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RELATED STUDIES IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY YUCATAN SOCIAL HISTORY BY HOWARD F. CLINE MANUSCRIPT NO. 32
RELATED STUDIES IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY
YUCATECAN SOCIAL HISTORY

by

HOWARD F. CLINE

MICROFILM COLLECTION OF
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Vol. I: Background: Regionalism and Society
RELATED STUDIES IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY YUCATECAN SOCIAL HISTORY

Explanatory Note:

For a decade I have been interested in the several problems which the peninsula of Yucatan poses in the field of social, economic, and cultural relations. The evolution and adjustment of Indian ways and White ways has been the chief focus of attention. Apart from the still obscure developments in the New Empire of the classic Maya and the Conquest by Spaniards in the middle sixteenth century of the Christian era, the years from perhaps 1790 to 1860 were marked by changes which were both fundamental and far-reaching and thus form one of the most important epochs of modern Yucatecan history. The several studies which have emerged from my interest have generally centered around the War of the Castes, a dramatic clash between native peoples and Yucatecans representing the local version of Western Occidental civilization and culture. As the separate essays indicate, in whole or in part, the War of the Castes was a symptom of changing relationships that began in the late eighteenth century. Another theme running through the separate papers is that by 1860 much of the cultural profile of present-day Yucatan had been outlined during its transitions from colonialism to "modernity" in the early nineteenth century. The establishment of these newer norms and canons can with some justice be accounted "consequences" of the changes which precipitated the War of the Castes, and of the struggle itself, 1847-1853.

Most of the materials utilized in these studies were gathered from 1940 to 1946. The studies themselves are for the most part unpublished, and as my interests have shifted from Yucatan, are likely to remain so
for a considerable period. In order of their preparation, they are

   (a) "Yucatan on the eve of the Caste War."
   (b) "The Caste War and its consequences"
   (c) "The Mayan oscillations, 1860-1900"
3. "Remarks on a selected bibliography of the Caste War and allied topics." Fall, 1944. (Published, 1945).

As the titles indicate, there is some repetition of topic and treatment. Taken as a whole, the items provide a useful background to the sociological and ethnological studies of recent Yucatan. A word of explanation about each of the studies perhaps will clarify the scope and emphasis of each.

1. "War of the Castea and the Independent Indian States of Yucatan."
   This is a seminar report written for C. H. Haring at Harvard University, completed in January 1941. It contains a Foreword, 40 pp. of text, and about 20 pp. of notes and bibliography. With extensive use of published archival material from British Honduras and with extensive excerpts from various sources, it supplements the treatment of Quintana Roo provided by Sapper's standard work (1895) and much that is not found in A. Villa Rojas, The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo (1945).
2. "The War of the Caste and Its Consequences."

The three studies subsumed under this label have a complex history. When Chapter III of Villa Rojas' manuscript came to my view for criticism, I suggested certain changes and amplifications. The editors asked that in case of asking Villa Rojas to change his version, that I write the historical chapters dealing with the War of the Caste. Then rather than one, three chapters were requested. It was finally decided that the most useful way of handling the situation was for Villa's original chapter to stand and to issue separately a brochure on the War of the Caste. The three studies here, then, are rough drafts of three projected chapters for Villa Rojas' volume on Quintana Roo. In them, the notes were copious, as I believed (with some justification) that it was unlikely that ethnologists and sociologists using the volume would be compelled to consult details in the sources, but might like expansion of a single phrase or sentence in the text.


(b) "The Caste War and its consequences." 22 text pages; 17 pp. Notes. Map. Tables. Narrative of the struggles and attempts at peace, chiefly from the Yucatecan creole side of the story; peninsula changes, 1847-1881. Again, use of British Honduras material and official U.S. reports adds to previous accounts.

(c) "The Mayan Cacicazgos, 1860-1890." 31 text pages; about 20 pp. Notes. Map. An expanded and revised version of Study #1 (1941). More attention is paid to the narrative history of the cacicazgos than in the earlier version.

A comprehensive bibliographical survey of nineteenth century Yucatan, with an outline of the major developments in the area; covers only printed materials likely to be found in research centers in the United States.


Development of the first steam moved cotton mill in Mexico, in Valladolid, Yucatan, under Pedro Beranda et al. The "spirit of enterprise" sections outline briefly major social and economic changes of the period. The role of the Maya in the cotton mill and in Yucatecan society is stressed in this case history of an attempt to industrialize the peninsula.

5. "Regionalism and society in Yucatan, 1825-1847; a study of 'progressivism' and the origins of the Caste War."

A doctoral dissertation accepted by the History Department, Harvard University, 1947.

As the work is a massive compilation and analysis, discussion of it merits separate consideration below. In general, it expands and details many matters touched on briefly in Studies #1(Part I), #2a, #3, #4. Narrative of the Caste War and its consequences do not receive comprehensive coverage.


Chapter 6 (in part) of Study #5.


Part of Chapter 6 of Study #5, prepared for publication afterwards but appearing in print before it.

Editor's Note: Numbers 3-4, 6-7 are not included in the Microfilm Collection as they have been published elsewhere, as noted above.
PART I

Related Studies 1-2


   (a) "Yucatan on the Eve of the Caste War."
   (b) "The Caste War and its Consequences."
   (c) "The Mayan Cacicazgos, 1860-1900."
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"War of the Castes and the Independent Indian States of Yucatan."

pp 1-59

1941
This report is divided into two parts. The first part gives a somewhat general summary of the Caste War, mainly as a background to the more detailed and more important second section. The second section is a synthesis of available trustworthy information about the independent Maya states that were one result of the Caste War. The second section is much more detailed than the first, and special attention is called to the section of "Notes and References" (pp. 41-57). Many data have been given in detail and at some length because it was felt that they are not readily available in most historical libraries, being esconced largely in technical periodicals of a specialized nature. Another reason for their inclusion is that almost without exception historians of nineteenth century Yucatan have either left their work undocumented, or have failed to test their evidence rigorously, assuming all facts to be born equal. It is hoped that the reaction from this tendency has not erred in the opposite, or over-pedantic, direction. The "Notes and References" probably are more valuable than the text, which is mainly a summary of them. A brief resume of topics discussed in the second section will be found on pages 39-40.

Cambridge, Mass.
January 18, 1941
WAR OF THE CASTES AND THE INDEPENDENT INDIAN STATES OF YUCATAN

Though the War of the Castes was undoubtedly the most important event in Yucatan during the nineteenth century, very little accurate data concerning it are available. The object of this brief and admittedly incomplete essay is to present a description and survey of the independent Indian states that were direct outgrowths of the social struggle and which were results giving the race war a unique character. Although in many ways the War of Castes followed a nearly stereotyped pattern for servile revolts in Latin American countries, the establishment by victorious natives of indigenous and autonomous states that existed over considerable lengths of time and expanses of territory is unparalleled on an equal scale. This is a phenomenon largely overlooked by previous historians when dealing with the caste war, and their general attitude toward the independent groups is short of dispassionate. This may be seen from a statement made by Eligio Ancona, (one of a few who has treated the nineteenth century history of Yucatan in detail) which is nearly the sole acknowledgement that there were such independent communities: "Terror and fanaticism are their unique elements of government." Such is not true.

The independent communities were a ponderable factor in the diplomatic history of Mexico, for they affected that government's attitudes toward its somewhat orphaned state of Yucatan, with its neighbors, Guatemala, and British Honduras, and with Great Britain herself. Some of the results of a misguided policy initiated by Maximilian for dealing with them throw additional light on government under the Empire. Such matters, and the fact that there exists a considerable amount of unimpeachable data touching the organization
and internal functioning of the tribal states lead to a consideration of these patrias chicas in connection with the Caste War. To a large extent such evidence has been buried in somewhat technical periodicals outside the normal purview of historians, which in some measure may account for its being so long overlooked.

That this relatively new and specialized information be intelligible, it seems advisable to present a rapid thumbnail sketch of the War of Castes; some of its other major results, before launching into the main body of material, that relevant to the three Mayan tribal entities.

THE WAR OF CASTES 1847-?

There are a number of conflicting opinions and data as to the remote and immediate causes for the devastating struggle that marked the middle decades of the past century in Yucatan. Likewise opinions and interpretations vary concerning nearly every phase of it, for no adequate study has ever been made, though the question is not entirely unimportant. Amid all the confusion, a certain sequence of events appears, though the inter-relations and ramifications, much less the underlying factors, are not clearly known. This struggle has by common consent been called the War of the Castes, for the groups participating in the struggle were divided according to social positions in an almost feudal hierarchy, the ruling class and its satellites by and large being opposed to a large portion of the indigenous Mayan population. Neither side was ever entirely clear as to what its aims were, nor, once started, how the sanguinary war might be terminated. For such reasons, it is difficult even to assign a chronological boundary, for although the traditional date
to the outbreak is July 30, 1847, a number of others are just as suitable. The Indians considered July 26, 1847, when one of their most personable leaders, Manuel Koaafu, was shot, as the real outbreak. In like fashion no definite time can be placed as a terminating date, for even yet splinter groups resist, and as late as 1924 and 1925 independent, impartial sources show that there existed calculable bands who believed they were still engaged in a war for liberation. For the war had an enduring continuity, carried on by several factions on each side, with intervals of quiescence followed by short but violent flare-ups, so that even now in the remoter regions some sparks of a revolt nearly a century old still smolder. Thus when the resources of Yucatan were exhausted, it re-entered the Mexican Federation, and the Republic carried the torch, as did the Empire, and again the Republic; more recently the Revolution has been embroiled. Successive groups of the revolted Mayas were conquered, sacrificed or treated with. A respectable proportion never had engaged in overt warfare; in 1853 a semi-satisfactory peace was made with part of those remaining rebels, and as will be seen below, attempts to quell others met with varying success.

During the bitterest years of fighting, from 1847 to 1852, the Mayas nearly succeeded in gaining control of the entire peninsula, holding all significant positions to within sixteen miles of Merida and three miles of Campeche, if somewhat uncorroborated evidence is to be credited. Unpreparedness, pestilence, faulty leadership, cowardice, political bickering, emigration to safer havens and similar factors weakened the cause of the whites who seemed unable to stop effectively the Mayan blitzkrieg. An appeasement peace, marked by dislike and
distrust on both sides, was kept by neither, which accounts largely for the continued distressing outbreaks, reprisals and counter-reprisals. Such in brief, was, and to some extent, is the War of the Castes.

The rapidity of development here may only be indicated by two trustworthy reports, one written in 1841, the other in 1847:

Instead of the ominous warnings we were accustomed to receive in Central America, his parting words were that there was no danger of robbers, or of any other interruptions.

Der Pfarrer bestätigte uns leider hierbei die Nachricht von üblen Stimmungen der Indianer und versicherte uns, dass er einem förmlichen Aufstande der Weißen mit tiefem Kummer entsorgen sehen; zwar sei in seiner Gemeinde noch alles ruhig, aber die Unzufriedenheit gebe sich täglich durch Worte mehr und mehr kund.

The tempo increased until peninsula-wide conflict was the outcome. From this stemmed several social, political, economic, and other changes, which can for the sake of convenience be tabulated under "results" though in fact they were interdependent variables in a changing social equilibrium that finally suffered schizophrenia.

SOME RESULTS OF THE WAR OF CASTES

Only the skeleton of some of the larger changes are here included, but among the significant events and developments, the following seem most important.

1. Yucatan returned to the Mexican Federation. An early offer of its sovereignty, first to France, then to Spain, allegedly to Great Britain, finally to the United States was refused respectively by all. This attempt to sell itself to the highest bidder was made in the first months after the outbreak, and is quite a complicated study in international relations.
2. As a practical problem arising from the carrying on of war, the custom of selling Mayan prisoners as slaves to Cuba under a legal fiction grew to become a lucrative and flourishing practice. This tended to perpetuate the social war.

3. Internal politics were affected by and to a large degree affected the war. One concrete result of such action was formation of the state of Campeche. There were many others.

4. The existing social system was rooted more firmly than ever, and remains basically unchanged.

5. From one cause or another (the least of which was directly attributable to mortality from action by the rebels), about one half of the population of Yucatán remained in 1853. This is matched by a comparable decrease in the territory over which the government at Mérida held effective sovereign control. This fact leads to a direct consideration of the independent Indian communities, for much (though by no means all) population lost by the sovereign state became included in their jurisdictions, as well as much land.

It is the purpose of the remainder of this paper to examine the latter conclusion in some detail. Though the above points are but a barebones summary, their inclusion provides a suitable framework for judging the importance of the establishment of the autonomous areas.
NOTES AND REFERENCES:  PART I

These notes and references are directed at typifying rather than exhausting the bibliographical material.

1. Elizio Ancona, Historia de Yucatán desde la época más remota hasta nuestros días (Mérida, 4 v. 1879 + 1 v. 1885), IV, 15-16. General accounts of the War of Castes are restricted to this work and the following: Joaquín Baranda, Recordaciones Históricas (2 v., Mexico, 1907); Apolinario García y García, Historia de la Guerra de Castas en Yucatán (Mérida, 1865); Serapio Baquero, (a) Ensayo histórico sobre las revoluciones de Yucatán desde el año de 1840 hasta 1864, (Mérida, 2 v. 1878-1879 + 1 v. 1887), (b) Rasana geográfica, histórica y estadística del estado de Yucatán (Mexico, 1881); Juan F. Molina Sólis, Historia de Yucatán desde la Independencia de España hasta la época actual (Mérida, 1921); Hector Pérez Martínez, prólogo á Diario de Nuestro Viaje a los Estados Unidos por Justo Sierra O'Reilly (Mexico, 1938). Most accounts in general histories follow one or more of these, for example v. Nicolás de Zamacois, Historia de México, XIII, 277 ff. See also Carlos R. Menéndez, Historia del infame y vergonzoso comercio de indios vendidos a los esclavistas de Cuba por los máticos yucatecos, desde 1848 hasta 1851, justificación de la revolución indígena de 1847, documentos irrefutables que lo comprueban (Mérida, 1923).

2. See Part II, "Notes and References."


6. On some phases of this there is a bulk of material; see especially, M. W. Williams, "The Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan," Hispano American Historical Review, IX, 132-143 (1929). Sources are, in general, United States Senate Executive Documents, 30th Congress, First Session (1847-48), Documents #40243, 48, 49; O'Reilly, Diario de Nuestro Viaje; related material such as Diplomatic Correspondence with Texas(1840-41) (American Historical Association Reports, 1908, II, F79-807), Calhoun's Correspondence, ibid., 1899, II, 755-757, and various memoirs of American statesmen.

PART II: INDEPENDENT INDIAN STATES OF YUCATAN

The state of Yucatan, through armed conflict with the rebel Indian forces, lost considerable area and population in its eastern and southern portions. Some of the land so lost, as well as the population had previously been occupied by non-Indian citizens, and the population had been unconfined to Mayans. It is within fairly recent times, within the last generation, that some of the territory lost has begun to be repopulated. Within the area from which they had driven their erstwhile masters, the Indians erected three autonomous, yet mutually hostile, jurisdictions which for lack of proper terminology may be called states. They were qualifiedly recognized as sovereign units by Great Britain, and de facto though never de jure ones by the Yucatecan and Mexican governments. These states were neither completely tribal primitive units, nor yet were they constitutionally or legally sanctioned administrative units. In short, they were neither fish nor fowl nor good red meat, yet they existed over a longer space of time than some modern states, Czechoslovakia or Poland, for example. It is the purpose here to describe some of their aspects and interrelations.

The first problems involved are to delimit and define the territory held by the rebel Indians, for their gain was Yucatan's loss. Then the internal divisions among the Indians will be discussed, as will other phases that present themselves.

If a line were drawn from Tulum WNW to within about fifteen leagues of Vallodolid, then passed through Peto and Iturbide, and there connected with the road that leads to the Republic of Guatemala, most
of the territory to the south and east of such a line would have been in control of the three Indian states up to about 1875. On the southern and eastern extremities of this territory, the boundaries of the Republic of Guatemala and the colony of British Honduras would mark termination of the area. Some idea of the losses sustained by Yucatan may be obtained from a description written in December, 1868, which, translated from the Spanish, reads:

To conclude this rapid survey I ought to make clear that Yucatan and Campeche in 1848 counted five flourishing cities, eight villas, one hundred ninety one towns, one thousand two hundred sixty three haciendas, and one thousand six hundred sixty three ranchos growing sugar cane or cutting wood. Of those cities, Izamal, Vallodolid, and Takax were lost, and more than two thirds of the pueblos, haciendas, and ranchos have disappeared entirely. The heroic force of the national guard in the year 1868 succeeded at the cost of much blood and immense sacrifices in recovering those three cities and some points at which there had been towns; but these latter have again fallen into the power of our enemies.

The same author, a Yucatecan, describes the three zones of defense put up by the government, beyond which were the rebel forces. The three lines were those of the south, the east, and the center. That of the south began at Tekax, extended through Peto, Tixcocob, Zonozel, Ichmul and Tihosuco; the center line stretched from Tunkas, Chichen, Cacalchen, to Motul; to the east, garrisoned from Vallodolid, were Tixcacalcupul, Vallodolid, Espita, and Tizimin. He estimated that the loss of population in the three districts included in this line (Vallodolid, Espita, Tizimin) between 1846 and 1862 was roughly 62,000, comprising 19 pueblos, 124 haciendas, and 211 ranchos. Though to some degree doubtlessly inaccurate, these figures agree to a satisfactory extent with a somewhat similar comparison between the years 1846 and 1850, wherein it is shown that the total population included in the state of Yucatan fell in those years from some 504,000
to around 300,000 (+ ?), and in the case of the district of Tekax included only 22% as many inhabitants as in 1846. That the Indians effectively controlled the area consisting of about a third of the peninsula is an undoubted fact, for though Mexican punitive expeditions might break through and hold some of the key positions for a short while, the territory never was surrendered, and usually the Indians repulsed invaders. The Mexican government finally has given up trying to kill them off. The most recent authentic information, c. 1924, summarizes a number of historical facts:

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Mexican Government, jealous of the trade in chicle and precious woods built up by the Indians, started a war of extermination on the east coast of Yucatan. For this purpose the jails of Mexico were emptied and the men thus released, accompanied by low-class prostitutes, were sent to Yucatan, where most of them died of malaria or venereal disease. The war thus started was waged fiercely but intermittently by both sides. During its course the Great Wall at Tulum was occupied three times by the Mexicans, but they were unable to advance into the interior. Peace which recognized the independence of the Indians was made in the year 1913. Since that time the east coast has gradually become safe for foreigners, although the presence of Mexicans is still resented. Recently the Indians have granted several chicle concessions.... Whatever their faults, one can not but admire their unconquerable spirit and fierce love of the land. They are almost the only members of their race who have any spark of what might be called patriotism. Their determination to maintain their independence remains undiminished after centuries of oppression and repeated attempts at extermination.

The above conclusions should be qualified to this extent. Though after about 1848 much of the eastern territory was not in the hands of the Mexican-Yucatecan governments, neither was it before that date. A large slice of territory that became part of the independent Indians' habitat was included in virtually unknown and unexplored sections inland from the east coast. It is thus described by John L. Stephens,
who unsuccessfully tried to penetrate it:

The whole triangular region from Valladolid to the Bay of Ascension on one side, and the port of Yalahao on the other, is not traversed by a single road, and the rancho of Molas is the only settlement along the coast. It is a region entirely unknown; no white man ever enters it.

Within the territory wrested from the Yucatecans, the Mayans paid little attention to the remains left by the Spaniards and creoles. Typical of the descriptions of the state of the territory is that sent to London by a Britisher who had visited the area:

The whole of the south-western portion of Yucatan is now in possession of the Santa Cruz Indians, who drove out the Spanish population about fifty years ago. At that time the whole of the country was peopled by the Spaniards of Yucatan (Mexico), and all this district must have been in a thriving and populous condition, as the ruins of well-built stone houses are now to be seen at intervals along the whole road from Bacalar to Santa Cruz, and according to the map, numerous towns and villages existed which are not now found. ... There are numbers of human bones in the church [at Bacalar], and from their position they were evidently not those of persons buried in the church, as some are in the corners of the chancel, whilst two small chapels at the side of the church have heaps of bones in them. There is not one complete skeleton, all being mixed up together. I was told that when the Indians revolted and were attacking the town many people ran to the church for protection, and were killed just where the bones now lie. ... No one lives in the town but an Indian guard of about sixty men, which is changed once every two months. They do not live in the old houses, but prefer to build their own stick-and-leaf huts in the gardens and other open spaces. ... The streets are now nearly all overgrown with bush, and the houses falling to decay.

Thus, then, within the shadow of monuments of grandeur erected by their forefathers, and on the ground formerly claimed by their European masters, the Mayans affected by both but affecting neither cultural background set themselves to erecting a way of life that fused many elements of their stormy background. Yet, though these rebel Mayas, shared a common language, common enemies, and to some degree common memories, they did not melt and amalgamate into one powerful whole, but rather split up into mutually antagonistic petty principalities
which now have nearly disappeared, so inconspicuous have their numbers become.

In all, for the greater part of the last half of the nineteenth century, there were three distinct groups, alike in certain respects, differing in others. These were the Santa Cruz, the Icaiché, and the Chichanja, so called because of the territories over which they reigned supreme. From the inception of the War of Castes, there were at least three rebel groups, acting somewhat in concert. Whether these are the same divisions forming the independent units is not clear, but such is doubtful, from the evidence at hand.

At the opening of hostilities, all the rebels were called, (if not indios bárbaros) "huithes", meaning breech-cloths, by the Yucatecans. Northern and southern tribes were differentiated. After 1853 when an agreement had been reached with the southern group, detailed below, those still carrying on the battle became known by various names. They were then called the huithes, more commonly Cruzoob or Santa Cruz Indians from the peculiar worship they followed, and their government centering about a cross whose mysterious attributes will be amplified. The term Cruzoob illustrates to some degree the mixture of ideas and attitudes that ruled and rule their lives, for it is a neologism compounded from the Spanish word cruz (cross) and the Mayan plural ending, the suffix oob. The southern group, never as lightly touched by Spanish rule and culture as the Cruzoob, faithfully kept its treaties with the Yucatecan government, but fought the Cruzoob, split into two groups, which fought each other, but would combine against those from Santa Cruz, and settled respectively at Chichanja and Icaiché.
The split in the southern contingent occurred about 1857, when Chichanja, the ostensible capital of the "pacíficos" (those not at war with Yucatan) was attacked by the Cruzob to punish them for perfidy. At that time part of the southern group remained at Chichanja, another part emigrated. Besides their geographical location, and their war-footing as opposed to Yucatan, another difference between the Cruzes and the other group was that the latter had been more thoroughly Christianized. One investigator wrote, in 1867,

They are Catholics and are proud to show their abomination of the heathen worship of the Cruzes. I have been shown a long memorial, written in the Maya language, containing numerous letters, orders, proclamations, etc. It states their motives why they separated from the Cruzes, the principal and repeatedly asserted reason being -- "We are a Christian people."

In 1895, after making clear that "the southern tribes are divided into two distinct states, whose chief towns are Ixkanha, in central Yucatan, and Icaiche in southern Yucatan," another observer shows the curious terminology necessary to describe these divisions. He describes the chief officers of the southern groups, "Both generals use a stamp which bears, beside the Mexican eagle, the inscription Pacíficos del Sur, in accordance with the customary division of the independent Mayas into the Indios sublevados pacíficos ('peaceful insurgents') of Ixkanha and Icaiche, and the Indios sublevados bravos ('fighting insurgents') of Chan Santa Cruz." By 1917 the numbers of the southern group had dwindled, so that it was reported,

The southern and eastern parts of Yucatan, from Tulum in the north to the Rio Hondo in the south, are occupied to-day by two tribes of Maya Indians, the Santa Cruz and Icaiche or Chichanha. I.e., the Icaiche and Chichanha were neither one large enough to be a discrete unit.
The total numbers of the tribes to a degree influenced their geographical distribution, their relations with one another, and with more legally rooted governments. In all cases their numbers declined, until as seen, the southern group became nearly negligible. Writing in 1867, Berendt, who had made a number of inquiries, came to the conclusion which holds throughout the period under question, "As to the number of these Indians, the most discordant opinions exist." There are a number of estimates, of varying reliability, of the rebel population. One of the first of these is from the Superintendent to officer in command of troops of British Honduras, informing him that a large part of Bacalar had been burnt, and that 10,000 Indians are reported to be in occupation of it, and at the same time ordering that an officer be sent to make a reconnaissance; this was in April, 1848. The Austrian observer attached to the Mexican imperial government thought that in the Santa Cruz area there were more than 4,000 souls. A Yucatecan criticism and amplification upped this estimate, in 1868, to some 15,000 to 20,000. About the same time (1867), Berendt gave the figures in the following manner:

According to such Belize and frontier traders as are best judges, the Cuzes do not number less than 10,000 and probably not more than 15,000 warriors, and of these half their number only are married. Estimating a family to consist of five souls only on an average, would give for their whole number about forty thousand; and the number of the Pacific Indians is considered but little less. Both together occupy about one thousand square miles.

On November 28, 1867 the Lieutenant Governor of British Honduras, reporting to his superior in Jamaica estimated the fighting men of the Santa Cruz Indians at 5,000 and the population at 25,000, basing his statements on data gathered by an Englishman, John Carmichael who was in correspondence with the chiefs of the Santa Cruz Indians,
and who had just visited their main strongholds of Bacalar and Santa Cruz. The government of British Honduras was at the time seeking to prevent the Icaiche group from making a rumored attack, setting the Cruzoob against them. In May 1866, the Icaiche were said to number only 90 fighting men, and a report in August of the same year placed their total population at 150 men, "chiefly outlaws, savage, lazy, and without authority among themselves." 

Sapper, in 1895, after recounting some of the raids made by the Icaiche Indians into British Honduras, says concerning them:

At present, indeed, great warlike enterprises on the part of the Icaiche Indians are quite inconceivable, for their number has been continually reduced ... so that now the entire population of the once feared independent Indian state can be estimated at only about 500 souls. ... In the district of of Ixkanha the has also diminished, compared with its former number.... Nevertheless, the population of the independent territory of Ixkanha is probably about 8,000.

He sets the figure of the Santa Cruz territory as from 8,000 to 10,000 souls, and mentions that

The population of Chan Santa Cruz is chiefly confined to the strip of territory between lake Bacalar and Ascension Bay, for the fierce and long wars have resulted in an ever-increasing concentration of population on the part of the eastern Indians and also on that of their enemies, in consequence of which uninhabited tracts of land lie between the two factions, in which the former roads have been rapidly overgrown and rendered impassable by the luxuriant forest vegetation.

Even at that relatively late date, and despite their insignificant power, as a symbol that they were enemies of the Santa Cruz and were ready to repel them, the Icaiche Indians maintained a barracks, and loaded rifles hung on the cross-beams of huts.
In 1916, Gann, who had more than twenty year's field experience in the area, believed that the Santa Cruz group had been reduced to about 5,000. He quotes the Guia de Yucatan for 1900 as listing 803 of the Icaiche, but says that they "now comprise not more than 19h 200."

A summary conclusion of the population of the independent Mayan states would be that they gradually were reduced to numerical impotence by consistent decline over the period from their greatest strength, especially from the time for which reliable figures exist, twentieth to the second decade of the twentieth century. The Santa Cruz group in 1916, for example, were approximately 20% as strong numerically as in 1866-1868. Several factors account for this precipitate descent.

Among the important factors adversely affecting the population growth of the independent states was emigration from them to neighboring governments and to other parts of Yucatan. Nearly the only indication of emigration from the outside into the Indian communities are an occasional mention of prisoners who were spared after punitive raids, and one unique case of 100 Chinese coolies who left their master in British Honduras because of neglect, unjust and cruel treatment on part of the manager of the estate, bad food, overwork, and absence of rice. They deserted to the Santa Cruz Indians, who put them to work, their number having been divided up among the chiefs of that tribe. Though fed nearly solely on tortillas, their mortality was less than in the Colony, for in 1869 it was reported of the 100 that 77 to 80 were still at Santa Cruz, 14 had died, 2 were murdered, and 4 escaped to the Spaniards.
Despite their reputations for cold-blooded assassination of all who might fall into their clutches, the insurgent Mayas kept some prisoners. Even at the height of warlike spirit stirred up by attempts of Maximilian's troops to subdue them, it is reported of the Santa Cruz that they took some prisoners alive. "The curious thing is," the observer says, "that prisoners who are musicians never are killed, because these barbarians formed and now have a military band in Chan Santa Cruz composed of prisoner musicians." An equally unusual and probably more reliable tale is told of prisoners by Engineer Miller, who traversed the territory of the Santa Cruz Indians in January, 1888. He reported:

In the village of Chunculche are several purely white people, some with fair hair. These I was informed are descendants of Spaniards who were not killed by the Indians at the time they revolted, but retained as prisoners. These people speak only the Indian language -- "Maya" -- and in dress and manner, and so far as I could judge, in ideas, are exactly the same as the Indians by whom they are surrounded.

It is difficult to assess the value of numerous reports that the Indians tended to carry off captives made up largely of women and children, for such accounts are highly emotionally charged pejoratives. Yet the persistence of the tales and the fact that the independent Mayas, especially the Cruzob, were notoriously short of women lend some credence, however slim to them. A similar situation has led to similar measures among the present day Lacandones of Chiapas.

It is reported that

The women who fall prisoners remain shut up in a species of redoubt formed in the mentioned dwelling grounds of the main chief and are subject to a heavy servitude, worse than slavery. They work without cease; they prepare meals, not only for the master of the house, but also for all the servants and followers (Indian) connected with it, sew clothing, irrigate the crops, guard the corrals, clean hens and pigs,
and, finally, fulfill the most oppressive demands.

Along somewhat similar lines is the report rendered by the Crown Surveyor to the Superintendent of British Honduras, notifying him of an attack and sack of Chichanha, murder of chiefs and men by the Santa Cruz Indians, and their carrying off of women and children as captives to Bacalar, murdering those on the road who were too tired to travel. But the steady unchecked decline of population in the independent areas shows that occasional increments from immigration or capture did not offset the tendency to emigrate out from such areas, and further shows that emigration was generally not from one Indian state to another, but rather outside the jurisdiction of any. In some instances the jurisdiction was voluntarily withdrawn, as when "a few years ago Gen. Eugenio ceded the important village of Chuntinok to the state of Campeche."

More important were movements of people into British Honduras, the Peten area of Guatemala, and other parts of Yucatan, though little information is available on any of these, especially the last. Some light on this, as well as a number of other pertinent phenomena, is cast by a report sent by the manager of the British Honduras Company to his London headquarters in 1864. An abstract of it shows cause of invasion of British territory by Zuc, Chief of Chichanha Indians to be as follows:

About 15,000 Indians on account of political disturbances had migrated from Yucatan and settled in the Colony. The Santa Cruz and Chichanha Indians made an agreement between themselves to restrict their activities to their respective districts. Accordingly, each party sells trees and rents lands within his district to the Yucatan refugees residing on the British side of the Hondo. One of these refugees (Braseho Grajales) failed to make payments according to contract and Zuc caused his mules which were on the land to be seized
for the debt. Grajales on hearing of this armed his Indian servants on the British side of the Hondo and sent them into Yucatan where they recovered the mules by force. Zuc retaliated by invading British territory, making prisoners of about 20 persons connected with Grajales, and held them to ransom.

Berendt, in a relatively brief report, mentions émigrés, nearly always favorably; thus, after speaking of the indolence of the Negroes of Belize, he says "Only where Yucatan Indians have settled among them, a cornfield, a banana plantation, or fruit trees are to be found."

Again, reporting on the Peten of Guatemala, he writes, "The villages in the neighborhood of this farm are of late origin, peopled by Indians from Yucatan, almost every one of them formerly engaged in the war of races which for the last twenty years has desolated that unhappy country. ... They are by no means hostile to the white man in general; their hatred is directed against the Mexican and Spaniard only, while they are friendly to other foreigners, and are remarkably frank and outspoken with such strangers as speak their language and know how to gain their confidence." Chief reasons for emigration seem to include fear of reprisals for crimes, dislike of political oppression, distaste for compulsory military service, and desire for economic betterment.

Closely connected, then, with emigration as an attenuating factor, was the more or less constant state of armed struggle and watchful waiting for attacks from other Indian states or the Mexican government. This is a constant, from the earliest outbreak in 1847 to the most recent information available, for even when there was neither danger from or intention of an attack, garrisons were stationed as in the more turbulent days, or incursions repulsed. Losses from intestine and external warfare do not seem possible of computation. To them
must be added a necrology stemming from internal tribal executions for political or social objectives, for "Imprisonment as a punishment for crime is unknown, fine, flogging, and death being the only three methods employed for dealing with criminals." Again it is impossible to tell how many deaths depleted the tribes through charges of witchcraft, treason, rape, disobedience, and others on the roster of socially sanctioned causes for death, as well as fatalities from drunken whimsies.

The chief other causes of diminution have been rum, disease, and ignorance, all interconnected. Drunkenness among Mayans has been a curse since the days of Bishop Landa. It helped weaken the Mayas of the independent states, especially toward the end of the period. Pestilences and epidemics accounted for many deaths. Half of the Icaiche Indians were swept off by virulent smallpox and whooping cough in 1692, and smallpox epidemics nibbled at the numbers of the Indians of Ixkanha. Pneumonia, malaria, intestinal diseases from parasites, lack of desire to live, suicide have been numbered among the elements lowering the aggregate population. In short,

The Indians are a short-lived race, a fact due partly to their indigestible, and badly cooked food and partly to the prevalence among them of malarial fever, with accompanying anemia and splenic enlargement, but chiefly to overindulgence in alcohol whenever an opportunity offers. Notable exceptions to this rule are, however, not uncommon, and once an individual passes the four-score mark he or she is quite likely to live to well over 100 years, dried up, wrinkled, and feeble, but clinging to life with an almost incredible tenacity.

To which, as a contributory causes for the near disappearance of the independent Mayas, a couplet attributed to bearers of civilized culture:

Whatever happens, we have got
The Maxim "run and they have not."
Turning from the factors underlying the decline in population of the independent Mayas, which were shown to be due mainly to emigration, a constant state of external and internal strife (political and social), drink, and disease, it seems advisable to glance at some political and economic relations of these groups. To some degree these have been touched on, but the analysis of actions of the Indians acting as political beings, dealing with the governments of British Honduras, with Mexico, with Guatemala, as well as their negotiations with one another is not without interest.

For a number of reasons the government of British Honduras maintained satisfactory relations with the Indian principalities to such an extent that except for a relatively brief period from 1866 to 1872 (when Marco Canul was chief of the Icaiche Indians) the Colony suffered no major molestations from their Mayan neighbors. In large part the British policies account for this, but a prime factor was the trust the Indians placed in the word of the English and in their good faith. But probably more important was the fact that it was from the Colony that the Indians provided themselves with arms; this was a powerful lever in the British policy of setting one tribe on another if trouble threatened, as well as a bone of constant contention between the colonial government and those of Yucatan, Campeche, and Mexico. Concerning the latter, there many exchanges of bitter notes which are only peripherally relevant here. On the whole, the English refused to lay down an arms embargo, even occasionally denied that they supplied munitions, though there is too much evidence to the contrary to credit this; the Yucatecan charge, unsubstantiated, was that the residents of the Colony continued fomenting insurrections in order to provide arms. This latter view seems to be a convenient whitewashing of Yucatecan and
Mexican blunders in their handling the Indian problems. The statement of the consistent English policy was enunciated by the Superintendent of the Colony on May 9, 1848 in a letter replying to a request that Indians be allowed to trade with the Colony on the same terms as Spaniards. Writing to the Principal Magistrate at Bacalar, the Superintendent stated that all nationalities without distinction enjoy that privilege so long as they conform to the laws of the settlement. The Mexican point of view is perhaps best expressed in conversations the Governor of Campeche, Sr. Garcia with Mr. J. I. Blockley. The Governor remarked that the Mexicans charge the Colony with having caused the destruction of more than 100,000 people and the entire ruin of many once populous and thriving towns by having permitted the rebel forces either to purchase gunpowder and arms in the Colony or exchange them for property which they violently robbed from Mexican subjects. It was also charged, in Mexico, as well as by Gov. P. Garcia, that "the uprising of the Indians in 1846 (!) opened to them, the English, a wide field for satiating their avarice and extending their territory. They were the ones who in exchange for church jewels and other such things, and all manner of effects that the Indians robbed in their incursions, gave them powder and muskets, and who for permission to cut wood on Mexican lands gave them in return all sorts of war supplies."

It is clear that British Honduras supplied arms and ammunition to the independent Indians, for it was one of their major means of insuring safety for the Colony. An example of this seems indicated in two cases. In one, after discussing a mutual trade treaty with the head of the Icaiche Indians, Eugenio Arana, the British Administrator indicates that any Indians who were not implicated in the troublesome
raids on the Colony may come there and trade, punishing the troublemakers by boycott. In another letter to another chief (of the Santa Cruz), the Lt. Governor takes the latter to task for following the improper procedure in purchasing arms, stating that there is no objection to his buying guns, powder or caps in the Colony, but that it should be done openly. In the first instance the desired results were obtained, for Arana, successor to Canul whose "foreign policy" he repudiated, evidently cleared out the trouble-makers, and within a few months appeared with 450 unarmed followers in the territory to trade.

The British, too, had the problem of keeping the Yucatecan refugees from using their territory as a base to make incursions into the Indians' lands; effective control over the refugees was obtained by threatening them with a loss of British protection. When, because of supposed infractions of logwood cutting contracts or other breaches of faith, Indians kidnapped subjects from the Colony, ransom was paid. A number of data show that on the whole economic and diplomatic relations between the British and the Indians were on a satisfactory footing, for the Indians acknowledged the British government's right to question their intrusions into its territory, and there are constant assurances that friendship is genuine, that affairs are tranquil, even to the use made of gunpowder.

Thus in 1867 the Lieutenant Governor reported to the Secretary of State that the policy adopted toward the two great Indian tribes of Santa Cruz and Lochha (Izanha?) is proceeding satisfactorily and that all communications are of a very friendly character. The latter tribe has shown proof of ability and determination to check the marauders of the Northern frontier and to capture Canul, Chief of the Icachisch Gan.
Many of the clashes between the residents of the Colony and the Indians, especially the Icaiche group, arose from disputes over logcutting contracts. The case of Zuo and Grajales, mentioned above (pp 17-18), is typical. In 1866 Maroos Canul sent in a claim for $2,000, 8 years at $250 per annum, due as rent on lands used by the British Honduras Trading Company which he claimed were under his control, although they were on the left-hand side of the Hondo river usually considered the boundary. The company refused to pay, which initiated a series of border attacks, counter attacks, pitched battles and general unrest for a number of years. But on the whole, from 1848 when it was reported that Yucatecan Indians had crossed the Hondo and fired some arrows at British subjects, to 1881 (and after) when the annual Lt. Governor’s address reported "no Indian troubles have occurred since August 1880 and that the most friendly relations now exist," the English policies were successful. For one thing, they considered the Indians people.

Most of the trade with the independent groups was carried on through towns of British Honduras, though the Ixkanha traded mostly with Campeche. The center for the Santa Cruz was Corozal, for the Icaiche, Orange Walk. The monetary systems of the independent states depend somewhat on these connections, for the small coins of Guatemala, as well as Chilean and Peruvian units that circulate freely in British Honduras are also found in the areas occupied by the Santa Cruz and Icaiche Mayas, whereas those of Ixkanha, though not accepting the decimal system of the Mexicans, continued to use the old medios and reales in their dealings. One of the effects of this trade has been to replace, in more recent years, homespun cloth by cheap
imported American or English goods, and the ancient sandals are being superseded by moccasins, and even by imported shoes. Imported guns, too, had nearly driven out the more ancient bows and arrows, though in 1916, some of the old men could still make fairly serviceable ones. Still, it is rather hard to credit completely Gann's statements concerning the limitations of Indian firearms "which till recent years consisted of a muzzle-loading section of gas pipe, nearly as dangerous when discharged to the hunter as to the game." For in 1888 Miller found them in possession of Enfield rifles, and in 1895 Sapper reports, The firearms in use are quite miscellaneous; modern repeating rifles are seen side by side with heavy old fashioned muzzle-loading muskets. In general the independent Mayas are considered good shots and courageous, efficient soldiers, skilled in the strategems of war. The Mayas who accompanied me always carried their shotguns on their shoulders, loaded and cocked, with percussion cap on, and usually with great promptness brought down the game that crossed our path.

There are not much data available as to other trade relations with the Indians of the independent states. One other aspect of British relations with them is of some importance, however. For because of the trust the Indians had in British officials, the latter usually acted as intermediaries in discussions between the Mexican and Yucatecan governments and the Indian principalities, especially that of Santa Cruz.

Mexican-Indian relations were never, and probably at present are not, optimum ones. After considerable difficulty, some volunteer British humanitarians got the two contending parties to exchange views after the Caste War had been two years aflame, but not to much avail, for such views were diametrically opposed, as might be expected. The
Indians announced that they were willing to meet the Superintendent of British Honduras at Ascension for a conference, but warned him that they would not be satisfied with anything less than complete freedom from Mexican rule. Shortly thereafter the Mexican view was sent by the British minister to the Superintendent; it stated that under no circumstances would the Mexican government consent to permit independent government to the Indians. However, in 1853, as related, the southern tribes made peace, reserving their autonomy. In the paternalistic manner that marked the British attitude toward their Mayan neighbors, the Superintendent of the Colony wrote the Indian commissioners a letter regarding this peace, saying in part, that from advices received from Mexico he had reason to believe that the government of the Republic will not give its assent to the terms of the treaty. The Republic will only pardon acts done during existence of hostilities, so he advises them to observe caution in surrendering their arms or exposing themselves to danger from Spaniards until they are assured of acceptance of terms of the treaty. Then he recommends that they abstain from any act of hostility, so long as there is hope of a reconciliation. The terms were agreed to, however reluctantly, as will be seen below. However, it was nearly two generations before the Santa Cruz made formal peace with the Mexican authorities (see page 9, supra). Typical of negotiations with the Santa Cruz was a treaty arranged at the instigation of the British. Both its terms, and its reason for failure are characteristic of Mexican-Indian negotiations, so merit somewhat detailed scrutiny.

In January 1884, a treaty of peace was drawn up, signed at the Government House, Belize, in the presence of the Administrator.
General Theodosius Canto represented the Government of the State of Yucatan, and John Shuc acted as representative for Jose Cresencio Poot, General and Governor of Chan Santa Cruz. The terms of the treaty were:

1. Jose Cresencio Poot shall continue to be Governor of Chan Santa Cruz until his death.

2. At the death of Jose Cresencio Poot a new Governor shall be conceded to Chan Santa Cruz subject to the approval of the Government of Yucatan.

3. The Government of Yucatan will not send any official to govern Chan Santa Cruz without the consent of the inhabitants.


5. Under the above conditions the people of Chan Santa Cruz acknowledge the Mexican government.

6. A copy of the Treaty to be sent to both Governments for ratification.

Though it is obvious that nothing of importance was touched in such an agreement, except perhaps a face-saving, pride-smoothing for the Yucatecans, even this was not gained. On January 30, 1884, Jose Cresencio Poot wrote to the Administrator that he has received a copy of the Treaty, but before General Canto, the Yucatecan representative, left the Colony he got drunk and insulted one of the representatives of Chan Santa Cruz. Poot therefore refuses to ratify the treaty. Comment seems unnecessary, for subsequent evidence indicates that the Mexicans returned to their policy of attempting direct assault and extermination of the Santa Cruz.
Mexican relations with the "pacíficos" were not without some difficulty, though not of the same order as those connected with the Santa Cruz Mayas. Under the terms of the treaty of 1853, cast in similar vein to the one cited above, both the states of the Ixkanha and the Icaiche were essentially autonomous, except that their governors were confirmed in their positions by the governor of Campeche, to whom they paid lip service. The arrangement is made clear by Sapper's report in 1895:

The office of cacique is not hereditary in any particular family, but at the death of the general the next below him in military rank, the commandant, advances to the position, while at the same time the senior captain is promoted to the rank of commandant, etc. During the absence of the general the commandant acts as his representative. The general has supreme command in war, and he fills the office of judge, for which reason the caciques of Ixkanha and Icaiche, when they are confirmed in office by the gobernador of Campeche, are as a matter of form officially appointed to the position of jefe politico and commandante de armas as well as to that of judge. Both generals use a stamp which bears, besides the Mexican eagle, the inscription Pacificos del Sur....

The practical difficulties of such a legally sound but actually absurd situation are clearly thrown into relief by two claims of impotence. In one the Superior Political Prefect of Yucatan wrote to the Governor of British Honduras that he acknowledged receipt of complaint against Luciano Zuc [of the Chihanha group] and informed him that the Indians of the south govern themselves independently of the Government of Mexico but that he will use all his influence to obtain redress sought. A few years later the Governor of Campeche, D. Pablo Garcia explained, in answer to similar requests to curb the activities of Canul, that he would communicate the order to Canul, but that the latter was the recognized chief of the Icaiche band, recognized by the government of Campeche but that he received
no pay from the Mexicans, making use of rents collected by himself
without accounting to anyone. The situation was the same nearly a generation later. It seems clear that Mexican-Indian relations have an
air of opera bouffe about them and indicate a lamentable gap between theory and fact.

The Guatemalan government, from available data, does not seem to have made even such slim pretense at diplomatic recognition. The distances and geography involved between Guatemala City and the Indian governments probably would account in some degree for the salutary indifference.

The relations of these independent states toward one another may best be described as an uneasy, antagonistic equilibrium frequently upset (up to about 1885). As mentioned (page 17, supra) the Santa Cruz and Chichanha groups made an agreement with each other as to which lands were theirs, and to restrict their activities to them. Occasionally there was a disputed jurisdiction, minor in some cases, but leading to friction, in other cases more serious. The prime example, of course, being the attempted enforcement of such claims by Lieutenant Marcos Canul. To avoid future similar trouble, the Governor of British Honduras sent a map of the Colony to each of the main chiefs, designating their areas. But to the end of the period, compulsory military service was the rule in all the independent areas, though it grew meaningless as the population became reduced to a shadow of its former strength.
For fairly obvious reasons, the external relations of the independent tribes followed somewhat orthodox and precedent patterns, in outward form at least. The internal structure, though nearly as simple, in its political, social, and economic phases was more approximately unique, exhibiting a mixture of tribal mores and elements of less ancient polity. In this, the southern groups may be considered together, for they were more alike than either was to the Santa Cruz group. The only difference between them seems to have been that whereas the Icaiche were able to draw revenues from lowwood royalties, and inhabited an area in which hunting and products of the chase played an important part in their economy, the Ixkanha sustained themselves more by agriculture and letting of chicle concessions, as well as collecting the sap themselves and marketing it. Their territory, being dry, brush-covered plain, was less adapted to hunting. For the sake of this survey, the three states may be considered nearly identical, as Sapper assumed they were, at least in their political arrangements.

The general in some ways was supreme, for as seen, he acted as war commander, judge, and chief executive. In nearly all cases, no exceptions having been recorded, he owes his position to a successful coup d'etat and retains it so long as the factions opposing him are too weak to overthrow his government. An outline of both the theory and the practice in the twentieth century is as follows:

On the death of the head chief (noh calan or nohoch yumtat) among the Santa Cruz and Icaiche the oldest of the subchiefs (chan yumtociob) is supposed to succeed him; as a matter of fact there are always rival claimants for the chieftainship, and the subchief with the strongest personality or greatest popularity among the soldiers usually succeeds in grasping the office. There are nearly always rival factions endeavoring
to oust the chief in power, and the latter rarely dies a natural
death. The village subchiefs are elected by the people. The
power of the head chief is practically absolute over the whole
tribe.\footnote{73}

Though the chief or general seems to be nearly an unqualified
despot, he must justify his actions before his fellow citizens, who
in popular assembly meet to consider such problems as have been
acted upon. Such a meeting, Sapper says, was called March 1, 1894
to consider the general's action in allowing a stranger to pass
through the territory of the Icaiche.\footnote{74} In connection with his duty
as head of the state, especially the military, the general pays all
necessary expenses, including purchase of arms and ammunition, salary
of clerk and interpreter (the only one who can read or write Spanish),
and the like, for there are no taxes and duties or public treasury.
The general draws his income mainly from royalties, and whatever is
left over after the public expenses are met reverts to him.

The general also functions as the supreme judge, from whom there
is no appeal. Sapper's generalizations are borne out by corroboratory
evidence, for he said:

\begin{quote}
The administration of justice is prompt and summary, but it is,
I believe very conscientious, in favourable contrast to the dragging
uncertain methods of Mexican courts. The accused is either set
free, or flogged or, in serious cases, among which I was assured
rape is reckoned, he is shot. There are no prisons and no
punishment by imprisonment. The existing laws are strictly
enforced. I myself experienced a slight proof of this, manifested
in a logical, though somewhat petty decision of the authorities.\footnote{75}
\end{quote}

Gann, after relating a tale of voluntary suicide by a subchief who had
been gone too long from the country, expands the account of the
administration of justice.

Fines and floggings can be administered by the subchiefs, and
severity is regulated by the nature of the offense. After it is over, the recipient is compelled to express sorrow for his crime publicly, humbly kiss the hands of the spectators, after which he is given a large calabash of anise to drink.

Only the headchief may sentence anyone to death. The trial consists of placing the evidence before the headchief who passes sentence, guilty or not. If the defendant is convicted, he may then defend himself by calling witnesses in his behalf. If unable to convince the headchief of his innocence, he is executed. The headchief delegates three or four soldiers to carry out the sentence; this they do by chopping the victim to death with machetes when they catch him asleep or off guard. Several men always perform this act, all chopping the victim simultaneously that no single individual may be directly responsible for the death. Treason, sorcery, and rape seem to be the chief charges for which death is prescribed; and of these, witchcraft is the most heinous. The victim is usually a woman (*pulya*) and her fate is thus:

She is literally chopped limb from limb; but whereas the bodies of other victims executed in this way are always buried, that of the *pulya* is left for the dogs and vultures to dispose of.

The general, however, does not act as priest in the pagan Catholicism, even among the Ixcanha and Ixcaiche, who apparently are somewhat less primitive in their concepts than the Santa Cruz. Both Sapper and Gann agree that in their economic and social life (excepting perhaps the Cult of the Cross) the independent Mayas differ in degree, not kind from the great body of Yucatecan Mayans from whom they are somewhat estranged politically.
It is beyond the scope of this paper to summarize the economic and social aspects of the villagers of the independent states, for abundant literature exists on the subject. Briefly, however, it might be said that their life revolves about agriculture, especially growing of corn, hunting, fishing, and a few minor industries such as pottery making, boat-building, spinning and weaving, and tobacco curing. The synoptic picture presented by Sapper seems adequate for the purposes here:

The dress, mode of life, and occupations of the Independent Mayas are very simple, and in this respect the general is in no wise distinguished from his subjects, except that he keeps saddle horses in accordance with his greater wealth. In dress the independent Indians scarcely differ from the rest of the Mayas. The women wear a white cotton skirt and a white guipil of the same material reaching to the knees, which is often ornamented with red embroidery around the hem and the neck of the bodice. The hair is gathered in a knot at the back of the head. Their ornaments are large gold earrings.... The men wear white cotton trousers and shirts, straw hats, and sandals, which are fastened to the feet with cords. The Indians cultivate the more important plants for food, luxury and textile fibers; raise cattle, swine and poultry; spin and weave their clothing and braid their straw hats and hammocks, etc. so that they are obliged to import comparatively few articles, only arms, ammunition, salt, ornaments and the like. The products of the chase are of great importance to the household of the Indians of Icaiche and Santa Cruz, who live in forest regions.

Miller mentions that the men, when travelling, often roll their cotton pants high up on the thigh, and leave off the shirt, so that they "then appear only to have on a waistcloth. Whilst at the village of Cumicton the whole male population came dressed in this fashion to look at the stranger." This undoubtedly is the origin of the appellation "huithe" used by Yucatecans in talking about these Indians. A perhaps unimportant difference between the southern tribes and the Santa Cruz, owing probably to their ephemeral dependence on Yucatan, was that the Ixkanha and Icaiche Indians were compelled to have passports.
As to the social characteristics of the independent Mayas, there is a good deal of testimony of varying acuteness. The view set forth by Yucatecans (see page 1, supra) has been the one generally enbalmed in historical sources. There are others. It is not the purpose here to portray the Indian as an idyllic being in a sinless state of Nature; hagiography is scarcely more historically acceptable than the traditional tendency to weight the data on the diabolical side. Nor does it seem justifiable to exonerate completely all his acts by pointing in each case to equally opprobrious actions committed against him by others, if we are forced to judge and pass moral judgments based on western cultural norms, which are not universal nor even accepted by the Indian. There is quite a literature on the debit side.

Miller, when he made his trip into the Santa Cruz area was struck by the extreme suspicion of the Indians, and was unable to get much information of any sort from them, for every question he asked was countered by a query, "Why do you wish to know?" It seems clear from his account that his interpreters were not of the finest, for he has said:

On one occasion wishing to hear of some ancient Indian ruins I was questioning several Indians in the chief's house, and getting unsatisfactory answers, pressed the questions, when they turned down their hat brims and peeped at me from under them, and simply answered in monosyllables. This so frightened my interpreter that he refused to go on with the questions.

Scattering references from accounts of visitors who left records in the archives of British Honduras on the whole are favorable to the Indians, but more weight can be attached to the findings of Sapper, accustomed to dealing with primitives, without ulterior motives, and without a background of preconceptions concerning them.
He found their general state of civilization low. But as to their character, "I can make an almost wholly favorable report from my own experiences." Their reliability contrasted favorably with the characteristics of the natives of Honduras; they were faithful, hospitable. "Family life was peaceful and quiet, wherever I had an opportunity to observe it." Though more reserved and quiet than the tribes of Guatemala and Chiapas, "they are by no means of a sullen disposition", rather being quick to appreciate jests; to their honesty evidence had already been produced. They tend to be cruel, a trait he has found even among the mildest of Central American tribes.

The distrust of strangers is also reported, but, he adds, it "is very easily explained when one knows how frequently the Indians are defrauded and cheated of their stipulated pay by the half breed element of the population."

Gann observed a number of interesting things among them in the only reasonably complete study made. The Santa Cruz are at extreme pains to conceal the whereabouts of their villages, placing them in the most inconspicuous spots, surrounded by a maze of paths bewilderings to the stranger. This desire for secrecy is carried to the lengths that "The Santa Cruz are said sometimes to cut the tongues from their cocks in order to prevent them crowing and so betraying the situation of the village." The only foreigners who have been allowed to reside among them were some Chinese. After the recapture of Bacalar by Yucatecans at the turn of the century, all females among the Santa Cruz by the chief's fiat were made to marry, presumably to increase the population that a reconquest might be undertaken. Both children and adults play many games, more recently even cricket, baseball, marbles, and kites, spinning tops, introduced from British Honduras.
After mentioning that the women are superior mentally and physically to the men, Gann gives a thumbnail view of the Mayas in Santa Cruz:

They are polite and hospitable, though rather shy with strangers.... They are very fond of gossip and readily appreciate a joke, especially one of a practical nature, though until one gets to know them fairly well, they appear dull and phlegmatic. ... They are extremely clean in their persons, and wash frequently, though with regard to their homes they are not nearly so particular.... The women are very industrious, rising usually at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning to prepare the day's supply of tortillas or corn cake. ... The men are silent, though not sullen, very intelligent in all matters which concern their own daily life, but singularly incurious as to anything going on outside of this. They are civil, obliging, and good-tempered, and make excellent servants, when they can be got to work, but appear to be for the most part utterly lacking in ambition to accumulate wealth with which to acquire comforts and luxuries not enjoyed by their neighbors.85

It seems clear from this and other data previously presented that the independent Indians were not wholly the demoniacal caricatures presented by creole historians, but were complex and not wholly irrational individuals whose ways of life, though differing in many essentials from both those of their English and Yucatecan neighbors, nevertheless had a definite pattern. That the pattern was different and simpler than some others does not necessarily damn it, except on dogmatic, unverifiable terms.

Though the Ixkanha and Icaiche groups tended to acquire at least the outward forms of western culture,86 the Santa Cruz Indians integrated much of their life, especially in the earlier days, around the Cult of the Cross. Their devotion to it seems to have had no parallel in either of the other groups.
The Cult of the Cross may possibly be a survival of the ancient Maya wax-cheel cab (first or green tree of the world) worship, common in diluted form in several Maya groups. To some extent, though not nearly so important, a similar cult is found in backward Maya villages in recent times. The history of the Cross that played such an extremely significant role among the Cruzoob is pretty much a history of the people and the area.

In the years 1851 to 1852, after some six years of fighting, it was believed that in the south the war was more or less drawing to a close; Chan Santa Cruz, later the capital of the Santa Cruz Indians, was nothing more than a ranchería. It was somewhat famed for a cross that talked and worked miracles, adored fanatically by the Indians of the region. But people stopped coming there after Romulo D. de la Vega, on an expedition to Bacalar happened to pass by the ranchería and took the cross with him. In 1853 the war broke out again furiously in the east, and the tribe of Maven, beaten by Yucatecan troops, moved southward, establishing some families at Santa Cruz, where the cross had been. Other families gathered there. The Government attempted to take the place, but were repulsed; the Indians, emboldened, broke through the Yucatecan lines of defense, sacked a town, and though pursued and attacked won a decisive victory over the Yucatecan soldiers, dispersing them and completely breaking their morale. It was just after this victory that the new Cross appeared, taking on all the attributes of the old, on a larger scale. It sweated, moaned, and pronounced terrible malédictions on the whites. Emboldened by such signs, the Indians sallied forth, took Tekax and other important points, massacred some two thousand persons, much to the dismay of
the Yucatecans who thought they had the situation about in hand.
The town of Chan Santa Cruz was entrenched by twenty-four trenches
a mile apart, and was never taken by Mexicans, though many attempts
were made on it. From that time until well into the twentieth
century, the Speaking Cross held the fanatic interest of the independent
Mayas who took their common name, Santa Cruz, from it and their worship
of crosses. In a sense, it was the font of sovereignty, for the chief
derived his legitimacy from it. Around it centered the governmental
structure, for a curious description by an Austrian outlines this:

The supreme priest (sacerdote) of Chan Santa Cruz bears the
name of "patron" and is at the same time the supreme chief (gefs)
of the population, with an unlimited, despotic power. The second
bears the title "interpreter of the cross or God" or tata Polin,
and the third "the organ of the divine word." Their functions
are these: in solemn circumstances the totich convokes the
village to the vicinity of the temple, and in the midst of
darkness interrogates the cross. The organ of the divine word
is encharged with responding, and the tata Polin communicates to
the village the divine will. In this fashion three impostors
form a triumvirate, the arbiter of life or death of the unhappy
ones who fall into their hands.

Aldherre continues, stating that military categories are classified
into generals and commanders, but despite their elevated titles,
whichever of them is accounted delinquent or guilty by the triumvirate
of the oracle is punished by flogging or more or less serious methods.

Somewhat weird was the manner of uniting to hear the oracle speak.

In the afternoon the people hear the sound of a cornet, which
is a signal that there is going to be an interview between God and the
triumvirate. The people become excited, and go around exclaiming,
"God is going to descend! (Dios va a bajar!). At nightfall, the three
priests occupy their posts in a sort of small cabinlike opening in the
wall. The people are outside and inside, frightened and trembling,
for Aldherre says, "stupid, ignorant, incapable of using their rational
faculties, they believe in that farce." After which those to be judged are conducted, with a considerable escort, to the cross and submitted to an interrogation. Then at eight o'clock in the evening, bells peal, all the cornets of the captured military band sound. God has descended. "The awe-inspiring circumstances maintain a profound silence. After a few moments the sound of a mysterious cornet warns and orders that attention be paid. Nothing is heard but the indefinable noise of a thousand breaths sucked in and the cries of the animals of the forest. Then a sharp repugnant sound is heard; it is the pipe (pito) of the oboe of the divine word; it is the artifice with which those barbarians mimic the voice of the divinity. Then the interrogation begins by means of the three impostors. At the end the three come out of the temple and communicate to the nation the sentence of God."

The sneaking cross not only was a powerful emotional and dynamic force in the belief of the Santa Cruz that they were invulnerable and impregnable, but it also complicated diplomatic negotiations somewhat. At various times Englishmen appeared before it for specific requests. In 1858 a mission was sent to ransom some prisoners, but the cross said that they should be killed; they were, but, it is added, "The ransom was honourably returned to Blake. Only female children were spared."

In another case two lieutenants from British Honduras went to Santa Cruz to inquire why they had ventured onto British soil. Although previously warned by their superior to have nothing to do with the mummeries attendant upon the cross unless absolutely necessary, upon their return they reported the result of their mission somewhat bleakly. They, along with their escort and interpreters, were
made prisoners, and conducted to the Temple of the Speaking Cross. The oracle there spoke defiantly of the British Government. After this they were detained for three days and subjected to such things as being hauled and pulled about, forced to swallow Cayenne pepper, drink vast quantities of aniseed, hug and kiss the chief, dance and sing.

Thus, in the period after 1854 and continuing well down the years, the Santa Cruz not only had a military dictatorship similar to that of the other two tribes, but functionally connected with their government, and inseparable in their minds, was theological control. Such an arrangement contained the seeds for great strengths and great weaknesses; pragmatically the institutional pattern withstood disintegration remarkably well. It depends upon the point of view entirely as to whether this was a good thing or a bad thing.

There is high probability in favor of, but little corroboration for, one aspect of life in Chan Santa Cruz. Present developments under the dictators of Europe, whose governments so strikingly are analogous to those above described, would be evidence in favor of the statements that

In Chan Santa Cruz almost everything is mysterious. Espionage is admitted as a system, and a secret police are formed after this fashion. The triumvires spy on one another; the generals do the same. One of them is the chief spy. The Indians call him—"tata Nohoch sul."

A summary of the material presented in the present part of this paper is somewhat as follows. The territory of the independent Mayas was discussed, mentioning the Yucatecan losses, but qualified by Stephens' remarks. It was made clear that the independent Mayas did not base their states upon either the ancient culture, or the hispano-western one. The three groups were distinguished, divided
into two parts by geography, Christianity, and war-footing. Their numbers, increments and decline were mentioned. Among the major causes for the dwindling were emigration, war, internal disturbances, disease, and drink.

The various important relations with their neighbors were touched on: the foreign ones, with British Honduras, Mexico (both [b]Pacificos[/b] and the [b]Brevos[/b]), and negatively with Guatemala. Too, their dealings with each other, to a lesser degree, were mentioned. The internal organization along political, social, and economic lines was sketched for the Icaiche, Chichanha, and Santa Cruz groups. The distinguishing feature of the latter, the Cult of the Cross, was treated historically, and its ramifications to some degree became evident.

One conclusion, aside from the treatment of the independent Indian states as a major result of the War of Castes, is that the Mayan had not changed much from 1813, when it was reported that

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Muchos indios manifestan inclinación y afecto a los europeos y americanos de quienes no han recibido algún agravio, pero de los que se juzgan agraviados, los miran con aversión y desafecto.
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It is particularly gratifying to find a number of facts stated herein further corroborated by a study that by chance I located on February 13, 1941, well after the preceding pages were written. This corroboratory piece was the work of Alfonso Villa Rojas (collaborator with Robert Redfield on *Chan Kom*) who entitled it "Notas sobre la etnografía de los Mayas de Quintana Roo," appearing in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropolóxicos*, Volume III, Num. 3, (Sept-dic., 1939), pages 227-241. Sr. Villa Rojas made trips into the area in 1932, 1935, and 1936. Many of his observations are of value for this study.

His historical background is fairly slim, and for this reason, much that he saw was not fully understood. In the historical skit that precedes the more valuable descriptions, he says

...al estallar en 1847 la insurrección indígena que sacudió la estructura social de toda la península, las selvas de Quintana-Roo se ofrecieron a los insurrectos como campo adecuado para el asiento de sus madrigueras. Desde entonces, el aislamiento de la región fue aprovechado por los nativos para ensayar allí un nuevo modo de vida, basado principalmente en sus propias tradiciones. Finalmente, al iniciarse el presente siglo, el Gobierno Federal llevó a cabo una campaña militar que culminó con la derrota de los indios. A partir de esa fecha, el Territorio ha venido perdiendo su aislamiento hasta llegar a nuestros días en que el establecimiento de escuelas ha marcado el principio de una nueva era. (p. 229).

This is qualified, however, by the main body of the article, which deals with one of three present zones, called "zona del centro", the other two being North of 20°30 N. lat., and clustering around the Rio Hondo. The *zona central* is the territory of the Santa Cruz Indians, and of it. Villa Rojas writes:

En esta zona se han concentrado los grupos indígenas más atrasados de toda la península y que, hasta fechas recientes, rehusaban someterse al dominio de las autoridades federales. (p 230).
Though he claims there are going to be schools and the like in that part, he says that the people are firm in wishing to retain their autonomy and preserve ancient customs. They are now called Los Separados. In all nine pueblos are included under this title: Tuzik, Señor, Chan-Chem, Chan-Chem-Laz, San José, Chununché, Yax-Kax, X-Maben, and X-Cacal. This latter is also called Santo Cah, meaning Pueblo Santo.

The territory forms a cacicazgo, and is divided into five sub-parts called compañías, each having three sub-chiefs of military rank, all subordinate to the main Comandante. There is also a chief of the Church, called Nohoch tata, or Gran Padre. In a footnote to page 232, author writes that present incumbent is more than 70 years old, the grandson of José María Barrera who founded Chan Santa Cruz, considered the Sacred City and Capital, in 1850. There are also some scribes, whose duties include "guarding" the sacred books, one of which is a 16th century document in the native tongue.

Men forming the companies meet periodically at the capital and remain their fifteen days as a guard for the Santo. Of this, Villa Rojas, who evidently has not read any of the literature on these people, says, "en realidad este [Santo] no es sino una pequeña cruz de madera a la que, por su carácter altamente sagrada, casi nunca se le expone a la vista del público." (p. 232). The cross is housed in the best edifice in the territory, a building with a palm thatched roof, wooden sides, and a cement floor. It has two rooms, one of which is known as "La Gloria," in which is the altar to the cross; the other is unnamed and served for various other Mayan-Christian ceremonies such as the Tup-kak, Cha-chaac, etc., rather familiar to students of Yucatan. (Cf. Gann, 1918). Near the church is a public communal building for public dances, business, etc., and around it are five barracks used by the respective compañías when
Though the integrative effect of the cult of the cross fairly lepas to the ethnologist's eye, Villa Rojas fails to fulfill his promise when he says:

"Come se vera más adelante, la influencia de la Iglesia resulta transcendent en la vida del individuo, el cual se ve obligado a gastar mucho de su tiempo, de sus energías y sus ganancias en el cumplimiento de sus deberes religiosos. (p 233.)"

The only further information of much value is that each family has crosses which are inherited patrilineally. The data on social and economic organization are of some use also.

Villa Rojas wrongly attributes the infiltration of outside goods and contact with people outside the area to the period after 1917, which this study has shown to be a constant factor through trade with Belize. Among the articles now found among the independent group are phonographs, sewing machines, flashlights, canned meats. (p. 234).

The section on ceremonies and religious life goes little beyond corroborating the findings of Gann.

The total number of inhabitants of the independent area was nowhere suggested.

Bibliography was not overwhelming, and cited none of the major sources, mainly contemporary ones having little relevance except for comparative purposes.

Feb. 13, 1941.

1. See rough notes on Economic and Institutional Structure from this article at end of present paper.
For sake of convenience and clarity, some variation from the standardized presentation of citations as set forth in "Instructions regarding Reports and Theses" (Harvard University, Department of History) seems justified. The bulk of the material used is from a limited number of sources used comparatively; to save confusing and somewhat valueless constant repetition the following scheme is used. The main sources are set down below in chronological order, and each is given a letter. Citations will be by letter + page number, that agreement and number of authorities are readily identifiable. Where material derived from other than those so listed is used, orthodox presentation has been adhered to. Table of main works for comparative purposes follows:

A. 1865-6 F. Aldherre, "Los Indios de Yucatán," Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana, IIa Época, tomo I (Feb. 1869), 73-77. Author was "uno de los austriacos que acompañaron á Carlota en la expedicion que hizo á la Peninsula de Yucatán."

B. 1866 C. H. Berendt, "Report of Explorations in Central America," Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1867 (Washington, 1868), 420-426. Author was a German whose investigations in Middle America remain unparalleled and unchallenged for their scope, accuracy, and thoroughness.

C. 1868 M. Mendiola, "Notas sobre 'Los Indios de Yucatán' por F. Aldherre," Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana, IIa Época, tomo I (Feb. 1869), 78-81. A diputado from Yucatan, familiar with the Indians discussed in A. Journey

D. 1889 W. Miller, "A/from British Honduras to Santa Cruz, Yucatan," Royal Geographical Society, Proceedings, n.s. XI (London, Jan. 1889), 23-26. Author was assistant surveyor general of British Honduras, interested in mapping the area.


NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)


2. ABH, 266, 267: "Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico to Foreign Secretary of Mexico, Jan. 31, 1866, Referring to communication regarding the Indian Cacique Canul, the Foreign Secretary begs to inform the Imperial government that inasmuch as Canul and his tribe are not de facto subjects of Mexico and inasmuch as they cannot keep up relationship with him (Canul) the British Government proposes to deal with him as an Indian unconnected with the Government of Mexico." (To which the Mexican Government objected, but not effectively).

3. Accurate maps of the peninsula are not available. For the purposes here, one or the other or both of two have been followed. These are "Plano de Yucatan, 1848," found at the end of Jose Maria Repril and Alonso Manuel Peon, "Estadística de Yucatan," Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de Mexico, III (1852-54), 236-340, an invaluable essay, and "Karte der Halbinsel Yucatan," (hauptsächlich der von Joachim Hübbecke und Andres Azner Perez zusammen gestellten, und von C. Hermann Berendt revisierten und vermehrten, 1878), Tafel II, Petermanns Mittheilungen, v. 25 (1879) in connection with A. Woelkof, "Reise durch Yucatan und die südöstlichen Provinzen von Mexiko 1874", ibid., 201-212. In connection with the latter map, see Sappey, 1895, 678-682, which makes important corrections. See also Sappey, 1897 (Bibliographie, Maps E).


6. Repril and Peon, tabe "C" (cited supra, note 3). These figures are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, for the question of the losses on both sides is not essentially a part of a discussion of the independent Indian states, but is necessary to account for other phenomena shown later.

7. Cf. B, 426: "In the month of October, 1866, I was planning my departure from Peten further west...when troubles among the Indians in the British colony arose and changed all my plans. One of the many blunders of the unhappy Emperor Maximilian, who, with the best intentions, knew too little of the country which he thought so easy to reform, and who was especially unlucky in the choice of his employees, was a proclamation to the Cruzes, inviting them to a full amnesty, but threatening to destroy the very last of them if they would not submit to his fatherly entreaty. The Cruzes were at that time in greater part tired of the war, and, undisturbed, had commenced to remain quietly in their districts. The menace stirred them up again, and they armed themselves for resistance with the war implements and supplies which they could readily obtain from the English traders. Maximilian's troops finally did not succeed in their operations against them, but had to retreat after a fruitless campaign, much reduced in numbers, though consoling themselves with boastful reports of sham victories. (Movements among the Yucatecan Indians stirred up those
NOTES AND REFERENCES; PART II (CONT'D)

7. (cont'd) in British Honduras and the Peten, for they "are not much given to fighting and always afraid of one or the other invasions of their country, which they imagine to be superior to any, and coveted by all nations." See also, ABH, 296, 284 ff.

C, 79, 78: "En 1860 organizó el gobierno del Estado una columna de mas de 3,000 hombres para tomar a Chan Santa Cruz, cuya fuerza estaba apoyada por las líneas militares. ... (description of actions) Las peridas sufridas ascendieron a 1,500 hombres de buena tropa muertos en accion y asesinados, 2,500 fusiles, la artillería con sus trenes, mas de 300 mulas, los víveres y parque. Estos descalabros concluyeron con los recursos del Estado, y para siempre con la moralidad del soldado. Desde entonces la tropa considera la comarca de Chan Santa Cruz, como una tierra maldita, mientras que los indios la consideran invulnerable y la defienden con una ciega confianza en el triunfo." (see also ibid description of actions of Maximilian's emissary to independent Indians, Salazar Ilarregui; his fate is somewhat interesting, for after taking some Indians to Maximilian -- "De regreso a Yucatan, el asiento volvió a dirigirse al Sur, donde al cabo de poco tiempo fue macheteado por los indios, p 80). Results of Maximilian's campaigns were this, ibid, 80: "Excusado es decir que Tihosuco fué inmediatamente ocupado por los bárbaros. Desde el asedio de este pueblo, nuestra línea ha retrocedido quince leguas, siendo hoy al punto mas avanzado la villa de Peto. El pueblo de Ichmul, que formaba parte de nuestra línea, lo hemos perdido, y ha sido completamente arrasado." Woelkof, 1879, 20: "Später gelang es fruehlich den Mexikanischen Truppen, einzige Orte des Innern den Indianern zu entreissen, aber der Osten und Süden blieb doch in ihren Händen. Mehrere Jahre hindurch war ein de facto Waffenstillstand eingetreten, aber 1871 wurde eine grosse Expedition gemacht, die Hauptstadt der Indianer, Santa Cruz, erobert und eine grosse Beutel dort gemarcht. ... Als ich im J.1874 in Yucatan war, war weder Waffenstillstand und beide Parteien hatten dasselbe Gebiet im Besitz, wie vor 1871. Später, im J.1876, sollen die Indianer jedoch in das mexikanische Gebiet eingefallen sein; weitere Nachrichten fehlen mir."

D,27: "They are armed with Enfield rifles, and machetes made in the form of a short scimitar, and are very confident that they will be able to beat any army sent against them by the Mexican government, which they are daily expecting."

E, 626: "In 1871 the Mexicans made another armed incursion into the territory of the eastern tribes, again captured their principal city, Chan Santa Cruz, and again withdrew without the slightest permanent success. After the withdrawal of the Mexican troops the Indians quietly returned to their former habitations, and occupy to-day the same territory that they formerly occupied."

F, 72, 36: "On one occasion the Mexican Government commenced to cut a road through from Peto to Santa Cruz, the Indian capital. Five of the Santa Cruz Indians went to see the work going on and were well received and given useful presents. On returning to their own country, however, they were executed by the head chief as traitors for encouraging the entry of outsiders into their territory. ... Small garrisons were kept at Santa Cruz, Chan Santa Cruz, Bacalar, and other Indian towns where soldiers were permanently stationed."


11. One of the most persistent myths in the folklore of historiography of the Caste War is that the Mayans, through some mystic "racial memory" were influenced by the deeds of their ancestors. Opposed to this are the facts as found by actual investigation, of which Stephens' statement, one of a number found throughout his volumes, is typical: "It is my belief, that among the whole mass of what are called Christianized Indians, there is not at this day one solitary tradition which can shed a ray of light upon any event in their history that occurred one hundred and fifty years from the present time; in fact, I believe it would be almost impossible to procure any information of any kind beyond the memory of the oldest living Indian." *Incidents*, 1843, II, 448. Cf. "It was strange and almost incredible that, with these extraordinary monuments before their eyes, the Indians never bestowed upon them one passing thought. The question Who built them? never by any accident crossed their minds. The great name of Montezuma, which had gone beyond them to the Indians of Honduras, had never reached their ears, and to all our questions we received the same dull answer which first met us at Copan, "Quien sabe?" "Who knows?" They had the same superstitions feelings as the Indians at Uxmal; they believed that the ancient buildings were haunted, and, as in the remote region of Santa Cruz del Quiche, they said that on Good Friday of every year music was heard sounding among the ruins." *Ibid.*, II, 28. The same feeling concerning the ruins lasts until this day; Cf., F, 40-41: "The men (Indians) are very unwilling to dig either in ancient mounds or ruins, as they are afraid of being haunted by the pitahua (souls) of those whose remains they may disturb; and nothing will induce them to go into caves or burial chambers in mounds. Many curious superstitions hang about the ruins found throughout the country." Cf. "Within the memory of the oldest Indians, these remains had never been disturbed. The account of digging up of the bones in San Francisco had reached them, and they had much conversation with each other and the padres about us. It was a strange thing, they said, that men with strange faces, and a language they could not understand, had come among them to disinter their ruined cities; and, simple as their ancestors when the Spaniards first came among them, they said that the end of the world was nigh." Stephens, 1843, I, 372-373. The Lacandones seem to be the only Mayanae group left who make use of the "oc-tun" for religious purposes.
NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)

12. Eliziño Ancona, Historia de Yucatán desde la época más remota hasta nuestros días (4v.+1, Mérida, 1879), IV, 17-18.

13. Carl Bartholomaeus Heller, Reisen in Mexiko in den Jahren 1845-1848 (Leipzig, 1853), 290: "...flöeh unter dem Vorwande die Huites, welche neue Gräueltaten begangen hatte...." [Oct. 1847]. The Indians throughout the peninsula did and do not call themselves this: "No native ever calls himself a Yucateco, but always a Macegual, or native of the land of Maya", Stephens, 1843, I, 139. "Macegual" means more "pobre gente" than the nationalistic slant given it here; often they call themselves simply as "winik", "man", whereas foreigners, especially Yucatecans, are "sool", and Europeans, when differentiated from sool are "ingleses."

14. A, 78: "El plan principal de los indios bárbaros es el exterminio de la raza blanca. Después que fueron echados del teatro sangriento de sus crímenes en 1849, se establecieron en un rancho llamado Kampocolché. Este punto no les parecía bastante seguro, y se internaron mas en la península, fijándose en el lugar en donde plantaron la santísima cruz y lo nombraron Chan Santa Cruz, que hasta hoy es todavía la capital de los indios. Algunos años después, los indios se dividieron en dos partidos diferentes. A los que siguieron haciendo la guerra contra la civilización se les llamó indios bárbaros, y a los que se dedicaron a los trabajos de la agricultura se les llamó indios pacíficos...cada uno vive como quiera, pero generalmente pacífico."

B, 42: "In the year 1857 the Cruzes invaded the Pacific Indians of the district of Chichajá. Since that time the Pacific Indians of that district have settled in the formerly uninhabited montaña (forest plains) around the frontier between Yucatan, Peten, and Belize, and their number has been increased by numerous deserters from the ranks of the Cruzes. They all, threatened by their common enemy, the Cruzes, retain certain connections with each other, although those on Belize or Peten territory have formed villages under the authority of the English and Guatemalan governments, while those in Yucatan and in the region of doubtful pertinency remain subject to the chiefs of the Pacific Indians. To those who only know about the insurgent and independent Maya Indians from the reports of their barbarous warfare against the whites of Yucatan, it is highly surprising to see these ferocious warriors organizing themselves without any external influence as quiet settlers, laborious and orderly, submitting to their self-elected local authorities, honest in their dealings, rigorous against criminals among them, and far the best class of people in either the British colony or Peten."

C, 78: "Un año después [1853] encendieron de nuevo la guerra los del Oriente, alentados por la tribu de Maven; y rechazados por las tropas del estado, emigraron hacia el Sur, repoblando aquellos bosques y estableciéndose en Santa Cruz algunas familias."

D, see note 10.
NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)

note 14 (cont'd): Fighting between those of Santa Cruz and Chichanja, for typical report is ABH, 281, Lt. Govr. to Govr., Jamaica, Apr. 13, 1852, reporting defeat of Chichanja Indians by Santa Cruz Indians in Yucatan during March. E, 626, places date of first attack as 1852.

15. B, 422.
16. E, 626, 630.
19a. ABH, 106. Same memo directs withdrawal of the detachment on the Hondo as being utterly inadequate to deal with such numbers.
19b, A, 74: "Aqui se halla la residencia de todos los geaes de caudillos y de cosa de 1,000 hasta 1,500 indios, y aqui(in Chan Santa Cruz) se reuener siempre las fuerzas que hacen sus afortunadas escusiones. Sus dependencias son: Derrepente or Chancan, Cocom, Santa Rosa, Panah, Pinchi y muchas rancherias de menor importancia. Tambien tienen la ciudadela y la ciudad de Bacalar en su poder. Toda la poblacion del territorio puede ascender a mas de 4,000 almas."
19c, C, 81, editor's note: "Pasamos ya este articulo para su ultima revision al Sr. Paniache y otros senores diputados de la Peninsula de Yucatan, y nos hicieron la observacion, de que segun los datos estadisticos, los indios sublevados pueden poner sobre 4,000 hombres sobre las armas; asi toda la poblacion puede ascender a quince o veinte mil habitanres en los distritos que conservan bajo su poder."
19d, B, 423. This figure is too high. Cf. 13
19e, ABH, 296, 297. In his report, dated November 15, Carmichael reports favorable impression of the character and disposition of the three principal chiefs.
19f, ABH, 269, 272. Canul, the Icaiche chief threatening the colony was supposed to have his headquarters about ninety miles from its frontiers, reached only by paths through forest and swamps.
19g. E, 627, 628.
19h. F, 13.
20. ABH, Lieutent Governor to Governor, Jamaica, Sept. 16, 1869. The Chinese were forced to work at clearing ground and planting corn. Cf. F, 34.
21, A, 75. Cf., E, 627-628: "...they [Indians of Ixkanha] are a somewhat nearer approach to disciplined military, inasmuch as they use drum and trumpet calls, etc."

ABH, 230-231, Crown Surveyor to Superintendent, July 6, 1860, notifying that of a troop of 4,000 Yucatecans who had started out against Santa Cruz, only 120 escaped from a trap. Those captured included "Whole of military band captured (including Master) who are compelled to teach young Indians to play bugle and drum."
NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)

22. D, 28. Such evidence tends to break down the superstition concerning the "innate" superiority of the white skinned peoples.


25. E, 628.

26. ABH, 258. Cf. ibid, 225, Supt. to Govr., June 22, 1859 confirming figure of 15,000 from Yucatan.

27. B, 421, 422. Cf. ibid, 424, re population of Peten. "The offspring of the prisoners [Peten Itza was formerly a presidio], of their keepers, and of the natives, with some admixture of negro fugitives from the coast, together with the rests of the Lacandon tribe on the Passion river and the immigrants Maya Indians of the montas form the actual population of the department. In their isolated situation and at a distance of about 270 miles from the city of Guatemala, they necessarily have remained in a rather primitive state."

28. ABH, 316 fn #3: "The Indians of Pach Chakan and some other small villages on the British side of the Hondo belong for the most part to the Santa Cruz tribes, and migrated to the Colony to avoid compulsory military service in the War of Races. (Nov. 13, 1869)."

29. see note 7, supra. Cf. A, 73; B 422; C, D, 27; E, 626, 627, 628; F, 36, 13: "This decrease is due to the policy of extermination carried out among the Santa Cruz for years by the Mexican government, and the consequent emigration of many of the Indians to British Honduras, Guatemala, and northern Yucatan. ... those Indians in British Honduras] in the north are partly indigenous and partly immigrants drawn from Yucatecan tribes who have left their homes after various political disturbances, especially after the occupancy of their towns of Bacalar and Santa Cruz by the Mexican government."

30. F, 35. see infra, note 76. Also note 73; cf. p. 30 infra.

31. A, 75; D, 27: "The name of the present chief of the Indians is "Aniceto Sul," but he is generally known as "Don Anis" or "The Governor." ... When I arrived there he had just lost the sight of one eye, and believing he was bewitched, he had killed the man and his wife whom he suspected of doing it, the day before my arrival, and he believed his eye was getting better in consequence." E, 34-35, 36-37.
32. E, 632: "It is often said of the Mayas that they are honest in important matters, but that they readily steal trifles; but I have never had the least thing stolen from me during my travels in Maya territory. On the other hand, drunkenness is a prevailing vice...."

F, 34: "Drunkenness is not considered in any way a disgrace, but is looked on rather as an amiable weakness. ... Alcohol effects an extraordinary rap'd change for the worse in the Indian's temperament.... When thwarted in this condition his temper is likely to flare up at the slightest provocation ... and he becomes savage, impudent, overbearing, and contemptuous toward the stranger, and ready to draw his machete and fight to kill, with friend or foe alike."

33. E, 627, 628. Cf. F, 37: "Smallpox invading an Indian village is a terrible scourge, far worse than in a more civilized community of the same size, where partial immunity has been acquired. Sometimes the whole unaffected population depart en masse, leaving the dead unburied and the stricken lying in their hammocks, with a supply of food and water, to do the best they can for themselves."

34. Lothrop, Tulum, 24: "Two characteristics were particularly noticeable. In the first place, they are malarial and anemic and succumb very easily to attacks of fever induced by fatigue. Two men working for us died in this way. Secondly, they are very much dirtier in their personal habits than other Indians of the same race living in other regions."

F, 36: "Malaria, without doubt the chief scourge of the Indian's existence. ..."

37: Hookworms and many other varieties of intestinal parasites are prevalent, owing to the earth-eating habits of the children, the earth being taken usually from the immediate vicinity of the house where pigs and other domestic animals have their quarters. This disgusting habit no doubt accounts in part for the swollen bellies and earthy color of many of the children." Ibid., 36, 35.

35. F, 35


37. ABH, passim. History of British Honduras in period under consideration may be found in D. Morris, The Colony of British Honduras: Its Resources and Prospects (London, 1883); A. E. Gibbs, British Honduras: An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Colony from Its Settlement, 1670 (London, 1883), esp. pp. 130 ff.; The Handbook of British Honduras, comprising historical, statistical and general information concerning the Colony, M. S. Metzzen and H. E. C. Cain, compilers (London, 1925), esp. pp. 36. Cf. Handbook, 36: "Since 1872 there has been no external event of historical interest to add to the account of the Colony...."
38. B, 422: "They are by no means hostile to the white man in general; their hatred is directed against the Mexican and Spaniard only, while they are friendly to other foreigners..."

D, 23: "so far as I can ascertain only two other Englishmen besides myself have been to Santa Cruz. I do not think it would be possible for a white man of any other nationality to go there. The Santa Cruz Indians have a very bad name and there are a good many murders recorded against them, which cause people to be very careful about going into their country."

E. 632-33, esp. f.n. "a", p 633.

ABH, e.g. Mar 9, 1849, Revd. John Kingdom to Supt. mentions that Indians entertained unbounded confidence in Englishmen. (p.118)

July 13, 1863 Lt. Govr. to Gover, Jamaica, reporting receipt of apology from Puc, Chief of Santa Cruz Indians, for their occupation of British territory. Also reporting threats of Zuc, chief of defeated Chichenlaj Indians against colony. (p.253).

Jan. 10, 1868, Lt. Govr. to Gover, Jamaica, reports receipt of satisfactory answer from the Santa Cruz Indians relative to the conduct of D. Isidoro Ake in invading British territory.... Expressions of friendship made and promises to prevent any invasion of English territory in the future. (p 299)

Mar. 26, 1868, Marcos Camul General in Chief, and Rafael Chan, General to Magistrate, Orange Walk, B.H., denying rumors about their hostility and expressing their desire for harmony with the English gentlemen. (p.301).

39. There is much contradictory and incomplete evidence on both sides of this thorny question which belongs more to the history of British and Mexican relations than to a survey of the independent Indian states. See, e.g., ABH, 124, Oct. 12, 1849, Supt. to Sir Chas. Grey, stating "one or two persons in the settlement of great weight and influence" were assisting Indians with munitions of war, and fears that others have "a direct interest in fomenting the present unhappy differences which disturb the province of Yucatan."

Nov. 10, 1849, Supt. to H.B.M. Minister, Mexico, admitting the sale of arms and ammunition to Indians by residents of Belize, where there is much indignation against the vexatious proceedings of the Mexican Govt. July 11, 1850, Supt. to Govr., Jamaica, re gunrunning, saying that "in any other state of society than that of British Honduras these parties must have been prosecuted before legal tribunals." (p. 136-137).

Oct. 17, 1855, Supt. to Govr., Jamaica, denies complaint made by Governor of Yucatan that local merchants are supplying insurgents with arms and ammunition intended for use against the Government. (p.186)

May 4, 1870, General-in-Chief of State of Campeche to Lt. Govr, complains of and names 60 merchants and others who are allied with Santa Cruz Indians and who are molesting the State of Campeche.
NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)

40. ABH, 107. Cf C, 81, violently anti-English, charging among other things: "El gobierno de esa colonia ha celebrado con ellos[the Indians] oficialmente convenciones, considerándoles como beligerantes en la atroz guerra que á la civilización hacen en un Estado de la república; y por ultimo, el superintendente de esa colonia ha puesto precio a las cabezas de varios agentes del gobierno del Estado de Yucatan... El edicto fué "fijado en las esquinas de las calles de esa poblacion [Belize], y uno de ellos ha sido remitido al supremo gobierno."

He goes on to say that complaints have been made to the British ambassador in Mexico, "siempre han tenido por respuesta, 'que los derechos, franquicias y privilegios del comercio de las colonias, no permitían prohibir ni restringir la venta de cualquier articulo al primer comprador'."

As early as December, 1847, the government of Yucatan asked that the Colony prohibit sale of arms to Indians, sending D. Alonzo Manuel Peon [who was one of the richest men in Yucatan, a polyglot, and thoroughly conversant with America and Europe] as a representative to treat with Her Majesty's government. ABH,98 (Dec. 31, 1847). Cf. ibid, 100, appeal from Governor of Yucatan to inhabitants of British Honduras.

41. ABH, 307.

42. B, 81. Cf. ABH, 315, excerpt from Minutes of Meeting of Legislative Assembly of State of Yucatan, July 28, 1869 in which the English Colony of Belize is mentioned as an ally of the Indians, especially by changing war-like stores and rifles for cattle, gold, silver, and jewels robbed from the Mexican villages by the Indians.

Cf. also ABH, 1849 (Oct. 3) Supt. to Yucatecan commandant, Bacalar, informing him that measures are being taken to prevent as far as possible the transport of munitions of war from Belize. (p.124)

July 21, 1849, Govr. Jamaica to Supt, transmits despatch from Secretary of State enclosing correspondence regarding complaints made by the Commissioners of Yucatan against the Settlement of Honduras for facilitating the sale of arms and ammunition. The Secretary of State instructs the Superintendent to do everything possible to prevent the supply of munitions of war by British subjects within British jurisdiction. (p.121)

Feb. 21, 1850, Govr. Jamaica to Supt, relating to a complaint from the Mexican government about supplying arms and ammunition to insurgent Indians in Yucatan, which is rebutted.

43. ABH, 333, April 19, 1874.

44. ABH, 343, Lt. Govr. to General Santiago Pech, Feb. 9, 1880.

45. ABH, 329. Craves pardon of "our Queen who has much reason to be annoyed." Ibid., Mar 16, 1874, Arana states peace and tranquility now exist in Ycaiche, and assuring British subjects and others there will be no impediment to trading between the Colony and Ycaiche. Ibid., Oct. 28, 1874, Magistrate, northern district, to Colonial Secretary reports Arana in on British territory with about 450 followers. They are unarmed and appear to be in want of food.
46. ABH, Mar. 18, 1854 (p. 176), Supt. to Govr. Jamaica, submitting copy of circular issued to Mexican refugees warning them against committing any act whereby they may forfeit protection from British Crown. Cf. ibid., 263.

47. This was fairly infrequent, but for example see ABH, 271, 251.

48a. ABH, 237, Mar. 12, 1861, the underling at Bacalar warned that his action in ordering troops across British territory was an unwarrantable infringement, and that his conduct will be reported to patron at Santa Cruz (the head chief). A reply to this (7 undated), from chief of Indians at Santa Cruz acknowledges right of Supt. to demand explanation, explaining that whilst his troops had crossed the Hondo, they had made no disturbance. Earnestly requests him not to entertain any ill-will against the Indians, as the friendship which they profess for British has been and will always be genuine. (ABH, 222-223).

48b. ABH, 308, July 21, 1868, e.g. ABH passim. In 1872, typical instance took place: 20 or 25 Indians presented themselves, saying Canul was dead and that they desired to arrange peace. Not having been allowed to pass the Rio Hondo, they had left, there being no trace of them since. (ABH, 329).

48c. ABH, 340, Gen. Eugenio Arana to Lt. Govr. June 28, 1878, stating that his commissioner, Calendio Medina, will come to San Antonio, to the bank of Manuel J. Castillo, to purchase gunpowder. He asks that his man be not impeded or detained. Informs Lt. Govr. that regions over which he commands are all quiet and that the gunpowder is needed to burn at the feasts and novenas in the cantons which are under his charge. Cf. ibid., 339 note from Governor, Jamaica to Lt. Governor stating that perhaps the 12 tons of gunpowder being sent to Belize might be connected with contemplated Indian raids. Indians had to get permission to enter the town of Belize, see ABH, 316 Lt. Gov. to Gov., Nov 13, 1869.

49. ABH, 286.

50. ABH, 259, G. W. Robateau to British Honduras Trading Co., Feb. 11, 1865. Ibid, 260, Manager British Honduras Co., Ltd. to Marcus Canul and Rafael Chan. Cf. ibid, 287 in which Canul demands rent of $400 each for certain lands. Sugar estates were to pay $1,000, Belize $10,000, Orange Walk $4,000 and Crozal $5,000, or he threatened to return and destroy all.

51a. ABH, 104-105.

