital) rose up against their district authority in Ixtlán,

[3] Ibid., 424.
[4] Victor de la Cruz, "Corrido de Che Gómez. Che Gómez y la rebelion de Juchitán: 1911," in *Lecturas históricas del estado de Oaxaca*, vol. 4, ed. María de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi (México, D.F.: INAH, 1990), 247-271; Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 374-378.
[5] Victor de la Cruz, "Corrido de Che Gómez," 257.

killing the local jefe político, ransacking municipal offices, and advancing on the state capital.[6] President Francisco Madero sent several hundred federal troops to put down the revolt, in the process destroying the town of Ixtepeji and exiling many of its residents to northern Mexico. The Ixtepeji revolt was based in long-standing internal conflicts in the region, but recent research has emphasized the importance of demographic growth and land pressures placed on certain farmers in Ixtepeji.[7]

During these early years of the Revolution, Zapatista forces in central Mexico began making inroads in northern Oaxaca. In September 1911, Emiliano Zapata likely entered the district of Silacayoapan, along the border between Oaxaca and the states of Guerrero and Puebla, as he was fleeing federal forces under Victoriano Huerta.[8] In the following months, local officials in Silacayoapan confirmed the presence of Zapatista forces under Jesús Morales in the region.[9] In January 1912, Morales, along with Eufemio Zapata (Emiliano's brother), tried to take the village of Huajuapan de León, in the neighboring district of Huajuapan, unsuccessfully and tried once again later that year but to no avail.[10] While these were small incursions into the state, over the next two years many villages in the northern region of Oaxaca would slowly come under the orbit of Zapatista forces and ideologies. Zapatista generals in the region included Isidro Vargas, Miguel Salas, Agapito Pérez, Manuel Martínez Miranda, and Julián Nila.[11]

On June 3, 1915, the governor of Oaxaca, José Inés Davila, announced the state of Oaxaca was declaring its sovereignty from the Mexican republic until constitutional order could

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[6] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra*, 190-197; Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 1: 379-382.
[7] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra*, 193.
[8] Francisco José Ruiz Cervantes, "Movimientos zapatistas en Oaxaca. Una primera mirada: 1911-1916," in *Lecturas históricas del estado de Oaxaca,* vol. 4, ed. María de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi (México, D.F.: INAH, 1990), 276-277.
[9] Ibid., 277.
[10] Ibid., 278.
[11] Ibid., 279.

be restored.[12] This decree was the result of growing interventions by Constitutionalist (i.e. federal) forces into the state in the last several months. These forces began making inroads in Oaxaca in August 1914, entering through the port of Salina Cruz in the south.[13] After establishing a foothold in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, federal troops traveled from Salina Cruz to Puerto Ángel, occupying the town of San Pedro Pochutla on May 1, 1915.[14] The Constitutionalist army now controlled key sites of commerce and navigation that had been developing since the 1880s with the rise of coffee production. From San Pedro Pochutla, they traveled along the new wagon road that led to the capital of Oaxaca, fighting key battles in Miahuatlán and Ocotlán in late 1915 and early 1916.[15] Federal forces finally arrived in the capital of Oaxaca in March 1916, occupying the city and pushing Oaxacan forces into retreat into the Mixteca and the Sierra Juárez.[16]

Between 1916 and 1920, the Constitutionalist army, now in control of Oaxaca, would face off against pro-sovereign (*soberanista*) forces in various parts of the state. Several crucial battles were fought in the district of Miahuatlán. Enrique Brena, a soberanista general from the district of Ejutla who had retreated to the Sierra Juárez in 1916, eventually returned to the district of Yautepec, just east of Miahuatlán. In 1918, he began making contacts with guerilla forces surrounding Miahuatlán that were still aligned with the sovereignty cause. In June 1919, these various rebel factions joined together and besieged the village of San Andrés Miahuatlán, forcing

[12] Francisco José Ruiz Cervantes, *La revolución en Oaxaca: el movimiento de la soberanía (1915-1920)* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), 72-74. For a brief article on the origins of the sovereignty movement in Oaxaca, see Paul Garner, "Federalism and Caudillismo in the Mexican Revolution: The Genesis of the Oaxaca Sovereignty Movement (1915-20)," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 17, no. 1 (May 1986): 111-133.
[13] Ruiz Cervantes, *La revolución en Oaxaca*, 54-55.
[14] Ibid., 71.
[15] Ibid., 88-89.
[16] Ibid., 92.

the Constitutionalists to surrender control over the area.[17] Soberanista forces now occupied a key strategic point in the state, controlling access to the Pacific Ocean and Puerto Ángel.