51b. ABH, 347, June 10, 1881. But see E, 633, f.n. "a"; The two Englishmen had gone there (Santa Cruz) to quiet the Santa Cruz Indians, who had been aroused by political news recently received, namely, that the British government had concluded a boundary treaty with the Mexican Government on July 8, 1893, in which, among other things, the English bound themselves to prohibit the selling of arms and ammunition to the independent Mayas. This stipulation aroused such dissatisfaction among the Santa Cruz Indians that a raid on Corozal was seriously feared. However, a large part of the Mexican people claim the northern section of British Honduras, including Belize itself, as Mexican territory, and on this account condemned the boundary agreement; hence the Mexican
F1b (cont'd) Senate, in deference to public opinion, refused to ratify the treaty."
The Englishmen were a Mr. Strange and a Mr. Bradley.
52. E, 629-630.
53. E, 630
54. F, 19.
55. F, 23
56. F, 23.
57. D, 27
58. E, 631
60. ABH, Nov. 15, 1849 (p.126).
61. ABH, 173, Supt. to Indian Commissioners, Oct. 12, 1853.
62. ABH, 352, Jan. 11, 1884. As will be seen, the Mexican government tacitly admitted the independence of the Santa Cruz by signing such a treaty. They had consistently claimed that they were de jure subjects of Mexican sovereignty, but this would render such a claim even more nugatory than it had been previously. Cf. Note 2, supra.
63. ABH, 352.
64. E, 630.
65. ABH, 256, July 6, 1864
67. E, 629. Cf. F, 18: "It happens occasionally that an individual does perforce acquire wealth, as in the case of the head chief of the Icaiche Indians, who was paid a salary by the Mexican government to keep his people quiet, and royalties on chicle cut on his land by various contractors. He accumulated a considerable sum, all in gold coin, which he stored in a large demijohn and hid in the bush. At his death, as no one knew the place where the demijohn was buried, the money was permanently lost."
NOTES AND REFERENCES*: PART II (CONT'D)

68. B,42*: "The inhabited part of the Peten is separated by wide deserts from all the surrounding countries. The traveller is obliged to journey, in going to Yucatan nine days, to Verapaz and Guatemala eight days (in bad weather eleven,) and to Tobasco and Belize six days, through uninhabited country."


70. ABH, 285, Lt. Govr to Govr, Jamaica, April 9, 1867, announcing that as a result of the friendly feeling existing between the Government of B.H. and the Indians tribes of Looha (Ixxanha?) and Santa Cruz, report has been received from Encalada and the Triumvirate at Santa Cruz that Canul has been captured. Says that a copy of the map of the Colony has been sent to Encalada and that he has confidence that future complications in reference to the boundaries will be avoided.


72. E, 629. The following account of the Ixkanha and Icaiche is based largely on Sapper and Gann, for the former visited the two groups, but did not penetrate to the Santa Cruz (v. E,631). Gann's account seems to indicate that the speaking cross as the integrating force was no longer extant, for he says (F,41): "For many years, between the expulsion of the Yucatecans from Bacalar by the Indians and the conquest of the latter by Mexican troops some 12 years ago, no Catholic priests were permitted to visit the Santa Cruz country." His information concerning the cross cult is not very accurate historically. V. infra pp. 36-39.

73. F, 85. Cf. D, 28: "The last chief of the Santa Cruz Indians was killed, together with about twenty other chiefs, by my host at San Pedro, Don Anis, about four years ago, and the said Don Anis now reigns in his stead and will continue to do so until some other chief contrives to get a party sufficiently strong to kill him in his turn."

74. E, 630-631.


76. E, 631. Continues on with illustrative anecdotes, 631-632. Cf., ABH, 270, Magistrate, Northern District to Supt, April 26, 1861, forwarding report of Pedro Contreras who was sent to Bacalar. Contreras states that he was well received by the Indians who are greatly concerned by the cessation of trade with the settlement and who blame Jose Maria Trojo as being the cause. They accuse him of being a two faced man whom they will make pay for his duplicity if he is caught and assert that it was never their intention to attack the English, their orders being only against the Spaniards. Contreras also states that several Indians who stole some of his goods, and an Officer who tried to shield them, were given 12 lashes. See supra, p. 19.
77. F, 35, 36. For corroboratory tale see note 31, supra.

78. F, 42: "The Indians here under consideration occupy an intermediate position between the civilized Maya of Northern Yucatan, who have lost nearly all tradition and traces of their former civilization, and the Lacandones of the Usumasintla Valley who have probably changed but little in their customs and religious observances since the conquest." For further information, see supra 13-48; E, 629.

Cf. Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom;Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, 5a Epoca, tomo 8, 367-462 (1918), an index to all vols. by author and subject; Marshall H. Saville, ed., Reports on the Maya Indians of Yucatan by Santiago Méndez et al. (Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, N.Y., 1921, v. IX, #3); A. M. Tozzer, A Comparative Study of the Mayas and the Lacandones (Archaeological Institute of America, New York, 1907), also works cited in his A Maya Grammar, with bibliography and appraisement of works noted (Peabody Museum Papers, IX, Cambridge, 1921), also Tozzer Memorial volume, The Mayas and their Neighbors (Cambridge, 1940) and material cited therein.

For Lacandones, see Tozzer 1907, also since 1907, and unpublished bibliography in possession of present author.

For comparative material, see various publications on special topics by Carnegie Institution of Washington.

78. E, 629.


80. E, 671. Another insignificant difference arising from the position of the Ixcanha was that a schoolmaster was provided for it in the Campeche state budget, evidently a sinecure, for no one ever applied for the position, or actually took it. ibid, 628.

81. There are quite a number of authentic "atrocity" stories connected with the War of Castes, which when ripped from their contexts, without the proper allowance being made for all the relative factors involved, tend to be blood-curdling when encountered and judged in terms of a current, localistic ethic. Two examples may serve to typify this genre: W. P. Robertson, Visit to Mexico, by the West Indies, Yucatan and the United States, etc (2 v., London, 1853), I, 204-206; "Among other things lately sent to him is a small box, containing some of the calcined bones of an unhappy man who was publicly burnt alive by the Indians, in the course of the war last year; whence the Padre was led to give me many details of an appalling nature, touching the cruelties which had, during the course of the rising, been perpetrated by the Indians on the whites. These barbarities were, most probably, not without anterior provocation, and certainly have led to subsequent retaliations."
Note 81 (cont'd) F, 18: "The Indians are undoubtedly cruel, but not wantonly so, as the shocking acts of cruelty reported as being perpetrated by them from time to time are usually by way of reprisal for similar or worse acts on the part of the Mexicans. Before the rising of the Indians in 1848, they were throughout this part of Yucatan practically in a state of slavery, and were often treated by their Spanish masters with the utmost barbarity. As an instance of this it is recorded of a well-known merchant of Bacalar that he was in the habit of burying his Indian servants in the ground to the neck, with their heads shaved exposed to the hot sun; their heads were then smeared with molasses and the victims left to the ants; and this punishment was inflicted for no very serious offense."

82. D, 27. The tone of Miller's report would indicate that he possibly knew more about surveying than getting along with Mayas. I doubt if his observations can be much improved for scientific precision in matters which he could observe.

83. E, 632. Cf. note 14, B citation; note 19a; note 32.

84. cf. supra page 15.

85. F, 16-18, 32, 33. Cf. Lothrop, Tulum, 24: "Where the Indians understood our purpose they placed no obstacles in our way and even consented to work for us. We found them persistent and cheerful, if not intelligent, workers."

Cf. supra note 34.

86. e.g., E, 628: "In Ixkanha, it is true, I saw in the church a smoothly shaven Indian, not otherwise distinguished from his fellows, who, morning and evening conducted religious services, consisting largely of song, in the Maya tongue; but he was evidently not a genuine priest."

87. Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, 110-111. Ex Cf. 110: "...although some one village may have a cross of exceptional power, every village has the Holy Cross and does worship it."

88. C, 78-79. There seems to be no corroboratory evidence for this, but there seems to be no specific reason for disbelieving the account.

89. B, 422, f.n.: "They worship the cross, in whose name the tat-ich (their head chief) and twelve governors (military chiefs, priests, and counsellors) govern."
NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)

90. There is much evidence that this is true. Communications from the British government usually were addressed to the Triumvirate, sometimes to the Patron, who sometimes did not live at Chan Santa Cruz. Cf. also D, 26-27: "Near Tulum is a particular cross, from which the Indians say the voice of God issues, and, on all grave occasions this cross is consulted and they act in accordance with the directions given by the voice which issues from the cross. All the chiefs of the nation are appointed by it. A few years ago a Yucatecan priest went by sea to Tulum. He was taken before the cross and interrogated, when the cross directed that the priest should be killed, which was promptly done, and since that time no priest has attempted to enter the territory.

I had a great desire to see as far as Tulum to see this wonderful cross, but men refused to go beyond Santa Cruz, as they stated that every stranger had to interview the cross, and they feared the ordeal. It is said to be four days' journey from Santa Cruz, and the road is only a track through the bush.

It is impossible to ascertain who is the manipulator of this cross or to what extent the chiefs believe in it, or are responsible for the fraud, but I am sure that the majority of the Indians implicitly believe that the voice which issues from the cross is the voice of God; and they believe that if an enemy were to try to reach Tulum, the power of the cross would make the road full of rocks and holes and prevent an enemy reaching it.

ABH, 239, Magistrate, Northern District, to Supt, April 26, 1861, saying in part that these savages are subject to the sole and irresponsible control of their chief who is believed by his dupes to derive his authority from heaven, a delusion supported by means of pretended dialogue with their Deity, a wooden cross, on which the Indians believe that the cross never fails to return an answer to all questions, in entire conformity with the wishes of the chief."

F, 41: "The headquarters of this religious cult was the capital, where it centered about what was known as the "Santa Cruz", a plain wooden cross 2 to 3 feet high, which had probably been removed from some church after the expulsion of the Spaniards. This cross was supposed to be gifted with the power of speech (a belief arising no doubt from the exercise of ventriloquial powers by one of the priests), and acted as a sort of oracle, to whom all matters of importance -- civil, military, and religious -- were submitted for decision. It need hardly be said that the cross never failed to return an answer to all inquiries, in entire conformity with the wishes of the chief."

91. See note 76.

92. A, 75. In 1859, the procedure was somewhat different in minor details. Cf. Henry Fowler, "A narrative of a journey across the unexplored portion of British Honduras, with a sketch of the history and resources of the colony" (Belize, 1879), fide F, 41, f.n.l.
NOTES AND REFERENCES: PART II (CONT'D)


95. A, 76. The Mayan phrase seems to mean, "head-outsider-chief" probably meaning that he was not "in the know" concerning the cross.

96. Granado Baeza, "Informe...1813," Registro Yucateco, I, 166 (1845).
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"The War of the Castes and its Consequences."

(a) Yucatan on the eve of the Caste War. pp 1-27;
   Footnotes, pp 1-22;

1943
Yucatan, and especially the area now known as Quintana Roo, was changed greatly by a series of military, social, and economic struggles which are usually known in Yucatecan history as the "War of the Castes." In 1847 groups of rebel "ayas" took advantage of internal dissensions among their white Yucatecan contemporaries to carry on armed uprisings which ultimately resulted, among other things, in the establishment of de facto independent Indian states in the southern and eastern part of the Peninsula. Establishment of these semi-sovereign units and isolation of this section, now known as Quintana Roo, is closely interwoven with a number of events and conditions of the time, all of which form a necessary backdrop to better understanding of more strictly ethnological material presented in later parts of this work.

Strict chronological boundaries of the Caste War are difficult to fix; its character perplexing to sketch briefly. Its consequences, however, have been of major importance to both Indians and whites in Yucatan. It was more than a local servile revolt, and aside from the great tragedy it has had for Yucatan, complexity of events also involved the United States, Spain, Mexico, especially Great Britain and its colony of British Honduras. Local political feelings, atrocities on both sides, and other factors have tended to unfold almost every phase of the struggles in emotion, prejudice, and distortions, making truths concerning the War of the Castes difficult to establish. However much they differ among themselves, most authors agree that its immediate results were loss of nearly half the population of the peninsula, complete impoverishment of the government at Yucata, successful maintenance of independence by
Mayas in Quintana Roo, and impaired race relationships between the indigenous and Europeanized elements of Yucatan, as well as strained attitudes between Yucatan and the colony of British Honduras for the latter's dealings with the rebel Indians.

A brief sketch of the leading antecedents and occurrences of the war of the Castes illustrates its significance for the Mayas of Quintana Roo. Many of their present day institutions and attitudes stem from it. On the whole, history of Yucatan during the latter part of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century revolves about the Caste War.

YUCATAN ON THE EVE OF THE WAR OF THE CASTES, 1840-47

Population. One of the basic conditions giving rise to the "war of the Castes was the number and distribution of Indian and white populations in Yucatan." The most striking fact is disproportion between these elements. Though figures are far from precise, generally reliable is the figure of not less than 500,000 and not more than 600,000 for the whole peninsula in 1847. For purposes here, the careful computations of Regil and "can suffice, for they place the total at about 575,000, divided between indigenous and other stocks. The latter were usually known as the "castes": they included direct descendants of European strains, labelled "whites," and mixtures of European and others, known as mestizos. A few negroes and other intrusive elements were present, but they (and their mixtures with Indians, pardos), for purposes of enumeration, were lumped with indigenous Maya. Cultural cleavages tended to follow racial divergences; Stephens divided Yucatan into two great classes, "those who
PROPORTIONS OF POPULATION, YUCATAN, 1845

Male Taxpayers, ages 16-60. Multiply by about 3.5 for total population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTIONS AND DISTRICTS</th>
<th>ENTRANTs Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>TARDANTS Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>TOTAL 100%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTH CENTRAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticul</td>
<td>2,659</td>
<td>5.535</td>
<td>8,296</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Xke'anu</td>
<td>1,172</td>
<td>4.131</td>
<td>5,303</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tecoh</td>
<td>2,665</td>
<td>5.126</td>
<td>7,789</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(outside 'Yerida):</td>
<td>6,496</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>14,890</td>
<td>70.0</td>
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<td>21.4</td>
<td>7,254</td>
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<td>22,144</td>
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<tr>
<td>East:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totul</td>
<td>3,794</td>
<td>6.496</td>
<td>6,603</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>2,856</td>
<td>14.216</td>
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<td>31,466</td>
<td>78.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>South central</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3,093</td>
<td>9.688</td>
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<td>Bacalar</td>
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<td>2,428</td>
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<td>33,609</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>41,550</td>
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<td>1.131</td>
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<td>1.707</td>
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<td>1,025</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>7,039</td>
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<td>Coast hinterland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hopocheine</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>5,941</td>
<td>6,384</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hemoschakan</td>
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<td>4,328</td>
<td>6,913</td>
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<td>Total inland:</td>
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<td>23.0</td>
<td>10,619</td>
<td>77.5</td>
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<td>13,770</td>
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<td>26,691</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>43,384</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PENINSULA OF YUCATAN (Recountulation):</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH total</td>
<td>19,825</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>37,124</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>56,949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST &quot;</td>
<td>8,976</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>31,966</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>40,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH &quot;</td>
<td>17,083</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>36,691</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>53,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUCATAN, 1845</td>
<td>45,884</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>105,693</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>151,577</td>
</tr>
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</table>
wear pantaloons, and those who do not. The former were Yucatecans, "castes." The latter were Indian; among these "no native ever calls himself a Yucateco, but always a Yucamal, or native of the land of Yaxa."

Though proportions of one group to the other varied from locality to locality, for the peninsula as a whole it was about three to one. This gave the number of whites and mestizos about 114,940 and Indians some 131,520. The latter tended to be more thickly congregated away from the sea-coasts and older colonial areas, being especially predominant in the eastern port of the peninsula and in the hinterland behind southern and eastern Gulf ports. Hopelchen in the south, for instance, was more than 90% Indian, whereas the port of Carmen had less than 10% indigenous element in its environs. A detailed report from Yaxcaba (in the south and east) showed that Yayas constituted about 86% of the whole section; the remainder being divided into less than 1% white, less than 10% mestizo, and with some Indian-negro mixtures. Southern and eastern lands were frontier lands, and mainly contained the points in which the Caste War arose and from which it was carried on.

"Much of the area of present Quintana Roo was lightly populated by persons over whom the government at Yerida had effective control, save for a handful at Bacalar. Stephens reported from personal observation that the whole triangular region from Valladolid to the Bay of Ascension on the one side, and the port of Yalahao on the other is not traversed by a single road. ... It is a region entirely unknown; no white man ever entered it."

This last sentence is only partially true, for the Yucatecan government
had at various times during the first half of the nineteenth century attempted to clear passages to the coast by means of militia.9

On the whole, however, a great quadrilateral bounded by Ascension, Espiritu Santo, Champoton, and Petenitza was little known and unpenetrated by Yucatecos, and the contiguous areas were only slightly less known. Earlier in the century, Nohbec was the scene of an attempted colonization: the twin aims being to provide much-needed rice for Bacalar, and to woo Indians who had fled therein after a revolt back to government control; some of the latter had had their ears chopped off. The colony at Nohbec did not flourish, though a rude church was established. This vast area was the traditional home of "ayas who paid little or no attention to the organized government at Merida, who were known as "wild" tribes even before the Caste war.10 In 1845 it was reported that their intercourse with English at Belize and other establishments in British Honduras had rendered them less rude and intractable than might be expected.11

But despite such desultory contacts these "ayas clung to many of their ancient ways, in speech, ways of life, and dress. Among the latter, especially noteworthy was their use of a breech-clout known as huites; it became a symbol of primitive and barbarous status, and the name huites later became a synonym for all "ayas who rebelled in the war of the Castes.12 The number of the "wild" tribes before the war of the Castes is speculative, though one writer places it at from six to eight thousand.13

Sectinal Isolation and Economy. Though the area of the "wild" tribes was isolated from the rest of Yucatan through lack of roads and other connecting links, neither was the remainder of the peninsula
self-contained, well-knit unit. Means of effective communication and land transport were lacking. This had a marked effect on population numbers for when crops failed in one section, supplies from others with a slight surplus were nearly impossible to transport. Deaths from starvation resulted. Such crop failures and famines recurred regularly nearly every decade. This, plus equally recurrent epidemics, kept a rather low ceiling on population growth, and led a contemporary Yucatecan student of the problem to declare "we grow in miseries, epidemics and morality, but not in population."

In rural sections medical care was nearly nonexistent. The isolated and unconnected population clusters made military operations extremely difficult, whether in the civil discord that troubled Yucatan in the 1860's or against rebel ayans.

Physiographic peculiarities were largely responsible for distribution of population and Yucatan's economy. "Until the commercial growth of henequen after the 1860's, very little large-scale agriculture was attempted, though the introduction of sugar cane and cotton began to render frontier lands of more value and had already started movements of population into them. "Henequen, henequen, rice and a few scattering tropical products were the chief agricultural interests. By and large, agriculture was for subsistence, not for export. Even subsistence level's were not always attained, and foodstuffs occasionally had to be imported.

Great lack of water, and irregular occurrence of rains was a major determinative. In Yucatan, whoever controlled water, controlled life of the community. Around a new found source of supply a new town would
AGRICULTURE IN YUCATÁN, 1846-1881

Land cultivated in leading crops, by macestes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1881</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBSISTENT CROPS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>6,000,159</td>
<td>357,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucca</td>
<td>46,666</td>
<td>4,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subsistence:</strong></td>
<td>6,046,825</td>
<td>362,918</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1881</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMMERCIAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hennequen</td>
<td>181,572</td>
<td>1,299,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>102,081</td>
<td>63,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commercial</strong></td>
<td>283,653</td>
<td>1,195,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total reported:</strong></td>
<td>6,330,478</td>
<td>1,558,082</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. From Baqueiro, Memoria, 146.
1. "Maize and beans consolidated, as authors believed all beans raised in same milpa as maize.
2. Hennequen and tob-eco lumped together. 61,557 arrobas of hennequen, worth 30,730 pesos were exported in 1845. Ibid., 307.
quickly arise. This fact helped increase white control of Mayas, for in many sections Yucatecans had monopoly of water supplies and storage. Water, being a scarce and controllable commodity, was at the base of the hacienda system as practiced in Yucatan. Again Stephens, among others, noted the phenomena:

unless water were preserved men and beast would perish, and the country be depopulated. All the enterprise and wealth of the landed proprietors, therefore, are exerted in procuring supplies of water, as without it lands are worth nothing. . . . This creates a relation with the Indian population which places the proprietor somewhat in the position of a lord under the old feudal system. . . . The Indians are poor, thriftless, and improvident, and never look beyond the immediate hour, they are obliged to attach themselves to some hacienda which can supply their wants; and, in return for the privilege of using the water, they come under certain obligations of service to the master, which place him in the lordly position; and this state of things, growing out of the natural condition of the country, exists, I believe nowhere in Spanish America except in Yucatan. 23

Once brought within the orbit of the hacienda system, Indians found difficulty in avoiding status of serfs. This physiographic condition was one which legislation could not rectify. Even independence from Spain did not alter it. 24

Consequences of Independence from Spain. 25 Final separation from Spain, which took place late in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, made many changes. It did not, however, alter the basic disproportion of Mayas to whites, the isolation of communities, nor many controls exercised by the whites. Independence did introduce disruptive tendencies which eventuated in the destructive war of the Castes, which was partially an unplanned revolt at the base of the social pyramid. Conflict between colonial attitudes which natural conditions helped reinforce,
plus potent republican and egalitarian doctrines, bred internal dissension among the numerically inferior ruling castes, which in turn led to factional disputes. To provide aid for these, Indians were armed and set against other white factions. When the Indians fought for themselves, it was labelled a Caste War. Discord leading up to the establishment of independent Indian states in Quintana Roo grew out of the social structure, and developments in Yucatan subsequent to Independence.

Class Structure and Interests: Whites. Forming a minority of the population, whites as a whole remained socially, economically, and politically as dominant on the Peninsula up to the Caste War as they had during the colonial period. Greater proportions of creoles were concentrated in urban sections of older colonial areas, such as Mérida and Valladolid, and along the western and southern seaboard. Alike generally in language, cultural heritage, and physical types, whites differed among themselves in important ways. When considered as a unit, set off from the Indians who had non-European background, the white way of life was almost unanimously favorably reported on by travelers and others who visited Yucatan in these crucial years.

Typical of the time and place were Norman's comments on Mérida. Of it he said:

Its remote and isolated position has prevented its participation to any extent in the political struggles which have marked the history of the City of Mexico; and the inhabitants appear to have availed themselves of their peace and political composure by cultivation of letters, and general mental cultivation to an extent certainly unsurpassed by any province of Mexico.
Freed from onerous restrictions previously imposed by Spanish rule, white literary activity, humanitarianism, and economic development blossomed. The even tenor of social existence was enlivened and punctuated by concerts, bullfights, lotteries, fiestas, even circuses, without much more serious criticism from foreigners than that ladies smoked and gentlemen wagered too much. Life in Mérida was favorably contrasted to that currently led in parts of the United States. Yucatecan citizens traveled widely, and on the whole were characterized as intelligent, amiable, and worthy. The aristocratic tradition continued to flourish, despite the advanced social radicalism of various ephemeral political constitutions.

The Bishop and the high state officials, often drawn from literary men and servantes of the hacendado class still topped the social hierarchy. Professional men, doctors, lawyers, and lesser office-holders still outranked merchants and commercial agents in public esteem. There was little or no tradition of militarism, for isolation of the Peninsula and its general tranquility (except for a notable Indian outbreak in the late eighteenth century) rendered the army more a pleasant club than an instrument of defense or destruction. Even revolutions were fraternal and rather more wordy than bloody. Beneath this placid surface, however, forces which unleashed the war of the Castes were undermining the colonially erected social edifice. Colonialism completely collapsed in the 1860s, and on its ruins and from its materials was erected modern Yucatan on the one hand and the Indian states in Quintana Roo on the other.

White Dilemmas. Social and economic grievances among the different groups of white Yucatecans bred political and military actions
YUCATÁN IN 1846

Relative Areas, Populations, and Persons per Square Mile, by Sections

(Detailed figures appear in Table 3, on Page 4.)

The following graphs show, in this order — Percent of total area of the Peninsula occupied
Percent of total 1846 population
Density in persons per square mile

### NORTH

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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### FAST

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### SOUTH

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<td>Campeche</td>
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<td>Total Section</td>
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### PENINSULA

<table>
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which were direct causes of the War of the Castes. In this causative matrix, economic rationalism was important, though not determinative.

The older colonial areas, comprising roughly the district of Yerida and some of its adjuncts largely existed on a paternalistic feudal, agriculture-for-subsistence, economy. This was stable, static, and dated largely from Conquest days. Mayas on these older haciendas were, according to one who controlled many of them, docile and tractable. On the whole, they did not take part in the War of the Castes on the Mayan side, but in some instances even fought in defence of their master's properties.

On the other hand, the ancient feuds between the mercantile classes in such ports as Carmen and Campeche and the feudal aristocracy of Yerida were brought into sharper focus when economic restrictions imposed by the Spanish Crown were lifted. Such ports expanded rapidly during the early years of the nineteenth century as commerce flourished. The coastal depots were predominantly mestizo or white, composed of socially mobile middle-class merchants and politicians excluded from social and political equality with the hacendados of Yerida and satellites. The Maya population lay largely behind the ports, scattered over unexploited and even unexplored areas. The differing interests of the residents of this district of Campeche led to their ultimate withdrawal from control of Yucatan in 1858, after the Maya hinterland had been organized by the Indians into one of the three independent Maya areas. From 1858 on, the State of Campeche was a separate unit on the peninsula of Yucatan. During early years of the War of the Castes, partisans of Campeche and of Yerida charged each other with failing to prosecute the struggle except for factional ends.
To the east and south of Merida, and inland from the busy Gulf coasts lay still another region with interests diverse from either. Its metropolises were Valladolid, Peto, Tturbide and other expanding and "progressive" urban centers. This was largely frontier area, and was the scene of numerous new enterprises. Cultivation for export of sugar-cane, cotton, and logging operations made a different social and economic milieu, producing differing attitudes. Valladolid was the scene of incipient factories in which 'ayas were workmen. Expanding plantation economy for export started filling up lands previously closed by the Crown. Some of those lands were haunts of the 'huite Mayas already referred to. As in the United States of the period, a moving frontier offered opportunity to those unable to find a place in the more tightly organized, older areas. Speaking of Tturbide, which he calls the "Chicago of Yucatan," Stephens reported it was a "great point to which the tide of emigration was rolling," and added:

Crowded and oppressed by the large landed proprietors, many of the enterprising yeomanry . . . determined to seek homes in the wilderness. Bidding farewell to friends and relatives, after a journey of two days and a half they reached the fertile plains of Zibilnocac, from the immortal an Indian rancho. . . . long before reaching it we had heard of this new pueblo and its rapid increase. In five years, from twenty-five inhabitants it had grown into a population of fifteen or sixteen thousand. . . .

He also mentioned that, in true frontier tradition, citizens of Tturbide (mostly white or mestizo) did little but gamble, living off efforts of 'ayas therabouts whom they had practically enslaved through unrepayable loans. This virtual peonage on account of small sums was sustained through various manipulations. In Yucatan, under different conditions, the moving frontier produced different results than in the United States, but
it was an equally dynamic factor in the "war of the Races."

In these Yucatecan frontier regions, the hacienda system was not an exact replica of that long established in the older places on the Peninsula, though many features were common to both. Isolated and unrestrained by the immediacy of authority and socially erected safeguards like public opinion, newer haciendas were run on a more business-like basis; desire for profit or unrestrained power seems to have produced a number of evils. In older areas, over course of two hundred years or more, masters and serfs had ironed out many grievances and had settled down to mutually adjusted relationships. In many cases these were not transferred to newer, more commercially oriented plantations. It is not a coincidence that the most serious revolt of "hayas before the "war of the Castes took place on the frontier line of the time, at Quinaté in 1761.

**Hacienda System and Mestizos.** The hacienda system was no novelty in nineteenth century Yucatan, for under various names and different guises it had operated in nearly all of Latin America since the Conquest. In Yucatan it resembled, and still resembles, the agricultural societies in the ante-Bellum South of the United States. It was a European way of life, adapted to the New World and local conditions; though some few Indians owned and operated haciendas in Yucatan, masters of other "hayas, this was uncommon. In operation the system varied widely from area to area, master to master, crop to crop, depending on the age, size, and other variable aspects of the hacienda. On the whole, the typical hacienda, as reported by numerous
observers, was customarily under direct control of a mestizo mayordomo, who might have under him one or more mayordomos in charge of lesser units on the tract. Though mestizos might be storekeepers, fishermen, tailors, blacksmiths, or be engaged in analogous trades, they were known and usually hated for their positions as mayordomos on haciendas. Their status and duties were similar, as was their reputation, to overseers on southern plantations. Often the mestizo mayordomo was the only person on the place who spoke Spanish as well as "aya." Equally often he was left largely to his own devices, for most of the owners were absent from their properties, preferring Merida or other points for personal residence.

Speaking of a typical case, Stephens wrote that "The whole appearance of things gave an idea of country residence upon a scale of grand hospitality, and yet, we learned to our astonishment, that most of the family had never seen it. The only one by whom it was ever visited was the son who had it in charge, and he came only for a few days at a time to see how things were conducted, and examine the accounts of the mayordomo." 

Judgment passed by the same author, that mestizos possessed "all the bad qualities of both and but few of the good traits" of cultural groups whose mixture produced them, accords with general impressions made on creole Yucatecans, "ayas," and foreigners. In any case, mestizos were set off from both parent stocks by physical types, dress, and habits. Whether they customarily spoke Spanish or "aya" seems to have been entirely determined by the culture in which they were most immersed.

On the whole, both socially and in other ways, mestizos were in an anomalous position. Their psychological security was threatened by both the creole whites with whom their interests were most closely linked, and the
Mayas, whose heritages they could not completely escape. Their attempts to consolidate their status led on the one hand to embracing new movements, usually of revolutionary character, and on the other to various manifestations of presumed superiority to indigenous persons and habits, to make their class positions clear and definable.

Roles of Indians. In the colonial hierarchy the Indians were close to the bottom of the social pyramid, though most generalizations about positions of Mayas are open to great suspicion. On the whole, all Mayas held lower places on the scale than any creole Yucatecan, and seldom reached heights occasionally occupied by mestizos, for the latter might hold important public offices, high ranks in the army, or posts in the church.

Views on Indians current in contemporary and later literature are diverse, contradictory, and highly subjective. They range from treating Indians on one extreme as brutes, little better than animals, to the other of idealizing them as embodiment of eighteenth-century concepts, as noble savages and natural democrats. Much of this confusion may be obviated by remembering that statements concerning Mayas are of little value if the social context is not given, for among nineteenth-century Mayas there were indubitably a great many common elements, but there were also significant sociological differences due to status, class, locale, and previous history.

Some of the common elements seem to be that most Mayas were rural agriculturists of one sort or another, and were numerically superior to all
other non-native elements in the population. On the whole, they clung tenaciously to their native tongue and to many of their ancient folkways. The degree of Maya acculturation to European modes presumably varied, but nineteenth-century Mayas lived very much as do their present day descendants, and had great similarities to their classical forebears. Physical types have tended, so far as is known, to remain rather constant, varying slightly from locale to locale; whether they vary from social class to social class, as do populations in other parts of the world, has not been extensively investigated. For purposes here, nineteenth century Mayas may be divided into four main groups, differing from one another sociologically and perhaps otherwise.

"Formally these four groups would include Mayas who lived in and around cities, and were rather highly acculturated. They were distinct from rural Indians. The latter constituted by far the majority, and were made up of Indians who worked on haciendas, "free" Mayas, and huítes, or "wild" Mayas on peripheries of frontier zones. Stephens and others provide much information about the hacienda and "free" Indians, but little is known about the huítes before they were grouped in the cacicazgos which resulted from the War of the Castes."

Hacienda Mayas merged into the "free" group by graduated social and economic distinctions. On haciendas some Mayas and their families seemed little more than peons, under constant and direct control of the majordomo or other authorities. Others performed only occasional labor for their masters, usually on Mondays, with perhaps an extra stint on Saturday; because of this they were known as leneros. They could avoid
service on Mondays by paying their master one silver real, customary day's wage, but the Saturday farina, sim of servile status could not be thus transmuted. Extra work performed for him was paid for or put to the Indian's running account, which never seemed balanced, or to be in the Indian's favor. Cowboys, woodcutters and others connected with ranches or haciendas received wages without being forced to do 'Monday work; wages were eight to twelve reales a month and five almudes of corn weekly, part of which was withheld to keep them from leaving.

A number of villages were made up of "free" Indians unattached to haciendas; they supported themselves by milpa agriculture, as did luneros, and in addition might make hats, cut wood, or fish for livelihood. Though "free" as a group, such villagers would require services of its inhabitants, and might force those of their number who were tax-delinquents or who had infringed some law to do service for the whole village. To avoid even such light burdens, many 'ayan families or groups of families would be found in isolated spots in the brush. More isolated and less subject to white control even than these were the huites, who seem to have led a semi-sedentary, semi-hunting existence not unlike that of the present-day Incandones. Recruits for the Caste War were obtained by the 'aya, and such mestizos as threw in their lot with them, from most all these classes except city and peon 'ayas. The really servile 'aya classes did not revolt.

"Liberalism" in Yucatan 1825-1847. Theoretically Indians were enfranchised citizens after 1840. Radical liberal doctrines in various constitutions promulgated in Yucatan between Indenendence and the outbreak
of the Caste War were at great variance with existing social and economic conditions, but waves of liberalism which preceded and followed Independence had many important consequences for both whites and Indians, for pantalooned classes and those who wore calzoncillos (or huites). Economic liberalism, as seen, opened and intensified existing rifts between seaport areas, the static colonial plantation sections, and more turbulent "progressive" regions in the south and east. "Political and social liberalism, founded on eighteenth century revolutionary doctrines, emphasizing the rights of man, humanitarianism, and similar familiar concepts, brought equally important changes for Yucatan in its train.

Not the least of these were Church affairs. Like most Latin American areas, Yucatan traditionally was Roman Catholic, and continued to be so after Independence. Unlike many similar areas, the Church was not the continual target of anti-clerical or "advanced" legislation; in turn it ostensibly stayed clear of politics. It had no need to enter them so long as the hacendado class in Merida controlled the state, for their two interests were closely aligned. In Yucatan, changes in the Church which helped precipitate the Caste War arose rather from within the institution itself, with shift in control from regular to secular clergy. The latter were supported by political "liberals," for Franciscans were identified with reaction and colonialism in contemporary politics. As a result of Independence, Franciscan monasteries were suppressed; Congress of Yucatan met in a confiscated one. For a short time after Independence even secular clergy could not make much headway against early surges of anti-clericalism, but after the first radicalisms died
down, about 1830, the elected Archbishop returned to his vacant seat. In 1840, obventions were done away with, and "the powerful secular clergy which had substituted for the Franciscans in the rich curacies which made up their convents or doctrines, had fallen from the pinnacle of their influence," for in 1844 the government pensioned them off. In 1850 the Church was virtually disestablished.

If any one thing rankled Indians more, it was actions of some secular clergy of the period. In 1849, when the British government investigated causes of the Caste War in an effort to bring about a truce, Indian chiefs claimed oppressive contributions were its cause; this view is supported in their letters to ecclesiastical authorities who also sought to intervene and halt the war. Personal of the Church, like every other complicated institution varied greatly; in some areas the cura was deeply beloved by Indians, who performed prodigies of devotion for him; in turn these curas helped restrain Indians from war. Yet in other areas, the cura was equally hated. One was charged by the Indians with having saddled and ridden them like horses, killing one "aya by spurring him too much.

Institutional arrangements certainly gave opportunity either for noble self-abnegation or for unbridled avarice. According to Stephens, one customary such arrangement was that in exchange for building a church, keeping it in repair, and performing duties and services of a priest, incumbents personally kept all fees and capitation taxes of the curacy, except one seventh which was paid into Church coffers. This system put a premium on exploitation; it tended to make the priest almost a feudal
lord, especially if he controlled water in a village, as many did. 69

Rather sparse evidence shows the Church, then, not to have been a stabilizing factor in the situation in Yucatan just before the outbreak of the Caste War. This is true even though many curas did their utmost to control their native charges, with all their considerable influence. A second and completely unexpected result from liberalism in Yucatan was closely connected with previous role of the Church, especially the Franciscans.

Upon disbanding all but a few convents, much of the educational and humanitarian activity previously carried on through church agencies was taken over by civil authorities, and to a lesser degree by secular clergy. Doctrinaire liberals believed that nothing but superstition and ruin had been outcome of education in Church hands; on slim resources they attempted to supplant it by secular schools. 70 An ex-governor claims cost of civil schools in the 1840's and 50's prevented effectively financing this school program. 71 In any event, local Yucatecan periodicals carried humanitarian appeals, emphasizing necessity of thoroughly educating Indians, and painting dark pictures of their brutish and sottish ways. Such appeals coincided with a literary movement which, among other things, played up horrors of Indian warfare in novels and discussions of the previous uprising of 1761. 72 Urban Yucatecans (in Merida center of this liberal literary renaissance) were rather removed from contact with rural Indians. Yucatecans evidently became so thoroughly indoctrinated with these stirring expositions that a contemporary critic charged that they "saw a conspirator in every drunken Indian and an emissary (of rebellion) in every wanderer." 73
All this occurred just at a time when local politics rose to fever pitch, when various factions were arming Indians, and making their promises impossible of fulfillment.

Local Politics and the Outbreak of the Caste War, 1847. Though theoretically Indians were citizens and had a vote, this meant little in practice. By common consent among whites they either were excluded from politics or they voted according to instruction. This tacit compact was ruptured during years preceding the Caste War. Many writers attribute the cause of the war alone to this fact. It certainly was an important factor, but alone it is insufficient to account completely for the outbreak, length of time, or ferocity which marked the war of the Castes. The many contributory aspects, sketched up to this point, as well as others, provide a necessary complex background to explain the fact that a working social equilibrium, not really violently disturbed since the first shock of Conquest, now suddenly shifted, and that such changes produced the dire results the Caste War displayed. Political factors are important, but not complete when divorced from their social background. The Caste War was not pre-ordained, or inevitable, and it certainly did not have an immaculate conception.

Several issues in Peninsular politics which formed rallying points for men of different opinions were in part reflections of national issues, and in part peculiarly Yucatecan. Yucatecan questions in the 1840’s centered about whether Yucatan should win and maintain its independence from Mexico, as Texas had done, and of the relative division of power between Campeche and Verida. The local issues also involved national
questions concerning the war Mexico was carrying on against the United States.

Attempts in the early 40's by Mexicans to coerce Yucatan into reentering the Mexican Confederation had failed, in great degree because the Indians had been armed, cajoled, and sent out to drive off the "interlopers." Though as early as 1825 "ayas had been used, in sporadic instances, as soldiers, this marked their real debut in politics. With justified foreboding, Stephens wrote in 1843, regarding that center of "progressivism," Valladolid:

There for the first time, the Indians were brought out in arms. Utterly ignorant of the political relations between Mexico and Yucatan, they came in from their ranchos and milpas under a promise by General Tman that their capitation tax should be remitted. After the success of the first outbreak, the government endeavored to avoid the fulfilment of this promise, but was compelled to compromise by remitting the tax upon women, and the Indians still look forward to emancipation from the whole. What the consequences may be of finding themselves, after ages of servitude, once more in the possession of arms, and in the increasing knowledge of their physical strength, is a question of momentous import to the people of that country, the solution of which no man can foretell.

A three-cornered battle among partisans of Barbachano, representing Merida's interests, Barret, from Campeche but differing from his compatriot, and "endez, pro-Campeche, later broke out through controversy over the course the Peninsula should pursue in Mexico's war with the United States. Part of Campeche remained neutral; another part, which had previously received aid from Mexico against Verida, raised a revolution late in 1846 against the latter. The whole Peninsula was divided into two armed camps while the primary issues were lost in a flurry of manifestoes and
proclamations. Hendecistas declared that Barbachonistas allied with
and armed Indians, and that the Yavea took advantage of the occasion to
declare a race war. 79

The precipitating episode certainly is wrapped in confusion. 80
Allegedly an Indian cacique named Manuel Antonio Ay wrote a letter (never
produced in evidence) to another Indian, intimating that he was going to
attack Tihosuco, whether as a political move or otherwise is not clear.
Immediately the cry of "race war" was raised by whites. A veritable reign
of terror swept Merida; many respectable Indians were assassinated on mere
suspicion. Ay also was summarily shot, and Yucatecan troops raided
Tepich an Indian town, burning "various women, children, and old men,
together with the houses in which they were shut up." 82 This was done,
because "the simple announcement of a caste war, which for some time had
hung as a threat over the heads of the white race, obliged taking extra-
ordinary and violent measures." 83

Indian retaliations for this, on July 30, 1817 is considered by
Yucatecos to be the opening date of the War of the Castes. 84 There is no
definitive terminating date. Different groups fighting for different objects
have kept the conflict alive until recent times. During the passage of
time the early objectives on both sides changed, as the war changed and
grew.

Early Objectives of the Caste War. In the beginning whites
claimed they were fighting in self-defense, in a war forced on them by
barbarous Indians determining to exterminate the white race. They asserted
that Indian odium stored up for three hundred years since the Conquest grasped the opportunity of rifts in white ranks to reclaim ancient rights for "Yayas."

This is highly questionable, for Indians even forgot locations of wells where their immediate ancestors drew water, in a land where water is life. They preserved little or no memory of the classic "Yaya civilization or events of the Conquest, though a substantial substratum of agricultural and everyday custom has been preserved."

The Indians, on their part, similarly claimed they fought at first in self-defense against whites who had forced a war on them. Their grievances were more specific and concrete. They had two basic demands. The first was that Yucatecans stop hunting them like animals through the bush, whipping them, raping their women, hanging them and burning them. The other was that capitation taxes be fixed at one real, as promised, and that marriage and baptism fees be fixed at ten and three reales respectively, "the same for the Indian as for the Spaniard."

Indians (like whites) also claimed they were fighting against barbarism and sacrilege, charging that Yucatecans knocked down their Catholic saints, cast excrement on them, and stabled horses in their church. In February 1848, one Indian chief sent a letter to whites, demanding that they lay down arms within twenty-four hours on threat of being burned at the stake. If they were not so controversial, his statements would have a touch of grandeur, for he wrote to white priests who were appealing to religion in trying to pacify the Indians:
Why didn't you remember or even consider the True God when you were doing to us so much damage? Now you are not prepared nor have courage to accept the exchange for your blows. For if we are killing you now, you first showed us the way. If the houses and haciendas of the whites are burning now, it is because previously you burned the town of Tenoch and all the ranchos on which there were poor Indians, and the whites ate up all their cattle. How many cribs of corn were smashed that whites might eat, and these same whites, they raped the milpas when they passed by them, searching for us in order to kill us with gunpowder. We give you twenty-four hours to lay down arms. If you are prompt, no harm will come to you, nor to your houses, because houses and haciendas of all whites who do not lay down arms will be burnt, and more, they will be killed, because they have instructed us so. Likewise, for everything the whites have done to us, we shall do the same plus a little bit more in order to see if they are content with this payment.
FOOTNOTES TO PART II

1. See accompanying Table p. 286-93, "Population," with tables; Serapio Baezgo, Historia y Estadística del Estado de Yucatán (México, 1881), 8-81 discusses these figures. This also is a valuable source for the official Memorias which Baezgo excerpts and for general information about Yucatán.

2. John L. Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Yucatan (2v. New York, 1843, edition of 1848), II, 111. Stephens, Yucatan (1843), 1, 139. It is doubtful if the nationalistic tinge here given "macegual" is justified.

3. Jose Maria Regil and Alonso Manuel Peon, "Estadística de Yucatán," Boletin de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, III (México, 1853), 237-360. This long, carefully prepared study is a high grade source of great value. It was originally prepared by Regil as a government report, and later was corrected and augmented by Peon. Citation on pp. 286-93. "Population," with tables; Serapio Baezgo, Historia y Estadística del Estado de Yucatán (México, 1881), 8-81 discusses these figures. This also is a valuable source for the official Memorias which Baezgo excerpts and for general information about Yucatán.


5. See Table . White = 8,495 (543). Carl B. Heller, Reisen in Mexico in den Jahren 1845-48 (Leipzig, 1853) rode through this area of the hinterland in 1846-1847. As a German scientist, he took careful notes on the populations of villages, some of which show similar proportions; e.g., Bécal, 1,446 Indians and 1 white priest, Reisen; 253. In 1841, at Ticul Stephens found 300 families of whites in population of 5,000 - 30% , Yucatan, I, 269.


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<tr>
<td>Yucatecos (Creole)</td>
<td>70 = .8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>850 = 9.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>229 = 2.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maya</td>
<td>7,462 = 86.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,591</strong> = <strong>100.0%</strong></td>
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Note 3. Add: "Pardos "were of a mixed blood, which makes, perhaps, the worst race known, viz., the cross between the Indian and African, and called Pardos." Stephens, Yucatan, II, 110.

Note 6. (re indigenous element in Carmen), add, "see numerous tables and maps in J. del Rosario Gil, "Isla del Carmen: descripción estadística del Distrito de la comandancia militar de la isla de Carmen . . . ." Boletín de la Sociedad "mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, IV (1853), 437-70."

9. J. J. de T., "La montaña de Bacalar" Registro Yucateco, II (Mérida, 1845), 217. This is an extremely valuable contemporary article giving much useful geographical and historical information about this little known area. Article includes pp. 209-17, loc. cit. Cf. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," 212, "Bacalar"; 266, "Rinconada."


11. Juan José Hernandez, "Costumbres de las indias de Yucatan," Registro Yucateco, III (Mérida, 1846), 291 (whole article, pp. 270-98). This article was incorporated nearly verbatim in a longer one written by Santiago "endez, "Indias de Yucatan," Bulletin de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, II a Epoca, t. 2 (Mexico, 1870), 374-97. Tatter has been translated in Saville "Reports," 143-95.


14. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," 325-27, "Dificultad de los Transportes" and esp. "Caminos," 325-7. Baqueiro, Reppa, 106-107, quoting Memoria of 1851. Stephens, passim. In a moral dialogue of the era, one character asked another if there was progress in Yucatan when "here maize is most abundant at 4-5 reales a cargo, and 18 in Campeche, yet one does not take advantage of this situation to transport it 18 or 20 leagues through lack of roads" Registro Yucateco. TT (Mérida, 1846), 461.

15. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," 273, 295 ff. Cf. "The danger apprehended from the rainy season was coming to pass, and under the anticipation of a failure of the next crop, corn had risen from two reales to a dollar the load. The distress occasioned in this country by the failure of corn cannot be well imagined. In 1846 this calamity occurred, and from the same cause that threatened to produce it now, along the coast a supply was furnished from the United States, but it would not bear expense of transportation into the interior, and in this region corn rose to four dollars a load, which put the staff of life completely beyond the reach of the Indians. Famine ensued, and the poor Indians died of starvation. At the time of our arrival, the criados, or servants, of the hacienda, always improvident, had consumed their small stock, and, with no hope from their milpas, with the permission of the master were about moving away to regions where pressure would be less severe... it may not be amiss to mention that at the moment of writing the calamity apprehended had come to pass the ports of Yucatan are thrown open and begging for bread, and that country in which, but a few short
months since, we were moving so quietly and experiencing continual acts of kindness, is now groaning under famine superadded to the horrors of war." Stephens, Yucatan, II, 289-90.

16. Famines occurred in the years 1805, '07, '17, '27, '37, '46 and throughout Caste War, Regil and Peon, "Estadística," 293. "Between 1535 and 1836 there were 15 more great famines in Yucatan, the intervals averaging 19.8 years." Steegmara, Maya Indians of Yucatan (Carnegie Institution, Publication 531, Washington, 1941), 135. Pestilences occurred in the years 1826-7, 1833, killing 110,000; also in 1834. Ibid. Notable description of the two horrible cholera epidemics in the year 1833 appears by Fabian Carrillo Susta, "Juan Pio Perez: Memoria Biográfica," in Juan Pio Perez Diccionario de la lengua Maya (Mérida, 1866-7), pp. xiii-xix, and in Baquero, Henequa, 108.

Quotation from Regil and Peon, "Estadistica," 293.

17. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 186. "The rich go to Campeachy or Merida, and put themselves under the hands of a physician; the poor linger and die, the victims of ignorance and empiricism."


Sugar cane, 1830-40 exported 2,158 arrobas of sugar, 6,406 bbls. aguardiente annually.

1845 exported 6,738 arrobas of sugar, 61 bbls. aguardiente annually.

Hennequen — exported 1845

64,684 arrobas

1,037 arrobas to United States

1,000 raw hennequen

100,000 manufactured hennequen

"Desgraciadamente la exterminadora guerra de castas que nos aquejaba en 1852, vino a dar un golpe que paralizo la produccion y la elaboracion de este precioso fruto (henequen) porque abandonado como casi estaba en manos de indigenas, la sublevacion de unos y la ocupacion en la guerra, disiparon de otras, han menguido de tal modo la produccion y la elaboracion, como lo demuestra la duplicacion y aun triplicacion de su valor, que a la vez revela la inexistencia de la demanda y la escasez del ofrecimiento." Ibid., 313. Cf. below, pp. 129-134.

For early curious note on hennequen, see Jose Maria de Lanz, "Observaciones sobre la planta nombrada henequen ... 1783," Registro Yucateco, III (Mérida, 1846), 81-95.


Rice: introduced in 1750

1811 produced 250,000 arrobas annually

1846 76,000 (min.) - 80,000 (max.).

100 meccates yields approximately 150 arrobas.
Beans: 1846 yield: 210,000 cargas, all in milpa.
1845, exported 5,782 arrobas.

Maize: 1846 yield: 4,662,793 cargas.
1846, 4,500,000 cargas (estimated).

20. Regil and Peon, "Estatisticas," 300. In 1843 some 250,600 carpas were imported. See above, Note 15.


A. Voelkof, "Reise durch Yucatan und die südöstlichen Provinzen von Mexiko, 1874," Petermann's Mittheilungen, XV (Cotta, 1879), 201-212, Tafel II. Good map. Discusses physiographic determinism and its social consequences ably, p. 202. Stegenda, Indians (1941), 89-152 gives summary discussion of relevant factors affecting Yucatecan maize production and animal husbandry. His discussion of importance of weed growth, etc., were earlier discussed (1845) in Regil and Peon, "Estatisticas," 295-300, a treatment which he has not seen.

22. Stephens, Yucatan (1843), II, 231 describes growth of Becanchen to 6,000 persons in 20 years after a milpa first struck water there. Ibid., 211-17 tells how in 1837 a newly tapped source of water drew Indians for leagues around, creating a new town on an hacienda. See esp. Note 69, below.

Cf. Voelkof, "Yet it is not the possession of land that makes these families rich, but the ownership of water." "Reise" 202.

24. Cf. Voelkof (translation), 202: "So here we see, through natural conditions, a situation brought about, a relationship between the working population and landowners which is nearly servile. And precisely thus it has stood without significant change since a creditable history of Yucatan began."

25. Treatment which follows is based on a number of sources. is a whole sketch again gives a different view of the Caste War than that found in standard, nineteenth and twentieth century secondary sources. Herewith are brief bibliographical notes on major standard sources for Yucatan since Independence:

Bibliographical aids: Nearly all Carnegie Institution Publications dealing with Yucatan have fairly complete bibliographies of their subjects. Outside these the following are also helpful:

Flena Gómez Ugarté and Aurora Pajaza, Bibliografía Sumaria del Territorio de Quintana Roo, (Bibliografías Mexicanas, 1, D.A.P., Mérida, 1937). Some 390 items plus maps and photo indices. Helpful, but far from complete or "summary."

Felipe Teixidor, Bibliografía Yucateca ("Histo ru crónologico e Historia de Yucatán, Mérida, 1937"). About 1160 items, badly arranged and without complete bibliographical apparatus. See also monthly issue of Boletín de Bibliografía Yucateca by same Museo at Mérida.

Secondary works: Most writing on the Caste War has been done by Yucatecans.

Following are some important secondary works:

A. García y García - Historia de la Guerra de Castas, sirviéndole de prologo una resena de los usos, costumbres e inclinaciones peculiares de los indígenas (Mérida, 1865). Tarmly loose generalization by contemporary, but with some value. Population tables good. Impressed as a whole. Brief (20 pp.).

Serapio Baquero, "Ensayo histórico sobre las revoluciones de Yucatán, desde el año 1626 hasta 1862." (3 v., Mérida, 1870). Former work which has not been superseded. "especially valuable for numerous documents reprinted. Limited by partisanship and lack of perspective, as wrote almost contemporaneously with events described."

Félix Inocencio, Historia de Yucatán, desde la época más remota hasta nuestros días (5 v., Barcelona and Mérida, 1889-1905). Vol. IV, "La Guerra Social" deals with war of the Castas. "Incorporates much of Baquero's material, adds more on local politics, etc., on the whole, the best extant account, but limited by nationalistic and provincial biases. Mostly local periodical materials. Valuable bibliographical notes in V. IV, 400-11, of period 1821-31.


Carlos R. Méndez, Historia del infame y torvo comercio de indios (Mérida, 1923). A polemical and unbalanced treatment incorporating much valuable local materials. Limited because author cannot discriminate fact from testimony: overemphasizes politics. Though highly heated and verbose, work is important.
J. F. Villa Solis, Historia de Yucatán desde la independencia de España hasta la época actual (2 v., Mérida, 1921-27). Makes few new departures; adequate summary. Carries on beyond 1352 which is terminal point of Aneona.

Héctor Pérez Artiñez, "Notas y prólogo" for Justo Sierra O'Reilly, Diario de Nuestro Viaje a los Estados Unidos: la pretendida anexión de Yucatán (Biblioteca histórica de obras inéditas, XII, México, 1938). Based on secondary sources; sketch map. Yucatan point of view.

One or several of these sources form most secondary treatments in general works on Caste War.

Old and nearly contemporaneous is H. H. Bancroft, History of Mexico, vols. V, VI (Works, XIX, XIV San Francisco, 1833). It should be remembered that Bancroft's histories represent uncoordinated compilations of several workers he hired to gather and synthesize materials published under his name. The authors of these volumes were:

Vol. VI (1861-83) J. M. Nemos (first and last chapters), Thomas Savage (2/3, including Maximilian's Empire and Mexican Institutions), and small amount by J. J. Peattfield.

In all, Bancroft wrote at a maximum 1 page in 50 of his works. Americanists are still unaware of this, e.g., A. V. Tozzer, "Stephens, Bancroft, Prescott and others" in Tozzer, Antiguos (Colegio de México, odo., 1941).

See Bancroft, Literary Industries (Works, XXXI, San Francisco, 1890), 592-617; H. T. Oak (Chief assistant), "Literary Industries in a New Light" (San Francisco, 1893), and esp. L. H. Morris, "The Origin and Authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications" (Oregon Historical Society, Quarterly, IV (December, 1903), 287-304.

Beside Stephens' invaluable Incidents, and Holler's able documentation in his Reisen, W. H. Hornan, Rambles in Yucatan, including a Visit to the remarkable ruins of Chichén, Tulum, Uxmal &c. (New York, 1841), is a superficial source, yet does contain first-hand observations. Contemporaneously Yucatecans thought his work "the most crazy and ridiculous which we have recently seen," Registro Yucateco, I (1840), 372. The editors offered to publish an analysis of his errors "in which his profound will become patent and his book relegated to the oblivion it merits." Ibid.

Wm. Parish Robertson, Visit to Mexico, by the West Indies, Yucatan, & the United States etc. (2 v. London, 1853) is accurate, but touches only lightly on Yucatan.


Periodicals: Heller, Reisen, 275; Stephens, Yucatan (1843), II, 433. Registro Yucateco, I (1846), 23-7 gives check-list of all periodicals published on Yucatan 1813-1845; largest circulation = 350.

Bullfights, Stephens, Yucatan, (1843), I, 26-39; Cockfights, Norman, Rambles, 69.

Races, Stephens, Yucatan (1843), 40-1; Heller, Reisen, 276.

Concerts, Stephens, Yucatan (1843), I, 1-24; Norman, Rambles, 2-2.

Fiestas, Norman, Rambles, 27-32; Stephens, Yucatan (1843), I, 16 ff., 44 ff.

Intellectual circles, Norman, Rambles, 61-2.

Dress, Stephens, Yucatan (1843), II, 433; Robertson, Visit I, 162-3.

Hospitals, Paranda, Recordaciones, I, 97.

Opium smoking, Norman, Rambles, 22.


Economic conditions

Prices: 12 caryers' maize = 20-40 pesos. Heller, Reisen, 294; hogs = 310-412 each. Stephens Yucatan (1843), II, 178; beef, 1 meal (3 strings) = medio and a half, Stephens Yucatan (1843), II, 206.

Money, 250 cacao grains = 1/2 R. Norman, Rambles, 54; also adds that in outlying areas pieces of soap pass as currency. Cf. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 186-7, where whole question is discussed ably.

Rages - servant = 83-5 monthly.

"Commercial transactions are limited to the supply of retail dealers."

"Norman, Rambles, 64.


Upper Class Yucatecans: Aristocratic tradition: Stephens, Central America, 1841, records Sr. Hebren had hacienda of 30,000 cattle worth $200,000 with house worth $20,000; sons going to U. S. schools. Imported flour from Rochester, New York. Cf. Heller, Reisen. Don Simon Peon, a typical and important figure of the period, owned several haciendas, as did his brothers, esp. Monzo "who was educated in New York and spoke English remarkably well." Stephens, Central America (1841), TI. Yucatan, I, 90, 189, 199, 212; IT, 62. The family had been intensely Royalist up to Independence when the elder Peon retired in disgust. Stephens, Central America, TI, 410-11. Cf. Heller, Reisen, 255 ff.

The family had been intensely Royalist up to Independence when the elder Peon retired in disgust. Stephens, Central America, TI, 410-11. Cf. Heller, Reisen, 255 ff.

Regil and Peon, "Estadistica," Table I, shows 5,083 figueros owned 5,638 fincas worth $4,369,301 (pesos), in 1838. Political constitution of 1841 established "doctrines more advanced than that of 1857 ([famous Mexican "Reform" laws]," Baquerio, Reforma, 64.

30. Army: Stephens, Yucatan (1843), TI, 82; IT, 244-7. Norman, Rambles, 31 describes cavalry: "They were headed by a tall bloody-looking Mexican with a pair of mustachios that the broadest Castillian might have envied. He was dressed in a blue roundabout, loose white trousers, and a glazed Mexican hat. His followers were mounted upon mules of the most faded appearance, saddled and caparisoned with manila mitting and ropes. Each wore a shirt, trousers, and a straw hat; and was bare-footed, except a pair of huge spurs, which embellished the otherwise naked heel of each rider. Their usual arms were the broadsword and pistols, but this squadron was not well equipped; and the common bayonet, with them, was frequently compelled to do duty for one or both the other weapons."

Army, 1841, Norman, Rambles, 50 (Merida): "The latter part of the day was spent on the Square, where there were about three hundred Yucatecan soldiers collected for drill. They were dressed in a shirt and short trousers, with the former article upon the outside, and a broad-brimmed palm-leaf sombrero. Their military equipments were in good keeping. They were officered principally by boys, who had received nothing more than a common school education, wore jacket and trousers, and used canes as substitutes for swords. During the drill a slight shower commenced, which dampened the martial propensities of our heroes with marvellous rapidity. Whatever might have been their preferences to a fight, they certainly preferred to drill another day."

Bishop: "The Bishop was the greatest man in Merida and lived in the greatest style. ..." Stephens, Central America (1841), TI, 401. Adds he was an ardent politician. Description of Bishop, Norman, Rambles, 50. He "looked the bishop to the life." He was clad in a blue silk gown, and a cap of the same material, resting upon the crown of his head; and embellished with a massy gold chain around his neck. ..." Conversed about S. and his friends there. Heller, Reisen, reports in 1847 that the Bishop changed his fruit hacienda into a powdermill, "wo man mit nordamerikanschen Waschinan Ziemlich schônes und gut Schlesspulver erzeugt," 279.
See above, Note 28. In J. M. Acosta Valdes, *Través de las centurias* (3 v., Merida, 1923-31) there is much biographical and genealogical data on these aristocratic Yucatecan families, some dating far back into Spanish Peninsular times.


31. Stephens, *Central America* (1841), II, 395, "The tone of the place was warlike... The revolution... had been conducted in a spirit of moderation; the commandant, who had been very tyrannical and oppressive, was taken and the character of the revolution would have been stained by his murder, but he was put on board a bungo and escaped." Classic description of a "revolution" is given in Stephens, *Yucatan* (1843), II, 244-7. It broke out near Tekax, and "the same day it reached Tekax, and the next morning, instead of falling upon each other like so many wild beasts, the officers and the three patriots were seen walking arm in arm together in the plaza. The former promised good offices to their new friends, two reales apiece to the Indians, and the revolution was crushed, ill dispersed, ready to take up arms again upon the same terms..." (247)

Yucatecan political history is largely a record of such "revolutions" they bulk large in print but have little beyond antequarian interest.


33. "I. L. Herndon, Commander, H. S. Steamer "Iris" to W. C. Perry, Commander in Chief, Gulf Naval Squadron, March 16, 1848, "Don Simon Peon, who is the owner of several haciendas in the interior, stated that the Indians in his employment had asked for arms for the purpose of defending his property," U. S. Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session, Document 43, p. 21. These are reports of H. S. Naval commanders on the Caste War. Documents of this 30th Congress, 2nd Session, cited hereafter as STCD, plus document number and pair of document.

34. Heller, *Elizam*, 214 ff. is best source for Campeche white society; he resided there to study medicine. Cf Robertson, *Visit*, I, 219-20: "We made some other acquaintances among the kind inhabitants of Campeche... our next door neighbor, Don. N. Casusuz... introduced us to some of his fashionable friends. It was he who originated the subscription (bachelor's) ball for us. And yet our 'vecino' claimed no higher rank than that of shopkeeper and trader... Mr. Casusuz was one of the leaders of the *haut ton*, spoke English and French well; danced well... not only danced well himself, but played well to others when a musician was wanted."
Ancona, Historia, IV, 136-7 says hacienda Indians "commenced to come before the government, manifesting that they wanted to contribute their strength to defense of civilization" and adds "many numbers of the official periodical of the epoch (1843) contain testified manifestations along this line, affixed with hundreds of signatures." Such Indians were relieved of certain taxes, and were called Hidalgo, which Ancona says "might flatter the Indians a bit."
35. Most all secondary sources, Note 25, are full for this largely from Merida's point of view. See Jose Raimundo Nicolín, "La División de Territorio en Yucatan: Colección de los editoriales ..., en 'La Censura', periódico publicado en Campeche en los años de 1849 y 1850" (Juan Carbó, ed., Mexico, 1861); plus Tomas Agnar Rarbachano and Juan Carbó; Memoria sobre la conveniencia, utilidad y necesidad de erigir constitucionalmente ..., el antiguo distrito de Campeche ..., (Mexico, 1861) for contemporary information, including maps, census, decrees, etc., of Campeche. The Memoria, pp. 1-104 traces in great detail the political, economic, even physiographic differences from earliest times. Heller, in October, 1847, was in Campeche when the "war of Neutrality" between Campeche and Merida broke out, and writes it was "ein uma so schlechtes omen für ein land, sin welchem der Kastenkrieg noch nebembei verheerend um sich griff." 290-1.

36. This, so far as I know, is the first occasion the "frontier hypothesis" has been applied to Yucatan, yet it makes clearer many phenomena not satisfactorily explained in terms of personal political rivalries, which were outgrowth of other dynamics. Cf. Note 34. Contemporaneously see Angel Cuervo, "Yax-ha," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 15-16 for description of sugar hacienda started in wilderness which now (by 1846) "competes in beauty with the west of its type." Numerous other articles in the Registro called attention to those unexploited but valuable areas and called for their being used, or detailed how they were being used: e.g. - "las Costas de Yucatan," I, 121-30, "Industria," ibid., 201-6; "La Montana de Bacalar," ibid., 209-17; "Tobacuilixuanan" (mainly about Boloncheculito), 246-57; "Ocom" (tobacco used at Chichanha), 349-50; "Costa de la Ascension," 392-40. The other 3 volumes of the Registro contain more such expansionist materials. Sugar cane became important only after 1823, Regil and Peon, "Estadistica," 275.

Heller in 1847 was amazed at Jequilchan because on his maps it was shown unpopulated, but he found a school, church, and was the only town besides "erida and Campeche that had its streets lighted at night. Reisen, 252.

Cf. Regil and Peon, "Estadistica," 242-55. They follow Humboldt's theory that the west of the peninsula was populated by Spaniards first, leaving the more fertile east alone, because the Spanish government wanted an isolated strip between Belize and the Merida areas. (253). The west was nearer Cuba, population reservoir for Yucatan, and its main link with Spain.

Tekax "cuidado nueva" y de regulares edificios, que debe a la prosperidad de un numero de anos creciente de la industria azucarera ..., politicamente inquieta. ... Esto fue lo que, agravandole una población flotante que de los numerosos ranchos de cana venían a ella en busca de habilitación o provisión de todo género y que estuvo bien nutrido, le dio ... aquel aspecto de vitalidad tan poco común en nuestras "muertas y silenciosas poblaciones." Regil and Peon, "Estadistica," 255.
37. Stephens, Yucatan (1843), 323-30. In 1835 only 70 pieces of cotton had been produced; to produce 18 yards cost the owner $8,000, but by 1843 the "Aurora" was successful, despite crop failures, floods and smuggled competitive goods from British Honduras. Cf. Regil and Beun, 254, and 275 "Algodon" and "Caf." Vicar general of the church resided in Valladolid, Stephens, Yucatan (1843), 17, 327. Both Heller, Reisen, 275, and Norman, Rambles, 54 note absence of any factories near Merida, the latter saying "manufactories are nowhere to be seen; the clatter of the loom or the noise of the hammer never disturbs the quiet of Merida."


39. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 204; 179, ff. "The poor Indians, in their ignorance, are ground to the earth to support lazy and profligate masters." This is a strong statement from the normally mild Stephens.

40. "The Indians are cruel, but not wantonly so . . . Before the rising in 1848, they were throughout this part of Yucatan practically in a state of slavery, and were often treated by their Spanish masters with the utmost barbarity. As an instance of this, it is recorded of a well-known merchant of Bacalar that he was in the habit of burying his Indian servants in the ground to the neck, with their heads shaved, exposed to the hot sun; their heads were then smeared with molasses and the victims left to the ants; and this punishment was inflicted for no very serious offense. It is hardly to be wondered at, that such treatment left in the Indians' hearts an unyielding hatred for their masters which, when in their turn they gained the ascendency, found vent in acts of the most horrible cruelty — flogging, burning, mutilation, and even crucifixion." Thomas F. Gann, The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatan and northern British Honduras (Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 54, Washington, 1913), 18. Cf. "Among other things lately sent to him [Padre Camacho, owner of a museum in Campeche] is a small box, containing some of the calcined bones of an unhappy man who was publicly burnt alive by the Indians . . . whence the Padre was led to give me many details of an appalling nature . . . These barbarities were, most probably, not without anterior provocation, and certainly have led to subsequent relinquisitions," Robertson, Visit, I, 204-5. See esp. Note 54, below.

41. Summary discussion of this in Isaiah Bowman, The Pioneer Fringe (American Geographical Society, Special Publication, 13, New York, 1931), 296-345. Main conclusions: "The plantation system in South America persists in some places because it is economically best for all concerned, while in other places it is a device employed by the landowners for maintaining an essentially aristocratic system based on land," 303.
Yucatan in the 1840's showed both tendencies — the first in the East and South, second around Merida. Same (background) factors and results illustrated by Bowman, pp. 296-303 apply to Yucatan. His explanations of why Brazilian lowlands have not been penetrated help explain phenomena cited above, Note 36, for similar geographic and human conditions existed in eastern Yucatan.

Rancho of Kewick: "This proprietor was a full-blooded Indian, the first of this ancient but degraded race whom we have seen in the position of landowner and master. . . . He had inherited the land from his fathers, did not know how long it had been transmitted, but believed that it had always been in his family. The Indians on the rancho were his servants, and we had not seen in any village, or on any hacienda, men of better appearance or under more excellent discipline." Stephens, Yucatan (1843), 69-71. Fender, "Report" (Saville trans.), 155: "In order to be able to cultivate at one time as much as possible of their extensive lands, the wealthy Indians pay their day-laborers and volunteers exceedingly well, either in money or in its equivalent in provisions at a price below its actual market value, especially in times of scarcity. They are guided in this by the rule, 'This is the sweat of my brethren and it is not right that they should pay it too dearly.'" And, 159, "The castas of today, as well as those who were in office in the past, and the most prominent or wealthy Indians, live just as simply as the rest, without the slightest variation. They all are respected by their subordinates, when they do not oppress to their own advantage, nor do they demand any services from them without compensation." Such arrangements fitted in well with the Spanish legal notion of the senor natural, carried from early colonial times and Iberian experience, see R. S. Chamberlain, "The concept of the senor natural as revealed by Castilian law and administrative documents," Hispanic American Historical Review, XIX (1939), 130-7. In calculating value of real property, Regil and Peon disregard all indigenous owners, "Estadistica," 259.

Stephens, Central America (1841), II, 403-18 is best where he discusses whole arrangement on basis of much observation. Also Stephens, Yucatan (1843), I, 130, II, 232-3, II 244, at passim.


Suaste, "Perez," Diccionario, pp. xii-xiii describes Perez's hacienda near Buna.

Variations: Finest haciendas of state were those of Tabi, Xcanchakan, Vayalke, Stephens, Yucatan (1843), II, 62. Near Merida it was Ake, "small, neglected, and in a ruinous condition." Ibid., II, 441.

Logwood Tankuch: "This hacienda was a favourite with Don Simon [Peon] as he had created it out of the wilderness, and the entire road from the village he had made himself. . . . In general it was the most busy place of all his haciendas. . . . " Ibid., I, 202.

Sugar cane: Ibid., II, 172-3.
44. **Mestizos**: occupations (outside Mayordomos; a typical, not exhaustive list):

- **Fishermen**,

45. **Mayordomos**:


46. Opposed to usual picture is case of mestizo who ran Stephens' *Yucatan* workers: "Knowing the character of the Indians, speaking their language, and being but a few degrees removed from them by blood, he could get out of them twice as much work as I could. "Hi, too, they could ask questions about us, and lighten labour by the indulgence of social humour..." Stephens, *Yucatan*, I, 373-4. Ancona, *Historia*, IV, 36 records that mayordomos got killed in Caste War even though they appeared to be Maya.

47. *More typical is Stephens' statement* "These mayordomos form a class in Yucatan who need sharp looking after. . . They are not particular about wages, and are satisfied with what little they can pick up around the house. This is the character of most of the mayordomos..." Central America, TT, 412.

48. At the Hacienda of Valalquex (owned by Simon Peon, 1,500 Indians) mayordomo "was a young mestizo, and had fallen into his niace in an easy and natural way by marrying his neicesnor's daughter... it struck me that he thought quite as much of the place he cot with her 83 of herself." Stephens, *Central America*, TT, 405. This was an early hennequen plantation.
B. Language: See Note 44, but mestizos at Xocacab - "many of the white people could not speak Spanish, and the conversation was almost exclusively in the 'aya tongue,'" Stephens, Yucatan, I, 380. Cf. "Heller's findings on mestizos among 'aya, below. Woeikof's statement, "Seine," 204, "Such die 'estizen nShern sich in ihrer Lebenweise mehr den 'aya alsden Europäern und sprechen unter sich 'aya-Sprechere is founded on incomplete knowledge and hasty survey."

Contemporary views and attitudes toward Indians

Yucatecan or Mexican: Menéndez, Comercio, Ch. 17, p. 24 ff. et passim has compiled number of such statements, from 1838 onwards. See also Waeza, "Informe" (see note 7).

Jose Hernandez, "El Indio Yucateco" Liceo Yucateco, I (Mexico, D. F., 1845), reprinted also in Nágristo Yucateco, I (1846), A29-30, signed these W.J.H. Point of view is that "el indio es enemigo natural de la sociedad y... al mismo tiempo es también ciego partidario del fatalismo...", fitting into Rousseau's statements.

Menéndez "Costumbres"; Mendes, "Report" (see Notes 7, 11); García y Vallecillos Historia (Note 25), and nineteenth century secondary sources. Typical is Ancona, IV, 18 speaking of "el carácter reservado e hipócrita del 'aya."

Foreign: see, for contemporary summary of materials, Albert Gallatin, Notes on the Semi-Civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan and Central America, American Ethnological Society, Transactions, I (1849), 1-352; Heller, Einsien, 24-17; Norman, Rambing, 30-1, 9-2, 89-8 et passim; Stephens, Central America and Yucatan, passim; Robertson, Visit, I, 149-56. P. Aldherre, "Los Indios de Yucatan," Boletin de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la Republica Mexicana, II a Pocas, tome I (Mexico, February 1849), 75-79.

50. Modern accounts: Literature on 'ayas is extensive. One of earliest objective monographs is A. H. Tozzer, A Comparative Study of the Yayas and the Lacandones (Archaeological Institute of America, New York, 1907). Besides works mentioned in Note 25, Tozzer's, A 'aya Grammar, with bibliography and appointment of works noted (Peabody Museum, Papers, Cambridge, 1921) and his books (1942) give wide bibliographical scope; to these, add collection of essays and bibliography in The 'aya and their Neighbors (New York, 1940), Robert Redfield's Folk Culture of Yucatan (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1941), which cites most treatments up to publication date on relevant topics, as does Diagoras, Indiana (see Note 10). See also P. Starr, "Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico, Part II" "avonport (Ta) academy of Sciences, Proceeding, IX (1902), 12-22. A non-scientific but interesting account is Enic A. Blackburn, "Primitive Methods in Use in Yucatan," Education, IX (December, 1919), 209-12 by principal of American School in Mérida. Most complete bibliography to date is Rafael Helldörfer, "Bibliografía de antropología yucateca," Boletin Bibliográfico de antropología yucateca, I-IV (Mexico, 1937-40), additional, with its supplement, constitutes 280 pp.

51. Physical anthropology: Earlier accounts.

P. Starr, "Physical character of Indians of Southern Mexico" Statistical Publications, IV (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1902), 50-1. 'ayas of Tekax, 100 c. 25 %.
Note 49: contemporary reports on Indians. [make necessary correction regarding this item] — The article which appears in Vol. VII of Registro Yucateco originally first appeared; Gerónimo Castillo, "Carácter, costumbres, y condición de los indios en el Departamento de Yucatán," Liceo Mexicano (Mexico, 1844), 49-51, dated December 30, 1843, with same woodcut as in Registro Yucateco, which seems to have borrowed other articles from this mainland periodical.
Jorge Engerrand, "Un caso de cruzamiento entre un chino y una Yucateca de origen indígena" International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings of XIXth Congress (Mexico, 1910), 105-6. Photos also.


52. "City Yapas: Norman, Rambles, 41; Robertson, Viata, I, 212; Holler, Nelson, 215, who says "Differing in all things from urbanites are the dwellers of the country . . ." Cf. Hernández, "Costumbres," 290 who distinguishes city Indians, coast Indians, and "wild" Indians.

53. "Contemporaneously the hulthes were merely known as "wild". Cf. Note 12, and "Pero mientras continúen la misma rutina que hasta aquí . . . nuestros indígenas se irán alejando más y más de las poblaciones hasta confundirse con los salvajes que existen entre nuestro territorio y Honduras," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 430.

54. Hacienda Indians: (See Notes 29, 43). Regular peons: Stephens, Central America, I, 416 ff. "There is but chance of his ever paying off the smallest debt . . . from the time [he] receives his first dollar, [he] goes through life in bondage, varied only by occasional change of masters. . . . The master is not obliged to maintain the Indian when he is sick; though, as he derives a profit from his labour, it is to his interest to do so, and, on broad grounds, as it is an object always to increase his labores, it is his interest to treat them in such manner as to acquire among the Indians a reputation as a good master." Cf. ibid., I, 407 which accords with Norman, Rambles, 72 which says state of peons is bad, but "without much positive suffering." Also Stephens, Yucatan, I, 204; 335-6, 416 et passim; II, 101-8 for peculiar institution to relieve Indian-white frictions, on older haciendas, relationship between peons and masters was in good working order: "At no time since my arrival in the country had I been so struck with the peculiar constitution of things in Yucatan. Originally partitioned out as slaves, the Indians remain as servants. Generation for master is the first lesson they learn, and these masters, the descendants of the terrible conquerors, in centuries of uninterrupted peace, have lost all the ferocity of their ancestors. Gentle, and averse to labour themselves, they impose no heavy burdens upon the Indians, but understand and humor their ways, and the two races move on harmoniously together, with nothing to apprehend from each other, forming a simple, primitive, and almost patriarchal state of society. . . ." Stephens, Yucatan, I, 207-8: Ibid., II, 449-50
repeats same sentiments, adding "In both, all traces of the daring and warlike character of their ancestors are entirely gone. The change is radical, in feelings, and instincts. . . ." Cf. Notes 36-41.

Méndez, "Report" (Saville trans.), 155-6. Annually they also prepared 20 mecales of land for master, equivalent to 12 1/2 pesos worth of work, at 1 real a day. (156). Stephens, Central America, T, 414, adds that luneros got 3 cents worth of maize besides 1 real for day's work. This was also the going rate on new sugar plantations, Stephens, Yucatan, T, 172-3. Luneros derive their name from Monday (Sp. lunes) work. Voelkof, "Pelea," 202, also notes mildness on old plantations he saw, and mentions luneros. Regil and Peon, "Estatistica," confirm these estimates, agreeing that daily wage "no pasa comunmente de un real diario y medio almud de maiz, que pueda calcularse en una cuartilla [3 1/8 cents]," "Jomales de Campo," p. 306.

Méndez, "Report," (Saville trans.), 157-8; Stephens, Central America, T, 414. Variation in this rate is given by Regil and Peon, "Estatistica," loc. cit.: "los hay tambien de salario fijo, que varia segun la mayor o menor abundancia de brazos, asi como tambien segun la diferencia del valor de los frutos, y estos se ocupan en la manaderia, o en otros servicios separados del cultivo. En los partidos de Campeche, Seibaplaya, y el Carmen, los brazos escasen, y los salarios son los mas altos de todo el Estado; asi es que en ellos un vaquero gana 30 ó 36 pesos anuales, cuando en el interior apenas obtiene de 12 ó 15 pesos."

Méndez, "Report" (Saville trans.) lists occupations as quarrymen, masons, shoemakers, tailors, muleteers, drivers, and also Indians provide "firewood, charcoal, and fodder." (164). They also make pottery, extract salt, fish, and sail boats. Ibid., 148, where weaving, hat-making, leathersworking, sacke, etc., are cited. Cf. Heller, Reisen, 282 ff. reporting on such persons in 1847.

Regil and Peon, "Estatistica," esp. "Valles," 277; "Industria," 308 giving products Indians make or gather; "Fabricacion de sombreros," 322-3, where mentions besides providing for internal consumption, 5,865 dozen exported, all made by Indians.

Stephens, Yucatan, I, 335-6 where mentions village officials were often elected without their knowledge, and one function of outgoing officials was to capture the new incumbents and lock them up till time to receive their staves of authority. Ibid., T, 241 regarding necessary service to village if in debt to it, or be punished by stocks. Such Indians raised no hemp or sugar, just maize. Ibid., T, 233-6.

A. Ranchos: Ranch of Schwil - under the civil jurisdiction of the village of Nohcacab, but the right of soil is their own by inheritance. They consider themselves better off than in the villages, where the people are subject to certain municipal regulations and duties, or than on haciendas, where they would be under the control of masters. Communal group of 100. Stephens, Yucatan, T, 14-16. They would not marry village "ayas, and were fanatic Christians.
Rancho of Sannacte. "At the distance of two leagues we reached the rancho of Sannacte, the Indians of which were the wildest people in appearance we had yet seen. As we rode through, the women ran away and hid themselves, and the men crouched on the ground bareheaded, with long black hair hanging over their eyes, gazing at us in stupid astonishment... The rancho was entirely destitute; it had no peso or well of any kind... and the inhabitants procured their whole supply from the village of Sabasche, two leagues or six miles away." Ibid., II, 36.

In this country there were few white men, but sometimes traders penetrated to buy hogs, maize, or fowls. Ibid., II, 11. "This was one of the "frontiers," not far from Tekax."


59. Sources in general are those cited, Note 25. Not until 1843 were certain legal restrictions to complete equality removed. Ancona, Historia, IV, 372.

60. Baqueiro, Regenta, 110-11. But see above, Note 30, "Bishop." Ancona, Historia, II, for legislation, etc. Curious and interesting is textbook of history written in the period, Cresencio Carillo y Ancona, Cathecismo de Historia de Yucatan (Verdes, 1840) and many later editions. Stephens noted one "liberal priest." "I never saw a priest of more respectable appearance. And he was a politician as well as a priest. He had been a member of the convention that formed the constitution of the state... The Constitution which he had assisted in forming debared priests from holding civil offices..." Yucatan, II, 389.

61. Coelof, "Niles" 202 has some interesting comments on this.

62. The monastery had been in charge of Jesuits. Norman, Rambles, 44-6. Our Franciscan monastery in 1841 was a blacksmith shop. "The altars were thrown down and the walls defaced..." Stephens, Yucatan, 92-3.
63. Carrillo y Ancona, Catecismo, 75. Bishop's return was instrumental in “aviding the danger of a break between church and state.”

64. Baquero, Reseña, 109-110. Norman, Rambles, “Only a few of the order [Franciscans] remain in Yucatan, and they are supported by the church,” 46.


66. Cura of Ticul, Stephens, Yucatan, I, 265-6 was “pride and love of the village.” Cf. Ibid., I, 288 curacy of Tekoh. “His curacy consisted of nearly two thousand souls, and, except his ministro, we did not see a white man among this population. He was under thirty, born and bred in Yucatan, and in manners and attainments apparently out of place in such position; but his feelings were identified with the people under his charge.”


68. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 82. Standard source for ecclesiastical history is Crescencio Carillo y Ancona, Obispo de Yucatan: Historia de su fundación y de sus Obispos (Yucatan, 1942).

69. Cura of Yul – “report said he was rich, and a money-making man, and odd. Among his other possessions, he was lord of a ruined city. ...” Stephens, Yucatan, II, 21. When Stephens found this man, he reports of Yul. “At the time of his appointment, the place now occupied by the village was a mere Indian rancho. The land comprehended in his district was, in general, good for maize, but like all the rest of that region, it was destitute of water ... he had due a well two hundred feet deep, at an expense of fifteen hundred dollars. Besides
In the country, he had large and substantial cisterns, equal to any we had seen in the country. By furnishing this necessary life in abundance he had drawn around him a population of seven thousand. Ibid. IT, 82. Cf. Note 23. The Cura at Tuncap put little from his area. Norman, Rambles, 85. The one at Peto (in Indian country) "was one of the most valuable in the church, being worth six or seven thousand dollars per annum." Stephens, Yucatan, IT, 277. Cf. Note 55 for comparative incomes. A mecate is approximately 1/10th of an acre, varying slightly from the usual 20 meters per side, according to Steggerda, Maya Indians, 94, incorporating Redfield’s Chan Kom measurements.

70. Hernandez, "Costumbres" Registro Yucateco, IT (1866), 293, 295; "Indias" ibid., 428 ff. Regil and Peon, "Estatística," want combination of secular schools, but church discipline in morals, 255-6. Requeiro, Resena, tabulates schools, passim; viz

1847 - 20 (Merida = 20, campeche = 1) p. 89
1848 - 37
1849 - 28
1857 - 32
1861 - 49 (2,513 out of 22,302 children attend), 125.


Cf. Norman, Rambles, 51, 64-5.

Stephens, Yucatan, I, 291-3 describes one of these rural schools.


73. Ancona, Historia, IV, 45-6, quoting Inicio del Pueblo de Campeche. The independent (i.e., non-administration papers) pointed out none of the evidence actually warranted calling Indians conspirators.

74. Stephens gives several descriptions of mechanisms whereby Indians were kept from voting. Most have been cited in Notes 23, 41, 64.

75. See Note 25.

Ancona, Historia, IV, ch. 1 summarizes main arguments; Ancona y Carrillo, Catálogo, 79. Hernando, Recordaciones, IT, 35-6. Cf. Sierra to Buchanan, November 21, 1848, SBD 400, p. 6 for contemporary view, since elaborated; it never was questioned, but is based on faulty analysis and fact that most Yucatecan historians also were politicians.
Note 69, page ref for ABH (archives British Honduras cited first there) is:
Supt. to Govr., Yucatan, December 10, 1849, p. 127; British
Minister, Mexico to Supt., January 16, 1850 reported Mexican
government, "owing to Indians' complaints of the exactions of
the priests ... is willing to send them priests paid by
the government. If absolutely necessary, they will consent to
tax the Indians more lightly than the whites of the district."
ABH, 128. Dr. Indian proposals in "Carta de Florentino Chan y
Venancio Pec, que contienen las últimas condiciones ...
para el arreglo definitivo de la paz ... no fueron aceptadas
por el gobierno del Estado," Ancona, Historia, IV, Apendice,
pp. xxi-xxiv, esp. Items 2, 5.
Currently, the Caste War is being made political fodder for the anti-\-henequenero Mexican government. Typical of attempts to "indoerinate" Maya is seen in bilingual, simplified text (Spanish and "ayal. Luis Alverez Barret and Santiago Pacheco Cruz, Cartilla Cívica para Trabajadores (traducida a lengua Maya), (Mexico, 1933) 62-63 "la Guerra Social."

Despite all literary historians, none of Yucatan (outside of few professional politicians) were unconcerned with factional disputes. Norman, usually with able eye for muckraking remarks, "it is very evident to a stranger that a majority of the population are perfectly indifferent whether they return to Mexican jurisdiction or remain under their present rulers." Rambles, 65. is a southern politician, "Norman was interested in the matter.

76. Standard secondary and prime sources of Mexican history are included in able treatment by H. M. Calcutt, Santa Anna: The story of an Enigma who once was Mexico (University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1930).


For secondary, specialized analyses, see Albino Iseardo, Evolucion historico de las relaciones Politicas entre Mexico y Yucatan, (Mexico, 1907), esp. 49 ff., and Ignacio Rubio "Méjico," "El Separatismo de Yucatan," (pam., Merida, 1935) esp. 42 ff., both by Yucatecans. See also Carlos H. Menendez, La Huella del General D. Antonio Jones de Sante Anna en Yucatan (Merida, 1935).

77. Menendez, Comercio, 25-40 summarizes most literature from Yucatecan sources. See also McKenney to Perry (cited Note 76) who McKenney gives false information. Of. Note below. A curious aspect to Yucatan's troubles with Mexico was its alliance with Texas, also independent 1840-45. Yucatan paid $10,000 a month toward the upkeep of the Texan navy which protected it against Mexico. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 80-3. See Diplomatic Correspondence with Texas, 1840-1, (American Historical Association, Reports, 1909, pt. I, 575-97), passim.

78. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 331.

79. See above, Note 75, 25. In May, 1847 Heller reported "Im lande hier war es nun ziemlich ruhig geworden und ich beschloss eine Reise nach der Hauptstadt Merida zu machen," Reisen, 272.

80. Ancona, Historia, IV, 20, says that a hacendado 10 leagues from Valladolid thought he sensed a conspiracy, so sent his mozo to investigate ranch of Jacinto Pat. The mozo returned with a tale that the English had armed the Indians who were going to revolt.
This seems to be the slim foundation for the Yucatecan atrocities and charge of complicity against the British in Belize. One may reasonably doubt (1) that the mozo ever went to the ranch of Pat (2) Reported anything but what his master wished if he did go. Mozos are not unimpeachable witnesses, and their testimony is not of first grade in a case like this. See ibid., IV, 21-39. Most sources follow Requeiro, Ensayo, I, 228 where "letter" is reprinted; see Ancona, Historia, IV, 21, f.n. 1, Menéndez, Comercio, 34, among others. Requeiro does not cite his source.


83. Ancona, Historia, IV, 22. Cf. bombastic statement: "Cada uno de sus habitantes (Valladolid) que tenía una gota de sangre española en las venas, comprendió que si no hacía un esfuerzo supremo, la conflagración se extendería rápidamente por toda la península y ninguno escaparía a la saña del salvaje. Todos veían asentada sobre su cabeza la cuchilla que había hecho tantas víctimas en Tepeh: la indigencia, el horror, y el deseo de la venganza se mezclaban en confusión troncal en su imaginación, y el periódico oficial hacía aparecer en sus columnas estas palabras: "Estamos alerta los de las otras castas: señalamos un Argos para observar, valientes para atacar al enemigo común, inexorable para castigarlo. Sanre, y no más que sangre de indios sublevados debe ser el santuario de nuestros pueblos." Ibid., 29.

84. Carlos R. Menéndez, Nuevos Años de Historia de Yucatán, 1821-1910 (Merida, 1935), 236. This contains a vast amount of antiquarian lore arranged only according to day and month (without regard to year) which is well nigh impossible to use because of odd arrangement and other reasons. Unfortunate that so much work in compilation should yield so little reward.

85. See above, Notes 25, 75-78. This was the view President Polk (basing on Serru Communications) gave U. S. Congress, "Report to Congress, April 29, 1845, SDR, 440, p. 1.

86. Stephens, Yucatan, 1843, I, 372-3, II, 29, 285 et passim. His final conclusion, after much travel and work in Central America and Yucatan was that, "it is my belief, that among the whole mass of what are called Christianized Indians, there is not at this day one solitary tradition which can shed a ray of light upon any event in their history that occurred one hundred and fifty years from the present time; in fact, I believe it would be almost impossible to procure any information of any kind beyond the memory of the oldest living Indian." Ibid., II, 448. Recent research has slightly qualified
the last generalization, to include body of information pertaining to agriculture, but not history, see Note 50, "modern accounts."

87. Ancona, *Historia*, IV, 22, relates that basic argument with Manuel Ay was due to fact he claimed to have deposited monies collected by him as "chief" to a mestizo named Ior£a for delivery. The latter denied any knowledge of the transaction. Ancona claims this money was for a "la conspiración... [que] tenía otro objeto que reducir a un real mensual la contribución que pagan los Indios."

The Indians' view is set forth in their letters. See Note 88. Heller, *Reisen* reprints a similar Indian manifesto, p. 293, and glosses it, 285-7. Indians claimed that invasion of their cornfields disturbed the rods of the maize-fields. One might suspect that the references to Chilam Balam were invoked by the more literate Indians much as the "Talking Cross" later appeared to spur them on, See Pt. II, pp. Pt. III, rather than being authentic indigenous tradition; references to Chilam Balam may be found in textbooks of the period. Heller, like Stephens (see Note 78) was right about Casta Far, "dessen Ende nicht ab-zusehen ist," *Reisen*, 297.

88. Fco Caamal et al to Commissioners, February 19, 1849, Raqueiro, *Ensayo*, I, Doc. 42, 693-6, and "Letters of Indians," passim. For early peace efforts see Ancona, *Historia*, IV, 85-120. Some of the original sermons in "ayy preaching peace to Indians by commissioners are preserved in the Berendt Linguistic Collection, Pennsylvania University Museum, according to D. 0. Brinton, for native documents, including some peace sermons, etc., in the University of Pennsylvania Berendt Linguistic Collection, see Daniel 0. Brinton, "Catalogue of the Berendt Linguistic Collection," Pennsylvania University Museum, Bulletin, II (Philadelphia, May, 1900), 203-34, esp. Items 42, 44, the latter containing "proposiciones de los indios sublevados" (p. 213-4).
"The War of the Castes and its consequences."

(b) The Caste War and its consequences in Creole Yucatan. pp 1-23; Notes, pp 1-17

1943
Basic conditions in Yucatan, the underlying and immediate causes sketched in the previous chapter produced the War of the Castes in 1847. They helped keep it aglow for many years. Punctuated by armed truces, interspersed with savage fighting, struggles continued with dwindling interest to present times. As circumstances among the Mayan and white groups shifted with the passing years, renewed action varied accordingly. On the whole there are two main periods of the War of the Castes, unequal in span or importance. The shorter and more important phases cover the years from 1847 to 1880, while the other period, dating roughly from 1880, is as yet entirely unfinished.

The first and most eventful period of the revolt covered a number of events and tendencies which set patterns for the following years. Within a short time of outbreak in 1847, most of the southern and eastern part of the Peninsula fell completely in power of revolted Mayas. In 1853 their ranks split when a large body of them withdrew from the fray on officially signing a peace which allowed them de facto if not de jure independence. Thenceforth the Mayas of the east, known under various names, carried on battle. It was tinged with crusading, and was directed against Yucatecans, and also now against their erstwhile allies, characterized by them as "traitors." From these events three main cacicazgos of the Mayas in Quintana Roo arose, and continued into the twentieth century.

During the same period after 1847 white Yucatan and its prosecution of the war underwent changes. After vainly offering its sovereignty in futile appeals for aid against the rebels, Yucatan returned to the
WHITE TOWNS underlined:
INDIAN CENTERS not underlined.

SOURCES:
Regil and Peon, Plano de 1848, Bol. Soc. Mex. de Geog. e Estad., III (1853)
Aznar Barbachano and Carbo, corrections on H. Fremont's map, Memoria (1861)
Hibbs, Aznar Perez, and Berendt, Mapa de 1876, Petermanns Mitteil., v.25 (1879)
Sapper, corrections and additions to Mapa de 1878, Globus, v.67 (1895)
Mexican nation and did not even attempt to leave it thereafter. Dissatisfied elements in the old district of Campeche managed to revolt successfully from the State of Yucatan in 1858. Fuel was added to the War of the Castes when politicians at Merida by decree authorized sale of Mayas, ostensibly prisoners of war, to Cuban plantations in efforts to raise revenues and pare expenses.

Probably most important of all, though little noted at the time, was perfection of a machine for mass-processing hennequen, a cactus-like plant whose manufactured fibers found favor as binding twine in the rapidly expanding grain lands of western North America. The plant was one of the few which would flourish on the semi-arid Peninsula; besides acting as a protective ring around Merida, the haciendas on which it was commercially raised served as a new source of badly needed revenue. The highly lucrative, monopolistic hennequen industry helped rebuild a ruined country, which in turn began to be more closely knit by communication networks. Besides making a compact economic and social unit from the old colonial areas around Merida, new trade helped divert attention from the now wearisome War of the Castes. New orientation of economies also regained for the north and west portions of Yucatan their colonial, social and political hegemony, for devastated areas of the quondam "progressive" east were but slowly repopulated.

Newer tendencies, among the Maya cacicazgos and recent developments among the white sections of Yucatan, split Peninsular territory into two separate zones, isolated from one another by wide strips of neutral
Aside from sporadic raids and border clashes, Quintana Roo and the State of Yucatan were politically, culturally, and economically virtually separated in the last half of the nineteenth century. Slave trading with Cuba stopped when Yucatan's own plantations absorbed its surplus labor supply.