The Constitutionalist and sovereign sides reached a peace agreement in May 1920, which called for an end to the hostilities and granted considerable powers to the rebel forces.[18] These forces, now under the command of General Isaac Ibarra, would set up a provisional government in the coming months, while federal forces, under Álvaro Obregón, would leave only a small contingent in the state capital. This was a major victory for the pro-sovereignty movement, although the state of Oaxaca would still succumb to the centralizing tendencies of the post-Revolutionary federal government in the upcoming years. At the heart of the sovereignty battle, however, was the district of Miahuatlán, a crucial site of money and power for both sides. These groups recognized how valuable this area was, representing a vibrant coffee economy, key passageway to the Pacific, and global commercial network. This dissertation has tried to explain how this all came to be. It is now up to future historians to uncover the region's role in the Mexican Revolution and beyond.

[17] Ibid., 121-123.
[18] Ibid., 128.

APPENDIX A
Inventory of Manuel María de Ortega, Subdelegado of Miahuatlán, 1807-1811

Grana owed to subdelegado, distributed at a rate of 2 pesos/lb (1 pound = 16 ounces)	lb	oz
San Juan Ozolotepec (population: 377)		
Clemente Francisco María Agustina	7	3
Nicolás de Rosas Juana Alverta	0	8
Andrés de Jesús María Yaya	6	8
Alonso Mariano María Agustina	1	8
Cayetano José Juliana María	12	14
Francisco de Luna Tomasa María	10	3
José Antonio Cruz Micaela María	8	0
Santiago Hernández María Marta	83	1
Ermeregildo Hernández Petrona María	10	0
Jose Ensidio Hernández (soltero)	12	0
Felix Santiago (hijo de Petrona María, viuda)	0	4
Juan Agustín (hijo de Paula Maria, viuda)	1	0
Cayetano Mendez María Soledad	1	11
Manuel José Hernández Rafaela María	17	2
Total	**171**	**4**
San Antonio Ozolotepec (population: 151)		
Agustín Gerónimo Vicenta María	5	12
Mariano Gerónimo Marcela María	2	9
Teodoro Gerónimo Vicenta María	0	2
José Narcisa Antonia María	0	14
Luis Gerónimo Ana María	9	8
Domingo de la Cruz Paula María	1	8
Juan Evangelista Cecilia María	2	0
José Gaspar Matea García	6	9
Gregorio Ximenez Bernarda María	14	3
Total	**43**	**1**
Santa Cruz Ozolotepec (population: 238)		
Pablo Luis Juana María	11	4
Torivio Matías Escribano	6	11
Gerónimo Martín María Bartola	12	0
Narciso de los Santos Marta María	6	8
Juan Damian Pasquala María	3	8
Vicente Martin Lorenza María	1	3
Matias Perez Micaela María	3	0
Apolonio José Luria María	5	8
Juan Pérez (viudo de Dionicia María)	8	4
Martín Agustín (hijo de Agustín Martín)	4	3
Ignacio Marcelo María Zotera	3	8
Juan de la Cruz María Magdalena	8	0
Manuel García María Hilaria	7	2
Pedro López (hijo de Agustín)	4	8
Gabriel de la Cruz (viudo de Petrona María)	1	8
Apolinar de la Cruz (hijo de Nicolás)	2	8