Subsequent to 1880, War of Castes was confined largely to Yucatecan or Mexican attempts to retrieve or control Chan Santa Cruz areas, and to regain some honor and prestige, diminished by previous humiliating defeats at hands of despised Indians. Though from 1847 to 1880 Yucatecan forces seldom won on the field, they often do in nationalistic history books.

To quell the remaining rebels several different policies were tried out, with varying success. From 1865 to the close of Maximilian's Empire, there was a semi-comic interlude when sweetness and light replaced direct but futile assaults on Chan Santa Cruz. Attempts at extirpation marked the policy of Porfirio Díaz's regime. More recently, governments stemming from the Revolution of 1910 have somewhat more successfully tried peaceful penetration. Meanwhile, from various factors, the originally large populations of the rebel Maya states dwindled to a nearly negligible number. A remnant of the first rebels, a splinter group composed of descendants of early and most thorough rebels, forms the subject of this monograph.

Such, in brief, are leading points of the War of the Castes, from 1847 to 1940. Details form the bulk of this and the two following chapters. The present one treats of Yucatecan attempts to enlist outside aid, course of the war from 1847 to 1880 and events leading to formation of the independent Mayan cacicazgos after 1850.
YUCATAN ATTEMPTS TO SECURE OUTSIDE AID

Condition of the State after Outbreak, 1847-8. One event which slightly preceded the Caste War was Méndez's successful revolution, making him governor of Yucatan, February 2, 1847.¹ He found the Caste War which started shortly thereafter (partially because his men tried to collect taxes he promised the Indians would be remitted) was different from the petty barrack uprisings and local revolts which hitherto had marked military activity in Yucatan. The Indians were in earnest, were resolute, and were winning. Méndez set about doing what he could to reverse this stream of events, after Tihosuco had been taken by Mayas. "But," a contemporary report to a United States Navy commander states of Méndez he suffered great embarrassment in his operations by the scarcity of resources, the finances of the State exhausted, the quota of arms belonging to the State ruined by use and exposure, a great want of workmen to repair them, and the difficulty produced by malevolent persons who represented the rising of the Indians as a trifling circumstance and a mere interlude to the drama which had been so long before the people. The troops were worn out by a tedious, and to their view, an interminable campaign; destitute of clothing and wanting food, desertions became frequent, and the common discipline of the camp could hardly be enforced by the officers. These circumstances discouraged the commanding officers, and to prevent desertion, they were obliged to remain in their barracks. During these fatal but unavoidable delays, the Indians increased in numbers and daring, and their arms, which were very few at the commencement, were augmented by those of deserters who abandoned their flag.²

The Secretary of State of Yucatan reported that the military resources of Yucatan consisted of its permanent army, 1 battalion of infantry, and 2 companies of artillery, "whose numbers have been reduced to an insignificant force," and the militia. These latter, he stated, were excellent for a very brief moment, but practically useless for "a long lasting and
tiresome war, in the bush and mountain war those barbarians are waging against us.\textsuperscript{3} Merida had about 2,000 men in the field, but if Yucatecan and foreign accounts are to be trusted, they were of little use. The American naval commanders, who were dispatched to the scene to do what they could short of armed aid, were completely baffled by the fact that there seems to be no disposition on the part of the men of property, tradesmen, mechanics, or, in short, of those who have something at stake, and feel a real interest in the preservation of the city, to bear their share in the toils and dangers of defense. They prefer hiring a miserable soldiery, more prompt, it is said, to pillage than to fight.\textsuperscript{4}

One would think these numerous accounts overdrawn were it not for the fact that obviously no resistance was offered to the Indians. They went on taking place after place, driving the whites before them to the coast. It was believed by Yucatecans that during two months following April, 1848 all the whites would be exterminated if outside help were not forthcoming.\textsuperscript{5} American naval commanders who were in possession of points along south shore of the Gulf, having captured them in the still current war against Mexico; these places were overwhelmed by refugees. One American military governor reported that "there are now thousands of men, women, and children on the beach, suffering and in want," and again "the Yucatanos \textsuperscript{11} are already scared and running from their homes. Every night carts, wagons, stages, etc. are coming in from the interior, with families whose houses, farms, etc. have been destroyed." Three or four thousand refugees came from Espita, Tekax, and Tizimin. A Yucatecan account notes that among the soldiers sent to defend one point there was but one cartridge, not each, but for all men.\textsuperscript{6} A change in governors of Yucatan did
not ameliorate matters, but rather caused the few remaining soldiers to mutiny, and one commentator was unkind enough to charge that "perhaps the troops who wished to retreat took advantage of the change in government to screen their cowardice." 

Rebel Indians. Opposed to these forces of the Yucatecan side, possibly 3,000 at a maximum estimate, were great numbers of Mayas. Confusion exists as to their exact number, for often their number and ferocity were magnified either to explain defeat, to make any brief white triumph so much the greater, or to move pity in foreigners from whom aid was sought. Yet relatively impartial sources agree that the effective rebels outnumbered Yucatecans at least four, and possibly as much as twenty to one. Likewise, a number of the atrocity stories are authenticated, though some current in Yucatecan literature are obviously fantastic. By March, 1848, less than a year after outbreak of hostilities, the Indians held the main centers in the south and east, for Izamal, Valladolid, Tizimin, Espita, Yaxcaba, Peto, and Bacalar had fallen.

In the face of this, completely paralyzed from fright, lack of resources, and still torn by party differences, the government of Yucatan despairingly tried to bargain its sovereignty for aid, after simple appeals to common humanity had failed to move foreign chancelleries.

United States. Sierra Mission. One of the first sources of potential aid Merida tried to tap was the United States. A special emissary, Justo Sierra, famed as literary figure, was in the United States seeking special privileges for Yucatecan ports during the Mexican War when
news of the disasters began to pour in to him. He in turn transferred them to Buchanan, President Polk’s Secretary of State. First, Sierra asked merely for 2,000 men and a half million dollars, to stem the hordes, but his pleas grew more rhetorical and his requests larger as time passed. All the United States did for him was allow some shipments of powder to reach the technically blockaded ports of Yucatan, care for refugees who fled to points then under United States protection, and collect great bunches of documents which were transmitted to Congress. The political atmosphere was not propitious for aid to Yucatan, and even less so for its annexation.

In fact, the “Yucatecan Question” brought forth full dress debates which effectively ended the annexationists’ demands for “All of Mexico.”

Spain. One of the levers Sierra tried to use in prying out help for his beleaguered compatriots was threat that Yucatan would go back under the Spanish flag. Spaniards at Cuba did send, part officially, part unofficially, muskets and artillery. The suspicious United States fleet carefully saw that nothing but humanitarianism was aimed at. Though Yucatan had purportedly twice previously offered its sovereignty to France, nothing but pleading letters from the French consul to American naval forces, in behalf of Yucatecans, seems to have resulted.

Mexico. Now that even the Church jewels had been pawned and spent, in last desperation, Yucatan gave up its ephemeral independence and re-entered the Mexican nation August 17, 1848. Henceforth, the War of the Castes was a Mexican concern as well as a Yucatecan one, from Santa Ana's
dictatorships through Lázaro Cárdenas. This reincorporation was done under Barbachano, after a second secret attempt to gain Cuban support had failed.

**British Honduras.** Though Yucatan did offer its sovereignty to England also, chief focus of their interest was the British colony of Honduras. It had long been more closely linked to the Mayas of the east than had Yucatan itself. As seen below, when Mayans set up their independent cacicazgos, relationship was even more apparent. For this and other reasons, charges are often made that the English from greed and avarice helped foment the War of the Castes, continued to keep it aflame, and stirred up troubles for Yucatan whenever possible. Though such belief has almost become an article of faith for authors dealing with the War of the Castes, facts of the case do not support all or many of these contentions.

The record shows the English far from blameless, but impartial investigation seems to indicate that they have been made scapegoats for Yucatecan shortcomings. Charges against them were largely political fodder with sure-fire emotional appeal. Because English of Honduras had on the whole a rather powerful influence in the Independent Mayan states, especially that of Santa Cruz, the controversial question merits some attention. Great faith in Englishmen (or Americans, whom Mayas called "Ingleses") arises from a long record of fair dealing with the Maya; Queen Victoria has a niche in Maya folklore, and contemporaneously some of them thought she was their protector.

Born of a long span of distrust, Yucatecan feeling that the English were supplying the rebel Mayas with arms led them in 1847 to
dispatch Alonso Manuel Peon to Belize. He requested no arms be sold Indians, but that Yucatecans be permitted to buy them. This was an opening shot in a controversy that dragged on till the Treaty of Belize in 1893, when the British colony agreed to stop selling arms to Indians. Suspicion that they continued doing so continued well into the twentieth century, though an American long resident in Yucatan took pains to refute the charge, and pointed out that probably as many rifles were sold to rebels from Merida as were obtained at Belize. This question, connected with that of Yucatecan stopped of British vessels, controversies over refugees, a minor boundary dispute, and the slave trade in Mayas kept relations strained between the two governments on the Peninsula during the whole period of the Caste War.

Earlier attitude of the British regarding sales of arms was consistent, if not particularly flattering to aristocratic sensibilities. In May, 1848 the Superintendent of the Colony notified the principal magistrate at Bacalar that Indians would be supplied on same terms as Spaniards, confirming the principle that "all nationalities without distinction enjoy that privilege so long as they conform to the laws of the Settlement." Though this was the official attitude its asperity was toned down in action. The Governor in Jamaica, nominally in control of British Honduras, ordered everything possible be done "to prevent the supply of munitions of war by British subjects" reaching Mayas. Two special magistrates were stationed to see that these orders were fulfilled, with instructions "to board and search every British vessel for munitions of war." The Governor's actions were designed to check those who "had a direct interest in fomenting the
present unhappy differences which disturb the province of Yucatan. Though in 1849 he had admitted that some arms slipped through, in 1855 resident superintendent of the Colony flatly denied complaints by the Governor of Yucatan that local merchants were supplying insurgents with arms.

So thorny and controversial has question of how many Yucatecans British Honduras had caused to be destroyed by selling arms that seldom is it noted how many they saved by other actions. Like the temporarily held American occupation ports, points in the British colony were flooded with refugees, both white Yucatecan and "loyal" Indians. Problems facing British Honduras were how to keep these persons from making the Colony a base from which they could sally forth against the Indians and return to safety when threatened, and how to keep preponderant numbers of Indians from overrunning British areas in retaliation. Strict neutrality in Yucatecan affairs was the British policy. On the one hand they protected refugees by getting Imperial troops from Jamaica, and on the other by seeing that no cause was given for Indian attacks by threatening to withdraw protection from the Yucatecans who had settled in their areas, mainly around Punta Consejo. After the Superintendent of the Colony had gained some measure of respect from the rebel Indians, he wrote their commander that "all Yucaticos armed with a Ticket of Residence signed by the Colonial Secretary, Belize, are to be considered as enjoying British protection and are not to be molested." When once again Yucatan made efforts to quell the halfas in 1859, stirring them up, special barracks and garrisons were provided refugee settled areas to prevent their being massacred. By such means the Caste War was localized, and Yucatecans in British Honduras
permitted to become welcome additions to the underpopulated territory. This is seen from a report rendered to the Governor in Jamaica:

Under the shelter of our protection twelve or fifteen thousand Yucatecans now flourish within sight of their ruined native land; and the tide of Indian rebellion and devastation in its progress to the southward was checked by the strong English force in the Hondo, and prevented from filling the channels already dug for it in Guatemala and other countries. . . . The Hondo is interesting as being the boundary between this territory and . . . the revived Maya republic which is now supreme in southern Yucatan. The one side presents a scene of total ruin and devastation. Not a house standing, not a Spaniard left alive. The other is still happily enlivened by the industry of the English wood-cutters.27

Peace Efforts. The Slavery Decrees. Though from 1847 to 1853 Yucatan failed to quell the rebels, internal divisions, necessity for raising food, and other reasons kept the Mayas from completely routing white forces and razing Merida as they had other towns.28 Like most mass uprisings, the Caste War in its early phases was marked by preponderance of an undisciplined Maya group on one side, inherently unstable and with varying objectives. As among the whites, quarrels and feuds weakened their united front as the war progressed.

These rifts were exploited. In 1849 Barbachano began negotiations with Pat, one of the chiefs; a Yucatecan reported contemporaneously that "the object which the governor has in view is to create dissensions among them. . . . Our only object is to gain time. . . ."29 This early peace was signed, but not kept on either side, for the Yucatecans then had no intention of recognizing rebel Indians as persons capable of being treated with; Indians on their side were chary of trusting any whites, and appeared to sign a peace with 10,000 troops rather than the 50 stipulated.30
Part of Maya distrust arose from signing of decrees by Governor Méndez in 1848, allowing Mayas taken as prisoners to be transported to Cuba as virtual slaves. This traffic continued until about 1861, when it was forbidden by the Mexican Government, under Benito Juárez, on May 6, 1861. British efforts to suppress this traffic did not endear them to those Yucatecans who engaged in the trade. At the end of the century hardly a trace of transported Mayas could be found in Cuba.

Efforts by various agencies were bent again in 1849 to bring peace to Yucatan. This condition was partially restored in 1851-2, when a preliminary treaty was signed with a number of Maya rebels in the southern part of Yucatan by representatives of the Indians and Yucatecan government. The definitive version was signed at Belize in 1853. From 1849 onward the British Government had been attempting to bring about some sort of a *modus vivendi* for the Indians and Yucatecans; these efforts are now considered to be proofs of the British desire to advance their territorial interests. Delays in negotiations by the Mexican government, the Superintendent reported to his superior, weakened his influence with the Indians.

Meantime, a priest from Guatemala, to which the southern Indians looked with more favor than to Yucatan, and one from Yucatan had come to ChichenItza, one of the centers of rebellion in the south; their influence and arguments resulted in a peace, signed in 1851, in which the Indians allegedly submitted to Yucatan's rule. At this time British agents reported of the rebels that "the Indians are weak in numbers, badly armed, and that great numbers are deserting."
After much waiting, commissioners for the Indians and representatives of Yucatan signed a definitive treaty permitting the Indians almost complete autonomy. Yucatecan representatives had been given secret instructions to exclude the British Superintendent from any active part in the peace; he in turn equally secretly advised Indian commissioners. He told them he had reason to believe that the Mexican government would not assent to all terms of the treaty just signed, but would grant pardons only for acts committed during hostilities; on that account he recommended them "to observe caution in surrendering their arms, or exposing themselves to danger from the Spaniards until they are assured of acceptance of the terms of the treaty," whilst also recommending they should "abstain from an act of hostility so long as there is a hope of reconciliation."

Direct result of this peace, and the preliminary one previously arranged by the priests in 1851, was radical split in the erstwhile rebel Maya ranks, partial relief for Yucatan, and localization of the Caste War in the east. Henceforth matters in the south were relatively calm. Negotiations with eastern Mayas broke down after 1851 when the Yucatecan priest would not permit their being annexed to Guatemala as the Indians wished. After 1853, the War of the Castes lay largely with Maya of the east. They seceded from peaceful southern ones, and they carried terror both to the latter and to the Yucatecans for a good many years thereafter. Quite as much turbulence resulted from Mayas fighting one another as from their combined efforts against the whites, but the latter felt safer for awhile.
CACICAZGOS: AND CASTE WAR TO 1861

Once the Yucatecan policy of dividing the Mayas to subdue them had borne fruit in the Treaty of 1853, much of white fears were temporarily relieved. All the quondam rebels were still almost completely free from white interference, organized into areal and cultural units known as cacicazgos, ruled over by a native leader who always styled himself "general." The internal organization of these native social entities is detailed in the next chapter, but it can be said that they were much alike, differing mainly in details, except for the cacicazgo of Chan Santa Cruz whose founding and whose cult of the Cross estranged it from others.

The group which signed peace with Yucatecans were then known by various names. They called themselves "Christians" to distinguish them from the "pagan" huithes of Chan Santa Cruz. The more tractable Mayas were largely centered in the south, and were known officially at a later period as "Pacíficos del Sur" (Peaceful Ones of the South), or by the paradoxical title, "Peaceful Rebel Indians," to distinguish them from the "Fighting Rebel Indians" of the east. These latter called themselves Cruzob, a neologism formed from the Spanish word for cross (cruz) and the Mayan plural ending (oob); it admirably illustrates the mixture of old in new in their almost unique culture. They were customarily called "Barbarians," "Fighters" (bravos), or just Santa Cruz Mayas, from the name of their capital city and their cult of the Holy Cross. These cacicazgos were similar to ones formed in other parts of Latin America, and for the same reasons; Nordenskiöld reports an analogous "state" set up by Bolivian Indians because some of their number were sold to rubber plantations in
One common tendency of the cacicazgos, both of the Pacíficos and of the Cruzoob, was to split up into smaller units over the issue of peace or war. Among the former, at least four separate units resulted, and among the Santa Cruz, the twentieth century residue at X-Cacal are currently known as "Los Separados" or "those who separated," because they withdrew when less intractable compatriots made peace. The first such main split arose in December, 1852 when the eastern group made war on the main body of southern Indians at Chichanha for signing the preliminary treaty with the priests. The eastern ones were beaten at this time, and withdrew. But to secure aid and friendship of powerful allies against expected retaliatory action, leader of the Chichanha, one Tzuc, made haste to sign the treaty (already referred to) in 1853. Under this convention, the Chichanha Mayas agreed to furnish 400 men to help the Yucatecans quell the eastern groups. In 1857 the Santa Cruz from the east attacked Chichanha, and although they were again beaten, some of the "peaceful" southern group split off from the main body at Chichanha and emigrated to Icaiche; their numbers were considerably augmented in 1863 when the Cruzes in force again attacked Chichanha and decisively devastated it.

In the south, also, but nearer the Yucatecan and Campeche borders were two other cacicazgos, Locha and Mesapich. The latter two units were included in the state of Campeche when it declared independence of Yucatan in 1858; the census of 1861 gives the Locha area some 3,069 inhabitants, and that of Mesapich 11,331. Presumably about half of the section of
Champoton, and possibly part of other areas would swell the total, for in 1871 Campeche only really controlled its seaboard.  

**Founding of Chan Santa Cruz.** Shortly after the split between those favoring peace and those against it (in 1852) a beaten bunch of the latter, traditionally from a small village, Haven (near Mesapich), emigrated eastward, joining the still insurgent *huitaes* around Bacalar. These rebel groups had as their ostensible center a small rancho known as Kampococolche, but in 1850 or 1851, finding this spot untenable or unsuitable, they started congregating at a site known as Chan Santa Cruz, later known as Santa Cruz del Bravo from the Mexican general who recaptured it in the twentieth century.  

In 1852, Chan Santa Cruz was a small site famous among the Maya for a small cross "which had fame because it spoke and worked miracles, and which the Indians adored with a fanaticism peculiar to them." Previously they made pilgrimages to the spot, but these ceased after a Mexican, Romulo de la Vega, removed the original cross and took it to Bacalar. Chan Santa Cruz, though its cross was gone, now became a refuge for the rebels, whom Yucatan was now free to pursue, having managed to alienate them from the other Mayas. Chan Santa Cruz grew in numbers, and was a center of resistance, so in 1854 the government started extensive campaigns which lasted until 1860, in efforts to root out the dangerous center of resistance.  

These efforts proved in vain. Force after force was thrown against the Mayas, who had now entrenched their capital to a distance of
24 miles, the trenches being one mile apart. Main result of the Yucatecan campaigns from 1853 to 1860 was to produce the Talking Cross, and to give the Caste War, from the Mayan point of view, a religious and crusading turn.

**The Talking Cross of Chan Santa Cruz.** In 1854-5, the Yucatecans made two attempts to take Chan Santa Cruz. The first failed. The second time a cholera epidemic wiped out most of the troops, and the remainder were routed, "leaving on the field their wounded and sick, who were horribly assassinated," among whom were the commanders. It was at this time the new Talking Cross appeared. It is said to have "renewed the miracles of the old one, and on a greater scale, because this one sweated, groaned, and emitted terrible maledictions against the whites."  

Undocumented tradition attributes invention of this device, or renewal of an old device to one Jose Maria Barrera, a mestizo of Peto who had joined the Indians. He is said to have used an Indian named Manuel Nahuat as ventriloquist to operate his device. However fraudulent the Cross appeared to outsiders (and there are few who do not question its authenticity) it provided powerful appeal for the rebel Mayas. As the Cross claimed it would prevent their being killed, they no longer remained on the defensive. They immediately took to the field, besieging Valladolid and other points which Yucatecans had regained. In 1858 they retook, with 900 men, the main center, Bacalar which also had been sorely won back. A generation later an English surveyor saw the bones of those who had been trapped in the church and slain. It was no wonder that the British in Honduras reported that "a thrill of horror ran through our northern districts when it was learned that all the inhabitants whom the first rage of
the assailants had opened in the captured town of Bacalar were solemnly
sacrificed to an idol in the moon lighted massacre of the first of March."57

In 1860 the Yucatecans determined to launch a grand assault.
The expedition was organized and included 3,000 men, besides the regular
military forces on the lines of defence which had been established. In-
experience, fear, and ineptitude brought this grand expedition to complete
ruin after it reached Bacalar. A contemporary sadly reports:

Losses incurred reached 1,500 trained troops killed in
action or assassinated; 2,500 rifles; artillery and its
ammunition; more than 500 mules; provisions; and other
ammunition. These disasters finished off the resources
of the state, and forever the morale of the soldiers.
From thenceforth, troops considered the area of Chan
Santa Cruz a cursed land, while the Indians thought it
impregnable, and defended it with blind confidence in
victory. Following these doleful occurrences, the State
saw it was an impossibility to take the offensive, and
their forces were restricted to repelling attacks of
their enemies, not always triumphantly, for some towns
disappeared under the fiery torch of barbarism.58

Yucatecan Losses in the War of the Castes, 1847-60. Having for
the time being given up trying to exterminate the Santa Cruz, Yucatan
turned to other affairs nearer Merida and the Gulf ports. It was a greatly
diminished Yucatan from the state which had claimed nearly the whole Penin-
sula in 1847.

Its population had been nearly cut in half. All these losses
were not, however, directly resultant from the War of the Castes. De-

gregation to Cuba, to other parts of Mexico, and to Guatemala and British
Honduras accounted for some. Two terrible cholera epidemics in Merida
in 1853 left scarcely a home untouched. Maize had to be imported from
### AREAS, POPULATION, DENSITY 1846-1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Merida</th>
<th>Izamal</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Valladolid</th>
<th>Tekax</th>
<th>Campeche</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>WHOLE TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
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<td>82,401</td>
<td>217,896</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
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<td>32 %</td>
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<td>19.2%</td>
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<td>30.5</td>
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<td>1846 vs. 1881*</td>
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<td>Whites</td>
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<td>Per cent 1846</td>
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<td>11.4%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
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*Per cent of 1846 total population replaced by year 1881.
abroad because of disturbed conditions, but starvation added its horrors, though Mexican humanitarians contributed to relieve the situation. In 1857 the military forces again consisted of about 2,000 men after a great effort had swelled the total previously. After 1850 the Church was well nigh disestablished, because one real monthly was too much to pay, and Laws of Reform began to take effect in Yucatan. In 1858 Campeche had managed to achieve its ambition and became a separate unit, costing Yucatan some 83,000 people and large slices of territory.

Territorial losses to the Indians were considerable, in the east and south. Writing in 1868, a Yucatecan summarized them as follows:

I must make clear that Yucatan and Campeche in 1848 counted 5 flourishing cities, 8 villas, 191 towns, 1,265 haciendas, and 1,263 cane sugar and lumber cutting establishments. Of these cities have been lost Izamal, Valladolid, and Tekax, and more than two thirds of the towns, haciendas and ranches have completely disappeared. The heroic attempts of the national guard in the year 1848 successfully recovered at the cost of much blood and immense sacrifices those three cities and some other points where there were towns, but these latter points have again fallen into the power of our enemies.

In 1831 Baqueiro reckoned the independent Mayas occupied an area of some 69,504 square kilometers, or 3,945 square leagues, extending from Becanchen in the District of Tekax to the Mexico-Guatemala frontier. As may be seen, eastern and southern sections of Yucatan suffered losses in people and territory far out of proportion to their relative strengths in 1846. For them the Caste War was doubly crippling. Much of their Maya labor supply was lost, and their earlier expanding economy was choked off by changing world conditions, plus fear of incursions from Santa Cruz.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>SECTIONS AND DISTRICTS</th>
<th>WHITES</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>TOTAL POPULATION (100%)</th>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Muxucan</td>
<td>5,731</td>
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<td>3,268</td>
<td>726</td>
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<td>Acanceh</td>
<td>4,852</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izamal</td>
<td>7,844</td>
<td>10,625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tazulokob</td>
<td>3,790</td>
<td>11,758</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temax</td>
<td>8,777</td>
<td>9,783</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Izamal</td>
<td>27,082</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>46,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86,453</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>114,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST CENTRAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>4,303</td>
<td>11,365</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tizimin</td>
<td>4,344</td>
<td>4,562</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etiia</td>
<td>3,612</td>
<td>5,191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Valladolid</td>
<td>12,059</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>21,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH CENTRAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekax</td>
<td>6,696</td>
<td>6,699</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotuta</td>
<td>3,188</td>
<td>5,185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peto</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>2,381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Tekax</td>
<td>12,682</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>14,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH TOTAL</td>
<td>111,154</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>149,435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Serapio Baqueiro, Resena Geográfica, Histórica y Estadística del Estado de Yucatán (Mexico, 1881), Doc. #1.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF SECTIONS: 1846 vs. 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1881</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>77.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
History of the era was written in its cemeteries, which in these regions were said in 1881 to be "true monuments, dumb but eloquent witnesses to the fact that in this desert there are advanced sentinels, palpating proof of the civilization and past grandeur of Yucatan." Only within recent years has the area begun to be repopulated to much extent; even yet it has not reached its former status, relative to other areas. Merida, after mid-century, far outstripped Valladolid, due largely to henequen.

In more ways than one the plant saved Yucatan. Its plantations formed a protective belt some twenty or twenty-five great leagues (50-65 miles) around Merida, making inrushes of raiding Mayas more difficult. Railroads and other communications connected Merida to its newly formed port of Progreso, and at the same time extension of communication networks made a compact unit of the north and northwest sections of the Peninsula, leaving Merida's hegemony unchallenged. Pre-existing haciendas and their system were more firmly rooted and changed; now henequeneros ruled much like colonial encomenderos.

Statistics help tell the story of the new orientations. In the Peninsula as a whole, in terms of mazes, areas devoted to some leading crops in 1880 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Subsistence</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>357,698</td>
<td>Henequen 1,124,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>Sugar Cane 61,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Tobacco 2,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucca</td>
<td>4,034</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With growing stability of economic and social life, politics of the era became more tranquil. In the period from 1848 to 1853 there had
been fourteen uprisings, eight governors, and three governing juntas. This was changed after Campeche left and removed one source of friction, but mainly the whole peninsula was stabilized by its new monopoly. One writer, casting up accounts from the outbreak of the War of the Castes to his day, after recounting loss after loss, deaths, and ruination said of his time, 1881:

Yucatan did not have any industry . . . but divine Providence gave it one in recent times in that saving plant, and with it all its necessities remain fulfilled. . . . In effect, everything in the State is on account of henequen. If there is foreign commerce in abundance, if exports exceed imports, if there has been improvement, if we are able to sustain such a powerful hacienda system . . . if there is movement, if Merida lives in luxury and abandon its ancient usages and customs, it is all on account of henequen. . . .

After a decade and a half, Yucatecans were eager to forget the miseries, hunger and death which had marked the Caste War on their side. With affluence came desire to wipe out some of the stain on their escutcheons; while their writers glossed the history of the War, various expeditions were sent out to quell the still powerful Maya. But on the whole, by about 1870, and 1880 at the latest, the two main contingents on either side, Merida in the west, and the Santa Cruz in the east were each wrapped in their own concerns, and fighting consisted mainly of professional troops on the white side, less eager to fight, but more able than those defending their own homes and towns.
1. Sources: In general, sources are the same as for preceding chapter, except travelers' accounts. Main reliance here falls on hitherto unexploited documentary material from non-Yucatecan places. These Yucatecan materials have been rather thoroughly reviewed by the works mentioned in Note 25 of preceding chapter. Travelers' tales are replaced by documents, for few travelers entered this area during the Caste War, except specialists whose accounts form much of Part III, infra.

Foreign documentary materials:

SED = United States, 30th Congress (1847-8), 1st Session, Senate Executive Documents, vols. V, VI, Documents #40, 42, 43, 45, 49. Each document contains several communications, and each document has its own pagination. Some of these have been reprinted in William Ray Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States (12v. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Publications, Washington, 1932-39), Interamerican Affairs, 1831-60, VIII. Some Spanish translations of a few are contained in Menendez, Comercio, and Sierra O'Reilly, Nuestro Viaje. See Note 12 for calendar.

ABH = Archives of British Honduras (John Alden Burdon, ed., 3v., London, 1935), III (1841-84). Few, if any Yucatecan or other authors have used this important prime source which casts much new light on several controversial questions.

Secondary: (see note 19) cited below, passim.

(a) Main treatments are:

Eligio Ancona, Historia de Yucatan desde la época más remota hasta nuestros días (5v. Barcelona and Merida, 1879-1905), IV, "La Guerra Social" is chief secondary source.

Carlos R. Mendéndez, Historia del ensame y vergonzoso comercio de Indios vendidos... (Merida, 1923) summarizes most old Yucatecan material and does up some new to document his theses.

(b) Valuable for special aspects are:


Federico Aldaho, "Los Indios de Yucatan," Boletín de la sociedad de geografia y estadística de la república Mexicana, IIa Época, tome 1 (1869), 73-8, and Ni.
Mendiolea, "Ampliaciones a 'Los Indios' por F. Aldherre," ibid., 78-81. First article by an Austrian soldier who accompanied Maximilian's Empress, Carlotta to Yucatan, and second by a well known Yucatecan, bringing data on Caste War up to December, 1868.

Serapio Baqueiro, Reseña geográfica, histórica y estadística del Estado de Yucatan (Mexico, 1907). Does not reach high level set by Peon and Regil. "Estadística" for period 1840-50, but is very useful survey by contemporary.

2. A. McKenney to M. C. Perry, April, 1848, SED: 43, p. 17. Report (pp. 12-19) gives much useful data. Is pro-Mendez politically.

   Cf. Justo Sierra to Jas. Buchanan, April 3, 1848; "The barbarians have destroyed with flames four towns, and more than fifty hamlets; they have swept away about two hundred farms and many other cotton and sugar plantations; they have ravaged immense fields of grain; they have murdered hundreds of white families; and, in fine, they are masters of the whole eastern, and nearly the whole western portions of the Peninsula." SED: 40, p. 13.

   Ancona, Historia, IV, 5-133 covers period of SED, as does Mendez, Comercio, 72-90, et passim.


4. Lt. C. H. McBlair (U. S. Brig. "Stromboli") to Cmdr. M. C. Perry, May 8, 1848. SED: 49, pp. 5-6. Also M. C. Perry to J. Y. Mason, Secretary of Navy, Washington, March 13, 1848, "Such is the disgraceful panic of the Yucateco soldiers that many of them fly upon the very appearance of the enemy ..." SED: 43, p. 8. McKenney to Perry, January, 1848, "Yucatecan troops" either completely routed or yielding to an unaccountable panic, have precipitately abandoned the field of battle, in some instances losing their best officers and men." SED: 43, p. 17. H. Mason ("Vesuvius") to J. Y. Mason, Secy. Navy, SED: 43, p. 19. Perry to J. Y. Mason, "The whites make little or no effort to defend their firesides, but fly at the first appearance of the Indians," SED: 43, April 2, 1848, p. 23. Also Joaquin Gutierrez de Estrada (Yucatecan) to Perry, April 28, 1848, "The terror which the barbarians inspire is inexplicable, even to us who have witnessed this desolating war from its commencement," SED: 49, p. 7. Nicolini, Secy. of State (Yucatan) to Perry, "From these circumstances have resulted the apparent triumphs of the Indians — the vacillation of our troops, and the conflict in which the whole country is involved," February 1, 1848, SED: 43, p. 10.

5. Sierra to Buchanan, April 18, 1848, SED: 40, p. 16. Also Sierra to Buchanan, April 3, 1848. "The government cannot support the immense number of troops which it needs; nor has it arms and ammunition to give them. ... In fine, sir, the country is falling to ruin, and its white population on the point of being extinguished by the savages, unless it should receive the sympathy, protection, and support of civilized nations," SED: 40, p. 14.


8. Barbachano replaced Mendez, March 25 through latter's handing government over in desperation. Ancona, Historia, IV, 110. This was one reason peace did not last, for Barbachano had got Indians with whom he was negotiating to write Gov't. that they would treat only with him as Govr. This was then called a partisan peace, and soon was recaptured. See below:

   Perry to J. Mason, April 15, 1848, reporting change of governors, revolt of troops, SSD: 43, p. 30. A. Bigelow to Perry, "The parties seem to be as divided and hostile to each other as ever; or, perhaps the troops who wished to retreat took advantage of the change in the government to screen their cowardice," April 4, 1848, SSD: 43, 31.

9. McKenney to Perry, March, 1848, SSD: 43, p. 18 estimates 30,000-35 Indians effective. M. Mason to Perry, April 2, 1848, SSD: 43, p. 18 estimates 60,000, in 4 columns. French Consul to Perry, May 9, 1848, SSD: 49, pp. 8-9 estimates Jacinto Pat has 15-20,000, and 20,000 marching on Campeche. Pat brought 10,000 to sign peace. Superintendent to officer Commanding, April 23, 1848, ABH, 106 reports 10,000 Indians holding Bacalar.

10. Possibly authentic: Handbook of British Honduras (A. S. Metzgen, H. E. Cain, compilers, London, 1925), 12 summarizing report of Major O'Connor (1849) who saw roasted bodies. There were undoubtedly many many more, for Indians threatened to use burning, stakes, crucifixion etc. if Yucatecans did not surrender. See "Letters of Rebel Indians to Peace Commissioners," Doc. #42, Serapio Baquieiro, Ensayo histórico sobre las revoluciones de Yucatan desde el año de 1840 hasta 1864 (3v., Merida, 1873-87), I, 592-7.

Unsubstantiated, but possible are the many reported in Yucatecan literature. Some happened, but on the whole, they improved with age and became cliches. E. G. Baquieiro, Reseña, 98-9. See photostat, Part III this essay. Horror of Indians is part of political stock in trade of times, hiding much political chicanery, and is also part of Yucatecan defense against ineptitude. But see ante, Part I, pp. Notes, and infra, pp. Notes.

11. McKenney to Perry, April, 1848, SSD: 43, p. 18.

12. The Sierra Mission dates officially from July 27, 1847, when Domingo Barret was accredited as commissioner for Yucatan. Sierra, Diary, Doc. #1; SSD: 42; Manning, VIII, p. 3716, to final resume of affairs,
June 16, 1848, Sierra, Diario, Doc. #37; Manning, VIII, #3770, p. 1089.

Sierra, Diario, Docs. 2-6, pp. 60-4, give his reports to Governor en-route; Docs. in Sierra, Diario which do not appear in SED or Manning are #9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23, 31, 36; Sierra Diario does not contain valuable material from SED; 45, most of SED:42, 45, 49. Some of the major phases of Yucatan's attempts to secure aid are summarized in M. W. Williams, "The Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan," Hispanic American Historical Review, IX (1929), 132-43, but without adequate background of Caste War, or materials contained in Sierra Diario. See also Ancona, Historia, IV, 155-7; Menendez, Comercio.

13. C. W. Lawrence to R. J. Walker, March 2, 1848, SED: 42; Polk to Congress, April 21, 1848, SED: 40; Polk to Senate, May 9, 1848, SED: 43; J. Y. Mason to W. C. Perry (confidential), May, 12, 1848, SED:45; J. Y. Mason to Polk, May 15, 1848, SED:45; and esp. J. Y. Mason to W. C. Perry, March 8, 1848, SED: 42; Yount to Lawrence, March 10, 1848, SED: 42.

14. John D. P. Fuller, The Movement for the acquisition of all Mexico, 1846-1848 (Balto., 1936); J. A. Dix, Proposed Occupation of Yucatan (Washington, 1848) is contemporary, Fuller's is resume and cities much relevant literature. "The Yucatecan question is dropt for the present. . . . It was one of the wildest and most absurd measures ever proposed by the Executive," John C. Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, May 22, 1848, Calhoun Correspondence, American Historical Association, Reports (1899), II, 750, and Calhoun, Works, 454-78. Spanish trans. of arguments on "Yucatan Bill," Sierra, Diario, Doc. #35, 113-6, and citations; Ancona, Historia, IV, 157.

15. Perry to J. Mason encloses editorial from "La Union" of Merida, February 8 in which Yucatan said would ask for 2,000 muskets (with bayonets), 6 pieces of mountain artillery, 200 quintals of powder, 400 swords, 200,000 silver dollars, to be paid back by mortgaging 1/5 of customs revenues, ending up with "therefore, away with despair! To your arms, Yucatecos!" SED:43, pp. 4-7; H. Hoppenstadt to W. C. Perry, February 29, informing him Governor Gen. of Cuba sending man-of-war, Yucatan having asked for $200,000 and 2,000 guns, ibid., 6-7; Perry to J. Mason, March 13, reports arrival of 2,000 arms, 4 pieces of artillery, 200 quintals gunpowder. Ancona, Historia, IV, 164, 159-60, the commissioners sent to Cuba were to authorize sale of island of Cozumel if necessary, to set aid from Cuba.

16. Spaniards were not to penetrate more than 10 yards inland. A. Bigelow to J. Mason, February 29, SED: 43. Also
17. Perry to J. Mason, March 13, 1848, reported French consul told him Yucatan had twice offered its sovereignty to France, SED: 43, p. 8, but this is probably untrue. On March 25, Gov. Menendez sent notes to the United States, Spain, and England with such offers, and after Barbachano became governor (see Note 8) he reiterated offers to same nations, though previously he had discredited Sierra in the United States by publishing a notice that Sierra was acting for private interests, not the government of Yucatan. Ancona, Historia, IV, 156, 156. Laliere de Villareque, Consul of France to M. C. Perry, May 9, 1848, SED: 49, pp. 8-9.

18. Baquiro, Reseña, 86-7; Menendez, Comercio, 82-4, quoting a political pamphlet markedly anti-Barbachano, which among other things said the Yucatecans "had to prostrate themselves to the Supreme Mexican Government . . . saying 'We have sinned, have pity and mercy on us!' and the generous Government, forgetting their infancy in the American War received them with open arms, gave them sweet peace, and because of the scarcities, aided them with more than 300,000 pesos and equipped men. . ." Temple jewels were sold in New Orleans and Havana; ibid., 11. Baquiro, Ensayo, II is source for most secondary accounts, including Ancona, Historia, IV, 165-70, who adds notes from Boletín Oficial of Yucatan.

19. See Note 17. Material on Belize is tremendous; herewith typical not complete items: The controversy between British Honduras and Yucatan over boundaries and Indians is typical such Latin American dispute over useless territory for nationalistic reasons, as outlined in many cases by S. Whittemore Bozog, International Boundaries; a study of boundary functions and problems (New York, 1940), 74-93; "South American Boundaries," and Preston James, "The Distribution of People in South America," in Geographic Aspects of International Relations (G. C. Colby, ed., Chicago, 1938), 217-42. Especially latter's discussion of national vs. effective sovereignty. A fine article. Most recent versions, Yucatecan aide: series of monographs by Carlos E. Menendez, who recently has devoted much time to collecting materials to document a thesis; "Now that there seems to exist a movement of justice, tending to vindicate for Mexico its just property, the territory which present day Belize comprehends, with nullification of the Spencer-Mariscal which the government of General Porferio Diaz with that of Queen Victoria in 1897, we believe it pertinent to save from oblivion the notable labor of Hübbs. . ." Intro. to Hübbs, Belize, p. iii (September, 1940). See also Note 35.

Older Yucatecan views:
Alejandro Villasenor y Villaseñor, "La Cuestión de Belice" (Mexico, 1894), collection of newspaper articles appearing in "El Tiempo" of Mexico City; Ancona, Historia, IV, 221-35; Hübbs, Belize (cited Note 1, above); Mendolea, "Ampliaciones," 81; Manual Azpiroz, "Establecimiento inglés de Belice," Boletín de la sociedad Mexicana.

Typical version is that given Buchanan by Sierra, March 7, 1848, "the people of Yucatan were suffering from a war, forced on them by barbarous Indian tribes who live on the eastern frontier, who had evidently been armed and incited thereto by some secret power. . . ." SED: 40; p. 11. See below, Notes 20, 25, etc.

British views: Archibald R. Gibbs, British Honduras: An Historical and descriptive account of the colony from its settlement, 1872 (London, 1889); Daniel Morris, The Colony of British Honduras, its resources and prospects, with particular attention to its indigenous plants and economic productions (London, 1883) contains map showing Indian areas and helpful bibliography 144-5; earlier than either of these is George Henderson, An account of the British Settlement of Honduras, being a view of its commercial and agricultural resources, soil, climate, natural history &c . . . . (London, 2d ed., 1811).


Main points of issue for period here treated, 1848-30 appear in both ABH, and in Correspondence diplomatique exchange entre le gouvernement de la Republique et celui de sa Majesté Britannique relativament au territoire appele Belice, 1872-1878 (Ministerio de relaciones exteriores, Mexico, 1878), of which first 49 pages are correspondence, following by 19 documents. The value of all these for Quintana Roo is that in passing much valuable data are given for the Indian groups in the disputed area. Most of following pages are based on ABH (see note 1).

20. Margaret Park Redfield, "The folk literature of a Yucatecan town," Carnegie Institution, Contributions to American Archeology, III (193), Washington, June, 1935), 1-50. Pp. 31-2 give accounts of Caste War as told by present day informants; Queen Victoria and Diaz's wife are confused; author's comment incorrectly attributes Caste War to 1841. See also, Note Part III. Nomenclature of "ingleses" is noted by J. L. Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Yucatan (2v. New York, 1843, ed. of 1848), I, 328. Rev. John Kingdom,
in touch with revolted Mayas reported to Supt. at Belize that "the Indians entertained unbounded confidence in Englishmen." ABH, 118 (March 9, 1849). In 1922, a German reported (HFC trans.), "The Mayas are favorably disposed toward the English and Negroes of British Honduras. They hate the Mexican-Spanish and call them 'uach.' As a group white Englishmen and Americans are called 'choc-pol,' i.e., 'red-head.'" H. Adrian, "Einiges Uber die Maya-Indianer von Quintana Roo," Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin: Zeitschrift, 1924 (Notes 5-7), 235-47. Citation, p. 247. It is nearly impossible to explain to Latin-Americans why this is so, that Indians do not trust them, and this inability to analyze thoroughly causes of friction undoubtedly underlies much of the gratuitous attribution of "plots" etc. to British by Yucatecan writers. See Note 19.

21. Secretary of the Governor of Yucatan to Supt., December 31, 1847, ABH, 98. On February 1, 1848 the Governor of Yucatan appealed to all inhabitants of British Honduras "for united support to suppress the War of Races which was being waged by the Indians." ABH, 100. Governor, Jamaica, to Supt., transmitting correspondence concerning charges made by Governor Yucatan that aid and comfort given Indians through arms supplies, August 19, 1848, ABH, 110.

22. Henry A. Case, Views on and of Yucatan, besides notes upon parts of the State of Campeche and the Territory of Quintana Roo (Merida, 1911), 207-8. Cf. ibid., "by a school book that we have recently seen, the young are taught that the territory of Quintana Roo has been reconquered from the rebellious Indians by the mighty power of the Federal Government, but unfortunately that statement can hardly be considered exactly correct... We have been told by intelligent Yucatecans that at the moment it is an excellent place to keep away from." 212. Case seems to have spent most of his life in Yucatan, wrote a very informal volume. Equally interesting but topical is Alice S. de Plongeon, Here and There in Yucatan: Miscellanies (New York, 1886), collection of essays on varied topics which struck her fancy. Nothing much about Quintana Roo, but items on Maya of Cozumel very entertaining.


24. Governor, Jamaica, to Supt., July 21, 1849, ABH, 121. Supt. to Commandant, Bacalar, October 3, 1849 advising means being taken to prevent arms being transported from Belize, and stationing of second magistrate, ABH, 124. Supt. to Newly Appointed Magistrates, St. Helena and Douglas, advising as per quote in text, adding that other vessels (not British) were merely to be questioned. No physical force under any circumstances, ABH, 124. Mexicans did not trust these men, so boarded and searched British vessels also, Supt. to Commandant, Bacalar, October 23, 1849, ABH, 125. The famous "Four Sisters" which figures so largely in later disputes was said to be seized by one Yucatecan, Padre Trujillo, "to facilitate his own traffic in arms with the Indians," Magistrate,
Northern District to Supt., adding that Jacinto Pat was murdered by Mayas because he was believed to be in favor of peace with Yucatecans; Pat was cacique of rebel Mayas, October 13, 1849, ABH, 124. In June (27), 1849 Supt. had protested to Commandant, Bacalar at indiscriminate seizure and search of British vessels, ABH, 120, and in same month Commandant at Bacalar informed Supt. he was releasing as a favor one such seized boat, claiming it was a lawful prize, ABH, 119. Supt. to Commandant, October 23, 1849 complained vessels seized though armed with passes from inspecting magistrates, ABH, 125, but also informing an English firm he was refusing to demand restitution of a vessel which had been engaged in unlawful enterprise, Supt. to Messrs. Vaughan Christie & Co., October 25, ABH, 125. Supt. to Sir Chas. Grey, reporting appointment of two magistrates because of reasons cited in text, October 12, 1849, ABH, 124.

25. Supt. to H. B. N. Minister, Mexico admitting sale of arms by residents of Belize, November 10, 1849, ABH, 126. Memorial from Merchants to Supt., July 25, 1850 praying that smuggling be prevented, ABH, 137. Supt. to Governor, Jamaica, denying complaint of Yucatan's Governor that local merchants supplying arms and ammunition, October 17, 1855, ABH, 186.

26. April 20, 1848 one Matias Estevas from Bacalar reported Indians had besieged it, ABH, 106, upon which Governor, Jamaica sent 100 men from Jamaica to protect frontier, suggesting to Supt. "that a proclamation might be issued declaring the friendship of this Government towards the Indians provided there should be no invasion of our frontier with hostile designs," May 21, 1848, ABH, 107. So much for British inciting the Caste War.

Military Commandant, Bacalar, to Supt., February 19, 1848 asking permission for families from Bacalar to establish themselves at Punta Consejos, ABH, 101; Supt. to Commandant, Bacalar, February 24, 1848, assuring him of protection of such families, ABH, 102; Supt. to Magistrate, Bacalar, June 24, 1848, demanding assistance in recovering two Spaniards taken from Colony by Indians, ABH, 108; Petition from Inhabitants of Punta Consejo, expressing gratitude for protection, fearing renewed Indian attacks, January 1, 1849, ABH, 114; Supt. to Commandant, Bacalar, assuring him all efforts being made to restrain both English and Yucatecans from taking part in military actions in Yucatan, January 5, 1849, ABH, 114; Supt. to Governor, Yucatan, November 1, 1849, complaining of acts of aggression by Yucatecan troops against refugees at Punta Consejo, ABH, 126; Supt. to Indian 1st Commander of Troops, Bacalar, May 6, 1850 advising Yucatecans with ticket of residence not to be molested; ABH, 135; Supt. to Governor, Jamaica, March 18, 1854, enclosing circular issued to refugees warning protection to be withdrawn if forfeit such right, ABH, 176; Governor, Jamaica to Acting Superintendent, April 6, 1860 advising that barracks be built at Punta Consejo for Jamaica troops to be stationed there to prevent raid and massacre by Indians which would involve Colony in war with Indians, ABH, 229.
27. Supt. to Governor, Jamaica, June 22, 1859, ABH, 225, 218. Cf. Supt. to Governor, Jamaica, January 11, 1850 telling of capture of 2 refugees who had settled near a spot owned by a Mr. Welsh. 300 others had gone, who "have become very useful to the Colony by cultivating maize for the Belize market. They will probably settle here permanently," ABH, 128; Magistrate, Northern District to Supt., suggesting schools be set up, also lamenting the ignorance and immorality of refugees, who "are most partial to the bullfight, which is often a scene of revolting and barbarous cruelty. On more than one occasion the tongue of the bull was cut out while the poor brute was still alive," January 5, 1860, ABH, 227. The amount of friendliness between rebel Indians and logcutters may have been overrated, for the Supt. constantly received news of Indian incursions and raids, e.g., Supt. to Officer Commanding Troops, March 4, 1848, asking that 30 men be sent to Rio Hondo to protect mahogany cutters against Indian attacks, ABH, 103; Letter to Colonial Secretary, March 17, 1848, stating Indians, with bows and arrows, had attacked 100 families on English side of Hondo, beaten back by firearms, ABH, 104-5; Messrs. Hyde & Co., January 17, 1850 reporting 72 lbs. of powder and 6 bags of shot intended for their works removed by two Yucatecans (Spaniards) from their boats, ABH, 128. Year 1856 was especially troublesome. Supt. to Governor, Jamaica, reporting Luciano Que, chief, has demanded extortion at toll on logs of Messrs. Young and Toledo, September 9, ABH, 192; aggression reported by same to same, September 16, ABH, 193; June 15, 1857 Messrs. Young, Toledo & Co. report armed intrusion, ABH, 196; Supt. to Governor, July 16, 1857 reporting a conspiracy by armed men of Yucatan to destroy Corozal, ABH, 196.

28. Ancona, Historia, IV, 134-54. Whites began to stiffen and win, because (1) political leaders of army removed (2) more church property was pawned to get supplies in Cuba (later claimed were stolen by British) (3) hacienda Indians began to fight on white side (ibid., 136) on promise their taxes would be remitted, and "ellos regaron con profusion su sangre en los campos de batalla, en defensa de la civilizacion" (p. 137); (4) many rebels returned home to make milpas in the rainy season. Main reason Merida was not attacked was that hacienda Indians did not join rebels as had Indians in other areas penetrated by huites. See supra, Part I (Yucatan in 1840; Roles of Indians) for distinctions among Mayas pp. Notes 52-58 (Part I).

29. Joaquin Gutierrez de Estrada to Cmdr. M. C. Perry, Campeche, "The Governor, Barbachano, has commenced a treaty of peace with an Indian chief called Pat, who, it appears is at feud with another principal chief called Chi. The object which the governor has in view is to create dissensions among them. . . . Our only object is to gain time." April 28, 1848, SED:49, p. 7. May 23, 1848 the same day Sierra announced to Buchanan the signing of the Indian treaty of Tuczacab; he announced it had been broken by the Indians. Sierra, Diario, 116-8; SED:49; Manning, VIII, #3765, pp. 1086-5. Cf. Ancona, Historia, IV, 92-3; Menendez, Comercio, 47-53. Treaty was signed

30. Laisre de Villareque, Consul of France, to M. C. Perry, May 9, 1848 reporting Pat's actions, SDB: 49, p. 6.

31. Carlos R. Menéndez, Historia del infame y vergonzoso comercio de indios vendidos a los esclavistas de Cuba por los políticos yucatecos desde 1848 hasta 1861, justificación de la revolución indígena de 1847, documentos irrefutables que lo comprueban (cited Note 1) is standard source on this. It is rather a neo-muckraker approach, and some of the "irrefutable documents" are refutable, but it is extremely valuable, and on the whole the major part of his thesis is sustained; this appears on pp. 88-89. Whole problem stems from unfortunate situation that as soon as Yucatecans set free captured Mayas, they started fighting again; when Yucatecans kept them, depleted resources of the country were further exhausted to feed them. To solve both difficulties, Miguel Barbachano on November 6, 1848 issued a decree allowing them to be deported, which in effect meant selling them to Cuba. This was subsequently elaborated until a full-blown slave traffic grew. Decree is cited, Menéndez, Comercio, 22. Contemporary situation in Cuba, not exploited by Menéndez appears summarily in Report on the Census of Cuba, 1899 (United States War Department, Office Director Census of Cuba, Washington, GPO, 1900), Appendix XIX, 727-35 where contemporary Cubans report importation of Chinese and Mayas to relieve labor, and of latter it is said, "If they had only been imported in larger numbers they might have solved the great labor question of the island" (733); in 1859 there were only 576 male, and 192 female Mayas in Cuba, mainly around Habana (735).

32. Census of Cuba 1899, reports only one Mayan woman, married to a Negro and living in the impenetrable Zapata Swamp, though adds "there are doubtless remnants of these Indians still in Cuba," 67.

33. Supt. to Naval Commander, Bermuda, June 10, 1853 stating 30 Yucatan Indian men, 3 girls taken aboard the "Alerta" for delivery in Cuba as slaves; rates for sale of slaves given as males, 16-20 yrs., $25 ea., 12-16 yrs., $17, under 12 yrs., $8; females, 16-20, $17, under 16, if sound and "without addition," $8; also points out that because of bitter hostility between Indians and Yucatecans, latter should be watched carefully "as regards traffic in slaves." ABH, 167; Supt. to Govr., Jamaica, reports with reference to a conviction of Slave trafficking that (Indian) commandant at Bacalar expresses thanks for steps taken to suppress slave traffic and kidnapping of the Indians of Yucatan, ABH, 170 (July 16, 1853); June Term, Grand Court, The Queen vs. John Baptiste Anduze and Carlos Carillo, charged with fitting out & c. a vessel in order to deal &c. in persons as Slaves; found guilty, sentenced to 4 and 3 yrs. hard labor, respectively, ABH, 168.
Hübbe, Belize, 109 ff., translating relevant parts from Henry Fowler, A narrative of a journey across the unexplored portion of British Honduras, with a short sketch of the history and resources of the colony (Belize, 1879). Hübbe, Belize, 131-7, based on Yucatecan sources, reprinting treaty, 135-7. Ancona, Historia, IV, 275-95 touches on this. Yucatecan sources always name Rev. John Kingdom, chief English mediator and Protestant minister as "Juan Kindan." Kingdom's peace efforts fell through because Barbachano would not yield "a palm of territory" to the rebels (Ancona, Historia, IV, 294).

Actual negotiations outlined by reports in ABH: Jacinto Pat, Commandant in Chief of Indians to Messrs. John Kingdom, Edward Rhys et al. acknowledging receipt of proposal of peace and arbitration, February 18, 1849, ABH, 116; Residents at Bacalar to Indian Chief's suggesting mediation through British channels, February 29, 1849, ABH, 116; Indian Chiefs at Bacalar to Supt., expressing willingness to divide Yucatan with Spaniards, asking for commissioner for purposes, March 22, 1849, ABH, 119; Revd. John Kingdom to Supt., stating Indians received at any cost to secure complete separation from Yucatan, aiming at reconquest of Yucatan as their patrimony, and failing this, would rally forth to make reprisals as they could; Indians have "unbounded confidence" in Englishmen, March 9, 1849, ABH, 118; British Minister, Mexico to Supt., informing him (Col. Fancourt) accepted as mediator, August 10, 1849, ABH, 122; Fancourt to Chiefs in Yucatan, reporting same, September 17, 1849, ABH, 123; Magistrate, Northern District, to Fancourt, October 13, 1849, Jacinto Pat murdered "by his own people because of his suspected desire for peace," ABH, 124; Chief's Pas and Chan to Supt., announcing willingness to treat, but complete freedom from Mexican rule sine qua non, October, 1849, ABH, 125; Supt. to same, October 30, interviews arranged, ABH, 125; British Minister, Mexico to Fancourt (Supt.), reporting Mexico refuses recognition of sine qua non, November 15, ABH, 126; Fancourt to Governor of Yucatan, giving an account of interview with Indians: Origin of quarrel is oppressive contributions unfairly levied on Indians; fact that instructions from government of Yucatan not followed by subordinates, and that promises made by Yucatan are broken; Indians not satisfied with anything short of independence, with Fancourt as their governor; if this impossible, will emigrate to Honduras; December 10, 1849, ABH, 127; Magistrate, Santa Helena to Supt., April 12, 1850 announcing that Jaco, Pat's successor deposed because he also suspended hostilities at Fancourt's instigation; while Jaco remained inactive Yucatecans had attacked Indians and inflicted damages on them, ABH, 131-2; Govr. Jamaica to Supt. proposing another mediation; accepted, February, 1850, ABH, 129-30.

Obviously Yucatecan charges that British Honduras used peace efforts to support claims to territory are not based on perusal of these documents, but on secondary sources.

Carlos R. Monedez's recent work has been oriented toward stimulating "irredentist" sentiment in Yucatan. See Note 19. He edits Cuadernos de Historia (Mérida), viz., "La pavorosa situación de Yucatan en 1849" (Miguel Barbachano's statements), II (1938); Lt. Col. S. Rogers,
"British Honduras: its resources and development" Manchester, 1885, translated by M. G. Canton Ramos, III (1938) an obscure pamphlet designed to lure settlers from England; "El proyecto expansionista de Inglaterra en Yucatán, en 1849," IX (1939), in which Kingdom's peace efforts are supposed to include taking large parts of Yucatan, which was not ever controlled by it at any time; and reproduction of Manuel Peniche's "Historia de las relaciones de España y México con Inglaterra..." (cited note 19 in full) in 1940. Value of these as sources is indubitable, but the Cuadernos appear in small, limited editions and seem designed to buttress apriori claims rather than objective editing; much value would accrue by translation of Gibbs (1883) and Posing (1879) to balance the picture.

36. On May 10, 1850 the Supt. informed Indian chiefs that the Mexican Government agreed to truce, and would negotiate with him for permanent truce, ABH, 135; in September of same year Supt. to H.B.M. Minister in Mexico stated delay of Mexican government had inflamed public feeling in Belize, weakened his influence with rebel Indians, and expressed opinion Indians would never return to Mexican allegiance; also adds "the amount of gunpowder reported to have been sent from Belize to the Indians is greatly exaggerated." September 17, 1850, ABH, 138. Negotiations seem to have started the previous January when British Minister notified Supt. that Mexican Government approved Superintendent's action as mediator, stating Mexico willing to grant Indians lands in perpetuity, and "owing to the Indians' complaints of the exactions of the priests, they are willing to send them priests paid by the Government. If absolutely necessary they will consent to tax the Indians more lightly than the whites of the district." January 16, 1850, ABH, 128.

38. Hübbe, Belice, 133-4 and reprinting secret instructions.
39. Supt. to Indian Commissioners, October 12, 1853, ABH, 173.
40. Hübbe, Belice, 133. Ancona, Historia, IV, 320-24 gives a slightly different version, saying that Modesto Méndez, whom Hübbe identifies as Yucatecan was the corregidor of Peten, and his cura accompanying, Juan de la Cruz Holl was also from Peten, according with Hübbe; according to Ancona, it was the Chichanah group which wanted to annex itself to Guatemala, but Ancona seems to have confused the two distinct attempts at peace, first with the Chichanah (successful) and secondly with the Cruzob (unsuccessful), basing his text on "El Siglo XIX" which is likely to be inaccurate; Hübbe does not give his source, but his account is inherently more probable. Hübbe seems on the whole to be a more careful workman than Ancona, where he has sources available; both are highly nationalistic in regards anything Yucatecan vs. British.
41. Hübbe, 139 and below, Part III, passim.
42. C. H. Berendt, "Report of Explorations in Central America," Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1867, 420-26. "They are Catholics, and are proud to show their abomination of the heathen worship of the Cruzes. I have been shown a long memorial, written in the Maya language, containing numerous letters, orders, proclamations, etc. It states their motives why they separated from the Cruzes, the principal and repeatedly asserted reason being — 'We are a Christian people.'" Cf. A. M. Tozzer, A Comparative Study of the Mayas and the Lacandones (Archaeological Institute of America, Report ..., 1902-3, New York, 1907), "They recognize the Lacandones as speaking the same language, but as a people very slightly connected with them. ... When any mention is made of the Mayas of Tabasco and Chiapas, they are always described as no son cristianos." 38.


44. Berendt, "Explorations" re rebel Mayas: "Those of the south and east, known by the whites of Yucatan as the Huithes ('breech-cloths') but who call themselves Cruzob, or Cruzes, have continued an uninterrupted war. ..." Cf. Part I, Notes 12-13.

45. Erland Nordenskiöld, Indianer und Banden (Stuttgart, 1922), 72-7, citing other literature for South America. These Bolivian Indians ran their own church and school, and would only allow whites to remain in their cacicazgo 24 hours; the cacique was quite literate.


47. Hübbe, Belice, 133, 135-7; "Nota con que el D. Gregorio Canton remitió al General Vega los tratados celebró con algunos indios del Sur, por comisión especial que le confirió el gobierno," Ancona, Historia, IV, Apéndice, pp. xxv-xxx (Belice, September 17, 1853); "Carta de Florentino Chan y Venancio Pec ... para arreglo definitivo de la paz. ..." ibid., pp. xxi-xxiv.

48. Berendt, "Explorations"; Hübbe, Belice, 139-44; Sapper, "Independent States," 626; Lt. Govr. to Govr., Jamaica, April 13, 1863, reporting defeat of Chichenia Indians by Santa Cruz Indians during March, ABH, 251.
49. "Censo de población del Estado de Campeche en 1861," Doc. 44 in Tomas Asnar Barbachano and Juan Carbo, Memoria sobre la Conveniencia Utilidad, y Necesidad de erigr... Campeche (Mexico, 1861). Census is un-paginated; see, "Resumen" for Locha, Wesapich; Httbbe, Belice, 139. This Memoria has two excellent maps.

50. A. Woeikof, "Reise durch Yucatan und die südöstlichen Provinzen von Mexiko 1874," Petermanns Mitteilungen; XXV, hft 6 (1879), 201-12, Tafel 11, 205, "Campeche wurde zu einem Hafen ohne Hinterland reducirt." Map is superb, but should be used with verbal corrections of Sapper, "Independent States," 634; cf. map in Barbachano and Carbo, giving areas of "Indios pacíficos" and "rebeldes" in 1861. Census figures in this Memoria may be false because Campeche was trying to prove it had 80,000 inhabitants and therefore should be a State, yet they coincide with other figures; they may be probably true for on basis of census (broken into age groups), taxes were levied.

51. Mendiola, "Ampliaciones," 78; Baqueiro, Ensayo, II, 386 ff.; Ancona, Historia; IV, 313-4, 316-17, where according to official but not necessarily truthful accounts, 100 Indians were killed at Kampecoleche, January 3, 1851, and on March 21, Indians were driven out, leaving behind some crosses; in this battle the ventriloquist Nahuat was allegedly killed, p. 317. Actual first occupation date of Chan Santa Cruz seems impossible to fix.

52. Case, Views, 204-6 gives account of General Ignacio Bravo which differs from that found in Quintana Roo; Album Monográfico (G. A. Mendez, ed., Mexico, D. F., 1936), passim. Yet a different aspect is given by a foreign eye-witness in Maurice de Périgny, "A travers le Peten et le Yucatan," La Geographie, XIII (Paris, 1906), 482-6, 485, which also has good map of area. He found 300 people, 50 soldiers at Santa Cruz del Bravo.

53. Accounts of the cross vary widely. Baqueiro, Ensayo, II, 386 takes "la tradición" as his basis, admitting it is quite shaky; Ancona, Historia, IV, 314, announces his account rests on "it is said" (decir). Account here followed is based on Mendiola, "Ampliaciones," 78 as being nearest to date of action and being corrected by several Yucatecans contemporary with events. See Part III, pp. and Note . This may be dubious, because Romulo de la Vega purportedly did not arrive in Yucatan till May 15, 1851, Ancona, Historia, IV, 380.

54. Mendiola, "Ampliaciones," 78. Such a "sweating image" is reported as remembered in this area by present-day Mayas; M. P. Redfield, "Folk literature," 31. One of the maledictions has been preserved by Villa, see below, Part III, pp. 55.

55. Ancona, Historia, IV, 315, basing account on Baqueiro, Ensayo, II, ch. VI.
Mendiolea, "Ampliaciones," 78; Ancona, Historia, IV, 329 bases his statements on the renewed action of the eastern Mayas on the belief that it was due to "nuevos auxilios que los sublevados habían recibido de Balice" and that Yucatecans had left the area due to hunger. He does not give details of defeats, in order not to tire his readers. Km. Miller, Crown Surveyor reports his critical examination of bones in Bacalar, "A Journey from British Honduras to Santa Cruz, Yucatan," Royal Geographical Society, Proceedings, n.s., XI (January, 1889), 23-8, among other interesting information.

Supt. to Govr., Jamaica, June 22, 1859, AH, 224. Ancona and Baqueiro both break off before this point in their earlier volumes. I have been unable to see Ancona, V, or Baqueiro, III, both of which were issued much later than the original volumes. As they were contemporary with events described by them, they are partially prime and partially secondary sources.

Mendiolea, "Ampliaciones," 78-79; Aldherre, "Indios," 78; gives great amount of data on organization of Yucatecan defense lines, for one of the objects of his article was to summarize the military situation that proper steps might be taken to check the Cuzcoob.

Baqueiro, Reseña, 107 quoting Memoria of 1851 which said few Yucatecans had left, adds, p. 148, that in 1857 a great drop in population was due to epidemics of cholera, fevers, and virulent diseases, as well as immigration. Carl Heller, Reisen in Mexiko in den Jahren, 1845-1848 (Leipzig, 1853) noted on April 19, 1847 that (trans.) "Mary families fled to Tabasco and the West Indies, poor and forlorn, to seek new homes." Mendez, Comercio, 68 documents wholesale emigration, especially by young men.


Baqueiro, Reseña, 13.
64. See Table ... Other cotton, and more modern sugar producing areas developed in other parts of the world, 1850-80. In 1853 Regil and Peón wrote of Valladolid: "a really noble town, which today, like fallen nobility, only retains (among the ruins of its lonely hospitals and among its poor inhabitants) a coat of arms and a list of ancestors as remembrance of what they were." Estadísticas, 254.


67. Baqueiro, Reseña, 117.


69. Cf. ante, Table I. Source: Baqueiro, Reseña, 116. He also enumerates 404 steam engines (mostly for hennequen), 899 hennequen rasping apparatuses, and 20, 767 "servientes radicados en las fincas de campo" though it is difficult to know just exactly what criteria were used to select these. A mecati is approximately 1/10th of an acre, varying slightly from the usual 20 metros per side, according to Steggerda, Maya Indians, 94, incorporating Redfield's Chan Kom measurements.

70. Baqueiro, Reseña, 105-6.

71. Baqueiro, Reseña, 116-7. Cf. similar statements, 17 et passim. In 1853 Regil and Peón forththoughtfully wrote of even the small hennequen production of their day, "but never is there enough to meet foreign market demands. This fact, coupled with the advantageous price, has made in recent times its cultivation prodigiously extended, and without doubt it is called to be one of the most valuable for the industry of the country." Regil and Peón, "Estadistica," 274-5, also giving history of cultivation from early, faltering attempts to set suitable machinery. Boletin de bibliografia Yucateca, No. 6 (March-April, 1939) has reproduction of rare pamphlet on hennequen, being rules for first establishment in Yucatan, 1830. Ancona, Historia, IV, 388-99 briefly summarizes some economic changes 1821-41, saying hennequen began to be
exported in small quantities even before Independence, but it grew greatly after 1853 when "the hacendados again dedicated themselves with heat to its cultivation, as soon as diminution of the war permitted them to arrange for the necessary laborers." p. 389.


For social conditions and influence of henequen on government, see U. S. Senate, Hearings before Subcommittee, 64th Cong. 1st Sess., Importation of Sisal and Manila Hemp (S. Res. 94, 2v. Washington, 1916), containing 1,943 pages of miscellaneous testimony about the industry; also highly subjective and confessedly muckraking is John Kenneth Turner, Barbarous Mexico (London and New York, 1911), dealing with henequen haciendas in Yucatan, Ch. I, "The Slaves of Yucatan." At that time there were 8,000 Yaqui Indians, 3,000 Koreans, and 100-125,000 Mayas on henequen plantations (p. 7).
"The War of the Castes and its Consequences."

(c) The Mayan cacicaspos, 1860-1900, pp 1-31;
Footnotes, pp 1-19
Though the Caste War up to 1860 had resulted rather disastrously for Yucatecans, reverse of the picture is presented by the independent cacicazgos resulting from splits among the rebel Mayas. Though in other parts of Latin America similar Indian quasi-states arose in the nineteenth century, few are as well documented as are the ones which controlled territory now compromising Quintana Roo. In many respects they acted as sovereign states, and maintained independence longer than some European states of like area. Their relations with one another remind one of the palmy days in Yucatan when the Tutul-Xiu and the Cocomes arranged and dissolved federations, compacts, and leagues. There is no reason to believe that there is any continuity between the "foreign policies" of earlier Maya cacicazgos of classical Maya periods and those of the nineteenth century, for the latter were a product of specific recorded conditions.

Some internal mechanisms of the latter-day groups have definite pre-Conquest backgrounds but such older elements blended with newer modes to form completely new cultural compounds, markedly indigenous. The present chapter treats of two interdependent aspects of the cacicazgos: first, their external relationships with each other and with their Europeanized neighbors. Secondly, the cultural and social arrangements which arose and flourished in them during the latter half of the nineteenth century are dealt with. By far the most complete record of the first aspect is found in the archives of British Honduras, for the British colony was constantly embroiled with nearly all the cacicazgos during the whole period.
As the white part of Yucatan drew closer within its military lines, Indian principalities in the east and south came more and more to depend on British Honduras for their contacts with the outside world. Chief exception to this was the area lying behind Campeche, comprising the Loja and Mesapich groups. Even these, though almost equally dependent on the Mexicans, were drawn into the orbit of Grosspolitik on the border zones. British found their indigenous neighbors troublesome on numerous occasions, and especially so when various Mexican governments threatened to exterminate or otherwise disturb the independent Mayas.

On the whole, the British policy toward the Mayas was not unlike that previously followed. They attempted to maintain strong guards against incursions from the Indian states, to treat their neighbors fairly, and to set them on one another when turbulence threatened. Their attitudes toward the "Bravos" of Santa Cruz, and the "Pacificos" of the various Chichanha areas were approximately the same. If anything, relations were warmer between them and the more numerous and powerful Cruzoob. A sketch of the major events gives an insight to a relatively unknown history of the independent cacicazgos.

British Honduras and the Cruzoob, 1860-1867. With variations, British relations with the revitalized Santa Cruz rebels form a pattern which was also followed toward more Christian but equally bothersome Chichanja and Icaiche "Pacificos." Questions mainly concerned incursions into British territory, ransomimg prisoners, and logging rights.
After the fall of Bacalar to the Santa Cruz in 1858, a Mr. Blake attempted to ransom some of the prisoners still not slaughtered. He was unsuccessful, for after the Cross had been consulted, as was customary for all official business transacted in Santa Cruz, Cruzob killed all the male prisoners but one, sparing females. Mr. Blake's ransom money was returned "honorably," except for a trifling bit of merchandise. Not much is heard about other transactions until Yucatecan punitive expeditions of 1860-61, when a good deal of trouble was brewed.

On July 6, 1860 the Crown Surveyor notified the Superintendent of the Colony that an army of some 4,000 Yucatecans had been ambushed, and that only 120 men escaped alive. The military band of the Yucatecan force was captured and musicians were now "compelled to teach young Indians to play bugle and drum." At the same time he told of an attack by Santa Cruz on Chiichenha group in which a number of women and children from the latter were taken captive, some of whom were killed en route to Chan Santa Cruz when too tired to travel. His belief that the Santa Cruz "are too much alive to their own interests to quarrel with the British, their most useful neighbors," proved unfounded, for shortly thereafter (July 9), a British agent was dispatched to the Holy City to learn why Indians kidnapped another Indian from the British side of the Hondo. The Indians denied that they were armed, or that they had compelled a British vessel to carry their troops; passage was paid for.

However, incursions continued through 1861. This led to the visit of Lts. Plumridge and Tigge, an affair with humorous overtones. Their accounts of the Cult of the Cross are very valuable, for they had
reason personally to learn of it. Because Santa Cruz had been stealing cattle and kidnapping persons from British soil, the two were dispatched to Chan Santa Cruz, with instructions "not to listen to the superstitious oracle of the Cross or take part in any such mummeries unless under compulsion." Involuntarily they disobeyed these orders; they reported that they, their escort and interpreters were made prisoners, and were conducted to the Temple of the Speaking Cross. Its Oracle spoke defiantly of the British Government, and afterwards they were kept three days. During this time, they bleakly reported, they were "subjected to the most degrading familiarities, such as being hauled and pulled about, forced to swallow Cayenne Pepper, drink vast quantities of aniseed, hug and kiss the Chief, dance and sing." The Cross and the Indians demanded gunpowder. Martial law was immediately proclaimed in neighboring British districts, because it was feared that this treatment meted the lieutenants (which the Superintendent in his demand for an apology deemed "insulting and inhuman") foreboded war. The British were loath to trust the Chief, "a wretch not less signalized by habits of intemperance than by acts of the most sanguinary cruelty, and who is believed by his dupes to derive his authority from heaven, a delusion supported by means of pretended dialogues with their deity, a wooden cross, in consequence of which they are prepared to obey unhesitatingly his every command as the will of heaven." 

These fears were unfounded. An immediate investigation revealed that the Santa Cruz Maya were concerned over cessation of trade with the Colony, and unjustly blamed it all on a Yucatecan whom they claimed stirred up trouble for them. The British emissary reported also that they said
it was not their intention to attack the English, just Spaniards. Some of the British envoy's goods had been stolen while in Chan Santa Cruz, but an officer in charge had them returned and punished the malefactors with 12 lashes. Martial law in Honduras was rescinded.

Peaceful cooperation continued until Maximilian's Empire began to make itself felt in faraway Santa Cruz. Meantime, an internal revolution took place. Some sub-chiefs, headed by Dionisio Zapata, deposed the ruling Triumvirate; they told the Mayas of Santa Cruz they were going to divide up the spoils of the Cross gathered by the former Triumvir, and told the Mexicans they would make peace in return for Mexican support. On the assassination of Puc, the chief, it was reported to the British that the Santa Cruz wanted "peace and cessation of their lawless mode of life." But shortly thereafter the peculiar policy of Maximilian caused fresh outbreaks, and a counteraction removed Zapata and his adherents from the Triumvirate.

British Honduras and the Pacificos. British troubles with the Maya cacicazgos of the south were in part due to actions of the Santa Cruz Indians, part due to Mexican and Yucatecan instigation and part due to greed of the Caciques. After Santa Cruz beat Chichanha in 1863, the defeated Chichanha chief, Zac, threatened to invade British Honduras, in the belief the British were the cause of his defeat. In 1864, he did this, capturing prisoners and booty; the Governor of the Colony wrote the Governor of Yucatan that perhaps much complication would be avoided if Zac's commission as an officer of the Mexican Government were cancelled.
was that "the Indians of the south govern themselves independently of the Government of Mexico," but that he "will use all his influence to obtain the redress sought." Prisoners were ransomed by the British, and investigation disclosed that Zuc had some justification for his seemingly lawless acts.

The case is typical. Both Chichanha and Santa Cruz Indians had mutually agreed which areas they controlled, renting from them logging rights to Yucatecan refugees. The latter had crossed the Hondo and were resident in British Honduras. One of these refugees, one Braseho Grajales, rented from Zuc but refused to pay him; Zuc seized Grajales' mules in efforts to collect what was regarded as just due. On hearing this, Grajales armed his servants on the British side of the river and sent them into Yucatan to recover the mules by force. This in turn brought retaliation, and Zuc captured about twenty of Grajales' men. Shortly thereafter, three of these latter were arrested by the Government of the Colony for attacking the Indians. This was a Caste War in miniature.

Death of Zuc in December, 1864, and accession of Marcos Canul to chieftainship of the now-styled Icaicho (having moved thereafter 1863) cacicazgo brought numerous headaches for British Honduras. Maximilian's dreams even touched these distant parts. His announcement that British Honduras was rightfully Mexican property threw the whole boundary question again into the open, and his wavering Indian policy threw both the Pacificos and the Bravos of Santa Cruz into an uproar.

Maximilian's Empire (1864-1867) and the Cacicazgos. Maximilian appointed one Salazar Larregui commissar of the Peninsula of Yucatan in
Salazar is described by a Yucatecan as a man "with a head full of illusions," for he believed the Indians had previously risen in arms merely to defend themselves, and that the Empire would set them on the path of civilization; his first policy is described as one of "love and charity." The Indians merely thought it was another trick. Salazar sent an agent to the southern districts where he rounded up some ladinos which were shipped to Mexico City for paying homage to Maximilian in name of the "rebel Indians." When this agent returned to Yucatan, he was chopped to pieces by compatriots of the "commissioners" he had passed off as envoys.

Maximilian in 1867 set the whole region aflame by demanding surrender of the Santa Cruz, on threat of extermination. The Cruces attacked first, in the same style as in the early years of the War of the Castes; it was again reported they "burned men and nailed women to stakes, cutting off their breasts, condemning them to this horrible martyrdom."

Imperialist troops took to the field against the Santa Cruz but fared little better than had the Yucatecan forces in 1860. Galves, the Imperialist general, lost "three artillery pieces, all his ammunition, and more than 400 men" out of the 1000 with which he had started. Tihosuco was besieged successfully by the Santa Cruz, and the Yucatecan frontier regressed to Peto.

During this time, British relations with the Santa Cruz, and with the Locna group improved, despite first fears that they would be invaded as Yucatan had been. Martial law remained in force, however, mainly because of the actions of Marcos Canul of the Icaiche cacicazgo.
connected with the Mexican Empire's grandiose claims to former Hapsburg lands in British Honduras.

Maximilian, British Honduras, and Marcos Canul, 1865-7. Maximilian's contention that part of British Honduras belonged to his Empire caused British to warn their citizens no help might be expected where titles were dubious. The threatening attitude of Marcos Canul under normal circumstances would have brought about a strengthening of such frontier posts. Canul and his aide, Rafael Chan, demanded back payment at the rate of $250 for eight years, because under new Maximilian decrees they claimed the left bank of the Hondo was and had been Mexican, and that they should be paid back rents at the same rate as for their own lands on the right or admittedly Yucatecan bank. Maximilian's government evidently backed up this claim. The British pointed out that though Canul might be an Imperial subject de jure, he was not so de facto, and they intended dealing with him as an individual unconnected with any Mexican or Yucatecan government. In 1866 Canul, with 125 Indians, raid a camp and abducted 50 men, 14 women, and 8 children, for whom he demanded $12,000 ransom.

The number of Icaiche was then supposed to be about 5,000. They were said, however, to have few real fighting men; their main settlement was located 90 miles from the British frontier. All during 1866 Canul kept the Colony upset. First, British had to ransom prisoners, which was done at a cost of $3,000 for bribes. Next, defense had to be planned. To this end Mayan Indians of the San Pedro area in British Honduras were furnished with arms; a Prussian was given charge of regulating military
operations. The San Pedro Mayas proved traitorous, and the Russian ineffective. Icaiche Mayas continued plundering and marauding, aided by half-castes and San Pedroños. In one instance they loaded between 20 and 28 40 mules with booty.

At this juncture, British friendship with the Santa Cruz and Locja independents stood them in good stead. Triumvirate of the Cruces checked Canul, in conjunction with Escalada, chief of the Locja area. In November of 1867 to arrange these matters John Carmichael visited the Chan Santa Cruz, and was very favorably impressed with them. At that time the Cruzoek wanted to know whether the British would take over territories they might wrest from the Icaiche, and whether, if the Cruzoek would lay down arms, they might become British subjects. The Triumvirate sent the Government of British Honduras a letter saying the Icaiche might be expected to attack soon, but that Cruzoek would either stop them or warn the Colony beforehand; they promised to turn over Canul if he were caught. At this time Carmichael estimated the total population of the Santa Cruz at 25,000, with 5,000 fighting men. A working agreement among the Locja, the Santa Cruz, and the British had been established by the latter's sending a map to the Patron of the Cross and to Escalada delimiting the respective boundaries.

Sequel to the Canul episodes are anticlimactic; they dragged on till his death in 1872. He and his second in command, Chan, wrote in March, 1868 denying any rumors of their hostility, expressing desire for "harmony with the English gentlemen and Yucatecans in the district." In 1870 there was another invasion from Icaiche, in which the Lt. Governor
thought there was "evident complicity of many of the oldest and most respected Yucatecan residents"; again arms and ammunition were doled out and the Volunteers called up, but soon a report appeared that the Icaichi had withdrawn.

Nothing much was heard from them until September, 1872 when 20 or 25 shouted across the Hondo that Canul was dead and that they desired peace; when they were not allowed to cross the boundary, they disappeared. Shortly thereafter Rafael Chan, who had automatically succeeded to the chieftainship wrote humbly asking forgiveness. He added that the faults of his predecessor should not be held against him; he claimed he was always for peace, but had to obey Canul. He craved the pardon of "our Queen who has much reason to be annoyed."34

Chan's tenure seems to have been short, for in 1874 Eugenio Arana was chief of the Icaichi group. At that time it was said "peace and tranquility now exist in Icaichi." Arana wanted no barriers to trade; British officials told him there would be none.35 In October, 1874, he and 450 unarmed followers came to the Colony, apparently in want of food.36 In 1877 the British ambassador in Washington claimed the Icaichi were going to rise with the aid of a Guatemalan soldier-of-fortune, but nothing seems to have backed the rumor.37 Last communication to the British of any importance was from Arana in 1878; he was sending a man to buy some gunpowder; everything was quiet, the gunpowder was needed for fiestas and novenas in the cantons under his charge.38

Chan Santa Cruz, 1868-84. As usual, the Chan Santa Cruz at first acted toward the English largely in direct proportion to pressure from Yucatecan military activities. It will be observed that usually when the
Santa Cruz were hard-pressed by the latter, rather than drawing closer to the English Colony, as might be expected, they acted hostilely towards it. It is as though the tensions induced by war mobilized all their aggressive-defensive responses. This pattern continued in the years 1868-72 when under their chief, Isidoro Ake, Cruzoob carried on a real war of extermination, to within 14 leagues of Campeche and 20 of Merida.

One of the earliest signs of impending hostility showed in 1868. Upon asking three servants of one Ayalla where they bought their clothes, and receiving reply "from the English," Isidoro Ake — "turned upon the three and chopped them up." One of his policies was to repatriate in Santa Cruz all the many deserters who had fled from there to avoid military service in the War of the Castes. During 1867, from October to February, 78 persons had been taken, but 49 escaped back to British soil. Strong protests seem to have ended this practice, for in July it was reported that the Indians were again on friendly terms with the Colony. The Lt. Governor viewed with concern their progress in exterminating Yucatecans, and believed the Cruzoob aimed at "extinguishing the European Race and re-establishing Indian Dominion." Many of the refugees had also fled to the Peten area, where Berandt in 1867 rendered a highly favorable account of their activities and industry. After spending some time in the area, he wrote

To those who only know about the insurgent and independent Maya Indians from reports of their barbarous warfare against the whites of Yucatan, it is highly surprising to see these ferocious warriors organizing themselves without any external influence as quiet settlers, laborious and orderly, submitting to their self-elected authorities, honest in their dealings, rigorous against criminals among them, and by far the best class of people either in the British colony or Peten.44
Again the charge was brought against the British that they had allied with the Indians, to exchange war stores for cattle, jewels, and the like robbed from Mexican villages and churches. The Governor of Campeche told a British representative that they "charge this Colony with having caused the destruction of more than 100,000 people and the entire ruin of many once populous and thriving towns during the past twenty years by having permitted the rebel Indians either to purchase gunpowder and arms in the Colony or exchange them for property which they violently robbed from Mexican subjects."43

During 1867, insolent with success, a new Cruz chief, Bernabel Ken carried forward with vigor Ake's policy of "repatriating" Santa Cruz who had fled. This caused commotions even as far away as the Peten, and caused native uprisings in British Honduras which cut off all industry and orderly movements.44 Berendt, the great Americanist, lost his supplies on this account.

In 1871 Yucatecans launched another great expedition from western Yucatan. Its chief effects were to occupy Chan Santa Cruz temporarily, and to bring back to Merida an altar picture from the church there for the Museum. Winkof, a German traveller present at the time, reported this to be "a marvellous mixture of Christian symbols with those of the old Mayan religion, which, as those who have knowledge of the country are wont to maintain, continues in secret even among Indians who did not revolt against Mexico." By 1874, the status quo ante was restored as an armed truce continued till 1876, when again the Cruzoob started attacks. In 1881 the Lt. Governor of Honduras reported that "no Indian troubles have occurred.
since August, 1880, and that the most friendly relations now exist.  

In 1884, the Long War of the Castes almost came to a close. At the behest of the English, a representative of Yucatan, and a commissioner representing Jose Cresencio Poot, chief of the Santa Cruz signed a treaty. Its terms were that Poot should remain governor of Chan Santa Cruz until his death, at which time, they might elect anyone, subject to Yucatecan approval; Yucatan was not to send any official to Santa Cruz without consent of the Cruzoob; mutual extradition of criminals. Under these conditions the Chan Santa Cruz Mayas were to acknowledge Mexican sovereignty, upon ratification of the treaty by both governments. Unfortunately, General Canto, the Yucatecan representative got drunk and allegedly insulted Poot's representative, whereupon the Mayan state refused to ratify the treaty. Another phase of the Caste War had ended, for these negotiations set others in motion which eventually in the Treaty of Belize, starting a new aspect of the struggles.

Such is the record of the Caste War from 1847 to 1884, viewed externally. These pressures of war, constant vigilance, and discipline ineradicably set their marks on the internal institutions and social arrangements of the Maya of Quintana Roo. This impress still exists on their descendants, so attention must turn to the cultural background and inner mechanisms of the Mayan cacicazgos which existed in the present territory of Quintana Roo.
Constant war with whites and with each other, as well as other outside influences helped shape internal mechanisms of the independent Mayan cacicazgos. Their cultures were composed of many elements, from ancient times, from the colonial era, and from their history during the earlier parts of the nineteenth century. Most reports on these separate entities date from the later part of that century, after they had been rather fully developed and were already beginning to wither away. In general, the social and institutional arrangements bear close resemblance to the ones of X-Cacal outlined in the second part of this volume, lineal descendant of earlier ones treated here.

Circumstances which brought about erection of the various cacicazgos have already been noted. By the time Sapper, chief source of information on their sociology, visited them in 1894, three main ones controlled a vast area now known as Quintana Roo. Pacíficos of the south were divided between Icaiche and Ixkanha. Presumably the cacicazgos of Locha, Mesapich (also previously part of the southern, Christian group) had either coalesced under the leadership of Ixkanha or there had been change in terminology; parts of the southern group were gradually being reabsorbed by the State of Campeche even in the nineteenth century. The other main division of the Pacíficos del Sur, the Icaiche, were badly weakened, though it has been seen how their chief, Marcos Ganul, was a ponderable figure from 1866 to 1872. Allowing for topographical differences, the sociology of these two groups was very similar, differing in many respects from that of the Santa Cruz.

The latter still continued on war footing, for punitive expeditions continued to be sent out against them by Yucatan and Mexico. Divisive
tendencies marked this group, especially in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth, their Cult of the Cross and their strong social organization were leading characteristics. In general, like the Pacificos, they were agricultural, isolated, and extremely suspicious of outside interference.

CHAN SANTA CRUZ, 1851-1900

The area which Stephens reported in 1843 no white man ever entered, "the whole triangular region from Valladolid to the Bay of Ascension on the one side, and the port of Yalahao on the other," was largely included within the cacicazgo of Chan Santa Cruz during the second half of the nineteenth century. It extended from Tulum on the north to Lake Bacalar on the south, and as far westward as the Yucatecan defense outposts. Estimates of population range from 40,000 downward.

Capital of this vast region was Chan Santa Cruz, the "holy city" of the Mayas who took their name from worship of crosses and the Cross which originally gave the site its name. In 1868 the town was described as "a heap of rustic and miserable huts, located here and there, without order or symmetry. In one of its small squares arise two buildings of stone and mortar, to whose construction neither art or good taste has contributed." One of the buildings housed the military commander of the plaza, ranking military figure among the Cruzes, and in the other was the Patron of the Cross and temple of the Cross itself.

It will be remembered that following withdrawal from Kam, oolche, large groups of rebel Mayas began to congregate around Chan Santa Cruz, formerly site of a wonder working cross. Following victories over Yucatecans,
a second and more elaborate speaking Cross appeared as a dynamic factor in the War of the Castes. It claimed to be the Trinity, and claimed it would protect the Indians against all hurt. Typical of its Mayan exhortations is the following:

I command all of you, great and small, know you that the day and year in which my Indians shall once more rise against the Whites has now arrived... I command them to have in their hearts and souls that none shall be done any hurt, however much they hear and observe firing on them from rifles of the Whites, for the hour and the day in which my native Indians again enter combat with the Whites have again arrived, as in the days of old. You must know, O Christian folk, that I shall always be with you, all times. I shall be always in the vanguard, confronting the enemy, so that no harm may befall you, my dear Indians.

There seems to be no reason for doubting that this speaking cross was a continuation of a much earlier tradition of such devices, reported widely from the Maya area. Cozumel, Sotuta, Tayasal and other places in colonial times had had experience with analogous customs, and the fact that the Speaking Cross of Chan Santa Cruz merely reinforced an already present tradition in its specific locale helps clarify the enormous influence it had on the Santa Cruz, who take their name from its worship. All life in the cacicazgo revolved about it, for it was an integrating factor in political, social, and religious life.

The Talking Cross and the Triumvirate. Descriptions of the Talking Cross differ, for one of the primary objects of those who guarded it was to make it and its workings as mysterious as possible, and to keep profane eyes from learning how effects were produced. After the original ventriloquist, Nahuat, had been killed, the Cross (a rather small one) was housed in a
church of palm leaves. Elaboration of its cult made it more mysterious and likewise helped to conceal activities of the Triumvirs who formed the prime governing political and religious organ of the community. The church housing the Cross was divided into halves, the inner part being known as La Gloria where only priests might go. Three wooden crosses, "daughters" of the original Cross and clothed in blouses, had their altar within La Gloria. To give a more impressive sound to noises the Cross made, a cask was placed in the hollow, cabinet-like rear of the altar, amplifying and distorting its "speech."TM

Later, more elaborate edifices on the same plan successively housed the Cross. First came an ordinary stone, rubble and mortar oratory, called Balam-Na (House of the Officials) because the chief of the tribe, who was also chief priest, lived therein. About 1860, on threat of whippings and chains, Indians erected a larger one on a foundation of stone and lime. This is still standing on the eastern side of the Santa Cruz plaza. Measure of devotion and efficacy of discipline can be inferred from its bulk, as it measures 35 meters long, 20 wide, and 14 high. Presumably from this church came the odd picture mentioned by Woeikof. The building was never finished, for towers and part of the plastering lack, a fitting symbol to the social system of the Santa Cruz.

Political Attributes of the Cross. All official business in Santa Cruz was transacted in name of the Cross, which was thought to be God itself. When Indians needed gunpowder, always the Cross demanded it through its agents, the Triumvirs. These latter three were divided
by function. Supreme priest and head of the state was the "Patron of the Cross," known as *tatlch*, with almost unlimited power. Second of the Triumvirs in rank and power was "Interpreter of the Cross or God," entitled *tata polin*, and the third was "Organ of the Divine Word." Most of the foreign relations of the tribe were carried on by the Patron.

One of the earliest of these was Juan Puc de la Cruz. His letters were sent to other villages, advising them to submit to the will of the Cross for whom he acted as minister, because he possessed power of entering heaven and conversing with God, his angels and cherubims. These letters bore his signature, followed by three little crosses. He seems to have been one of the earlier Patrons, for he styled himself "Creator of Christians" or "Son of God," even "I Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Holy Cross."63

Triumvirs convoked their people when important business, such as judging captives or settling community policy, was in order. It has already been seen how the unfortunate Lts. Plumridge and Twigge were hailed before it, despite warnings to have nothing to do with its mummeries. These had been reported by Blake and a companion from similar experience in 1861. Procedure seems to have changed some in time, but in 1868, an Austrian gave a graphic account of it:

Under solemn circumstances the *tatlch* convokes the people around the temple, and in the midst of obscurity interrogates the cross. "The Organ of the Divine Word" is charged with responding, and the *tata polin* communicates to the people the divine will... The manner in which these Indians meet to hear the divine word is as follows: Always in the afternoon the people unexpectedly hear the prophetic note of a trumpet which announces one of these supposed interviews between God and the triumvirs. The populace becomes disturbed and agitated. God is going to descend! At nightfall the three sacerdotes take their posts in sort of an
open cabinet in the wall. Outside and around the temple the people wait, frightened and expectant. . . . After those to be judged have been conducted thither with considerable escort, they submit to interrogation. Following this, at eight in the evening bells ring, and all the trumpets of the previously mentioned military band sound. God has descended. Awe maintains profound silence, broken a few minutes later by mysterious trumpets which call for attention. Only the indefinable murmur of a thousand respirations and the animals in the bush are heard. Then a sharp and ugly sound. This is the whistle of the "Organ of the Divine Word," an artifice simulating the voice of divinity. Interrogation by the three impostors begins, and at the end they come from the temple and communicate the sentence of God to the people.

Earlier, in Blake's time (1859) music seems to have ushered in a period of silence before divinity sounded. Unconfirmed report of Lts. Twigge and Plumridge's conference with the Cross credits it with a voice speaking in Maya, originating (seemingly) in midair. At that time prisoners whose safety was the object of his visit were slain. Similarly, like fate befell a priest who entered the area by way of Tulum. An unconfirmed rumor by a usually reliable observer (who wrote in 1380) mentions that the God was thought to be more pleased if bloody human hearts were given it, which was one reason prisoners were usually slain. This is possible but not probable.

As its effectiveness for social control became apparent, Cult of the Cross spread to other parts of the *cacicazgo*. Whether diffusion was due to efforts of the original worshippers of Santa Cruz, or arose in other previously independent *cacicazgos* in the north is not certain. The Cross of Tulum had hardly less fame than that of Chan Santa Cruz itself, for it acted in like manner, and was adored with equal fervor. Miller reported that "the majority of Indians implicitly believe that the voice which issues from the cross [at Tulum] is the voice of God; and they believe that if an enemy were to try to reach Tulum, the power of the cross would make the road
full of rocks and holes and prevent the enemy reaching it." Oddly enough (among the masculinely ordered Maya) a woman was chief priestess, or "Interpreter" at Tulum; this was learned when she barely escaped capture by Yucatecan forces. All these local crosses with similar attributes, at Chancab, Chanpom, and at San Antonio Myill enjoyed limited prestige relative to the main one at Chan Santa Cruz, but performed analogous functions in their isolated areas.