Manuel Martín (hijo de Agustín)	2	8
Juan Agustín (soltero)	3	0
Feliciano Manuel (hijo de Alvino José)	12	0
José Pérez María Asempción	4	0
José Aragón (hijo de Santiago)	4	0
Pedro Luis (soltero)	4	0
José Alvino	2	8
Total	**121**	**3**
San Francisco Ozolotepec (population: 221)		
Ambrosio Figueroa Parquala María	4	8
Mateo López Catalina María	3	8
José de la Cruz Catalina María	1	0
Juan Hernández Juana María	2	0
Francisco Mendoza Rosa María	1	0
Felix Miguel Ysavela María	1	0
José Mariano Dominga María	0	8
Damián Lápez Engracia María	1	0
Pedro Martín Rita María	1	0
Miguel López Catalina María	1	8
Jose Gregorio Josefa María	0	9
Juan Francisco María Natividad	1	0
Gervario López Micaela María	0	8
Juan Manuel Petrona María	1	0
Juan Antonio Roza María	1	8
Ignacio de la Cruz Antonio María	1	0
José Antonio María Tereza	1	0
Pasqual Blaz (viudo)	1	0
Domingo Miguel Manuela María	0	8
Matias Clemente (soltero)	0	8
Mateo de la Cruz Nicolasa María	6	0
Tereza Maria (viuda)	0	8
Pedro Ventura Marta María	1	0
Santiago Francisco María García	2	0
Fernando Rosario (viudo)	1	0
Mariano Martín Juana María	1	0
Matias de la Cruz Luisa María	0	8
(El Alcalde de este pueblo)	0	8
Total	**38**	**1**
San Pablo Coatlán (population: 651)		
Lazaro Ximénez (en 15 de febrero)	5	0
Total	**5**	**0**
San Sebastián Coatlán (population: 576)		
Juan Mexia	19	12
Baltazar Osorio	3	0
Total	**22**	**12**
Santo Domingo Coatlán (population: 227)		
José Antonio Floriana María	14	0
Total	**14**	**0**

Santa María Coatlán (population: 294)		
Rafael Antonio Antonia Roza	3	0
Eusevio Cortés	3	8
Carlos Antonio María Domínguez	4	12
Total	**11**	**4**
San Francisco Coatlán (population: 281)		
Eugenia Martin Bernarda María	11	14
Total	**11**	**14**
San Pedro Coatlán (population: 193)		
Leonardo Garcia (Alcalde)	3	0
Total	**3**	**0**
San Marcial Ozolotepec (population: 497)		
Tomás García Tomás María	11	3
Salvador de los Santos (viudo de Francisca)	3	11
Andrés Francisco Marta María	1	0
Gregorio de los Santos	2	0
Total	**17**	**14**
San Sebastián Ozolotepec (population: 272)		
Fulgencio Ramírez	4	0
Bernavel Antonio Ramírez María Ygnacio	1	0
Total	**5**	**0**
Santo Domingo Ozolotepec (population: 279)		
Manuel Martín María Melchora	6	0
Francisco Martín Tereza María	6	8
Felipe Santiago Tomasa del Rosario	1	0
Juan de los Santos María Guadalupe	6	0
José Mariano (fiador del anterior)	2	0
Total	**21**	**8**
San Miguel Ozolotepec (population: 130)		
Miguel Sorita María de la Concepción	3	0
Sebastian Sorita Juana Roza	3	0
Juan Sorita Clara María	2	0
Pablo Sorita (hermano de Miguel)	2	8
Total	**10**	**8**
Santa María Ozolotepec (population: 520)		
Tomás Antonio Cortés	2	0
Juan Trinidad Ruiz	5	0
Total	**7**	**0**
San Baltazar Loxicha		
Teodoro Gómez María Domínguez	2	0
Manuel Ximénez de San Pablo (fiador del anterior)	0	0
Total	**2**	**0**

Santa Catalina Xanaguia (population: 288)		
Matío de la Cruz	2	0
Total	**2**	**0**
San Miguel Suchixtepec (population: 232)		
Patricio de Cruz María Nicolasa	2	0
Cipriano Felipe Juana María	3	0
Manuel Antonio (viudo)	5	0
Pedro José (regidor pasado)	1	0
Lucas Hernández Felipa María	1	8
José Mariano Teresa María	3	0
Total	**15**	**8**
San Simón Almolongas (population: 1,329)		
Esteban de la Cruz María Manuela	1	0
Total	**1**	**0**
San Esteban Amatlán (population: 1,016)		
Alexandro Vazquez (Alcalde)	10	0
Total	**10**	**0**
Total	**534**	**9**

Money (in pesos and reales), distributed by subdelegado, to be returned in grana (1 peso = 8 reales)	$P	$R
Miahuatlán (population: 2,247)		
Alexandro Martín Manuela María	5	4
José Mariano Jarquin Petrona María	1	4
Maria Ygnacia (mujer de Pedro Nolasco)	10	0
Manuel Jose Martín	25	0
Cecilia Bustamante	6	0
Victoriano Cruz (el Trompista)	5	4
Francisco Bustamante	2	0
Mateo Ortiz	2	0
Manuel Ventura del Arrogante	5	0
Total	**63**	**4**
San Miguel Suchixtepec (population: 232)		
Felipe Santiago	50	4
Ana Jacinta	241	4
José Santiago Aguilar (hijo de Ana Jacinta)	105	2
Total	**397**	**2**
Total	**459**	**2(?)**

Money loaned by subdelegado at a rate of 12 reales to be paid at 2 pesos (i.e., 33% interest rate)	$P	$R

Miahuatlán (population: 2,247)		
Fulgencio Ramírez María Manuela	4	0
Felipe Reyes Dionicia Ramírez	2	0
Gregorio Antonio María Silveria	6	0
Manuela María (viuda de Tomas Arollanos)	1	0
Gregoria Antonia (viuda de Jose Quizos)	6	0
Antonio Nicolás (viudo de Jila en Monjas)	32	0
Francisco Fabian (regidor de Almolongas)	0	4
Total	**51**	**4**
Santa Cruz Xitla (population: 254)		
Tiburcio José Manuela María	1(?)	4
Jacinto de la Cruz Patrona María	5(?)	0
Apolinar Santiago María Manuela	2	0
Juan Antonio de la Cruz y Luciana María	2	0
Tomás Figueroa (Alcalde)	1	0
Total	**11**	**4**
Santa Catalina Cuixtla (population: 738)		
Mariano Antonio María de la Cruz	1	0
Vicente Arellano María Vicenta	1	4
Valentin Reyes y Ana de las Nieves	2	0
Manuel Ruiz Victoria María	1	0
Ypolito Cortés Petrona María	2	0
Manuel de Luna	3	0
Total	**10**	**4**
San Miguel Cuixtla (population: 245)		
Marcial (soltero, hijo de Feliciano Ruiz)	2	4
Ignacio Juarez Juana María	2	0
Felipe Juarez Manuela María	9	0
José Ramírez Francisca Florentina	2	0
Pedro Rosario Tomás María	0	4
Manuel José Teodora Maria	0	4
Gregorio Pérez Regina Antonia	1	0
Esteban Antonio Correo (que fue a Oaxaca)	6	0
Total	**23**	**4**
San Luis Amatlán (population: 1,225)		
Joaquina Mijangos	1	0
Total	**1**	**0**
San Pedro Amatlán (population: 231)		
Juan Martín María Luisa	2	2
Pedro Martín	1	0
Total	**3**	**2**
San Francisco Amatlán		
Jose García, con sus hijas María Manuela y Juana María	3	0
Juana María (viuda de Jan Sebastian)	6	0
Total	**9**	**0**

San Cristobal Amatlán (population: 319)		
El Mayor Pedro Hernández	2	0
Pedro Santiago Petrona María	5	0
Juan Agustín Josefa María	7	0
José Paulino Floriana María	8	0
Pedro Hernández (hijo de Juana Maria)	3	4
Miguel Martín (viudo de Marta)	5	0
Lucas Hernández (Alcalde)	3	0
Total	**33**	**4**
San Ildefonso Ozolotepec (population: 114)		
Estebán José García	10	0
Apolinar Santiago (hermano del anterior)	12	0
Total	**22**	**0**
Santo Domingo Amatlán (population: 299)		
Juan Pedro Felipe María Estefana	0	4
Total	**0**	**4**
Coatecas Altas		
Diego Ramos María Manuela (fiador Manuel de los Reyes)	5	0
Andrés Mofarás Pasqual María	1	0
Mariano Ramírez Lorenza María	8	0
José de los Santos Bernarda María	1	0
Luciano Claudio (fiador Mariano Vázquez)	1	0
Manuel de los Reyes Juana María	3	0
Apolinar García María de la Roza	16	0
Antonio Sánchez Juana María	12	0
El Gobernador y los Alcaldes de 1809	8	0
Andrés Aragón	15	0
Total	**70**	**0**
Total	**244**	**2**

Source: AGEO, Real Intendencia, leg. 66, exp 11.