Politico-military Organization. In Chan Santa Cruz the military leader was separate and inferior to the Triumvirs of the Cross. The latter, as may be inferred, acted with judicial as well as political and religious powers. Aldherre, who seemed especially interested in such matters (as a soldier might be) reported the head of the military forces was known as tata Chiklu, and lived in the other permanent building in Chan Santa Cruz, called Chiklu. This official was highest in the rank of military commanders and was "under the orders of the tatich and receives the same punishment as the others." Aldherre had previously remarked that "the military ranks are classified into generals and commanders. Despite these elevated titles, whomsoever the Oracle of the Triumvirate declares delinquent or culpable is punished by blows or other more or less severe means." The political and religious institutions were functionally connected to military organization and administrative groupings by a system known as Guard of the Saint.

At all times 150 men were expected to be available to care for the sanctuary of the Cross, and defense of the territory. Miller reported finding such a guard amid the ruined houses of Bacalar in 1889, as well as 150 in Santa Cruz. So the inference is that the 150 which made up the Guard of the
Saint were duplicated on frontier posts. Other duties of the Guard were to spy, to act as postal runners, and to maintain law and order. At the head of each company of 150 were local officers, cabos, headed by a commandante or commander. The latter in turn were under orders from the tatachikue, or commander of the plaza, controlled by the Triumvirs. The cabo or local chief was the lowest official position in the hierarchy; he was elected by the members of his force from a list of the most worthy proposed by the commandante, selection from which continued until one person was found mutually pleasing to men and commanders.

Death in the official hierarchy meant immediate promotion of all lower officers upward, automatically requiring selection of a new cabo. No ceremonies or rites clustered about such promotions, and the only distinguishing sign of rank above regular fighting men was that cabos wore slightly better quality ear-ring in the left ear than their men. The married males and those over 16 were obliged to belong to one of the companies which formed Guard of the Saint in rotation. As Berendt reported there were 12 such commanders, it might be plausibly inferred that the Guard changed monthly when he wrote in 1867, but in 1889 every two months was the rule. Thus at one time the Santa Cruz had a skeleton force to protect their area while the greater proportion of the productive population was freed for agriculture or other purposes. Under similar conditions the White Yucatecans on the Santa Cruz frontier met the same problem in a like way.

Political Changes. The selection of leaders was easier than getting rid of them. As may be seen there was no way an unpopular or
incompetent official could be changed except through his death, and the
death of those who supported him, or by his withdrawal from the cacicazgo,
usually with followers. There could be only one policy and the manner of
altering it from below was to extirpate its adherents. Thus in 1864, the
three comandantes who wished peace with Mexico and fairer division of the
constant stream of gifts given the Cross, assassinated the Patron; earlier,
Pat was killed for talking of peace with the British, later, Cresencio Poot
was murdered seemingly because his underchiefs thought he was losing his
power and could be overcome.

This system of leadership or death was a selective one. Weak
leaders were weeded out; close rapport between leaders and people was nec-
essary. Price paid for strong leadership by this crude process was a con-
stant air of suspicion, espionage, and bloody civil wars between factions
of approximately equal strength, or, equally debilitating — weakening of
the group by withdrawals. Alderre claimed there was a regular espionage
system headed by an official called tatu Nohoch Sul; it is more likely that
his official attentions were directed to finding out enemy doings than to
spying politically for the Patron among underling, as claimed. When
disputes over higher offices arose, the most powerful personality won, for
all the lower hierarchy had an interest in the matter, their status de-
pending on the outcome.

Punishments and Solidarity. Punishments were not overly severe
for minor offenses, as the Cruzes dared not wantonly waste manpower. Whip-
pling, fettering the feet, and compulsory labor for communal benefit seem
to have sufficed for minor infractions like quarreling, petty larceny,
default of debt, mistreatment of wives, libel and false witness, as well as for vagrancy, habitual drunkenness or failure to cooperate in faginas or communal work projects. These canons of behavior obviously aimed at fostering strong community morale, absent in some other Maya groups, and here necessary in view of constant threat of extermination by whites. Crimes which would foment community discord, such as witchcraft, murder, and association with whites brought death. Gann reports, for a later period, many instances of this. The Santa Cruz were so desirous of hiding from enemies that they are said to have cut the tongues out of roosters lest their crowing reveal village locations. Miller, and especially his interpreters, were markedly impressed by the suspicion displayed toward them, in 1888.

**Ritual and Religion: Integrative Factors.** Community spirit was reinforced by participation in worship of the Cross. Each day Mass was said at dawn, with another one later in the day; in the evening rosaries or novenas were held. In addition there were special ritual occasions when the Cross would speak its prophecies or deliver its orders. As seen, as on any important occasion the whole cacicazgo was convened to hear foreign prisoners judged. Ordinarily daily services were conducted by native ritual functionaries called maestros who retained some knowledge of prayers and forms of Catholic ritual.

Two special cyclical fiestas attracted Mayan pilgrims, similar to processions formed in pre-Conquest times to visit shrines of speaking crosses. These were fiestas to The Conception of Mary, held December 8,
and to The Holy Cross, May 3. A lesser, but important, pair of ritual periods were the days in Holy Week, and the first Thursday in June. The first mentioned occasions were especially celebrated as manifestation of the whole Cruz group spirit, tribal or national in scope and purpose. They were occasions of temporary letting down socially imposed barriers erected against constant peril; drinking, feasting, fireworks, dancing, bullfights released long growing tensions. Religious aspects were also emphasized, for Masses and rosaries in the principal church claimed equal if not more attention than gayety.

Movement of Population; Prisoners. Group solidarity was seldom broken by intrusion of foreign elements. Desertions, which, with diseases and violent deaths, helped reduce the Crusas to numbers which could be more easily conquered. Prisoners of war, except musicians, and sometimes, women, were either immediately killed, or put to work. Women prisoners seem to have been rather servants of the community than special property, for they lived in a sort of redoubt near the temple of the Cross and prepared meals for the Patron, for his aides, and attendant Indians. Men were assigned to chiefs for work on their ranches. The accompanying photostat is a broadside issued in Merida to raise funds for ransoming white prisoners held by the Santa Cruz; the accompanying text details many atrocity stories. Note the artist's conception of the Cross of this group.

In 1869 some 100 Chinese who had been imported into British Honduras fled from the plantation there because of bad conditions, and took refuge among the Santa Cruz. They claimed cruel treatment and absence of rice motivated their escape, but they found little better shrift in Santa Cruz, for they were put to work in the milpas, and their food was tortillas.
However, mortality among them was less than in the British Colony, for 77 or 80 were still there, 14 died, 2 were murdered, and 4 escaped to Yucatecan lines.

In 1889 Miller reported seeing white persons, descendants of original European population of Bacalar, completely Mayanized in speech and thought. Their dress and manner were identical with that of the Indians by whom they were surrounded.

Dress and General Characteristics. Miller also said that the Maya of Santa Cruz "dress in cotton trousers, and shirt, and a straw hat, sandals on the feet... The trousers are made very wide in the legs, and when travelling they are rolled up high on the thigh, and when off duty they frequently leave off the shirt and then appear only to have on a waistcloth." Such had the huite become by 1889. He was also impressed by their military appearance when on duty as Guard of the Cross, for they had two straps over their shoulders, crossing on the breast and held at the waist by a belt; one supported their omnipresent machete, the other a cartridge box.

Among individual Cruzes there was probably as much variation in personality types as is found in any large human group. As a group the Santa Cruz Maya appeared highly suspicious of strangers, who variously reported them as drunken murderers or that they made favorable impressions.

In summary it might be said that they had erected and maintained by their own efforts a military theocracy integrated about the worship of a Cross, with an economy based on agriculture and rental of land for logging
operations. Their cultural milieu was a new blend of old and new elements resultant from their previous traditional ways and the exigencies of the Caste War.

CACICAZGO OF ICAICHE — 1852-1900

Nearest geographically and culturally to the Santa Cruz cacicazgo was the area of which Icaiche was chief center. As noted, Icaiche's original founding arose from attacks in the 1850's on the previous center of Chichanha by Santa Cruz. The latter thought that submission to the whites by the southern Indians was treachery. Repeated incursions by the Cruzes drove the remnant of Chichanha Indians to join with their fellows who had moved to Icaiche, near the Campeche border.

Numbers of the Icaiche were less than for other Mayan cacicazgos. In 1866 estimates of their fighting strength gave them only 150 fighting men, who were said to be "chiefly outlaws, savage, lazy, and without any authority among themselves." In the troubles with British Honduras shortly thereafter, this total was swelled by San Pedro Mayas of British Honduras, under Ascension Sk, and by half-castes who evidently joined to share in plunder got by Canul. In 1889 Icaiche was thought to contain some 1,700, but following a smallpox epidemic in 1892, Sapper estimated the population as 500. The Guia de Yucatan in 1900 gave them some 800, but Gann in 1916 believed 200 a liberal estimate. The village has now disappeared, for the inhabitants have moved to Botes on the Rio Hondo; better school and economic advantages motivated the emigration.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the Icaiche derived their revenue from rental of logging concessions to British firms.
at the rate of £250 annually for each. Like the Santa Cruz they supplemented their milpa agriculture by products of the chase and forest, making them nearly self-sufficient. As already seen, they occasionally came to British Honduras, especially Orange Walk, for their outside supplies such as gunpowder. Too, like the Santa Cruz, the Icaiche kept themselves on a war-footing, even when their numbers grew too small to present much obstacle to their enemies, the Cruzes.

The town of Icaiche was essentially a defensive redoubt, situated on the summit of a 400-foot hill, surrounded by a palisade of bamboo with but two openings, east towards Belize, west toward Campeche. Inside wide and straight streets were edged by huts, each separated from its neighbor by timber hedges. Military service was compulsory.

Similar to the Cruzes, political organization reflected fear of invasion, not from whites, but from other Mayas. Supreme commander, or "general" was given most power, mainly to punish crimes, by the lash or by death. If the latter were inflicted, for crimes such as murder, the condemned was executed sitting in a chair with arms crossed while his victim was being buried nearby.

Unlike the Santa Cruz, the Icaiche were on ostensibly peaceful terms with the Mexican government, and were nominally subject to it. In actual fact they were autonomous. The Governor of Campeche explained to a British complainant that the "generals" were recognized by the Government, but were not paid by it; the cacique "makes use of the rents collected in his district and gives no account of the amount so received by him."
view of his semi-official status, the chief used a seal bearing a Mexican eagle, with the inscription "Pacíficos del Sur"; as a matter of form on their accession they were made political, military, and judicial representatives of the Mexican government for their district. Within the group, a military-political hierarchy had been established, and promotions were automatic for those below on the death of any in the hierarchy, and succession was not hereditary in any one family. Results similar to the workings of such system among the Cruzes ensued. On the whole, however, the Icaiche were less tightly knit militarily and politically than the Cruzes whom they feared, for the external pressures were sporadic and potential, not constant and intense.

Partly through this, and because they had been longer and more subject to white influences even before the Caste War, no Cult of the Cross integrated their activities. Nominally they were Catholic, with services in charge of natives known as maestros. In the village church were statues and effigies of saints, painting of the Crucifixion, Sacred Heart, and the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint. They welcomed Catholic clergy, and a priest from Belize who spent three weeks there in 1889 recorded that besides the daily masses, instruction, and rosaries he gave children and adults, he performed 73 marriages, 200 baptisms, and heard 300 confessions.

When not engaged in occasional forays such as those of Canul, the Icaiche lived in peace and worked hard. It is so reported both by Sapper, who saw them in 1894, and a Mexican government official who visited them in 1898. The Caste War seems to have left less deep
impress on them than on their northern neighbors, the Santa Cruz.

CACICAZGO OF IXKANHA, 1872-94

Because of their geographical location and the topography of their area, the Mayas in the cacicazgo of Ixkanha differed least from the great mass of dependent Indian population in the white controlled areas of Yucatan and Campeche.

Ixkanha controlled a district some 70 kilometers long by 20 wide, southeast of Lake Chichankanab, on the savannah country near the Campeche border. Jungle country on the eastern side of this prevented attacks from the Santa Cruz. Because of this nearly impenetrable belt, and threat from their enemies, most of the few outside contacts the Ixkanha had were with the Mexican port of Campeche. To it they took small amounts of chicle, for they did not engage in letting out logging contracts as did the Santa Cruz and the Icaiche, necessary communications lacking. From Campeche were brought salt, arms, gunpowder and metal implements. Aside from such few things, the group subsisted entirely through its own efforts. Maize formed their food, and from the other plants clothing was made. They spun and wove their own cotton, manufactured palm-leaf hats for sale, and made hammocks of hennequen. Cattle, poultry, and swine furnished further resource for their pastoral-agricultural existence.

In size, this cacicazgo was estimated to be about 8,000. Reports were that their domestic life was tranquil, and that they were hospitable, faithful to their promises, though given to excess alcoholism.
Internal arrangements among the Ixkanha seem to have paralleled almost exactly those of the Icaiche, with whom they kept sporadic contacts. At the head of the cacicazgo was a "general" or cacique, confirmed by the Mexican Government and also allowed to use the seal of the eagle and the inscription "Pacíficos del Sur." Passports seem to have been issued to both this group and the Icaiche to denote their status and privileges. The "general" was supreme in military and judicial affairs, but on some occasions of importance seems to have been responsible to assembly of the group for his acts. Like the other areas, whipping and death were chief modes of punishment, summarily carried out on the word of the cacique.

Even less threatened than the Icaiche, and much less subject to punitive efforts than the Santa Cruz, no cult of the Cross was present. As among the Icaiche, Catholic ritualism was preserved by local native priests. In the church of palm-leaves and timbers daily masses were said. Around the church was the barracks, where in rotation, companies of men guarded the town. This seems to be the main cultural residue of the War of the Castes, which was over for the Ixkanha after they signed the treaty of 1853.

THE TREATY OF BELIZE, 1893

The preliminary treaties and attempts of the Santa Cruz to reach some accord failed in 1884, as seen. In accordance with its policy of "Pan o Palo" (Bread or the Club, peace or death), the Mexican government under Porfirio Diaz reached a convention with the British which ultimately succeeded in scattering, if not annihilating, the remaining Santa Cruz.
Besides fixing the legal boundaries of the two States, the contracting parties in 1893 agreed that arms sales to the rebels by nationals of either nation were to be prohibited, and that there would be mutual cooperation to prevent rebel Maya hostilities. Shortly thereafter, the final phases of the Caste War opened, as again Mexican troops followed the footsteps of their predecessors into the "cursed land" of Chan Santa Cruz.
1. Sources: The first part of chapter rents almost exclusively on documents, with help from excellent summary of Yucatecan material in Hübbe, and with sidelights from Berendt, and Mendiolea.


Joaquin Hübbe, Belice (Carlos R. Menendez, ed., Verida, 1941), a collection of periodical articles written 1880-1, based on thorough combing of Yucatecan literature on subject, but using secondary or polemic sources for chauvinist pleas.


Alfonso Villa Rojas, The Mayas of Quintana Roo (forthcoming publication, University of Chicago).

2. For nomenclature of independent groups see Part II, pp.


6. Acting Supt. to Police Magistrate, Corozal, advising that commandante at Becalol be told his incursions are unwarrantable, and if they did not cease his conduct "would be reported to the Patron at Santa Cruz." ABH, 237; Acting Supt. to Patron, Santa Cruz, March 14, 1861, demanding explanation of his conduct in allowing troops to seize cattle in British Honduras, ABH, 237.
7. Acting Supt. to Officer Commanding Troops, Corozal, March 14, 1861, also same to same, March 15, ABH, 237.

8. Lts. Plumridge and twigge to Supt., April 12, 1861, ABH, 239. According to them, Indians asked for 1,000 kegs of powder, for which Cruzes would pay. Fowler toned this down to 50 kegs requested, in Hübbe translation, Belice, 113. Presumably the request was somewhat in the form of an undated letter from the Santa Cruz to Supt. at Belize, translated by Gann: "Respectable Sir: I put you and the magistrates of Belize in the knowledge that the Holy Cross three persons speaks to his secretary general and says at this date you must be informed that the Holy Cross begs of you to give them powder, shot, and all the implements of war. My beloved Sirs, come and receive a holy benediction, and enjoy the benefits of speaking with the True Christ who spilt his blood for your sakes. Do not fail to come for the real Christ in whom you believe as we Indians do" (Stories of the Maya (London, 1938), 19-20.

9. Acting Supt. to Chief of the Santa Cruz Indians, August 7, 1861, demanding apology, ABH, 242; Magistrate, Northern District to Supt., April 25, 1861, justifying martial law, ABH, 239-40.

10. Magistrate, Northern District to Supt., forwarding report of Pedro Contreras who was sent to Becalar, and was well-received; April 26, 1861, ABH, 240. Acting Supt. to Govr. Jamaica, May 1, 1861, reporting invasion by Indians, ABH, 240; May 18, 1861, Proclamation of martial law rescinded, Hondo-Northern River district, ABH, 240.

11. Magistrate, Northern District to Supt., enclosing Contreras' report, April 26, 1861, ABH, 240.

12. Meeting of Executive Council, May 25, 1861, replying to Govr. Jamaica, stating inadvisable to threaten or remonstrate with Indians unless Govt. prepared to back up with action if necessary, ABH, 241; Supt. to C.O., Belize, January 15, 1862, recommends strengthening fortifications, ABH, 243; Supt. to C.O., February 26, 1862, not apprehensive of early attack by Indians on North District, no permanent barracks to be erected, ABH, 245; It. Govr. to Govr. Jamaica, July 13, 1863, reporting apology from "Hu, chief of Sta. Cruz Indians; ABH, 253.

13. It. Govr. to Govr., Jamaica, reporting assassination of 'Hu, and expression of Sta. Cruzes' desire for peace, February 10, 1864, ABH, 255. Hübbe, Belize, from Yucatecan sources reports revolt headed by Dionisio Zapata against Venanciano Puc, December 26, 1864, ostensibly to divide booty of Cross, but also wanted to put Chan Santa Cruz under Yucatecan rule; when commissioner sent, reaction against revolt had set in, so no peace, 119-50. Hübbe gives Zapata's status as a prisoner, but he seems to have been one of the commandants, the other two being Leandro Sanchez and Venancio Puc, see J. H. Black to It. Govr., April 30, 1863, ABH, 251.
14. Lt. Govr. to Govr., Jamaica, July 13, 1863, reporting defeat of Chichenha Indians by Sta. Cruces, during March, and threats against colony by Zac, leader of Chichenha, ABH, 251, 253. Previously British Honduras had tried to keep Chichenha friendly: Lt. Govr. to Acting Colonial Secy., September 25, 1862 exempting western border Indians from $1.00 alien tax, ABH, 248; Lt. Govr. to H. I. Rhys, October 4, 1862 instructing him to proceed to Yalbac to ascertain possibility of raids, and "to make, if possible, friendly overtures to the Chichuya [Chichenha] Indians and to avoid committing the government to action which would necessitate having to send a large armed force to the Western Frontier," ABH, 258.

15. Governor Frye, Jamaica to Governor, Yucatan, June 22, 1864, ABH, 256. 23 persons were taken captive, 20 men, 3 women, 1 child. Report by Officer Commanding Troops, Belize, July 23, 1864, ABH, 257.

16. Superior Political Refect, Yucatan to British Govr., Jamaica, July 6, 1864, ABH, 256, J. H. Blake to Govr., July 20, 1864, reporting ransoming of prisoners except two who had attacked Zac, ABH, 257.


18. Maximilian's policies and their effects in Yucatan are well-nigh virgin fields historically, for sluror of Empire has seemingly concentrated efforts on more exotic and dramatic aspects on the mainland and in Europe. Though Serapio Baqueiro says that the establishment of Empire is "one of the most memorable accomplishments of our modern history... because it marks a true epoch, a limit between old times and recent ones, an epoch in which disappeared a moral order known up to that time, to be substituted for by another very different, philosophical as well as political," he touches it only in passing, Reseña geográfica, histórica y estadística del Estado de Yucatan (México, 1907). Ill; other accounts are unsatisfactory. Appointment of Salazar, 1864, 153. Salazar was commissar September, 1864-March, 1866, broken for a brief moment, then again October-November, 1866, to June 1867 (end of Empire.)

19. Mendicelo, "Implicaciones," 79, rabidly anti-Empire; Alcibarre, "Indios" 74, one of Austrian soldiers accompanying Emperor Carlotta to Yucatan; some of his accounts sound as though it might have been taken from Pollin García y García, "Historia de la Guerra de Castas de Yucatán, sirviéndole de prólogo una resena de los usos, costumbres e inclinaciones peculiares de los indígenas" (Yerida, 1865) a brief outline of a more ambitious project that never seems to have been realized, dedicated to the Emperor and Empress; very anti-Indian,
but with some helpful tables; mainly polemic and apologia. For purported letter from Indian envoys to Maximilian, see Berendt linguistic Collection, University of Penn., Item 42, (Vol. 1), #16, in "aya. [Per Brinton's Catalog, cited Part 1, Note 88 above.]

20. Mendiolea, "Implicaciones," 80; Berendt, "Explorations" 162 reports "In the month of October, 1866, I was planning my departure from Peter further west... when troubles arose among the Indians in the British colony arose and changed all my plans. One of the many blemishes of the unhappy Emperor Maximilian, who, with the best intentions, knew too little of the country which he thought so easy to reform, and who was especially unlucky in the choice of his employees, was a proclamation to the Cruzes, inviting them to a full amnesty, but threatening to destroy the very last of them if they would not submit to his fatherly entreaty. The Cruzes were at that time in greater part tired of the war, and undisturbed by whites had commenced to remain quietly in their districts. The menace stirred them up again, and they armed themselves for resistance. "...which in turn caused all tribes even in British Honduras, to fear them and the Emperor's troops. November 14, 1864, the Government Gazette of Yucatan had been transmitted to British Honduras showing all "Ten and British Honduras as part of the Empire, AMH, 258, and on July 1, 1865 the Foreign Office in letter to Colonial Office in British Honduras refers to "the excitement amongst the Chichanha and Santa Cruz Indians, and the Proclamation by the Mexican authorities in Yucatan on September 19th last, according to which the Colony was included within the limits of the Mexican Empire," AMH, 262. August 8, 1865 and August 17 the British Minister in Mexico protested these happenings, announcing incursion of Indians into the Colony, etc., to Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, who replied "there must be some error in the case, as Mexico had never enunciated the pretensions indicated. ..." AMH, 264, and again H. R. V. Minister protested alteration of boundary of British Honduras on maps, October 14, 1865, AMH, 265.

21. Mendiolea, "Implicaciones," 80; Aldherre, "Indios" 76, claiming that Claudio Novelo "ahora tatich en Chan Santa Cruz" had been only a military leader then.

22. Mendiolea, "Implicaciones" (December, 1869), "It is unnecessary to state that Tihosuco was immediately occupied by the barbarians. From the siege of this town, our line has retrogressed fifteen leagues, the most advanced point today being the villa of Peto. The town of Tchmul, which formed part of our military line, we have lost, and it has been completely razed," 80. The lines as they stood in 1865 are verbally 'no mapj outlined in Aldherre, "Indios," 77.

23. Lt. Govr. to O.C. Troops, May 3, 1865, fearing Indians would be driven into colony account Imperial troops, AMH, 251; same to same, June 3, reporting Mexican troops headed north, so removing troops from Northern District, Foreign Office to Under-Secretary of State, July 6, 1865, re dubious titles, AMH, 263.

25. H. H. Minister to Foreign Secretary, Mexico, re status Canul, October 20, 1865; same to same, January 31, 1866, ABH, 266; re status Canul; same to same, February 17, 1866, in answer to letter from Mexico's F.O. re Emperor's objection to considering Canul independent, ABH, 267. Attorney, British Honduras Trading Co., to Lt. Govr. reporting raid and death of 1 man, capture of others, May 2, 1866, ABH, 269.

26. Lt. Govr. to H.C. Troops, May 16, 1866, ABH, 269. Tcaiche was said to be “accessible” only by paths through the forests and swamps; Canul was supposed to have only 60 men, “unaccustomed to the use of arms.” The figure 5,000 is a hazardous one, based on opinion of Ascension Pk., cacique of San Pedro; Indians are notoriously unreliable for large enumerations of persons.

27. San Pedro Mayas — History and Present Life.

The village of San Pedro is near the three-point disputed boundaries of British Honduras, Guatemala, and Yucatan. In 1851, Mexico claimed it, but British tried to retain title. Supt. of Commandant, Bacalar, September 26, 1851, ABH, 150. In 1859 a long memorial-report from the Supt. to Govr., Jamaica describes the San Pedro and Chichans people: “In the more civilised districts they are mixed up with persons of other races. . . . There are, however, other tribes of Indians within our borders who come in contact with civilization but once a year. They cultivate maize somewhere in the depths of the forest and fatten pigs whose surplus produce they annually bring to some village market, procure what they require, principally salt, and disappear again. They have learnt to respect the mahogany tree in their clearing operations so there is peace between them and our woodsmen. When felled in with accidentally these men are found in the usual Indian working dress — a hat and a towel — and are manners civil but shy. The southern portions of our territory have never been explored, and according to the Crown Surveyor, they contain inhabitants who, he believes, have never yet been seen by Europeans or creole.” ABH, 221–2. This is a splendid report as a whole. The San Pedrenos seem to have been a group which split off from Chichans and Tcaiche. Berendt spent much time with them, stating “The villages in the neighborhood . . . are of late origin, peopled by Indians from Yucatan, almost every one of them formerly engaged in the war of the races. . . . I had opportunity to become acquainted with many of them, and obtained interesting information as to their social and political condition. . . . They are called Pacific Indians. In the year 1857 the Cruises invaded the Pacific Indians of the district of Chichans. Since that time the Pacific Indians of that district have settled between Yucatan,
Peten, and Belize, and their number has been increased by numerous deserters from the ranks of the Cruzes. They all, threatened by their common enemy, the Cruzes, retain certain connections with each other, although those on Belize or "aten territory have formed villages under the authority of the English or Guatemalan governments, while those in the region of doubtful territory remain subject to the chiefs of the Pacific Indians." Alcaldes in San Pedro were appointed and paid by the English, and supplied with staves of office, It. Govr. to E. L. Rhys, October 4, 1862, ARH, 248. In 1867, Canul, (head of Ixactune) and Ascension Fk, leader of San Pedro Mayas joined forces because of indiscriminate foray by a British regiment, plus fact that the boundary survey of 1860 had stopped short of San Pedro, leading Indians to believe they were outside British limits, It. Govr. to Govr., February 7, 1867, ARH, 290. Previously the British had given Fk guns and powder to protect frontier against Canul, May, 1864, ARH, 270-1. In 1863 Fk had petitioned powder and arms, "in case some treason that may happen in this mountain, or some faction from Chichanha that may surprise me empty handed because we live in alarm," Ascension Fk to Antonio Mate, May 8, 1863, ARH, 252. The present mode of life, plus much historical data on this group are found in J. Eric Thompson, Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras (Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 274, Chicago, 1930).

Chief Justice's Report on the trial and conviction of Marcellino "Montego" and Justeban Toon alias Juan Toon, sentenced to death for the Murder of Thomas Sevren, April 18, 1867, "killed in Canul and Fk's raid on Indian Church," gives details, ARH, 297. Treatment and policy of British Honduras after pacification of area by troops is given in Memorandum and Regulations by It. Govr. J. O. Austin, February 28, 1867, (a) Indians must pay rent (b) each village to select its own cacique who will be responsible for peace therein, plus rendering semi-annually a list of persons and occupations of each NB: none of these reprinted in ARH, though would be of great value to ethnologists; (c) caciques will be aided by police when necessary, and a resident priest will be supported (d) No Indian to carry a gun without license (e) Cacique responsible for maintenance of roads and Govt. levy of labor at a fair wage. The San Pedroans either could accept these terms or return to Chichanha.

Lt. Govr. to Govr. Jamaica, August 11, 1867, reports there is no alliance and none being sought with the Indians of Santa Cruz or Iloca, ARH, 294; It. Govr. to Secy. of State, reporting favorable effects of policy toward "the two great Indian Tribes of Santa Cruz and Iloca." Also, Capt. John Carmichael to It. Govr., November 15, 1867, ARH, 296.

Lt. Govr. to Govr., Jamaica, November 28, 1867, transmitting translated letter from Triumvirate dated Chan Santa Cruz October 30, ARH, 297.
31. Lt. Govr. to Govr., April 9, 1867, ABH, 285. The Icaiche and the Logrln's group had earlier been rivals for letting of logrln's contracts to British, which helped keep their mutual hostility alive, J. H. Blake to Lt. Govr., May 9, 1863, reporting 800 Icaiche had come to collect rents from one Méndez to prevent Logrln's group from collecting same, ABH, 281-2.

32. Marcos Canul, General in Chief and Rafael Chan, General to Magistrate, Orange Walk, March 26, 1868, ABH, 301. In May, 1868, friendly relations seem to have been about to be established through a Mr. Panting, when a new survey of the Colony passed a line within 9 miles of Icaiche, causing uneasiness, which broke into overt action in July. In 1870 Lt. Plumridge and Mr. Panting made an understanding with Canul, but on April 19 he entered and captured a town, yelling 'Mexico forever,' (ABH, 320); by May he had retired. ABH, 302-21.

33. Lt. Govr. to Speaker, April 21, 1870, ABH, 321. The British are as convinced that the Yucatecans set the Indians on them, as the Yucatecans are that the British instigated all attacks, e.g., Council to Lt. Govr. May 20, 1875, mistrusting peaceful attitude of Indians, "willing tools of the Yucatan government," ABH, 335. Cf. infra. Note 43. Withdrawal of Indians, May 2, Lt. Govr. to Speaker, ABH, 321. Canul had merely entered to see that no Santa Cruzes were at Corozal, Marcos Canul to Govr., June 11, 1870.


35. Colonial Secretary to Magistrate, Northern District, July 27, 1874, directing him to receive Arana and staff, and that "he be well received with all respect and courtesy" ABH, 334. Cf. Note 47. Magistrate, N. District to Colonial Secretary, October 20, 1874, reporting arrival Arana, ABH, 334.


40. Address to Assembly, January 30, 1868; It. Gov. to Speaker, February 17, 1868, BM, 299, 300. It. Gov. to Gov. Jamaica, January 11, 1868, reporting capture of Ake, BM, 298; same to same January 30 reporting satisfactory apology for invasion by Ake, BM, 299.

41. It. Gov. to Gov., Jamaica, July 21, 1869, BM, 308.

42. Berendt, "Explorations," 422-3.

43. Mr. J. T. Blockley to It. Gov., July 10, 1868, reporting conference with Pablo Ponce, Gov. of Campeche, BM, 307-8; Transcript of "Minutes of Meeting of Legislative Assembly of State of Yucatan, July 28, 1869, in which Belize is charged as being "an ally of the Indians, especially by channeling war-like stores and rifles for cattle, gold, silver and jewels robbed from Mexican villages by the Indians." BM, 315; "Indolencia, after mentioning that British were illegally on the Peninsula anyway, having erected a colony from a logging camp, added "But their ambition was not content with this infraction, which surely did not give them the security for which they hungered, and the revolt of the Indians in 1846 1/2, opened to them a wider field of operations to satiate their avarice and to extend their territory. They were the ones who, for levels of churches and private persons and all sorts of effects that the Indians robbed, gave them in exchange powder and guns, and they were the ones, for permission to cut wood in Mexican territory gave in return all the elements of war. The government of that Colony has officially signed conventions with them considering them as belligerents in the atrocious war they have waged against civilization in a state of the Republic, and finally, the Superintendent has placed a price on the heads of various agents of the government of the state of Yucatan... The act was displayed on street-corners of that place Belize and one of them has been remitted to the Supreme Government." Berendt wrote in December, 1868.

44. It. Gov. to Gov., Jamaica, November 13, 1869. Bernabel Ken intended riding "ach Chakan peopled mainly by St. Cruz who had departed to avoid military service in Casta War, BM, 316. These troubles, following those of Canul and Aximilian's threats stirred up area Berendt was in, see note 42.


46. It. Governor's Address, June 10, 1881, BM, 322.

47. Treaty of Peace between General Theodosius Canto representing the Government of the State of Yucatan and John Chuc representing the Jose Cresenciito Poot, General and Governor of Chan Santa Cruz, signed at the Government House, Belize, January 11, 1884; Jose Cresencito Poot to Administrator, January 30, 1884; Administrator to General Canto, February 11, 1884, BM, 352-3. Cf. below, Note
Notes 110-111 this section. Villa, "Mayas of Quintana Roo," Chs. IV, V carry on narrative of the military campaigns and other attempts to pacify the Quintana Roo area very ably. His data should be supplemented by information appearing in El "Maestro Rural" (DAPP, México, D. F., v. TX, #6 (November, 1936). In this semi-official review of Mexican rural education, problems and history of Quintana Roo since 1903 are taken up in four articles "Noticias históricas de Quintana Roo" (pp. 5-7, 24), "Economía agrícola del Territorio de Quintana Roo" (pp. 8-10), "El problema educativo en Quintana Roo" (pp. 11-12), and "La población indígena maya en Quintana Roo" (pp. 13-14); all illustrated, with one badly reproduced map of the area in 1936. See also Adrian "Maya-Indianer," cited infra, Note 49, for materials ca. 1920.

Main sources: A rather good sketch (with map) of physical geography of area appears in "Economía agrícola del territorio de Quintana Roo," El "Maestro Rural," TX, No. 6, pp. 8-10. Karl Sapper, "Independent Indian States of Yucatan," translated in Mexican Antiquities (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 28, Washington, 1904) 627-34, from Globus, Hft. 7 (1893), 197-201 (with map p. 200). Sapper visited the Tzache and Tz'akhan, but not Santa Cruz, according to maps in Globus, loc. cit., and in his "Gefährte zur Ethnographie von Südost-Mexiko und Britisch-Honduras," Internationale "Vitellorum" T.X. hft. 8 (1895), 177-186, Tafel 12, given over to linguistics (Part I, pp. 177-229), and comparative cultural levels (Pt. V, 132-6) in which the independent groups are mentioned in passing, as their "Abhängigkeit datiert erst aus dem Jahre 1849 ... so dass sie in ethnologischer Hinsicht nur wenige "Bemerkungen" haben" which was not suitable to Sapper's purpose. Cann, "Maya Indians" (cited Note 3 above) gives a brief but valuable sketch of ethnology as introduction to archaeological report. William Miller, "A Journey from British Honduras to Santa Cruz, Yucatan," Royal Geographical Society, Proceedings, n.s., VIL (January, 1839), 23-8, with map. Author was Assistant Surveyor General of Colony, and made his trip in 1838, accompanied by interpreters. Idherrera, "Indios" (cited Note 2) was an Austrian in service of Maximilian, and seems either to have visited Santa Cruz himself, or to have collected much first-hand data from those who had; helpful on Cult of the Cross. For cacicazgos at slightly later period, see Cann, also H. Adrian, "Indien über die Mayen-Indianer von Quintana Roo," Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Zeitschrift, 1924 (Wtr. 5-7), 235-47. He and companions made a survey in 1922, spending most time at Chunpom, which seems to have transferred almost in toto much of the earlier Cult of the Cross from Chan Santa Cruz, though he also visited contiguous areas. His information is mainly from one informant who was a mestizo raised by the independent "Mayas." Alfonso Villa R., The Mayas of Quintana Roo (unpublished ms.), chs. III-V, giving data from Yucatecan sources and field work; only the literary sources have been utilized here, as many used by him are ephemeral and not obtainable readily in the libraries accessible to American students. * * *
Diminution of cacicazgos mentioned by Sapper, "Independent States," saying "a few years ago Gen. Ruperto Arana ceded the important village of Chunchintok to the State of Campeche," 628.

50. Sapper, "Independent States," 628; Gann, "Maya Indians," 13-14, with small map; Adrian found the Santa Cruz divided into two main bodies, one at Chunpom, the other at Santa Cruz, "Maya-Indianer," 145. For territory at various times, see attached maps. The small cacicazgo of Kantun'il reported by Hubbe, Belize, 145, seems either to have been absorbed by Yucatan or Chan Santa Cruz in the 1850's. In 1936, it was reported the 'Tayas of Quintana Roo were as follows: (a) Santa Cruz del Bravo and Satellites, (b) Chunpom and Satellites, (c) Tecalo, under cacique Juan Ka, and (d) Kantun'il-Solerino, "que ya están enteramente civilizados y tienen sus autoridades propias, de acuerdo en todo con el Gobierno Mexicano," El Maestro Rural, V, No. 4, pgs. 13-14. Total population estimated at 2,600-3,000.

51. See supra. Note 9, Part II for estimates during 1840's; Note 29 this section where Carmichael estimated them at 25,000 in 1867. Herendt, "Explorations" says "as to the number of these Indians, the most discordant opinions exist. According to such Belize and frontier traders as are the best judges, the Cruzes do not number less than 10,000 and probably not more than 15,000 warriors, and of these half their number only are married. Estimating a family to consist of five souls on an average, would give for their whole number about forty thousand. . . ." 422-3. Sapper, basing his estimate on similar sources ("those familiar with the country") gives them 8-10,000 in 1895. In 1916 Gann thought then reduced to 5,000; Adrian notes that the combined army of Chunpom and Sta. Cruz would be about 1,500 men, drawn from 19th century being largely due to a smallpox epidemic in 1913, "Maya-Indianer," 237. In 1936 it was thought only 250 men were able to be put "en pie de guerra," El Maestro Rural, V, p. 14.

52. Aldeferre, "Indios," 73; he thought the number of Sta. Cruz Indians might be greater than 1,000 souls" (74), but the editors thought in 1869 the population was 15-20,000 (p. 81). A French observer has this to say of Chan Santa Cruz, "La position de la ville est bien choisie, près du centre d'action des Indiens, avec de l'eau potable, tirée d'un cenote, puits naturel, et aménée sur la place centrale au milieu d'un jardin. . . ." Maurice de Pérgny, "à travers le Peten et le Yucatan," La Geographie, XIII (Paris, 1906), 482-6, p. 485, with map.

53. For appearance of the cross, see above "Part II, p. 14.

Quotation from Villa, Maya Indians of Quintana Roo (cited hereafter QR) ch. 3, note 6, where Villa notes he got exhortation from Ms. in possession of scribe at X-Cacal, cacicazgo descended from Sta. Cruz.

Aldherre, "Indios" 77. Dann, "Маиа Индейцы," says it was 2 or 3 feet high, but he never saw it, 41; cf. above, Note 9.

Villa, QR, ch. 3, note 12, basing account on memoirs of an officer who entered St. Cruz in 1852, appearing in "Diario de Yucatan" September 9, 1923: "In their dingy old galley of a church, there was an altar which no one could approach excepting him who had in his care the three crosses. On top of the altar were these garments of hipil and skirt; behind the altar there was a pit in which was a cask serving as a sounding board, imparting to the voice a low and cavernous sound. All this took place altogether out of sight of the people in the body of the church; the spokesman in the pit would busy himself communicating whatever Barrera wished him to say to the multitude which was oblivious to this artifice. So it happened the Indians would bring oblations of maize, poultry, wax, swine, money, and whatever he wished, for the crosses speak unerringly..." Seventy years later, in Chunpox the church was similarly divided; in the outer room stood two large drums, and behind this room was a smaller one, entered on only by kneeling. Two natural crosses had candles burning before them, and on the back wall was an altar on which stood several small crosses, completely covered with cloth, including a great cross likewise enveloped; the real Cross, or Santo, however, was not even seen there; only ritual priests could enter the inner sanctum. Adrian, "Маиа-Индийцы," 238-9.

See preceding note, and Aldherre, "Indios," 74-5.

Aldherre, "Indios" 73-4; Villa, QR, notes 15-16.

Villa, QR, ch. 3 on personal measurement; Neitkowski, "Reis," 203.

Aldherre was disgusted at the sacrilege, "They have adopted the Holy Cross as primary object of their adoration, and give to it all the attributes of the Supreme Deity. For them the Cross is God himself; God and Cross, the same thing. They take this sanctified instrument of our redemption as the Supreme Being which made it holy, and, converting it into God, use it at the same time for an instrument of impious and stupid iniquities." "Indios," 74; see letter quoted note 9 where Indians name the Cross, "Santa Cruz Tres Personas." Cf. "The Trinity (clich oxil, "clich," holy, "ox," three) is most important; God appears only in conversations, as 'God is paid' (dios bootico) for 'thank you.' The holiest thing of all, 'Santo', is the Cross or Crucifix, the visible thing to which prayers are offered, but which is seldom mentioned in conversation or in prayers." Adrian, "Маиа Индейцы," 238. Miller, in "Santa Cruz" remarked in 1888, "It is surprising to hear the plaus ejaculations of these people when one remembers the number of atrocities laid to their charge. Their term for 'Thank you' is 'God protect you,' and when I was leaving one and all piously hoped that God would be with me on the journey." 27.
61. Account of the Triumvirs taken mainly from Aldherre, "Indios," 75.
Villa, QR, has later developments mixed with earlier phases.

62. See above, Note 8, et passim.


64. Aldherre, "Indios," 75. Fowler, who based his book on official reports (he was Superintendent of the Colony of British Honduras) describes the ceremony: "... all the available Indians in the village arrived in front of the home where the Santa Cruz is kept. The boys attended or sentries on the idol, called angels, were in front of it, and the drums and bugles sounded at recurring parts of the song. The chief was inside with the image and the angels. The subordinate chiefs and soldiers knelt outside, and did not rise until the service was over, when they crossed themselves and rubbed their foreheads in the dust. About 11 o'clock the Indians were heard running backward and forward, and an order was given to bring the prisoners... all were calm except the children, although it was known Santa Cruz was pronouncing their doom. A squeaking whistling noise was heard issuing from the oracle, and when it ceased it was known the Santa Cruz wanted a higher ransom for the prisoners." Narrative, quoted in Oann, "Indios," 41. The report of Blake and Anderson appears in ABH, 201-4, but unfortunately a binding error omitted this from copy at my disposal.

65. Villa, QR, notes 17-18, relying on a pamphlet issued by F. Rogers which (without my having seen the original) seems to one of several issued around the 1880's trying to get settlers to British Honduras, prefacing account of the fertility of the colony with a short historical sketch. Rogers states "in the midst of the silence that followed was heard a rather weak voice which seemed to originate in the midst of the air and which spoke in the Maya language," (Villa, QR, note 18), but this tale is not supported by the account of the persons to whom it purportedly occurred, Its. Plumridge and Tingle, in their report to Supt. April 12, 1861, ABH, 239-40.

66. Miller, "Santa Cruz," 26. "... since that time no priest has attempted to enter the country."

67. Hübba, Selica, 112. This seems based on Fowler who said in 1879 "the Santa Cruz was mixed up with some Catholic rites, but retains the leading characteristics of the god who was best propitiated by placing bleeding human hearts within his lips" (Fann, loc. cit.). This is opinion, not testimony, and rather confused opinion at that; Aztecs' and Mayas' deities have here been telescoped.


69. Villa, QR, ch. 3, note 31, basing account on report by commander of Mexican expedition, who based his on "documents seized at Tulum," in 1871 when the priestess, "era Inah was driven out temporarily,
though her servants and one son was captured; source: "Diario de Yucatan" Sunday, April 28, 1935.

70. Villa, QR, ch. 3, no source given for distribution of crosses or power within areas. Fifty years following 1871, Adrian found cross cult centers at Yo-tz'not, Chunpon, Tulum, which had superimposed on (or varying from) the Cross Cult one of ritually killing 3 or 4 steers for the Cross, "Maya Indianer," 239.

71. Aldherre, "Indios," 75. Villa, QR, note 23 discusses Miller's passing mention that "all chiefs of the nation" are appointed by the Cross. Miller's bad interpreter (see Note 83) plus fact that other sources more clearly indicate relationships, make such elaboration unnecessary.

72. Aldherre, "Indios" 75.

73. Villa, QR, basing on present day remarks of Indians. Adrian reports similarly for 1922, though neither source may be considered accurate for nineteenth century. Adrian mentions that of the whole armed force in Chunpon, only 20 at a time are on guard; they stay in barracks near the temple of the cross for two weeks at a time. The commander of the guard acts as priest, holding mass twice daily, at 4 a.m. and 7 a.m. The soldiers spend most their time preparing henequen fibers for weaving hammocks, etc. There is a regular mail service between Chunpon and Santa Cruz, for there were literate persons in both places, but to smaller clusters messages were orally transmitted. Still in 1922 there was a complete intertwining of secular and religious duties, which led Adrian to remark, "Religion is the most important of all things for the Maya, and it is impossible to discriminate the overlapping of public aspects and private lives." In 1922, the "Mayor of the Church" was the most important official of the cacicazgo, with the military commander, who lived in a different town, second in importance.

74. Villa, QR, ch. 3, on verbal accounts.

75. Villa, QR, ch. 3, Sapper, accounting for Ixkanha and 'calche says "The dress, mode of living, and occupations of the independent Mayas are very simple, and in this respect the general is in no wise distinguished from his subjects, except that he keeps saddle horses in accordance with his greater wealth," "Independent States," 629. A curious (and undated) transformation reversed the signs of leadership sometime in Chunpon, for "One day", related Juan Vega, 'a book and a letter in pure Maya were found in the chapel at the entrance to the village; no one know from whence or by whom they came. ... They was said their appearance was from Heaven.' In the letter they were strongly reproved, and warned not kill one another. And from then onwards the situation became improved, and also, for this reason, no one again wanted the title of 'General' or would otherwise distinguish himself. This fear even went so far that all the higher officers
went about without gold earrings, while each soldier wore a beautiful
gold ornament in the left ear.” Adrian, “Maya Indianer,” 237.

76. Berendt, “Explorations,” 422, saying “They worhsin the cross, in
whose name the Tat-ich (their head-chief) and twelve governors,
(military chiefs, priests, and counsellors) govern.” But Miller
says of Bacalar that it was guarded by 60 men which is changed
once every two months. They do not live in the old houses, but
prefer to build their own stick-and-leaf huts in the gardens and
other open spaces,” and that “Santa Cruz is very similar to Bacalar,
and is occupied by a guard of about 150 men, but nobody lives there
permanently. The chiefs meet there for consultation and for settling
the affairs of the nation.” “Santa Cruz,” 25, 27. It is well wonder
that the Mexicans found only 1 Indian there when they "captured" it
in 1901, Villa, QR., ch IV, note 3. Adrian, “Maya-Indianer” reports
biweekly change of guard in 1922, p. 237. In 1865 Aldherre reported
400 men guarding Santa Cruz. “Indios,” 76.

77. Aldherre, “Indios,” giving arrangement of Yucatecan defense lines,
“while half work in the fields, the other half, armed, guard the town
and establish sentinels on the highest point; they explore the
country.” p. 77.

78. See above, Part II, Note 39 (?) reporting death of Tat; this section,
Notes 12-13. Villa, QR., ch. 3, note 25, based on reprint of contem-
porary newspaper article in “Diario de Yucatan” February 16, 1936
which relates that Poot, his generals, friends and 67 milita were
killed in a change of government; presumably this was connected with
his peace efforts as outlined above, Note 47. Miller notes that
Poot’s successor, Aniceto Sul was responsible for “The last chief
of the Santa Cruz Indians was killed, together with about twenty
other chiefs, by my host at San Pedro, Don Anis (nickname for Sul)
about four years ago, and the said Don Anis now reigns in his stead
and will continue to do so until some other chief contrives to get a
party sufficiently strong to kill him in his turn,” “Santa Cruz”,
28. Cann, Maya Indians gives outline of ideal pattern for changing
government, prefacing remarks with statement “there are always rival
claimants for the chieftanship, and the subchief with the strongest
personality or greatest popularity among the soldiers usually succeeds
in grasping the office. There are nearly always rival factions
endeavoring to oust the chief in power, and the latter rarely dies
a natural death,” 35. For the “holy” mechanism that put a stop to
this weakening of the ingroup see Adrian, “Maya-Indianer,” 237, quoted
in extenso Note 75, above.

79. Aldherre, “Indios” 76, saying “In Chan Santa Cruz almost everything
is mysterious. Espionage is admitted as a system, and for this
reason forms sort of a secret police. The Triumvirs spy on one
another; the generals do the same one of them is chief spy.”
80. Villa, QR, based on García y García, "Historia de la Guerra de Castas," 12; it is doubtful if García y García was an eyewitness. Gann, Yaya Indians, 35 gives the indicated crimes.

81. Miller, reporting on Aniceto Sul, said "When I arrived there he had just lost the sight of one eye, and believing he was bewitched, he had killed the man and his wife whom he suspected of doing it, the day before my arrival, and he believed his eye was getting better in consequence. "Santa Cruz," 27. Gann notes that the pulya or witch was greatly dreaded; when caught, she was chopped limb from limb, and not buried, like other victims, but left for dogs and vulture to dispose of, Yaya Indians, 36.

82. Gann, Yaya Indians, 35 re death for association with whites. Ibid., 32 for concealment of villages by cutting out rooster's tongue. This may be a myth, for Stephens found the same rumor current about a non-existent city in the land of the Lacandones, "... the cocks they keep underground to prevent their crowing being heard..." J. L. Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan (2 v. New York, 1841, edition of 1858), 17, 195-6. Writer knows by personal survey that no city exists therein.

83. Miller, "Santa Cruz" reported "It would not be safe to use any surveying or astronomical instruments there, as the people are constantly in dread, and watching for spies. ... It is impossible to get any information from them, as they strongly object to being questioned. Some very simple questions which I asked were answered, but were always supplemented by the counter-question "why do you wish to know?" On one occasion wishing to hear of ancient Indian ruins, I was questioning several Indians in the chief's house, and getting unsatisfactory answers, pressed the questions, when they turned down their hat brims and peered at me from under them, and simply answered in monosyllables. This so frightened my interpreter that he refused to go on with the questions." 26-7. Miller is incorrect in stating only 2 Englishmen had ever got to Santa Cruz before him. See above, passim.

84. Villa, QR, ch. 3, note 21. Cf. Adrian's account, cited Note 73. He adds that early mass cost 1 peso, and later mass 1.50; presumably to encourage industry, "Yaya-Indians," 238.

85. Villa, QR, ch. 3. Cf. in "La Población indígena Maya en Quintana Roo, El Teatro Rural, TX, No. 6 (Mexico, November, 1936). "La religión de los Indios es un cristianismo simplista 'sui generis,' pues adoran la Santa Cruz y ningún santo. Además como nunca tuvieron sacerdotes católicos, desde hace muchos años por su hosilidad con el Gobierno y la falta de dinero, se han formado sus sacerdotes propios quienes a su vez les han creado liturgias especiales, cánticos y ceremonias enteramente propios," 14.

86. Villa, QR, ch. 3.
87. See above, Notes 32-49, 78, 51. Gann, Maya Indians, reports on disease, 36-39. At various times outbreaks of cholera in British Honduras were reported, but whether they spread to Santa Cruz is not known; they occurred in 1854, 1867-8, with the latter epidemic lingering "where the want of medical attendance, the excessive wet weather, and the apathy of the Maya population combine to perpetuate it..." Lt. Govr. to British Consul, New Orleans, February 7, 1868, ABH, 300, 299, 175.

88. See Note 4, reporting capture of Yucatecan band. Aldherre, "Indios" reports "The curious thing is that prisoners who are musicians are never killed, because these barbarians form and now have a military band in Chan Santa Cruz, composed of musical prisoners." 75. In El "Maestro Rural," IV, No. 6. There is a photo of a native violin maker on p. 13.

89. Aldherre, "Indios," 75-6.

90. Original of this broadside in Peabody Museum pamphlet collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Under the affidavit of the H. S. Consul that the Society is bona-fide may be seen names of the prisoners believed still to be alive in Chan Santa Cruz in 1878. The illustration illuminates the text at the bottom of the circular.

91. CHINESE AMONG MAYAS, Histoiy & Present.

Lt. Govr. to Govr., Jamaica, September 16, 1869, ABH, 315 on Chinese in Santa Cruz.

These Chinese were a new element in British Honduras. In February, 1860, the Assembly there passed an act for encouragement of Chinese immigration (ABH, 228), but this was disallowed by the British Government (ABH 233) in 1861. By 1864, by bonding the company importing them, permission was given to ship 475 from China (ABH, 257) provided that proper buildings and medical arrangements were provided; sufficient security had to be forthcoming to prevent the British government paying for their upkeep, ABH, 254. In 1865 the ship "Light of Amoy" sailed from China with 430 Chinese, consisting of 445 men, 14 women, 16 boys, 2 girls, and 3 infants, ABH, 261, and the Government Gazette in June reports an immigration agent was appointed, and reprints form of indentures for Chinese, ABH, 262. Presumably, however, the Government loaned money to planters to support this immigration, for in 1876 it was referred to as "that unprofitable loan," ABH, 333 (Govr.'s speech in Council, January 26), and in 1876 it was reported that at long last the debt had been extinguished, (Lt. Govr. to Session, December 11), ABH, 396. Internally the Chinese groups seem to have been troublesome, for disturbances are reported near Corozal where they were planted, September 22, 1865, ABH, 264, but by May 2, 1866, there were reported
some 3,000 Chinese, divided among 7 estates, on whom a favorable
report was made, ANH, 264. In 1867 the Lt. Govr. in his annual
message said that he had been negotiating with the Santa Cruz to
"secure a return to the Colony . . . of the Chinese who deserted
from the British Honduras Co. in New River" and that thereafter the
Indians would secure those who absconded, ANH, 282. In 1868 the
Immigration agent reported that of the 474 Chinese who actually
landed in 1865, only 211 were left, sickness and disease having
reduced them, ANH, 310. Of 108 deaths, 68 were from fever, 9 from
dysentery, 8 from drowning, 2 from debility, 3 from murder and the
rest from miscellaneous causes, ANH, 313, and in 1869, as quoted,
100 deserted to the Santa Cruz. Gunn incorrectly reports that
these Chinese coolies "were well received and married Indian wives," though the latter may be partly true, for he further reports "among
their offspring, it is interesting to note, are found a very
unusual proportion of defectives" Maya Indians, 32, which may be
accounted for by fact that only women available were cast-offs who
could not get Maya husbands. Recently M. Thrasher in Maya Indians
of Yucatan (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531,
Washington, 1941), 157-8 reports very close correlation of Maya
and Chinese dermatoglyphic features, but this means nothing because
history of the group on which "Mayan data were taken was recorded;
Mayan dermatoglyphics among the Lacandones, outside sphere of pos-
sible Chinese intrusive contact may or may not show like similarity,
see
There has been rather a sizable amount of Chinese infiltration on
various parts of the Peninsula, not only from British Honduras, but
also on the hennequen areas of the west. Turner, Barbarous Mexico,
reports 3,000 in 1911. See also, Jorge Femandez, "Un caso de
cruzamiento entre un chino y una yucateca de origen indigena."
XXVTh International Congress of Americanists (Mexico, 1910),
Proceedings, 105-6 with photo.
Villa, QR, ch. V, under "Origin and racial composition" of X-Cacal
notes only two descendants of Chinese refugees, whose first appear-
ance he incorrectly attributes to the 1890's.
Future anthropometric measurements among Maya groups should be
accompanied by genealogies, whose value M. J. Herskovits has adequately
documented in his The American Negro: A study in racial crossing
(New York, 1928), 5-11 and literature therein cited.

"Independent States," 629. See Note 12, Part I, for data ca.
1845-60.
94. Sapper, "Independent States" is chief source for this; he visited
the area in 1891.
95. Lt. Govr. to Govr., August 14, 1866, ANH, 277; on May 9 Lt. Govr.
transmitted information that number of Santa Cruz was 5,000 (troops),
but that the Icaiche had only 60 men, "unaccustomed to the use of arms." ABH, 269.

96. See Note 27 for coalition of San Pedro "Mayas and Icaiche.


99. See Notes 17, 24 this section.

100. Sapper, "Independent States" reports, "Nevertheless, in Icaiche, a few Indians are always stationed as sentinels in a special hut called the cuartel ('Barracks'), and in the house in which I lived during my residence there, five loaded repeating rifles hung on the crossbeams of the roof, a sign that the Icaiche are always on guard against the Santa Cruz. . . ." 627.

101. Description of Icaiche in Villa, QR, ch. 3, source not indicated. Compulsory service, Cann, "aya Inds.," 36.

102. Villa, QR, relying on impressions of a Catholic missionary, cited his notes 37, 40 to ch. 3.


106. Villa, QR, note 41, ch. 3.


108. Sapper, "Independent States," 627-9. A schoolmaster was provided for in the Campeche budget for the Ixkanha, but "nothing is gained by it, since no candidate ever applies for the position" (Ibid., 628).

109. Sapper, "Independent Indian States," retailing anecdote of travel stoppage, "The Indians of Icaiche and Ixkanha are compelled to have passports, and therefore my Icaiche men could not journey further. . . .", 631.

110. Carleton Beals, Porfirio Diaz: Dictator of Mexico (Philadelphia, 1912) is least unsatisfactory secondary source on policies of his government; cf. Villa, QR, ch. IV.
111. Treaty is reprinted in several official and secondary sources. For a French comment on it (also reprinting treaty) see, Gustave Regolspécker, "Mouvement Géographique" Revue de Geographie XXXIV (Paris, 1894), 452-3. For history of Independent "ayas in the twentieth century see references Note 48 above, and see esp. Pedro C. Sánchez and Salvador Toscano, "Breve reseña de una exploración en Quintana Roo, 1916-17," Sociedad científica "Antonio Alzate," Memorias, LXXXVIII (México, June, 1919), 199-217 (with map, p. 216) for physical geography and Mexican attempts to settle this area 1903-17.
VOLUME 1: "Regionalism and Society" pp. 1-272

1947
"REGIONALISM AND SOCIETY" (Study #5) calls for extended comment. It was originally written (and then rewritten) to fit into the general series of publications sponsored by the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Yucatan Project, although resources for carrying on the research were never furnished by the institution. For various reasons, publication of the study in full was not possible.

As may be seen from the Analytical Table of Contents and other lists, the monograph contains 669 text pages, 150 pp. of Notes and References, and a bibliography of about 40 single-spaced pages, 2 chronological outlines, 62 tables, 8 reproductions or plates, and 4 maps.

Analysis indicated that the three regional divisions used for Studies #2a and #2b did not fit the data and gave an incorrect view. Therefore, in the longer work (#5), a regional division of Yucatan into 4 socio-cultural areas was attempted and seems to give fruitful results.

Since completing the research for the volume in mid-1946, I have come across a number of sources which would shade but not invalidate most of the findings issued here. The appearance of the Enciclopedia Yucatecense provided some new materials, but by and large, the volumes of that valuable set which had come to hand before termination of the dissertation were of somewhat less help than subsequent volumes (III, V, VIII) would have been. Revision of the present study for publication is not contemplated for the near future, as since 1943 my interest has been drawn primarily to the Chinantec areas of the State of Oaxaca.

For purposes of quick review, appended herewith is a brief summary of "Regionalism and Society in Yucatan."
Summary of "Regionalism and Society in Yucatan, 1826-1847."

by H. F. Cleere, Harvard University, 1947

The following paragraphs briefly summarize the methods, preliminary results, and materials used in "Regionalism and Society in Yucatan, 1826-1847." The subtitle, "A study in progressivism and the origins of the Caste War," indicates a minor emphasis. The study explores somewhat tentatively the changing situation and developments on the Mexican peninsula of Yucatan in the years that preceded an Indian uprising there, known in local annals as the "Caste War" (1847-63). For reasons which the paper sets forth, a large body of Maya natives revolted against their numerically smaller but dominant white masters, the Yucatecos.

Although the course of the war and its consequences are not treated in this work, the struggles significantly and observably influenced the subsequent history of Yucatan, and of Mexico.

Despite the fact that many and excellent local studies have appeared to account for the origins of the war, their utility has been limited by the fact that Yucatecan explanations have generally tended to limit themselves to purely political matters. The present paper stresses a number of developments that have fallen outside the scope of most previous treatments, by applying to Yucatan in the early nineteenth century some of the techniques and practices which have proved fruitful in other fields of history, notably American social and economic.

In addition, certain useful concepts from allied disciplines — human geography, sociology, ethnology, and to a lesser degree, economics — have aided insight. Confessedly this investigation has been an attempt to create
and apply in a limited manner a broad approach to a typical Latin American historical problem. Results fall short of an ideal "integrated" treatment of an area, but the broadened base from which the work proceeded from the outset indicated that existing explanations of the origins of the Casta War have been inadequate and over-simplified.

The view which is documented here essentially rests on the fact that from the late eighteenth to and through the middle of the nineteenth century, Yucatan was changing from an isolated and stagnant place to one which was more and more entering the main streams of thought and events in the western world. The self-conscious attempt of Yucatecans to bring themselves abreast of their times by altering their economic order, extending their intellectual and humanitarian aspirations, and re-ordering their society through education and other means, led in general to two major consequences.

On the one hand, a generation of able and honorable men laid the firm foundations for an intellectual and social advance which has kept Yucatan abreast or ahead of many Mexican areas. A virtual renaissance occurred after 1840. It had important manifestations in art, literature, education, and humanitarian strivings. An economic revolution was simultaneously initiated; commercial crops, especially sugar and henequen (Sisal hemp), took root and provided income as well as new links with world markets. Population expanded and, as one result, a visible frontier was seen moving through lands hitherto lightly inhabited. These borderlands were attached to main centers by a rapidly developing network of roads (that traced paths for the railroads of the following generation). The important sea outlet at Progreso (now the second city of Yucatan) was founded in the 1840's by merchants.
Politically the various steps toward modernity were marked by constitutions, each more liberal. The Constitution of 1841, as an example, separated Church and State, provided for enfranchisement of natives, and embodied the doctrine of amparo, a judicial device later borrowed and embodied in the Mexican constitutions of 1857 and 1917. Thus in the face of considerable odds a rather sizable start toward modernizing Yucatan. It certainly, by 1847, was a changed place from 1766.

On the other hand, these several developments led to the War of the Castes. Economic and social regionalism not only bred political factionalism, but simultaneously altered the older balances and attitudes between Yucatecans and Mayas in the four major sections that had emerged from 1825 to 1847. Old questions of land and labor appeared in a newer and more acute form. Commercial haciendas, aimed at producing exportable surpluses for cash in world markets, began to elbow out the stable subsistence plantations of colonial days. Sugar lands lay in territories claimed by Indians; they reacted violently against intrusion and settlement and to impressment as a labor force.

The frontier areas in the east and south were also those in which least attention was paid to the ideals voiced in the older stabler sections, that of integrating natives into an emerging Yucatecan nationality by extending the Maya benefits of education, suffrage, and nobility. One of the frontier sections, that around the old center of Valladolid, reacted violently in an opposite direction; its white citizenry attempted to restore a situation reminiscent of Hapsburg colonial days, when Valladolid shared with Merida (the capital) and Campeche (the port) the hegemony of
the peninsula. Very little was needed to touch off a race war in the sugar areas around the new frontier center of Yucatan or the festering and decadent section near Valladolid. A series of incidents on the boundary between them sufficed in 1044 to pull the trigger. Thus the reverse side of material and intellectual advance from 1025 to 1047 provides a broader insight into the origins of the Caste War, as well as illustrating the uneven depth to which the newer doctrines of 'progress' had penetrated at different points in the territory and into the social structure of any one of its four sections.

The mechanism by which some of these larger conclusions are evolved is essentially a geographic one, that of regionalism. To establish the limits of areas and illuminate the process through which the peninsula was split into four parts during the crucial generation from 1025 to 1047 is a prime focus. Though the study as a whole is primarily analytical rather than descriptive or narrative, necessarily a considerable body of concrete data underlies an attempt to manipulate an areal concept as well as a chronological one. For instance, much of the available statistical materials on Yucatan appear in more than fifty tabulations scattered through the text. Maps, too, play an important role.

The sources of data are various. The formal bibliography numbers over 500 items of diverse sorts. Chief reliance has been periodicals, traveler's accounts, contemporary official and semi-official papers, and other published materials. In the formal bibliography, about 275 entries are considered primary sources; in addition, monographic materials dealing with a broad range of Yucatecan topics account for another 190; the remainder are either general works of a secondary character, or bibliographical and scholarly aids. The chief manuscript materials are papers
of the Hacienda Chilean, and scattered papers encountered in the Archivo General of Mexico while research along another line was in progress. Periodicals came almost exclusively from private libraries in Mexico, and from collections in the Library of Congress and various Harvard special collections; these last, and especially the Law School, yielded an important harvest of pamphlets.

In summary, the study portrays a typical Latin American area responding to new stimulus which followed political independence from Spain. The varying responses, by area, by class, by ethnic groups (creoles, mestizos, Maya) to the newly imported doctrine of Progress, reveal that the generation from 1826 to 1847 left their heirs a twin legacy: the broad and well-laid foundations on which the future new society could be built, and the Caste War, which for forty years threatened that future.
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PREFACE

This study explores the related economic, social, and intellectual developments in Yucatan during the decades which followed its separation (in 1821) from the Spanish Empire. The work is confessedly an experiment in a method of historical investigation. It applies to a Mexican area some of the techniques and the general approaches which for some time have proved fruitful in American social history. In addition, I have consciously attempted to adapt methods and concepts from social disciplines allied to history and to focus them within this regional and chronological framework. Such a cross-disciplinary view helps to illuminate and clarify the relationships that a wide range of sources reveals. Human geography, social anthropology, sociology, and to a lesser degree, political science and economics, have contributed ideas as well as useful information.

The final result falls short of the ideal integrated treatment of an area. But a prime object of the historical investigation has been accomplished. Originally the aim was to survey and to analyze a native uprising (of Maya against Yucatecans) known in local annals as the War of the Castes, 1847-1853. As research proceeded, however, this object changed its scope. It became clear that there was less utility in correcting and revising the rather...
extensive body of historical writing that dealt with the
narrative of the war than there was in probing for its
origins.

Further study indicated that the origins were entangled
with collateral dislocations. Most of these rose
from new activity on Yucatan, as a result of changes that
had started to occur in the late eighteenth century. Thus
the prime object altered, and finally emerges as an attempt
to give a broad view of the place and times, to detail and
relate to each other the various transformations Yucatan
was undergoing. This seems a legitimate end in itself.

Special interest in the origins of the Caste War re-
mains, but has taken a subordinate place as a separate
topic. The narrative here ends with the outbreak of the
Caste War in 1847; the course of the struggles and their
major consequences do not appear. For those who might
wish to learn something of the events after 1847, I have
published a brief essay which outlines some of the major
events and the written materials which cover them.1 Since
its preparation in 1944, I have learned that an important
collection of letters in Maya, exchanged among native
leaders during the war, is in the hands of Alfredo Barrera
Vásquez, a well-known Mayanist. They should give new

1. H. F. Cline, "Remarks on a selected bibliography of
the Caste War and allied topics," Appendix C in Al-onso Villa Rojas, The Maya of East Central Quintana
Roo, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication
552 (Washington, 1945), pp. 165-78.
Insight into the struggle; revision of views waits in part on their translation and publication.

Analysis of the origins of the Caste War is a lesser problem than how and why changes occurred through the whole structure of Yucatan. The former topic derives from the latter and larger one. The posited relations between the two are summarized in Chapter Eight, "Why the Caste War?" More difficult and diffuse is any treatment of a society in transition from a colonial way of life to a "modern" one. That shift was occurring in Yucatan, with visible results, after 1825.

As a convenient point of departure, I have stressed the growing acceptance of the idea of Progress among Yucatecan leaders. It was a moving force elsewhere in the western world through much of the eighteenth and nearly all of the nineteenth centuries. Apparently the concept (whose history has been given in classic consideration by J. B. Bury in his The Idea of Progress: an inquiry into its origin and development [1920]) was implanted in Yucatan toward the close of the eighteenth century, along with other disturbing thoughts. It began increasingly to produce tangible effects before the middle of the nineteenth century.

There seems no question but that Yucatan altered from a self-centered and isolated province, with a static subsistence economy and a reluctance to change. By 1847 it was a dynamic and bustling place, whose inhabitants were
desperately trying to "modernize" themselves and refurbish their institutions. The attempts they made and the specific successes they achieved are outlined in the following pages.

An underlying general theme gives some coherence to the scattered details. Developments of the period built up two cumulative major consequences: On the one hand, firm bases for subsequent developments of modern Yucatan were laid in many fields — communication and transport, education and journalism, literature and drama, economics and trade, and a host of associated activities. These endured through the Caste War. On the other hand, Maya did not wholly accept the new urges which moved so many of the creole Yucatecans; natives were unaware of the projected future benefits which material progress was said to bring to all, but they were disturbed by the changing relationships and pressures put on them. These latter were logical consequences of the new doctrines. Old questions of land and labor took new forms and a feverish vitality. In its concrete local manifestations, the idea of Progress had many diverse repercussions.

One was a heightening of peninsular self-consciousness to the point of political nationalism. Yucatan hoped to become a separate country, in control of its own political destinies, backed by a national literature and self-contained culture, supported in part by trade abroad. More
significant for the immediate future, especially the origins of the Caste War, was simultaneous growth of cultural and political regionalism within the peninsula; it stemmed in part from a changing economic system. At least four areas emerged into view, each with a group of distinct traits and aspirations. Three of these regions, respectively the territories around Merida, Campeche, and Valladolid, had deep roots in the past. The fourth, beginning to focus at Tekax, was relatively new.

Each of these four regions reacted differently to the surge of new ideas. From the several goals that "Progress" sanctified, Yucatecans selected diverse ones for emphasis. The actual achievement toward them varied by these four regions. Each was changing, but toward something not only different from its earlier form but somewhat distinct from other similar areas of the peninsula. Traditional balances within each were upset. The differential growth and integration of sections affected the peninsular political and economic balances, as new ones arose to replace those found at time of Independence. These several disturbances were reflected in factionalism. The mounting pressures bore on the Maya within any one section with different degrees of intensity.

The attempt to set forth and analyze these interrelated developments gives the present work its title, Regionalism and Society in Yucatan, 1825-1847: a study in
"Progressivism" and the origins of the Caste War. The chronological limits are in fact extremely flexible. The main data come from the crucial years between 1825 and 1847. The organization of materials by topic illustrates this elasticity of chronological limit, and reveals the dual objective of the study: to present a picture of Yucatan in the process of change, and, secondly, to isolate from it the particular elements that gave rise to the War of the Castes.

The work is divided into two Parts, preceded by a chapter of background material. The latter, Chapter One, sketches some of the major physical features of Yucatan, but is devoted chiefly to an historical synopsis. The survey touches archeological and early colonial materials only very lightly, with more detail for periods after the middle of the eighteenth century. A considerable body of bibliographical data is purposely included in the Notes; these are less bulky in subsequent chapters, which deal with less general phases and smaller ranges of time.

Part I spans the years from around 1790 to the outbreak of the Caste War, and is devoted to discussions of regionalism and society. Chapter Two sets up many necessary constructs and provides data on population, both by its geographical distribution and its inner divisions; groups are thus considered in terms of physical and social distances. Chapters Three and Four provide an almost
microscopic view of the major region, around Merida, and then its peripheral dependencies. The three chapters (II, III, IV) stress the years just before the Caste War.

Part II focuses and restates some previous material, but deals mainly with elements that had special bearing on the origins of the Caste War. Chapter Five considers the separate characteristics of the hacienda complex and of the milpa system, and their relations to each other. Chapter Six treats economy, and then merges into topics set apart in the following chapter (VII) -- land legislation, the relations of Church to state, partisan politics, and the incidents that precipitated the Caste War in 1847. Chapter Eight, the final one, merely extracts, in summary fashion, some earlier findings.

Perhaps a word needs to be said about scholarly apparatus. I have tried to maintain consistent practice in the numerous footnotes. Some of them give a brief bibliography of the subject with which they deal, while others are more restricted in character. Full citations have been included, as not all the scattered references, many of them from periodicals, are repeated fully in the Bibliography. The text rests on primary sources, aided by specialized scholarly investigations, and rounded out with some general works. The Bibliography reflects these interests and emphasis. About 500 items are listed, of which 275 are primary in character, a little less than 100 specialized to the area.
about a hundred general. Bibliographical aids and critiques account for the remainder.

Tabulations play a large part. In every case they have been checked and adapted to the special needs of this study. Percentages are to slide-rule accuracy only. In but few cases are the original data trustworthy enough to warrant any refinement beyond this, or treatment by more sophisticated statistical techniques than simple percentage tables. I would think that accuracy beyond two significant figures in any quantitative compilation is dubious, but I have retained the extra digits. (Unfortunately the maps are not as numerous as of the technical quality that I wish. Time and expense were important factors in limiting them to the present unsatisfactory four.) In the published form of this essay, I believe that this defect will be remedied. The same considerations apply to the illustrations.

In setting down the results of this research, I have been conscious of the needs and interests of several different groups of prospective readers. Beyond its review by professional historians (who will necessarily pass on its primarily technical competence) the work has been aimed at a body of professional Mayanists and Americanists. Their concerns range from archaeology to studies of contemporary community groups; I have tried to place in their hands a synthesis which preserves many of the details so necessary for comparative purposes, and for their "acculturation" studies.
The essay has in some degree also been aimed at a group of general readers in Mexico, and more especially, in Yucatan. Mexican and Yucatecan writers have provided excellent summaries of Yucatecan political events and the men involved in them. Until recently, only minor attempts were made to go outside the political arena and to trace and interrelate the equally important social and economic developments with the political. A giant stride forward in this respect has been taken under state auspices, with appearance of the *Enciclopedia Yucatanense*. It is an eight-volume survey with a broad coverage of topics in long articles by qualified authorities. To date I have seen only four volumes (I–II, IV–V). Perhaps one of the services the present study can perform is to draw Yucatecan attention to some sources in English and German that are sometimes not exploited to the fullest by local investigators. In the hope that others will be aided in their efforts to complete a picture of Yucatan, I have arranged the footnotes and bibliography in the form advocated by historians, rather than according to that of disciplines from whom I have borrowed concepts and data — ethnology, archeology, geography, sociology and the other similar fields.

Pleasant but always difficult are acknowledgments for aid in collecting and arranging the scattered materials that I have utilized. Uniformly helpful have been the several librarians, bibliographers, and archivists on whom so much of scholarship depends. For careful preparation of the typescript I am grateful to Mrs. Sylvia L. Reynolds, and for careful editorial review to Mrs. Harrison G. Carnegie Foundation.

Among Mexican friends who provided me with aid I should like especially to thank Guillermo Rojas. Invaluable for my purposes were diverse materials which Yucatecans freely placed at my disposal; the manuscripts and periodicals of the period which Alfredo Barrera Vásquez has collected were especially useful and delightful, accompanied as they were by unbounded hospitality. Ricardo López Méndez's private library, containing rare Yucatecan periodicals and almost unobtainable books and some manuscripts, is a treasure; López Méndez' kindness in preparing microfilms of any items that struck my fancy will not soon be forgotten. Unfortunately, circumstances prevented my search in the collections of the Archeological Museum in Yucatan, or in the large private collection of Carlos R. Menéndez in Mérida.

In this country, Ralph Roys and France V. Scholes each have helped me. Through Roys I have had access to the Hacienda Chichen papers, copied for him and the Carnegie Institution of Washington by Jorge Ignacio Rubio Maíz,
and to some Maya letters which Roys has translated. Dr. Scholes has saved me from some egregious blunders in Yucatecan colonial history; on the positive side he has been generous with information and constructive criticism.

Professor Clarence H. Haring originally suggested the Caste War as a topic of investigation, and has made helpful corrections while the manuscript was in progress. Robert Redfield and Dr. Alfred Kidder of the Carnegie Institution have each encouraged the research. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Paul H. Buck, Provost, for the time and the fellowship funds he allocated for completion of this study. Harvard University, through him, has borne the financial brunt. In addition, as tutor and friend opened up for me the vistas of social history.

It goes almost without saying that none of these persons can be held responsible for errors which undoubtedly have crept in. I am sure that the present study has all the defects of a pioneer work, and can only hope that general utility will counterbalance them.

H. F. Cline

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January, 1947
CHAPTER ONE

The Background: A survey view

"The province of Yucatan, which on maps has the shape of a pear, is a peninsula surrounded by sea on three sides. It is not like the other lands God created, but much different. And because of this it does not appear that God created it, but that later it created itself."

Fr. José Paredes, local XVIIth century savant.

"All of the many who have seen Yucatan say that it is a mysterious and unique land; they agree that it is well named 'The Country that is like no other.' This is certainly true, especially when one views it from the outside looking inward."

Antonio Medís Bolio, a modern Yucatecan poet.
Through Yucatan's history one constant theme of its development has been regional individuality. Consistently its peoples have given a peculiar and typical impress to the main currents that have touched the peninsula from outside. Both as a colonial province in the realm of New Spain and then as part of the Mexican nation, Yucatan has been a unit, conscious of its own differences. Because of its geographic isolation, Yucatan has sometimes stood merely on the edge of important movements that reached full force elsewhere in the area that is now modern Mexico, with the result that they affected Yucatecans little, belatedly, or even not at all. Conversely, removed by distance and other barriers from centers of authority, its leaders and people have usually had an opportunity to pioneer. On occasion this freedom from pressure has allowed them to make significant contributions which perhaps would have been hindered by more rigid orthodoxies elsewhere. Whatever its causes, there has been and continues to be among Yucatecans a self-conscious and vivid sense of regional distinctness.

The spirit of particularism now falls short of an imperative urge to political autonomy. In the period
treated here, the early part of the nineteenth century, Yucatecans made a number of attempts to cap their cultural unity by a political self-sufficiency, either as an autonomous republic or a self-governing area only very loosely linked to Mexico. Upon one occasion, they hoped to join the United States. Hopes for annexation to the United States, or even plenary control of local affairs within a Mexican framework, were completely dissipated by a native uprising. Its complex origins are a chief topic here.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the political relations between Yucatan and Mexico reached a stable equilibrium. It has endured to the present. Localistic tendencies are almost completely confined to literary spheres. Strivings for political independence ceased after Mexican troops were called in 1849 to help quell the War of the Castes. Twentieth century Yucatecans have been at some pains to disavow the early nineteenth century efforts at political separatism.

A number of elements have combined to produce the modern feelings of distinctness and regional solidarity. The pre-conquest existence of a sole native tradition, the Maya, then its long interaction with a single western one -- colonial Spanish evolving to Yucatec creole -- has been an important feature. Yucatan was not a melting pot; only two main streams commingled there. Yucatan's position as a peninsula is significant. The habitat is a sharply
defined topographic unit without noteworthy marginal Indian or European cultures. Its physical limitations have regularly exerted powerful, and usually negative, influence on the populations occupying it. To gain some insight into the complexity of the Yucatecan experience, investigators from a number of allied disciplines have long been busy studying Yucatan, ancient and modern, from various points of view.3

Both a geographical and historical perspective seems essential for understanding the place and its people. Although simple geographical determinism is wholly inadequate to explain fully cultural developments in Yucatan, there are few areas of Mexico where the insistent forces of geography stand so clearly revealed. And even to the casual observer the press of the past is unescapable. The paragraphs below attempt a brief sketch and summary of established reference material, to give the minimum information about its geography and history needed as background for the reader unfamiliar with Yucatan. Little or no attempt is made to give a novel interpretation to either or to contribute many new bits of data beyond those already familiar to specialists.

Fortunately the essential items of information about Yucatan as a physiographic unit are few and simple. From the sixteenth century to the present have come descriptions of the place. They have grown in number, and are increasingly
more specialized during and after the nineteenth century. Accuracy of the views has been successively refined from the early days when Yucatan was believed to be an island, or when all of New Spain was called "Yucatan." Like a great work of art, under the apparent simplicities of Yucatan lies a complexity of detail and design which becomes more fascinating as analysis proceeds.

II

Yucatan is a peninsula of newly uplifted limestone. The province is a quadrilateral, karsted shelf that juts thumblike out to the north of the Mexican-Guatemalan highland mass. Bathed by the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico, when viewed from them it appears for the most part as a low, semi-arid, tropical region. Three sides are water-bounded, and on the fourth two large bays, Ascension and Laguna de Términos, make deep indentations on opposite sides. Continuation under the water for a distance of fifty to a hundred miles of the limestone shelf forms shoals. These hinder an approach by vessels of deep draft. The undersea portion of the limestone appears on charts as the Great Campeche or Yucatan Bank. Passengers and cargoes from ocean-going craft must resort to shallow draft lighters, an unsatisfactory and expensive means of getting to the actual shores of Yucatan. A continuous
sand-and-shell bar, lying close offshore like a rim runs parallel to the northern and part of the western coast which acts as an additional hindrance to entry via the sea. Though structurally connected with the highland mass on its fourth side, Yucatan is effectively cut off from intercourse with it by vegetation and lowland swamps. That is the justification for distinguishing "the mainland" from "the peninsula," a distinction found throughout the following pages. The belt is a continuation of growth which is typical of the general Gulf Plain regions of Mexico. Together with a broad area filled with dried up water courses, seasonal lakes, and useless savannah, it insulates the northern plain of Yucatan, on which traditionally its people have collected, from the large and powerful Mexican highland communities, historically the major centers of control over the appended lowlands.

Yucatan has many of the disadvantages of an island without its corresponding benefits. Its surrounding waters, useful defensively, are but poor highways. Vegetation covers the eastern parts of the peninsula to considerable depth, so that its people are cut off from Caribbean ports and commerce on that side. In thought and deed Yucatan has been tied to the Gulf. It is not surprising that the first Spaniards thought it was an island.
The land mass forming the peninsula is without major elevations. The area slopes gently downward from its connection with the land at the south. It has a mean extension of about two hundred miles before the shelf enters the water. Its mean breadth is approximately two hundred miles. The base line on the landward side has been variously selected, so that the territorial extent is diversely stated at from 47,000 to 55,400 square miles. This is about the size of England. Nearly seven hundred miles of coast form three of its boundaries, yet Yucatan has but few important natural harbors. In addition to shoals, its ports are hampered by adverse winds, including tropical hurricanes or less violent but hazardous "northers." The province has never developed significant maritime importance or seapower. It lies across no major trade route. In its domestic difficulties with Mexico in the middle of the nineteenth century Yucatan had to rent the Navy of the Republic of Texas.

The local landscapes and relief present a rather uniform picture. With the exception of rainfall, climate shares this regularity. Natural endowments are few. Yucatan has always offered to its populations unfavorable and even some irreducible natural circumstances to which they have had to adjust. What the peninsula lacks has fundamentally affected its human evolution by setting with almost inflexible insistence some low ceilings and narrow boundaries for
human activity. Variable and often scant rainfall, practically no surface and little stored water, generally poor soils, together with negligible deposits of exploitable minerals and no water-power have limited its economic life to a few specialized forms of agriculture and to small extractive forest industries.

The sole natural elevations that vary monotonously flat territory are two small ranges of low hills. The higher is generally known as the Sierra de Yucatán (to the Maya as uitz); the other and lower takes the Maya name of Puuc. One end of the Sierra begins on the west coast just below Campeche. Its blufflike rises parallel the coast northward nearly to Maxcanu, then bend sharply eastward. The communities of Ticul, Tekax, and Peto mark the course of the Sierra eastward across the plain. Each of these lie at the southern foot, and are known as "Hill towns" though placed at the base rather than on the heights. From an eastern point near Peto, the Sierra then stretches toward the southeast; it eventually loses itself in the various mountains of British Honduras. Maximum elevations in Yucatan do not exceed a thousand feet. The range consists of long wormlike ridges, in the longitudinal valleys of which are pockets of reddish and rather fertile loam. The Sierra acts as a useful point of reference, as its west-east course bisects the habitable portion of the peninsula. To the north lies a rough but level limestone plain. To the
south behind it stands a raised plateau dotted with detached hills.\textsuperscript{10}

The Puuc is even less significant than the Sierra. It is often considered as a part of it rather than as a separate formation. The Puuc is essentially one long low rolling hill which stretches from Maxcanu to Becanchén, paralleling the Sierra at short distance to the north of it. Though inconsequential in comparison to lofty ranges on the mainland mass from which Yucatan extends, the slight elevations represented by the Sierra and the Puuc have been influential in shaping population patterns. The two have been more an inconvenience than a real barrier to internal communication and development.

The plain to the north of the Sierra slopes almost imperceptibly to the Gulf. Slightly different in geological structure from the area to the south, it appears as an undulant limestone floor with outcropping ridges and hummocks of bare rock, between which thin pockets of soil collect. No rivers are found on the plain. Its water supply consists of cenotes, discussed below. At the base of the Sierra and continuing south of it more fertile soils are found, but their full utilisation is handicapped by insufficient natural water supply.

The often worthless soils of Yucatan range in character and color from hard pale yellowish on the plain, known as chich-lum and tsekel, to more useful loams near and behind
the Sierra. These latter are blackish ones (ek-lum or box-lum) or reddish (chac-lum) with intermediate types (yax kax). One type found in the north is of relatively recent origin; it has small economic worth. At old established henequen plantations the accumulated refuse of stripped agave leaves creates a soil known as tierra de bagazo. Compared to soils of higher latitudes, those of Yucatan are less fertile. The useful ones are few, and discontinuously distributed. Large scale agriculture for raising cereals, for instance, would be unlikely there.

Lying wholly in the tropics, Yucatan records high temperatures. They are not offset by any altitudes, though they are often tempered by cooling easterlies. Summer months find the weather hot, cloudy, and humid, with winter months warmer, drier, and clearer, -- hot days and cool nights being the rule. Interior parts and the southern half of the peninsula are generally warmer than the northern coastal fringes and the northern half, over which refreshing winds may play. Relative humidities, an index to human comfort, display much the same trends: lower in the north, higher in the south. High temperatures and humidities, heavier rains, poorer soils make the southern half of the peninsula much less appealing as a habitat than the cooler, drier, more healthy north.

Rainfall underlies many local diversities. As an almost exclusively agricultural area, Yucatan's rain or
its lack becomes highly important to the social well-being of its inhabitants. Rain is unevenly distributed, in place and time. The total amount of rain that one section receives differs significantly from that of another. The rainfall tends to increase progressively from northwest to southeast in the northern half of the peninsula. The southern half gets more rain and gets it oftener than does the northern. Progreso, a port on the northwest, reports only a scant eighteen inches of rain. This increases to about thirty at Mérida and forty-seven at Chichen Itza; at a point slightly beyond Valladolid perhaps fifty inches may fall. Thus the area from the northwest coast to Mérida is a semi-arid zone, with insufficient rainfall for general agriculture. From Mérida to around Chichen lies a zone of seasonably abundant but not overabundant rain, while beyond Chichen to the east and southeast begins an area of sufficient to perhaps overabundant moisture.

Unfortunately these general tendencies are sometimes upset. From year to year amounts of rain within a given area display large ranges. Much less or much more than the "average" is likely either to starve or to drown the zone. Most of the rainfall in the northern half of the peninsula is concentrated in a few months, from May or June to September or October. Rains are followed by the dry season, a period when little or no rain falls, when the
peninsula becomes semi-arid, with vegetation sere and dry and the people dependent on stored water.

Variability of the date when rains begin makes the native agriculturist weather-conscious and weather-wise. If error in his prediction creeps into deciding the time to start preparing for a crop at the end of the dry season, there is given little chance to rectify his mistake. The consequence is misery for a year. The ritual calendar of native groups corresponds closely with the rhythm of the rains, and even the military operations of the Caste War adjusted to it. Redfield has remarked that the "piling up of the clouds in the spring, and the first thunder, and the first downpour remind the Indian of the reality of his rain-gods; but the uncertainty as to whether enough rain will fall to enable him to raise a crop suggests their worship and propitiation."

Climate and especially rain are, of course, directly reflected in plant zones. The high forests on the east and south, the shorter mixed forest and savannahs of the central sections, and the low scrubby growths in the drier sections of the extreme north and west are also an index of agricultural possibilities of those areas. Nearly all the peninsula is covered by plant cover of one sort or another, ranging from swampy growths on the coasts through a dry scrub forest in the northwest (generally about twelve to twenty feet high, with isolated trees as high as sixty
to eighty feet) to high tropical forests that ring it on
the east and south.\textsuperscript{18} The plateau south of the Sierra
gives way at its lower extreme to swampy ground that then
edges into very high forest growth.\textsuperscript{19}

Among several natural conditions conspiring to restrict
sizable groupings of Yucatecan population is hydrography.
Yucatan has no rivers at all in its northern half, and only
few and unimpressive ones in the far south. Most of its
rainfall rapidly sinks through porous limestone into under-
ground systems. Hydrography has several and obvious social
repercussions. They range from native water-god cults to
the evolution of a peonage system.\textsuperscript{20} Water supplies are a
constant preoccupation of native agriculturalists. Most of
them would choose a less fertile patch of land near water
in preference to a more productive one far from a water
supply.\textsuperscript{21} Maya ruins cluster around water supplies, and
but few natural water supplies fail to show evidences of
occupance.

The two major natural sources of water have been cenotes
and caverns, sometimes supplemented by natural or artificial
reservoirs. Well-digging techniques were not highly devel-
oped among the pre-conquest Maya, but were introduced (in a
limited way) by Spaniards. Not until late in the nineteenth
century did steel windmills become a characteristic and note-
worthy feature on the Yucatecan landscape.\textsuperscript{22}
Caverns of great depth, in the bottom of which is water, seem to have formed the water supply in the hilly and raised land south of the Sierra. Entrance to the underground grottoes often was long, rough, and dangerous. John L. Stephens, and his artist companion Frank Catherwood, nineteenth century explorers in Yucatan, left graphic descriptions of the difficulties involved in obtaining water from them. Apparently lack of water had caused some Maya to abandon the area even before Conquest.

North of the Sierra, cenotes are characteristic. They are natural wells formed by erosion of limestone when surface water passes through it. Depending on the degree of erosion, several different types of cenote are distinguishable, but all are more accessible than caverns. Usually a cenote is a circular opening in the limestone, from one to several yards in diameter, below which (at varying depth) is found water. Often the walls are relatively perpendicular, but the sides may be either concave or convex. When over a long period limestone rubble fills the bottom of a cenote, its outward sloping sides form a cuplike depression that is a reservoir rather than a self-renewing source of fresh water after debris has blocked it off from underground feeders. Such a natural reservoir is then known as an aguada. If sufficiently large, an aguada may hold water through most of the dry season. In the nineteenth century, such a supply gathered round it a motley human and animal
population whose regular supplies had not withstood the long dry period. In addition to *aguadas*, both preconquest Maya and their successors constructed rock tanks and other means of storing liquid. Various minor sources of water, such as artificial wells, and even spring holes of fresh water under Gulf waters, supplemented but did not wholly replace *cenotes*, *aguadas*, and caverns as chief water suppliers in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Migration and settlements followed upon discovery or creation of new water sources. In less than twenty years after an Indian searching for an agricultural site struck water, Becanchen grew there from a wilderness to a community of six thousand. One remarkable feature of nineteenth century Yucatan was that the Maya descendants of natives who had tilled and built before the coming of the Spaniards had apparently lost the location of many watering places used by their forefathers. This unusual lapse and break in tradition, remarkable in a semi-arid land, was paralleled by their inability to account for objects found within Maya ruins or to muster many credible historical traditions connected with them. Creole entrepreneurs were more wont to renovate and make use of the water supplies and storage facilities associated with ruins than were Maya. In doing so, they assured themselves of a stable labor supply. This was more especially true for areas south of the Sierra than north of it.
Writers a hundred years apart noted that water rights and its control, rather than ownership of land, was the principal base on which rested the oligarchic society of Yucatan. An eighteenth-century official pointed out that Indians were willing to bind themselves over to white hacienda owners in return for use of his land and especially his water. Nearly a century later a German traveler wrote that although most of the land was in possession of a few families, it was chiefly their ownership of water that created a characteristic serfdom. Stephens (and his companion Catherwood) often commented on the enormous social force ownership of water could bring to bear. Stephens noted that most of the wealth and enterprise of large proprietors was devoted to procuring and storing water to act as a lure for Indian labor. When through force of circumstance natives made use of hacienda facilities, they were brought within the web of debt peonage and usually became permanently attached to the place. "This state of affairs," he wrote in 1842, "growing out of the natural position of the country, exists, I believe, nowhere in Spanish America except in Yucatan."

As a habitat, then, the Yucatan peninsula is characterized by insularity, low and monotonous relief, monod landscapes and rainfall lines, and an almost wholly subterranean water supply system. Its advantages do not generally offset its poor agricultural resources, its lack of minerals, and
its unpredictable rainfall. Most of the population has traditionally clustered in the more healthful and tillable northern half of the peninsula, and most generally in the central and western sections of that area. Archeological sites and reports indicate that in earlier times more habitation in the east was not unknown.

During the period from 1821 to 1858 Yucatan was a political as well as a topographic unit, except at its southern corners. At its extreme southeast and southwest limits, each tending to overlap on to the main land mass, were two political units: British Honduras and Tabasco. The former centered around Belize, with whose officials and smugglers Yucatecans had difficulties throughout the Caste War. Tabasco enters the narrative hardly at all. The remainder of the peninsula was "Yucatan," as employed in the following pages. Sometimes it was labelled a "province," at others a "department," or a "state," depending on the prevailing official fashion in nomenclature. Centralist politicians liked to call the Mexican units "departments" to emphasize their dependence on the central national capital, while Federalists accentuated the idea of local sovereignty implicit in the word "state." Most nineteenth century officials shied away from the term "province" as smacking of discredited colonialism, against which the wars of independence had been fought. Earlier, of course, "intendancy" or "province" were the customary terms.
Yucatan, as consistently employed below, included a large territory. It was the whole peninsula, minus British Honduras and Tabasco. The administrative unity of the area was broken in 1863 by official Yucatecan recognition of the separate State of Campeche, confirmed by national legislation in 1861. A second partition was the erection of the Territory of Quintana Roo in 1902. The parent unit, the pre-caste war State of Yucatan, was thus successively reduced in size. Where in 1830 there had been but one local political capital for administration of the whole peninsula, in 1861 there were two, in 1902, three. Colonial geographic unity was successively shattered within a century of Independence.