APPENDIX B
Cochineal Merchants and Taxes Owed, 1816

Merchant	Cochineal (pounds)	% of Market	Total Value (pesos)	Taxes Owed (pesos)
Mateo de la Portilla	24,413	9%	$97,652	$6,103
Antonio Maza	21,099	8%	$84,396	$5,072
Manuel Riancho	18,408	7%	$73,632	$4,425
Manuel Campero	17,387	6%	$69,548	$4,347
Rafael Lianza	15,950	6%	$63,800	$3,988
Felipe Gutiérrez	14,325	5%	$59,592	$3,581
Antonio de la Portilla	12,275	5%	$49,100	$3,069
Sebastián González	9,563	4%	$38,252	$2,391
Manuel Pacheco	9,225	3%	$36,900	$2,306
Matias de Corres	8,275	3%	$33,100	$2,069
Juan Enríquez	7,900	3%	$32,864	$1,975
Antonio Pedruaca	7,388	3%	$30,732	$1,847
Francisco Moreno	6,725	3%	$26,900	$1,681
María Bartola Guisado	6,500	2%	$26,000	$1,625
Felipe Unquera	6,000	2%	$24,000	$1,500
José Solaegui	5,675	2%	$23,608	$1,419
Ignacio Goytia	5,050	2%	$20,200	$1,263
Simón Gutiérrez	4,875	2%	$19,500	$1,219
Manuel García y Goytia	4,200	2%	$16,800	$1,050
José Callao	3,800	1%	$15,200	$950
Jacinto de San Pedro	3,375	1%	$13,500	$844
Antonio Sánchez	2,925	1%	$11,700	$731
José Ortiz	2,900	1%	$11,600	$725
José Gutiérrez	2,563	1%	$10,252	$641
23+ merchants		18%		
Total	**272,628**		**$1,090,512**	**$68,157**

Source: AGEO, Tesorería Principal, leg. 8, exp. 12: "Cuaderno de recaudación y cuenta del impuesto sobre granas del año 1816," 1816-1817.

APPENDIX C
Cochineal Merchants and Taxes Owed, 1820

Merchant	Cochineal (pounds)	% of Market	Total Value (pesos)	Taxes Owed (pesos)
José Guergué	42,663	17%	$149,319	$6,826
Manuel Campero	38,500	16%	$134,750	$6,160
Nicolás Reyes	27,475	11%	$96,163	$4,396
Ignacio Goytia	16,500	6%	$57,750	$2,640
Mateo de la Portilla	15,925	6%	$55,738	$2,548
Francisco Moreno	15,512	6%	$54,292	$2,482
Felipe Gutiérrez	8,412	3%	$29,442	$1,346
Cayetano Gutiérrez	7,525	3%	$26,338	$1,204
José de Nano	6,625	3%	$23,188	$1,060
José Conde	6,238	3%	$22,705	$998
Manuel Ceballos	5,438	2%	$19,033	$870
Rafael Redondo	5,075	2%	$17,763	$812
Jose Gutiérrez	4,388	2%	$15,356	$702
Juan López Gutiérrez	4,375	2%	$15,313	$700
Manuel García y Goytia	4,200	2%	$15,288	$672
José Ortiz	3,825	1%	$13,388	$612
Antonio de Gauna	3,200	1%	$11,200	$512
José Solaegui	2,963	1%	$10,371	$474
Pascual Renero	2,775	1%	$9,713	$444
40+ merchants		12%		
Total	**255,525**		**894,338**	**$40,884**

Source: AGEO, Tesorería Principal, leg. 19, exp. 4: "Cuenta de cargo y data de los caudales que se recauden en esta Real Aduana de Oaxaca en el presente año, por el impuesto municipal para la mantención de las tropas sobre las extracciones de granas para fuera de la provincia, al respecto de 4 pesos en cada arroba, con arreglo al bando publicado el 28 de noviembre de 1819, y a las guias que se libren para que solo Veracruz de esta administración principal y sus receptorias," 1819-1821.