Over the years since men first lived on Yucatan, the territory was organized by them for their needs in different ways. To describe the processes and results which alter a cultural landscape in the hands of diverse civilizations which successively dominate and occupy an area, geographers invented and use the term "sequent occupancy." Each society imposes upon the habitat a characteristic impress, guided by its needs and notions, by its own ideals and necessities. Land use and settlement patterns thus reflect a culture; the change or persistence of these patterns gives a clue to historical continuities or important transformations wrought at the hands of intruders. Adaptation and rejection of traits and practices, acculturation and
assimilation, also leaves a record on the land. Yucatan has had "sequent occupancy."

III

The general sequence of peoples and cultures on Yucatan is fairly well-known. Important details of its history before the Spaniards came, its Maya pre-history, are currently in the process of revision, and are therefore controversial, but lying outside the zone of dispute even for those epochs is a relatively large body of established material. Though gaps occur in its post-conquest history, developments then are on firmer ground, thanks more to documentary than to archeological testimony.

The stream of events which preceded 1541-42, a date when conquistadores finally and permanently established themselves, in general forms the pre-history of Yucatan. Its more formal history follows. Until 1821, a handful of colonial Spaniards ruled the area and its Maya populations under the Spanish Crown; usually termed the Colonial period. From independence in 1821 to the present is the "modern" era. In each of these long spans of time numerous and different shifts took place, with the tempo of change especially accelerated in the past four or five generations.

Before the high developments of Maya civilization occurred, the peninsula was occupied by peoples about whom little is unequivocally established. Recent publications
call them "Proto-Maya." Two long and variant phases of Maya civilization have left numerous marks and remains; so-called Maya Old Empire and New Empire sites and artifacts provide archeologists and an increasing corpus of fact on which to base hypotheses. When Spaniards arrived in the early sixteenth century, a form of Maya New Empire culture and society blanketed Yucatan. After an initial period of shock, when some major disparities between Maya and European institutions were adjusted by force if necessary, Spanish hegemony was extended and matched by the slow evolution of a local Hispano-Indian colonial society; its main features became stabilized before the end of the sixteenth century, and the equilibrium continued beyond the middle of the eighteenth.

Stemming primarily from directed royal reforms under the Bourbon monarchs who replaced Hapsburgs, a variant form of colonial development began to appear in the last half of the eighteenth century, and in some respects continued to dominate for nearly a century. The institutions and ideas resulting from the Bourbon Renaissance and its continuation in the early days of independence could be labelled "Neo-colonial." They seem to be a blend of the older Hispano-Indian Yucatecan ways, shot through with newer doctrines, in the main derived from the Cartesian rationalism and the leading ideas of the eighteenth century enlightenment in politics and economics that burgeoned especially in western Europe and North America.
The cultural Neo-colonial period was broken politically by various movements for independence and autonomy. For New Spain these finally succeeded in 1821, giving birth to the modern sovereignty of Mexico. Colonial dominance in social and cultural fields did not wane as rapidly as it did in the political; it is recognizable and significant possibly as late as the triumph of the Mexican Reform in 1857, and maybe did not terminate definitely until a decade later, when French Intervention was unmistakably overthrown in 1867. In word and deed Mexico from that time has been an integral part of the modern Machine Age, whose complex and internationalized forces have had increasing regional reflection and significance.

As later parts of this study indicate, the peninsula of Yucatan began to drift into the Machine Age a little earlier than many other parts of Mexico. With the exception of a few cataclysmic events like Conquest and the Caste War, transition from one to another period was generally slow and peaceful, as well as incremental and cumulative: at any one time many features of the preceding eras stood side by side with budding or partially developed characteristics of a new. An impressive fact about the evolution of Yucatan is the continued stability of its basic social institutions. In the nineteenth century over them the heat-lightning of political factionalism played from time to time, usually without major effect.
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The extent of the total span of Yucatecan history remains controversial. The date when first groups permanently settled there is still questionable. Some of the older views, that significant populations did not exist until perhaps the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era have been rather completely revised by more recent finds of dated artifacts, Maya stelae and lintels, which indicate that a sophisticated civilization had been present in the upper part of the peninsula in A.D. 475. Pottery, plus architectural sequences at different sites point to even longer earlier occupancy and a relatively undisturbed evolution. The accompanying chart has presented a simplified and still tentative view of the history, or pre-history, of Yucatan as recently seen by a leading Mayanist, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley.31

Fairly certain is the fact that native peoples flourished on Yucatan for from one to two millennia before the advent of Spaniards. Two major epochs of high civilization, the Old and New Empires, have left archeological remains and cultural heritages; the Old Empire had a wide extension in Middle America, with its chief centers on the mainland, but with frontier places in the present Yucatan peninsula. Northern Yucatan was a major focus of New Empire activities, and it was one of the latter phases of New Empire Maya that Europeans encountered there. Colonial Spanish domination lasted about a quarter of a millennium.
Inevitably Conquest brought important changes in culture and society on Yucatan. Sixteenth century Spaniards found a civilization that offered native Maya satisfying and practical answers to most of the problems of daily existence and recurrent crises in the life cycle of the individuals. Authority was sanctioned by tradition. The culture was still a sophisticated one, but had apparently declined in quality, perhaps in content, from arrangements in vogue during various earlier periods of Old and New Empires, some of whose inventions and achievements in art and science remained unmatched.

Sixteenth-century Maya fell below standards of excellence and skill set by their forebears, but they continued to practice many of the techniques developed earlier. Priests could still manipulate the complex calendar; hieroglyphic writing had not disappeared as an art (or science). Daily existence seemingly was much the same as in earlier days, but larger political unities or unity no longer bound Maya together. Localism had developed rather far after a breakdown of a semi-national feudal state of New Empire times, when city-states had leagued together, or had finally succumbed to the hegemony of Mayapan. The first Spanish settlers and administrators encountered the area subdivided into perhaps eighteen or twenty small units (which they called provincias or cacicazgos) without larger political unification. Famous earlier centers -- Chichen, Uxmal, T'ho -- were not in extensive use.
Apparently there remained to these sixteenth century Maya at conquest some common general features. They used a common tongue, a social system based on recognized classes, a widely-shared pantheon whose mythical beings probably varied in number and attributes from one locality to another, a vast corpus of folk tradition for guidance of everyday activity, and memories of a Golden Age. At conquest Maya as a group on Yucatan had sentimental and some social homogeneity, but virtually no political unity or sense of nationality beyond the bounds of their province. Perhaps they were a nation; they were not a state.

The changes and interchanges between this high native culture and the Spanish version of Western European civilization has been and probably will continue to be subject, both of careful investigation and of heated polemic. There is no question that native heritages and aspirations underwent change, some forced and obvious, others slow, incremental, and in spheres not yet investigated. The Spaniards established their form of society on the peninsula, and sought to extend its ideals, aspirations and forms by force, persuasion and example, in the belief that while contributing to their own self-interest the benefits of European civilization would improve Maya in this world and the next.

When the two cultures are juxtaposed, native Maya and colonial Spanish, each seems respectively relatively homogeneous; yet when both are separately examined with some
care, rather wide variations within each are not unusual. The result was that interaction of the one group with the other did not always produce uniform, predictable, and universal consequences. Even though continued contact produced a generalized Hispano-Indian society peculiar to Yucatan, regional and sectional variations survive. Depending largely on purpose in view, either the likenesses or the differences may be legitimately stressed; both were present, each is important. The dynamics of the process are far from clear, but from historical interaction between the two vital ways of life, Indian and Spanish, emerged a society sui generis, a fusion of elements in each that produced a blend which in many respects was unlike either parent.

IV

Conquest of Yucatan, and pacification of Maya there, finally took place between 1542 and the end of the sixteenth century. Compared to other similar Spanish conquests or pacifications, the Spaniards on Yucatan found few major difficulties and exercised a minimum of cruelty. Numbers of natives voluntarily pledged their loyalty to the Montejos, a family to whom this conquest had been delegated in 1526. By the end of the sixteenth century, the country was secured, not only in a military sense, but socially as well, under political domination of Spaniards. The usual organs of control, political, judicial, and economic had been
established, and were functioning. Under Franciscans a missionary program was put under way, and grew apace after the first dangerous native reactions to conquest had been quelled.34

Details of institutional growth, and development of Spanish domination in ecclesiastical, social, and other spheres on Yucatan are topics of investigation which lie outside the boundaries of this study. Relevant, however, to the extended treatment of sectionalism and localism in Yucatan provided below, is brief mention of the Spanish policy which helped preserve particularistic sentiments among the conquered Maya. Conquerors adapted and left relatively intact the administrative machinery of local communities, even fairly sizable areas by accepting as subordinate but co-rulers the native nobility which they encountered on arrival. Political unity of the province was obtained through incorporation of native leaders in the colonial administrative hierarchy.

Each cacique, later often indifferently termed gobernador, was responsible for his territory, sometimes a hereditary family domain. Each major settlement had a cacique or gobernador of native stock. To aid him in administrative tasks, annually elected were aides, who, with him, formed the "Republic" of the community, its official governing body. Their duties and functions varied slightly from place to place, but generally one
was appointed to see that natives prepared a minimum number of maize acres to sustain their families; another was given charge of the town buildings, still another (the fiscales) acted as liaison between the priests and the natives, collecting dues and seeing that children attended school.

Often an extensive community or an area was subdivided into barrios. At the head of each barrio was an indio principal named by the cacique, responsible to him. In turn barrios were again subdivided into blocks, each of which formed a company of Indians headed by a cabo, "so that thus these subdivisions each looks to its principal Indian, who is named by the cacique," said a seventeenth century writer. One unusual official in the barrio was the Patrón de los enfermos; elected the first day of each new year, this official's duty was to visit the sick, and as badge of office was allowed to carry a cane with a cross on the top. Creation of the post did not stem completely from charitable instincts or pity for the unwell; the patrón visited them daily so that when they were about to die he could fetch the priest who would perform final rites, so that the soul would rest in Christian peace. Thus below caciques, administration was rather insulated from European interference. Ralph Hoys has provided information on the mutual adaptation of the pre-conquest local governmental system and its development into a Hispano-Indian institution.
The Spaniards maintained a *pax hispanica* by recognizing local caciques, but substituting treaties and conferences among them to settle problems rather than letting them settle their differences by war. In Yucatan, administration of Indian affairs was kept as distinct as possible from the organs which regulated life of the Spaniards. This separation was generally throughout Hispanic America, and in general reflected contemporary ideas about the nature of the Indians. For some purposes considered free vassals with souls to be saved, still they were special wards of the Crown since for designated phases of life they were held to be less morally and legally responsible than European Christians. Through most of the colonial period, for instance, they were not subject to processes of the Inquisition.

Extension of Spanish ways proceeded from main centers like Merida, Valladolid, and Izamal, with lesser hubs of diffusion at Izamal, Campeche, and places where monasteries were early established. Bacalar, deep in forest, remained a garrison outpost. Only Merida was a city; Campeche, Valladolid (on a new site, in its present location), and Bacalar were villas. The area comprised within a line connecting them rather well bounds the areas of colonial Spanish influences, more strongly fixed in the triangle made by linking Merida to Campeche and to Valladolid, and these latter to each other.
Yucatan's colonial development paralleled other agricultural regions in Hispanic America, with due allowance for the usual local variations imposed by history and habitat. This phase of its history has received considerable investigation, which more or less establishes the generalization that although some unique tendencies might have been found there, due to its isolation and presence of the Maya, in very broad terms it followed trends characteristic of the Empire. At first its Spanish population labored zealously to pacify, settle, and Hispanicize the area. Within two or three generations after first conquest, enthusiasm and activity waned, as stability, routine, and security took root. Its annals of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century are punctuated by few notable events, and those chiefly raids of corsairs, expeditions against the British at Belize, and wordy jurisdictional battles among Crown officials or the settlers whose prerogatives seemed threatened. Chief impression of these decades is that they represented an epoch of incremental change, wherein with little bloodshed the unmistakable impress of Hispanicization marked Yucatan, at least externally. Conquerors and conquered learned to live together with decreasing number of recurrent rebellions and massacres.

Uneventful existence tended to lapse almost imperceptibly into lassitude. Provincialism became ingrown. Through the Empire, under the later Hapsburgs, crept a slow paralysis,
stifling and inhibiting. Administration grew topheavy and corrupt; economic life in agricultural areas dwindled slowly toward a standstill; pioneering surges grew less frequent, as basic adjustments in older settled areas crystallized and remained hardened. Resistance to change was strong and incentives for it were lacking. In literature, a studied obscurity and ambiguity known as Gongorism or culturanismo displaced the virility of earlier chroniclers and poets. "Colonial churches were overloaded with jewels and color; saints were overdressed in velvets, silk, and tinsel.... There was also a baroque element in fashion and in conversation. Men exaggerated in dress, manners, speech, dancing, praying. They had a florid way about them.... In the artificial and flowery court life of Mexico and Peru, an easy, gallant, or picareseque tongue was always welcomed; court poets tried to surpass each other in ornate phrases, fantastic images, high sounding verses, and unusual conceits.... Thus, the Creole style in ideas as well as words was overladen, conceptual, and artificial....

With probably but little exaggeration a Yucatecan, writing from the vantage point of 1845 when "progressivism" was at its height, summed up the general condition of the province in 1720. "Sad indeed was the scene which the country presented: corrupt Franciscans, ignorant seculars of impure habits, public authorities trafficking in a most ignominious manner to the common shame, citizens suffering
under a degrading tyranny, and the unfortunate natives converted into slaves. Certain families, frequently with the connivance of the Governor, had turned the colony into their patrimony. Robbery, extortion, and force were enthroned.7 Even later in the eighteenth century, when reform became an official policy, attempts to change the situation met opposition.37

A shift of dynasty in Spain from Hapsburg to Bourbon ultimately sent revitalizing influences through the Empire. In a peculiarly Spanish way, later imperial policies were an offshoot of the Age of Enlightenment and benevolent despots in Europe; reforms undertaken by Bourbons aimed less at relaxing previous restrictions for the sole object of liberal colonial rule for its own sake than at efficient administration which would make dependencies more profitable for the strengthened Crown. Although foreshadowed from the beginning of the century when Bourbons took over the throne, most of the rejuvenating actions took place during and after the reign of Charles III. His ministers and colonial administrators energetically attacked many anachronisms and tried to modify important colonial institutions and practices to reinforce Bourbon regalism and forward economic renovation of the empire.38

If reports may be credited, Yucatan at this time was still a static area where commercial and social life moved slowly. Apathy characterized its inhabitants, reported two
royal commissioners. Creoles trained their children to be like themselves, that was, less addicted to trade and to war than to "love, inaction, and repose." Though Yucatecans had capabilities the torpid atmosphere created by forest growths had apparently impaired full development of their potentialities, the officials averred, but they hastened to point out that the same forests presented opportunities useful to Yucatecans and the Empire. Lack of vigor among creoles accompanied poverty, ignorance, and natural laziness of Maya, "a nation born to perpetual pupilage." The commissioners felt that natives had to be guided toward civilization, which they might possibly reach in the dim future if Maya kept hard at work; the investigators warned against hasty reform that would lessen labor, as such a policy would mark Spaniards as "indiscreet parents" of their Indian wards. The report outlined suggestions for material improvement of the peninsula, which under the free trade doctrines its writers advocated, would make Yucatan valuable to the Empire as an agricultural, possibly even a maritime province. Though its memory was still fresh, the commissioners did not stress the severity of a servile revolt in 1761, though apparently it made deep impression on Yucatecan minds. Other views of Yucatan at the same time provide less detail but emphasize its inhabitants' disinclination for trade and their general desire to maintain without change the status quo.
Bourbon reforms, however, began to enliven the peninsula in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Shortly after Campeche became a "free port" in 1770, the whole province was opened to free trade. Partly because of its new commercial importance, partly in recognition of its services to the Crown, especially against pirates, that place was raised in status to a city in 1777, after preliminary negotiations in 1724 and 1770. Campeche now shared that distinction with Merida, the capital. Not until 1812, however, did a second port, Sisal, share Campeche's monopoly as a port. Under trade revival cheaper imported goods lowered but did not wholly extinguish demands for Yucatecan cloth made around Valladolid; cotton production there declined perceptibly, though previously the area had produced twice as much as Campeche and Merida combined. From Yucatan the chief exports continued to be salt, wax, hides and cattle; when logwood was freed from export duties its production and shipments abroad rose sharply. Rice was introduced as a commercial crop, and a plan under way to form commercial fisheries never quite came to completion.

Increased trade swelled Crown revenues, as could be seen in detail from statistics. One noteworthy feature in Yucatan's developing commercial life was the fact it demanded and secured a special tariff, distinct from those more generally applicable to New Spain. The Crown granted Yucatecans special tariff privileges, and these subsequently
became a source of contention between Mexico and Yucatan when the latter, after independence, demanded similar treatment.  

Administrative changes formed an important part of Bourbon reform. In 1785-86 Indians whom Yucatecan families held in encomienda were transferred to jurisdiction of the Crown, so that native towns no longer paid fixed tributes to private holders of these grants, but individual Indians were responsible for paying annual tribute dues directly and solely to agents of the Royal Exchequer.  Though the system of Indian tribute payable to encomenderos had been generally proscribed through the Empire in the first decades of Bourbon rule, Yucatan had been exempted from proscriptive legislation; until the change came in 1786, only fourteen villages had paid tribute to the Crown (which in turn doled these sums out in the form of pensions), but afterward all male adult Maya fell under its direct and sole civil fiscal control, while the dispossessed encomenderos received pensions during the remainder of their lives to recompense them for loss of income from natives.  

The Ordinances which regulated the transfer from private to royal hands also simplified administration by equalizing levies, requiring more frequent and exact census data, and even unsuccessfully attempting to relieve Indians of certain Church dues.
At about the same time, Yucatan became an Intendancy under a new system of administration being applied to New Spain. These reforms aimed at relieving central authorities of onerous detail by delegating certain responsibilities to a provincial official, the Intendant, and in turn to his lesser local aides, sub-delegados. The latter had rather extensive powers, given him purportedly to carry forward needed adjustments of long-standing abuses. In Yucatan, sub-delegados in general purchased their offices and ran them on a profit-making basis rather than wholeheartedly attempting to alleviate social ills, especially those involving exploitation of native Maya.*

Intellectual and social movement accompanied these other changes. In education, for instance, a seminary was established, and while learning was by no means unshackled, over strenuous protests of some clergy the courses of study offered in Merida were broadened slightly; they still remained nominally ecclesiastical. Elementary schools for Indians were planned in great detail, and some may actually have functioned. A zealous Intendant and Captain-General, Lucas de Galvez, undertook civic reform and material improvements, especially around Merida. At his order street lights appeared for the first time in the capital, and after his time, in Campeche. His other activities are contained in a proposed inscription for a monument to him suggested by a Yucatecan in the 1840's: "to the memory of the illustrious
functionary who opened and repaired the public roads that Yucatan now has, who constructed the Alameda of this capital, improved its streets, and established good order in it. Too, under Gálvez there appeared a detailed census that indicated for 1789 some 333,382 inhabitants (exclusive of Tabasco), of whom nearly sixteen percent were whites, with almost ten percent Negro hybrids, the remainder Maya. The figure was a marked gain over the 214,974 souls reported for 1772, and a slight increase over 1789 to 1794 could be noted in the total of 358,287 enumerated then.

These evidences of stirring and growth in late colonial times were quantitatively and substantively small. They were, however, signs that lethargy was slowly giving way to activity. They are of interest as first stages of tendencies that reached high development on the eve of the Caste War, when public inclination for material and intellectual progress displayed the fervor of a cult. From 1810 to 1821 some of the main directions Yucatan was to travel to and through the Caste War became more clearly evident. To an unusual degree the latter decade was a political one, as in it the influences of Europe reacted strongly in the colonies, and especially in Yucatan.

V

The complex affairs on the Continent left a legacy of difficulties to Yucatan, though undoubtedly the Emperor
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<th>Some key characteristics or event</th>
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<td>Campeche founded (1541); Merida founded (1542); New Laws (1542); Revolts (1586); Lopes' Ordinances (1582); Land Treaty of Mani (1558); Bishop Zorzi (1552); Inquisition (1562); Diego Quijada trials (1563-72); Landa's Relación (1566); encomenderos' Relaciones (1579-81); first monasteries; idiatri trials. Cattle economy.</td>
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<td>Ponce's Relación (1588); Diccionary (1588); San Francisco Diccionary (?); Márquez expedition (1581-84); Lisana's Historia (1583); spread of monasteries; compilation of grammars, etc.</td>
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<td>Sánchez de Aguilar, Informe (1539); Campeche sacked by filibusters (1633); Belize founded (1633); foreign loggers established at Carmen (1642 fr.); English land expedition in east (1684); Cugó's Historia (1688); ReoprellaclSn de leyes de Indias (1690). Apogee of Franciscans.</td>
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<td>Ineffective punitive expeditions against Belize. Famines. Beginning of cattle penetration in east Yucatan; lati fundismo increases; Indian revolt of Cistell (1761); Cook's Journey (1765). Logwood trade grows</td>
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<tr>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Bourbon Renaissance</td>
<td>Centralized rationalism to &quot;neo-Colonial&quot; (1785-1807) (emphasis on commercialism, technology, materialism).</td>
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Napoleon was unaware and uninterested in the fact. In 1808 he managed to capture and hold the recently enthroned King of Spain, Ferdinand VII, his prisoner in France, substituting as ruler a Bonaparte brother. The Spanish people evicted the usurper within three weeks and managed the country themselves through local, regional and a national assembly known as the Cortes. From the members of the Cortes a regency was formed to govern in the King's name, and to the Cortes came representatives from the overseas possessions which generally recognized its legitimacy. Though inner dissensions often split the Cortes it consistently legislated in a humanitarian, liberal, anti-clerical vein, as many members had been wooed and won by the heady doctrines of popular sovereignty and the Rights of Man emanating from nearby revolutionary France.

Consequently laws issued in the King's name by the Cortes undermined many bases of the Bourbon ancien regime: the new principles of limited monarchy, popular rule, and other innovations were codified in Cadiz in 1812 and shortly thereafter were officially adopted as a Constitution, to be the law of the land and overseas possessions. Specific liberal decrees and laws continued to flow from the Cortes until as a result of Napoleonic collapse in 1814, Ferdinand VII was returned to his throne in Spain. Although actions of the Cortes had represented the wishes of a people that had almost bled themselves white for their captured monarch,
Ferdinand's first acts were to nullify acts of the Cortes and the Constitution of 1812. This was followed by persecution of its sympathizers and proponents, in a futile attempt to re-establish Divine Right of Kings and the old Bourbon ways.

Eventually popular opposition grew sufficiently strong and organized to force Ferdinand's recognition of the Constitution of 1812, some nine years after it had first appeared. Meantime in the colonies movements for complete independence had gained strength and direction in face of opposition. Actual separation took place in 1821, after colonial aspirations went beyond willingness to remain dependent on an overseas monarch. Yucatan was apathetic until late, perhaps 1818 or 1819. Its two famous sons, Lorenzo de Zavala and Andrés Quintana Roo, helped liberal forces on the mainland, but found their home peninsula apathetic to notions of independence. However, after 1808, political activity there became marked, and was accompanied by other changes, generally initiated by the Spanish Cortes.

One such shift stemmed from the Constitution of Cadiz, Article 310 of which provided that numerous local communities be given organs of popular government, town councils. Up to that time only Merida, Campeche, and Valladolid had been considered important enough to warrant an ayuntamiento; other communities which were not wholly Indian depended on one or another of these. Following current doctrines,
Indian communities were divorced administratively from channels which guided communities of vecinos, créoles and Spaniards. 56

Indian settlements were locally administered by a república de indígenas or native republic. It consisted of a cacique or gobernador nominally appointed by the Governor of the province, together with annually elected native officials to aid him. A traveler in 1765 left a description of these functionaries; the cacique was then called an alcalde, and was distinguished from his aides by a square blue cloth embroidered at the corners, hung to his left shoulder. The Teniente, a wand with a cross at the top of it. The Fiscal wears a key, and a kind of a cat with three tails, bearing by office both the prison-keeper and executor of punishment. These badges of his office he always wears to his waist, hung to a sash around his body.

Though ostensibly responsible to the Governor, caciques and Indian affairs in general were handled for him by a special Tribunal in Merida, of which he was member. The Constitution of Cadiz made no distinction between Indian communities and those of vecinos in ordering establishment of ayuntamientos. Both Indians and créoles were eligible for posts in them, as the Constitution had simultaneously abolished purchasable memberships. The several components were to be elected directly, and in some of the elections, Indians became part of an important municipal council. Under provision of the Constitution need for the Indian Tribunal ceased and it temporarily disappeared. 57
One reason for increased number of councils was that they were to be the first steps in an electoral system based on popular sovereignty. Each municipal council elected representatives to a provincial assembly; it in turn chose delegates or representatives to the general Cortes in Spain. Nomination for offices above posts in an ayuntamiento (unlike election to the latter) was indirect. Wider suffrage immediately produced political jockeying for public favor; politics bred factionalisms, both in the period of the King's absence from 1808 to 1814 and again after 1820 when the Constitution of 1812 was re-established.

In the first era liberally minded creoles grouped around a small debating society which took the name San Juan from the barrio of Merida in which it met. Originally the sanjuanistas were pious laymen and minor clergy who met to discuss reform within the church; the chief extent of their activities was to circulate manuscript copies of Las Casas' denunciations of mistreatment of natives. To their roster were added young liberal reformers after 1812; the original nucleus expanded into a political party that espoused reform and barraged opponents with polemic, as political zeal had led to importation of Yucatan's first printing press in 1813, and the appearance of its first periodical, El Miscelaneo, in March of that year.
Less organized but potent was opposition to sanjuanistas and their ideas. High royal officials, many ex-encomenderos, upper clergy, and others whose interests were threatened by reform were named by sanjuanistas as "the Serviles" or "Followers of Routine" (rutineros). The division was similar to that in the Cortes itself, where "Liberals" opposed "Persians." Through their incessant efforts, sanjuanistas managed to gain control of most town councils, but their opponents, through means offered by indirect methods of selection, were a majority and preponderant influence in the provincial assembly and sent conservative delegates to Spain. The return of the King scattered the sanjuanistas, whose center of influence had been Merida; some were exiled and imprisoned, others merely recanted their lapses into liberalism.

When opportunity offered in 1820, political parties again formed, on slightly different bases. Campeche rather than Merida was the center of anti-conservative tendencies. In 1818 some shipwrecked liberals had there established Masonic lodges which acted as the spearheads of liberalism. Many former serviles enrolled, either because they wanted to spy or because they had lost their taste for Bourbon measures. An attempt to reestablish the Society of San Juan was not an unqualified success; so many shades of opinion were found, ranging from old-line conservatives to those who now openly advocated independence, that it lost
its effectiveness. In many respects party groupings mirrored regional rather than philosophical differences: Merida was in general less radical than its port, though all but a handful of creoles now favored increased home-rule and reforms. In the period immediately after independence the party labels changed, but political complexion and alignments did not.

Merida represented a rather conservative approach to solution of the peninsula's problems, while Campeche headed a group that took a stronger line or which merely disapproved what followed in the capital. Other consequences of early factionalism which carried over were bad habits the press had formed and the tendency of political groups to resort to extra-legal actions to attain party ends. The press was avowedly partisan and made little pretense of impartiality or self-restraint. Various groupings of official bodies during the period from 1812 to 1814, and again after 1820, joined to depose royal governors and other officials by alleging the will of the people and public emergency as justification. Generally these coups were peaceful if not orderly and legal, but precedents set were not favorable to development of political habits demanded by the democracy theoretically established after independence.

During the rule of the Cortes a fecund source of partisan differences was Spanish legislation on Indian affairs and the relations of natives to their masters. Strong in
their humanitarian and egalitarian beliefs, members of the Cortes by a few strokes of the pen sought to undo the developments of three centuries. The impact was especially disturbing to Yucatan, an area whose population was overwhelmingly native. Grant of suffrage to Maya for elections to ayuntamientos, though radical in contrast to the conservative practices of the place, presented no real threat to creole supremacy; as long as they controlled the economic life of Indians, political direction of them was relatively simple.

But in accepting their new status as voters and political equals, Indians lost some benefits which colonial legislation had bestowed on them as a special group. For instance, their community funds, collected annually by the Republic of Natives for each settlement and applicable by Spanish authorities to the needs of the local community, now became part of the general provincial funds. Probably the blow was not a great one, as the accumulated sums, amounting to a hundred eighty thousand pesos, had already been hypothecated by the Viceroy at the end of the eighteenth century. When Yucatan and Mexico separated themselves from Spain, the former clamored for repayment, an added complication in the troubled relations between the mainland and the peninsular governments. Too, as seen, suppression of the special Indian Tribunal in Merida, which by and large did as creditable a job as possible under the circumstances,
left Maya virtually unprotected in the torturous mazes of créole legal and administrative channels.

More dramatic in consequences was a decree issued November 9, 1812. The Cortes in it detailed Indian social rights and privileges. Forced labor was again abolished, excepting only civic obligations that bore with equal weight on all classes; these were generically known as fatigas, and usually meant work on community projects — roads or public buildings. Indians, which the Cortes said were on a par with all other classes, were to pay Church dues that were levied equally on other groups. This aimed at abolition of obventions, a money or work payment (sometimes transmuted to a fixed amount of goods or products) which alone was exacted from Indians, in distinction to the tithes which natives did not pay but which non-Indians did. The decree further demanded that Indians be given land in individual parcels for their own private use, and that they be eligible for scholarships and grants now especially to be set aside for them in educational institutions. Presumably the clause about lands was inspired by the same sentiments that led the Cortes to order that land be granted to veterans and loyal communities who had aided in wars against the French, in the belief that small private holdings would build prosperity.64

The decree of November 9 was not wholly disregarded on Yucatan. A previous one that with equal force threatened the well-being of the colony had not been acted on, for on
March 13, 1811, the Cortes had stated that payment of tribute to the Crown was to cease. This would have wiped out nearly half the revenues of Yucatan, and increased by some hundred twenty thousand pesos its annual operating deficit of more than eighty thousand pesos. By dubious reasoning the effects of the decree of 1811 were avoided, but even the great delay interposed between receipt of the order of November 9, 1812, and its publication on Yucatan in February, 1813, merely postponed without avoiding the consequences.

One aspect of the repartimiento system, forced labor, was thus again removed. Over protests of Yucatan and other provinces it had once been abolished in 1786 by reforms of that year, but apparently had in fact merely changed its name. By it natives worked at a low but legal wage, the profits on their labor reaped by contractors and entrepreneurs. In Yucatan one form of labor was preparation of cotton cloths, known locally as paties (from repartimiento?) by Indian women. Production of cloth stopped after February, 1813. Economic life of the peninsula, obviously dependent on Maya labor, was thrown into chaos. Price of cloth rose to extraordinary heights; Indian men ceased to collect wax, and rather than producing an exportable surplus, Yucatan was forced to borrow it from Cuba to keep churches alight; native agriculturalists raised only enough maize for household needs, so that four boatloads had to be imported for creole use from the United States.
Church establishments, secular and conventual, were hard hit. Seculars relied heavily on obventions to maintain the parochial churches, and they were main support of convents. Indians melted away from convents and refused to attend masses or other services. Even though presumably fees for Indian marriages, baptisms, and burials had been lowered to bring them into line with charges on other classes, natives did not voluntarily take advantage of the lowered costs; one Yucatecan historian ironically stated that Maya "did not believe that baptismal water did their children any special good, nor that they needed the blessing of the priest to propagate their species, or that to be buried in a cemetery consecrated by the Church advanced the soul more than in the forest." As revenues dropped off, smaller churches closed entirely, while others lacked care and candles. Clerics flocked to Merida, where strong opposition to the decree was mobilizing. Many conservative but non-clerical elements did not actively support church pleas for retention of obventions. Hacienda owners and other employers of Indian labor customarily were expected to advance to the Church payments for their Indians; the sums were added to the running accounts of the latter by which they were kept in peonage. Often Indians ran away or otherwise left the employer to bear the loss of such advances, which were regarded as a nuisance.69

However, in the midst of an acrimonious controversy
over obventions and privileges of Indians, return of Fer-
dinand out the ground from under radicals and left conserv-
ative elements triumphant. By special act of the Council
of Indies (a session the King personally attended) the
obventions were re-instated, and apparently the doctrine of
forced labor again ruled. The actions of the Maya left
strong impressions on even the most liberal Yucatecans;
native reluctance to work unless forced seemed clearly to
prove "the small influence that nearly three centuries of
European civilization had been able to exercise over the
conquered race."70 The question of payments by Indians
to church and state was not so easily settled: the prob-
lem remained to vex Yucatan and to act as one core of dis-
content which eventually produced the Caste War.

In 1821, as a result of political and military actions
in Mexico and the character of the last Spanish Governor,
Yucatan became independent of Spain. The transition was
simple and bloodless. The sanguinary civil wars, which
after 1810 had been gouging Mexico were absent from the
peninsula. The historically famous separatist movements
headed by Hidalgo, Morelos, and Guerrero in proclaiming
and maintaining independence were not matched, and hardly
even noticed, on Yucatan. The Grito de Dolores, the Mexican
declaration of autonomy, did not re-echo there. Beyond
contributing a handful of famous men, Lorenzo de Zavala
and Andres Quintana Roo, for instance, isolated Yucatan
stood aloof even from thoughts of severing political bonds with the metropolis, until very late in the day, but independence was finally declared.

The peaceful character of this important action is chiefly attributable to Juan María Espeverri, last royal Captain-General and Governor of Yucatan. He took office January 1, 1821, after local partisans had displaced previous royal officials as unacceptable. The Cortes had approved their illegal action but disregarded their nominations, sending Espeverri instead. He was a liberal; during his short incumbency he secularized the Franciscan monasteries of Yucatan; in all more than two hundred monks were affected. His chief problems, however, emerged from events in Mexico rather than from anti-clerical legislation sent him by the Cortes.  

Turbulence in Mexico followed restoration of the Constitution of 1812. Agustín Iturbide, nominally a royal officer of the army, had gathered to him by various means many of the dissident creole factions through publication of a program that satisfied each in some part. Guerrero, one of the staunch defenders of independence whom Iturbide had been sent to quell, was won to Iturbide, and collaborated with him on the so-called Plan of Iguala. Their combined forces moved the Viceroy of New Spain to recognize it in a treaty. The Plan had among its several articles three main guarantees: Mexico was absolutely independent of
Spain — but would continue under a monarch, preferably Ferdinand VII or any Bourbon who would take a Mexican throne (otherwise the Mexicans might elect their own ruler); secondly, the Catholic religion was the only tolerated one and all the privileges of the Church would be safeguarded; thirdly, all social classes, including creoles and Indians, were eligible for public offices and preferments. The troops under Iturbide and Guerrero, now known as the Army of the Three Guarantees, were prepared to march into refractory provinces which did not support the Plan and its declarations of independence. This threat faced Echeverri in Yucatan.

When he heard that Tabasco had willingly fallen to forces of independence, he called an unusual assembly of notables on Yucatan, in which all factions were represented. Some claim his actions were designed to give military reinforcements time to arrive from Cuba, others presume that his sentiments were more noble. He queried the group, comprised of civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities, on a course of action; they responded by a declaration of independence on September 15, 1821. At Echeverri’s suggestion, they passed interim legislation which were designed to prevent public disorder by continuing in force the Constitution of 1812 and other laws that did not conflict with independence. Although the post of Intendente, Captain-General, and Governor of independent Yucatan was offered
several times to him, Echeverri refused the honor; he stayed on until Campeche took the definitive step of unfurling the flag of Three Guarantees, despite Merida's unwillingness to commit its destinies to Iturbide until more information could be got.73

Echeverri sailed to Spain, where, it is said, despite personal difficulties at Court for having given up the province without a struggle, he still cherished fond memories of Yucatan.74 Thus, as one Yucatecan has stated, culminated "one of the most notable evolutions of our history, without costing one drop of blood from any inhabitant. It seemed a good augury for the people who now started, after three centuries of vassalage, to have an independent life of their own."75

VI

The hopes were short-lived. In linking its destinies with those of Mexico, Yucatan became embroiled in the disturbances on the mainland which arose as recognized authority there disintegrated into chaos and anarchy. Partisan-ship in Yucatan flared up immediately. For a short while after Echeverri's departure there were two rival Captains-General who tried to rule, the one at Merida, the other in Campeche. To understand the bewildering shifts in control on the peninsula, once this early impasse was cleared, requires brief mention of tendencies in Mexico of the period.
The ephemeral unity engendered by the Plan of Iguala faded when Iturbide proclaimed Mexico an Empire, with himself as Emperor. Thereafter two major groups alternately ruled and revolted. One was composed of Centralists, persons who thought Mexico should have a centralized form of government; government mainly centered in the nation's capital, with subordinate officials appointed by it in the states or departments, regarded as convenient administrative units with but few local powers or rights. Opposed to Centralists were Federalists; they conceived Mexico as a confederation of sovereign states tied together by common interests and delegating to a national government a few necessary powers, but retaining local control in most administrative matters, such as appointment of officials. Conservative, clerical, and military interests supported the centralist view, while among federalists were numbered the liberals and various radical elements. Important financial and economic questions lurked behind party labels: when centralists were in power, troops and other apparatus of government, including corruption and patronage, were maintained by Mexico City, which levied taxes, collected and disbursed the revenues; under federalist regimes, troops were paid locally and their influence on legislation could be better controlled, with the added advantages of local patronage.

The early period of independence was punctuated by
monotonous attempts of centralists to unseat federalists and vice versa. In the process, Mexico rolled up an enormous national debt, was embroiled in three wars, and teetered constantly on the point of breaking into small units. Instability, insolvency, and revolutionary activity were hallmarks of the period, often symbolized by its chief political figure, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. First a Federalist, then a Centralist, he initiated and profited from much of the reigning confusion. One of his first stops on the road to notoriety was military commandant and then governor of Yucatan. Federalists sent him there in 1824 to unravel a complex local difficulty.

In typical fashion, factionalism had created an impasse and had clouded peninsular relations with the current Mexican government, nominally Federalist. Yucatan had generally supported Iturbide's Empire, even though Merida had refused to recognize or to implement his tariff legislation. The Captain-General which he appointed to Yucatan ruled rather peacefully until Iturbide was forced to abdicate. During that time Indian tribute was abolished in favor of "Patriotic contributions" which all males, Indian and creole, paid unless physically incapacitated or on active duty with the army. Iturbide's abdication disorganized Mexico: three national groups jockeyed to take over control. Yucatan then ruled itself through juntas or committees, which appointed as Captain-General of Yucatan
a military man from Merida unacceptable to Campeche. The
port thereupon called from exile the former Iturbide appointee,
so that Yucatan for a while had two governments. This minor
contretemps was cleared when yet another local junta (on
which Campeche was represented) voiced the view that un-
less Mexico was reorganized as a Republic under a truly
Federalist system, Yucatan would depart from the nation.
Such a system was to allow Yucatan full scope to run its
own affairs: to the national government would be delegated
only powers necessary to carry on foreign relations and
right of appointment by it would be limited to naming
military men above the rank of brigadier-general, eccles-
iasiicis above bishops. The remainder of government activ-
tsities would be carried on locally by representative
assemblies in the provinces. On August 20, 1823, such a
plenary group had met in Yucatan, calling itself “August
Constitutional Congress,” and then shortly (August 27)
severed the peninsula’s connection until Mexico met Yuca-
tecan demands for Federalism. Not long thereafter, in
November, Yucatecans drew up for discussion a constitution
for a proposed “Republic of Yucatan.”

The expected Federalist coup in Mexico transpired,
and in January, 1824, a national Federalist Constitution
appeared. It did not meet all the demands Yucatan made,
as, for instance, it did not provide for local administra-
tion of tariff, a chief interest of the peninsula. Yucatecan
authorities at Merida therefore refused to ratify the document, but those at Campeche did. Moreover, the national government demanded that a formal declaration of war on Spain be made by Yucatan; again Merida refused to take this step, but Campeche complied, and went further by gleefully removing men thought to be tainted with love for Spain from public office. Campeche was a hot-bed of the anti-Spanish feeling which moved Mexico for at least a decade, to the extent of later proscribing appearance of coats-of-arms or other reminders of the fact that New Spain had once been dependent on Spanish monarchy; the resounding Spanish names, previously prized by creoles as a sign of high European connections in the distant past, began to drop out, replaced by simplified ones minus the "de los" and "de las" which had been a characteristic feature. 79

Thus Merida, where Yucatecan government was centered, would neither fully recognize the Constitution of 1824 nor yet declare war on Spain. Behind the latter attitude was an economic fact; commerce to and from Merida involved Havana, still a Spanish possession, and on commerce depended state revenues, which in turn permitted the peninsula to take its independent stand against coercion or control from Mexico. In addition, the new Congress (chiefly made up of Merida elements) decreed that Spaniards could hold office and those dispossessed by Campeche were to be
restored. When the port disregarded this order, Merida sent troops to enforce it, which met with resistance by Campeche garrisons, resulting in what was locally known as "The War of the Flying Column." Fighting was not very severe; one commentator said it was merely "an exchange of communications, treaties, and agreements, without positive results." Cannon-shot were purposely directed to do a minimum of damage, so that the brush was also known as "War of the Cold Balls" (i.e., shot were not heated red-hot, as was customary).

By the end of May, through torturous local intrigues and diplomatics, Merida withdrew troops and promised to publish the Constitution in full on the understanding that Campeche would restore the Spaniards to office. Neither action transpired. But a nominal peace among the factions settled down, especially after a single executive to head the Sovereign State of Yucatan was substituted for the previous cumbersome committees and juntas. The first governor was from Campeche, Francisco Antonio Tarrazo, a quite young man, who entered office on April 23, 1824. Meantime the national government entered the picture; disturbed by commotions on Yucatan, it ordered peninsular authorities to declare open war on Spain and to extend constitutional guarantees to Spaniards — that is, restore the displaced officers and officials in Campeche. When both demands were rejected, or at least disregarded, it
sent Santa Anna there to "restore order," though in fact there was a suspicion that the Mexican government wished to send him as far from it as possible. Hence his post in "Mexico's Siberia," where he arrived May 17, 1824. 81

The scene onto which he strode was a politically troubled one. Opposing views had crystallized around two main parties, "The League" and "The Cabal" (Liga and Camarilla), the former strongest in Campeche, the latter in Merida. All shades of opinion could be found in each; the Liga represented the joint feelings of earlier sanjuanistas, anti-Empire, anti-Spanish, persons, but curiously enough included a number of liberal clergy, so that it sometimes was dubbed "Holy League" from the mouthings of its party organ, "The Yucatecan, or Friend of the People."

The Camarilla was mildly Centralist. Masonic lodges in each city, as well as in lesser centers, carried on political activities, as in the days preceding independence; York rite ones were generally Federalist, while Scottish rite usually took an opposite view. Some lodges, such as the first-founded Aurora, changed from York to Scottish rite. 82

Apparently few or no major principles divided one faction from another, but strong rivalry focussed on contending personalities and the ancient and continuing feuds between port and capital. The two had divergent political and economic interests: Campeche, exporting salt to Mexican Gulf
ports felt that the peninsula's fate should be more tightly knit to the nation, while Merida, exporting and receiving goods mainly via Cuba, had less sentimental or economic ties with Mexico, and these were easily overridden by local economic pressures. 83

Not long after his arrival Santa Anna reported the current situation to national authorities, without venturing many opinions. He pointed out that Merida still refused to declare open war on Spain and thus deprive itself and the peninsula of the revenues that supported it, and that Campeche refused to recognize Merida's peninsular authority until that step was taken. He pointed out that to offset financial losses which Yucatan would suffer if the Havana commerce was stopped, the national government would necessarily have to send subsidies, and reminded the government that its debt to Yucatan for the hypothecated Indian community funds now amounted, with interest, to more than four hundred thousand pesos. He warned that to embargo Yucatan's trade was likely to drive the peninsula, only loosely attached to the confederation, either to declarations of political independence or annexation to a foreign nation that could and would protect and give proper consideration to Yucatan's special problems. 84

When the government in Mexico merely repeated its earlier orders, Santa Anna followed a course which eventually led to a Yucatecan declaration of war on November 16,
and publication of the complete Constitution on November 21, 1824. In course of achieving these results, however, he alienated and stirred up nearly every interest on the peninsula. At first he associated himself with the Liga in Campeche, then with the Camarilla in Merida. He forced out the elected civilian governor and took the job himself. Though for a while steering a course which seemed to Campeche to benefit Merida's interests, he lost the latter's support by declaration of war on Spain. New enemies in Yucatan — the deposed governor, the discontented merchants of Campeche and Merida, chastened military commanders and others — joined older ones in Mexico.85

They openly criticized Santa Anna for disposal of troops, peculations, meddling in local elections, exile of enemies, overbearing censorship and other familiar items of Mexican politics and Santa Anna's career in particular. They hinted that his collection of troops was aimed at a coup d'état in Mexico, and otherwise made his gubernatorial position untenable. At length Santa Anna gave up the post of governor of Yucatan, but not before he had projected a somewhat fantastic expedition to liberate Cuba from the Spanish yoke, an enterprise that had little chance of success and which remained merely in the planning stage until other events whirled him off the peninsula into mainland politics.86
While charges and counter-charges about Santa Anna’s conduct were being exchanged on Yucatan and in Mexico, legislators on the peninsula had been busy re-organizing internal affairs. Their efforts culminated in a constitution, promulgated in April, 1825. The legislation which preceded it and which flowed from it may be considered as a unit, as like it, these laws aimed to place Yucatan on a self-determining basis, socially, politically, and economically. To the degree that any one event can signalize an epoch, the Constitution of 1825 marks for Yucatan its entrance, on a self-conscious basis, into the main streams of nineteenth-century tendencies in the modern political and economic world. To that time its institutional arrangements and policies had been guided by Spanish codes, from the Laws of the Indies to the Constitution of Cadiz, which the new codes replaced.

The Constitution was an ambivalent document in which colonial doctrines stood side by side with advanced ideas. The latter pointed to the directions in which Yucatan was to move to and through the Caste War. Strongly Federalist in tone, as might be expected from the general temper and spirit of Yucatecan particularism, the Constitution of 1825 provided for republican, representative, and popular government, nearly all of which was to be directed and
controlled locally. Politically, it marks the beginning of an era when Yucatecans began to grapple seriously with self-determination, just as economically it ushers in a period during which strenuous attempts were being made to shift from a now outmoded subsistence economy dependent on imperial policies to participation in free enterprise in world markets through attempted commercial production for export. Socially and intellectually the groundwork was laid for blossoming of a local culture and society whose dignity and achievement Yucatecans hoped would be commensurate with their new status as a semi-sovereign entity linked voluntarily to the Mexican confederation. The hopes of the place — for roads, schools, *laissez-faire* economic policies, more equitable relations with the Church as an economic institution, special tariff needs, and numerous minor points — had already been drawn up for presentation to the Cortes in 1821. 88

Now that Yucatan seemed in position to legislate on these matters for itself, it fell to tackling the problems with unbounded zeal and apparent determination. The decade following the Constitution was essentially one of planning and experiment. Basic decisions were reached in the era. By 1835 some concrete results rather than plans began to appear, and by 1845 Yucatan had moved a considerable distance away from the colonialism that is so readily apparent in the legislation from 1823 to 1828.
In these years to 1835 nearly every phase of activity was reformed, to purge the laws of subservient attitudes and dependence. Education received notice in establishment of a secular university which ultimately was to train medical men as well as lawyers and administrators, and in provision for primary education. Administrative organs and procedures were revamped, and with them fiscal affairs; a uniform poll tax on males, import and export taxes, fees on numerous articles and activities, including sealed paper and cockfights, and revenues from sale of public lands formed the chief classes of state income.

As seen below, there was urgent concern with stimulation and protection of new crops, especially sugar and henequen, which were seen to be the principal economic hopes. Closely interwoven with economic aspirations was desire to stimulate immigration by offering the best public lands to strangers. Fortunately for the planners of this early period, Church affairs and interests did not represent the threat to reform that they did in other Mexican areas. The See of Merida was vacant; no strong archbishop or powerful group of clergy attempted to subvert or deflect the larger aims of the civil administrators. Yet the latter generally followed a conservative and partially pro-clerical course. On the mooted question of obventions, which had so plagued the liberals in the previous decade when the Cortes ruled, legislators proved amenable to Church claims.
In this matter, as in the thorny questions of native obligations and responsibilities, creoles tended to be extremely cautious about innovations. Indians, enfranchised in part under the Constitution of Cadiz -- at least to the point of voting for local officials and eligible to hold offices in an ayuntamiento -- were disfranchised by again being segregated into their repúblicas de indígenas, each headed by a cacique who was responsible to creole officials for his town or barrio. In this instance, to effect a shift legislators invoked colonial doctrine, frankly re-establishing the institution in its "ancient form" by reference to Articles thirteen and fourteen of the Ordinance of Intendants (1787) for operating specifications. In the law which revived the old device of segregation, part of the duties of caciques were to "make Indians obey the laws," and to see that each householder raised sixty mescates of maize, as in Hapsburg times.

In analogous manner, the responsibility for Indians to maintain their cofradías was established. The cofradía was an institution whereby natives performed labor on lands or properties belonging to their local parish, often an hacienda or similar productive unit left as a bequest to the parish by a pious parishioner to support or supplement needs of a church or chapel. Numerous abuses connected with forced labor on cofradías had led colonial governments in the late eighteenth century to proscribe them, but once
again they were revived. Problems connected with cofradías, however, lessened with passage of time; within a few years land reform assigned them to local communities or ordered their sale to private persons, so that by 1840 or 1841 few, if any, of these Church haciendas existed.94

But from the provisions regulating repúblicas de indígenas, obvencions, and cofradías, fairly obvious is the conclusion that creoles tended to continue and even strengthen colonial doctrines of Indian control without at the same time maintaining the numerous legal safeguards and sense of wardship that was usually associated with them, however ineffective the latter might have been in practice. Though by re-instituting repúblicas de indígenas Maya were officially segregated and barred from any legal participation in political life beyond the bounds of their towns, the special Tribunal of Indians to which under the colonial regime they had recourse was not revived.

The thoughts of creole Yucatecans pointed to the sixteenth century rather than to the future, so far as assimilation of the masses of Maya into provincial life and affairs was concerned. The trend and direction is adequately indicated by a law dated August 27, 1847, which, after a preamble disparaging the aptitude of natives to participate in the national life Yucatecans were attempting to foment, re-established "the ancient laws for the rule of Indians," and provided that they could be moved from place to place
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so that they could be forced to meet their civil and religious obligations — a euphemism for forced labor. Application of this law, rather than quelling the small spark of rebellion ignited in July, soon fanned it into the flame of race war.

In most lines of endeavor the Yucatecans of 1825 provided a sound foundation for future developments. They early provided for the administrative, economic, intellectual, and social growth of Yucatan, by tempering and adapting extant colonial and blending in with them progressive ideas of the nineteenth century. But they were blind to or unwilling to meet and solve issues involving the Maya as a group. As indicated later, Indians were generally viewed as a barrier to progress or as a reservoir of labor, necessary to creole plans for an expanded commercial economy, direction and benefits of which largely accrued to whites.

VIII

From 1825 to 1835 Yucatan's economy began to undergo important transformations, described at length below. By 1840 economic and apparent social progress had engendered sentiments for independent existence, to which Yucatecans were strongly inclined from the outset, but which had seemed rather chimerical in 1821. Though in the decade from 1825 to 1835 the general tone and avowed hopes of many Yucatecans
favored virtual autonomy under the guise of Federalism, peninsular militarist and clerical groups from time to time seized political control of the peninsula for Centralism. In this they were aided, even abetted, by similar groups in Mexico who had won Santa Anna and his cohorts to their point of view. From 1825 to 1829, liberal and nominally Federalist factions united to run Yucatan; by a coup d’état they were displaced until 1833. After a short tenure, during which interrupted reforms again came into the foreground (from September 1833 until May 1834) Federalists were displaced by a military clique headed by Santa Anna’s brother-in-law. For a while isolated Yucatan was, paradoxically, the only province in Mexico openly Centralist. But in 1837, while at war with Texas, the whole nation adopted that regime.

Texan capture of Santa Anna eclipsed the influence of his brother-in-law in Yucatan, but until 1839 men of similar sentiments managed to hang precariously on the reins. Pent-up dissatisfaction, especially over the fact Yucatecans were forced to fight in foreign parts, plus a brief economic depression in Campeche (stronghold of Centralist rule and capital of the department under it) due to closing the shipyards there, as well as a widespread expectation that under a different regime Yucatan’s new agricultural enterprises would receive more favorable treatment, all combined to strengthen the localistic sentiments which always lurked
just beneath the surface of Federalism. The fact that Yucatan contributed nearly two hundred thousand pesos annually, representing from twelve to seventeen percent of state revenues, to the Texan war in which it had no direct concern was also a cause for grievance. 98

As a result of converging pressures of politics, economics, and more intangible pressures almost all Yucatecan factions and interests were united in a successful effort to clear the peninsula of Mexican Centralist troops and authorities in 1839. The Yucatecan revolt in 1839 and 1840 was ostensibly to favor Federalism. The peninsula refused even to discuss attachment to a Centralist regime in Mexico City after the last garrisons had been dislodged from Campeche in 1840. The movement was in fact virtually a second fight for independence. Yucatan wanted freedom now from Mexico; in 1821, it had been from Spain.

By June 6, 1840, when every Centralist soldier had been driven from Yucatan, an epoch in local history had ended. Many, if not most, of the older leaders active in independence days and in the re-organization of Yucatan thereafter had passed from the scene. The older internal political alignments were shattered and altered by the movements of population mentioned later in detail and by emergence of new economic forces. Nearly all groups on the peninsula agreed that Yucatan should have the paramount voice in direction of its own destiny; they disagreed chiefly on
the methods and framework within which such autonomy should operate. One forthright and powerful group demanded severance of all ties with Mexico and erection of a Yucatecan Republic; another equally powerful maintained that equal benefits would accrue from membership in the Mexican nation, provided that basic economic and political concessions were granted Yucatan. Around these propositions new parties formed, reflecting sectional economic aspirations and the latent feuds over prestige and control dating from late colonial times.99

The consequent partisan bids for power wracked Yucatan from about 1841 to and through most of the Caste War. Political bickering not only helped engender the struggles, but they hampered Yucatecan efforts either to gain decisive victories over rebellious natives or to negotiate an acceptable peace which would put an end to the devastating operations.

The Constitution of 1841, replacing that of 1825 (as modified from time to time), summed up an era and forecast the future.100 In the years between the two documents, Yucatecans had become wholly self-confident of their ability to run their own affairs: For nearly two decades self-government in one form or another had given them at least a modicum of practical experience. Some of the problems left to them in 1825 had practically disappeared, or were on the point of solution. For example, the question of
obventions and relations with the Church was less important; within a short time after 1841 obventions were completely abolished and the Church became a state-supported institution, controlled financially by civil authorities who held the power of the purse.\textsuperscript{101} Spurred by the ideal of material progress and peninsular self-sufficiency, social and economic developments had taken great strides since independence despite the generally negative effect that struggles for political power had exercised. In some respects Federalists and Centralists had vied with each other usefully to improve and stimulate education, industry, commerce, and cultural institutions: For example, Centralist Campeche received public works, a new theater, and other improvement at the hands of Francisco Paula Toro, Santa Anna's brother-in-law; Santa Anna himself donated a pension voted him by conservative Yucatecans to support a school.\textsuperscript{102}

Some lawmakers of the period even felt that the Maya might eventually be included in the political life of Yucatan. The Constitution of 1841 enfranchised them in theory, but carefully worded literacy and property qualifications closely limited native suffrage and virtually removed Maya eligibility for important public offices. It may be that Yucatecan aspirations for complete autonomy influenced decision to grant votes to Indians. To point out that the peninsula boasted more than half a million citizens was useful publicity for export and as a bid for recognition
in foreign capitals, especially when omitted was explana-
tion that two-thirds or three-quarters of the inhabitants
were illiterate, politically naive and economically ex-
ploited Maya. Stephens, who visited Yucatan just before
and just after the Constitution of 1841 was promulgated,
was struck by the wide gap between theory and practice of
democracy that included socially dominated natives. For a
short while some of the repressive institutions re-established
by the Constitution of 1825 were abolished or ameliorated;
repúblicas de indígenas were wiped out, and with them the
cacique system. But such were the counter-presures of
tradition and economic interests, as well as the inability
of Maya to accept the aims and ideals of creole "progress,"
that, as stated, legislation placing Indians in tutelage
was re-enacted, together with strengthened peonage laws,
and various legal devices to assure creole entrepreneurs
a stable labor supply and fertile lands for their new
haciendas.

Some of the reforms and doctrines written into the
Yucatecan constitution of 1841 anticipated those of the
famous Mexican one of 1857. In turn the latter was
basis for the revolutionary document of 1917. As in sim-
ilar cases, the Constitution of 1841 was a political plat-
form for the future rather than a description of current
practice. But from its tone and provisions clear indeed
is the fact that Yucatan had by now waded more than ankle
deep into the main streams of nineteenth-century thought. Outlook on the peninsula approved an acceleration of tendencies which would lead to change, especially economic betterment, and was marked by growing hope of completely independent existence. Possibly the latter was stimulated by the example of Texas. The Lone Star Republic with which Yucatan had international dealings, had for some time managed to cut itself loose from Mexican control and remain free.

As did Texas, Yucatan came into open conflict with the central government of Mexico, which distrusted the separatist sentiments of each. Political balances in the capital were precarious and unstable, which in part helps explain the confused relations between Yucatan and Mexico from 1841 to 1847. An historian of Mexico summarized the situation at the beginning of 1841 by saying, "Plots continued; Yucatan, triumphant over government troops, as has been said, was separate and Tabasco imitated it; resources to send an expedition for restoration of order were lacking; the public treasury was exhausted, commerce paralyzed, industry failing, agriculture ruined, and Texas continued independent." In addition, tribes of northern Indians had revolted in a caste war similar to that which was to sweep Yucatan within the decade. One of the first steps Mexico took was to dispatch, at Santa Anna's suggestion, an expeditionary force to Yucatan under a Mexican general.
In anticipation of such a move, Yucatan had made a pact with Texas whereby the rather formidable naval squadron of that infant republic was to aid Yucatan in return for payment of eight thousand dollars a month. Before the Mexican expedition got embarked, however, it was used to aid in a political revolution which raised Santa Anna to temporary power on the basis of a program known in Mexican history as the "Bases of Tacubaya." The Bases attempted to be both Federalist in tone and Centralist in result by placing all power of sovereignty in the hands of a single individual, to be named by representatives from each of the provinces. That individual, of course, was to be Santa Anna. During the period before the assembly met, Santa Anna was faced with the problem of Yucatan. Rather than force, he employed diplomacy to win the area back to Mexico. Andres Quintana Roo was delegated by him to treat with local peninsular authorities, to woo Yucatan into the union and to pledge support of Santa Anna. On December 28, 1841, commissioners for Yucatan reached an agreement with Quintana Roo; the covenant guaranteed Yucatan's virtual autonomy: its own tariff, no Yucatecan troops to be raised for campaigns outside the peninsula, its chief political and judicial heads to be Yucatecans, and a number of minor provisions of like tenor. Though Quintana Roo signed the agreement, its final ratification was up to the local Congress of Yucatan and to Santa Anna in Mexico.
Santa Anna not only refused to accede to the terms, but after failing to win the peninsula by diplomacy sought to coerce Yucatan into the union by refusing to admit their representatives to the constituent assembly that was to plan Mexico's future. He hit at their commerce by declaring that until Yucatecans acceded to the Bases of Tacubaya and gave up aiding or being aided by Texans they were enemies of Mexico and pirates and would be treated as such. To implement his threat, Santa Anna gathered a force of fifteen hundred men which sailed to attack Yucatan in August, 1842. Yucatan, although factionalism had already begun to widen the rifts between competing parties, united to meet the threat. Again the Texas Navy was employed. With its help, and by use of Indians and local militia, Yucatecans soundly beat Mexican forces under Matías de la Pena y Barregán, who surrendered April 23, 1843. A Mexican relief expedition arrived, and attempted to carry on further war; Yucatecans, though victorious, agreed to treat for peace and re-establishment of relations with Santa Anna's government.

By December 28, 1843, arrangements agreeable to Yucatecans had been worked out and signed by the Mexican government. They were wholly favorable to Yucatan, especially in the parts relating to commerce. Among them were provisions that reciprocal free trade should exist between Mexican ports and Yucatan, for the products natural to each place;
Yucatan was guaranteed its own tariff, the revenue from which was applicable to its own expenses of government, though Mexico was obligated to supplement these funds in case of war from abroad. Practically the only concession Yucatan made was to abandon the Yucatecan national flag it had created and flown; its commissioners now agreed to hoist the Mexican national emblem. Yucatan's flag was a tri-color, green, red and white, on which was emblazoned five stars to signify the five administrative districts established in 1837. Both parties to the agreement avowed that they would let bygones be "forever" forgotten.

The tranquility that resulted from the arrangements of December 1843 was ephemeral. It lasted only until February of the following year, when once again Mexican-Yucatecan relations were strained; they did not improve until the Caste War drove Yucatan to seek support from Mexican troops and treasury. In February 1844 Santa Anna's minister of the interior sent to all national ports a list of the "natural products" of Yucatan that were to be admitted free, under the agreement of December. But the list omitted in fact nearly all the major commercial items on which Yucatan's commerce depended -- salt, hides, tobacco, cotton, even maize. All these, as well as other minor products, thus were subject to tariff. Yucatecans rightly thought that their victories in battle and in diplomacy were cancelled by an administrative trick. Immediately
they appealed to the Mexican government for it to live up to the original agreements signed with Santa Anna. Without tangible results they continued these attempts from the spring of 1844 until 1848 in the hope of persuading various short-lived governments in Mexico to honor the commitment made in December, 1843. Mexican refusal spurred Yucatecan movements for independence and autonomy.

The Mexican-United States war complicated an already complex situation as far as Yucatan was concerned. Part of its people tried to declare the peninsula neutral; others wished to declare independence of Mexico and annex Yucatan to the United States; others favored a Yucatan Republic; yet others wished to join Mexico and oust the invaders from national soil. As one or another of these groups captured control of policy, Yucatan was offered to the United States and to Spain, but eventually in 1848 it rejoined the Mexican nation. The Caste War in 1847 and early 1848 had been marked by an almost unbroken string of Maya victories which drained creole resources. Without demands for special concessions, Yucatan returned to Mexico, and was thankful for professional troops and money which the mainland government furnished to check Maya incursion.

Yucatan's re-entry into the Mexican family of states in late 1848 marked the end of an epoch, and the final end of aspirations for political autonomy. From that time to the present the peninsula has not attempted to depart and
run its own affairs. By 1855, Mexican and Yucatecan military forces had not wholly re-conquered the parts of the peninsula held by rebel Maya, but the battle lines had been stabilized to permit normal developments in the areas around Merida and Campeche.

In 1853 major groups of southern rebel Maya had made a nominal peace that left them a large measure of autonomy. The most fanatic of native groups had emigrated to the east and had established itself at a strategic point north of Lake Bacalar. Unwilling to make peace with Yucatecans, whom they distrusted completely, these eastern Maya sallied forth from their fortified strongholds around Chan Santa Cruz and continued to harass Yucatecans by raids that often reached the center of the peninsula. They were a more constant threat in the east, especially to the area beyond the garrisons which ran from Dzitas southward. Almost seasonally the eastern Maya attacked, in an effort to annihilate the settlers around Valladolid, to decimate the punitive columns of professional soldiers sent against them, and to maintain undisturbed an unusual society integrated around worship of crosses. These eastern Chan Santa Cruz Maya controlled the eastern parts of Yucatan until well into the twentieth century, and remnants of them still are hostile. To combat and scatter them the Territory of Quintana Roo was created in 1902. The area has been governed by military officers in charge of its "pacification," a synonym for extermination.
Such is the barest skeleton of Yucatecan local political history from a remote past through the War of the Castes.

From the foregoing survey, certain very general conclusions may be usefully extracted. One of the most obvious, and important, is that Yucatan's position as a peninsula has had an intimate and significant effect on its historical development, more especially in years before the twentieth century. Rapid transportation by air has broken down some of the isolating barriers imposed by its comparatively inaccessible coasts and an impenetrable belt of vegetation on the land. Equally important has been its lack of physical resources -- exploitable minerals, sources of power (coal, oil, or water), or vast tracts of highly fertile lands. From the earliest Mays to the present population, chief economic interests have centered on agriculture, rather than on industry and commerce. With but little to loot or evoke some of the less pleasant characteristics of early Spaniards, their domination of the place tended to be mild, once some of the major difficulties of grafting European control on an already operating native civilization had been accomplished.

The reduced number of Europeans, their essentially non-aggressive aspirations, and their manifold links with
each other through marriage and common objectives underlay a patriarchal and undisturbed existence, based on docile native labor working at its customary concerns. Soon after Conquest was created a stable oligarchic society of homogeneous strata.

Whether life of the Maya under the conquistadores and their descendants differed in essentials from that which they followed under the hierarchically arranged institutions of pre-Conquest times is debatable. So far as material and emotional satisfactions are concerned criteria are various and subjective. On the whole the Spanish Crown was willing, until late in the eighteenth century, to permit local control by dominant creole families and to make concessions to them. This lenience occurred chiefly because of the limited value Yucatan had in the imperial scheme of things. The continued existence of the encomienda system there until 1786 is, of course, a prime example of successful Yucatecan lobbying and the Crown's tendency to condone it. Since Yucatan was neither very dangerous nor very productive of strategic materials or revenue, and as it occupied a peripheral and minor position in relation to the important highland centers of New Spain it was not a major concern of imperial Spanish officials. Only occasionally would some great abuse be specifically and consistently corrected by outside officialdom.

As one result of salutary neglect, the handful of Europeans and the vastly greater number of agricultural Maya
settled down to a shared existence rather early and on a peaceful basis. The emergent Hispano-Indian culture of Yucatan was a compromise between the European aims and aspirations of colonizing Spaniards who were willing to sink their roots in a poor land, content with small but steady returns from grazing and agricultural enterprises, and the ancient ideals derived from theocratic and agriculturally based society of the Maya.

Into this relatively static, and certainly stable, equilibrium intruded the doctrines of progress, material aims, and urge to change that characterizes mid and later eighteenth century thought in the western world. Nationalism, democracy, laissez-faire economics, secularization of thought and government, all became respectable ideals whose explosive qualities led to well-known revolutionary results in both the Old World and the New. In Yucatan, when they were fused with an introverted and closely-knit provincialism, the resultant complex gave a context of new principles to old localistic sentiments: appeal to them allowed Yucatan to disavow, in whole or part, control by Mexico City in 1821, 1823, 1829, 1834, 1839-40, and 1845-48. Though sometimes Yucatecans could unite to repel what they considered outside meddling in their affairs, areas of agreement among them grew fewer and fewer as more and more special interests on the peninsula jockeyed for control of policy. Each group, regional and economic, social and political, increasingly
pressed its special claims to preferment, and without an
effective agency over all to adjudicate and balance the
merits of each, there was but little recourse but appeal
to force -- economic or military. The unanimity of views
shared by the creole oligarchy in the middle of the eight-
teenth century had within two or three generations dis-
solved into a spectrum of philosophies, hopes, and ideals.

The emphasis on commerce, economic improvement, and
new enterprise -- groundwork for which was laid in late
Bourbon times -- not only bore fruit in factional diffi-
culties, but disarranged long-standing balances between
Maya and whites. Though colonial problems of land and
labor had never been resolved by a wholly satisfactory
solution, the force of custom had evolved a tacit set of
agreements, Indians felt these were being violated by the
new and dynamic creole developments, while creoles viewed
the latter not only as legitimate, but necessary if Yucatan
was to take its destined place in the modern world. In
short, the Indians changed but little in their views, if
their deep-lying and usually inarticulate sentiments can
be so labelled, but the European elements had swung around
in a relatively short time from viewing change as dangerous
and inadvisable to hearty acceptance of innovation and
alteration of the status quo as not only expedient but im-
perative. Where conservative colonial Europeans had dom-
inated docile and conservative Maya, now dynamic whites
were seeking to impress a new set of values on the Maya, as well as on themselves, and to force the former to live up to them. Ultimately their efforts led to the Caste War.

The latter struggles can be viewed in a number of lights, depending on the particular perspective one chooses. In one sense the Caste War was a late and especially bloody extension of Conquest, as in the nineteenth century Europeans began pushing in numbers to regions never wholly pacified during Spanish colonial times; unfortunately for their efforts they did not enjoy the superiority of armament and equipment which their Spanish forefathers had used to good advantage. The rebel Maya of the nineteenth century possessed or obtained fire-arms and controlled the fields of battle, usually restricting them to known terrain, with the result that it is scarcely too much to say that Yucatecans never won a decisive victory in the Caste War.

Probably more near the larger truth, however, is consideration of the Caste War as the end-result of changes, or attempted changes, from Yucatan as a colonial province -- isolated, neglected, and static -- to Yucatan as a would-be republic, filled with zeal and enthusiasm for all the wonders that liberty and free enterprise could provide. One of the fundamental facts about developments from independence to the Caste War is that creoles did not envisage the difficulties or complications in which their efforts to
bring the place abreast the western world would involve them. The Caste War came as shock and surprise to a peace-loving, intelligent, and wholly unprepared creole group who were doing what they believed was best for their small and poor land. There is no evidence to indicate that white Yucatecan society was made up of persons aiming deliberately to exploit, impoverish and exterminate native groups for selfish ends. On the contrary, all indications point to the opposite — that Yucatecans singly and in groups had persuaded themselves that for the time being Maya could be disregarded while the gente decente put the requisite props under social, political, and economic progress, and that while this prime task was being performed (at the cost of considerable white energy and thought) natives would be better off under tutelage — a typically colonial attitude which has never wholly been eradicated from the modern Mexican or Yucatecan scene. Indeed, the very first reaction that Yucatecans had to the war was a surprised disbelief that Maya could be so ungrateful for the benefits which were going to accrue to them.

Yucatecan historians have rather generally taken the implicit view that it was the fault of colonial handling of Indians rather than post-independence policies which gave the shattering force to the uprising of 1847. They predicate that rancor had been storing up for three hundred years and was then given an opportunity of release.
Obviously without conquest in the sixteenth century, no war would have transpired in the nineteenth, but one scarcely needs to invoke the Montejos and their companions as culprits if the proposition is accepted that the War of the Castees developed from the rapid and novel changes transpiring in Yucatan following its release from Spanish imperial control and in its attempt to pursue the new goals common to western societies in the early nineteenth century. The following pages attempt to elaborate the latter hypothesis by examination of the forms, direction, and rate of changes which were transforming Yucatan in the decades from 1830 to 1860. The major one was the Caste War, from 1847 to 1853.
"Yucatecan society is found divided into two groups, according to the classification made by peninsular creoles: Yucatecans and Maya. The Yucatecan is a descendant of European and mestizo, with common economic and cultural links. The Maya is Indian, and mestizo, occasionally creole, with similar bonds.... The division between Yucatecan and Maya is so profound that the upper group has no idea of what would improve the lower and then argues they are dependent on them for a living. The quality of the first is above the second, but the idea that when balloting in a democratic assembly ten Indian votes are worth more than one cast by a creole or mestizo of the dominant class is not understood by the latter."

Alfonso Fabila, Exploración Económico-social del Estado de Yucatán.
"Social" War is one common synonym for the "Caste" War. It emphasizes the true nature of the military conflicts from 1847 to 1853. The Caste War, the official and more usual term, was indeed a social disturbance of major proportions in the development of modern Yucatan. Unlike the barracks revolts and political coups which had occurred to that time, and which had been mainly fought by manifestos, the War of the Castes seemed a grim fight for survival between its main participants, white Yucatecans on one hand, native Maya on the other. Each side apparently was bent on the extermination of the opposing group.

Most Yucatecan writers consider the struggle a landmark in their nineteenth century history, however much they differ among themselves on other points. Under a social upheaval of the magnitude the Caste War represented in peninsular affairs should lay a complex matrix of unresolved tensions. But in place of assuming this and exploring the various conditions whose ramifications gave rise to the conflicts, Yucatecans for the most part have been content to consider factional politics the chief cause of disasters which overwhelmed Yucatan in 1847.
To account for Maya determination, they have joined to creole politics a belief in a widespread native conspiracy, nurtured among Maya over the years to 1847. This explanation seems oversimplified and in part is fallacious, although it is generally accepted. It officially is authorized in elementary textbooks of Yucatecan history.

With variation in emphasis and detail, the usual account states or implies that original hatred against Spaniards, engendered by Conquest, was compounded by grievances against natives which they suffered through the colonial regime. This feeling of resentment was inherited by successive generations of proud but oppressed Maya. After 1840 partisan politics split a unity of purpose among the heirs of the Spaniards, the white Yucatecans, and while their attention was deflected to arranging their own concerns, opportunistic Maya brought the old conspiracy to a head. In 1847 they raised the banner of a race war. At first they were aided or at least encouraged by equally opportunistic creole politicians eager to wring advantages from Indian support. The long-incubated and widespread conspiracy of the Indians could thus become open revolt, and under the guise of helping partisan factions, the Maya really aimed at establishing native rule by extermination of non-Maya and creation of an all-Maya state. The Caste War was the military attempt on part of
natives to carry this program into effect, a policy opposed by creoles fighting to maintain western civilization and their homes against the inroads of barbarism. A minor strand in recent historiography is doctrinaire or polemical. It assumes that the Caste War was a typical outcome of a class struggle, in which exploited Maya rose against the exploiting whites.¹

There are obvious elements of truth in these hallowed explanations, which are seductive in their simplicity. Yet they do not seem wholly adequate nor correct. There is but little trustworthy evidence of a plot based on the dammed-up hatred purportedly accumulated through generations of Maya. Partisan politics indeed lurked importantly in the background of the Caste War, but party struggles seem to be symptoms of deeper cleavages and strains in the society rather than satisfactory and self-sufficient as causes of the Caste War. Curiously enough the Maya longest oppressed did not rebel in 1847; natives in areas with most extended history of Spanish domination fought for the creoles rather than against their white masters. Causes and origins of the Caste War go deeper than politics, and though culpable in part, creole politicians were not wholly or exclusively responsible for the tragedy.

A number of collateral developments — social, economic, emotional, and political — were somewhat independently heading toward climax in 1847, when they converged to form
a complex and explosive situation from which the war re-
sulted. The Caste War was not necessarily inevitable.
In years previous to 1847 the whole social scene was
undergoing alteration and was in a high state of ferment.
Processes at work were rearranging colonial and neo-colonial
balances, and were setting up new aspirations among differ-
ent groups, ideals which often were mutually exclusive.
Changes and "progress" heightened old problems and created
important new ones.

The following pages try to lay bare some of the pro-
cesses at work which were transforming Yucatan from a
backward colonial area, whose people were more addicted
to love and repose (as reported in 1765), to the more
nearly modern place on the eve of the Caste War, where
bustle and activity were normal. To do so, the wider con-
text from which emerged the War of the Caste necessarily
must be indicated, as one of the fundamental contentsions
here is that the Caste War was less an isolated and pre-
eminently politically engendered episode than the logical
end-product of numerous small intellectual, social, emo-
tional and economic changes which in themselves appear
minor, but when added together show a cumulative pressure
of considerable magnitude. The Caste War was a response
to change, but was not a simple reaction to a single and
homogeneous effort to alter Yucatan.

Unfortunately it has become necessary to present a
rather lengthy description of society and movements within it which were transforming it, prior to extracting the elements that seem to have combined to produce the War of the Castes. Thus the succeeding pages and chapters really have a dual purpose. The one is to describe, the other to analyze. Description covers a wide field of activity, some of which is not immediately relevant to the more restricted question "Why the Caste War?" One justification for including it is the fact that few such descriptions are available for a Mexican area of the period, and that perhaps the comparative data may be helpful not only to specialists attempting to understand Yucatan at different periods of its development, but also more generally to historians and others who deal with early nineteenth-century Mexico. In painting a broad canvas, on which the numerous activities of Yucatecans sometimes appear in elaborate detail, inevitably the narrower ones that bear directly on the origins of the Caste War are included. Often the two problems are obviously closely related.

One assumption made at the outset is that the same or similar motives underlay much innovation, but that the particular forms which changes took varied from place to place, and were more marked at some times than at others. With that idea in mind, the present chapter examines some of the elements connected with Yucatan's populations, their relative growth and structural relations to each other from
late colonial times to the outbreak of the War of the Castes, with some special attention to the types and maturity of communities, ethnic diversities, and social differentiation into classes. From such an investigation emerged the fact that there was marked regional variation among these things, but that certain associations occurred within any one region, possibly explicable on historical grounds. To set up a regional framework for the analysis of differences also forms an important part of this chapter. The two succeeding ones explore the regions thus derived, with the dual aim just mentioned.

II

When the state of the population of Yucatan in 1847 is examined, at least two noteworthy items catch the eye. One is that from late colonial times the number of people had increased greatly; the other is that (although colonial social stratification had been somewhat reduced) social position, class, was still closely identified with imputed ethnic background. Problems created by an expanding population in limited habitat were serious, and have been overlooked. White creoles became heirs of the Hispanic tradition, and fought to retain their places at the top of the social pyramid, at the bottom of which were the vast mass of native Maya. Between these groups stretched a thin layer of various ethnic and cultural mixtures, with corresponding class and social distinctions.
Differences of major importance divided Indians from creoles. Within each of these two strata were internal subdivisions and antagonisms, often arising from local interests and history. Marginal groups, such as mestizos and Negro hybrids, added complexity to the scene. Before the tangled skein formed by the interactions of each group can be unravelled, consideration of the numerical weight of each seems appropriate as a point of departure. A later section of this chapter takes up the mooted questions of definition. Nearly everyone who has not worked intimately with Indian groups is certain that he can spot a "native" when he sees one, but experienced hands are a little more cautious. Because of the way in which Indians have reacted culturally to a quarter of a millennium of outside influences, because of the several ways in which local societies are organized, and for a number of similar reasons, the criteria which set natives off from non-natives tend to be flexible and quite subjective through Middle America. Standards vary from town to town and from time to time, even among natives themselves.

For the time being, "Indian" is used to classify a person or groups of persons of Maya extraction who looked upon themselves as natives, and whose definition was generally accepted by other Maya and non-native contemporaries. Standing apart from Maya were other groups, whom Yucatecans generically lumped together as "Whites" often in spite rather
than because of their skin color. "Whites" included créoles, mestizos, and some Negro hybrids.

The Spanish term criollo, of which "creole" is a translation, does not carry with it some of the overtones and connotations which cluster around the English word. Criollo is a descriptive term indicating birth in the New World of predominantly European ancestry. In opposition to the European born and bred Spaniard, a créole was American born, of parents who also were créoles or Spanish Europeans. Mestizos are mixed breeds, the offspring or descendants of mixed breeding between Indians and créoles; they carry both ethnic strains, but may vary widely in the cultural traits for which they have most affinity. Quantitatively speaking, Indians, créoles, mestizos, and groups between could all, by increase in numbers, create population pressures.

Figures in Table 1, summarizing population changes from 1700 to 1862, are shrewd contemporary guesses rather than precise statements of fact. Though all data found in middle nineteenth century Yucatan are more or less suspect, population enumerations probably vary more widely from truth than do most classes of enumeration, with the possible exception of maize production figures which are the least dependable of all, due to the high emotional factors surrounding maize. Census data formed the basis for military drafts and fiscal levies, both of which became increasingly common in the years following independence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>REPORTED POPULATION</th>
<th>PERSONAL ESTIMATE</th>
<th>PERCENT OF POPULATION OF 1794</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COLONIAL YUCATAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>138,400</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>214,974</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOURBON REFORMS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>333,362</td>
<td></td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>356,261</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
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<td>1794</td>
<td>358,587</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>465,700</td>
<td>150.0</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>500,406</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>139.5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>574,496</td>
<td></td>
<td>160.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>575,839</td>
<td></td>
<td>161.0</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td>CIVIL DISTURBANCES &amp; EPIDEMICS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>582,173</td>
<td></td>
<td>162.5</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>478,976</td>
<td>525,000</td>
<td>146.5</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>491,400</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>134.0</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>504,635</td>
<td>575,361</td>
<td>160.0</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>504,635</td>
<td>580,329</td>
<td>162.0</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>505,041</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>141.0</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WAR OF THE CASTES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>299,455</td>
<td></td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>256,381</td>
<td></td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOMINAL PEACE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>320,212</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** See Note 2.
Dishonesty, laziness, and real difficulties in transportation and communication on the part of tabulators accounted for some error, but the chief obstacle to accuracy was fear. Typifying similar statements by other officials, one Yucatecan explained, "enumerations are always uncertain, but they are even more so among us than in other areas, partly because of the semi-nomadic character of our native population which easily improvises a home in the forest, partly because the vexations of the past twenty-five years have created not merely annoyance but terror at the news of any census whatsoever." The degree of reduction in figures due to falsity cannot now be determined directly, but informed contemporaries thought it ranged from ten to fifteen percent.3

Though normally the results of a census would tend to be lower rather than higher in relation to the truth, for political reasons the opposite might occur. For instance, probably the results reported in 1814 and 1837 were inflated, as proportional representation in legislative assemblies depended on their outcome. In the period around 1846 when a political party was toying with the idea of autonomy for Yucatan, the census data became a political football. Proponents of independent existence of Yucatan as a nation proclaimed the magnitude of the peninsula's human resources, only to be opposed by orators who discounted the debatable figures by producing smaller ones.
In 1850 similar debates arose when formal separation between Campeche and Merida was broached; one side contended that the numerous population made division desirable, but in defense of peninsular unity, opponents remarked that so few people did the area have that to partition Yucatan would be like trying to divide a zero. Despite their several drawbacks, the population figures are useful to illustrate some general tendencies. It should be kept constantly in mind, however, that all results from manipulation of Yucatecan statistics of the period represent very rough approximations; the answers they yield are only of limited precision. This important qualification applies with special force to demographic information, but generally covers the numerous patches of other quantitative data found throughout the succeeding pages.

In the face of possibly high subjective content, figures demonstrated that the total number of people on Yucatan had increased significantly from time of the accession of the Bourbons to the period of independence. Thereafter growth was a little slower. Hopeful Yucatecans amused themselves by calculating the population which Yucatan might had had if the earlier rates of increase had only continued. From their computations emerged the theoretical (and astronomical) sum of 1,458,000 souls, nearly three times the actual count.
Famines, plagues, and wars had intervened after 1821 to offset what they believed to be favorable elements. Among the latter they listed healthful climate, high fertility of soils, introduction of vaccines in 1804, and the great reproductive capacity of Yucatecans, but above all, free government. One writer lamented in 1845 that "we grow in misery, in epidemics, and in mortality, but not in population." He echoed a common sentiment when he wrote that if the lazy Indians could have been forced to work harder, with more modern agricultural techniques in years propitious for maize, and if the abundant crop resulting had been centrally stored against recurrent famines, then instead of a vain hope the million population which resulted from calculations could have been a reality in 1846. The actual numbers then probably did not quite touch even the six or certainly the eight hundred thousand claimed by optimists. Most observers agreed that the total population of Yucatan in 1847 was slightly over half a million.

An expanded and expanding population acted as a social force in the years from the late colonial period to the eve of the Caste War. One tangible manifestation was the increased number of new settlements. Their emergence, together with growth of older communities, disarranged colonial land allocations and patterns; the problems thus created were in process of solution when the Caste War arose.
Table 2. GROWTH OF NEW SETTLEMENTS AND POPULATION, 1794 vs. 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Villas</th>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Ranchos</th>
<th>Haciendas</th>
<th>Gross Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>368,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>2,040</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>575,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>227,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>150%</td>
<td>250%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>221%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AHY, 1:209-34; Regil and Facon, "Estadísticas," 253-55.

Table 2 illustrates that population increase did not affect all settlements equally; some types grew faster than others. Despite this differential growth in numbers of settlements, the aggregate gain was notable. In 1700 a somewhat vague tabulation took into account only one hundred places. Full social impact of expanded population seems to have lagged somewhat behind its increase, the major disarrangements occurring in the years just prior to the Caste War, when rate of growth seemed to be falling off slightly. The population figures for the years around 1838 may be low estimates, because to avoid military service against Texas, it was reported that large numbers of Yucatecans hid themselves. But though details in the total number of inhabitants in 1794 and in 1845 may be unreliable, there is no question that over-all growth had occurred. It was also reflected in the number of new settlements and in the expansion of older ones. The percentages for the rise of new places all showed an upward trend. Usually it was as great or greater than that for the total population.
Each of the settlement forms involved were an essential part of the social scene -- urban communities like cities and villas, semi-urban ones like towns and hamlets, as well as rural ranchos and haciendas. It seems advisable to describe them briefly and indicate some of their relationships to each other and to other parts of the whole structure.

III

One of the problems of administration facing Yucatecans after their independence was the organization or re-organization of community life. They leaned on colonial precedents and extended the traditional Spanish concepts to meet their current needs. As mentioned previously, only three major municipal jurisdictions were found on Yucatan in the late eighteenth century. For purposes of much local administration, each of the several other kinds of communities were attached to one of the ayuntamientos of Merida, Campeche, or Valladolid. The first two were cities, the latter was a villa.

Under colonial doctrine, a city was a community of prime importance. Normally it might be the seat of a cathedral with a bishop or even an archbishop; it would have a coat of arms, a title, and be governed by a large council (ayuntamiento). For prestige and privileges the status of city was high and prized. Only slightly less important were
villas. Their privileges were less extensive than for cities, and did not include right to a coat of arms and royal title. Other urban communities were likely to be classed merely as "places," lugares. They might or might not be permitted an ayuntamiento, depending on their size and importance. These distinctions applied only to settlements of colonial Spaniards, then of creoles. Indian communities were distinct and were defined and governed by a different body of administrative law. In general, their local affairs were regulated by their Repúblicas de indígenas, headed by a cacique responsible to Spanish officials.10

In 1812 and again in 1820, the Spanish Constitution granted to numerous small communities the right to limited local self-government by permitting several of them an ayuntamiento, a privilege not widely extended by either Hapsburg or Bourbon kings. In Yucatan some hundred and fifty-eight communities were allowed to elect a council, in accordance with Article 310 of the Constitution. Among them were even some purely native centers like Dzibalchen and Pich. Distinctions between towns comprised chiefly of natives and those of Spaniards, vecinos, were only temporarily wiped out.11 Within a relatively short time after independence from Spain in 1821, communal organization reverted to a modification of the earlier colonial situation.

First and most important, distinction again appeared between native towns and those of creoles. The older pattern
emerged in re-institution of the repúblicas de indígenas on July 26, 1824. Such native communities were placed under a cacique, who with a scribe, was to be responsible for collection of tribute. In addition, the cacique was to take the census, make the Indians obey the laws, see that each head of family cultivated a maize plot, help the minister collect religious dues, and keep good order. The law re-establishing Indian Republics harked directly back to the Ordinance of Intendents (1786). The law of 1824 stated that they were to be the same as those outlined in Articles 13 and 14 of that code. With the brief exception of a period from 1841 to 1846, repúblicas de indígenas continued to function in Yucatan until late in the nineteenth century. The Indian Tribunal, to which colonial repúblicas had been principally responsible, was not simultaneously re-instituted in 1824, so that the affairs of Indian communities were supervised by the regular creole administrative hierarchy, headed regionally by the jefe político, mentioned below.

Nearly as important was reduction of the number of ayuntamientos in creole communities, especially suppression of several smaller ones. By a decree of September 20, 1824, all ayuntamientos were abolished except those in cities, villas, and the head village of each partido. The latter was an administrative division, whose largest town was known as a cabecera. Lesser places were to have either an elected junta, made up of three persons, or be governed by
an alcalde auxiliar appointed by the ayuntamiento or junta of the nearest community which was large enough or important enough to support one. However, towns over three thousand population who claimed to have enough "citizens of capacity," might petition to have an ayuntamiento. Possession of this council still conferred prestige on a community, and entitled it to the important privilege of setting a number of local tax rates.

Qualifications for membership in an ayuntamiento included a literacy requirement that undoubtedly barred Indians, and a property restriction, re-affirmed from time to time and then finally enshrined in the Constitution of 1825.13

Soon after Independence, the villa of Valladolid joined the rank of cities, in December 1823. For nearly two decades no more were added, until reorganizations included Izamal and Tekax in 1841.14

The importance of ayuntamientos helps explain the intense localism often found in Spanish American areas, and especially in Yucatan. They operated as miniature republics. To them pertained many of the delegated powers of sovereignty. Strengthened by customs from far back into Spanish history and then transferred to the New World, local municipalities really governed. One of their several duties or privileges was taxation. Each municipality arbitrarily levied duties over a wide range. Different rates on the same items appeared from town to town; there was no standardization on
diverse products and services. This may explain why such municipal revenues were known as arbitrios. Usually about sixty items fell under exclusively municipal taxation. The municipal list had to be approved by the state congress of Yucatan before it was effective. Other duties of the council included dividing the community into wards or barrios, taking its census every three years, and arranging that good order was kept. Special attention was paid to exclusion of vagabonds and other undesirable characters.

The spread of civilization and the growth of towns was reflected in numerous changes of status of communities and in their new place-names. From small settlements governed by an alcalde auxiliar, a rancho might become a town, then even grow to be a community sufficiently large to head a bigger administrative unit, the partido. In this case it would automatically be entitled to its own ayuntamiento. There was considerable rivalry between communities of nearly equal size in the same partido to become its cabecera. As large ranchos became small towns, through their increased size and importance, there was a strong tendency to replace their former Maya names with new patriotic labels or other names reflecting the times, such as “Progress.” Though trivial in some respects, this minor feature unmistakably was an index of cultural penetration by creoles into traditionally native parts. Probably all the communities listed in Table 3 contained ayuntamientos.
Table 3. POPULATION OF MAJOR COMMUNITIES, 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Merida</th>
<th>Campeche</th>
<th>Valladolid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24,090</td>
<td>15,357</td>
<td>11,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,625</td>
<td>5,355</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Villas and Towns</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campeche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villas and Towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chemax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abalá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espeña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tecoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticul (Villa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen (Villa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tihosuco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becanchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacalar (Villa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tixcancal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolonchenticuil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calotmul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzibalchen</td>
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<td>Tizimin</td>
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<td>Muna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acanceh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peto (Villa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dzibanche</td>
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<td>Henucoma</td>
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<td>Tekit</td>
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<td>Nekelchakan (Villa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tecmúl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxcanu</td>
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<td>Barbaúnano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Halesco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xcan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kanazin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sacalacá</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yaxcabá</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hopedechán</td>
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<td>Usum</td>
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<td>Tajdiú</td>
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<td>Cotuta</td>
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<td>Tunkás</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temax</td>
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<tr>
<td>Celkini (Villa)</td>
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<td>Oxutzcab</td>
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<td>Delitas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mama</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tela</td>
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<td>Xcochén</td>
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<td>Motul</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sebán</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Districts</th>
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<tr>
<td>Merida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campeche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Merida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campeche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divisions and communities</th>
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<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haciendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchos and sitios</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Size of Community (Total population)</th>
<th>Alcaldes</th>
<th>Regidores</th>
<th>Síndicos-Procurador</th>
<th>Total Ayuntamiento</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 - 5,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 - 9,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000 - 15,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 - 20,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital and over 20,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none - 3,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,000 - 13,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,000 - 18,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 18,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
A. "Sobre el gobierno interior de pueblos," J. M. Peon and Isidro Gondra, Colección de leyes etc., I, 168-72 (Art. 2).
B. Alonzo Aznar Pérez, Colección de leyes etc., II 96-108 (Art. 18).
To preserve the relative importance of larger places, an arbitrary scale controlled the size of councils among the communities which from time to time there was some hesitancy over where the dividing lines between larger and smaller communities should fall. Table 4 indicates the decisions in 1824 and in 1841. In 1841, by change in the general law regulating government of towns, creole and Indian communities which did not merit an ayuntamiento were either governed by alcaldes municipales or a juez de paz. Towns and hamlets were eligible for the former, while small aggregations known as rancherías elected the latter official. As in 1824, literate men of property were the only ones who might serve on an ayuntamiento, but for alcaldes and jueces de paz the property qualification was dropped.

Towns and hamlets without ayuntamientos were subdivided into those with less than three thousand population, and those with more. Three alcaldes municipales governed the one, while two sufficed for tinier communities. Minimum rather than maximum size of rancherías apparently determined whether or not they would get even a juez de paz, or be governed completely by the ayuntamiento or alcaldes of a nearby settlement. To warrant a juez (who ranked the cacique), a rancho or ranchería had to be permanent, devoted to agriculture or industry, and contain at least ten men who could read and write.

The legal existence of ranchos and rancherías, the
basic native agricultural community units, was reflected in laws granting them common lands. There was always confusion and inconsistency over definition of these places. Competition for land was keen, so that lawmakers necessarily had to arrange a hierarchy of communities. The chief difficulty came at the lower end of the scale, to decide how small a community could be and still be eligible for a full, standard grant. For a full grant of ejido, amounting to four square leagues (measured one league in each cardinal direction from the church), a hamlet was expected to contain at least one hundred fifty contribuyentes, that is, males from fourteen to sixty. The minimum size of a fully recognized civic community thus defined comprised about seven hundred fifty inhabitants. This was a hamlet, the minimum standard. Below it in size, communities were rancherías or ranchos, entitled to partial grants.

Rancherías, communities below minimum, proved troublesome to define. At first an attempt was made to lump them all together. Places that had more than twelve heads of families but less than a hamlet, were recognized for the purposes of granting public lands. Smaller rancherías up to twelve families were not. They were directed to attach themselves to another civic community. Apparently dissatisfaction arose over the hazy statements which disregarded these groups of up to sixty persons, but gave as much to a community of 65 people as to one of 700. Soon rancherías were
re-classified. Those between sixty and one hundred fifty families were allowed slightly less than half an ejido grant, if the people of the place were all "subject to civic responsibilities and living under community rules for conduct of their collective economic and administrative life." Those with less than sixty, but more than ten families (from about 50 to 300 persons) received smaller parcels. Places with less than ten families were still denied legal right to existence; state officials were ordered to see that they were congregated at or near a known place, and legally attached to it.21

No very consistent distinction was made contemporaneously between the terms rancho and ranchería. Both were small settlements less than minimum town size. Generally ranchería was applicable to a civic community that one day might hope to advance and even graduate to size and importance enough to be granted its own junta, then perhaps an ayuntamiento, if development continued. Rancho was a flexible term which usually designated a rural settlement temporarily established; if it tended to attract more people and thus take on permanency, the old name rancho might cling even though technically it had become a ranchería, by the very fact of its permanence.

Ranchos in most cases were first made on public lands or on communal holdings, for the purpose of raising maize or lumbering. Because of the milpa system of agriculture,
by which every third year a new site need be found, sites of a rancho might be abandoned by a group after they had twice or thrice returned to it. But if water was near, more likely the agriculturalists would remain after their first milpas had abandoned in favor of nearby patches. Sitlos were uninhabited plots, usually fenced, in which cattle or other animals roamed; ranchos and sitlos seldom used the same vicinity. Without exception sitlos contained a well, usually corrals, and perhaps a permanent building or two; like ranchos, sitlos characteristically were placed on public lands, for which low rental was due the state. The two, ranchos and sitios, were often joined in official reports. (See Table 3.)

As Chapter Five explains in detail, haciendas were a predominant type of Yucatecan rural holding. One writer characterized them as a property consisting of associated "possessions dedicated to grazing and agriculture, with a group of buildings, corrals, and a sweep well, all in privately owned hands, but in some circumstances utilizing surrounding territory of public lands." Specifically, the core of an hacienda -- its planta -- was private property held by an hacendado; his Maya might make milpas, even ranchos on adjoining public lands, which he rented, and his cattle would be pastured in sitios, also on public lands rented for the purpose. In some cases a large hacienda might have more resident population than many of the smaller
but autonomous civic communities. In late colonial times, when Indians were flocking to haciendas for various reasons, an official lamented that while many municipal communities were virtually deserted, "haciendas seem like populous towns." One hacienda seen by John L. Stephens in 1839 had perhaps fifteen hundred population, nearly twice the minimum size of a municipal community entitled to a full grant of ejido. The population of Yaxcaba, listed below (Table 8B) was divided between five towns, five haciendas, and their ranchos.

The crucial difference between haciendas and civic communities lay in their purpose and control. However populous the former might be, together with the associated holdings its proprietor directed, the resident group was under direct responsibility of a proprietor, who usually through agents managed it for private gain by regulations prescribed for his own interests. Cities, villas, towns and hamlets, on the other hand, were civic entities whose corporate interests were the communal welfare, directed through instruments of government acting for the whole; membership in the community conferred privileges and responsibilities fixed by law and sanctioned by custom. The one was a capitalistic enterprise, the other a political unit. Both, however, provided a nucleus for local loyalties and a framework for everyday activities which might be quite similar.
Stress on small places like hamlets and haciendas seems proper in view of their great significance to the many people concerned. For many, their village or their hacienda was the ultimate bound of existence, within whose limits could be found the necessary elements for daily existence — emotional, economic, social. Governments might change and one or another party gain temporary ascendancy, but the firm fabric interwoven from daily contacts of like members in a small place, generally soaked in tradition, had great powers of resistance. Knowledge of an external world, filled with men and movements, competing political and economic aspirations and visions of social change tended to remain somewhat vague and nebulous beside the known reality of the small group and their hopes and actions.

Perhaps such knowledge was extended to encompass a neighborhood comprised of somewhat similar settlements. In Yucatan, the traditional bound of such unit above the local community was the *partido*, a unit somewhat analogous to a county or shire, but with social overtones not usually shared by those Anglo-Saxon divisions in recent times.

Under various names, and with slightly altered boundaries, *partidos* had existed in Yucatan from early colonial days. Though details of the historical geography have not been worked out, one might hazard a guess that between
colonial partidos and pre-conquest Maya jurisdictions known to Spaniards on their arrival as provincias or cacicazgos there was some congruence, even generic relationship. There were eighteen of the latter, while fourteen or fifteen partidos sufficed for colonial administration, successively headed by a corregidor, then a "Captain of War," and finally by a sub-delegado. In general the duties and responsibilities of the latter can be compared with those of the pre-conquest halach uinie, perhaps the Maya batab. After independence the official in charge of a partido was usually called jefe politico. The extent to which sentiments of unity and loyalty attaching to partidos in 1847 compared and continued pre-conquest loyalties to a cacicazgo can only be conjectured.

Apparently some memory of older times was kept alive among Maya over matters dealing with traditional bounds of pre-conquest lands. Lawsuits well into the nineteenth century brought forth testimony of colonial and earlier days. There is some slight indication that villages which had been grouped in the same cacicazgo tended to feel some unity for action. Such shared sentiments had small continuity with the attitudes those villages had taken at time of conquest. There seemed to be no consistency of earlier and later action. For example, in the native uprising of 1761 the villages that had formed part of the Cupul and Sotuta cacicazgos remained loyal to Spanish rule, though earlier
they had put up stiff resistance to conquest. The villages of the former provincia of Cochua, which had been allied with those of Sotuta and others to resist Spanish domination, however, revolted almost as a unit. Redfield and Villa mention that the present day disinclination of villagers in Chan Kom to include as "our people" those of Yaxcaba may "preserve the political alignments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

For each partido (in the nineteenth century) there was its chief village, the cabecera, seat of the jefe político. Usually also the cabecera was an economic and social hub, as well as a political focus. Earlier in colonial history a cabecera might be the place where a church with a resident minister had been established. It was a parish head, and served neighborhood chapels and lesser ecclesiastical structures; in this case it was distinguished as cabecera de doctrina, (de parroquia or de ministro) from a political center, cabecera de partido. All the latter were also de doctrina, but not all ecclesiastical cabeceras were at the same time political fonts. At one time there were about 80 parishes, each with its cabecera de doctrina, while only about twenty villages were also cabeceras de partido.

By 1840 the single term cabecera tended to replace the earlier distinction between the two and applied only to towns which had officially been designated head of the political partido. The honor of being cabecera went to
the largest community, and with it was privilege of main-
taining an ayuntamiento, as mentioned. Around the cabecera
clustered its satellite settlements -- other towns and
villages similar to it, but slightly smaller, its own and
their ranchos and rancherías, interspersed with haciendas
and their associated holdings.

The changing doctrines and population movements which
shifted cabeceras from one town to another are mirrored in
Table 5. It can be seen that by 1837 twenty partidos were
needed, a somewhat unwieldy number, but required by the in-
crease in population. The number dropped to eighteen in
1845, and to seventeen in 1847 when the partido of Tesoh
was eliminated. The reduced number of partidos over the
decade from 1837 to 1847 was accomplished through administra-
tive reorganization described below.

As principal villages or towns, cabeceras were likely
to have had a pre-conquest history, and almost certainly to
have been of some importance before Yucatan declared inde-
pendence from Spain in 1821. Too, more often than not, they
were Hispano-Indian communities laid out in accordance with
a rather standard town plan which marked Spanish urbanism.
Merida was an example of the gridiron scheme common to His-
panic America from early times, and one which was general
through Yucatan. Around a central plaza and facing it
were public buildings, the cathedral or church, curacy,
chambers of the ayuntamiento, jail, perhaps a store or two
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colonial Partidos</th>
<th>1794</th>
<th>1815</th>
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<th>1835</th>
<th>1837</th>
<th>1845</th>
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**Sources:** See Note 29. D = District cabeceras also.
and maybe the residence of the chief citizen. On the streets extending straight from the plaza, intersected at right angles by others to form even squares were built the stone or brick permanent residences of principal citizens. At the edges of this core of highborn and important citizens were less elaborate dwellings of other creoles, perhaps a few mestizos, and then at the edges of the settlement were huts of Indians.

Few creole-dominated towns had no Maya, but not infrequently Indian towns had but few non-natives. Such places displayed less precision and regularity than did Hispano-Indian communities. In accordance with Maya practice the entrances and exits to the village might be oriented to cardinal directions, but within its bounds irregular paths served as thoroughfares, on which were spotted at irregular intervals the native huts and their surrounding garden patches or bowers. But even in native hamlets there was pretense of public buildings, for local authorities, and inevitably a chapel if not a church near the center of the scattered group of houses.31

Larger creole centers like Merida, Campeche, and Valladolid formally separated the area occupied by creoles from those inhabited by natives or lower-class persons such as mestizos, negros, and cross-breeds. Their centers were the barrios. Around the central plaza of each, faced by a church or chapel dedicated to its patron saint, unpaved and
irregular paths were flanked by huts similar to those found in rural areas. Barrios seem to be a compromise between the rigid formalism of the planned community and the unplanned growth typical of Indian communities in the hinterland. Sentimentally they were of the city but not in it. Barrio government was the same as the other repúblicas de indígenas. Just as rivalry between neighboring villages was a constant source of feud and bickerings, so interbarrio competition existed. Around Mérida, each barrio had generally known characteristics in which its members took pride. A novelist, in laying some of his scenes in the capital, wrote of San Cristóbal, "one notes a certain ancient rivalry between its numerous inhabitants and those of other barrios.... San Cristóbal, however, is one of the most industrious and richest of the suburbs; from it goes forth a prodigious quantity of cured hides which form such an active commerce with Havana,"

The villa of Tícul, cabecera of its partido, typified Hispano-Indian communities of mid-century Yucatán. For its period, and even later, Tícul exhibited many of the features which a century later Redfield attributed to Dzitas, a type community. Like Dzitas, Tícul was larger than most villages; it was a center of regional trade, and lay on an axis of communication. Tícul included in its population nearly every Spanish and Indian intermixture. Too, it lay "on the frontier between the urban and rural ways of life," at the
point of division between "the world of the villages and the little settlements out on the haciendas or situated by themselves in the bush ... and the world of Merida, maintained in some degree by the more mobile, educated, and economically advantaged families who live chiefly in the center of the town and maintain connections with the other towns and with the city." Unlike Dzitas, however, which developed size and importance only after coming of railroads at the end of the nineteenth century, Ticul had been significant in pre-conquest days and has continued its influence to the present.

The nearby ruins of its "old town," the pre-conquest site of settlement attested to extent of earlier Maya occupancy. On the arrival of Spaniards, Ticul was capital of a subordinate jurisdiction; its governor, like those of similar small states integrated about Muna, Mama, Tekit, Oxkutzcab and Tekax, acknowledged overlordship of the Xiu family, rulers of Mani. Along with the province of Mani, Ticul was given in encomienda to Adelantado Montejo, but when he was stripped of holdings (by the New Laws of 1542) these grants were annulled and the village reverted to the Crown, to whom natives paid their tributes. In late colonial times, and early in the nineteenth century, Ticul headed a division of the peninsula known as Sierra Alta, leadership of which was disputed with Tekax, a rising place of increasing importance. In the re-districting of Yucatan in 1837,
Tioul emerged as cabecera of a separate partido attached to the District of Merida rather than to that of Tekax. In 1845 the partido claimed 26,645 inhabitants, and the number may have reached 30,000. Nearly seven thousand lived within the villa itself. The remainder were found in its satellite communities, eight towns, forty-two ranchos, and forty-seven haciendas, one of which was the famous one of Uxmal.37

One of the towns within the partido was Nohcaeb, "great place of good land." On its three wells perhaps six thousand people, mainly natives, were dependent, carrying water with them to their distant ranchos formed in a region that Stephens found "retired and comparatively unknown. The village does not lie on the way to any place of general resort.... Notwithstanding the commencement of improvements it was the most backward and thoroughly Indian of any village we had visited.... Many of the white people could not speak Spanish, and the conversation was almost exclusively in the Maya language.... Merida was too far off for the Indians to think of; but few of the vecinos ever reached it, and Ticul was their capital."38

The villa of Ticul showed nearly all qualities which other Hispano-Indian communities shared in varying degrees. "Altogether, for appearance, society, and convenience of living," wrote Stephens after visits there in 1841, "it is perhaps the best village in Yucatan, and famous for its
bull-fights and the beauty of its Mestiza women." Ticul was a pleasant, quiet place, where town and country joined, laid out around a grassy central plaza flanked by a large church and a Franciscan convent that had already deteriorated. The balcony of the latter offered view of a "great plain, with houses of one story, flat roofs, high garden walls, above which orange, lemon, and plantain trees were growing." Off the plaza also was a well supplied market, where meat of cattle butchered on the street was sold, as was bread superior to that of Merida, together with other edibles. Several stores, among which Guzman's was leader, supplied the wants of Ticul and extended their trade to lesser places like Nohcacab.

The stone houses of Ticul's creole and mestizo population, perhaps three hundred families, grouped on the rectangular squares around its plaza. Building material for them had in large part come from Maya ruins surrounding the town. The mestizos were characterized as numerous, orderly, and well-to-do, engaged principally in the manufacture of hats for export and earthenware for the local market. Beyond the permanent residences of the whites commenced the Indian sections, which extended for perhaps a mile in each direction. In them were seen typical native huts, generally plastered, "imbowered among trees, or, rather, overgrown and concealed by weeds" enclosed within stone fences. Maya worked on milpas of adjoining haciendas, wove hammocks and hats, as well as manufacturing cigars.
Indians and whites alike joined to produce the annual village fiesta each February. Funds for it were raised by public gambling parties, and its celebration was marked by religious ceremonies, horse-races, bull baitings and regional dances peculiar to the area. One of these permitted an exchange of roles between creoles and mestizos, for the former dressed and acted as hacienda hands, ruled for the evening by two lower class persons dressed and acting as the fiscales of colonial days who kept good order by use of the whip. Yet to reaffirm their class superiority, the creoles later presented a semi-formal ball that excluded mestizos and Indians except as spectators.

Even in smaller things Ticul was typical. Its female population outnumbered its male. The ready social recognition of illegitimate children offered them no real barrier to acceptance in the village group. Even the local cura had as mistress the prettiest of the mestizas; his colleagues in other parts of Yucatan might be less fortunate in the pulchritude of their compañeras, but the practice of keeping mistresses was a generally condoned state of affairs. It was not at all unusual for a priest to "stand in the position of a married man," and in this status to perform "all the duties pertaining to the head of a family," except, of course, to pay taxes. At a ball in Nohasob, the most distinguished damsel was a natural child of the cura, "who, strictly speaking, ought never to have had any daughters."
From time to time the state legislature had as one of its official duties the legitimization of bastards, and gave them rights and privileges equal to legitimate offspring.\[42\]

Whether sanctified post-partum or the fruit of more orthodox unions, an increased number of births and fewer deaths had by 1837 raised Yucatan's population to a level where the old system of partidos as the largest administrative unit had become unwieldy. The partidos were retained as smaller divisions, but reorganization that year created five administrative districts, to one of which each partido was assigned. The district was headed by a jefe político de distrito, under whom were the several jefes políticos who topped the system in the partidos. With but slight changes the district system endured until late in the nineteenth century. In 1845, the eighteen partidos were allocated among the districts as shown in Table 6. In 1847, Tecoh was absorbed by the partido of Merida and that of Ticul.\[43\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D i s t r i c t s</th>
<th>M E R I D A</th>
<th>C A M P E C H S</th>
<th>V A L L A D O L I D</th>
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<td>Seibaplaya</td>
<td>Carmen</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** "Censo, 1843," Regil and Peon, "Estadística," Table C.
As seen, the ecology of particular Hispano Indian communities like Ticul manifested the general arrangement of the state: a white core, fringed by mixed breeds, with Maya on the verges. Cities, villas, large towns and haciendas were typical of white-dominated areas; Indians were found on them, sometimes in considerable numbers, but socially and spatially in less desirable and inferior position. Small villages and independent ranchos marked Indian territories.

The relative proportions of these forms of settlement gave clue to the ethnic and cultural tones of a given region, as the two ways of life, creole and Indian, differed in many respects, even though there might be a large body of commonly shared sentiments and attitudes. The simple dichotomy between "Indians" and "Whites" was one which officials in 1845 still used. For many purposes the basic division was useful, though it did minor violence to social facts. The background of this simple division is illuminating, reflecting as it does a whole philosophy of man and society.

At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, Baron Humboldt used two main classifications, with subdivisions of each, to account for the socio-ethnic diversity he found general through New Spain (Table 7). His prime category was "pure-bloods." The second was "mixed bloods," known generically as castas. Among pure-bloods he placed Europeans, mainly
immigrant Spaniards, together with creoles (American born persons of European extraction and descent); in combination these formed the "Whites." Also among pure-bloods were two other sub-categories: Indians and Negroes. The three pure-blooded groups obviously differed markedly from each other in ethnic background and in social prestige. The actual heterogeneity of each group, Whites, Indians, and Negroes, was hidden under a label that thus implied homogeneous racial origins.

From intermixtures of pure-bloods derived the castas. This general grouping had numerous subdivisions. "Mestizos" were preponderant numerically and socially; they were hybrids, formed through more than ten generations of interbreeding, and cross marriages (on occasion) between Indians and whites. Occasionally, when amounts of white blood had been augmented through careful marriages, a mestizo family or individual would be officially raised by order of the Audiencia to "White" status from that of casta.

The other chief divisions of the castas resulted from Negro mixture with White or with Indian, or with Mestizo. Negro and Negro hybrid crosses with whites produced mulattos and a series of recognized breeds whose names indicated the proportions of negro and white blood, counted to four or five generations. Liaisons between Negroes and Indians resulted in progeny who were classified as chinos ("Chinese"); in Yucatan, the more common rubric for them was pardo.
"The industry, energy, and activity of the inhabitants is remarkable, and indeed unparalleled for Mexicans.... In Yucatan, a suitable basis has been laid for the establishment of political liberty -- the elements of a great republic are there...."

Niles National Register, May 16, 1840.
although on occasion the odd label *chino* was employed. White, Indian, Negro, mestizo, mulatto, and pardo were terms most commonly encountered, but colonial society discriminated upwards of forty ethno-social classes.

Preoccupation with purity of lineage had practical implications. By law the important social distinctions accompanied these imputed ethnic origins. Membership in the White colonial group obviously brought privilege; lack of it was basis for graded discriminations. Even within the small oligarchy of those with proved White ancestry, the creoles were placed at a disadvantage; Spaniards from the metropolis outranked them for political and other prerogatives. Not until the very end of the colonial period, for example, did a Yucatecan creole occupy the high post of Intendent-Governor of Yucatan, and that was largely by accident. Exclusion of creoles from highest social and administrative positions was an important element in their willingness to support movements for independence from Spain, as can be seen from their support of Iturbide's Plan of Iguala. Once consummated, however, independence for them did not signify eager desire to extend their new privileges to all the classes still thought inferior: castas, Indians, Negroes. Once European Spaniards were displaced, creoles topped the old hierarchy.

Even toward the end of the colonial period, ethno-social classifications were not completely standardized.
They varied from place to place and from time to time in the same place. Listed as White might be European Spaniards, nicknamed *gachupines* or *chapetones*, as well as *creoles*. The latter were more and more calling themselves Americans. Even mestizos might find themselves in company with Whites on census reports. Because of differential tax rates and other reasons, Indians were usually listed separately, though "noble Indians" whose privileges nearly equated them with whites might be set off from commoners. "People of color" sometimes were broken down into *mulattoes* and *pardos*, or lumped as *castas*. For comparative purposes Table 7 indicates the subdivisions of population in New Spain as a whole near the end of the colonial period.

Colonial census data from Yucatan in Table 8 illustrates divergences from standard norms, and also indicates the proportions of groups within the total population on the peninsula. Possibly the figures for Negro hybrids are high. Certain Negro crosses paid higher tribute than Indians. But pardos, for example, paid none and were eligible to join the provincial militia. The distinctions between Negro mixtures who were free from tribute and those who were required to pay it became blurred; in 1802 the Intendant of Merida wrote the Audiencia of Mexico that due to intermixtures it was quite difficult to distinguish Spaniards, Indians, and mulattoes in his province and that to obviate difficulties not only Indians but *castas* having Negro blood
### Table 7. COLONIAL POPULATIONS: ETHNIC DISTINCTIONS, NEW SPAIN, 1803 - 1805

#### A. ESTIMATES OF BARON HUMBOLDT, 1803

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Spaniards</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole Spaniards</td>
<td>1,025,000</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Whites (pure bloods)</strong></td>
<td>1,095,000</td>
<td>(22.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castes (mixed bloods)</td>
<td>1,231,000</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives or Indians (pure bloods)</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Negroes (pure bloods)</td>
<td>6,100</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4,832,100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


#### B. ESTIMATES OF CONSULADO, 1805

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Spaniards</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole Spaniards</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Whites</strong></td>
<td>1,075,000</td>
<td>(18.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castes</td>
<td>2,369,000</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>2,300,000</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Negroes</td>
<td>10,731</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave Negroes</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Negroes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL POPULATION, NEW SPAIN</strong></td>
<td>5,764,731</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** "Noticias de Nueva España en 1805 publicadas por el tribunal del Consulado," Sociedad mexicana de Historia e Geografía, *Boletín*, II (1851-52), 4.
## Table 8. COLONIAL ETHNIC DISTRIBUTIONS, YUCATAN, 1789-1813

### A. 1789 -- Total Peninsula, including Tabasco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards &amp; Mestizos</td>
<td>53,866</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>264,955</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes &amp; mulattoes</td>
<td>45,201</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>364,022</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** DHY, III; 99; AHY, I; 250.

### B. 1794 -- Province of Tabasco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards</td>
<td>1,178</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>19,438</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardos</td>
<td>11,184</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other castes</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34,251</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** AHY, I; 237.

### C. 1789 -- Province of Yucatan, reconstructed estimate

(Excluding Tabasco as of 1794)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards &amp; Mestizos</td>
<td>52,537</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>245,517</td>
<td>74.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro crosses</td>
<td>31,717</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>329,771</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Numbers of Table A less numbers of Table B; assumes that the 30,640 reported for Tabasco were distributed in 1789 as were the 34,251 for 1794; for 1794 detailed ethnic breakdown was provided, but not for 1789.
D.

**City of Merida, 1790**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>number</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards</td>
<td>3,286</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>14,751</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulattoes</td>
<td>3,416</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other castes</td>
<td>6,250</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27,329</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: DHY, 3:113; AHY, 211 (gives date as 1794).*

---

E.

**Curacy of Yaxcaba, 1813**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>number</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Americans</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizos</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>7,442</td>
<td>86.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulattoes or pardos</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negros</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,591</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Bartolome del Granado Baeza, "Informe... sobre el manejo, vida y costumbres de los indios..." Registro Yucateco, 1; 185-78 (1845); ref. pp. 165-66.*

should uniformly pay tribute. It may well be that persons who, with equal facility could claim either Negro or Indian ancestry, emphasized the former to gain definite social advantages: possible freedom from tribute, plus escape from the repartimiento system of forced labor and purchase of goods, and similar usages that usually pressed more heavily on Indians than on castas.
Data on Negroes in Yucatan are scant and unreliable. Probably Yucatecan Negroes and Negro hybrids were concentrated chiefly in Tabasco, also in or near the urban centers of Merida and Campeche. Some few, such as those listed for Yaxcaba in 1813 (Table 8E), may have been slaves. Few records are available on them. In that year (for the province as a whole) the total number of castas, including all Negroes, some mestizos, and possibly even "free" Indians who were enlisted in the militia ("Hidalgos"), was estimated at 55,000, while 70,000 persons were officially tagged as whites; the remainder, 375,000 were tribute-paying families of Indians.55

For purposes of analysis only, these social groupings may be ranked according to the prestige then attached to ancestry. Whites -- European Spaniards and American creoles -- may justifiably be called upper-class, on basis of the high value they and others placed on their presumed ethnic heritage. At the other end of the scale, lower-class, were Indians; probably slightly below them were slave Negroes and slightly above, free Negro hybrids. Somewhere between Indians and whites, forming a nebulous middle group were the mestizos. Table 9 attempts to localize to Merida in 1790 the varying proportion of these ethnic groups, based solely on their ancestry, and equating it to class as just described.

Analytically independent are the contemporary recognized positions and posts. These are what sociologists like to tag as social status, and with it, role. These can also be ranked
by prestige. Obviously in Merida, the titled gentleman carried more social weight than did a pauper. Between these extremes were official or recognized roles which both law and custom distinguished. Table 10 attempts to arrange them hierarchically, together with the number of persons occupying each "discharging that role."

There is a double purpose to such arrangement: by comparison of social classes based on lineage (Table 9) and those based on social role (Table 10), the common generalization that there was a high correspondence between the two can be indicated quantitatively, for this particular place at a given time, 1789-90. Such comparison is made by Table 11. Secondly, arrangement of social roles in 1790 provides a useful base of comparison between society in Merida in late colonial times and in the era of independence. Though perhaps all the reasons for social change cannot be conclusively stated, the fact that social change did take place between 1790 and 1845 can be demonstrated. Table 11 deals with 1790, placing class status based on ethnic heritage beside the range of social roles.

Table 9. ETHNO-SOCIAL GROUPS AND THEIR CLASS STANDING, MERIDA, 1790

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Colonial Distinctions</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Europeans, American Spaniards</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Mestizos (&quot;other castes&quot;)</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Indians, negro hybrids</td>
<td>4,507</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,126</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DNY, III, 113, ANY, I, 211.
### Table 10. POSTS, PROFESSIONS, OFFICES AND VOCATIONS, IN MÉRIDA, 1789

#### UPPER CLASS STATUS (Professions, Offices, Hereditary Status, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titled gentleman —- Conde de Mireles</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereditary citizen—military, with <em>fuero militar</em></td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church functionaries</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular clergy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curates</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficed clergy</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicars</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordained (titulares de clérigo)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular clergy and auxiliaries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friars</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun &amp; lay Sisters</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Orders - Lay Brethren</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquisition</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruzada</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminary</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices in Hospitals, etc.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplains</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrimonial posts</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil and Administrative Functionaries</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Exchequer</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Court <em>(Foro)</em></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioned recorders <em>(escribanos)</em></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeons</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noble Indians <em>(hidalgos)</em></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### MIDDLE CLASS STATUS (Occupations, Vocations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants &amp; storekeepers <em>(comerciantes)</em></td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamen</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbers &amp; Bleeders</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### LOWER CLASS STATUS (Occupations, employment)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and craftsmen</td>
<td>1,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day wage laborers <em>(semi-skilled)</em></td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labor <em>(labradores)</em></td>
<td>1,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants in institutions</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In jail</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paupers</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick in hospitals</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inane</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Social role or function (status) Number Percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>4,418</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6,583</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: See Note 54.
Table 11. CASTE STATUS vs. VOCATIONAL STATUS, MERIDA, 1789
(Comparison of Table 9 and Table 10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presumed Class Level</th>
<th>Caste Status (Ascribed lineage)</th>
<th>Vocational Status (Achieved position)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 9 to 11 may be interpreted to mean that a generation before independence the leading places in Merida were wholly filled by whites. This group would include all European and American Spaniards, some few mestizos, and by courtesy, the hereditary Indian nobility. Some mulattoes and non-noble Indians may have edged into positions here attributed to the middle class, but more probably mestizos filled most of them, leaving the less rewarding and less respected occupations to Indians and mulattoes, shared by a sprinkling of mestizos with strong affinities to the latter groups.

Social prestige graded downward from European Spaniards and old Creole families to Indians or Negro-Indian crosses.

A detailed inventory of social positions for 1847 (similar to that of 1789) would show relatively small over-all changes. The shifts following independence took place mainly in the upper reaches. Comparable material is lacking on which to base a numerical comparison between 1789 and 1847. The following chapter provides a more detailed view of changes taking place in and around Merida, so that the following examples are illustrative, to highlight some of
the differences between late colonial times and Yucatan on
the very eve of the Caste War.

The top of the hierarchy, one titled gentleman of 1789,
disappeared. In 1840 the title was not actively flaunted;
it had been proscribed. In 1789 it was relatively new as
it was a Bourbon creation in 1772. Before independence it
had passed to a second-generation Creole (in 1810), when
Bernardo de Peon y Maldonado married the defunct Count of
Miraflores' daughter. Two of their sons died without issue,
but the third one carried on the line; their daughters married
Yucatecans identified with public affairs on the peninsula in
the 1840's.

In 1840 many whose fathers and grandfathers had been
included on the roster of *fuero militar* continued to maintain
elevated position and still to be conscious of the social
superiority, possession of the *fuero* conferred. It was less
a patent of valor than proof of untainted ancestry. Some-
times ancestry dated to the first *conquistadores* and
*encomenderos* of the peninsula; its possession conferred some
important legal exemptions. Holders, however, generally
drew their chief income from haciendas rather than from pro-
fessional careers as militarists. On Yucatan, properly
speaking, there were no militarists. Until 1834, aside from
an occasional raid by pirates, the Indian revolt of 1761, and
the "War of the Cold Balls," cannon fire had not been heard
for three hundred years, "except in civil and religious
ceremonials."
Possibly typical of old creole families which would hold fuero militar were the Cámaras. In his youth Felipe de la Cámara y Valdés was enrolled in the colonial militia and was a captain by 1814, later a lieutenant-colonel; for his merits he was decorated by Iturbide's Empire; his son Camilo entered the militia in Mérida after independence and became a captain; by 1847 he was a colonel, ranking two of his sons, a lieutenant and a captain; after 1830 the chief interests of the family had turned to henequén. Their ancestry traced back to unions among the Cámaras and Pachecos of Yucatecan conquest fame. Newer creóla families and mestizo military careerists might enjoy the political privileges conferred by post-independence grants of fuero militar, but it is dubious if they were fully admitted to the high social circles which the honorific grants in colonial times had circumscribed.

In numbers and influence Church functionaries of 1847 would have declined from those listed in 1789. The ecclesiastical establishment consisted mainly of secular clergy with but a handful of regulars, as in 1821 most of these had been given choice of secularization or deportation. The civil administrative list would probably show some expansion, but creoles rather than Europeans held the major posts. Enrolled among the professions, or at least considered in the upper group, would be found not only the colonial categories, but also new ones, editors, artists,
self-supporting writers and others who helped ferment and sustain the intellectual renaissance of Merida in the 1840's. One product of the changing age was an increased number of teachers and students, from the primary through the college grades. They would also be upper class.

Merchants, by 1847, had definitely moved upward, both in numbers and certainly in prestige. Significantly, the two major political groupings were headed by opposing merchants, Santiago Méndez and Miguel Barbashano. Probably earlier few creoles of old families would have faced public disapproval by carrying on business from their ancient family houses in Merida, yet by 1833 the atmosphere was such that Joaquin García Rejon, of a prime Yucatecan family, in remodeling the colonial casa de solario made part of it into a store; many of the objects sold in "el Iguano," liquors, soap, and candles, were made in his patio, while under the name of "Rejon and Sons" a brisk trade in grain, hides and similar products flourished there.60

Independence affected the middle and lower classes rather less. Traditional crafts were carried on in much the same way by mestizos, pardos, and Indians. They were carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, tailors, saddlemakers and artisans of various sorts. Indians of the barrio of San Cristobal were notable leather-workers, their tanneries ensconced in the barrio's banana groves and trees. The unskilled or semi-skilled jobs required in the capital and
countryside were filled mainly by Indians. No real urban proletariat had yet emerged. Sizable manufacturing establishments that might have spawned it were still non-existent. Labor organizations likewise had not appeared. Two creoles thought them necessary for balanced government and that their lack indicated that colonial concepts of monopoly and exploitation still surged strong. Guilds rather than labor unions held sway. A range of officially recognized crafts may be seen in Table 12, which also shows the length of time a youth needed as an apprentice in each.

By 1847 two ethno-social groups of earlier colonial days were no longer sharply defined nor were they present in significant numbers. European Spaniards and Negroes, at opposite ends of the colonial scale of social values, never large groups, each disappeared as separate categories. The former had ceased to immigrate, and in general those on the peninsula in 1821 had either cast their lot with creoles or had been forced to emigrate to Cuba or other Spanish-held possessions. Those who elected to remain tended to concentrate in Merida, although some also were found in Campeche. By definition their offspring were Creoles. They might join conservative groups, even royalists, but in the main they identified themselves with Yucatecan affairs without notable deviation from the various attitudes taken by other creoles.

To account for Negroes and Negro hybrids is less simple. Unlike Spaniards and their creole offspring, few records of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Name</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Term of Apprenticeship (years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escultores</td>
<td>Sculptors</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpinteros</td>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateros</td>
<td>Silversmiths</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintores</td>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albañiles</td>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herreros</td>
<td>Metalworkers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talabarteros</td>
<td>Potters</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concheros</td>
<td>Shellworkers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panaderos</td>
<td>Bakers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtidores</td>
<td>Tanners</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toneleros</td>
<td>Coopers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barberos</td>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zapateros</td>
<td>Gobblers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordeleros</td>
<td>Cordmakers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sastres</td>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaboneros</td>
<td>Soapmakers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herradores</td>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitarreros</td>
<td>Guitarmakers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impresores</td>
<td>Pressmen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empastadores</td>
<td>Binders</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabaqueros</td>
<td>Cigarmakers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paroleros</td>
<td>Lamplighters</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veleros</td>
<td>Candlemakers</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "Reglamento de talleres de artes y oficios de la capital," July 4, 1851, Eligio Ancona, Colección de leyes etc., I, 63-73.
their activities and ultimate fate remain to the present. There were Negroes on Yucatan shortly after its conquest. When the city of Merida was formed, one of its appended barrios, Santa Lucia, was designated for them. Unlike the Indian barrios which it resembled, Santa Lucia did not preserve its identity even through late colonial days (Table 13). Though Indians were residing in Santa Catarina, San Sebastian, San Cristobal, Santa Ana and other specific localities, no one place belonged to Negroes and mulattoes. In 1766 investigators mentioned that the curacy of Jesus, said to be poor, and probably located in the Center of Merida, was comprised chiefly of Negroes and mulattoes, just as within the curacy of Campeche a church was devoted to them.

In the nineteenth century their numbers are not known. Census reports took no special cognizance of Negroes, and travelers’ accounts usually mention them only in passing, if at all. As early as 1814, Schánove lamented that no Negroes were available to work canefields, when Indians refused to. Writing in 1830, a famous Yucatecan patriot, Lorenzo Zavala, stated that Negroes were scarcely known, and that at a maximum perhaps there were two hundred slaves, most of whom resided near Campeche. Possibly others of whom there is no available trace purchased their freedom from slavery, as did Melchor Fardo, whose father had come from Guinea, or Antonia, manumitted by the versified will of her master at his death. Of travelers, Waldeck in 1834
apparently made no mention of Negroes. Stephens in 1839 and 1841 wrote briefly that *pardos*, derived from Negroes and Indians, made the worst race known; beyond that his information is scanty. The lack of political excitement over various abolition efforts from 1823 onward may indicate that the number of slaves was few. The generalization which Redfield applies to 1940 probably was equally true a century earlier: "Negroes can be ignored since they gradually disappeared through miscegenation." 

VI

The War of the Castes derives its name from the social characteristics that contemporaries assigned to ethnic groups. *Castas* in the Spanish and Spanish American sense, bear little relation to the elaborately organized caste systems of India, but underlying both is the assumption that the cultural heritage of a social group is indissolubly linked with its physical heritage, that "by nature" people of a given genealogical background are superior or inferior to others of different common antecedents. The doctrine is a familiar one through
history and in our times. In Spanish America it was re-
inforced by legislation premised on the idea that Europeans
and their legitimate descendants were by that very fact
fitted for pre-eminence, that "blood would tell." To combat
such powerful and comfortable theories by pointing out that
modern investigations do not support them is a thankless
and unrewarding task, as the weight and press of history
continually reinforces the emotional basis of popular think-
ing, making it virtually impervious to rational criticism.
While in the course of the last century scientific thought
has generally drifted toward the conclusions that race,
language, and culture are independent variables, without
necessary interconnections, history has witnessed the rise
of powerful movements and nationalistic efforts based on
exactly the opposite foundations. Without entering into
the devious and often disputed connections between the ethnic
and biological factors examined by students of race, and those
non-biological elements investigated by sociologists, ethnol-
ogists, and other students of social phenomena (of which
linguistics is an integral part), here it can only be
categorically stated that on dispassionately verifiable
basis there exists little substantive proof that because
of ethnic elements Indians, whites, and mestizos must differ
markedly in achievement. The fact that Yucatecan con-
temporaries consciously or subconsciously thought they might
is of supreme importance in assessing relationships.
Distinction between the groups was basic to the organization and functioning of their society.

In mid-century Yucatan, as at the present, definition of an Indian, or a mestizo, depended chiefly on cultural rather than biological criteria. For social convenience, features like skin color were seized upon as a ready index of ethnic heritage, and (therefore) social worth. On straight biological and ethnic grounds there were other, perhaps more important differences, not only between Whites and Indians, but among Indians themselves. Even today all these differences are not known, and certainly their connections with the culture in which they are found have not been satisfactorily established.

Ethnically considered, creoles could be classified as pertaining to the Caucasian or White stock, within it to the Mediterranean race, and possibly to one or more breeds formed locally by inbreeding among creoles on Yucatan, with common intrusive elements from cross-breeding with Maya. Creoles did not vary significantly from like groups in other parts of Mexico or in Spain, in respect to heritable physical traits. Data for historical or comparative purposes are practically non-existent. In skin color, amounts and distribution of body hair, height, and in some socially unimportant traits like pulse rate they stood apart from Indians.

Maya may tentatively be classified as an offshoot of
New World Mongoloid stock, Amerind race, and local breeds, all generally characterized by a varying number of common elements. Among Maya are found short chunky bodies, long arms, deep chests, straight dark hair on broad round heads, good teeth, pronounced curved noses, long narrow ears, and uniformly dark brown or black eyes. In the young these have a typical epicanthic fold, which like a purple sacral spot, usually disappears with increasing age. Sapper professed himself able to distinguish at least three breeds within the Maya of Yucatan, corresponding to the north, central, and southern parts of the peninsula. Other investigators have generally confined samplings to groups from a single zone between Tekax and Valladolid, which may account for the slight divergences among their findings. The anthropometric techniques needed to establish significant differences between one and another group of Maya from scattered parts of Yucatan and other Maya regions were not available to the Yucatecans or others in 1847, even had they wished to employ them. However, the situation is much the same today; a modern writer mentions that racial anthropology "has not even furnished an adequate description of the types of any particular area." Coastal Maya and other sub-cultural groups of Yucatan have not been measured.

No reliable information touches the mid-century mestizo, and little for modern ones. Presumably true for them is the tendency of other hybrids, to form breeds *sui generis.*
Rather, for instance, than providing median averages halfway between measurements of parent breeds, biologic selection seems to combine and transmute whole items. Thus a cephalic index would not measure halfway between that of a white and Indian, but might be slightly larger, or smaller than either. Skin color of mestizos often approximated that of creoles, as did their ability to raise mustaches and beards. These prominent and identifiable traits made passage from lower to higher status easier for mestizos and their offspring, when opportunities and desire coincided. The precise point where mestizos shaded off into creoles at the one end of the scale and into Maya at the other could not be fixed on ethnic grounds. But social necessity required immediate and rather clear-cut divisions. Lines between Indians and others were therefore generally drawn on cultural indices rather than on purely ethnic ones.

Dress, speech, surname, self-characterisations, habits, residence and other differences between one group and another served to identify their members as Indians, mestizos, or creoles. Over the years from conquest group attitudes toward themselves and to outsiders had been traditionally fixed and perpetuated to a degree that they seemed as immutable as the shape of one's nose. For instance, the white creole of 1845 had behind him a long and generally unquestioned view of Indians as inferior beings, born to pupilage and by nature incapable of much improvement; a few writers may have
dissented from that view, but often they erred in the opposite direction, picturing natives as unspoiled children of Nature, with fine inner "instincts" at variance with crude manners of Europeans who exploited them. There is indeed little evidence of what Indians thought of whites, but the tendency has been to assume that natives felt as Europeans would have in their places, i.e., resentment and resignation.

One of the clearest indications of caste status, and its dependent class standing, lay in dress. Creoles and mestizos hoping to be accounted white, dressed the part. Men followed New York modes in their suits, shoes, and shirts for formal occasions, and even in periods of relaxation could be distinguished by their European type of pantaloons and shoes. In the hinterland, Stephens noted, creole merchants wore a sort of fur hat as the hallmark of civilization. Creole dames upheld their status by following European modes in their gowns, coiffure, and footwear. There were local variations. Travelers a century apart noted with some pleasure that the ladies of Merida liked low-bosomed gowns and disdained corsets. In distinction to Maya and mestizos who clung to folk costume, creoles were gente de vestido, "people who dressed."

Typical costume separated Maya and mestizos from creoles. In areas where Spanish influence was quite strong, Indian men wore pajama-like pants, calzones or calzoncillos, over
a breechclout; generally the drawers were rolled to the knees. The upper garment was a slip-on shirt. A carrying pouch and a machete slung on the left shoulder completed the costume, although occasionally a floppy straw hat known as "jipijapa," made near Becal, and sandals of hide with henequén cords might be employed. Maya at the edge or beyond settled areas might not use the drawers, retaining only the ancient breech-clout. This, a long strip doubled around the waist and knotted at the umbilicus with an end hanging in front was generically called mit, and by metonomy the term became synonymous with "wild Indian," one unaffected by creole civilization. Among this latter group also were found those who clung to the ancient melena, a hair style by which tributary Indians were known; it consisted of "a lock of hair on each side of their temple, which they are constrained to wear as a badge of subjection to the Spanish monarchy."

Indian women wore a long skirt, fastened at the waist and reaching to the ground, made of white cotton. Over the lower garment hung a low-cut, sacklike garment known as a huipil. At the square cut neck and on the lower hems below the waist were elaborate embroidered figures. A white headcloth, without embroidery, known as a toca, usually covered hair, face, and bosom similar to use made of the modern reboco. Seldom was footwear employed, and in the privacy of home all garments but the skirt were dispensed
with, leaving the upper part of the body bare. Red trade beads, and those from animal teeth bone, were occasionally employed, along with cheap rosaries. Travelers commented on the extreme cleanliness of Maya, men and women, and their frequent bathing. This trait kept busy fifty-two soap factories in 1844.

Mestizo costumes were a variation of the Indian dress. Though similar, men's shirts were of better quality than Indian ones. The calzones usually were left unrolled, and terminated in a flare, making them bell-bottoms. Their sandals were the elaborate form known generically as cactias, often with high, decorated heels. On occasion, if they could afford it, mestizos wore European type shoes, usually yellow, with bulbous toes. They, more than Indians, used serapes, but known by their foreign name in Yucatan, plaids. While working mestizos used an apron-like cloth known as coti, generally blue or striped; though variation occurred in the shirts and vest, little occurred in the apron.

Two occupations traditionally reserved chiefly to mestizos had their own costumes: mayordomos of haciendas had an elaborate outfit, characterized by a round, hard straw hat with tassels. Vaqueros, cowhands, used leather clothes adapted to thorny brush. Most mestizos, like Indians, carried machetes, the useful and omnipresent tool of rural Mexico.

Mestizas dressed in folk costume that had evolved from
that worn by Indian women. Like them they wore long skirts, with huipiles. But ornamentation of these garments was more elaborate; characteristically mestizas wore shoes, sometimes stockings, and numerous jewels—real or artificial. Their headcloths likewise were highly ornamented with embroidered figures; only recently have colored rebozos taken their place. Filigreed rosaries and beads, often strung between gold pieces, were usual. They employed a characteristic coiffure known as t'uch. With their jewelry, their semi-transparent huipiles, and their fancy shoes, mestizas made a strong impression on travellers. Traditionally part of a mestiza costume was a man's black hat, worn over a blue headcloth. By 1840 this apparently had been generally abandoned, though it could be seen on festive occasions.

Language as well as costume divided creoles, Maya, and mestizos. Most Yucatecans, as creoles preferred to call themselves, had a bowing acquaintance with Maya, if for no other reason than that their nursesmaids spoke it. The prime and official language of creoles was Spanish, but men whose contacts lay largely in rural areas perforce learned the native idiom, as many Maya refused to learn Spanish. Official decrees necessarily were issued on a bilingual basis. In addition to Maya, a number of creoles spoke English, French, and other modern languages, and there was a strong tendency to send young creoles abroad to the United States or to Europe for education. Creole names were Spanish,
or hispanicized. As mentioned, earlier they had clung with pride to a string of Spanish patronyms, but in the anti-Spanish feelings of the 1820's these were simplified; for a while the customary salutation due a créole, "Don" was replaced by "Citizen," in the era when revulsion against the Spanish metropolis and its ancient ways led to plastering over the proud coat of arms on the Adelantado Montejo's stately residence. By 1840 at least most créoles and many mestizos were willing and eager to be known merely as Yucatecos, but Indians seldom if ever employed this self-characterization and créoles were chary of extending it to them. Yucatecos continued to characterize Indians as thievish, lascivious, lazy, brutal, drunken, uncivilized, and fanatic. To this day the epithet "Indian" applied to a créole Yucatecan has an unflattering connotation.

The Indian called himself a macehual and continued to use a Maya surname. With but few and unimportant dialectical differences the Maya tongue was the same throughout the peninsula, and was the tongue in which nearly all business was transacted outside the cities. The ability of Maya to retain their spoken idiom against attempts to displace it by Spanish was remarkable. Outside of cities (and in many parts of them) Maya remained a standard medium of communication among natives, and between natives and créoles. The latter usually spoke Maya in addition to Spanish, but less frequently did Maya speak Spanish in addition to their
own tongue. Creoles even reached a point in the 1840's where they criticized the vulgarization of Maya through intrusive loan words, and set about teaching Indians to speak the native idiom properly and grammatically. During the time when there was considerable distaste for things Spanish (as signs of colonialism) even the language was a target. In 1826 a governor of Yucatan thought the "aristocracy of language" should be destroyed, and therefore advocated extensive use of Maya. He noted that earlier Yucatecans had not stressed the "perilous contrasts" between the two tongues, but had employed Maya quite as frequently as Spanish; the situation was still the same, in that legislation and change affected more people who thought and spoke Maya than Spanish. Democracy would not work until the channels of communication between the two linguistic groups were cleared. Actually, there was considerable interplay between the two tongues. Yucatecan Spanish developed a characteristic pronunciation and intonation, as well as absorbing many loanwords from Maya. To a somewhat lesser extent, the latter borrowed sounds, words, and ideas from the European language.105

With the exception of some new creolized communities, most place names were Maya. Natives who took the names of Christian saints for their given names nearly always Mayanized them.104 Maya clung to traditional native surnames. Colonial and later Yucatecans fostered the myth that persons
who bore Maya surnames were Indian (in the ethnic sense), 105 whatever their true biological backgrounds might have been.

The Maya group characterized itself as *macehuales*, never as Yucatecans. The word *macehual* (with variant spellings) derives from Nahuatl and in general means "plebeian," or "commoner." Maya called the creoles *dzul*, "stranger." In a curious polemic of the early nineteenth century, representing a conversation between two Maya, these natives referred to the Spanish creoles of Merida rich enough to ride in coaches as *chineses*. The term may have been general, but it seldom makes an appearance in writings of the period before or after the Caste War. 107 On occasion creoles and Maya alike have characterized Mexicans from the mainland as *huaches*, or *huachob*, though creoles themselves were likely to come under that derogatory label, applicable to them by Maya. 108 Probably in 1847 the natives called mestizos *kas-dzul*, "half-stranger," and that the attitudes behind the tag were like those found by Hedfield and Villa nearly a century later, "a slight disposition to mix the superiority accorded the 'kas-dzul' with a modicum of contempt: he is neither the one thing nor the other." 109

Indeed, from very early times mestizos have appeared ambivalent. Usually they were bilingual. Whether they bore Maya or Hispanic surnames seems to have been a matter of chance and particular family history and aspiration. A Spanish name might be a heritage, to signify an early, perhaps
casual liaison signalized only by the name; the later person who bore it could well be wholly Indian in appearance, in thought, manner of living, and residence; apparently among some native groups the rightful possession of a Spanish surname conferred some slight prestige. For most purposes, a mestizo with an Indian surname, on the other hand, would be counted by créoles as Indian, despite the fact his interests and outlook might coincide with theirs and that he identified himself with them socially and psychologically. In various lists, Indian names appear among Spanish ones; at this time and distance it is difficult to know whether they were "noble Indians," white in every respect but ancestry and name, or mobile mestizos aping the ways of their presumed betters.

The ambivalent and unstable social environment surrounding mestizos seemingly produced in them an insecurity which attracted unfavorable attention. Mentioning their derivation, from crosses between Indian and Spaniard, Stephens summed up the impression made on foreigners by mestizos, a mixed breed which displayed "all of the bad qualities of both and few of the good of either."

In this mestizos differed little from most hybrids. Their difficulties are generally psychological rather than the inevitable manifestation of hybridization; in a society like the Yucatecan where social groups were defined on imputed ancestry, the mestizo was an unadjusted individual.
"His immediate group has no respected place in society. In ideals and aspirations he is identified with the culturally dominant group; in social role and cultural participation he is identified with the excluded group. He is, in consequence, a man of divided loyalties." So long as identifiable cultural traditions of sub-groups in a society do not form a common and well-adjusted blend, the marginal men are subjected to the excluding pressures of the groups between which they stand.

It should be clear that the terms white, mestizo, and Indian represent sociological rather than biological labels. The divisions among them extended to all realms of activity. Though in 1841 a liberal Constitution sought purportedly to enfranchise all Yucatecan males, without respect to race or social position, it was drawn in such fashion to exclude Indians (and mestizos allied with them) by including literacy clauses. Property lists, on which taxes were levied, omitted Indian properties as it was generally assumed they fell below a minimum value of two hundred pesos.

For most purposes the several colonial classifications among whites, castas, and Indians had been simplified in Yucatan to the difference between Whites and Indians, based on the cultural criteria briefly mentioned above. The one, "whites," was composed of a minority of gente de vestido who characteristically spoke Spanish and dominated the political, economic, and social life of the peninsula. The other,
### Table 13. POPULATION, MERIDA AND ENVIRONS, 1794

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percent Urban pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merida</td>
<td>Casco (Center)</td>
<td>5,358</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Cristobal</td>
<td>Barrio</td>
<td>9,060</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejorada</td>
<td>Barrio</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>Barrio</td>
<td>3,746</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itzimná</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chubulná</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanasín</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>Barrio</td>
<td>6,152</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Sebastián</td>
<td>Barrio</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catarina</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucel</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ucú</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>28,528</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merida (whites, mestizos)</td>
<td>5,358</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrios (mestizos, Maya)</td>
<td>20,480</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absorbed towns (Maya)</td>
<td>2,680</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28,528</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** "Merida y su jurisdicción," AHY, I, 207-208.

"Indians," was a group largely rural, of Maya who dressed in folk costume, thought and spoke Maya, and served whites. When the occasion demanded, whites included some mestizos, but usually the latter were identified with natives, whom they most closely resembled in dress, speech, and prestige. The terms white and Indian in many ways were as much a
recognition of economic classes as they were ethnic, or even social labels. By 1845 the several classifications of 1795 had given way to two main ones, whites and Indians. Generically the former also were called vecinos; in colonial times the term had a restricted and rather technical meaning, applicable only to a portion of the white group, one who held property and was an acknowledged member of an urban community. In the middle nineteenth century, the term whites also covered marginal groups other than creoles who had kept their ancestry relatively free from Indian admixtures. The word could be loosely applied to some mestizos, even Negro hybrids. Essentially whites were those who were not Indian, and thus formed a more or less residual category.

Difficulties of distinguishing between one and another group was illustrated and solved by a Yucatecan historian who wrote that "generally on Yucatan the name Whites is not given solely to those who maintain pure European blood in their veins, but even to those who carry it mixed in whatever quantity with native. For this reason, and especially when one is talking about the Social War, our people may be considered divided into two great sections: Indians and Whites. The former are descendants of Maya who have not mixed their blood with any other; the latter are individuals of all other races who inhabit the peninsula. Whatever may be the impropriety of these labels, we believe it convenient to employ them...."
Quantitative data on the number of Whites and Indians are few and unreliable, but they do not wholly support the general contemporary feeling that Indians comprised three-quarters of the total population. A tax list of 1845 distinguished between vecinos (whites) and Indians; only a little more than two-thirds of the total were classified as native. Presumably in such case more whites would be able to escape listing than would Mayas, so if anything, the picture would be skewed to show relatively more Indians than Whites. Rather than one White to three Indians, which Yucatecans currently believed to be the usual relationship, the tax lists indicate three Whites to seven Indians. The latter seemingly formed slightly less than 70% rather than 75% or more of the total population. Table 14 recapitulates the tax data, adapted here to illustrate the relative proportions of one and another of the main groups, the Whites and the Indians.

A more revealing mode of expressing relationships between number of Whites and Indians is by simplified ratio. With some exceptions, Indians outnumbered whites in nearly every partido on the peninsula. The number of Indian males to each white male of taxpaying (and fighting) age gives clue to the sort of society and problems which might be found in the partido. Over the whole peninsula, there was
Table 14. PERSONAL TAX CATEGORIES, 1845: INDIANS vs WHITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tax List Category</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Ratio Indians per White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taxable at 4 reales</td>
<td>2,342</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2,352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxable at 2 reales</td>
<td>33,593</td>
<td>81,903</td>
<td>115,496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective (age 15)</td>
<td>7,738</td>
<td>17,928</td>
<td>25,660</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exempted (over 60 etc.)</td>
<td>3,580</td>
<td>5,928</td>
<td>9,508</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross, all listings</td>
<td>47,253</td>
<td>105,793</td>
<td>153,046</td>
<td>2.3/1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual taxpayers only</td>
<td>35,935</td>
<td>81,913</td>
<td>117,848</td>
<td>2.2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual plus prospective</td>
<td>43,673</td>
<td>99,865</td>
<td>143,538</td>
<td>2.3/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Regil and Peon, "Estadística," Table D (adapted).

A general ratio of 2.3 Indians to each white, but there were wide variations from this figure. Table 15 lists in descending order of "whiteness" the ratio of each partido. It is readily seen that those along the west coast below Maxcanu had relatively fewer Indians than did the remainder of the peninsula. The eastern colonial city of Valladolid was a white island in the midst of a strongly Indian region. Various degrees of transition can be noted in the long settled colonial areas around Izamal and Merida, giving way to more strongly Indian territories at the north around Espita, and especially at the south around Tekax. Arbitrarily limits can be set on the points where "white" areas give way to "mixed white" and so down a scale to "Indian." The criteria and such arrangement are included in Table 15.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partido</th>
<th>White males</th>
<th>Indian males</th>
<th>Total males</th>
<th>Ratio of Indians per white</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carmen</td>
<td>1,853</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>2,014</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campeche</td>
<td>2,740</td>
<td>1,629</td>
<td>4,369</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selbaplaya</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merida</td>
<td>5,394</td>
<td>6,502</td>
<td>11,896</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hekelchakan</td>
<td>2,480</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>6,538</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tecoh</td>
<td>2,465</td>
<td>4,755</td>
<td>7,218</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticul</td>
<td>2,470</td>
<td>5,269</td>
<td>7,739</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isamal</td>
<td>3,475</td>
<td>7,685</td>
<td>11,160</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motul</td>
<td>2,709</td>
<td>6,014</td>
<td>8,723</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacalar</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>1,709</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espita</td>
<td>1,679</td>
<td>4,016</td>
<td>5,695</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzimin</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>5,827</td>
<td>8,195</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peto</td>
<td>4,061</td>
<td>11,749</td>
<td>15,810</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekax</td>
<td>2,893</td>
<td>9,181</td>
<td>12,074</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopelchen</td>
<td>1,781</td>
<td>5,479</td>
<td>7,260</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxcanu</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>3,927</td>
<td>5,009</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotuta</td>
<td>1,682</td>
<td>6,979</td>
<td>8,661</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>2,766</td>
<td>13,891</td>
<td>16,657</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, Yucatan</td>
<td>45,675</td>
<td>99,865</td>
<td>145,538</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hegel and Peon, "Estadisticas," Table D, adapted.
Before closer examination of the disarrangements caused by growth of population from 1794 to 1845 can be undertaken, more suitable analytical apparatus is needed. The seventeen or eighteen basic partidos were linked together by other interests and characteristics beyond their apparent ethnic make-up. The next section of this chapter groups them into four general regions whose common likeness is not outweighed by important internal differences. The foregoing paragraphs have been largely concerned with descriptive material, showing that population was expanding, that various forms of settlement reflected essentially Indian or white way of life, and a highly stratified colonial society had been modified to a rather simple dichotomy between Whites and Indians, in 1845.

VIII

The term "frontier" has numerous connotations and diverse meanings. Here and in the next pages it is used to characterize "an incidental product of migration, and designates an area with somewhat indefinite boundaries which gets its special character from the alarms, excursions, and rapid changes incident to the invasion and settlement of a new population in a relatively vacant or sparsely settled territory. In this sense of the word, a frontier is not so much a mark or boundary as a zone on the margin of an advancing population."
Local issues and sentiments have had a directing influence on the history of Yucatan and Mexico as a whole. This was more especially true in the first half of the nineteenth century than it is at present, but even yet strong vestiges of sectional sentiment remain, to delight the antiquarian and to plague the administrator. The moving frontier in Yucatan, rather than leveling off and wiping out local feelings of solidarity tended merely to create one new region in addition to three old ones that had developed on Yucatan after Spanish conquest.

In Mexico, the term *patria chica,* "little homeland," has very special meaning. It distinguishes one's prime loyalties to a local place of varying size from one's allegiances to the nation, República. The phrase *patria chica* is symbolic of the undoubted (and often underestimated fact) that localism and particularism is still a major force in Mexican history. Its intensity is often baffling to outsiders, especially to Americans, whose national patterns of existence have developed rather uniformly over wide area, leaving only a few "pocket regions" that retain linguistic and cultural survivals as reminders of an older day when local patriotism took precedence over responsibilities and awareness of membership in a national group.

In the last two or three generations national as opposed to local sentiments have gained much headway in Mexico, but still the concept of *patria chica* is strong. In the middle
of the nineteenth century it was overpowering. Charnay, in passing correctly summed up the situation, "Federalized though Mexico may be, the bonds which unite its parts is very weak, and one may say that there is no other nationality than the nationality of a province. The inhabitant of Puebla is a Poblano; that of Chiapas a Chiapeneco; never will you hear it said he is a Mexican. This spirit of clocher is found everywhere...."

Similarly in recent times a speaker was perfectly comprehensible to a Mexican audience in stating that although a Mexican he was also a Yucatecan. "By mentioning it, I am not adding a new word to the lexicon of names which distinguish natives of each of the world's lands," he added, "but an employing terminology by which the various sons of the different provinces that form Mexican nationality are known. By it a native of Orizaba may call himself veracruzano, one from Tehuantepec, oaxqueño, one from Tampico, tamaulipeno.... The struggles in which the unfortunate Mexican land has been embroiled in the course of national existence have aimed at destroying the link between my tierra chica and the grande." Puebla, for any individual talking to a national audience tends to be his native state or province, but when similarly discussing matters in the province itself, the frame of reference shrinks. Within the province itself the patria chica for most is a small part of it, a territory
slightly larger than the immediate native town or village, but still not inclusive of the total area. With reduction in size, strength and number of local and particularistic sentiments increase; sharing of these with other members forms the patria. Beyond rather narrow limits live "strangers," outsiders who are fellow provincials; inside its perimeters live "our people." Often there is awareness of larger worlds outside the patria, but usually the reactions to affairs and happenings there are weak. Experiences and outlook circumscribed by reason of membership in larger groups pale beside the vivid sense of belonging to the local community, the patria. 119

Previous pages have suggested that in Yucatan the administrative partidos resembled if they did not actually form such basic units of experience. Yet in some cases common loyalties, canons of taste and action, modes of conduct and thought overreached their limits without at the same time being peninsula-wide. With some accuracy in principle, though possible error in detail, lines may be drawn between the twenty or so partidos and the province as a unit, to form regions or sections which approach being patrias chicas for the people within them. Sectional sentiments clustered respectively around Merida and Campeche, as already indicated. By extending the concept to other sections also recognized, a useful analytical tool is at hand, created from the social and emotional realities of the time.
In addition to Merida and Campeche, Yucatecans generally recognized two other similar divisions that had typical characteristics. Certain loyalties and modes were attached to a somewhat indefinite area called the "East," centered at Valladolid. Around Tekax was the "Sierra." Neither of these had by 1845 completely developed a highly self-conscious regional feeling comparable to those of Campeche and Merida. Each was showing accelerated growth in this direction, until the Caste War put a bloody end to it. As sections or regions, neither the East nor the Sierra matured fully.

As one consequence of their slower or arrested sophistication, neither produced a body of publicists and historians to place their claims before posterity. Most writings about Yucatan, both for the period and later, have been produced by men nurtured in Merida or Campeche; as against the extended number of chroniclers from the western areas, a minor handful in the eastern parts have put their findings on paper. The name of Baqueiro Anduze, a young man whose recent death was a blow to local scholarship, stands nearly alone as representative of Valladolid, perhaps joined by Perez Alcalá and Cantón Rosado.120

Annalists of Tekax and the Sierra region are virtually non-existent. Perhaps an explanation lies in the fact that in the period when it was becoming defined as an economic and social entity, from 1825 to the Caste War, its citizens
were more intent on action than reflection and literary endeavors. During the war it was the theater of most intensive operations, and afterward suffered from schizophrenia. Part was joined to the new state of Campeche when it broke away from Merida in 1858, while the remainder stayed attached. A local investigator of importance, however, was Juan Pío Pérez, whose Mayanist studies in the middle of the century have continuing value. Young men of scholarly bent from the East and from the Tekax areas tended to gravitate to Merida and Campeche, where intellectual atmosphere and facilities were more favorable. Often they remained in these larger centers. The career of Justo Sierra O'Reilly, born in Tixcacaltuyu (between Tekax and Valladolid) but identified first with the capital, then almost completely with the port, is a typical example.

From the sources, especially those devoted less to politics than to social and economic developments, it seems reasonably clear that four sections existed in Yucatan on the eve of the Caste War. Two were highly developed, around Merida and Campeche; the other two were nascent, beginning to integrate respectively around Valladolid and Tekax. All were changing under common doctrines and ideas that were beginning to gain full sweep after Yucatan's independence from Spain, but in changing each tended to accentuate different and selected features in the common climate of opinion.
Differential change within sections upset old balances between them and created tensions which now had no unified imperial policy, laid down in Crown circles overseas, as a resolving instrument with respected power of adjudication. Factionalism and partisan jockeying ensued in the scramble for local power, since that of Mexico generally failed to make itself effective in Yucatan. Factionalism and its consequent disruption of political unity was an accompaniment, and in a sense the by-product, of changes in the créole world in Yucatan, stemming from the several shifts occurring in each of its regions.

These changes affected not only the créoles participating in them, but also the natives, excluded from voice in sectional or peninsular policy making. When cumulatively changes endangered or actually became detrimental to the few and simple needs which Maya believed basic, sense of grievance mounted. As such grievances piled up along many lines, spirit which could give birth to a widespread revolt was incubating, finally to become powerful enough in 1847 to break out openly. Thus the origins of the Caste War are multi-lateral, genetically and organically bound to the numerous shifts occurring among créoles, often if not always along sectional lines.

Because the process is complex, and because the material is relatively novel, considerable space is devoted below to tracing some of the tendencies toward change which collectively
and cumulatively formed the origins and causes of the Caste War. It seems necessary to point out the movements and impulses within each of the various sections which led the creoles in them to act as they did, and then to relate the points of agreement and antagonism among the sections. These are most clearly visible in the economic realm, but are manifested as well in the political. Land and the Church involved issues of high emotional content, both for creoles and for Maya; changes transpiring and affecting these are directly related to the outbreaks in 1847. Following chapters treat the individual sections as self-conscious units, the differences between the hacienda and rancho societies, the major economic problems of the peninsula, and their impact on local politics, the questions of land, and various relations with the Church.

The sectional framework employed throughout the remainder of this paper may be considered merely a helpful analytical device. Its chief utility rests on its convenience for sorting and arranging a mass of heterogeneous details, confusing and perhaps meaningless in themselves. To establish each of the four sections as patrias chicas in their own right is not a major purpose here. There is no question but that sectionalism existed in Yucatan at the time, but to place its several bounds is confessedly a subjective operation. The boundaries set forth here are limits which might not meet full approval of Yucatecans now or in
the period under review. They would generally recognize four divisions, but certainly the labels here attached would be unfamiliar. These are consciously confected to emphasize their tentative nature, and to avoid confusing names of things with the things themselves. Sections are abstractions, without external reality. Consistently the terms Old Colonial, West Coast, East Colonial, and Borderlands indicate these four divisions. They can be defined in terms of the partidos which apparently comprised them, as more or less arbitrarily allocated. Table 16 sets their limits in terms of partidos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16. SECTIONALISM IN YUCATAN, 1845</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sectional Division</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLD COLONIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constituent Partidos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxcanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsocoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unavoidable inconsistencies appear by constant adherence to these limits, but their usefulness as a working hypothesis offsets minor irritations which nearly always emerge when a taxonomic problem is first posed and the first approximate solution given. The criteria on which one or another partido is assigned include physiography,
economic interests, historical development (especially following 1821), intellectual and social aspirations, characteristic forms of land tenure, population density, and above all, socio-ethnic make-up as revealed in the ratio between Indians to Whites. Practical considerations also play a part, but distortion of truth is minor; statistics are collected in terms of political administrative units, even though these units may be bisected by an important and clearly visible boundary of another nature. Sotuta offers example of arbitrary allocation here; in pre-conquest times it lay between the lands of the Cupula and those of Maní, which extended to the West nearly to Opichen and south to Hopelchen. Colonial developments tied it to Mérida, but between its chief centers, Sotuta and Yaxcaba, was rivalry. Early cartroads tied Sotuta to Mérida, Yaxcaba to Tekax. On other grounds, with equal propriety, Sotuta could be included as part of East Colonial, or Old Colonial, but largely because of its ethnic make-up and the fact that its Indian forms were rapidly being "creolized" (see Table 22), it seemed to have greater affinities with other Borderlands partidos than with those of the Colonial areas. In like manner Bacalar could well have been included in East Colonial through its history and creole characteristics.

The sections correspond in general to administrative Districts, with one or two noteworthy exceptions. Comparison
will reveal that the Districts of Merida and Izamal have been combined to form a single unit, Old Colonial. The Districts of Campeche and Tekax remain differentiated, but the partido of Hopelchen has been subtracted from one and assigned to the other, forming respectively the West Coast and Borderlands. East Colonial is exactly the same as the District of Valladolid. Primary concern with ethno-cultural characteristics, whose importance in analysis of differences between areas concerned with Indians and those which were not seems self-evident, is mirrored in Table 17, which provides a summary view of them, based on the white-Indian ratios previously discussed. Other criteria are skeletonized in Tables 18 through 24. The ensuing chapters attempt to justify and clarify the meanings of these various compilations of quantitative data.

One or two general observations need be made. Although following pages stress the sectional tinges or biases given them, strong common elements shared by all or a majority of regions are equally noteworthy. From numerous details on education, road-building, amusements, literary habits and other traits comes the almost inescapable conclusion that by 1845 Yucatan was a place rather different from the static, lethargic province described in the later eighteenth century. With overwhelming insistence most Yucatecan creoles were advocates of change, progress, improvement. Large and small problems beset their path, staggering in number and bewildering
in their range. To get the proper perspective on the complexities of the time and place, it is convenient to view them against a broad historical past, not confined to Yucatan, or even Latin America. Problems which face men living in society recur again and again; the solutions differ from age to age and locality to locality. One of the jobs of historians is to point that out.

One general set of problems which troubled Yucatecans in the 1830's and 1840's seems comparable to those which became prevalent in Europe when the medieval world gave way to the Renaissance and then to the Reformation. Students familiar with Spanish American intellectual currents and cast of thought perhaps do not stress sufficiently the essentially medieval nature — not only in vocabulary, approach, and concept — of colonial Latin American climates of opinion and the residue which remains to the present. Perhaps perpetuation of the scholastic tradition in formal and self-conscious phases of life such as literature, art, and government can be attributed to the favored place of the Church in the New World, an institution within whose framework the Middle Ages took form. In any event, the roots lay deep.

Secular thought of consequence did not take shape in Mexico until about the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and then seized, for political reasons, on polemic aspects rather than on premises of doctrines opposed to
divine right of kings, union of Church and State, laissez-
faire economics and other non-Catholic dogma which had been
developed outside Spain and given a revolutionary edge in
France and the United States. With achievement of political
independence, revolutionaries in Mexico still had to battle
the weight of history, a frame of mind, in a society organ-
ized on the patterns of medieval Europe. Often they did not
recognize the momentum which continued development for three
centuries in the New and more in the Old World had given to
functioning institutions. The inertia of history is not
easily overcome by fiat, as nearly every Mexican president
finds out, generally in the second or third year of his term.
The messianic optimism which has characterized reform move-
ments in Mexico usually have as common basis the tendency
to wipe out by decree all that transpired before their
arrival on the scene. Such certainly was the case in Yuc-
tan after independence, and especially in the 1840’s.

The introduction of new scales of value, bearing the
prestige of success in foreign lands and victory over
Spain’s attempts to remain medieval and dominant, compli-
cated life. Not only present were the old values, retained
among entirely honorable and intelligent men of conservative
temperaments, still powerful though not regnant, but com-
peting with them were the newer ones, derived from Protest-
ant, revolutionary traditions which had flowered in Britain,
the United States, and France. Teleological views of a
static universe centered around God vied with utilitarian theories of a perfectible world where man's activities at present are of greater immediate concern than his hereafter. The acrimony between partisans of one set of values and the other reached considerable pitch because of the emotional overtones involved. Fortunately in Yucatan the excesses which marked the religious wars in Reformation Europe, which were paralleled on minor scale in nineteenth-century Mexico, remained largely verbal. But the secularization of thought and activity is perhaps one of the most important contributions the generation in Yucatan from 1830 to 1860 made for its successors. The respectable, maternal orthodoxy of the colonial tradition was now rivalled by a bevy of seductive and siren heterodoxies, attractively clothed, tantalizingly fresh.

Another sort of problem, that took uncommon abilities to handle properly, is analogous to those arising elsewhere at the same time and later when attempts were made to shift a whole economic base of life. Under the hot breath of Progress, Yucatecans warmed to the idea of commerce with the world. As a later chapter points out, their older colonial products were not wanted, except for a limited amount of logwood for dye. Yet around production of these things their life had been lived for two and a half centuries; some still thought it a good life. There were fundamentally divergent points of view between men who wished to retain
the essentially small subsistence type of rural establish-
ment, the colonial hacienda, and those who put their faith
in a more dynamic one, a sort of rural factory whose op-
eration was premised on production for export, world
markets, mechanization, and if necessary, exploitation
of labor.

Though the parallel should not be pushed too far, one
can see in Yucatan its peculiar version of the struggles
that occurred in England, over Enclosure and the Corn Laws.
Sugar rather than wool led to eviction of Yucatecan natives
from traditional holdings to which they held no legal title;
struggles between landed gentry (on cattle haciendas) were
with these rural sugar entrepreneurs rather than industrial
burghers. The fact that by 1860 the economic bases for
Yucatan's development to the present were laid out is also
a significant matter.

One of the results of surge to change, of seculariza-
tion of thought, and of an economy in transition was the
Caste War. Another, and perhaps counterbalancing one, is
that broad foundations for intellectual, artistic, and other
developments were solidly placed. Though, as the outbreak
of the Caste War itself proved, Yucatecans made many errors
of judgment and policy, that does not exclude recognition
of the very real virtues and abilities of the generation
which was mature or maturing from 1830 to 1860. One can
see why Yucatecans were hailed in the nineteenth century
as usually men of unusual training and talents. For example, two of the three important Ministers of Education in Mexico in the last quarter of the century, Joaquín Baranda and Justo Sierra (who re-founded the National University of Mexico) were capable sons of illustrious Yucatecans who played important roles in the period under review. To stress or to relate only the baleful effects without adequate mention of their more affirmative and lasting achievements would be to do injustice to a generally able and honorable generation of men, overwhelmed as they were with all the problems of a modern world with inadequate training, or even opportunity, to solve them. They at least arranged matters so that their sons and descendants would be better equipped.

For convenience and for reference the tabular material that defines sectionalism and indicates the direction of some changes is here included as a block. The next chapter gives details on the largest, most important, and best documented of these, the Old Colonial. With Merida at its core, the region often passed into accounts of outsiders as representing the whole of the peninsula. In many ways it did, but the characteristics and interests of the three areas peripheral to it -- West Coast, East Colonial, and Borderlands -- have their special claims. These are then outlined in a succeeding chapter.
IX

Distinction drawn in Table 18 between nominal density and effective density, nominal area and effective area, needs an explanation. Normally throughout the world many areas are relatively continuously and uniformly occupied. If their total population is divided by their area, a ratio known as density, inhabitants per unit of territory, results. In Yucatan, however, to assume that inhabitants were evenly distributed through the territory involves a major error of fact; and figures derived from it lead to serious misconceptions of the actual situation. People congregated in relatively large clusters which were often far distant from the boundaries of their territory, leaving between the clusters and the borders great stretches of virtually uninhabited expanses.

To assess the true social, political or military strength of a section, therefore, only a reduced percentage of its total area can be counted as effective. Subjective and perhaps wilful judgment of the extent of effective territory, continuously and rather uniformly occupied, must necessarily be made, based on prolonged study of maps and other sources of information. The results perhaps warrant it. For instance, the nominal density of the Borderlands is simply calculated at 9 persons per square mile, that of the West Coast at 3. When compared with Old Colonial at 38,
these figures give no indication why the former could possibly rival the latter. Yet the effective densities of the Borderlands and the West Coast, 32 and 15, intimate why they, in combination with East Colonial, could be considered by Merida as potential rivals rather than as under-populated dependencies, easily controlled.

Table 17. ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SECTIONS, by PARTIDOS
(See above, Table 15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic character</th>
<th>Old Colonial</th>
<th>West Coast</th>
<th>East Colonial</th>
<th>Borderlands</th>
<th>Peninsula of Yucatan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-mixed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed-transitional</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-mixed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total partidos</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-white</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparable Items</td>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>East Colonial</td>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>Yucatan (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Population</td>
<td>210,029 63.5</td>
<td>51,999 9.5</td>
<td>107,215 19.6</td>
<td>175,856 32.4</td>
<td>545,099 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Males, 15-60</td>
<td>51,846 56.2</td>
<td>15,173 10.6</td>
<td>30,537 21.2</td>
<td>46,083 32.0</td>
<td>143,638 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c White males</td>
<td>17,595 40.4</td>
<td>8,207 18.8</td>
<td>5,803 15.6</td>
<td>11,068 25.2</td>
<td>43,873 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Indian males</td>
<td>34,250 34.3</td>
<td>6,966 7.0</td>
<td>23,734 23.7</td>
<td>35,015 35.0</td>
<td>99,965 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Indians/white</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Nominal area (square miles)</td>
<td>5,500 11.4</td>
<td>15,000 31.2</td>
<td>8,000 16.7</td>
<td>19,500 31.2</td>
<td>48,000 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Effective area</td>
<td>3,800 22.9</td>
<td>3,500 21.0</td>
<td>5,400 32.1</td>
<td>16,700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h Nominal density (persons/sq.mi.)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i Effective density</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) Hégil and Peón, "Estadísticas," Table C; (b) ibid., Table D; (c) Hégil de San Martín, "Plano de Yucatán, 1848."
### Table 19. Growth of Numbers of Rural Holdings, 1838 - 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>1838</th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>Increase %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Properties</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>1,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Colonial</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>1,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucatan</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3,482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Regil and Peón, "Estadística," Tables A and B (adapted), p. 258
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Old Colonial Section</th>
<th>West Coast Section</th>
<th>East Colonial Section</th>
<th>Borderlands Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isteno</td>
<td>Campeche</td>
<td>Yucatan</td>
<td>San Jorge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horned cattle</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hides—raw</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerked beef</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequén</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufactured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton &amp; Fabrics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copal</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashloy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castor oil</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish oil</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salted fish</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tortoise shells</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starch</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanilla</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saffron</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarapailla</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daging</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "Tableau Statistique de la Province d'Yucatan, d'après les renseignements qui m'ont été donnés par Mm. Espinosa, Rejón, Hernández," Waldeck, Voyage, p. 77.
### Table 21. DIFFERENTIAL GROWTH OF SECTIONS, 1794-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Change (Relative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>172,344</td>
<td>210,099</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>39,134</td>
<td>51,999</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Colonial</td>
<td>45,398</td>
<td>107,215</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>103,411</td>
<td>175,856</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>358,287</td>
<td>545,099</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) AHY, I; 241; (b) Regil and Peon, "Estadísticas," Table C, adapted (10% added to given totals, making gross slightly less than their "calculated actual").

### Table 22. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALES, 1794 vs 1845, by SECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Indian males</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Relative Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>26,573</td>
<td>34,250</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>7,708</td>
<td>6,966</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Colonial</td>
<td>6,289</td>
<td>23,734</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>19,026</td>
<td>35,015</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59,576</td>
<td>99,965</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) AHY, I; 209-34; (b) above, Table 15.

### Table 23. ETHNIC CHANGES IN JOTUTA-YAXCABA PARTIDO, 1794-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1794</th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1845</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of Pen.</td>
<td>% of Pen.</td>
<td>% of Pen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Insula</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>25,686</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>25,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males, 14-60</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>8,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian males</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>7,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian/White ratio</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) AHY, I; 216-17; (b) Echenove, Apuntaciones, p. 7; (c) Table d above; (d) Echenove, Apuntaciones gives 75,855 for last tabulation of Indians in 1807; (e) Regil and Peon, "Estadísticas" Tables C and D (adapted).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparable Items</th>
<th>Old Colonial</th>
<th>West Coast</th>
<th>East Colonial</th>
<th>Borderlands</th>
<th>Tototan (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a Cities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Villas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Towns</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Haciendas</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Ranchos</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Urban holdings (1838)</td>
<td>2,788</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>2,142</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Rural holdings (1838)</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h Urban value (000's of pesos)</td>
<td>1,798.8</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>2,286.9</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>184.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i Rural value (000's of pesos)</td>
<td>1,563.5</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>535.8</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>283.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j Haciendas of maize (000's)</td>
<td>1,211</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k Schools</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l Pupils</td>
<td>3,134</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m Priests</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: "Memoria, 1845," in Heller, Ramin, p. 225; (b) Regil and Peon, "Estatisticas," Table A (adapted); (c) ibid., Table C.
CHAPTER THREE

The Major Region:
A Changing Old Colonial Society at Merida, 1825-1845

"Regions are relative generalizations, defined according to selected criteria, constructed subjectively, or organized temporally for special purposes.... Regional division is not only convenient but essential for effective organization of human life. Since there is no hope of finding absolute regions to serve all purposes, the best alternative is the recognition and use of all regional combinations for what they are worth, acknowledging existing regional divisions and organizing new ones in areas where common problems call for comprehensive solutions. The inevitable overlapping of regions is not to be deplored but must be acknowledged and may be useful in overall coordination of human relations.... In spite of the world relations to be regulated, the personal limitations of human beings and the localness of human life are permanently established in nature."

CHAPTER THREE — THE MAJOR REGION:
A CHANGING OLD COLONIAL SOCIETY AT MERIDA, 1825 - 1845

In many, if not all, respects, the area around Merida tended to overshadow the peripheral regions centered at Campeche, Valladolid, and Tekax. So dominant was its prestige and influence that travelers and even Yucatecans almost automatically equated developments there as representative of the whole peninsula. Generalizations about Yucatan of the period usually rest on information about Merida and its surrounding countryside. In the main, this tendency to confuse the most sophisticated part of Yucatan with the whole is harmless. As the next chapter indicates, however, important differences existed between the Old Colonial area around Merida, and the other components, the West Coast centered at Campeche, the East Colonial at Valladolid, and the emergent Borderlands that began to focus on Tekax. The activities in the three lesser sections take on significance chiefly as deviations or reflections of those in the Old Colonial. Rivalled only by the West Coast, it set the social tone and guarded most of the other norms.

The general characteristics of the Old Colonial region can be derived from the detail which follows. It was centralized, stable, and self-conscious. Usually conservative in
politics and economic thought, it remained to 1845 rather thoroughly saturated with Spanish colonial culture, part of which included Mérida's continuous tradition of hegemony. Excepting only the amount of territory under its jurisdiction, it was dominant over the other sections by nearly every measure. From about 1825 to the Caste War, the Old Colonial section had difficulty maintaining its political and economic leadership, but was virtually unopposed in its command of the social and intellectual spheres.

II

As used here, the area considered Old Colonial included the two administrative Districts of Mérida and Isamal. Divided between them were the partidos of Isamal and Motul, Mérida, Ticul, Maxcanú, and Teocoh, so long as the latter existed; in 1847 the communities comprising the partido of Teocoh were partitioned between that of Ticul and of Mérida.¹

In general the Old Colonial section in the first half of the nineteenth century is the same area which later in the second half became the commercial henequén zone, the "Region Baja," of modern agronomists.² Mérida was its prime urban nucleus, Sisal its chief port, though unsatisfactory; the city of Isamal was a secondary center, with Izamal a poor auxiliary outlet to the sea. Bounded by the coasts between the Bocas de Chisacab on the west and the
Boosas de Dzilam at the north, the cultural and social region extended inland to an uncertain line that probably passed between Becal and Calkini, Tabi and Pisté, Tancah and Cenotillo, and slightly to the east of Dzoncauich and Buotsots, so that nearly all settlements in the Old Colonial lay within a radius of forty or fifty miles around Merida.

Viewed topographically, the section displayed first an arid strip of nearly vegetationless sand on the coast, which shaded progressively through dry hard soils, greater plant cover, to reach the relatively fertile and tree covered zones at the foot of the Sierra. Near the coast runs a band of swamp, then low and brushy growth, clumps of cacti and grasses. Not far from Merida, some trees and orchards appeared. As explained earlier, the rainfall gradient runs inland, with a sparse eighteen inches of annual fall near Dzilam to perhaps forty or forty-five near Oxkutzcab and Pisté. The Old Colonial was essentially a zone of cenotes; they occur at short irregular intervals, becoming less frequent near the coast and to the east and south. Although it would be unwise to push the matter too far, there seems to have been some physiographic unity to the Old Colonial region, but to mark it off sharply from East Colonial along these lines is risky.

The Old Colonial section was well-connected to its peripheral sections and was itself knit together by a
network of cart roads. The main ones radiated like spokes from Merida, but chief points within the region were interlaced. Most of the subordinate areas beyond the Old Colonial had but one or two main ways, each of which finally linked with those going to or from the capital. In 1793 under the regime of Lucas de Gálvez, Izamal had been joined to the capital, and at about the same time a start had been made toward pushing cart roads from Merida to the Sierra towns, especially Ticul (at that time more nearly a part of Borderlands than Old Colonial), and to Campeche; each of these extended about six leagues from Merida. From late colonial times until some political stability had emerged in Yucatan following its independence, but little more road-building was done. A few efforts were expended to improve connections between Merida and its port at Sisal. As a war measure, the latter was allowed after 1812 to handle commerce (as it had in very early colonial times), the first break in Campeche's monopoly of overseas trade.

In 1827, again in 1833, and later, some comprehensive legislation gave strong impulse to development of communications. Existing roads were improved and extended, new ones created under laws which required all males either to contribute payment for substitute workers or donate from four to six days a year of their own time in road construction. The Sierra cartway was pushed from near Merida clear to Tihosuco, a stretch of about forty-eight leagues, and the
road to Campeche was completed. From Izamal the Merida road was extended eastward to Valladolid, with a separate spur to Tizimín, linking the capital with the "Queen of the East," Valladolid, thirty-six leagues away. Not counting short feeder roads, by 1845 Yucatán possessed one hundred thirty-two leagues (320-350 miles) of main cart roads, pointed toward Merida. This was a considerable gain over the sixty-five miles reported for the years just before Independence.  

Business leaders of the colonial region, especially those in Merida, were anxious to improve not only the vestibule, but also their doorway to the sea. As a result of their efforts a new port site was elected, and plans were made to connect it with Merida. Details of the enterprise perhaps illuminate the processes of change more clearly than do generalizations.

In 1840 three men who had been thinking about the problem of better communication between Merida and its overseas markets in New York and Havana took a canoe trip around the west and north coasts of Yucatán to seek out an appropriate spot for a shipping point. These three, Pedro de la Cámara, Simón Peón, and Juan Miguel Castro, were hacendados and merchants in Merida. After the death of Cámara, Peón and Castro were joined by Dario Galera, who jointly petitioned the state legislature for the two square leagues of land, about nine thousand acres, which were in the public domain
at the point they had picked, the present locale of Progreso, which received its name at this time. On the land grant thus acquired, the entrepreneurs projected a port that would supplant Sisal. By 1846, Castro and his companions had convinced the other merchants of Merida of Progreso’s superiority over the older place. As a group they memorialized the legislature for aid.

The petition of the merchants pointed out that from Merida to Sisal was a distance of nearly thirteen leagues, which required thirty-six hours to traverse by cart, while Progreso lay only eight away. In cartage costs alone they hoped to save eleven thousand pesos annually by use of the newer place, once a road to it was completed. They mentioned that such a road would have the cumulative effect of reviving agriculture and trade through the hinterlands and increasing the prosperity of Merida; Valladolid, Tizimin, and other towns would raise and ship goods there rather than to Campeche, and thus a paradoxical situation whereby lazy Indians held the peninsula’s most fertile lands without exploiting them would be resolved as new business took them over. The merchants explained that to date all the legal fazinas of communities along the new road to Progreso had been expended without completing a passable cartway, although five of the eight leagues were now ready. The road was about ten yards wide, and tapped a population of about four thousand souls in 44 towns, sitios, ranchos and haciendas
within two leagues each side of it. The merchants requested that the state legislature recognize Progreso as a public place and provide for special facinas which would complete the road to it.

At first blush the scheme looks like an attempt to enrich the land speculators who had acquired all the holdings in Progreso, but in fact this was not so. Castro and his companions offered to return their grant to the state if the legislature would provide for growth of the port. They and the merchants requested that two thousand pesos be appropriated to pay labor for completion of the cartway, that the Yucatecan customs house be shifted from Sisal to Progreso, that the state make a map and lay out the new town into lots, sale of which would provide for the requested two thousand peso appropriation. On April 27, 1846, these terms were met by the legislature, contingent upon a favorable report from experts that the port of Progreso would prove satisfactory and adequate. Two licensed pilots, Buenaventura Vivo and Francisco Alama, accompanied by civil officials, reconnoitered the site by sea and expressed their approval in May. Political disturbances intervened to interrupt work on the road and the expected transfer of the customs house.

In like manner, the Caste War then prevented completion of the cartway, and vested interests of Sisal delayed the official recognition of Progreso as chief port of entry.
After 1853 the system of *fajinas* was renewed, and by 1855 only one league of cart-road lacked to connect Merida with Progreso. A group, still headed by Castro, kept exerting pressure to dislodge Sisal's hold on commerce. Finally, in 1872, a generation after it had been first announced as a plan, Progreso was given full municipal status and became the official port. Soon a railway paralleled the cart-road, and subsequently Progreso boomed as henequen rose to importance. In recognition of his vision, Castro's name was added to that of Progreso, so that its official title is Progreso de Castro; in size, the town is second only to Merida in the state of Yucatan. Its name, "Progress," correctly sums up the spirit of the times in which it was first projected.

In the years just before the Caste War, Merida was still an overgrown Spanish village, rather than a matured metropolis in the sense implied by modern geographers. It clung to the familiar gridiron plan, which had not yet been overlaid and modified for more rapid passage of vehicular traffic; automobile traffic did not become serious until long after 1891, when the first car made its appearance in Merida. For the greater part of the colonial period, Merida had been the sole city; in 1847 four others rivalled it, though of the five Merida remained largest, the most highly developed and ornate. It was the nerve-center of the Old Colonial region, and to some extent, the entire peninsula.
Herida, like most other communities of the time, was expanding and undergoing change. It was considerably larger than in colonial times. By the year 1831 the original number of blocks laid out in 1542, some twenty-five or thirty, had grown to nearly six hundred (599). From 1831 to 1906, growth was slow as in the latter year these had increased only to 652. Chief spurt in urbanization has taken place in the past generation, as in 1938 the figure of 1,213 had almost doubled that of 1906. One tendency from late colonial times to the middle years of the nineteenth century had already become apparent by 1832, and has continued to the present — that for the Center to encroach upon and absorb the barrios. From 1794 to 1832, the total population of Merida and its barrios rose 14.5%, but in the years from 1832 to 1845 this gain disappeared.

The changing relations of Center to barrios, however, apparently continued. As "creolization" through schooling, mixed marriages, and other elements tending to break down the formerly rigid lines between the social classes of the one and the other continued, more and more the meaningful distinctions between those resident in the Center and barrianos have lessened in number and importance. Through most of the nineteenth century, however, separate administration of barrio affairs reinforced sentiments of barrio loyalty.
The individual character of each barrio occasionally found place in literary efforts of the time. Unfortunately the comparative quantitative data on the proportionate number of residents in Center and barrios cover only the period from 1794 to 1832. Table 25 seems to provide a self-evident conclusion, that in the latter year a significantly greater proportion of people were considered to reside in the Center than had lived there in 1794.

Table 25. COMPARATIVE POPULATION OF MERIDA AND ITS BARRIOS, 1794 vs. 1832

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inhabitants 1794</th>
<th>Inhabitants 1832</th>
<th>Percentages 1794</th>
<th>Percentages 1832</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Center (Merida)</strong></td>
<td>5,359</td>
<td>22,624</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrios</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Cristóbal</td>
<td>9,060</td>
<td>4,753</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>3,745</td>
<td>3,934</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>6,102</td>
<td>4,728</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Sebastián</td>
<td>1,875</td>
<td>1,652</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>25,838</td>
<td>37,801</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTER</strong></td>
<td>5,359</td>
<td>22,624</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BARRIOS</strong></td>
<td>20,480</td>
<td>15,177</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Table 13, above; Waldeck, Voyage, p. 19, based on estimates by Dr. Juan Hubbe, 1832, before cholera epidemic of 1832-33.

As in the past, the Center not only dominated its dependent environs socially, but overlooked them physically. Seventeenth century arches, remnants of defensive activity against threats of buccaneer invasion, marked off the section of vecinos from the small barrios. In the Center, private
and public buildings surrounded a main plaza, much as they had from foundation of the city. On the east, the Cathedral, on the west, the Ayuntamiento were chief structures flanking it; opposite the government palace and jail on the north side was the ancient property that had belonged to the Adelantado Montejo.9

One sign of social change and the increasing mobility of Yucatecan society was the fact that ancient properties like that of the Montejo was being bought and sold in the open market. Entail, by which inheritances of real estate were kept in a family line, was tending to die out. In newspapers of the day, numerous offers of properties are encountered. Typical of the waning tradition was the Montejo residence. From its ownership in that family from the days of the Adelantado, the property had remained in entail until sometime in the 1830's. After rapidly passing through a number of hands, it finally lodged in those of Simon Peon by 1839. He took steps to modernize and renovate the ancient colonial house. In like manner, the abutting mansion, dating from the same early period, was purchased by Dario Galera.10 It will be remembered that these two citizens were part of the triumvirate which pushed the foundation of Progreso. Merchants thus began to fill in the ranks and places in the Center reserved for its principal personages.

A number of other public, semi-public, and ecclesiastical structures (aside from those flanking the main plaza)
were scattered through the Center. They included, for instance, thirteen churches, two convents, and a general hospital, as well as a fortress. The latter, San Benito, enclosed part of a ruined Franciscan monastery; it served as an arsenal and provided space for administrative offices. Some of the fortress had been removed in 1834 to permit new construction on the park-like Alameda, a recreational area laid out in 1793. In addition to these, there was also a public alms-house, whose reputation was more picturesque than its edifice.

The almhouse, Casa de Beneficiencia, replaced a so-called Casa de Amparo in 1833. The latter institution was more nearly an orphanage than a poor-house; in it young boys were taught to weave, and were given clothes, food, education, and a peso salary monthly. Founded in 1821, by 1826 it had degenerated into "a school of little or no morality." The Casa de Beneficiencia which emerged from reorganization was designed to cope with the growing problem of beggars in Merida; its operation was not a marked success, along those lines. Waldeck, a French traveler who resided in Merida for a year in 1836, reported that the Casa was generally considered to be a semi-official brothel rather than a haven for the poor. During the day young prostitutes remained there and manufactured cigars, or sallied forth for common trade; at night the place was a discreet bawdy-house, whose clientele was restricted to public officials.
From time to time the inmates complained about the food and administration, and investigations revealed that it was indeed difficult to put the Casa "on the footing of true public utility." Lack of funds made it imperative that the inmates beg for food. From time to time they were transferred to other buildings, while the Casa served as a school or a prison. Not until 1861 were its affairs straightened out, when the institution was refounded under the name "Casa de Beneficencia Brunet" in honor of a Yucatecan family that had been generous public philanthropists in the earlier years of the nineteenth century.14

That Waldeck's impression of the Casa in 1836 was still substantially true a decade later seems indicated by a public letter penned by "Two Friends of the Common Weal." On numerous occasions, they pointed out, honorable poor girls who lived in the Casa became confused in the public mind with others less honorable, sent there to keep them off the streets. When the virtuous poor wished to marry, they found difficulty, owing to their residence. It was the opinion of the writers that the police or some other agency should see that hungry and shelterless prostitutes were fed and housed, rather than to herd them into the almshouse.15 Perhaps in this connection it is worthy of note that knowledge of contraceptive devices began to be generalized among the white Yucatecans of Merida. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they had been introduced on the peninsula, and though their use
was attacked by the Church, it increased markedly, especially after 1840. Cost of contraceptives probably restricted their use to upper classes. The somewhat checkered history of the Casa de Beneficiencia should not obscure the fact that a number of other charitable institutions did fulfill social needs, in a less flamboyant atmosphere.