APPENDIX D
Commercial Traffic between Huatulco and Oaxaca (Capital), 1830-1832

Date	Sender	Product	Units	Value (pesos)	Consignee
1830					
December 5	Sebastián Ferrer	[a]	78	1080.50	
December 9	"		24	236.70	
December 11	"		10	39.00	
December 13	"		44	572.70	
December 13	"		42	546.70	
December 13	"		31	338.40	
December 17	"		32	338.40	
December 17	"		40	328.10	
December 23	"		28	328.10	
December 25	"		42	468.60	
December 31	"		44	619.60	
December 31	"		15	169.40	
1831					
January 4	"		48	625.00	Montgomery y Nico
January 17	"		50	585.70	"
January 19	"		22	286.30	"
January 19	"		20	260.30	"
February 11	"		40	734.30	Ignacio Goytia y Joaquín Guergué
February 11	"		15	260.30	"
February 12	"		42	726.40	"
February 12	"		22	411.30	"
February 12	"		14	250.00	"
February 12	"		26	453.10	"
February 16	"		25	447.70	"
February 16	"		49	856.60	"
February 17	"		21	375.00	"
February 24	"		17	291.50	"
February 24	"		14	255.10	"
February 24	"		76	1,328.10	"
February 24	"		102	1,744.60	"
February 25	"		14	241.70	"
February 25	"		23	416.50	"
February 25	"		22	401.00	"
February 25	"		16	299.30	"
February 25	"		13	229.10	"
March 3	"		21	364.40	"
March 3	"		14	244.60	"
March 11	"		26	416.50	"
March 11	"		9	156.20	"
March 12	"		16	234.30	"
March 12	"		11	182.20	"
March 12	"		11	182.20	"
March 12	"		12	187.40	"
June 17	Juan Moore	cacao y ciruelas	20	229.60	Montgomery y Nico
June 19	Juan González	aguardiente	8	184.20	

July 6	Federico Meyer	cacao	60		José Antonio Rodríguez
July 6	Federico Meyer	cacao	52		José Antonio Rodríguez
August 5	Alejo Lapair	aguardiente	64		Montgomery y Nico
August 5	"	aguardiente	40		"
August 5	"	aguardiente	43		"
August 5	"	aguardiente	56		"
August 5	"	aguardiente	50		"
August 5	"	aguardiente	84		"
August 9	"	aguardiente	50		"
August 13	"	lienzos de algodón	12		"
August 13	"	aguardiente	18		"
August 13	"	aguardiente	222		"
August 13	"	aguardiente	38		"
August 16	Sebastián Ferrer	aguardiente	74		"
August 20	Federico Meyer	cacao	31		José Antonio Rodríguez
August 21	Sebastián Ferrer	aguardiente	74		Montgomery y Nico
August ?	Sebastián Ferrer	aguardiente	56		Montgomery y Nico
August ?	Sebastián Ferrer	aguardiente	34		Montgomery y Nico
October 17	Sebastián Ferrer	aguardiente	50		Montgomery y Nico
October 17	Sebastián Ferrer	aguardiente	2		Estanislao Rodríguez

Source: AGEO, Tesorería General, leg. 62, exp. 5: "Hacienda Nacional. Libro principal en el que se llevan los asientos de las guias que se expiden en la administración de esta aduana maritima de Huatulco, en todo el año económico que comenzó el 1 de julio de 1830 y concluyó a fines de junio de 1831," 1830-1831; leg. 64, exp. 1: "Aduana maritima de Huatulco. Libro en que constan los asientos de la guias que se expiden en esta administración. Comienza el 1 de julio de 1831 y concluye el 30 de junio de 1832," 1831-1832.

[a] Blank space denotes no information available.

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