Perhaps a newly established hotel in Merida qualifies for inclusion as a public building. It reflected the fact that more and more foreign visitors -- traders, political refugees, scientists, adventurers, and others of unstated business -- were beginning to come to Merida and that not all of them were eligible for the easy hospitality which had been customarily extended to the few travelers of an earlier day. In June, 1842, its proprietor, Antonio Prado, advertised that the recently opened Hotel de Diligencias offered many conveniences: rooms, separate bath-rooms, and meals, as well as refreshments and beverages. Yucatecans and strangers were asked to try them. Norman, an American with many peculiarities, thought highly of the new hostelry; he compared it with similar ones he claimed to have tried in Switzerland, to the advantage of the Yucatecan. Both before and after the hotel's short life, most travelers were accommodated at a large boarding-house run by a Doña Micaela Lavalle, whose rates Norman thought were too high, but whose services Stephens, Heller, and Charnay approved. With Teutonic thoroughness Heller noted that for a peso a day he got lodging and food,
"fairly well served." Charnay on his first trip had stopped at the hotel, at Micaela's pension the second, but in 1860 found no public accommodations, so was put up at a private house. The hotel had disappeared by May 1847, when Heller found that Micaela was the sole hope of travelers. So presumably it was not a victim of the Caste War, which did not break out until two months later.

Most households in Merida, however, provided sufficient food, so that the clientele of the hotel was probably limited to strangers. A colorful source of commodities was the open market, not far from the Alameda, and for poorer persons whole meals or cooked dishes could be purchased there. Generally its goods consisted of bread, meat, vegetables, fish, and other locally obtained produce, as well as pottery and other household effects of hand fabrication. Booths or fixed sites of vendors were divided functionally: the fish merchants were separated from those who sold meats. Morelet in 1846 noted that the creole diet made much use of poultry, game, and fish, and that among the vegetables were found onions, cucumbers, potatoes, and mad-apples (aubergines). Possibly few vendors or purchasers had read a volume published in 1832 by Maria Ignacia Aguirre entitled Prontuario de Cocina para un dia a dia regular, a cook-book that preserved the secrets of Merida's still excellent cuisine, as most of the trade carried on in the market was among Maya and mestizos.

The upper classes, whose cooks undoubtedly then as now...
found the market as much a scene of recreation as of supply, also had at their disposal a number of stores which stocked semi-luxury items. Imported cookies, wines, and beer were advertised; for one real the interested could buy a Bordeaux wine, while champagne ran higher, at six. Port was midway between at three reales a bottle. Stores and shops also provided wheat bread from imported flour. Mostly for upper class tables were limited supplies of milk and Yucatecan wine. A public-spirited citizen wrote that if Yucatan really wished to have the substance of Progress, as well as its forms, shopkeepers should put more real wheat in their white bread, should cease watering the milk, and that the wine merchants should desist from adulterating their stock with a liquid he presumed was dyewood extract.  

In general the hours of meals corresponded to the climate, where midday heat kept most people at home. After an early rising, most Yucatecans took chocolate and sweet bread (pan dulce). At nine in the morning and at three in the afternoon came full meals; Morelet remarked that these two repasts were "equally serious." A light lunch might be served in the evening. "Despite the heat," said Morelet, "one eats a lot in that land."  

A noteworthy feature of transactions in the market at Merida, and in other similar ones through the peninsula, was continued use of cocoa grains, cacao, as a medium of exchange. Its persistent appearance as small change reminded
the thoughtful that before the coming of Spaniards, cacao had served in Maya marts. The ancient Maya practice had evidently survived the colonial regime virtually unchanged.

Even in mid-century Yucatan metal coins were scarce, and the smallest, a medio, worth 0.0625 pesos, often proved too large for the minor sales among natives; occasionally a medio would be halved, each section then passing as a cuartillo; halved again, each cuartillo was worth two of the fractional chicas thus produced. Customarily, however, a number of cacao grains would pass hands in such instances. A medio would be equated, depending on market value, to a given number of grains, grouped in a unit known as a 'twenty'; at one time a medio would comprise four 'twenties', another time perhaps sixteen of them. Each 'twenty' could be broken into sub-units of fifteen, ten, or five. In Norman's time, 1841, a medio equalled two hundred fifty grains -- twelve twenties and a ten according to usual nomenclature. In 1847 Morelet found that only from eighty to one hundred sixty were needed to form a medio. Thus the smallest unit, a "five" of cacao grains in 1842, would have amounted only to 0.00125 peso!

As late as 1850 the merchants of Merida petitioned to have use of cacao "coins" suppressed in favor of small copper ones. The local Congress stated that it could not act on the plea, as monetary policy rested with the national government. 24 Apparently not long afterward, though, cacao grains were
supplanted by small coins made of lead, known as *sonas*. Later, on henequen plantations private coins of wood, copper, nickel, aluminum and other metals were furnished workers and had currency in the area where the plantation was known.

The very low cost of many items should be kept in mind when making comparisons on returns on labor and investments. Possibly the peso of 1845 purchased at least five, and perhaps ten times as many goods or services, as that of 1945. The Yucatecan peso of 1848 was equal to one U.S. dollar, as Justo Sierra pointed out to those who were unsure of the proper amounts they should receive for foreign monies.25

Another survival from earlier times, probably occasioned by the large masses of natives and illiterate lower classes in Merida, was the manner in which its streets were named and marked. Grotesque effigies and images of birds, animals, and mythical beings were used as indicators, usually attached to corner houses or perched on their roof-tops. The names ranged from fairly commonplace ones like "The Canary" or "The Two Bulls," to more exotic labels like "The Harem," "Japan" or "Thought." Waldeck thought it a deficiency in Yucatecan character that no streets were named for national or local heroes. Night watchmen, *serenos*, made their rounds announcing by whistles that all was tranquil; in 1860 regulation of the force required them to carry two pistols, a cape, a lantern, and a raincoat. Not long thereafter, in
1985, a complicated "scientific" system of designation by numerals and directions replaced the picturesque names and images. Although some traces of these lingered into the twentieth century, when Ober visited Merida in 1881 only a few of the older signs remained, "Street of the Elephant," of the "Flamingo," and the "Street of the Two Faces." Harking memory back to Conquest times and before is a plaque on a modern house recalling that earlier this street was called "Impossible and difficult" because an ancient Maya pyramid had originally existed there.

Yucatecans in the first half of the nineteenth century stressed the fact that Merida's streets were "wide, straight, and level, but dusty," and that it had many wheeled vehicles traversing them. Typically the city was said to be marked by numerous "ample and solid habitations, by spacious plazas and streets on which move a great number of carriages; by these it indicates its luxury, greater than other cities." Merida displayed some vehicles that were peculiarly regional; local artisans made and decorated many of them. In general the coaches were not used much during ordinary days, but in the evening, and especially on Sunday they turned out in force for the traditional paseo; until then they were carefully kept under wraps. The paseo, a pretty custom that still lingers in provincial centers of Mexico, was a pleasant ritual in Merida on the eve of the Caste War. Eligible bachelors and marriageable young ladies slowly circled the
plaza or the Alameda, the men in one direction, the girls in another, chaperoned by sharp glances from the elders who in their carriages circulated through the neighboring streets.

Within the closed group of upper-class creoles, domestic life was tranquil and easy-going. The slow rhythms of existence in the large houses of Merida was at some variance with the fiery sentiments that the masters expounded in political forums, and the greater or smaller changes occurring in arts, intellectual realms, and the marts of trade. Colonial canons of taste held sway. Observers judged the domestic customs of Yucatecans according to their own temperaments and backgrounds, so that they were variously described as superficial and monotonous, or a pleasing pattern of amenity. As might be expected, Waldeck and Norman thought that life and conversation in Merida was banal; Stephens and Heller considered it pleasing and were appreciative of the hospitality extended them. A young Latin considered social intercourse there "electrifying."

Among the creoles, there was relatively small variation in scale and style of living. As yet the gaps between those with large fortunes and those with none had not subdivided this socially dominant group. The largest personal fortune did not exceed perhaps fifty thousand pesos. Even the most modest households supported a number of domestic servants, usually drawn from the Maya or mestizas of the barrios.
Occasionally servants were people from the countryside, from as far away as Tizimin. They acted as nursemaids, cooks, housekeepers, maids, and performed odd jobs. Customarily the family secured children aged six to eight, who, in return for board, lodging and clothes, performed minor tasks and were trained for more useful duties. Adult domestics received monthly wages, usually from three to five pesos. Even at that rate — perhaps four times the income of an agricultural worker — they performed their duties but indifferently. But in general, Yucatecan home life in Merida was pleasant and easy-going, the social life somewhat slow and ordered. The fact that women significantly outnumbered men, that ladies smoked cigars, that gambling was common, and that many, if not most, of the leading gentlemen kept mistresses drew comment from travelers, not all of it unfavorable.

The slow tempo of existence on the peninsula could be discerned in the rather simple pleasures that whiled away leisure hours. But like much else in Yucatecan life, increasing traces of the new age began to modify, or at least co-exist, with the heritage of the past. The pageantry and gaiety of religious festivals still were a high point; their processions and the traditional activities that accompanied fiestas — fireworks, bullfights, music and dancing — recurred at frequent intervals to honor the patron saints of barrios and the numerous churches of Merida.
Such activity usually culminated in the annual Carnaval, for which Merida is still famous. It was a general frolic whose solemn religious overtones sometimes were drowned out by merrymaking. On occasion the somber shadow of political factionalism cooled the enthusiasm; once, under a Centralist dictatorship, public authority carefully prescribed the masks and disguises which could be used, and especially forbade any that would burlesque the Church. Again, on the eve of the Caste War, the Carnaval of Merida was forbidden entirely by a newly triumphant but uneasy Campeche government; though undoubtedly the three-day period when the community cavorted in disguises provided an excellent opportunity for a counter-revolt, still by tampering with Carnaval, Campeche managed to arouse feelings of resentment in Merida that extended beyond the small coterie of professional politicians.32

The urban environment of Merida offered a number of places and activities to while away an idle hour. For the men, a great number of cafes and billiard parlors served as recreational centers. The Church and visits to dressmakers (some of whom were male) had to suffice for their ladies. From time to time public gaming tables combined sport and charity, as usually the games of loteria (like "lotto" or "bingo") were ostensibly run to provide funds for public or pious benefit. Less exciting, but perhaps more profitable to winner and community alike, was a state-sponsored lottery. Organized sports like baseball did not make an
appearance until after 1880, but traditional spectator-sports like cock-fights gathered mixed crowds of Indians, mestizos, and créoles, all equally excitable. The fact that one entrepreneur, Casiano Tejero, stated that he had an adequate supply of double-distilled liquor (as well as good tobacco) to accompany his Sunday cock-fights may help to explain the latter tendency to enthusiasm.

The general population had an unexpected treat when sundry special events enlivened the scene. From the United States, for instance, came a circus, replete with strange animals, and cause of pleasant confusion and wonder. A daring areonaut astounded Yucatecans with a balloon ascension; one report declared that he had risen to height of not less than seven and a half thousand feet. In ten scenes, outside promoters provided an "Interesting exposition — Cosmorama and great encyclopedia machine by which movement is given in various senses to a multitude of figures, in an agreeable and surprising manner," said their blurbs; for adults the admission was one real, but children and "barefooted people" (natives) were admitted at half that price. In general travelers were struck by the easy mingling of social classes at these various public spectacles.

IV

On a class rather than a mass basis were cultural activities that were chiefly the concern of the literate. These
creole affairs tended to be considerably more formal and self-conscious than the artless and often naive ones that seemingly satisfied desire for expression among the less favored. More in the European tradition than in the native was the attention paid to balls, routs, concerts, the theater, to literature, sciences and a host of new impulses that invigorated Merida.

A group of earnest young performers formed a Philharmonic Association to raise the cultural tone of the place. Its performances were scantily attended, though a few men and more women lent it some support by their dutiful appearances. Yucatecans were, however, conscious of music, and the charm, perhaps the prestige, that ownership of a piano might bestow. The instruments which the various papers advertised seemed to be chiefly of English manufacture, and to range in price from a hundred fifty to a hundred eighty pesos. Always they were said to be in good state, and one was said to have improved its sweetness after its arrival on Yucatecan shores.

Various young gentlemen, usually immigrants, attempted to earn a living by offering to give singing and piano lessons. One such, for example, was Jaime Samaruc, newly arrived from Barcelona in 1842. A little later Rafael de Anglada proposed to instruct any one twice a week for the modest stipend of five pesos a month; slightly higher, at eight pesos, was the fee of Francisco Jacinto Oviedo, but
he pointed out that "young ladies will be attended with the delicacy and decorum which the beautiful sex demands and merits." That there was substantive excuse for his extravagant speech may perhaps be implied by Heller's report that "The daughters of Merida belong among the loveli-est women whom I have found in Mexico...characterized by love for singing and the piano."38

Drama was less in the hands of amateurs than on a firm commercial base. An enthusiastic public first provided funds by subscription for a promoter to have an old building renovated by a Guatemalan architect and to contract for a troupe from Cuba. Unfortunately the latter arrived before the edifice was ready, but despite difficulties the theater opened for business on November 20, 1831. That night the curtain rang up on Shakespeare's "Othello." Both as an artistic venture and a business enterprise, the theater was successful. In 1834 its ownership changed hands at a reputed seven thousand pesos; a decade later it was valued at double the sum. Yucatan, with a flourishing theater in Merida and a rival one in Campeche, equalled Mexico City's two. The doings in Merida were as faithfully reported and criticized by the local press, notably La voz pública, in form and detail of dramatic criticism written in the national capital.39

One interesting current in Yucatecan dramatic spheres was use of the theater as a vehicle for nationalism. Attempts
of politicians to erect Yucatan into a separate nation, free from Spanish and Mexican influences, were paralleled by growth of playwriting that aimed at artistic independence for the peninsula. Some plays were based on colonial history, familiar to most Yucatecans. Others, such as Cipriano Arias' "A Night in 1843, or Yucatecan Valor," tapped the more recent past. One critic said that "It seems that within a short time here animation increases in the theater, presenting productions from our own history." Artistically perhaps the use of colonial items left a deeper impress on tradition than did patriotic pot-boilers, due chiefly to the fact that the two best authors exploited the former.

The ranking dramatist of the time was not a native of Yucatan, but was a frequent visitor there. He was the Spanish poet Antonio García Gutiérrez. In 1845 he wrote for a Yucatecan audience "The Alcaldes of Valladolid," which cast into dramatic form an eighteenth century episode involving a political murder in the church of that villa. A sequel, "The secret of the hanged," appeared in 1846, in which Gutiérrez continued the narrative.

The first wholly Yucatecan play, written by a native son who treated a local theme, was José Antonio Cisneros' "Diego the Mulatto." It adapted incidents from the bizarre life of a Campeche pirate; it was a drama based on the Yucatecan novel of the same name recently written by Justo Sierra. The production first saw light on the evening of June 2, 1846.
At its end, the spectators not only called the author, but had Gutiérrez crown Cisneros with a wreath of white roses, symbolic of his status as the foremost Yucatecan author. The reporter for *Voz pública* thought this a highly moving touch, as not long before a Spanish audience had similarly crowned Gutiérrez to indicate his leading position in Spanish letters. A dinner and dance topped off the historic evening. Although special honors went to local dramatists, all presentations were not narrowly nationalistic. The theater at Merida cast a wide net; classics and modern works of continental authors -- Greek, Spanish, French, and British -- with a range from tragedy to bedroom farces were produced. Most of the actors continued to be Spanish or Cuban.

Artistic endeavors in other lines received public, and sometimes official support. Perhaps the outstanding case is that of Gabriel Gaona, who under the pseudonym of "Picheta" occupies a high place in the history of Mexican graphic arts. Recognizing his talent, the local government subsidized his training. At state expense he was to complete his studies by a four-year sojourn in Italy, on the understanding that upon his return to Yucatan he would give free courses to poor boys also desirous of learning drawing and painting. Though the financial difficulties of Yucatan depleted the funds from which his fellowship was to be paid, Gaona did spend some time abroad. On his return to Merida he and other youths put out a humorous magazine, "Mr. Busy-body" (Don Bulle-Bulle).
in which his sardonic sketches of the contemporary scene remain the highlight. Yucatecans immediately recognized his ability, and a eulogy of Gaona's skill at making wood-blocks soon followed the first number of *Don Bulle-Bulle*. Later critics have in general supported the contemporary view of his worth, even though at the time some of the subjects he caricatured squirmed under his views of them.

The idea that the youth of Merida should have an opportunity to be grounded in sketching and painting was widespread. Apart from the courses offered or required in the schools (treated below), drawing was a prime interest of at least five academies, chiefly private, in 1846. In 1847, just before the Caste War broke out, Juan Arfian advertised that he was enrolling a new class at a fee of two pesos a month.

In addition to these provisions for beginners, some stirrings in the artistic field were indicated by the several offers of painters to do portraits. Possibly the standards of such work were not exalted, as one, Manuel Petri, stated that if the subject did not think his sketch or oil painting a true likeness, the fee of eight pesos would be cheerfully refunded.

Graphic arts were especially amenable to improvement by the technological developments which were beginning to show up in so many places in Yucatan. In general Yucatecans were quick to adapt new techniques and devices. The introduction of the daguerrotype and its stimulation of lithography is but one example. A daguerrotype was an early form of camera.
Independently in France J. Nicéphore Niepce and Louis Jacques M. Daguerre had been working on a photographic process early in the nineteenth century; in 1829 they joined their investigations, and a decade later, August 19, 1839, upon granting Daguerre and the heirs of Niepce a pension, the French government published the first complete account of the new technique. Within a short time, daguerreotypes were in Yucatan and other parts of Mexico.

The first such device was brought to the peninsula by Baron Friederichstahl in 1841. With it he photographed the ruins of Izamal and Uxmal, but the owner of the hacienda Chichen did not extend him hospitality or permission to use the instrument there. In May 1841, the Baron advertised that he would photograph the citizens of Merida -- eight pesos for the whole body, six for half. He asked the prospective sitters to avoid wearing black, yellow, or white clothes, but mentioned that flowers could conveniently be included in the portraits. He charged the Yucatecans who were interested in seeing examples of daguerreotype photographs and the machine a price of two reales for admission.47

By 1844, an immigrant had established a permanent shop in Merida. The Registro Yucateco, which reported the event, said that the newcomer, Antonio Pallas, had come there after a trip to the United States; though Yucatan had enjoyed the advantages of daguerreotypes, previously they had been temporary, as the machines had been introduced by curious
travelers or speculators — possibly the first referred to Stephens' trip in 1842, and the second to the Baron. Pallás' instrument required only thirty seconds of exposure for the plate — "so far has the art advanced." Within a few years other shops opened. In 1847 Ricardo Carr, for instance, advised the public he had just received a daguerrotype of advanced design from Europe, and that he was willing to take portraits of one or more persons at four pesos a view. Thus even before the latter year Yucatecans wishing to preserve their own likenesses for posterity had a choice between employing the young artists they were training or newly introduced technology.

As a recent investigator has noted, to establish lithography as a local art or a science seemed almost an obsession with Yucatecan editors just before the Caste War. The Registro Yucateco hailed the founding of Pallás' shop as an important step toward this, their 'golden dream.' He promised its editors to reproduce pictures of archbishops and to photograph the Cathedral "and other elegant buildings of this capital" for inclusion with their articles on these topics. Not until 1846, however, did the Registro provide illustrations; though possibly based on daguerrotypes by Pallás, the actual lithographs in it seem to have been produced in Havana.

Apparently the earliest successful lithographs created on Yucatan were the work of José Dolores Espinosa Rendón.
He was a lad of fourteen or fifteen when the Caste War broke out, and, having learned the rudiments of drawing in Yucatan, moved to Havana in 1848. A little over a decade later (1859), he returned and set up shop with the press and materials he brought from Cuba, as well as opening an Academy of Natural and Lineal Drawing.51

The success of Espinosa Rendón contrasts with earlier efforts of a youth to solve the technical problems involved in lithography and to apply science to life in Yucatan. Manuel Tiburcio Almeida was in many ways a typical product of his era. He was born in the very late colonial period and died shortly before the Caste War, at the early age of twenty-nine. Trained in mathematics and in physics and chemistry, the small amount of science which the peninsula offered, he turned to inventing as a way of making himself useful to the country. His first work was a machine to dip candles; it was said not only to save time and labor, but to produce beautiful candles. Somewhat similar was a mechanism for soap manufacture, followed by a book-binding apparatus. But his chief claim to remembrance was the effort to establish and improve machinery to produce lithographs. It was said his experiments hastened his death by tuberculosis. In addition to his mechanical bent, Almeida was a musician and a writer.52

Yucatecans thought that if Merida was to fulfill its "very noble ambition to march along the road to Progress,"
it should have a library and a museum. So stated citizens in 1845 and 1846. The cry had gone up earlier, when Justo Sierra had pleaded for such foundations in 1841. The object of a public museum would be to survey and guard the antiquities of the peninsula. Yucatecans were becoming conscious of their own past, partly through the writings of local antiquarians like Pío Pérez, partly through the interest displayed by foreigners like Waldeck, Friederichstahl, Stephens, Catherwood and others, partly as an outgrowth of the mounting nationalistic spirit seen in politics and drama. When this trend was at its height in 1847 one enterprising chap offered to open an academy in which would be taught "local idiom and history," if enough heads of families enrolled their offspring.

Though in periodicals of the time there was considerable discussion of history and historiography and some short essays on antiquarian themes, no full scale works appeared. In 1852 a political party subsidized a writer, with a salary of a hundred fifty pesos a month, to summarize peninsular events after 1840, a change of regime put an end to what apparently was a sinecure; the politicians who voted the original grant had reserved the right to "rectify" the findings of the historian.

Along with pleas for a museum came those for libraries. After 1840, a society of readers formed to promote a "Cabinet of Readers," to interchange books, but during the Yucatecan
war with Mexico in 1846 its former treasurer thought the time was ripe to launch a full scale public library. He asked that each person of means contribute a book and a monthly fixed sum that would be spent for book purchases in Europe, and that perhaps as a sideline the founders could maintain a museum of curios. For instance, he pointed out, Felipe Cámara y Zavala had an extensive collection of rare coins that he would donate. The author of the article called on the Yucatecan "spirit of associationism" to carry forward the enterprise and on the government to provide a proper building. Perhaps the appeal stirred some interest, but for whatever cause, soon there were two libraries in Merida, though neither was wholly public. The one, with nearly two thousand volumes, had been opened by an organization of youths who called themselves the Society of Jesús Mary; it was the larger collection. An adjunct of a municipal Academy of Arts and Sciences was the smaller. The librarian of the latter, in reading a report which outlined the current book situation in Merida, pointed out that each library was the work of the youth of the place, a new generation.

The American traveler Norman correctly summarized the views of other foreigners when he wrote that Yucatecans "appear to have availed themselves of their peace and political composure by cultivation of letters, and general mental cultivation, to an extent certainly unsurpassed by any province of Mexico." Not only as readers, but as writers and
journalists the men and women of the day seemed grimly
determined to create a self-respecting and local literary
milieu. Though romanticism was often rampant it often was
given a Yucatecan habitat; foreign favorites like Alexander
Dumas, Eugène Sue, Victor Hugo among the French, Bulwer
Lytton and Walter Scott among the British, and the American
Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper were not scorned,
but critical essays stressed the necessity for adequate ex-
pression of local virtues.59

The regional stamp was placed on literary effusions
of varying merit. Then, as at present, nearly every liter-
ate person of voting age wrote verses, which sometimes
reached the height of poetry, and often of local inspira-
tion. Wenceslao Alpucho and Mariano Trujillo as poets fol-
lowed the footsteps left earlier by Andres Quintana Roo,
with many lesser luminaries around them. In 1839 Trujillo
and "other Yucatecans, lovers of good literature," published
the first anthology which rounded up examples of Yucatecan
poetry. Although a recent and excellent survey of Yucatecan
literature attributes the cultivation of poetry in Yucatan
("perhaps more than in other parts of the world") to their
devotion to womanhood, other motivation produced a long
dramatic poem that appeared in 1838, lovingly written by
Pedro Almeida. It was an autobiographical and historical work of a patriot who had participated in the movement for independence and the early politics of Yucatan. It contains antiquarian lore of considerable utility, sandwiched among strophes to objects and people of the peninsula. Its title only vaguely indicates its heterogeneous nature: *A Mexican; The Sin of Adam*. Poem. Twelve Days' Work in Twelve Cantos, with allusive notes to the events of Mexican Independence in general, and relatively to this peninsula of Yucatan. Though serious in intent, Almeida’s heroics subjected him to considerable ridicule by contemporaries, with the result that he had nearly the whole edition of the book burned, so that now it is a rarity.

Prose was subject to the influences that were shaping a genre or local color literature. Novels, or rather short stories elongated by a plenitude of incident, began to appear, especially after Justo Sierra had started experimenting with this literary form. In his *Museo Yucateco* in 1841-42 may be found early attempts at historical fiction — *The Bands of Valladolid* and *The Filibuster* are notable — which became a virtual fad. While he was producing his two most famous novels, *A Year in the Hospital of San Lázaro* and the *Daughter of the Jew*, the one taking characters from nineteenth century Yucatan, the other laid in seventeenth century Merida, others were busy in similar strain. Gerónimo Castillo’s *A Feast and a Quarrel*, though short, exploited the Yucatecan scene and
customs perhaps to a degree unmatched before and not often
equalled since; it dealt with Merida in the first quarter
of the nineteenth century; though this was his sole novel,
he also wrote sketches which similarly combined romanticism
and localism, an example of which is his "A Scene of Carnaval."
A disciple of Sierra, Vicente Calero, wrote shorter pieces,
novelettes or novelas, such as "Grievance and Vengeance,"
and "The mysterious letter." Yucatecan history also proved
a mine for Rafael Carvajal. Typical of his best is "A seven-
teenth century Priest and a Pirate." With more than purely
provincial fame were the short and sharp essays on Yucatecan
foibles and environment by Manuel Barbachano. One common
element among these writers was their self-conscious attempts
to father an autonomous literary culture.

The tendency of dramatic literature to adapt episodes
from the colonial history of Yucatan was clearly apparent in
prose for home consumption. An accident of fate, that only
a small range of incidents seemingly lent themselves to
romantic treatment, may well have had a direct, and almost
certainly an indirect influence on bringing the Caste War
to a head. Through recurrent use of materials on an Indian
uprising of 1761, which took place in the Borderlands under
the leadership of a Maya named Can-Ek, a barrage of stories
and articles kept the possibility of an Indian uprising con-
stantly in view.

The chief sentiment of this unconscious propaganda was
that the Maya plotted to overthrow white supremacy and that
natives were able to organize an effective conspiracy. The
topic slipped easily into the pattern of other fiction, in
which were commonplace occurrences, sudden and gruesome death,
(often from esoteric diseases), and the existence of hidden
conspiracies within complex intrigue. But the lepers and
noblemen who peopled these plots were certainly less numer-
ous and more unreal than the grandsons of Can-Ek's followers.
Periodicals contributed a minor tributary to the stream of
fear about a repetition of the revolt of Cistell by reporting
in some detail the uprisings among Indians of other Mexican
areas. 65

Apart from this special topic of Can-Ek and his revolt
in 1761, when Maya entered stories and articles at all, they
often were seen through a mist of unreality. One common
approach was presentation of them as Rousseau's noble savage
and Nature's nobleman. Equally misleading but quite as in-
trusive were variations on the colonial concept of the Maya
as a degraded race, born to pupilage, and akin to dangerous
animals unless kept in leash by hard work. As the idea of
Progress took firmer roots in Yucatan, a subsidiary to this
view was that Maya were a barrier to the economic development
of the peninsula because of their laziness and inability to
grasp the beauties of a rampant materialism, European and
American model.

Occasionally a brush with real Indians temporarily
disturbed these stereotypes. An interesting and believable anecdote was related by the son of Jerónimo Castillo, eyewitness to the incident. In mid 1845 a clean and middle-aged Maya presented himself in the family’s printshop and inquired if there was a copy of Cogolludo’s *History of Yucatan* for sale. When asked, he preferred a well-bound copy to the cheaper unbound sheets, and though he thought the price of eighteen pesos somewhat dear, he paid it in cash. At the termination of the transaction, he gave his name as Jacinto Pat, of Tihosuco. In view of his later effectiveness as a leader of rebel Maya, Yucatecans interpret the episode as his first step to form the gigantic conspiracy against whites and to formulation of his plans for the Caste War.  

The most common channel that gave outlet to the literary urges was publication in periodicals, although some books appeared. In some instances to identify the authors of articles, stories and poems that filled the columns of magazines and newspapers is difficult, as anonymous writers, those who used pseudonyms, or merely signed their initials, were more common than the ones who openly took responsibility for authorship by appending their correct names. Some of the pseudonyms are well-known. Possibly the most famous was Justo Sierra’s anagram, "José Turrisa," although on occasion he also wrote as "J. Tomás Isurre y Ara." Manuel Barbachano’s anagram, "Arach Noabb," is much rarer in this period than his more usual signature, "D. Gil de las Calzas Verdes." Rafael
Carvajal generally screened himself behind the pseudonym "Adolfo Ecarrea de Bollra." Contemporaries and later investigators familiar with the intellectual scene of the time could make reasonably accurate identification of those who merely initialled their work, but many of the anonymous pieces are still of unknown authorship. Books were less often issued under disguised names than were the avalanches of periodical contributions.

Magazines and papers sprang up in great profusion, but often lived only a short life. It has been said that you will always find one Yucatecan working on an article, that when two get together, they form a literary society, and delegate to a third mutual friend the editorship of its journal. To a degree quantitative data give an impression of the fecundity of the Yucatecan tradition of founding organs, a tradition that began after the first one, *Misceláneo*, appeared in 1813. The Caste War slowed the tempo but did not stop the tendency, which continues until the present. The following tabulation (Table 26) is perhaps not a complete inventory but it illustrates the Yucatecan proclivity for new journalistic enterprises.

The infant mortality among journals was often due to the fact they sprang up to deal with a particular political issue or an election, and once the issue was settled, the periodical no longer had any justification or financial support. Such, for instance, was *El Independiente*, which
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>NSW PERIODICAL ENTERPRISES (Five Year Periods)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1813-1814</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>First press, 1813</td>
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<td>1815-1819</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Return of absolutism</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Independence, 1821</td>
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<tr>
<td>1825-1829</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830-1834</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Liberal revolt, 1839-40</td>
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<td>1835-1839</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Constitution of 1841</td>
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<td>1840-1844</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Caste War, 1847-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-1849</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1854</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Caste War, 1847-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855-1859</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Autonomous Campeche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Ran only from January 6 to 25, 1846, dedicated to the proposition that Yucatan should be autonomous. In general the same group of men preoccupied themselves with publishing, so that the editorial boards of contemporary journals and magazines were often interlocking, and the same authors appeared in several. On the eve of the Caste War, in 1847, the two print shops of Merida produced several regularly issued periodicals, a daily (El Noticioso), a tri-weekly (La Unión),
a weekly (La Revista Yucateca), and the somewhat irregularly appearing sections of the Registro Yucateco, nominally a monthly, and Don Bullebulle. 69

In October 1847 the editors of the Revista Yucateca noted that two official periodicals had disappeared. The one was the Siglo XIX (whose successor was La Union) and the other El eco, apparently the organ of the schismatic provisional government set up by Campeche; the one had a long life, the other brief, which led the writer to comment that not often was there such correspondence between names of journals and their characteristics. 70 Don Bullebulle's first volume spanned the opening of the Caste War, and the second continued until nearly the end of 1847, when most of its youthful staff left to fight the Maya. The war itself did not completely inhibit birth of new magazines in Merida. Some of the youth who had helped with Don Bullebulle issued a short-lived political journal, La patria, that was initiated in 1848. In that year too started a new official publication, and in the following one Jeronimo Castillo was active with two other enterprises. His company had issued the Registro Yucateco and El Noticioso, but after these were suspended he first edited a review, Miscelaneas instructiva y amena (1849), then headed another, El Mosaico. Justo Sierra, writing in El Fenix at Campeche, thought them very good magazines; his own company took over completion of the Registro Yucateco, whose final numbers appeared in 1849. 71
The constellation of journals appearing at any one time covered a wide range of topics of interest to Yucatecans. Special interests were reflected in a ladies' magazine, *El Correo de las Damas* (1830), in "The Commercial Bulletin of Merida and Campeche," (1841-42), and in *Agricultor* (1841), a paper devoted to scientific agriculture, but one which "died in its cradle" according to its editor, Vicente Calero. Following the footsteps of Justo Sierra's earlier *Museo Yucateco* (1841-42), the *Registro Yucateco* (1845-49) took an interest in belles lettres, local history, and general public improvement, but shied away from controversial political topics. *La Revista Yucateca* (1847) reversed the process by publishing much on national and international politics, local factionalism, but limiting its literary interests to publication in serial of a translated blood-and-thunder French novel; when this, Pablo Feval's *El Negro Mendigo*, was terminated, the magazine also quit, January 20, 1848. *La Voz Publica*, running from May 1846 to January 1847, carried news, commercial items, but had small purely literary content; its general range of contents was continued in *El Noticioso*, which carried on from January 1847 to the end of July. As mentioned, *Don Bullebulle* was a journal of satire and humor. The literary vehicles like *Museo Registro*, *Registro Yucateco*, *Miscelanea*, and *Mosaico* conformed in spirit and contents to analogous publications in other parts of Mexico, but of course retained a marked Yucatecan accent.
Though strongly localistic, the editors were not wholly provincial. Vicente Calero is perhaps typical. After schooling in Merida, he traveled abroad, and was especially impressed with the United States and its accelerated development. On his return to Merida, he married and set up a general store, as well as interesting himself in a sugar producing hacienda. But his intellectual drives were unsatisfied with prosaic commerce, so in addition, he was active in founding and editing journals. While Justo Sierra was busy with the Museo, Calero tried to start El Agricultor. Calero, Sierra, and Castillo were the chief movers of the excellent Registro, and Calero had a hand in the Revista Yucateca and the Mosaico. His hopes and dreams for Yucatan were characteristic of the group of Yucatecans who were helping reshape Yucatan. If Yucatecans would join together and submerge their political differences, he said, then they would soon see steamships plying their coasts, railroads, telegraphs, gas-lights, "we will found industries and commerce, and enjoy the positive benefits that the active genius of our century spreads abundantly in other nations. At hand we have the model. The gigantic people who march at the front of democratic ideas...." His view echoes those voiced earlier by Lorenzo Zavala, and contemporaneously by Justo Sierra in Campeche, as their experiences in the United States had made equally strong impressions, and each hoped to transfer some of them to Yucatecan thinking.
Though the circulation of journals and magazines was relatively small, they had important influence. The largest was perhaps the Registro, with 350 subscribers, but among them were leaders of the society, the men who were now dedicated to Progress. Journals and their editors were an important mechanism for diffusion of the idea, as well as for suggestions as to the various forms it should take. Another, of equal or greater importance, was the system of education. It was obviously a significant means for implementing "the solid and sane doctrine that every human being ought to have the means of perfecting himself, to progress in knowledge and virtues, to guard his health, legitimate pleasures, consolations of life, his happiness and the exercise of the faculties and addictions of a man.... One of the most outstanding distinctions of our century...is the incomparable and constantly accelerated diffusion of education.... There are schools open to children of all classes, in which they not only learn the elements of reading and writing but also those of music and drawing, and presenting the fundamentals for future progress in history, geography, and physical sciences. The best minds today dedicate themselves to public education."77

The fervor and force devoted to education, and the impressions it made tend to negate the superficial judgment voiced by Norman. He predicted that within a short time learned men would disappear from Merida, because youth took
no interest in knowledge. He considered the sages of Merida a "chosen band, living and moving in a distinct body within their own circle; like Rosicrucians, having no kindred spirits to whom they can attach themselves, or from whom they can increase their numbers. Thus...as their days approach to three-score and ten their order must become gradually extinguished."78 Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth; education and the training of young people was intimately linked to the past and future, in ideas, instructing personnel, the vast student clientele, and in results. It had emerged as a primary concern in late colonial days and continued to be a principal focus of effort and attention, especially in the decades from 1830 to 1860.

VI

Often enough the planners of educational systems and institutions found that their aspirations outstripped their funds, and that their schemes sometimes outran their abilities to realize them concretely. Despite the tendency for words to overwhelm deeds, though, they made a rather impressive record of achievement and a permanent contribution to Yucatan's social traditions. From primary schools to university training, education felt the effect of new interests and change, at the hands of the state, by private individuals, or by groups who constituted semi-official
bodies. It was a remarkable development that in general terms shifted the emphasis of education from a very few institutions for a highly selected group to creation of numerous ones designed for the many, with specialized branches to fit youth for the new niches in Yucatecan society.

As briefly mentioned before, the closing years of the colonial period saw an increased interest in primary schooling. Natives were an object of special concern, in the hope of creating an educated strata from which caciques, regidores, and scribes for the local governments, repúblicas de indígenas, might be drawn. These primary schools were at first almost entirely in Church hands; teachers had been paid from proceeds of the ecclesiastical cofradías, but then from the central communal funds belonging to native settlements. At the close of the colonial epoch, Yucatecan representatives were ordered by the province to seek several grants of a thousand pesos each to carry on Indian education.

After Independence, Indian communal funds were no longer available to finance education of even the sketchy sort which had been initiated, so that the burden passed to the municipalities and to the state. Rich and able centers like Mérida and Campeche made arrangements through their town councils to provide instruction. The latter, for instance, allocated for 1822 the sum of 1,222 pesos to establish four schools for barrio Indians. Though details are lacking, some of the
many schools founded earlier perhaps continued. It was said that "cities, villas, towns, and hamlets, even some haciendas, had their own." Presumably most of these were privately financed or supported by municipal levies. In 1826 the Governor claimed that very few advances had been made in public education, especially primary, because of lack of money. He urged that the legislators attend this matter as on widespread education "depends the consolidation of the republican system." He pointed out that Congress in 1825 had legislated on education, but no real changes had come about.

The law to which Tiburcio López referred was indeed somewhat sketchy. In December, 1825, Indian and other children were ordered to attend church schools and receive instruction at the hands of ministers. In native places the cacique was responsible for seeing that girls as well as boys came on the proper days. The legislation merely continued the colonial way, but not long after the governor's message of 1826, an important step was taken in breaking away. In September, 1827, the state Congress decided that the state was and should henceforth be a responsible agent for seeing that primary schools functioned. Eventually they hoped to place a school in every town, but as a beginning each embajada de partido was to have a primary school with a secular teacher. The range of pay for teachers, maestros, was set at from fifteen to thirty pesos monthly, and their importance in community
life was emphasized by giving them a seat on the town council of the place in which the school stood. In 1832, their pay was raised. By these steps education was divorced from direct control by the Church and was placed in the hands of state and local officials. Christian doctrine, as well as reading and writing, continued to be a major part of the curriculum.

Though the state shouldered the burden for primary education, its funds were not wholly adequate to meet the needs. Semi-official bodies like the church and local municipalities helped fill the gaps, while the state reserved supervisory functions. Around 1830 began to be popularized an English system of pedagogy that had been initiated slightly earlier in Mexico (1822), known as the Lancaster school. In it, advanced pupils shared responsibility with the adult teacher for imparting knowledge to younger or less advanced students. In 1833 the state Congress gave permission to rural schoolmasters to introduce the Lancaster system in the newly formed classes of the cabezeras, in Izamal, the Sierra, and similar localities, and likewise authorized the ayuntamientos of Merida and Campeche to found and support Lancasterian schools in those cities. By 1844 the idea had diffused to even small places like Seibaplaya; in its authorization of a school for the town, the congress promised at some future time to refund to Seibaplaya's ayuntamiento the sum of 187 pesos spent on the new school.
Part of the impetus behind the foundation of Lancasterian institutions was indirect state aid, part due to shortage of teachers. The first was illustrated by action of congress as early as 1829. In that year it made available funds to send four Yucatecans abroad to learn the new Lancaster technique. All four were expected to learn English and French, while one pair was supposed to specialize further in drawing and Latin, the other in medicine and surgery. The tendency to subsidize talent at public expense, seen later also in the case of Gahona mentioned above, was not entirely a new departure, as even during the late colonial period similar action is recorded.

In 1805 Benito Pérez, Intendant of Merida, arranged for study outside the peninsula; two creole boys and two Indians went to the "Academy of Noble Arts" in Mexico City, the expenses of whom were jointly defrayed by the ayuntamiento of Merida and the Indian communal funds. The four, "as a start," were to learn painting, architecture, and sculpture so that they could return to Yucatan and found free schools "to enrich their patria." The Lancasterian techniques which the youth of 1829 were to imbibe not only was presumed to help meet the latter noble object, but also to help fill the crying demand for competent instruction.

As the plan to set up primary schools throughout the peninsula progressed from the stage of pious hope to limited but actual operation, the shortage of teachers became more
acute. In 1832, the state set up standards and distinctions among instructors, dividing preceptors off from titled maestros, but during the period under review no effective system for training was established. After Yucatan's revolution of 1840, some thought was given to founding a normal school, but the scheme had to wait until after the Caste War had abated somewhat before the institution actually appeared. The surge of enthusiasm which accompanied that movement of 1840 did not leave primary schools untouched. As a guide and aid to legislative thoughts on the matter, Justo Sierra published a long and detailed account of the school system of Prussia, parts of which he thought were applicable to Yucatan.

Legislation following 1840 made few new departures in primary schooling. The emphasis was rather on extension of schools along lines already laid down. In 1841 the government reiterated its obligation to place school facilities in every community in the state, in cooperation with local officials. The latter were to provide scholarly materials and the building, and the state would pay teaching salaries. Generally communities that needed maestros advertised in the public press for applications from those who had appropriate training; in 1847 both Maxcanu and Halacho attempted to fill their vacancies by this means. In many instances the official chambers of the town council did double duty, as a schoolroom in the day and as salon for community business afterwards.
Stephens left a description of such a small school in the isolated rancho of Nohocacab in 1842. On its wall hung an announcement in Maya and Spanish that the Governor had authorized a free school for the village, and that in it children were to learn to read, write, count, and also Catholic doctrine. As the establishment was supported by public funds, heads of families, of all classes, should send their offspring without further payment to anyone. Later, rather than requesting the attendance of children, parents were ordered to send them to school or be fined, and at the same time punishment by whipping in schools was abolished.91

Even Norman was impressed by the network of schools he saw in 1841. He wrote that "the public school system is adopted and kept up with some degree of ability by the government and the corporations. The towns are divided off into districts...in which are...fifty-seven schools."92 By 1846, the number had grown to eighty-one, with slightly over fifty-five hundred pupils. The Old Colonial area led the list, both in absolute and relative terms, as may be seen from Table 27. These data were taken by Heller from official sources, and seem reliable.

Contemporaries were not slow in pointing out the relationship between the increased educational facilities of the western areas and the higher degree of cooperation and docility among the Maya there. Joining cause and effect,
Table 27. PRIMARY PUBLIC EDUCATION, SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, 1846

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Pupils</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Colonial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>310</td>
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<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peninsula</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5,569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Heller, Reisen, p.226 (adapted); above, Table 18.

they mentioned the more extensive schooling available in the Districts of Merida and Izamal and that "dominated by civilization, the Indian race has made a more positive alliance with it than in other parts. In Campeche such bonds have been formed...except in one of its partidos, that of Hopelchen. In it, because of distances, the savage instincts predominate." 93 Though the matter is more complex than this would indicate, there is some basis for equating the greater opportunities open to natives in those areas with the fact that by and large they did not join eastern and southern Maya in the Caste War, but generally aligned themselves with the creoles and that way of life when choice became necessary in 1847.

Although not always included in official statistics, the pupils who attended private and semi-private institutions
in Merida were numerous, and the schools important. Generally they went beyond the minimum essentials of reading, writing, arithmetic and doctrine. At first almost exclusively aimed at education of boys, these lyceums began to spring up also to train girls. None seem to have been co-educational. Apparently they taught children from about the ages of six to twelve, and were primarily business enterprises, aided in some cases by the municipal council of Merida. Their rise is especially marked in the decade following 1840, and details of their operation illustrate the educational ideals and practices of the period.

As mentioned briefly above, a Lancasterian school was authorized for Merida as early as 1833, but few data on its functioning appear until later. In 1844 the state legislature approved the ayuntamiento's expenditure of 350.56 pesos for it, and within a relatively short time appeared notices of public examinations supervised by the council. In 1847 the Revista Yucateca told its readers that on December 12 the pupils of the school, which was headed by young Juan González Artián, showed off their learning for the elders; "those who attended," said the report, "left highly satisfied by the progress of the multitude of boys who go to that school." Equal success in public was attributed to the students of a private school run by Mariano Correa, aided by Guadalupe Rosado. In 1847 they did well, and again in 1849 the sixty-eight boys were said to have satisfied examination by public authorities.
From the advertisements issued by the Liceo Meridiano, some clearer idea emerges of instruction in schools of this class. Its director in 1846 told the public that the institution would continue to present primary courses, but that business had been so good recently that he could lower the tuition charges. The school furnished paper and pencils, but parents were expected to buy textbooks. Fees were graduated downward, from twelve to three pesos monthly. Full boarders paid the former, while day students the latter, with "medios," (who ate lunch there?) at eight. The fees covered the usual primary subjects. Its director, Manuel González Millán, also announced courses in French, English, and drawing at four pesos, but geography cost three; as a result he had no students for geography, even though students already enrolled in the Liceo received 50% discount from published prices. He mentioned that his school required no special clothes for attendance. The Liceo was a more successful institute than similar and previous short-lived ones attempted by Pedro Casares and Eduardo Field, even though each had charged less for geography classes.

More modest, and of unknown achievement was yet another boys' lyceum headed by Ramón Gómez, a "titled preceptor of primary teaching." He hoped to teach a maximum of thirty students at a tuition of two pesos monthly each. His curriculum included reading, writing, Castilian grammar, spelling, arithmetic, "cosmography and chronology," and
Ripaldi y Pleuri's Christian Doctrine. His hours conformed to the social habits of Merida, as the school was open from six to ten in the morning, and from three to five in the afternoon. 96

With some difference of interests, the girls' schools were patterned after the male lyceums. In general the object was to make good wives and mothers, so that domestic sciences played a larger role than did academic exercises in languages and geography. As in the case of the boys' Lancaster school, the first girls' lyceum was supported by the municipality of Merida, after the state had approved the project in January, 1846. Doña Martina Marin acted as directress, and her charges were thirty girls, ten of them Indian, whose tuition was paid by the ayuntamiento. The editors of the Registro, who had agitated for feminine education were only partly satisfied with the curriculum, but said that the little girls studied reading, writing, sewing "and some other things of high interest." During early 1847 the school moved its locale, a fact called to attention of parents of poor girls who might wish to apply for the municipal scholarships. 97 In December, 1847, the first public examination of the progress made by the young ladies was held, with great ceremony; a commission from the ayuntamiento, the Jefe Político of the District, and a special board of señoritas listened to the discourses and examined the sewing. As customary in such cases, the press
reported that everything was highly approved, and gave a special accolade to Sra. Marin for having "lent such great aid to her land, dedicating herself with zeal to teaching female children, a thing in truth completely neglected, not to say abandoned, previously." Much the same kind of a report was forthcoming after the public examination of her pupils in January, 1850. 98

On private initiative Doña Josefa Camara de Suárez opened a genteel boarding school in her home in June, 1847. Like that of Doña Marin, it offered opportunity to learn reading, writing, Christian doctrine, Castilian grammar, and sewing, but perhaps more important, taught social grace. Youngsters under eleven years were to acquire "the urbanity with which they ought to deport themselves in social intercourse," and become habituated to "the order, decency, and composure so necessary in society." Boarding pupils paid eight pesos monthly, while day students paid at the rate of two. If later accounts are accurate, her methods produced excellent results in public examinations (like those which Doña Marin's girls underwent) even though Doña Josefa's institution closed for a year when the Indians were winning the Caste war in 1848. 99

Still another lady of Mérida ventured into the field, with similar wares. In February 1847, Doña Soledad Pérez de Vidal announced that as directress of the Academy of Our Lady of Mercy she was prepared to teach girls from the ages
of six to twelve the rudiments of literacy, Spanish or English forms of writing, grammar, arithmetic and doctrine. After these were learned came the mastery of cutting and sewing suits and dresses, together with fancy needlework. The tuition, for day pupils only, was four pesos a month. Perhaps as an added inducement she stated that in the same house lived Francisco Mendoza, who was willing to give lessons in freehand sketching or oil painting, for three pesos monthly; if desired he could attend at private houses, but in that case the fee rose to five, and only a half hour could be allotted to any one household. In May, 1847, still another aspirant entered the arena of feminine education; Pedro Casarès Quijano for a monthly stipend of four pesos offered to instruct the usual subjects, and in addition (plus an extra fee) made available courses in French and drawing.

Nearly as indicative of changing attitudes and technique from colonial days as employment of Lancasterian methods, introduction of foreign languages in primary curricula, and full-fledged education for girls, was a strong emphasis on teaching of mathematics and on vocational training. In 1820 and in succeeding years an emigrant Spanish pilot, José Martín y Espinosa de los Monteros, tried in vain to found a full-fledged school of mathematics in Mérida; in 1835, such an academy which he established in collaboration with Casimiro Nerodeau had but a brief life. After heading the unusual
school of navigation and mathematics founded in Campeche (treated in the following chapter), he returned to Merida in 1844 and taught mathematics there until his death in October, 1845. Presumably the climate of opinion was now more agreeable for such instruction, as Santiago Nigra de San Martin, an active engineer, cartographer, and entrepreneur announced in 1847 that now he offered two different classes in mathematics, one at seven in the morning, and one at five in the evening. He was also available to teach line drawing, French, and English, by appointment. Another instructor of mathematics (anonymous) stated he was about to start an academy in that subject when enough subscribers had joined; like most other teachers in Merida of the time, he had a side-line. He was willing to teach fencing with foils as well as mathematics. His success in imparting either or both these skills is as obscure as that of the person who offered to start an academy of local history and language, mentioned above. Probably these remained hopes, rather than becoming fact, as did a projected school of scientific agriculture. First brought to attention by Vicente Calero in 1841, the idea of an agricultural school was revived by Villamor in 1846. Perhaps both these able men mistook a crying need for a real demand; in any event, little more is heard of the idea.

Along vocational lines, more successful was a mechanic arts school. The aim was to provide competent training for
boys who were not headed for the traditional professions of law, clergy, or medicine, by instructing them in manual arts. The curriculum was not restricted to craft training, as it was accompanied by the usual subjects of an elementary school — reading, writing, arithmetic, Christian doctrine. The plan for the school embraced an impressive physical plant, laboratories, and workshops, and the employment of foreign masters to teach their skills. The idea took form in 1843, under the auspices of Juan Miguel Castro, and received legislative accord then, but the institution did not start to function until after the pressure of the War of the Castes had been relieved in late 1849 and early 1850.\textsuperscript{104}

As seen, elementary education and its extension geographically through the peninsula, as well as socially in Merida to include both sexes and all classes, was not wholly the work of any one leading individual. It was a common enterprise in which many citizens shared. Typical of them was Juan Miguel Castro, who appeared early in this chapter as a principal proponent of improved port facilities for Merida. He was something of a Yucatecan Alger hero, in that he was a son from a poor and humble home who made good in the city. Born in 1803 in Hekelohakán, at the age of eleven he came to Merida to further his education. Employed in a commercial house, at an early age he had done well enough to become a principal partner. Now that personal abilities rather than ancestry were given freer play in Merida, his
worth was recognized by election to the ayuntamiento as a regidor. There he was especially interested in educational developments. Largely through his efforts the Lyceum for Girls run by Sra. Marin was established, and Arfian's Lancasterian school founded, as well as the Liceo Meridiano headed by Pedro Millán. The school of manual arts, too, was his brain-child, together with a House for Juvenile Delinquents that similarly provided vocational training. His fame in Yucatan, however, rests largely on his untiring efforts to make the port of Progreso a going concern, and as a propagandist in Europe for Yucatecan henequén in effort to create a market to counterpoise the monopolistic Yankee one.

Men like Castro banded together in 1849 to found a first-class Academy of Arts and Sciences in Merida. Not only did it offer instruction slightly beyond the elementary level, but also acted as a focus for the numerous new intellectual interests of principal creoles. Although founded on the initiative of these individuals, the ayuntamiento of Merida subsidized it in part by a monthly donation of twenty pesos and subscription to sixteen copies of the Mosaico, official publication of the Academy. For the extension of knowledge a library and regular meetings of the Academy at which papers by the members were read (later published in the Mosaico) were the chief props. For diffusion of knowledge, the Academy members instructed without pay; at the
hands of Merida's chief citizens the students were offered courses in Logic, arithmetic, geometry, Latin, English, French, bookkeeping, drawing, and music. The curriculum reflected the aesthetic and practical interests of the newer generation of Yucatecans. In the first public examinations, none of the aspirants offered Latin, French, or music, although an orchestra formed among the students played for the occasion. Logic, mathematics, English, and drawing led the field; as the course in bookkeeping was relatively brief, eight months, its members had finished the topic before the public examinations were held.

The Academy was apparently an attempt to remedy a situation on which comment had appeared earlier, that "infinite [is] the progress being made among us in elementary education, always necessary and indispensable, but especially so among us where the secondary is practically non-existent." To prepare for higher training in the professions, boys went abroad, many to Havana, some to the United States, a few to Mexico, and occasionally to Europe. For parents anxious to locate a suitable school, Buenaventura Vivo described and recommended a secondary colegio in Havana that had been started in 1835. On arrival in Yucatan during 1847 the French traveler Morelet encountered some youths preparing to leave Yucatan for schooling in Cuba, which led him later to remark that "I have never seen, in other parts, youth more desirous of knowledge, nor families more disposed to
second that disposition, assuring their children the advantages of a liberal education even at the price of expatriation. Curiously enough there was a considerable gap between the system of preliminary schools, with which Yucatecans were generally satisfied, and professional training, in which they were likewise making notable efforts and achieving lasting results.

Higher education for a few was as much a chief concern immediately after Independence as was primary schooling for the masses. Adapting the existing facilities, Yucatecan legislators in 1824 raised the seminary of San Ildefonso to higher status and renamed it the Literary University of Yucatan. Its faculties were empowered to grant degrees in civil or canon law, and in medicine, although at the time there was no instruction in this latter. Medical men of Merida and Campeche were among the twelve holders of various doctorates who formed the staff of the reorganized institution. Civil, canon, and natural law, leading to professional degrees in the ministry or as lawyers, was a major interest of the epoch; preparatory courses were established, and in Merida was innovated a chair of public or constitutional law, to be supervised by the local legislature. In 1826 the governor pointed out the need for a medical faculty and announced that a bill organizing it had been drawn up in the senate and shortly would come under the eyes of the lower house.

As seen below, the medical school began in 1833, and
from time to time thereafter other chairs and faculties expanded the University facilities. By 1850 higher instruction was offered in law, medicine, mathematics, navigation, "practical public speaking," and drawing. Perhaps the salaries of the professors serve as an index to the social prestige attached to these branches of learning and vocation. Annual stipends for instructors in law and medicine were equal, at 720 pesos each; navigation, at 672, outranked mathematics at 500, while drawing and speaking salaries were respectively 300 and 200 pesos a year. Although centered in Merida, the University operated also in Campeche and Valladolid, where studies completed under local faculties were credited toward degrees from what Yucatecans were at one time pleased to call "The National University of Merida." Its connection with a literary institution authorized in 1832 is vague. 109

The perennial lack of funds limited expansion of the University, but in at least one instance had a favorable aspect also. The institution was in large financed by the state, but in 1843 (when the public treasury stood more nearly empty than usual because of the war against Mexico) the subsidy was withdrawn. To counterbalance the loss of financial support for education, however, the legislature enacted a broad law which permitted individuals and groups to form any sort of artistic, scientific, or literary school, lyceum, college, academy, athenaeum, reading society, library,
or other institution of a similar nature, without necessity of receiving a license or charter from the government. This mandate was in sharp contrast to the colonial tradition of close control and prescription. It marks an important milestone on Yucatan's route to modernity, as although the state resumed its responsibility for financial aid to the University in 1845, apparently the liberal provisions for untrammeled education remained in force. Justo Sierra claimed credit for drafting the project, which became law in October, 1843. 110

Much of the flowering of educational institutions touched on above is perhaps attributable to this legislation, crystallizing as it did a belief in the virtues of free inquiry on which Yucatecan progress depended. But though the door was thrown open to private groups, the state remained responsible for much educational activity. Even during the Caste War, for instance, the budget of 1850 reserved about seven percent of the state expenditure for education, and of the sum, over a fifth was applicable to the University. In 1842, nearly twenty thousand pesos was set aside, representing around four percent of public income.

Institutionally the University of the period before and during the Caste War seems to have but slight relation (as the direct parent) to similar establishments of later days. But the idea and practice of a Yucatecan university, staffed from local educators and responsive to the peninsula's needs, was rather firmly planted from 1824. The growth and development of the more secular parts of it did not wholly choke off
continuation of the Catholic seminary from which it stemmed, as the latter was dependent for its income on the sums curates and others contributed, its fate was precarious after the civil government began to alter and diminish the payments that the clergy could collect. When the national laws of secularization took effect in Yucatan, the Seminary ceased as such.112

A useful illustration of the process by which Yucatecan educational ideals passed from plan to reality and then became more and more specialized is represented by growth of the medical school and para-medical training. There is a continuity which can be traced from the first years after Independence to the present. Contemporary reports indicate how desperate was the medical situation in Yucatan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Few or no doctors were practicing, and those who did were grouped either in Merida or Campeche. Apothecaries were scarce and unreliable, and veterinarians non-existent. Not all of these needs were filled by the generation from 1830 to 1860, but the achievement toward filling the gap was considerable.

At the time of Independence and for a number of years thereafter, medical men who practised in Yucatan were trained elsewhere, and usually were foreigners. Some, like Dr. Juan Frutos and Alejo Dancourt had been military physicians attached to colonial troops. Others, like Drs. Ignacio Vado y Lugo and a wandering American named Fasnet, were immigrants.
An occasional visitor like Stephens' companion Cabot appeared on the scene, but physicians were few and expensive. Nearly all lived either in Merida or Campeche, though two were reported in Izamal in 1825. Valladolid had none.113

Visitors and residents alike commented that not only were medical men too few, but that even modest efforts to improve the medical situation were often undermined by existence among the populace of an "irrational and superstitious empiricism." To outright witchcraft and the odd (but often effective) techniques employed by native curers and their mestizo counterparts perhaps should be added the unverified theories and practices of creoles. Milk from donkeys was believed to have extraordinary therapeutic value; a scientific formula for concoction of a synthetic substitute was made available to the interested. Remarkable powers were also claimed for a type of oyster found on the east coast of Yucatan, and pseudo-scientific discourses on use and influence of magnetism in diseases were also current.114

Despite the introduction of vaccines in colonial times, epidemics occurred rather frequently, and during those times the lack of trained personnel became lamentably clear; the efforts of a handful of physicians could do little to stem the enormous toll of fatalities, even though they multiplied their utility by issuing a simplified handbook to enlighten lay helpers and local officials.115

It was perhaps due to the dramatic effects of the
cholera epidemic in 1832-33 that actual medical instruction began in Yucatan. As early as 1824, provision for a medical faculty in the University found its way into law, but not until June 10, 1833, was the School of Medicine and Surgery formally established. At that time the legislature set the salary of the Professor of Medicine and Surgery at seventy-five pesos a month, and arranged that the General Hospital of Merida should be affiliated with the school. In January, 1834, congress issued a long and detailed regulation which set forth the rules and duties of professors, students, and examiners. To receive the highest degree, that of bachelor and doctor in medicine and surgery, aspirants attended four years of classroom and laboratory work, practiced for two years, and then stood for public examinations; others could be licensed as surgeons, pharmacists, and midwives. The latter were to be women who could read and write, who had attended a special six months’ course, and who then passed an appropriate examination. Their diplomas cost them nothing, whereas the final examination fees for medical students were forty pesos. 116

Called as first Professor in the newly initiated school was Ignacio Vado y Lugo. Born in Guatemala in 1796, he had studied there, had practiced sufficiently in the Mexican state of Oaxaca to finance a trip to Paris where he completed his medical education. On his return from Europe to the New World, he settled in Merida. On November 1, 1835,
Dr. Vado took formal possession of his professorial chair. In his address on that occasion he laid down broad and liberal policies of medical instruction, stressing the need for continuing observation and inductive methods. Laboratory training, vivisection, autopsies, experiment with new drugs, were some of the techniques he hoped to use, "in short, comparison of results obtained by the diverse therapeutic methods in determinable cases, as well as the various means that art and nature put at our disposal to reach the end we propose." 117

In 1835 also a second foreigner, Juan Hübbe became part of the instructing staff. He was a native of Hamburg, and had received his medical degree at the University of Tubingen. His inaugural speech after his appointment likewise stressed the necessity for rigorous scientific method, careful observation, flexibility of thought, and less reliance on authority than on acknowledgment of ignorance where clinical proof was not forthcoming. What we know, he said, "is small and insignificant to that of which we do not.... The spirit unaccustomed to observe for itself and judge the value, difficulty, and uncertainty of strange observations, delivers itself over to a perilous confidence in ill-founded criteria of brilliant systems which try to fill gaps in our knowledge when really they only hide them by fictions of talent and imagination." He remained on the staff until 1837. 118 In that year he was replaced by a Yucatecan youth, Fernando de
Luz Patrón, who, with two others, had just received their baccalaureate; Luz Patrón completed his doctoral work in 1842. Another of the bachelors of 1837, Nemisso de los Santos Rubio, received a professorial appointment in 1850.

Vado and Hübbe's emphasis on new thought and technique had a practical demonstration when one of their colleagues, José M. Sansores, employed ether as an anesthesia in June, 1847. The technique had only recently been published in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal. Sansores operated on a Maya, José M. Juchim, whose hand had been mangled in an explosion. Aided by Vado and an American physician, Sansores persuaded the native to submit himself to the effects of ether. As the vapor began to take effect, Juchim resisted; he felt as though he was becoming intoxicated, and he feared that his master would believe that he had come to the hospital merely to get drunk. But after thirty-five minutes of application, he drifted off and the operation was successfully completed. On the basis of their observations, the Yucatecans suggested certain improvements in the apparatus, and Sansores wrote up at length his invention of an improved machine.

Politics and the growing spirit of nationalism did not leave even the medical profession and education untouched. In 1843 the examining and certifying board claimed that the students trained under Vado, a foreigner, were incompetent and refused them professional standing. For a short while
he went into voluntary exile in Cuba, but returned to head
the clinic established in the general hospital. Even there
he was not immune from attack. In a letter to the editor
of a local paper in March, 1847, it was said that medical
instruction had become decadent just at a time when a large
group of Yucatecan youths were ready to be taught; Dr. Vado
in earlier days had trained excellent followers but now he
was too old and, further, the student body was too much for him.
Notwithstanding these extra-professional difficulties the
students he had instructed virtually single-handed made ex-
cellent records during the War of the Castes, especially
in surgery. And as he had done in the epidemic of 1835,
Vado performed outstanding services in 1853 when a similar
epidemic swept Yucatan. In treating patients, however, he
contracted cholera and died in August, 1853. As founder and
organizer of medical education in Yucatan he remains an
important figure. 121

His work was carried on in part by another foreigner,
Joseph M. Tappan, the American who had aided Senores and
Vado in using ether on the Maya. Tappan was born in Philadelphia
and was graduated from Harvard in 1845. Shortly thereafter
he came to Yucatan and set up practice. Like Vado, he made
a strong impression by his tireless work during the epidemic
of 1853, and in that year became a professor on the staff
of the medical school. His specialty was surgery and ob-
stetrics, in which he was competent. From time to time
thereafter he was its director, rotating in that office with Yucatecans whom the faculty had trained. 122

In 1851 another foreigner, a Spaniard named Salvador Riera, also became part of the faculty, and soon there was friction between him and Tappan. Riera practised and taught what is known as homeopathic medicine; it involves opposition to surgery, reliance on specially regulated doses of orthodox and other compounds, and doctrines which set it apart as a dissenting sect within the realm of medicine. The regular (allopathic) physicians of Merida combatted the new methods as charlatanism, and Tappan was among the most belligerent. In 1853 he insulted and even struck Riera in public, whereupon the latter challenged him to a duel. In the ensuing combat, Tappan was wounded. Evidently as a result, Riera suddenly disappeared from Merida and was not heard from again, although he left some converts behind. 123

Among the most important of these was Nemiseo de los Santos Rubios. He had received his doctorate in 1846, and as mentioned, in 1850 was placed on the medical faculty. In the epidemic of 1853 he had been greatly impressed by results produced by Riera. From that time until his death in 1889 he was a moderate proponent of homeopathy, aided in his attempt to disseminate its teachings by other able persons like Rafael Villamil, who for many years filled the chairs of Physiology and Natural History in the Medical School. 124
But the main stream of Yucatecan medical teaching continued to be allopathic, and by about 1855 the University was graduating physicians of the highest order, most of whom took an active interest in improving instruction by acting as part of the medical faculty. The most famous and perhaps the most able Yucatecan doctor of the generation from 1860 to the end of the century, Ricardo Sauri, however, received his training abroad, but returned to Yucatan and extended greatly the lines that had already been sketched and filled in lightly by predecessors like Vado, Hubbe, Tappam, Agustín O'Horan, José Patrón y Peniche, Manuel Arias Lujan, and others. Thus in about a generation after 1830 the former role of physicians in colonial Yucatan, "that of offering consolation to the dying," had given way "to a tendency to systematize knowledge and the vehement desire to make their ministry a true profession, based on scientific principles." It also marks an evolution in which local autonomy of instruction replaced the earlier reliance on a handful of foreign teachers.

Developments at the periphery of the medical profession did not proceed quite as rapidly nor directly as did growth of allopathy and homeopathy. Pharmacy eventually took its place as a subsidiary branch of knowledge, but was not placed on as firm a ground until the final third of the nineteenth century. The group that eventually succeeded in raising the level of instruction in it, however, matured in the decades under review. Of them Joaquin Dondé was notable.
Born in 1827, Dondé received his preliminary and preparatory schooling in Yucatan, but found that he must go to the mainland of Mexico for professional training in pharmacy. In 1844 he was enrolled in a course of study offered at Puebla, and in 1847 received his doctorate in pharmacy. To complete his education he trained two years more under the Faculty of Mexico, and received another degree in 1849. In that year he returned to Yucatan, where his titles were confirmed after examination by the medical faculty in 1850. He then set up a course in pharmacy at Campeche, but in 1853 returned to Merida to instruct in natural history, chemistry, and pharmacy. Until his death in 1875, Dondé actively promoted these necessary auxiliary sciences and undertook important original research in them himself.

His efforts stressed practicality and the raising of professional standards. He was, for instance, interested in producing improvements in the type of matches then in use, and successfully invented a safety match; when his studies succeeded in making a new tanning process, he turned the formulae over to local artisans rather than selling them abroad. His own contributions were of some importance; a compound known as sal Dondé preserves his fame, and his Pharmaceutical Notes, published in Philadelphia, reached France and Germany in translation. In 1870, with others, he founded a school of pharmacy that eventually became part
of the University, and also in that year instituted a semi-
public course in industrial chemistry. Due largely to his
efforts the first Yucatecan medical society took form in
1874, whose reports and scientific discussions were pub-
lished under his editorship of a review called La Emulación. In many respects he was an effective spiritual heir of Manuel
Tiburcio Almeida, mentioned above.

Although Joaquín Donde tends to be the culture-hero of
Yucatecan pharmacy in the last half of the nineteenth century,
even before his time some efforts had been made to relieve
a wretched situation reported for 1835. The Waldeck wrote
that "despite the high wages that pharmacists receive, they
furnish such bad medications that the people who are poorest
and sickest fear them worse than disease itself, and prefer
to die at home, without medicines." Regulations issued in
1834 to govern the Medical School provided that courses in
materia medica should be offered and that pharmacists should
be licensed only after examination. The latter was, like
the final proof for physicians, to occur only after the
aspirant had practised two years in the vicinity, and was
to take place in a pharmacy. Too, a medical board (Protomedicato) was empowered and ordered to visit pharmacies
twice yearly and to review their findings in secret. The
board was authorized to remove sub-standard medications
they encountered and to levy fines from ten to a hundred
pesos on the erring pharmacists; these fines provided a
fund to support the study of anatomy. Appearance of homeopathy in Yucatan possibly had the effect of ameliorating and improving the earlier usage of large, sometimes dangerous, and certainly unpleasant dosages, as these practitioners centered their method around use of carefully regulated prescriptions. Perhaps by the time Dondé opened shop in Merida in 1853, there had been some change over colonial times when apparently the chief regulations governing pharmacies were that the pharmacists write dosages in Spanish and not Latin, and that they stay open until nine in the evening.

Although the youth of Merida was intent on acquiring professional competence in law, medicine, or theology, there still remained time for student pranks. One hoax involved publication of an advertisement, that one of the instructors at the Seminary was pleased to announce that every Wednesday and Saturday he would sell ice cream to gentlemen students at reduced prices. In an angry letter soon after appearance of the unauthorized announcement, the victim repudiated it as an act of calumny, and stated that the rector had taken steps to punish the culprit.

VII

The forces that were cracking the cake of custom in arts and education made themselves visible in other spheres as well. A conscious attempt to change and to improve
economic and social conditions was manifested in the pleas for Yucatecans to join themselves into associations and by the combined resources of a group accomplish things that would be impossible on the relatively limited means any one person or family might possess. One writer pointed out that almost in vain had Yucatecans separately tried to start industries, but most had met a premature end. "The spirit of association," he continued, is what we must seek or create. It is not so much capital we lack as the fact that its being dispersed is the complaint of industry. The benefit from employing it or the disposition to associate it, and also to associate work in order to double its effectiveness, can with a vigorous push retrieve us from the proverbial inertia of our methods and erase from our memory and habits the pernicious maxim of letting things remain as they are. Thus one can not expect great progress in industry, although it is not quite fair to say it remains stationary. It advances, but is far from marching equal to the progress of our epoch.150

In the years just before the Caste War, this doctrine of associationism began to bear some fruit. In 1842 Norman had remarked that nowhere in Merida was there a factory, and although in 1847 Heller reported much the same situation, by that year "La Constancia Yucateca" had begun operation. This was a factory to produce gunpowder by machinery purchased in New York, and was the result of a joint stock company formed in 1844. Perhaps symbolic of the new age being initiated was the fact that the Bishop of Yucatan, an associate, contributed his fruit orchard at the edge of
Merida for the site. Under the managership of Santiago Nigra de San Martin (who appeared above as a teacher of mathematics), the mill turned out a product that was "fairly fine and good powder," according to Heller. When the factory reached a point where it was regularly operating in 1847, the state conceded the stock company a monopoly, a customary procedure in Yucatan. 131

In the hope of making some capital available for small enterprises, a young Merida merchant, Modesto Juvert, headed a society to start a savings bank in 1846. Although his attempt seems to have failed, in 1850 the government permitted Perfecto de la Cámara Zavala to establish a loan fund, minimum of 3,500 pesos, partly subsidized by the state. The maximum interest rate was set at one and a half percent per month, a rather high return (18% annually). 132 Another group, as given in more detail in the following chapter, formed a company that operated a line of coaches between Campeche and Merida on a regular schedule. Somewhat later than the powder-mill or the line of diligences, first appeared a brewery, then a mill for the manufacture of paper. 133 Merida never has become an industrial center, but the urge was strong to make the best of its limited possibilities through joint enterprises.

Men like Nigra de San Martin, Juan Miguel de Castro, Simon Peon, and others already mentioned set examples which were held up for emulation. No longer was simple piety and
contribution to the greater glory of the Church a sufficient cause for marked public esteem. The new heroes were those who joined with others and contributed in benefiting the community along the lines prescribed by the newer dogmas of progress. The editors of the Registro Yucateco took occasion to point this out when praising Nigra de San Martin. The occasion was his organization of a company to operate steamships made of iron from Sisal to Vera Cruz and intervening ports. Later, Nigra de San Martin made a rather accurate map of Yucatan; at that time, 1848, only Jalisco (among the other Mexican states) had similarly been surveyed by a scientifically-minded cartographer. 134

While holding Nigra de San Martin's actions up as a model, the Registro put in a strong word for associationism.

If the spirit of associationism could be more generalized, if the united forces of many individuals could but be freed from the unfounded fears that neutralize them or make them ineffective, what important improvements in all branches might succeed! The powder factory is nearly finished, the line of coaches is running, and the capital is on the point of having its port at the short distance of seven rather than the eleven leagues to Sisal. If only one man had been exclusively responsible for any one of these enterprises, he would have succeeded only with difficulty. 135

There was, of course, a considerable duplication of personalities among those who formed these commercial associations and those who were the political representatives of Merida and Yucatan. It is not surprising, therefore, that semi-
official and official groupings began to appear, dedicated to somewhat similar ends as those established on private initiative. One was a Board of Trade in Merida, linked to the local ayuntamiento and seemingly inspired by the recent successful Lonja established in Campeche. On a peninsula-wide basis, five regional societies to foster agriculture and industry were organized under state auspices in 1843. Possibly the idea was transferred from the mainland of Mexico, where Lucas Alamán had been active in promoting like groups.

The Yucatecan Sociedades de Fomento de Agricultura e Industria provided a link between private initiative and state support of projects deemed worthy by the legislature. In each of the five administrative Districts, the jefe político superior picked ten members for the society from among the leading commercial or agricultural figures in his jurisdiction. Part of the duties of the society were of a routine but important nature, to conduct fairs and exhibitions and to collect statistics, the lack of which hampered formulation of state policies. Earlier, in 1837, the local congress had indicated the type of information it needed and the fact that systematic inventories (almost a hallmark of the positivistic era being ushered in) had begun to loom importantly by issuing a set of regulations for the guidance of officials charged with compiling quantitative data. Reports embodying information collected by these semi-official societies, for instance, accompanied a memorial that the

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government of Yucatan sent that of Mexico regarding tariff questions. 138

Besides their function as an information center, each society was expected to promote the betterment of agriculture and industry by stimulating invention. Half the funds were devoted to experimenting and testing new devices or processes, and the societies were authorized to offer premiums and gold medals for valid new discoveries of a utilitarian character. When, for example, foreign inventions claimed to have perfected machines for the rasping of henequen fiber, the legislature turned the matter over to the society in Merida for public trial, and awaited their report before granting a patent or prize. 139

But perhaps of major significance was the provision that these five Societies to Foster Agriculture and Industry prepare memoranda for legislative action and present congress with "reforms necessary to the progress of agriculture and industry." Thus a legitimate nexus between economic and political power was created, on the implicit assumption that the state had the manifest duty of serving these ends, and by so doing, contributed to the general well-being. This was a different emphasis from an earlier one where political and ecclesiastical objectives were closely associated as the goals of statecraft. Perhaps some of the shifts in policies of land and labor, treated in later pages, took their rise from pressure exerted via these
semi-official societies in which vested interests were openly and legally preponderant, but concrete evidence on their influence is difficult to isolate and analyze.

In the early part of the Caste War, the regional societies suspended operations for understandable reasons, since neither agriculture or industry could be fostered with most of the peninsula in the hands of hostile Maya. But shortly after imported troops from Mexico began to reconquer the devastated areas, the societies were re-established, in 1851. To their titles and duties were added a third element of interest to Yucatecans, that of commerce. 140

Yet another society of the same period tends to mirror a number of activities dear to the sort of Yucatecans who formed the regional promotional ones. The Instituto de Africa was organized under Martin P. Peraza in April, 1856. Its membership aimed "to cooperate in the universal civilization of Africa by means of agriculture, commerce, industry, and the arts and sciences, and to foster the emancipation of the African race." Thus the aims and scope of private, semi-official, and official associations that began to coalesce in greater numbers under stimulus of the cooperative idea ranged from local chambers of commerce to ones concerned with the international scene. It is highly dubious that the Instituto de Africa could have been formed in late colonial times, or perhaps even as early as
1845, when most Yucatecan attention was turned inward on their own affairs. It is of some interest to note that tendencies among the merchants and agriculturalists to pool their ideas in associations was paralleled by the intellectuals, as in the period from 1827 to 1861 at least nine literary societies formed, four of them from 1841 to 1849.*142

Although in general most societies concerned themselves with the urban scene in Merida, one of the earliest reached out into the surrounding hinterland. It was aimed at fostering the cultivation of henequen as a commercial crop, and to that end its members purchased an hacienda for the purpose. In 1830 the first crop was sold, a landmark in the economic history of Yucatan. In this period henequen was still on an experimental basis and had not yet taken a dominant role in the Old Colonial section. With the exception of a handful of pioneers, most of the hacienda owners clung to their traditional products — maize, cattle, and a scattering of other items. On the bumpy road from Merida to Sisal, passing through almost untenanted country, travelers encountered these goods being carried for export in huge high-wheeled carts ten or twelve feet wide, drawn by five mules.143

VIII

Hacendados of the Old Colonial area tended to reside in Merida. There they were near enough their properties
to exercise a supervisory and moderating influence over
the resident overseers, mestizo mayordomos, yet far enough
from them to escape onerous detail and to take part in the
expanding activities of Merida. Of some importance is the
fact that most haciendas in the Old Colonial area dated
from very early colonial times, if not the period of Con-
quest itself, with the result that local usages on them
were rather firmly established. Probably typical of these
Conquest establishments was the Hacienda Chi-Chi; it was
founded as a cattle estancia by Alonso de Rosado y Sánchez,
one of the charter citizens of Merida, and continued to be
a cattle-and-maize enterprise until after the middle of the
nineteenth century, when it rose to fame as a henequén finca. 144

In comparison with smaller, simpler, and more functional
plantations found outside the Old Colonial section, the
haciendas there seemed ornate, baronial, even a trifle ob-
solete. They were as much a symbol of prestige as they
were profit-making institutions, as often the returns were
small on invested capital. Later pages discuss the inroads
which competition from abroad made on the financial stability
of these cattle and subsistence plantations. The plantations
themselves ranged widely in size and impressiveness. Some
were "small, neglected, and in ruinous condition," while
others were as large as Voyalquex or Xchanchakan, among
the largest and finest of the state. The former was "lordly
in appearance," and supported fifteen hundred Maya tenants,
while the latter was almost equally as striking to the eye, with seven hundred Indians among its tenantry.145

As in all parts of Yucatan, labor on the haciendas of the Old Colonial section were Maya. Aside from the fact that over the years a body of unwritten custom to regulate relations between workers and masters had evolved, self-interest and public opinion operated to prevent more than sporadic cases of abuse. Competition for labor was relatively keen, not only for economic but also for reasons of prestige. Though not legally obliged to support Indians in sickness or when they passed the age of usefulness, most hacendados of the Old Colonial area did so, as it was "in his interest to treat them in such manner as to acquire among the Indians a reputation as a good master."

So long as Maya met their defined obligations, a protective cushion of custom separated them from arbitrary action by their master or overseer. It is of some importance to note that Stephens changed his first superficial views of labor relations after he had returned to Yucatan and saw the system in operation over a longer period. In 1839 he concluded that so far as Maya labor was concerned, "the power of the masters...over these is absolute," but he more correctly saw later that "except as regards certain obligations which they owed, the Indians were their own masters."146

The written and unwritten canons, however, should not
be considered a bill of civil liberties. Masters and overseers, even the most enlightened, still were empowered by the reigning philosophies to whip their laborers, to regulate their marriages, and to intervene rather directly in other spheres of their private lives, when Indian actions impinged on the discipline of the hacienda. But even to Norman, who was usually eager to exaggerate Yucatecan faults, hacienda Indians merely seemed to be "in a state of listless bondage...without much positive suffering."

The Old Colonial region was a crowded complex of haciendas and creole-dominated communities in an area generally east of Merida, bounded on the south by Tisul, and northward by Motul and Isamal. The latter was increasing its importance, as its elevation to the status of a city and designation of District capital indicated. Goods flowing westward from the East Colonial area converged there, and the nascent henequén fincas tended to locate not far from it. It was one of the first centers to have been connected to Merida by a cart-road, and in addition, its annual trade fair began to take on added glory in a period when commercial activity moved up the scale of prestige. Isamal was not a new center; its Virgin and its fair were colonial marks of importance in the religious and economic life of an earlier Yucatan.

The Virgin was a wonder-working image with a mythical desire to remain in Isamal. According to the tale, the image was carved in Guatemala and intended for the church
at Valladolid. But enroute from Merida the figure grew
unbearably heavy each time it was taken past Izamal. Though
the original image was destroyed by fire, its successor con-
tinued to perform miracles for the numerous pilgrims from
the surrounding environs. In honor of the patron saint,
each year the houses of Izamal were whitewashed, so that
it continually had a new and bright appearance. In some
of its physical features it resembled Merida: its streets
were lighted at night, and their names were symbolized by
effigies.148

The winter trade fair at Izamal differed from a similar
one held at the other extreme of the Old Colonial area, at
Halacho. The Izamal celebration was primarily intended and
attended by "large merchants with foreign goods...by the
better classes from Merida." Amid crowds of Indians were
"parties of vecinos, or white people, gay and well-dressed
in the style and costume of the capital."149 The Halacho
fair, though too offering diversion for creoles, was pre-
eminently for the Indian and the mestizo. For eight days
of religious ceremonies, horse-shows, bull-fights, gossip
and small trade, perhaps ten thousand Maya gathered in
Halacho. Wage advances given Indians by their hacendados
often were nearly all spent on masses and candles; the
original sums, of course, were added to the native's open
account which kept him in debt bondage to a proprietor.150

Although Izamal was an administrative capital for a
considerable District, the area under its jurisdiction was virtually indistinguishable geographically or culturally from the District of Merida. It was permeated with Old Colonial ways and dominated by the state capital. Traveling through, Norman graciously conceded that the "towns throughout this portion of the interior are well laid out, and the houses well-built; everything looks as though they might be inhabited by a stirring people." Only occasional glimpses of delayed influence of a social nature from Merida can be caught from contemporary sources. Such, for instance, was the desire of Motul to provide education for poor girls, in the style of the capital's Liceos de Niñas; the government approved an expenditure of Motul's municipal funds for the purpose. During and after the Caste War, the Izamal-Motul hinterland of Merida took on great importance when henequen took root, a development treated later.

IX

Outwardly the Old Colonial section appeared stable, contented, and relatively serene. Supported and reinforced by a fabric of venerable tradition, its communities were numerous and well-integrated; its haciendas were palatial and imposing; its native Maya disciplined and docile; its capital city humming with new enterprises. Yet conditions over which it had no control, external to the region considered as a unit, were affecting it adversely. Under
current agricultural practices the area was perhaps nearing a saturation point, as the marginal lands on the coastal fringe were relatively useless for expansion of grazing or the raising of maize, even if outside markets had been available for Yucatecan cattle. Deeply imbedded concepts that had nearly ten generations of experience through colonial regimes were a stabilizing element, but also they made acceptance of fundamental changes a difficult process, fraught with friction. Credit and technical devices (needed to put henequén on more than a tentative basis) were scarcely beyond the rudimentary stages.

The economic and political hegemony which Mérida had taken for granted for so long were threatened by developments in the sections peripheral to it. As sugar took its rise in the Borderlands, for instance, an economic lever of ponderable strength lay in the hands of its entrepreneurs, drawn in great part from Campeche and the West coast, traditional political rival of Mérida since the late seventeenth century. Analysis would have indicated to the men of the Old Colonial area the economic and social basis for their own vaguely disturbing feelings that Mérida was not as supreme as it had been in earlier decades. Other areas were just as enterprising, though their urges seemed to have a different emphasis from those of the capital; other areas were growing, and in some cases faster than the Old Colonial. Though usually Mérida set the tone and the program
for progress, the ideas diffused from there lodged in regional contexts which modified or even rejected them, as the following chapter illustrates.

As a region the Old Colonial area can be considered a geographical and social unit. The physical landscape was undergoing change by extension of a web of cart-roads that tied together an agricultural hinterland primarily dedicated to subsistence crops raised on colonial type haciendas, and by the somewhat hesitant appearance of exportable plants like henequén. The regional hub was Merida, supplemented in its influence and controls by lesser centers like Izamal and Ticul. Port facilities were poor, but steps toward improvement had been taken by efforts to found Progreso.

Throughout the section Hispanic and creole canons rather than Maya formed the chief guides to conduct. Population figures showed that the number of Indians were decreasing relative to the proportion of mestizos and creoles. Whether they were tending to pass into the growing body of mestizos by interbreeding, or whether emigration to newer lands lay behind the shift is not clear, but it would seem that the section was being "creolized" ethnically as well as culturally. The Maya of the Old Colonial were either city folk, closely linked to urban ways and needs, or peons on haciendas under traditional disciplines, or village dwellers, with but a minority living on semi-independent ranchos. Hispano-Indian cities, towns and hamlets, interspersed by creole-owned haciendas, dominated the settlement pattern.
The social landscape was subject to greater alteration than the physical, and more especially in the capital. In nearly every line of endeavor, experiment and activity were under way. Music, theater, literature, journalism, and allied interests displayed a remarkable vitality. Between them and an incipient Yucatecan nationalism there was considerable interplay, a reciprocal reinforcement; through the channels opened up by them poured ideas and modes from the United States, France, England, Spain, Italy, and even Germany. The period was less a Romantic Revolt than an epoch of gestation. As in these diverse artistic fields, in education ran a strong strain of utilitarianism; Yucatecans of the period laid firm foundations for education of their youth, at all levels and for all classes, with less significant achievement perhaps in solving the problems of secondary schooling. The base of popular education was broadened, the content of higher education deepened, with emphasis on a pragmatic approach to knowledge. The stress on utilitarian positivism which can be discerned readily in educational philosophy also was clearly visible in attempts to improve the commercial and industrial scene. Like leaven, numerous cells of organized interests were working in the body politic, all optimistically certain that material advance and the public welfare were indissolubly joined. Innovation, progress, advance became words which carried a high content of emotion, used to denote approval; the pejoratives employed
to tag the less approved ideas, men, or institutions were labels such as conservative, colonial, Spanish, static. Individually the works and hopes of Yucatecans of the time perhaps are not impressive, especially when measured against the contributions of later generations, but collectively the several trends and contributions attributable to the place and period represent a substantial achievement in pioneering.

To isolate and fix categorically the causes for the burst of activity is hazardous. Why a great segment of the literate population, and especially their leaders, became converted to a doctrine of progress which emphasized material and mundane concerns instead of persisting in more traditional paths is subject to variable interpretations, each stemming from a tenable concept of the processes of history. Whatever the prime causes were, however, their effects were certainly noticeable. Yucatan, to judge only from data drawn from the Old Colonial area, had changed from 1765, in a steady progression that can be traced in detail from about 1830 onward. Change was differential; it did not affect all areas or institutions equally. The following chapter briefly summarizes the reaction of areas peripheral to the Old Colonial, and subsequent ones deal with basic segments of Yucatecan life on a topical rather than a regional basis. The origins of the Caste War are organically connected with the nature, tempo, and directions of changes that were occurring.
In 1846 a citizen of Merida pointed with pride to the things he had seen accomplished, in stressing the difference between his day and that of his colonial forbears.

We have literary and scientific periodicals, as well as mercantile and political. There are philharmonic societies, reading groups, and scientific academies. Advanced enterprises have succeeded: a brilliant line of coaches has been established, as have cafes, hotels, and recreational associations. Primary education has been admirably perfected; government improves; agriculture is fostered; roads are constructed and repaired. In fine, there is movement, advance, following a route to Progress that has no end.... Yucatan is going to be an important place.

With considerable justification the question can be asked, "What is the relevance of these details to the origins of the Caste War?" An answer requires brief re-statement of the underlying design and the ultimate ends in view. In simplified form the argument that has been urged previously runs something like the following. In the last third of the eighteenth century, the general lethargy which characterized the province of Yucatan began to dissolve; static balances started toward becoming dynamic ones, though few major shifts took place before the end of that century. Approximately the first quarter of the nineteenth century saw Yucatan involved in a series of political and intellectual interests which differed in degree rather
than kind from those bequeathed the peninsula from earlier colonial times. The substantive contributions to modern Yucatan which had resulted were few and feeble.

The chief one was political, represented by Independence in 1821. Even in this sphere, earlier forms continued to exert a dominant influence, as suggested by the fact that Yucatan's first constitutions closely resembled the Spanish document of 1812, modified to the conservative climate of the peninsula. By 1825 very little alteration had occurred in the social realm, not much in the economic, and beyond a handful of poems, hardly any in the intellectual. The caste system reigned, roads, schools, and outlets for artistic impulses such as theaters and magazines still were conspicuous by their absence, while colonial crops and methods dominated the economic scene.

In one very important regard, however, the area in 1825 differed from earlier times, even though there lacked from the place numerous elements which would later distinguish it from the colonial province described in 1766. At the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Yucatecans were conscious of backwardness, and rather than ignoring the outside world, were in the main eager to become part of it. From time to time -- in 1810, in 1814, in 1822 -- appeared inventories and suggestions as to how the gaps they revealed could be filled. Practically the whole range of human interests were touched upon. Once masters of their own fate
(and on this much of their polity was predicated), Yucatecans sought to lessen the spread between what existed and what they believed should exist to make the peninsula a place of which they could be proud, even among foreigners. This objective was markedly distinct from the unformulated one of 1766, which in essence was to preserve a comfortable situation unchanged.

The change in direction of efforts and the self-conscious attempts to multiply them toward the new goals are two significant features of the period from independence to the Caste War. The first decade, from around 1820 to 1830, represent years of planning and experiment, a period when the newer ideas of 'progress' led to talk and to hopes. The old ways more or less remained, but they were questioned, criticized, and discussed with a view to adapting them to the new future, which seemed to have an unlimited horizon. The pressure of ideas was perhaps as strong and meaningful as any other pressure. In the decade from 1830 to 1840, some of the earlier attempts and schemes began to bear fruit. The number of "firsts" -- first theater, first local color literature, first henequén plantation, first steam driven machinery and factory -- in this decade is startling. The spirit of enterprise had already started to become a characteristic of creole Yucatecan leaders.

The following decade, 1840 to 1850, represents an acceleration of the tendencies noted in the previous one. Lines
dimly perceived in the colonial period to 1820, clarified and defined to 1830, and broadly sketched to 1840 became deeper and more numerous. Some of the simplicities of an earlier day had already given way to complexity. The ultra-liberal constitution of 1841, revised land laws in the same year, the first exports of sugar, the founding of a first-class literary review, the founding of a coach line, renewed interest in Yucatecan antiquities, military and diplomatic victories, the rise of two political parties (each headed by a merchant) are but some of the items which are part of an expanding pattern that was becoming more manifest as the decade got under way. Economic expansion accompanied drives in other directions; intellectual and social enterprise was intimately connected with political; a literary renaissance of significant proportions was genetically linked with an educational surge that was quite remarkable, considering the resources at hand. Yet in the midst of this heady atmosphere, the War of the Castes exploded with devastating effect in 1847.

The detailed examination of society in Merida to the War of the Castes has had a manifold purpose. In the first place it has seemed wiser to establish the general characteristics of the epochs, summarized in the preceding paragraphs, by an inductive approach. The succession from faint colonial beginnings to rather extended development seems typical of numerous activities and phases of life in the Old Colonial
section; to assume that what was common to only one or two aspects was shared by all leaves a wide area for doubt and speculation, narrowed by inclusion of circumstantial consideration of several.

Nearly as important and crucial as the activities and items which did change are those which either did not, or which displayed a much slower tempo. Among the latter might be included upper-class insistence on the social hegemony of the Center, and the efforts to maintain Mérida's traditional street signs; not until 1865 was sentiment for change in these matters sufficiently developed to permit substitution of impersonal and scientific numbers for the picturesque colonial nomenclature. Not an important fact in itself, it is symptomatic of deeper attitudes carried down through the years. Similarly the reluctance of vendors in the markets to give up the use of cacao money, sanctioned by tradition and accommodated to custom, or the continued existence of barrios and barrio governments, indicates an underlying substratum of sentiments not wholly responsive to some of the more modish doctrines being imported and assimilated in other parts of the society. Thus within the Old Colonial area, where the ideal of change, aimed at the goals which material Progress named as desirable, was strong, it did not affect all parts of the structure equally.

The question arises of whether other parts of the peninsula displayed evidence that the newer surges were
present. Was it purely an urban phenomenon, restricted to the capital city? Previous chapters have stressed the slight but significant variations among the four sections of Yucatan. Their topography, ethnic make-up, and to a lesser extent, historical traditions, distinguish them from each other. How far and how strong did the influence for change emanating from the capital extend? What variant forms did it assume? These questions and their answers have a direct bearing on the origin of the War of the Castes.

Anticipating slightly the detailed descriptions of the three sections peripheral to the Old Colonial, it can be said that there was wide variation of response. There was also considerable diversity of emphasis. The frontier area, labelled here as the Borderlands, defined progress in wholly material terms and virtually equated it to the accelerated production of sugar. Nearly all the elements which were developing so rapidly in the Old Colonial section were missing from the Borderlands except as they stemmed from economic interests. The East Colonial section resolutely turned its back on new ideas; it tried to re-establish Hapsburg society, perhaps more ingrown even than Bourbon. The West Coast paralleled and even led the Old Colonial in all respects but the economic ones. To point up the deviations, it has been necessary to extend the description of the Old Colonial.

The relation of the differential changes by sections to the Caste War is a fundamental consideration. One of the
main theses coursing through these pages is that the spirit of enterprise which gave birth to the sudden and extensive changes in Merida and to a lesser extent in Campeche created a climate of opinion favorable for the unabashed expansion of the frontier zone into the fertile lands held by Maya who rejected violently most attempts to fit them into the new hacienda complex that was the typical instrument of penetration. A corollary is that the equally vehement rejection of new doctrines by the creoles in the East Colonial had two interrelated effects. The one was to cut them off from their former posts of influence as models of true virtue in peninsular eyes, and the second was to heighten rather than ease the tensions between them and the surrounding Maya.

Still another corollary is that the internal balances of power were affected by the different rates of development. At some point leadership based on prestige can be threatened by that backed by force backed by resources. Both the bases of prestige and of power were shifting, the one under influence of ideas, the other under economic developments. Various streams of dissidence converged in 1847: inter-sectional political rivalries over the allocation of power, intra-sectional dissatisfaction between Maya and creoles in the Borderlands and the East Colonial, and conflicts of interest between entrepreneurs, and between vested interests (such as the Church) on a peninsula-wide basis.

A second consideration perhaps explains if it does not
justify the minute examination of the Yucatecan social scene in this and the ensuing chapter. One of the major conclusions which emerges from such an examination is that in the era from 1830 to and through the Caste War broad and solid foundations for the development of modern Yucatan were laid. A whole list of adjectives is necessary to itemize the several spheres in which a significant start and considerable achievement were made by this fecund generation. Though the shock of the Caste War for a very short time slowed developments, it did not kill them; their roots were deep. The men of the era sketched boldly the future they saw for Yucatan and put forth an enormous effort to make it real. The impulses which they gave its literature, education, science, economics, humanitarian strivings and allied fields gained sufficient momentum to carry through not only the Caste War but even a period of relative disorganization that preceded French Intervention.

Thus paradoxically the same forces which made Yucatan a leader among Mexican provinces at the same time generated the War of the Castes. The latter was not a simple response to a single simple stimulus or pressure, but was a series of complicated reactions to a complex combination of pressures.
"The labor of these meritorious creators of a national culture has not received sufficient appreciation. They carried forward the printing of documents, they drew maps, deciphered ancient documents, and immersed themselves in the inexplicable labyrinth of native chronology, often in full flight, surrounded by adverse circumstances, in a hostile atmosphere—revolutions exploded at their elbows, and Presidents of the Republic succeeded one another with dizzy rapidity, measured in time from the discharge of one cannon to another."

Julio Jiménez Rueda
Writing in 1848, Justo Sierra was rather certain that he lived in a modern age. With a patronizing air he mentioned that the people of Merida in the seventeenth century had to be carried about in litters; coaches and wheeled vehicles were scarcely known on the peninsula. When he looked around him from Campeche in the middle of the nineteenth century, he saw many things his ancestors at Valladolid had lacked. Within his lifetime, modern developments had brought to Yucatecan eyes a number of new and wonderful things. Among them he listed the invention of "steamships, daguerrotypes, electric telegraphs, homeopathy and other things with which we are now acquainted."

The spirit of enterprise and progress that found such strong advocates in the literateurs, educators, and businessmen of Merida took varied form in other parts of the peninsula adjacent to the Old Colonial region. The West Coast, centered at Campeche, vied with the capital; parallel development tinctured by the port's past appeared there. To the east, around Valladolid, change came slowly and was resisted; yet in the East Colonial section appeared the first steam-driven textile mill of Mexico. Deeds rather than words seemed to be the expression of enterprise in the Sierra towns and in the outposts which collectively formed the Borderlands. Direct economic
gain and political action to improve it seemed a pervading characteristic there, from Sotuta to Bacalar, from Oxkutzcab to Tihosuco.

The regions peripheral to Merida, dependent on the capital for political guidance and often for intellectual sustenance, were three. First was the West Coast, a territory spread around a lively port whose literary elite and political leaders competed with the Old Colonial for hegemony. East Colonial was a secondary hinterland to Merida; its créoles were unconvinced that new ways were better than the old. The third was a unit beginning to form a region out of newly pioneered zones. The records left by each are uneven in quality and quantity.

With a notable tradition of literacy, the West Coast placed its achievements and aspirations in print; its society treated travelers well, with result that they too gave detail about life there in accounts of their adventures. Fewer persons penetrated to Valladolid, and its own folk seemed unconcerned about bringing their virtues to the attention of contemporaries or posterity. Much the same held true for the Borderlands, except that from time to time a local publicist prepared a brief relation of his settlement; these usually have the air of a prospectus or Chamber of Commerce tone. Though apparently designed as booster literature, essays on Bolonchen, Bacalar, Becanchen, and other newly expanded places contain a wealth of detail.

Unfortunately for the crucial spots where frictions were greatest, Tihosuco and the eastern edges of the Borderlands, only
few data exist. Travelers had small cause to visit them, and official reports are sparse.

II

Among the three areas outside the Old Colonial, the West Coast was most sophisticated. It formed a patria chica with rather clearly defined limits. Overt rather than latent were its social aims, economic goals, and political ambitions; its people wrote about them and discussed them, usually in contrast to those of the capital. The population of the West Coast lived on the verge of the Gulf of Mexico; they drew livelihood from over the water, and from a narrow strip of land that traversed the western edge of the Sierra de Yucatan. Where the Sierra died at the south, heavy forest began, pierced to short distances by small rivers that drained backlands and emptied into the Gulf.

Campeche was the nerve center of the West Coast. It had a distinguished colonial history, as it was one of the first permanent communities founded by Spaniards. From it in 1541 penetration and conquest of the rest of the peninsula had gone forward. Yet despite its primacy of foundation, it had remained a villa until 1777. The port and community had really a product of the Bourbon Renaissance. Though because of its monopoly on colonial traffic, until 1610, Campeche had maintained a comfortable and even rich life, it bloomed even brighter when commerce not only became respectable but highly
desirable under Bourbon reforms. Much of its colonial history was a record of sleepy years in a subordinate position, as a small port and as an outpost on the sea frontier of New Spain. Economic surges following Bourbon free trade and similar doctrines brought prestige and power to Campeche; with them came strivings for autonomy that were ultimately satisfied in 1858 by independence from Merida's tutelage and entrance in 1861 into the Mexican confederation as a separate state. Though inferior in population and power to the State of Yucatan, its parent unit, Campeche was then arbiter of its own local destinies.2

Most settlements of the West Coast in 1847 lay at least two days' journey from Merida. Campeche was about forty leagues, a hundred miles, away. At the north the section extended to a point near Becal, Halecho, and Calkini, and at the south about as far as Champoton. When political rivalry between Merida and Campeche reached a pitch were neither could dominate the territory between them, Becal was chosen as a neutral point for conferences or to set up a provisional government. The Gulf on the west, the Sierra de Yucatan on the east formed natural boundaries. At the southeast extremity of the section, near the source of the Champoton River lay a small group of Maya villages; their shifting population is clearly reflected in the successive designation of one or another of them as cabecera, illustrated above in Table 5. To the north and east, Campeche was making some imperialist attempt to attach a grain-
producing hinterland to itself. Object of this expansion was the enclave around Hopelchen and Bolonchen; no strong colonial links had been forged between the two. Even in 1846, communication between the coast and its desired territory was defective; then it was said, "Hopelchen, granary for Campeche, and producer of sugar, liquors, and wax, has only narrow dirt trails to this port, its natural market." The enclave around Hopelchen south to Iturbide became known as "Los Chenes," and as such was incorporated in the state of Campeche after the Caste War. At the extreme north, the West Coast area was bounded by the salt beds of Celestun and Punta Desconocida.

Vegetation and ecological zones within the section were clearly marked. They changed dramatically rather than by slow transition from one to another, as in the Old Colonial. Southward from Punta Desconocida ran a strip of dry and semi-barren coastal land, a virtually useless fringe on which grew scrub vegetation that gave way to low tree growth as it penetrated inland to the Sierra. Below Campeche, southward from the point where the Sierra circled the Bay of Campeche and died, extended forests. Not far inland they reached climax growth of tropical rain forest, then were interspersed with savannah and swampland. Champoton at the south marked the edge of occupancy; it lay at the mouth of a short river that reached westward into the forest a short distance and on whose shores some slight agricultural enterprise was possible. South of Campeche and its small satellite, Lerma, roads were virtually unknown. Dugout
canoes, known as *cayucos*, proved an unsatisfactory mode of transport; they were dangerous for cargoes, uncomfortable for passengers, travelers reported.⁵

A cart road connected Campeche to Mérida, but otherwise the road network was defective. The one principal route acted as a spine for the northern half of the section, along which lay secondary and tertiary settlements like Tenabo, Hekelchakan, Calkini, and Halacho. Not until one reached Kaxcaná in the Old Colonial section were there cart roads which connected with the interior of the peninsula. Little had been done to complete a projected road that would connect Champoton at the south of the West Coast, with Bacalar on the outskirts of the Borderlands.⁶

Campeche was connected with the capital by the "brilliant line of coaches" to which allusion was made at the close of the last chapter. At the end of 1840 the state government granted Casiano Rivas Cacho, acting for a group that included leading politicians, a six-year monopoly to establish and maintain a line of diligences. Each coach was to have at least four wheels and four seats. At first service was twice weekly on Sundays and Wednesdays, later changed to Tuesdays and Fridays, and passenger fares amounted to ten pesos one way. In 1848 a monopoly of similar nature was granted to Gregorio Torres to operate a line between Mérida and Sisal. At first the Mérida-Campeche company was unsubsidized, and mail was entrusted to individual passengers, but in 1844 the legislature voted it an
annual fee of one thousand pesos for carrying official correspondence between the two points, and when the original monopoly expired, the subsidy was raised to a hundred pesos monthly.

Equipment included four post-coaches imported from Troy, New York, each drawn by horses at breakneck pace from one post-house to another, placed at about hourly intervals. With luck the journey could be made in about sixteen hours, but might take three times that long during bad weather. Passengers complained of poor food and accommodations provided by the monopolists, and of the unskilled drivers, usually mestizos. B. M. Norman, who rode the route shortly after its establishment, reported, "It was no uncommon occurrence to be brought up against a stone wall at the side of the road; and, in one instance, we were foul of an Indian hut.... The progress of the coach afforded us much amusement, by the fright it appeared to occasion....its whirling along among people and cattle had a similar effect that a locomotive has among the animals and their owners in the wilds of the Far West. Nothing would stand before it."8

A principal point on the journey from Campeche to Merida was Hekelchakan. In 1847 Carl Heller was surprised to see the discrepancy between its small importance on the map he had and its actual size. It was an important and lively center, "a good large settlement of 4,912 inhabitants, with a nice church, schools, and an ayuntamiento, a place that impressed us by its size, by its fine buildings....[and] lantern-lit streets."9 The community had been growing since Independence and by 1850 was
formally constituted a villa. Its new and enlarged ayuntamiento exchanged amenities with its parent, Campeche, and pledged of mutual respect and aid. The villa was to some degree the market for inland communities between Hopelchen and Bolonchenticul; a private toll road which citizens of the latter places were in the process of constructing, as mentioned below, aimed at connecting them with Hekalchakan, thence with Campeche.

As metropolis of the section, Campeche occupied a place analogous to that of Merida for the Old Colonial region. Like it, Campeche was a Spanish colonial city laid out on the familiar gridiron scheme. The town plan was modified by the fact that it lay on a bay behind which hills rose rather steeply, and also because it was a walled port. Its suburbs or barrios were literally extra-muros. The place had been sacked and razed by pirates in the seventeenth century, after which the center was rebuilt, financed by a tax on export of salt; part of the reconstruction included erection of a fortress and the protective walls. Numerous descriptions of the inner town and its suburbs have been left by its citizens and travelers entranced with the beauty of the urban scene. Typical is that by a campechano who said that it "extended on the shores like a tranquil bird which puts out its unfurled wings over the sea; hills of medium height and eternal verdure surround it, and its barrios stretch for more than a league in the smiling valley so formed."
Heller lyricized the beauty of the port when viewed from the sea, an impression that did not fade perceptibly on closer inspection. Among its public buildings were the Ayuntamiento, a customs house, and a newly formed one for the Board of Trade, Lonja mercantil, with a billiard room and reading room for use of members. Two small and now dilapidated fortresses limited the population on the water's edge.13

Campeche's fifteen thousand inhabitants were unevenly distributed. About a quarter of them dwelt in the center, delimited by low walls; the remainder peopled its five barrios. The main church on the east side of the plaza dominated the scene; opposite it had been the old jail, but recently razed to make way for an elaborate two-story private dwelling erected by Juan MacGregor, son of an American merchant who had settled in Campeche a generation previous.14 A hospital and a church mainly for Negroes also lay inside the walls, where most of the private dwellings were solid construction, thought by Norman to be superior to those of Veracruz in taste and adornment.15 Docks and shipyards, as well as a hospital for lepers, San Lázaro, were found among the enbowered huts in the barrios. Each of these had its church and government; the latter were controlled by the ayuntamiento of Campeche, which appointed the officials from among mestizos or creoles. In late colonial times it was noted that though most of the houses in the barrios were huts, some were of more permanent nature, and all were well-furnished, "because this is the
richest settlement of the province." All told, Campeche supported ten churches and two chapels to care for its spiritual needs. From the orchards and garden plots in barrios, as well as from areas across the Gulf, came produce and comestibles for the local market. They were the basis for Campeche's famed cuisine. The United States provided onions, cabbages, potatoes, and for upper-class tables, butter. The local district supplied meat, vegetables, and numerous classes of fish and sea-foods. Wages of cooks in Campeche were nearly double that of Merida, five pesos per month as opposed to three in the capital; their skill did not appreciably decline with the decay of importance of Campeche as a commercial center; fifty years later José Vasconcelos could still describe with enthusiasm the gastronomic delights available in the port. The meat vendors in the market were partly responsible for a system of public lighting which illuminated Campeche's rather rough and inclined streets. They anticipated official action in 18 by a cooperative effort that gave way to municipal support; nearly three thousand pesos was annually spent to keep the candles burning at night for the safety of campechanos. In 1863 petroleum lamps replaced them. Municipal pride kept the streets scrupulously clean, although over them vehicular traffic was light and difficult. Vying with Merida, Campeche too had an Alameda for paseos, legacy of Paulo Toro's dictatorship during the 1830's. As part of
a public works program he also had bridges built in the city, and the road to Lerma improved. The latter little community was a favorite resort for Campeche youth. Locally the main plaza was improved and made into a formal garden in 1853. The spirit of municipal action and urge to improvement surged as strong in Campeche as in Merida; it was notably lacking in Valladolid and only embryonic in Tekax, as seen below. Not without reason did Morelet in 1847 mention that the city of Campeche was "one of the most happy ones I have seen in America...a spirit of order reigns throughout, as does a manner that contrasts advantageously to the ostentatious negligence of Havana." Society in Campeche was relatively homogeneous, wholly pleasant. Artisans, merchants, and small tradesmen gave it a tone slightly different from that of Merida, still under the spell of colonial landholding, where merchants had only just recently begun to take leading roles. They had been esteemed in Campeche from at least the late eighteenth century. Norman remarked that in the port "There is evidently a class of society here which contrasts favorably with any to be found in the other cities of the province." Heller generalized the situation even further by stating "A bustling, the like of which I never found in Mexico, reigns here." He added, "Among the upper classes one finds taste of such high degree in surroundings, buildings, and manners that one can set them equal to Europeans. Many men of business speak two and three languages, women amuse themselves
with music, and the well-to-do leisure class busies itself with cultivation of local literature and history. Most of these families were members of the Lonja mercantil, formed after 1340, whose clublike edifice, with its recreational facilities, was mentioned above.

Typical of the leading families — the Estradas, Gutierrez, the Barandas and numerous others — was one which befriended the British traveler, William P. Robertson, and his companions in 1850. "We made some other acquaintances among the kind inhabitants of Campeachy," he wrote, "the Preciatts, the other leading family there; and more particularly our 'vecino,' our next-door neighbour, Don. N. Casasuz. ... Mr. Casasuz was one of the leaders of the haut ton, spoke English and French well; not only danced well himself, but played well to others when a musician was wanted.... And yet our 'vecino' claimed no higher rank than that of shop-keeper and trader."22

The richest Yucatecan of the time was an inhabitant of the West Coast: He was Francisco Abreu, "rated at $200,000," who kept a residence at Palizada that cost him $20,000. He had wide knowledge of foreign affairs and even imported household food from the United States. He intended to send his sons there for education.23

At lower levels in the social hierarchy were craftsmen. Public interest and their workmanship was guarded by an elaborate set of rules which granted title of "maestro de
taller" only to those who had reached the age of twenty, were of good conduct, could read and write, and had passed examinations set by other master craftsmen. Even apprentices were expected to be literate and at least ten years old.  

Social obligation to provide public welfare and education followed a pattern similar to that of the capital. Municipality and private initiative combined to meet local needs. At the insistence of a liberal cleric, an almshouse, Casa de Beneficiencia, was founded by private subscription, aided by municipal funds. The combination proved less successful for a theater. Under the Toro regime, private shares were sold to establish a theater which would vie with Mérida's; half the sums involved were given by the dictator, who signed his stock certificates over to the ayuntamiento, directing that dividends on them be basis for charitable fund.

The theater opened September 15, 1834, with a performance of "Orestes, or Agamemnon Avenged." Valdeon thought the performance so bad that he left early. The theater failed to fulfill completely the entrepreneurs' boast that it, "as much for its solidity of construction, as for its elegance and visibility, will be one of the first class in America, not below the standards of the most accredited in Europe." When shareholders were called upon to contribute proportionately rather than receive dividends, the ayuntamiento...
turned the half interest it had received back to Toro. For a number of years thereafter the theater bore his name; some details are available on its subsequent success or failure.26

Educational ventures were more deeply rooted in the past and flourished more widely than did theatrical enterprise. In 1814 it was noted that "primary schools are well developed, because the municipality particularly protects them." And, as mentioned previously, Campeche took effective steps shortly after independence to re-establish primary schools in the city and its barrios, while the idea of Lancasterian schools was eagerly accepted there and in other settlements of the West Coast.27 In public primary schools, numbering sixteen in 1860, were found about a thousand pupils; private elementary schools trained as many more, generally in reading, writing, principles of religion, sacred history, grammar, and arithmetic. In one instance the ayuntamiento of Campeche became concerned over the fact that children did not take advantage of the one afternoon a week when the school was not in session; the time was supposed to permit them to attend church classes to learn Christian doctrine, but a visit by a delegation disclosed the fact that few actually did so. The ayuntamiento then rescinded its order concerning the free afternoon, and was sustained in its power to do so when the question arose whether the state legislature or the municipal authorities could regulate such a question. Local
schools were governed by authorities of the locality. As in Merida, secondary schooling rested chiefly in the hands of semi-public lyceums. Their curricula carried forward the elementary training and added new subjects such as geography, languages, drawing, bookkeeping, "even notions of philosophy." One such institution had as its master a Frenchman named Guilbault, who employed the Lancaster methods. After reporting the successful showing of his pupils in public examinations held December 18, 1847, the editors of the Revista Yucateca stated that they did not hesitate to recommend the establishment as one of the best of its kind in the land.

A similar institution was founded by an Italian, Honorato Ignacio Magaloni, and bore the mouth-filling label "The Philosophical and Scientific Lyceum of Campeche." Its offerings included courses in ancient and modern languages, mathematics, philosophy, and elocution. For Magaloni's instruction of twelve poor boys free of charge, the ayuntamiento provided him a monthly subsidy of forty pesos. In keeping with the age and place, the "Colegio Comercial de Yucatán," opened in September 1848; its founder, Guilbault, left in December of that year, but its work was carried on and expanded under Juan González Arfian. He had directed Merida's Lancasterian school, and later returned to the capital to found a similar Liceo Comercial in 1859. This was shortly after Magaloni had initiated in Merida a Liceo Científico Comercial that lasted from 1857 to 1866.
Campeche too followed Merida's lead in providing education for girls. They were taught much the same courses as boys, but in place of bookkeeping might learn sewing, Spencerian script, French, or "general notions about some sciences." Sometime in 1349 or 1350 Juan Vicente Escobar and Señora María Jesús Molina de Sevilla started an institution called "Liceo de Nuestra Señora del Refugio." As in the case of Magaloni's lyceum, the ayuntamiento provided a subvention, on the understanding that twelve poor girls would receive gratis as good an education as that provided by Magaloni for boys. The monthly municipal contribution, however, was only half as much (twenty pesos). Successful applicants for the municipal scholarships were drawn by lot from "a considerable number of solicitors."

Despite disruptions due to the Caste War and independence movements which separated Campeche from the state of Yucatan, education continued to flourish. In 1860 the port contained two lyceums for boys, with a total of 126 pupils, and two for girls, with 83. On the dependency of Campeche, Carmen, was another lyceum for boys, with 50 on its rolls, and one for girls with 30 students. At that time a report stated that "especially among the fair sex instruction has progressed much."33

Most characteristic educational institution of the West Coast, however, was a School of Mathematics and Seamanship at Campeche. The enterprise focused a number of Campeche's
interests and attitudes. A decree of the state legislature in 1334 had authorized founding a Chair of Mathematics in Campeche, with a donation from state funds. At that time, however, as a suitable instructor was not to be found, the decree was cancelled. On the initiative of the ayuntamiento of Campeche a request in 1340 was forwarded to Congress, with a note explaining that the council itself would provide some funds if the state government would revive its previous grant. Congress was willing, but cut its donation to two hundred pesos, on the presumption that the local people would maintain the institution thenceforth. A committee of the town council selected José Martín y Espinosa de los Monteros as professor and head of the school; he was a Spaniard, born in Malaga (1776); raised in Spain, he had been a pilot in the Royal Spanish Navy during the Napoleonic wars, and finally he settled in Merida. By private lessons he had attempted to instruct youth in calculus, which were then considered "almost a mysterious arcanum for Yucatecans," and as stated previously, unsuccessfully in 1335 also had tried to found a school of mathematics in Merida. After serving as head of the navigation school at Campeche, he accepted the chair of mathematics in the University of Yucatan in 1344; he taught there until his death in October 1845.54

When the School of Mathematics and Seamanship was established in 1840, regulations for it were prepared by the ayuntamiento. Boys aged thirteen or older who could read
and write were eligible to study for a certificate denomi-
inating them "Pilot of the State." To obtain it, a pupil
necessarily passed courses in applied mathematics for navi-
gation, pure mathematics, practical arithmetic, and geometry,
progressively advanced from the first to the second term. Upon completion of classroom studies a board of examiners consisting of the Captain of the Port, all Navy officers on duty, and three merchant pilots, tested the candidates in public. Hours of instruction were arranged so that "artisans and poor people who know how to read and write" might attend classes in pure mathematics, arithmetic, and geometry; such part-time students had no expectation of completing pilot training. In addition to the formal curricu-

The school opened on January 2, 1341, and on the exam-
ination list of the following November were found thirty
among them were some of the leaders of the next genera-
tion, Juan Carbó, Enrique Duque de Estrada, Andrés Ibarra, for example. Justo Sierra reported that he attended the examinations held in December, 1843, and that the eighteen candidates performed brilliantly. A similar account was given the following year.

Higher education tended to parallel that which was
offered in Merida. Writing of 1847, Heller noted that in
addition to the school of navigation and a private academy of drawing run by a Frenchman, Campeche supported studies in law and in philosophy, as well as a seminary. The courses in law have been instituted in 1833 by José María Regil, then considered the finest orator and one of the best legal minds of the peninsula. In 1861 it was reported that for twenty-eight years, almost without a break, he had trained youth in natural, canon, and civil jurisprudence. He stressed doctrines of popular sovereignty, the supremacy of councils over papal authority, and the ascendancy of civil over ecclesiastical where conflict between them arose.

Of equal intellectual stature was Andrés Ibarra de Leon, who similarly in 1833 instituted a course of philosophy in the colegio. He was a liberal cleric, one who had helped draft the reform constitution of 1841. His concept of philosophy put considerable emphasis on science and the scientific method. In 1842, the clerical authorities who directed studies in the colegio became displeased with Ibarra, whether for his political or intellectual activity, and he was separated from it. However, he continued to give private instruction, and pupils whom he had turned to virtual disciples remained in the colegio to carry on his ideas -- especially the study of science -- in defiance of prohibition. The colegio, in which Regil's courses in law and Ibarra's course of philosophy were offered, was part of the Seminary of San José. Perhaps the leaven continued to work, as in September 1849 Leandro Salazar announced that if
ten pupils could be found who were willing to pay his fee of five pesos monthly per person, he would instruct in higher mathematics at the Colegio. 37

In that same year, Campeche was provided with facilities for medical education. Upon their graduation from the Medical School in Merida, Domingo Duret and Manuel Campos founded the Medical Faculty of Campeche. Apparently it offered instruction, but for purposes of professional examination for the doctorate, it was affiliated with or under the administration of the Merida institution. Under the pressure of Mexican laws of reform, requiring secularization, the local seminary, the law school, and the medical school were merged in 1860 to form the single Instituto Campechano. The high level of instruction in the Instituto drew students from outside the peninsula, so that the Yucatan peninsula's growing integration into the Mexican nation was speeded by the appearance of youths from Mexican Gulf ports, Tuxpan, Tlacotalpa, Tabasco, and similar localities. Moreover, Campeche's self-reliance in the educational field made it simpler for thoughts of political separation from Merida to take root, and bear fruit in the years between 1858 and 1861. 38

Emphasis was placed on high quality of instruction, from elementary levels to the Instituto. On one occasion the children instructed by Jose Maria Morano in the primary school of the barrio of San Francisco showed such superiority at the annual examinations held by the ayuntamiento that the council
voted him a bonus of sixteen pesos in appreciation of his efforts and results. As in the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Merida, leading men of Campeche as public duty instructed without pay in the Instituto; Vasconcelos as a young student was much struck by this "honorable tradition of love of culture and service to the locality." After having attended various institutions in the United States and Mexico, he felt that the men under whom he studied in the Instituto Campechano "were in general superior to all whom I had previously known." It was no wonder that Joaquin Saranda and Justo Sierra, both from Campeche, each the son of leading citizens of that place, made excellent Ministers of Education for all of Mexico; the very air in which they grew up was charged with the example of thorough and capable instruction.

Nor is it surprising that with Campeche's accent on literacy and culture that it was also a literary center, on a par with Merida. Any discussion of literary activity in Yucatan from 1840, and especially in Campeche, brings to the fore consideration of Justo Sierra O'Reilly y Ibarra. He was father to the later Minister of Education, who re-established the National University of Mexico. The elder Sierra was justly known as the "Plutarch of Yucatan." He distinguished himself as an editor, novelist, politician, lawyer, and administrator. In many ways he sums up his era and locale.

A poor boy of sound but undistinguished lineage, he was born in a small village (Ticacaltuyu, between Yaxcaba and Tekax,
not far from Sotuta) of the hinterland in 1314. Coming under the protection of a distinguished family, he was sent to Merida for his education, where he completed studies in philosophy, theology, and law. An indefatigable antiquarian, he ransacked local archives and penned many essays on local history. Unfortunately a vast corpus of documents he had copied were lost when he was forced into exile in 1357. As editor he issued, with introductions, an edition of Cogolludo's colonial history of Yucatan and Lorenzo Zavala's *Viaje a los Estados Unidos*; Sierra also translated into Spanish J. L. Stephens' *Incidents of travel in Yucatan*, a work that laid foundation for many modern Maya studies.

Sierra moved to Campeche and was largely identified with that place to his death; he married into the politically powerful Méndez family, and did various political and diplomatic tasks for his father-in-law, Santiago Méndez. The latter was almost unrivalled leader of Campeche's political interests for almost two decades after 1340. Notably Justo Sierra was sent to the United States to present Yucatan's case for relaxation of blockade at Carmen in the Mexican War, remaining to petition annexation of the peninsula to the United States when the Caste War had exhausted local resources. A travel book and a recently published diary were the literary results of the mission. His reputation as a legal light rests on the publication of a code of international maritime law, and a three-volume work that was the basis for the Mexican Civil Code, adopted widely
by various states of the Mexican Confederation. Sierra died January 15, 1861, closing an important epoch in Yucatecan intellectual history. Justo Sierra's significance here lies in his contributions as editor and author who expressed the cultural aspirations of Yucatan, especially Campeche, and did his utmost to give them reality. In 1841 he founded the first literary review on the peninsula, El Museo Yucateco, which ran to a pair of volumes before it collapsed; in 1845 the Registro Yucateco of Merida found Sierra as co-editor; when the Caste War and political difficulties made it suspend publication in Merida, he moved it to Campeche, where final parts of the terminal fourth volume appeared at his hands in 1849. Meantime in 1848, upon return from his trip to the United States (also marked by the birth of his son Justo) he established El Fénix, an economic-political periodical that appeared regularly four or five times monthly; as the footnotes to this study indicate, Sierra reprinted in the Fénix an enormous quantity of half-forgotten documents bearing on local affairs, as well as keeping up running commentary on the current scene. From time to time later he edited political journals.

Biographies, special studies, sketches, and historical essays flowed ceaselessly from Sierra's pen. More unusual (in his time) was his use of the novel as a vehicle for artistic expression; while others wrote about the need for novels he produced two which have some lasting historical interest.
Each ran serially in a publication with which he was concerned; Un año en el Hospital de San Lázaro, using Campeche as a scene, was a romantic effort to portray the sufferings of a young man afflicted by leprosy, and as contributory characters used living Yucatecans of the period 1824-1840; La hija del Judío took as its scene seventeenth century Merida, and as its plot the rival attempts of regular and secular Church officials to wrest unjustly the inheritance of a young heroine on the grounds she was daughter of a Jew. The one appeared in the Registro Yucateco, the other in El Fénix.  

A creator, middleman, and propagator of the literary spirit in Campeche, Justo Sierra ranks high on a list of Yucatecan notables. He has more than local importance because of his contributions to national efforts and development in Mexico of the era. In view of the strong tendency of modern Mexican writers to disparage their own nineteenth century history, considering it a period of meaningless ideological bickerings symbolized by Santa Anna and to date all significant Mexican thought from the fall of Porfirio Díaz, it seems necessary to point out that the zeal and conscientious effort of patriots like the elder Justo Sierra made possible the latter achievements of men like his illustrious son. Important doctrines and ideas in the current climate of opinion emerged from intellectual activity and criticism set afloat in the period from 1870 to 1910, and in turn there is considerable continuity between them and the fecund period from 1830 to 1860, which laid...
broad foundations. Unfortunately, major explorative work remains to be done for both periods.45

Though Justo Sierra O'Reilly overshadowed many of his contemporaries in the period before and during the War of the Castes, he was not an isolated intellectual figure in Campeche. Other, perhaps minor, enterprises witness the fact that many of the same urges seen in Merida were loosed in the port. Small groups of young men emulated their elders by issuing literary and political periodicals, often short-lived. In late 1845 appeared Los Primeros Ensayos, whose running title proclaimed it to be a monthly literary vehicle; the editors of the Registro lauded its contents rather than viewing it as a dangerous competitor. La Pelota appeared in 1849; its specific gravity was not high. At one time or another liberal students of Ibarra de Leon and of Regil joined to edit small political sheets like "The Son of the Homeland," "The Law," and "The New Epoch." At the end of the period, in 1859, Tomás Aznar Barbachano was active in starting and guiding Las Mejoras Materiales, whose name ("Material Improvements") was justified by its interest in agriculture, industry, commerce, colonization, statistics, and public administration.46

Thus the periodicals of Campeche not only touched off a renaissance in Yucatecan journalism, but did their part to keep it moving. A recent student, in generalizing about the years following 1841, states correctly that it is marked off sharply from earlier years, and initiated tendencies that persisted at
least until 1879. It was "the period in which our vernacular journalism, until then poor, and faulty in style, became refined, even in publications of a wholly factual nature. The reaction that produced this change was sudden and revolutionary. Tired of a journalism based on 'gossip, quarrels, and personalities' cast in horrible literary form, the editors initiated it with their periodical." Standards of writing and typography were raised, essays touched numerous scientific and artistic themes, and literary contributions of merit awoke interest in a Yucatecan reading public, "this characterized the period...."47

The consciousness of the past, which manifested itself in the several historical materials found in El Fénix and the Museo Yucateco, was also concretely embodied in a semi-public museum in Campeche. Two priests, the brothers Camacho, maintained a collection of antiquarian items and odd historical materials which aroused much interest among travelers and Yucatecans. In addition to Maya artifacts they exhibited the alleged bones of the first white man burnt alive in the Caste War, as well as the cannon-ball that removed Santa Anna's leg; the latter had been donated by an English seaman, and was duly authenticated by the British consul at Veracruz. Although presumably on a somewhat secret and hurried mission, the American Admiral Perry took time out from his negotiations to visit the Camachos' treasures in 1847.

With its own excellent schools, a theater, periodicals, museum, with its developing intellectual tradition and local
humanitarian interests, Campeche reflected a strong flowering of Yucatecan society. It shared the same impulses as Merida, the capital, yet in giving them a local stamp, fostered a regionalism that was peculiar to most of the West Coast. The marked developments in part rested on the fact that the leaders were generally comfortably well-fixed financially; the creoles and foreigners who fostered improvements and innovations were generally well-to-do, and directly or indirectly were supported by trade in logwood or salt, sometimes both. As a following chapter gives in more detail, for various reasons these sources of wealth were threatened. When they collapsed, so did the society of Campeche. As early as 1846 it was pointed out by a campechano that because of the area's great dependence on export of logwood, and the dwindling of the market for it, the port could then "sarcely maintain itself today in its ancient rank, which is visibly and rapidly being lost." Yet still somewhat distant was the time when visitors like Socikof could say (in 1875) that although earlier Campeche had significance, "now everything is dormant," or like Vasconcelos (in 1899) report, mass exodus of even leading citizens and abandoned houses, or like a writer in 1936 who stated that Campeche's only exports were "men and guitars, that is to say, sorrow and complaints..."

The port of Campeche in the period before the Caste War was more the commercial center for logwood trade than it was base for operations. The product came from the southern edges of the West Coast area, as the best stands of timber lay on or
near the island of Carmen and through its mainland hinterland on the banks of the Usumacinta River. The dyewoods on the peninsula proper were of inferior quality. By its strategic position at the mouth of a waterway system that drained the vast and almost unexplored area on either side of the Mexico-Guatemala boundary, Carmen (and its satellite Palizada) was tied more closely to the mainland mass than it was to the northern part of the Yucatan peninsula, from whence issued economic and political lines of authority. Its control by Campeche dated from seventeenth and early eighteenth colonial days when forces at the port was given duty of ejecting foreign corsairs and filibusters from the rich logwood lands there. Campeche merchants and traders helped finance its logwood operations, but the concessions themselves were exploited at some distance from the port. Of the 367 ranchos listed for the District of Campeche, 174 lay on the island, or clustered around Palizada, a mainland settlement behind and dependent on Carmen. There was but small native population there; most of the loggers, traders, shippers, and other hands were mestizos or creoles.

Just as Campeche chafed under control by Merida, so in turn Carmen had particularistic ambitions of its own. When the island settlement was created a villa in 1828, it was given a coat of arms; beneath the device of an eagle destroying a snake was a rubric that at least implied the peninsula's intention of hanging on to its rich possession: "Laguna for Yucatan: both for
the Mexican Republic." In the Mexican War, forces of the United States captured and controlled the island; its citizens petitioned for an indeterminate extension of foreign control rather than have to return to status of dependency on Campeche and Yucatan. From 1853 to 1856, Carmen and its hinterland managed to constitute itself a semi-autonomous Mexican territory, but then again was attached politically to Campeche in 1857. Protected by distance, with interests differing in most things from the peninsula's, Carmen played a small, even negligible, role in developing or in the course of the Caste War.

Some inferior stands of logwood were exploited in the area between Carmen and Campeche, but in general the sparse rural population of the West Coast clustered north of Champoton. At a short distance from the port were established in a zone of adequate moisture a very few haciendas. This type of occupancy had but a weak tradition in the section and was of minor importance. Few encomiendas of Indians, and those small and poor, had survived to the eighteenth century. Result was that Mayas and their ways played only a small role in thoughts of West Coast leaders and entrepreneurs.

In fact, campechanos boasted, they and their ancestors had formed a virile group which did not let the Indians impose native ways on them, but rather who modified Maya culture to the point of imposing the Spanish language throughout the section. "All Indians, not only in the city, but even in the villages and haciendas, learned this tongue." West Coast creoles attributed their difference from the easy-going, aristocratically
inclined people in the northern quarter of the peninsula to ancestry and occupation. Campechanos claimed their forefathers had been principally Catalonians, not Castilians, and that for generations the area had been "dedicated to commerce, to navigation, fishing, cutting of logwood, exploitation of salt pans, and other hard and even perilous work. They acquired the frank, generous, energetic, and independent character of the sailor, good faith in fellowman of the merchant, the boldness of him accustomed to battle the sea, the fortitude of him involved in hazardous occupations."55

Indeed, the Maya were relatively few, and scattered. (See Tables 15-17 above.) One group hugged the shore, gaining livelihood from fishing; so specialized was their occupation that unlike the mass of natives on the peninsula, they raised no maize, but exchanged their catches for grain in the market at Campeche. Another group concentrated at the north of the region, around Hekelchakan and Calkini. They grew maize, but also acted as seasonal laborers in the salt beds, at day wages. Still another group clustered in ranchos along the banks of the Champoton, where they divided their time between cultivation of maize and acting as casual labor on logging concessions.56 A fourth group occupied isolated, savannah-like openings in the forest further inland from Champoton shading into the Borderlands; they lived a virtually self-sufficient, sedentary existence. Their agricultural-hunting life was left almost undisturbed by happenings elsewhere.57
The Maya of the West Coast, few in number, had small community of interest with those of other sections. In general they were either rather well-acculturated and integrated into the créole system of thought and economics, or continued the old traditions in areas of little or no potential value to créole entrepreneurs.

Scarcity of Maya raised wages throughout the West Coast section. In a few places where peonage was a practice, concessionaires had heavy investment in advances and maintenance of mestizo employees and a few Maya families. Curiously enough it was the West Coast section that was responsible and insisted on drastic peonage laws of debt slavery, rather than the Old Colonial and other regions where the system had firmer roots, but where weight of custom and unwritten agreements served to regulate it in breach and practice. On logwood concessions, supervision was difficult, escape easy; that, plus lack of an encomienda tradition, suffices to explain Campechano insistence on drastic codes, similar in tone and purpose to the Black Codes of the American South or the current peonage laws in Europe of the day. Though legislation protected only a minority of interest in the West Coast, it served men of the Borderlands and East Colonial as a useful instrument for the control or economic penetration of areas held by independent Maya.

The economy and ecology of the West Coast helps in part to explain its reluctant support of the Caste War, and its
subsequent excision from Merida as one major result of the struggle. The problems of native control and relation to creoles took less central position in West Coast thought than in other regions, as its basic economic interests rested less on Maya than on mestizo groups. These, logwood, salt, a little rice and some tobacco, flowed to Mexican Gulf ports or to Europe; close links with Mexico, to gain advantages of internal commerce, to use as an effective force for influencing international trade treaties, turned eyes of Campeche to the national capital. Economic interests, plus the sole military tradition of Yucatan, helps explain its strongly Centralist tinge to 1839, its coolness toward an independent Yucatan afterward, and its ultimate autonomy in 1858. Intellectually and culturally it was self-sufficient and, in emergencies, able and ready to tap outside Gulf sources for subsistence.

Yet at the same time there was a local expansionist feeling that pointed to its acquisition of the enclave just over the Sierra. "Oh how our love of the coast deceives us," lamented one, pointing out that crops which had less competition locally or abroad could be produced in the backlands. Safe behind its walls, Campeche looked to the sea, without major concern in upheavals behind it. Natives in revolt might kill cattle in the Old Colonial area, wreck sugar distilleries in the Borderlands, and demolish similar interests scattered through the East Colonial section, but they could scarcely uproot the salt beds or level the forests, especially those
COSTUME DES FEMMES DE L'ARMÉE.
far away around Carmen, from which the West Coast drew its livelihood. More dangerous than Maya, in the end, was an advancing technology whose aniline dyes killed Campeche.

The impact was deferred for a generation or two after 1847.

Proudly as any rival from Merida, a campechanos summed up resources of the port, nerve center of the West Coast. Noting the fertile valley it occupied, he then catalogued its possessions by mentioning that Campeche's orchards, gardens, and palm-planted house-lots, green nearly the year round, the regularity and beauty of its buildings, always painted on the outside, gives the city a happy and enchanting aspect, contemplated from the sea.... The city has eight plazas, a market, five bridges, two Alamedas, one most beautiful theater, ten temples, a dock...many schools, four lyceums, a scientific institute, a hospital, an almshouse.... Moreover, it has...soap factories, trade shops, among which the most numerous are carpentry, which make luxurious furniture. It has two presses, a political periodical, a literary one, and one devoted to material improvements.... [These] will be enough to convince that it counts on the necessary element to form a new state of the Mexican Confederation. 1

III

In point of age, ranking in primacy with Campeche and Merida was Valladolid, founded in 1542. The villa was established to buttress Spanish control on the eastern half of the northern plain of Yucatan, but did not achieve cityhood until after Independence (1823). The Hispano-Indian community that emerged after the original site had been shifted in 1544 to its new locale shared and increased prestige already accorded the pre-conquest Maya city of Zaci. The old Indian town
formed an important adjunct of the adjacent new Spanish community. Growth of Valladolid attested to the efforts of a small band of conquerors who had subdued and ruled its surrounding tributary areas. In middle colonial years the three colonial centers, the city of Merida and its flanking villas, merged their political and economic interests in a brotherhood of the rich and powerful, jointly to protect local rights against encroachment from intrusive Crown authorities, to keep native populations in check, and to stem the climb of unauthorized aspirants to power. Valladolid seldom forgot that it had been a member of this powerful triumvirate. It warmed the memory of days when it had been a respected and feared settlement of major importance in the colonial scheme of things.

Times changed but Valladolid did not approve. Maladjustments arose to the dynamic forties of the nineteenth century, through lack of willingness to face the present and future. Refusal to swim in the stream of "Progress" characterized the East Colonial area. It became a breeding ground for the Caste War, which erupted near its southern edge in 1847 and spread rapidly and devastatingly through it. As late as 1907, rebel Maya were still raiding the region and burning villages near Valladolid. Only within the past generation or two have some of its parts been repopulated.

The social and political influence resulting from graft of Spanish Valladolid to Indian Zací extended westward on the northern plain of Yucatan. Its limit was approximately the western edge of what had been (in pre-conquest times) the
territory of the Cupuls and the Tzecz. Its southern boundary is rather indeterminate. But for sake of convenience in dividing East Colonial from Borderlands the line may be arbitrarily set as the strip of territory traversed by a pre-conquest causeway which coursed almost due east from Yaxuna many miles to the ruins of Coba. A line between Coba and the ruins of Tulum on the east coast would complete that boundary. By extending a line from Yaxuna to the north coast, the western bound of the East Colonial region would be closely approximated. The seventeenth and eighteenth century surveys of the Cupul territory established a limit that coincides almost exactly on the west with the administrative District of Valladolid in 1846, a territory nearly the same as the jurisdiction of the colonial ayuntamiento of Valladolid. Thus practically the northeast quadrant of Yucatan is here included as the East Colonial section, the populated portion of which centered at Valladolid.

Near its western edge lay the small village of Pisté, whose history had been briefly sketched by Steggerda. North of Pisté lies Dzitas, to the south Chan Kom, each given extended attention by the Redfields, Villa and others. The village of Ebtun, whose development and documents Roys has analyzed, falls within the East Colonial. Numerous archeological publications treating Chichen Itza and other nearby Maya Old and New Empire sites which flourished in this section testify to its long occupancy. Despite Spanish influence, reinforced by developments in the creole period to the present, "the population of the district is as nearly pure Maya as any in Yucatan."
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From Pisté eastward, rainfall increases from about forty-six inches to more than fifty at Valladolid and beyond. With it comes higher forest growth that gives way to very high green forest between Valladolid and the east coast, washed by the Caribbean; this belt of vegetation, thinning only slightly on the coastal fringes, blocks the city from seaborne commerce and turns its attention westward and northward for outlets. Potentially the port of Yalahao (variously spelled) appeared to Yucatecans of the 1840's as one which might see increased development, despite the fact travelers reported it small, unhealthy, and virtually unpopulated.

An attempt to pierce the belt of vegetation with a road cut by militiamen in late colonial days, to give Valladolid a window to the Caribbean on the east, had failed. In 1840 Stephens could report correctly "the whole triangular region from Valladolid to the Bay of Ascension on the one side, and the port of Yalahao on the other is not traversed by a single road.... It is a region entirely unknown; no white man ever enters it." Nor were the islands of the east coast, chiefly Cozumel and Mujeres, populated. Writers of the period pointed out the fertility of their soil and soundly predicted great yields of fruit, tobacco, and other products, but no permanent settlements appeared until they were founded by emigrants from the East Colonial section driven out by the Caste War. First reports in December, 1847, claimed that the islands were being populated by foreigners to cut logwood, using Yucatecan workmen.
Transportation and communication within the area was poor. No road fed the port of Yalahao from the secondary centers of Espita and Tizimin. These were only indirectly connected with their nominal center, Valladolid. To reach them from there was a long detour to the west, to arrive only a few miles north. Lack of roads hindered economic developments. Baron Humboldt in 1803, others shortly later, noted that transportation costs on cotton from the section raised it to exorbitant prices at western points of embarkation for final export. Lumbering and logging for similar reasons could not fully exploit the forests which blanketed the section; vegetation was a barrier without corresponding value as an exploitable asset. Little or no traffic was apparent on the road which connected Valladolid to Izamal, thence to the capital, Merida, and then to the Gulf coast.

Writing in 1846, Justo Sierra remarked that Valladolid, "to be the true capital of the East needs only a cart-road to the shore and a little more interest in work and industry among its youth." To remedy the first, the state government made special provision to link Tizimin with Yalahao, but the project was not completed before the Caste War put a stop to it. In fact, the insistence on road-building within the section helped engender the struggle, adding one more grievance among Maya. At least one native gave as his reason for joining the revolt of 1847 the explanation that when villagers performed *fagina* — forced labor, usually on roads — under authorities of Valladolid, they were mistreated and abused.
That youth of the area delegated hard work to Maya was not unusual. Most of them had been brought up on ideals which were being outmoded to some degree in other sections. Implicit in the code at Valladolid was the ancient idea that no gentleman worked or put value on anything but personal honor. Prestige depended less on new contributions to social and economic benefit of the patria chica than on ancestry. Virtues held in esteem among the sixteenth-century conquistadores were still highly respected among their nineteenth-century descendants. The whole area seemingly lived in a dead past.

Its chief urban centers had fallen into decadence. Notably missing from Valladolid was the bustle and activity found equally at Merida and Campeche. Yucatecan writers in 1846 said Valladolid "conserves, lonely among ruins of its solitary mansions and among its poor inhabitants, a coat of arms and some parchments that keep alive the memory of what it once was." A generation earlier, in 1814, another had remarked that even then "it brings sadness to walk around the villa, for upon standing in front of extensive walls that denote grand buildings, one sees high trees over-arching the tumbled habitations in their center, with passing time grown more numerous among the ruins."71

The picture which local pens drew in 1814 and again 1846 was not wholly a result of sectional bias. Foreigners retained a similar impression of the place. Always eager to give the most favorable yet honest opinion, Stephens stated that
Valladolid in 1842 bore marks of ancient grandeur, but thought it was obviously going to decay. Streets were overgrown with bushes, public and ecclesiastical buildings had an air of dilapidation. Private houses stood roofless, without windows or doors, with vegetation sprouting from their walls. "Here and there, as if in mockery of human pride, a tottering front has blazoned on it the coat of arms of some proud Castilian...." In the chief plaza, around which the town grouped on the standard pattern, mules grazed undisturbed. Norman, ever alert to criticize with exaggeration, was curiously restrained in his report on Valladolid of the same date. He confined himself to stating that "many large houses in the chief streets within sight of the square were fast going to decay." 72

Some quantitative testimony and analysis corroborates the sketchy verbal evidence of decline. From data collected in 1836 and 1839 on property values in urban and rural parts of Yucatan, the conclusion emerges that in the East Colonial section average value of urban holdings and for rural properties, as well as the value per proprietor for both, fell significantly below those for other sections and for the general peninsular averages. The accompanying tabulation concretely illustrates these differences (Table 27).

If the center of Valladolid, peopled by creoles, seemed decadent, its five barrios were no less wretched. In them lived poor Indians, in tatters and half-naked. Normal thought the Maya there were "the most wretched specimens of human beings
Table 28 COMPARATIVE AVERAGE VALUES OF URBAN AND RURAL PROPERTY, 1836-38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTIONS</th>
<th>URBAN, 1836</th>
<th>Value per</th>
<th>RURAL, 1838</th>
<th>Value per</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average value</td>
<td>proprietor</td>
<td>Average value</td>
<td>proprietor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1,180</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>1,053</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST COLONIAL</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>1,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peninsula</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>1,062</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Properties worth less than 200 pesos not included in original data.

that I saw in the country." Stephens independently echoed that judgment by remarking "the people of Valladolid seemed the worst we had met with, being, in general, lazy, gambling, and good for nothing." Extending from an unknown earlier period was inter-barrio hatred, and especially a long-standing feud between the inhabitants of the barrio of Sisal and the vecinos of the creole center.

Ancona, a reliable and usually accurate historian, wrote that in 1847 "from time immemorial there existed in Valladolid a constant fight between the population of the center of the city and that of the barrios. The first formed a species of aristocracy.... This ridiculous presumption had been elevated to the extreme of isolating and humiliating the latter, because they were not accepted at certain fiestas and meetings that were held in the center. In fine, although twenty years previously a republic had been established in the country, in that city still existed two classes which manifested the same hate.
as between nobility and plebeians in the ancient monarchies of Europe." The number of idlers -- Maya, creole, and mestizo -- in the center and barrios was notorious; two generations after Stephens had written that a Yucatecan proverb held that "There is much vagabondage in Valladolid," English travelers, Channing and Frost, found it still current and applicable. It was matter of a moment for them to dub the inhabitants "Vallado-littles."

Sisal, Hispanized form of Zací (the pre-conquest capital), had been a famous colonial center of Church influence. Its large convent, to which numerous native families had been more or less forcibly moved and attached, was a prime center of missionary effort by Franciscans. The Order had been powerful throughout the surrounding region. In 1821 continued control by regular clergy was proscribed. Only two Franciscan convents, in Izamal and in Calkini, were allowed to function. Regular monks either secularized, responsible to the Bishop (and then the State), or withdrew from public life into these two havens. The temporal force of the Franciscans, ebbing during the last years of colonial rule, was shattered. Their strong hold on the Indian mind was lost. Various groups scrambled to replace it. Whatever the several major defects of the Order and its activities may have been, its complete eclipse at the beginning of the Independence period was important. Its going marked disappearance from the social scene of a stabilizing, ameliorating, and controlling institution, a major element in creole-Maya relations.
Over-simplified indeed is a thesis put forward by Crescencio Carrillo. He argued that the Caste War resulted directly and almost exclusively from suppression of the Franciscan Order. Its going did leave a vacuum among the Maya masses of the East Colonial region. Corruption of Franciscans was replaced by clerical and civil demagoguery. The famous convent of Sisal in 1842 was a travesty on its former greatness. "Crumbling turrets and blackened domes are covered with a wild vegetation, and have become a perch for the buzzard, and the hiding place for loathsome reptiles," reported Norman.

Creole society in the center of Valladolid seemed anachronistic. It was more than conservative, it was reactionary. Men and women alike clung to past canons of conduct, guides that had begun to lose sanction when Bourbons replaced Hapsburgs on the throne of Spain in 1700. In effect the creoles of Valladolid, vallisoletanos, emulated models that had gone out of fashion not long after Yucatan was finally conquered and organized. Citizens of the center solaced themselves by exalting the less desirable attributes of their ancestors. Pride was centered on horsemanship and war, though few had smelled burnt powder fired in anger. To justify their social regression they fostered the partial myth that Valladolid continued to be a frontier outpost surrounded by hostile Indians. The constant qui vive which such a situation required, they claimed, ruled out for them preoccupation with culture in the restricted sense of
serious attention to literature, cuisine, social benefit, drama, education, and other hallmarks of civilization as practiced in Merida and Campeche. To be the touchy *hidalgo*, the fierce *encomendero*, the proud aristocrat, these were leading aspirations of East Colonial creoles. Exhibition of as many of these traits as possible seemingly is still "a distinctive sign of character for the *vallisoltesco*," according to one of them recently.  

Exaltation of the aristocratic legend did not escape the attention or criticism of contemporaries in other parts of the peninsula. Perhaps most clearly voiced was the opinion of Justo Sierra; in line with his habit of putting anachronistic speeches in the mouths of his fictional historical characters, one of the figures in a novel delivers nineteenth, rather than the seventeenth century sentiments which the situation evokes.  

"You ought to know," said the Jesuit, a leading actor in Sierra's *Daughter of the Jew*, "that shortly after Conquest the flower and cream of the adventurers located themselves in the villa of Valladolid. In truth they were not people of breeding or background, but were simple soldiery (and we might say not very moderate) like the middle classes and proletariat, as they had been in their ruined towns and hamlets of Spain." But, the speech continues, these rude persons suddenly found themselves masters of lands and Indians; they forgot their humble origin and created a sort of pseudo-feudal order that was perpetuated by restricting marital alliances to the small group of families that settled in the east.
Not satisfied with the creation of this myth, the settlers of Valladolid, and especially their descendants, began to elaborate it, said the priest. Scorning those who did not descend in direct line from the conquistadores, the ingrown pride reached a point where not even recent noble arrivals from Spain were admitted to the closed circle. Each of the self-elected aristocracy "thinks himself as noble and as high as the King, talks with an air of authority over the whole world, disdains any sort of honorable occupation, and believes that he alone was born to govern all the rest, to dissipate the income from his properties, to command that the Indians be whipped, to fight his cocks, and to knit stockings." To the objection of his listener for inclusion of the latter item, the Jesuit explained that the lordly vallisoletanos of the seventeenth century became quite clever at knitting, and considered it an occupation quite dignified and worthy "of the nobility of Castile and the princes of Aragon." To lend authority to his statements, the fictional speaker (unlike Sierra himself) claimed to be a citizen of Valladolid, "descended from the most illustrious and famous in it; but even for this we need not blink the truth." 79

Yet despite the continuing emphasis on ancestor worship among the creoles there, one of the most famous colonial leaders from the section was Miguel Moreno de Andrada, born to an Indian mother, fathered by a mulatto. Raised and educated by the Franciscan monks in the Convent of Sisal, he rose to high posts in the local town council, and was named by the Spanish
governor as Lieutenant of the Governor and Captain-General of the villa, in the face of some opposition. At this same period, Valladolid produced some intellectual figures. In 1639 Francisco de Cárdenas Valencia wrote an ecclesiastical history of Yucatan; a commissioner of the Inquisition, Juan de Cano Gaytan, was an orator and wrote a "Relación de las cosas de Valladolid," and in the same period Fray Carlos de Mena studied and preached in the Maya language.

While the tradition of aristocratic egotism seemed to carry down to the period before the Caste War, Valladolid's slender intellectual one apparently died when the Franciscans were restricted in numbers. Few of its citizens seemed much interested in social and intellectual developments elsewhere, and little originated in the new city. Pío Pérez and one or two others were the sole subscribers, for instance, to the Registro Yucateco, although Valladolid boasted between ten and fifteen thousand population. Negatives rather than positives defined the attitudes and achievements of Valladolid's creoles toward intellectual and social advance. The strong tendencies moving Merida and Campeche came weak and late to the "Pearl of the East." Until 1814 not even a carriage had made its appearance there, possibly due to the fact that through Spanish and Hispanic-American thought persists the idea that a true gentleman is a horseman -- a caballero. Until 1859, no periodicals emanated, and in that year a crudely lettered political sheet proclaimed itself
"The Echo of the East." Society in Valladolid supported no literary or musical associations.  

Perhaps symbolic of the manner in which Valladolid lagged behind the western cities of the peninsula and the way in which it began feebly to imitate them was its system of public street lighting. Very early in the nineteenth century Merida and Campeche had bestirred themselves to provide adequate illumination, and by the middle forties even smaller centers like Hekelchakan and Izamal were lighted at night on municipal responsibility. Not until May 5, 1846, did the ayuntamiento of Valladolid seek permission to provide for public lighting, and even then thought that three lights would be sufficient to do the job.  

Most, but not all impulses toward the establishment and improvement of educational institutions in the East Colonial region derived from state rather than local sentiment. In 1833 Pedro Sainz de Baranda attempted to found a Lancastrian school in Valladolid, but apparently the effort failed. For primary education, parents had recourse to a small private school operated by Sra. Dolores Alcalá; schools of this type, known colloquially as amigas, were similar to the "dame schools" in the United States of that and earlier periods, in which a woman imparted the rudiments of reading and writing to a handful of pupils. Beyond that there was very little. When young Francisco Cantón (born 1833) had received this elementary training and wished to pursue his studies further, he found that
"there was only a private Latin class which Presbyter Santiago Canché offered.... Only the youth of the center attended, and a very few from the barrios." Earlier, from time to time, the state legislature had authorized an academy or chair of Latin and Philosophy in Valladolid, work at which would be credited as part of the University at Merida, but apparently the minimum number of students (on which creation of the institution was contingent) had not enrolled, so that the state did not feel extended financial support was warranted. 84

In January, 1846, Juan Pío Pérez, as Jefe Superior of the District, proposed in his report to the state government that two schools be provided in the suburbs of Valladolid. Apparently his petition received favorable attention, as in May the secretary of the ayuntamiento of Valladolid gave public notice that two schools were being established. Each was given a monthly budget of 25 pesos, or 50 in all; of this 50, the state provided a subsidy of 15, the remainder coming from municipal funds. The city council sought application for the teaching positions thus created. 85

One of the figures who stimulated changes in the East Colonial area was not native to it, but was a citizen of Campeche. This was Pedro Sainz de Baranda y Borreiro, a personage in national as well as local annals. His national Mexican fame rested chiefly on rather distinguished service as a naval officer, first in the Spanish Navy (he fought at
Trafalgar) then for Mexico in the campaigns for Independence. After the Spaniards had been dislodged from their strategic stronghold on the island of San Juan Ulloa (opposite Veracruz), Baranda returned to his home in Campeche, where he became somewhat vaguely associated with Centralism as a political creed. When the Centralist party came into power, its chiefs named him Jefe politico of Valladolid, whence he had moved to repair his broken health. Though displaced from office in 1833 with the return of Federalists to control, Baranda remained in the eastern city and there founded a small but up-to-date textile manufactory to produce cotton thread and cloth by modern steam-driven machinery. It was the first such mill in the Republic of Mexico; to symbolize its promise for the future of the peninsula, Baranda called it the "Aurora Yucateca," the dawn of Yucatecan industry. Political commitments kept Baranda from giving full attention to the "Aurora," but it functioned until Baranda's death in 1845. In its technical operations, Baranda was aided by an American, John Burke, who later returned to his native New York and died a millionaire.86

Capital for the enterprise, as well as its management and maintenance, was drawn from outside the East Colonial area. John MacGregor, mentioned previously as an American merchant in Campeche, put up half the forty thousand pesos needed to purchase machinery and initiate the mill; Baranda supplied the other half, and drew an annual salary of a thousand pesos as its managing director. The factory made a definite contribution to local economy; 55 mestizo families depended on...
wages paid operators, while 64 Maya were paid to provide wood for the boilers. In addition, an indeterminate number of native agriculturalists grew cotton; Baranda bought the fiber at a fair rate. Plagued early by a number of troubles (the building twice collapsed under weight of machinery), the "Aurora" by 1844 had manufactured about 395,000 yards of first grade cloth and 1,700 pounds of #16 thread. The neat and businesslike appearance of the mill amidst the generally mournful edifices of Valladolid drew favorable comment from travelers. Its buildings served embattled créoles as a fortress during the War of the Castes, and its ruins remained for a considerable time thereafter. 87

Baranda's mill seems a conscious attempt to revive the cultivation and manufacture of cotton goods for which the East Colonial area had been justly famous in early and middle colonial epochs. In 1739, for instance, the extended jurisdiction of Valladolid had produced twice as much cloth as had the combined areas of Campeche and Merida. These colonial textiles were woven by Maya women using handlooms, to help pay tribute due to encomenderos and under the forced labor system represented by the repartimiento. The work was unhealthful. A number of developments in the later eighteenth century virtually killed the area's cotton industry. Trade doctrines of the Bourbons opened the peninsula to goods being produced in nascent foreign factories; suppression of the encomienda system disturbed the labor system on which textile
production was based, and substitution of cash for payment in goods required to meet tribute levies (which now went to the Crown) had an adverse effect, as did the various attempts to ameliorate the conditions of native forced labor, especially after 1787.

Tizimin, one of the earlier centers of the hand-textile industry, still in 1846 showed some signs of commercial enterprise. Like Izamal and Tekax, Tizimin supported an annual trade fair, "attended by the major part of the populations of the state." For the fair to be held in January 1847, authorities of the place invited the merchants of the peninsula and pointed out that since factional war had cut down the attendance and exchange at these other places, Tizimin's fair would be marked by brisk business.88

At about the time that cotton cultivation through the East Colonial area was heading for a decline, grazing seems to have pushed in, as an extension of the Old Colonial economic and social complex. The trail of its spread is marked by a number of haciendas which can be tentatively attributed to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In comparison with those further to the west, these East Colonial ones tend to be quite standardized in plan, rather austere, and markedly functional. The Hacienda Chichen, whose evolution is traced briefly in later pages, seems to be transitional, as befits its location on the approximate boundary between Old and East Colonial. Though some subsistence crops were part of the
scene, the haciendas of the east were generally rather obviously dedicated to cattle.

Most haciendas to the east of Chichen consisted of a one-story building of sturdy masonry, divided into three rooms, which served as the casa grande or principal. Blank walls surrounded corrala and a wall on three sides, and a gateway pierced the fourth wall. Though by no means a fortress, each of these haciendas provided fairly adequate protection against parties of raiding Indians. They were a series of strongholds scattered among the Maya villages and settlements. Especially since 1761, when the Can-Ek uprising at Cistell had terrified the peninsula, fear of an Indian revolt hung rather heavy, and few were more conscious of the fearful possibilities than hacendados in the east, surrounded as they were by a sea of Maya.

In general the East Colonial area suffered from economic inferiority. The successively declining profits and prestige of grazing activities, touched on later, left the hacienda owners with but little to sustain them but pride. It may be that they nursed their sense of frustration into a virtue by attempting to view themselves as protagonists of "the good old days" when without nonsense about progress a handful of creoles were satisfactorily supported by the mass of Maya. For, try as they might, in the roaring forties the entrepreneurs who led the East Colonial section could encounter only few opportunities, even had they been so inclined. Some sugar
grew around Tizimin and Espita, as evidence that there was some life in the section. But it could not wholly compare or compete with similar product grown in the Borderlands, because of labor and transportation difficulties. Logging was almost out of the question; even in the more favorably situated West Coast sites, the transportation costs now pared slim profits on logwood; livelihood could only be gained under optimum conditions, which did not exist in the East. Soil and rainfall precluded significant development of henequén. Nearly the only salable product which the area could produce efficiently was maize; that was a native crop the efficiency of whose cultivation was not notably improved or made more profitable by hacienda methods. Thus unlike any of the other sections, the East Colonial had no major colonial product to support it while a shift could be made to a competitive crop like henequén. Though the East Colonial entrepreneurs dabbled in cotton, salt and logwood, cattle and henequen, tobacco and sugar, none of them was a major or unifying interest.

The relatively low value of its rural properties, exposed in Table 27, reflected the parlous state of its rural economy. Similar holdings in other sections were worth from two to three times as much; on the average creoles of other regions were from two to five times as wealthy. No such analyses were made in quantitative terms during the period, but the vallisoletanos scarcely needed figures to indicate their plight.

The Indian populations of the East Colonial section differed in some respects from those of other areas. For one thing, the
very number of Maya was an obvious controlling factor. Where in other areas there were generally not more than two Indians for every white, in the partidos of Tizimin and Fapita there were about five for every two whites, in Valladolid five for every one. Of 30,547 known males of fighting age in the region, less than seven thousand were creole. (See above, Table 15). Maya there were usually grouped less on patriarchal haciendas than in small independent villages and ranches. Though in colonial times these settlements had been held in economic bondage by an encomendero who was supported by one or more of them, their political autonomy had been in part preserved through operation of the cacique system of native government. As previously mentioned, it left local administrative machinery relatively intact.

Village units of the East Colonial had rather successfully maintained their rights to lands against encroachments of Spaniards. Apparently some of the haciendas had grown up along lines of fission between native groups in areas disputed between two or more native villages. Those of the Old Colonial had been established in under-populated areas where resistance to Spaniards was slight. Animosities of eastern villages against Maya further to the west were occasionally revived in tortuous legal processes involving village bounds. A fairly complete record is available for the struggles between the southern Cupul settlements and those in the Sotuta area, continuing from 1545 to the nineteenth century. The Maya in
the East Colonial had to a surprising degree maintained themselves against pressures from creoles in Valladolid, even against thrusts by other Maya at the west.

They appeared to be more self-assured and bolder than natives of the Old Colonial section. Not far outside Valladolid Stephens and companion met a group, "naked, armed with long guns, and with deer and wild boars slung on their backs, their aspect was the most truculent of any people we had seen. They were some of the Indians who had risen at the call of General Iman and they seemed ready at any moment for battle." Independently Norman and Stephens, poles apart in nearly every other respect, came to a common conclusion that these followers of Iman, caudillo of the East Colonial, were probably destined to cause further trouble. "Ere long," wrote the one in 1841, "some Tecumseh or Black Hawk may rise up, and the most disastrous, heart-rending, and bloody scenes will be re-enacted." At about the same time Stephens pondered and then stated, "What the consequences may be of finding themselves, after ages of servitude, once more possessed of arms, and in increasing knowledge of their physical strength, is a question of momentous import to the people of that country, the solution of which no man can foretell."

The social structure and uneasy relations of Maya to creoles in the East Colonial section predisposed it to political extremism of one sort or another. On the one hand was a closely knit, politically and socially introverted group of upper-class
whites in Valladolid; they were the spiritual heirs of Hapsburg colonialism. Not only did they exclude social and political groups of mestizo and Maya from their closed circle, but there were few bases on which they could agree with conservatively minded creoles of other areas. By disposition they approved of Centralist philosophy of strong rule by aristocracy, military, and clergy merged to preserve order and the old way of life, but almost equally powerful were their sentiments for local control, main tenet of the Federalist creed. Yet the humanitarian and reform tendencies also woven into Federalist philosophy were repugnant to amour propre. Economically weak, they were also politically impotent.

Opposed to them was a small body of mestizos and a large mass of Maya. The former had small hope of gaining recognition socially or politically through gradual evolution or parliamentary procedure. Direct and violent action of revolutionary nature seemed their sole recourse with discontented Maya as the instrument. It seems significant that the East Colonial initiated the revolt of 1839, which succeeded in Old Colonial hands; the reforms of 1840 were works of Campeche and Merida liberals. Two generations later Valladolid struck an early blow against the materially minded Diaz regime. A plausible inference is that the mestizos of the East Colonial area in the 1840's had found that in the face of the adamant attitude of the creoles only small utility could be found in identifying their interests with whites; there was no expectation of gradual change.
for the better by such a course. But by casting their lot with Maya, whom they could lead to violence, immediate advantages were visible to mestizos. In any event, leadership of rebel Maya in the Caste War for the most part first and finally lodged in hands of mestizos.

In general, the East Colonial section was an economically static region. Sentiments of political and social autonomy as a matter of course stemmed from colonial tradition of municipal rule by Valladolid. Winds of doctrine blowing from Merida and Campeche now affected but few of its creoles, unimpressed and disdainful of aspirations for material advances that had emerged in articulate form in these two other colonial areas. The economy was thinly rooted in cattle, with some ineffective experiments in crops that gave solid foundation to other areas of the peninsula -- sugar and forest products, later henequén. Communications were defective and unsatisfactory, with no great pressure to improve them or even to utilize to the maximum the existing roads; no outlet to water transport existed. Unexplored forests served as barriers for much of the section. Independent Indian settlements, communities and ranchos, characterized native occupancy patterns; some were pre-conquest places which even in the nineteenth century retained memory of their former rights and territory, while others had been virtually created by Franciscan monks, whose control had recently been removed. Lack of old haciendas which had developed from Conquest and the maintenance of independent Maya communities precluded development of the patriarchal relationships
not uncommon in the Old Colonial area; few bonds existed between creole and Maya in the East Colonial which were not based on force or the threat of force. Socially decadent, economically unintegrated, politically impotent, the section seemed to harbor frustrations and resentment. It was not a happy or cheerful region. The handful of creoles were disinclined to take steps to heal a slow festering that was occurring between them and the Maya, with whom mestizos joined.

IV

The Borderlands were unlike any of the three colonial sections. Continued occupancy through the post-Conquest years had been slight. The self-consciousness and tradition of an administrative jurisdiction of importance was lacking. Social and political self-awareness was slight until after independence. Like the Old Colonial and West Coast, but differing from the East Colonial, the Borderlands had a firm foundation for a unity based on economic activity. The meteoric rise of the sugar industry after 1830 led thoughts and sentiments toward social and political integration, and the new enterprises posed for the region problems of communication, labor supply, and land regulation, which inevitably became issues in the political arena.35

The picture which the Borderlands presented on the eve of the Caste War was a complex one. The region was not an area which had long been united and was slowly changing (like
the Old Colonial), nor one that was sophisticated though relatively static (like the West Coast), nor yet one that was visibly declining from its colonial apogee (like the East Colonial). It was, in contrast, one of still nascent potentialities. It was a pioneering zone which developed rapidly and markedly after 1830 and promised even greater growth in the 1840’s.

Unlike other sections, the Borderlands had no single regional capital whose hegemony was unquestioned in social and political affairs. Tekax was already beginning to show signs of such maturity, signalized by its status. Its cityhood, however, dated only from 1841. The new metropolis did not completely outstrip its dependent communities, especially Peto, Ichmul, and Tihosuco, by the wide margins that other urban centers like Merida and Campeche maintained over their respective local rivals.

The Borderlands formed a residual category. When from the populated and habitable parts of the peninsula the other three sections had been marked out, Yucatecan territory which remained was the Borderlands. It was a frontier zone whose edges at the north and west displayed some characteristics of the sections to which they were adjacent while settlements there were also being pulled into the orbit of Tekax. Its southern and eastern edges represented a moving line of settlements which dwindled off into lightly populated, often unexplored portions.
In terms of pre-conquest caciques, the Borderlands included a large part of the Xul-Mani lands, and all of Sotuta, Chetemal, and Cochuah. On the north, Mani, Sotuta, and Yaxoaba had been important pre-conquest settlements; Tekax, in central position, had been a dependency of Mani, while Tihosuco to its east was pre-conquest capital of Cochuah, as Bacalar had been of Chetemal. Considered in light of colonial Spanish provincias or partidos (whose major boundaries had been rather well fixed by the end of the seventeenth century) the Borderlands embraced a part of the Sierra Baja, all of Sierra Alta, Beneficios Altos, and Bajos, as well as Bacalar and a portion of Bolonchenauich. (See above, Table 5.)

The very names of these old administrative and ecclesiastical partidos reflected the fact that spiritual and social conquest of the natives, then their control, had rested largely in the hands of beneficed secular clergy. Ministers rather than monks had organized religious life, except for a line of Franciscan convents to the west, at Mani, Teabo, Oxkutzcab, and Tekax. Sotuta, Yaxoaba, Peto, Ichmul, Tihosuco were benefices; seculars headed them. Disappearance of the Franciscan Order was obviously not the chief cause of the Caste War. Maya at Tihosuco, Peto, and Ichmul, where the Caste War started, had not been subject to Franciscan control.

Territorially the Borderlands occupied an area bounded on the west by the Sierra's eastern face, north by the lower
edge of the cenote belt, east by the edge of tall dry forest, and south by the same growth. Tabi, Tihosuco, Sacalaca, Iturbide, Hopelchen, Bolonchen, Oxkutzcab, Nani, and Sotuta constituted a perimeter of border settlements within which life in the Borderlands was lived. To the south and east of the semi-circle from Bolonchen, Iturbide, and Tihosuco were outposts like Pich, Dzibalchen, and far to the south, Chichanha. The most important of these advanced settlements was Bacalar. In effect, within the Borderlands were several subregions: the Beneficios area north of the Sierra, a section beginning to be called "Chenes" from the names of its towns (Bolonchen, Hopelchen, Dzibalchen), the "Sierra," which comprised Tekax and the hinterland to the south as far as Iturbide, and a territory around Bacalar.

Two major barriers to development and integration of the whole section were communications difficulties and water supplies. Distances from densely populated areas on the West Coast or in the Old Colonial gave rise to the first. In general the terrain of the Borderlands was high above the water table, which complicated maintenance of regular water supply. The land was a rolling and sometimes hilly country with fertile stretches between wormlike ridges and unattached hills that had no apparent axis. If water and irrigation were supplied, the area would bloom. On its red soil, washed and colored by the Sierra at whose base it lay, sugar could be produced in quantity. Edging it was a black loam suitable
for maize, and a whole series of other crops. Once the problem of water could be solved, then transportation became an issue. Productive centers lay far from older mercantile centers.

Potentially the Borderlands was a self-contained region. It could evolve from a sugar-growing heart in the Sierra, flanked by the Chenes and Beneficios for subsistence staples, all marketable in Tekax. Its export, sugar, could flow either to Merida or to Campeche for intra-peninsular distribution and shipment to Gulf ports. Developments were leading it along these lines after 1830. They were stopped abruptly in 1847 when the Caste War broke out in the Borderlands, at Tepich, in July of that year.

Of the subdivisions of the Borderlands, the enclave known as "Los Chenes" was near the old colonial centers, peripheral to the West Coast, Old Colonial, and even to the Sierra. Campeche, as mentioned, sought to attach the Chenes to the West Coast as its granary; in its western portion where soils changed from rocky to rolling sugar was rising to importance. The name of the enclave, meaning "wells," mirrored its constant preoccupation with water. Control of water was a crucial element. In time of drought Indians from as far away as Tabasco seeking water were lured to the nine wells of Bolonchen and its adjacent caverns. Though access to water was inconvenient, to the point of hardship, its presence at all seasons made Bolonchen an important site.
Bolonchen was one of the two main communities of the Chenes; the other was Hopelchen.

Bolonchen lay thirty leagues south from Merida, and about twenty from Campeche or Ticul. It was insulated at the north and west by a tangled mass of vegetation pierced here and there by irregular footpaths. After a traverse of the Sierra on the north, as tangled scrub gave way to clumps of open lands and trees, Bolonchen appeared, a community lying on a small open plain surrounded by detached hills. Its buildings were scattered, some on hilltops, others in the folds of the hills. About five thousand persons clustered in its center, while another three thousand or so resided on ranchos, or were attached to sugar haciendas that had risen near it to the east and south.

One such new establishment, for instance, was Yax-ha. On lands "not long ago occupied by a few laborers of small account," Andrés María España had placed a sugar enterprise, which in 1846 was said to "compete in beauty with the best of its type." Where only wilderness had existed now appeared fields of cane, maize, fruit orchards, apiaries, distilling apparatus, and a magnificent hacienda house; all these were dependent on his large storage tanks for water, fed by a local aqua. An advantage of the place, wrote a Yucatecan, was that España had fastened down a floating population. He utilized "an increased number of hands who live on it with fixed residence and complete roots."
Like most of the towns of the Borderlands, Bolonchen had developed its economic significance recently, and was still somewhat in ferment. On the edge of the sugar zone, rather than in its heart, the place was "one of the most thriving villages in Yucatan." Stephens, riding down its long straggling street, thought it showed quiet contentment, comfort, even thrift. Its Indians were well-dressed, and were headed by a "portly, well-fed cacique." Bolonchen was partly a mestizo town, with both a government for natives, and one for whites. One of the creole alcaldes, Antonio Cervera, owned a rancho nearby that he had scarcely ever seen. 

The territory over which Bolonchen (sometimes Hopelchen) had jurisdiction was a strip of land three leagues wide and ten long. In it were found more than twenty-seven sugar ranchos, an industry that "constitutes the special richness of that settlement." In addition to sugar, the inhabitants grew quantities of maize, beans, cotton, figs, and other fruits, principally for subsistence. Much of its production depended on the wells in the town, and on its famous deep cavern, from which more than six hundred horses and mules carried water in casks to all parts of the section.

Hopelchen was companion settlement to Bolonchen. Between the two there was some rivalry, apparently of a friendly nature, as to which would grow faster and thus have the honor of being cabecera for the partido. One,
then the other, succeeded, with consequent loss and gain of an ayuntamiento. A writer from the area claimed that the two places were united in common sentiments and were not affiliated with any traditional political party in 1841.\textsuperscript{104} That there was cooperation between the two places seems evident from the attempt they made jointly and unofficially to overcome obstacles which the lack of roads placed in the way of their greater development.

"Are you not palpitating because of the evil effect that absence of roads has among us?" rhetorically queried one writer. "Don't you see that even in this little district no one takes advantage of the fact that when maize is abundant, at a price of four or five reales a load, and eighteen in Campeche, being unable to transport it the short distance of eighteen or twenty leagues for fault of roads?\textsuperscript{105} Unable to put sufficient pressure on state governments to remedy the situation by official subvention, the leading men of Bolonchen and Hopelchen formed a private association to construct a cartway from Hopelchen via Bolonchen to Hekelchakan. It was to be twelve yards (varas) wide and restricted in use to carts owned and operated by the monopolistic combine. In October 1841 a ten year privilege was officially granted to the group; at the end of the period, the private toll-road was to revert to public use.\textsuperscript{106} Thought one publicist, "If all the towns of the state would imitate such a noble and patriotic example, Yucatan...will indubitably progress;
it will occupy a distinguished place among the nations of
the American continent..." Only water and roads, claimed
the writer, were needed to make the fertile lands of Hopel-
chen, Dzibalchen, and Bolonchenticul one of the most pro-
ductive agricultural regions of Yucatan. 107

Typical of other Borderlands areas and settlements,
stress of aspiration was put on economic advance, with but
little attention to cultural amenities. Education and
social endeavor apparently were to wait on further extension
of enterprises whose profits ultimately would create a leis-
ure class capable of sustaining the luxury of schools, presses,
and similar apparatus. One of the several reasons given by
Hopelchen in 1858 for its adhesion to the state of Campeohe
rather than to Yucatan was, that in addition to its moral,
commercial, and material ties with the port, "the youth of
this municipality are able there to acquire a scientific
education; they derive it from the schools or colegio of
that city." At that time, too, they complained that the
communities of the Chenos had always been unable to make
their united voice heard before the distant authorities at
Merida. Though not entirely satisfied with Campeche's plans
for statehood, Dzibalchen, Bolonchenticul, and Hopelchen all
voted to join it. Among the signatories of these actas were
the caciques of the native repúblicas, Bernardo Max, Manuel
Chan, José María Tun. 108

In the days just before the Caste War, some disturbance
among the Maya in the area south of these towns, and in the area between Campeche and Iturbide, was caused by labor contractors who kidnapped Indians and shipped them south to the logwood concessions near Carmen. In 1842 Felipe de Ibarra made an investigation of the situation and rendered a detailed report. He found that especially from the village of Pich, Maya were secretly and involuntarily transported to logwood sites and there forced to work. The logging ranches of Anastasio Soler and of Juan de Dios Musel were among the most notorious in the traffic and for mistreatment of natives after arrival. The customary devices of peonage appeared there in open form: laborers in some cases had leg-irons to prevent their escape, "wages" were never paid in money but in pieces of tin or lead that were negotiable only at local stores, account books were falsified, gags were employed, and for very minor infractions of discipline "at least fifty blows of the whip" was not an unusual punishment. In one instance Soler had against their respective wills married a Maya man to a woman named Maria Vásquez; when the husband fled, his debt was transferred to her, and upon apprehension after an attempted escape, Soler had all her hair cut off. The disgrace involved was considerable; Ibarra said the tale seemed to him true, as when he talked to the woman, she was bald. Ibarra repatriated a number of Maya who had thus been forced into virtual slavery. There is not much evidence to indicate that strong official efforts
were made thereafter to put an end to the disturbing operations, in which he had reported numerous people were engaged. 109

In various ways the area known as Chenes partook characteristics of both the West Coast and of the Sierra, but its many more likenesses to the latter has led to its inclusion with that section here. In the contemporary mind, however, thoughts of the Sierra inevitably turned attention to Tekax and the district of which it was the administrative center. West and north of Tekax lay the partido of Sotuta; east and south was that of Peto; its own stretched southward behind the city, and bounded that of Bacalar in the extreme southeast. The area involved offered as much contrast in landscapes as the relatively uniform relief of Yucatan permitted. Recalling a journey from Ticul to Tekax, a Yucatecan wrote "It is an odd thing...that the Sierra being a continuation or chain of peaks, upon which loose rock accumulates, right next to it extends [northward] a terrain so beautiful and level that to open a road there scarcely requires more than to remove the weeds..." Southward behind the dividing line which the hills, perhaps a maximum of five hundred meters, formed was a raised plateau internally divided by ridges and occasional heavy thickets. On the edge of the settled perimeter at the south were Iturbide, Tituc; to the east, on the edge of high forest was Tepich. Backed up against the northern slope of the Sierra, facing the
fertile plain, was Tekax, "the true heart which gives life to industry, administration, and social existence of all its district."  

Tekax had a long colonial history as a small but growing place on the outer edge of dense settlements. In 1639 four other places had been included in the provincia of its Franciscan monastery, all told representing a total population of perhaps 4,500. By 1794 the town and its ranchos was calculated to number nearly 14,000 souls. The movement of people to it was reflected in fiction; a novelist whose story embraced the years around 1760 remarked on Tekax as a place "already grown large by the number of inhabitants attracted by the richness and fertility of its soil." To fix its size in 1845 is somewhat difficult. Apparently as permanent residents in the new city were between 4,500 and 5,000 people, whose number remained relatively unchanged by a "floating population of ranchers and others who came and went seasonally or who remained only long enough to sell their products and shop in the well-supplied stores of Tekax." The District of Tekax was credited with at least 134,000 people.

Like the other major communities of Yucatan, Tekax was laid out around a central plaza in gridiron fashion. The main church, which (curiously enough) lacked bell towers, lay on one side, with public and private buildings completing the perimeter of the main square. Resting on a small
shelf on the hillside south of the square was a chapel reached by a winding path. From this height, where the chapel of San Diego was located and where the body of the young poet Wenceslao Alpuche had found their final resting place, one looked down on Tekax, a city of groves and trees — "large and pretty." The city spread in a semi-circle around the base of the hills; beyond the edges of the city, thickets and groves clustered on the plain marked the location of haciendas. Within municipal borders, Stephens found the streets wide and well-kept, the houses large, solidly constructed, and well-maintained. One even had three stories. His feeling on passing through was that Tekax in appearance "was finer and more promising than that of any town I had seen."

Carriages like those of Campeche and Mérida circulated through the streets to give an impression of life and movement. Twice daily the place took on added activity, as nearly all the women and many men sallied forth to the public wells. Private houses almost universally depended on eight municipally controlled sources of water; each of these had an elected guardian whose salary consisted of the small payments in goods made him daily, in the form of a handful of maize or a bunch of leaves suitable for adorning church altars (which he subsequently sold). At the times of daily exodus from the houses for water, a traveler reported that "Tekax appears to contain twice as much population as it actually has." He added,
however correctly, that the mixing of so many men and women at the same time was responsible for the low moral tone of Tekax, and mentioned that at least three brothels spread venereal infections among youth of the place.

There seemed to be rather free and unstrained relations between the people of the center and those who lived in the barrios. All the tekaxenůs seemed fond of music and dancing, so that rarely a week passed when there was no public ball. A distinctive regional style of dance was common. At special times, like Carnaval, whatever usual class and caste lines existed tended to be relaxed. Customs of Carnaval differed somewhat from those in vogue at Merida; there was less throwing of egg-shells full of water and the forcible painting of señoritas' faces, although among the lower classes of Tekax it was expected at this time that men would throw powdered starch on the girls going to the balls. Above all, Carnaval in Tekax meant music and dancing. In one instance a group of four or five negroes kept the crowd enthralled by singing African songs.

Nearly as exciting as Carnaval was the annual fair at Tekax. When it occurred, "neighboring towns remain without inhabitants." An observer remarked on the great number of prostitutes and pimps who mingled with "honorable people." As at the other fairs, there was a religious element involved. Many came to Tekax to visit its miraculous image, a Virgin who once had suddenly made her appearance in the Sierra and who refused to be moved. Even when an attempt was made to
take the image to an artisan's shop for refurbishing, the Virgin returned unaided to her niche as soon as the shop was closed for the night, said believers. Though he did not attend the fair at Tekax, Stephens wrote of Tekax that "there was an appearance of life and business ... which was really exciting." Yucatecans echoed this sentiment by saying that life there gave it an "aspect of vitality not very usual in our dead and silent settlements," and by tagging Tekax as "active, enterprising, politically inquiet." Part of its effervescence took political form. Tekax was notorious for instability, as defined by other and stabler sections. Possibly envy of its prosperity, possibly its threatening of political balances heretofore arranged exclusively among Mérida, Campeche, and Valladolid, were motives which led persons of those regions to characterize the inhabitants of Tekax and environs as "revolutionary and radical and the rabble of Yucatan." Stephens though the place "the only town in the state which could raise a revolution" which it did at fairly frequent intervals, especially after 1840. The area almost immediately had joined the East Colonial revolt in 1839 to sweep Centralism from Yucatan. One of the leading radicals in Yucatan's brief struggle for independence in 1820 was José Francisco Bates, born and reared in Tekax. But after 1840 its revolutionary tradition took on new force and direction, accurately reflecting the changes going on in its economic and social affairs.
These in turn stemmed from widespread activity in adjacent rural areas, of which it was becoming chief focus and standard bearer.

The territory to the south of the Sierra was undergoing rapid change. It was becoming a sugar bowl. Expanding commercial economy (as opposed to subsistence) was penetrating and overlaying or displacing the low tempo life of scattered groups of Maya. As in the Chenes, twin problems of water and transportation appeared, and were being overcome by creoles eager to exploit the known fertility of the soils between Tekax and Iturbide. New communities were springing up, older ones changing rapidly. Typical Sierra settlements were those of Xul, Becanchen, Dzibinocac.

Growth of the first was due directly and almost entirely to the enterprise of a Spanish priest, José Rodríguez. He had fled from Spain in the troubled Napoleonic period, and as a Franciscan had found haven and welcome in Yucatan. When the Order was suppressed in 1821 he had secularized and had been given important curacies, first at Tlcul, then at Xul. The latter was a benefice in 1841; the priest from revenues collected paid all costs of building and maintaining a church, but also kept for himself six-sevenths of net incomes derived from fees and religious levies. The other seventh went to the Bishop, in Merida. The more Indians, the more revenue; as the parishioners of Xul were nearly all Maya. Rodríguez had the reputation of being "rich, and a money-making man, and odd." At expense of fifteen hundred dollars he had sunk
a well two hundred feet deep; the cisterns he constructed to store water lured a population of seven thousand, among whom were six or eight white inhabitants. He had built a church, "one of the few the erection of which had been undertaken of late years, when the time had gone by for devoting the labour of a whole village to such works."115

A companion of Rodríguez was Señor Trego, enterprising proprietor of the sugar rancho Noyaxche south of Xul. He had drilled a well six hundred feet deep but encountered no water. In 1836 he organized an elaborate cooperative effort among neighboring hacendados and rancheros and Indians to clear and rehabilitate a system of nearby ancient Maya reservoirs. In drought as many as 5 thousand families came from far distance to take advantage of the new water supply; forty families remained as laborers on Trego's rancho. In addition to sugar, he raised hogs, an ambulant form of maize, for the Campeche market. His rancho had been established about 1830.116

The two, Rodríguez and Trego, became business partners in an enterprise similar to that in which each had already succeeded singly. The padre had title to a set of ruins on an Indian rancho known as Mocoba, long a maize producing site. The two entrepreneurs proposed to convert it to sugar production. By clearing out the Maya wells and renovating their attached reservoirs, the pair felt certain that they would attract there a large Indian population which they could use as field hands. One of the inducements for Rodríguez to
select that rancho for economic exploitation was existence of Maya ruins, in which he expected to lodge his labor supply and thus spare investment cost of houses and huts. Operations had begun about 1837.  

The lure of water was dramatically exhibited in the mushroom growth of Becanchen, briefly noted in earlier pages. A small stony range of hills separated it from another flourishing rancho (dependent on Xul), that of Puut; Puut grew and became the town of Moreno in 1846. Becanchen evolved rapidly from a wilderness to a thriving community of six thousand inhabitants within two decades after an Indian had struck water there around 1820. Some of its first founders were still there in 1846. Maya ruins had furnished stone for its sturdy houses and buildings, formed around a regular plaza. Soon after it was made a rancho of prime category (almost a regular town), Tekax dispatched a regular priest there to hold services.

In 1828 Becanchen had sufficient population to become a town, with its own dependent ranchos scattered five or six leagues east and south. Only about six hundred souls lived in the town in 1845; the rest of its six thousand inhabitants dwelled on ranchos and hacendadas. As cattle destroyed maize fields, on which the place was dependent, grazing industry was prohibited. All told, Becanchen was a minor center for sixty-three other ranches that extended nearly to Bacalar, and hoped in 1846 soon to double its population.

Though his prophecy was inaccurate, a Becanchen booster
said it was one of those places that "offers more hopes of progress if it is not ignored." The Caste War wiped out its hopes, the ranches of sugar, tobacco, and orchards, converting Becanchen "to ruins and misery, its new population to paupers, its men to soldiers, its children, women, and oldsters ... to beggars."

Further south behind Tekax than Xul, Puut, or Becanchen was Zibinocac. Though an Indian rancho "from time immemorial," its colonial population was not sufficient for listing in the census of 1794. Yet by 1841 it had become a full-fledged town, named Iturbide. Apparently free and fertile land rather than supplies of water had motivated emigration. Tagged as the "Chicago of Yucatan," it was "the great point to which the tide of immigration was rolling." Pressure of population, the blossoming of créole haciendas under liberalized land laws (treated in detail later), possibly desire to escape impressment into military service, all had helped dislodge natives from crowded areas near Tekax. One early land law had stipulated that the governor distribute to homesteaders the fertile lands of the Sierra area; the policy helped uproot Maya to the north, in sugar lands, but also gave them opportunity further to the south. Speaking of Maya in the northern Borderlands, near Nohcacab and Xul, Stephens related that

Crowded and oppressed by the large landed proprietors, many of the enterprising yeomanry of this district determined to seek new homes in the wilderness. Bid-
plains of Zibilnocac, from time immemorial and Indian rancho. Here the soil belonged to the government; every man could take up what land he pleased, full scope was offered to enterprise, and an opportunity for development not afforded in the over-peopled region of Nohcacab. Long before reaching it we had heard of this new pueblo and its rapid increase. In five years from twenty-five inhabitants it had grown into a population of fifteen or sixteen hundred.

The place bore marks of being a frontier community. On the site of a former milpa was the plaza, a thatched church on one side, a doorless public building on another. One of the few permanent structures, placed opposite the plaza, was a fine house belonging to the same Sr. Trego who had grown rich on sugar; his rancho lay perhaps four hours north of Iturbide. Most of the other houses were merely huts, with attached pig-pens; one item of commerce was export of pork to Campeche, where a hog brought ten to twelve pesos. A few stores had sprung up, but within sight of the plaza were tobacco and maize fields and undisturbed Maya ruins. One of the most flourishing activities in the new town was gambling; it was controlled by mestizo authorities and nouveau-riche. Law and order had not yet caught up with physical growth of the place. It was a boom town.

Typical of the numerous mestizo emigrants was one who had come from Nohcacab to make a fortune in Iturbide. In this he had already succeeded. He had a house on the principal street, the first and best of the place, as well as an attached store from which he supplied Indians with liquor. He was chief owner of the gaming table and assured of official
protection through the fact his brother was alcalde. Most other vecinos had similar ideals but were perhaps less fortunate or able in their execution. Their livelihood was derived almost exclusively from exploitation of Maya through debt peonage. Nearly every one had made small loans of four or five pesos to one or more Indians, in cash or liquor, and from time to time kept alive the indebtedness by further small advances. The Maya so bound were forced to work off their indebtedness by cultivation of tobacco or maize, but as the mestizos kept the accounts themselves, "the poor Indians, in their ignorance and simplicity, are ground to the earth to support lazy and profligate masters." Most of the whites had heard of the reform laws of 1841 that tried to ameliorate abuses, but cited with hearty approval the alcalde of a neighboring settlement who "did not mind the law, but went on whipping as before." The public and private mores of Iturbide were typically frontier.

Its existence on the very southern edge of the habitable areas meant that the Maya of that portion of the Borderlands now had little or no place else to which they could retreat. Soon in 1846 came laws especially aimed at fixing them in their residence, to be at the mercy of men like the gamblers of Iturbide. Thus at that point came face to face two dangerous groups: boldest and most lawless of creoles and mestizos, opposite them, the Maya who had fled from the north to escape such exploitation or those already there, who had never been fully brought into the Hispano-Indian colonial scene.
At the northern extreme of Borderlands, the situation differed somewhat from that in the Sierra territory south of Tekax. The northern skirt included areas that had included a small part of the old Sierra Baja partido (Maní, Oxkutzcab and Tesbo), as well as most of Beneficios Bajos, centered around Sotuta and Yaxcaba. To the west were Old Colonial haciendas and settlements; to the east, those of the Distrito of Valladolid. Pressures from both directions disturbed the Beneficios. Between its two chief settlements, Yaxcaba and Sotuta, existed rivalry similar to that between Hoplechen and Bolonchen for hegemony of the partido and honor of being nominated its cabecera. First one, then the other, was so designated. The partido as a whole was transitional, influenced by its position almost midway between the city centers of Tekax, Valladolid, and Izamal.

Norman found that on leaving Piste (at the edge of the Colonial area) a poor path led him to Yaxcaba, a town in which "many of the houses are uninhabited and going to ruin." Five leagues westward, Sotuta was found to be "a pleasant town, having a fine square, neatly laid out, with much regularity, and well built." Water was still something of a problem, though lesser than in the areas south of the Sierra. The cenote at Tabi, between Yaxcaba and Sotuta, was about a hundred feet deep. At Tixmeuac, between Tabi and Tekax, the municipal well was one hundred forty-four feet; travelers bought water there and by custom native women drawing water from it paid the town a handful of maize.
One characteristic of the upper Beneficios section which linked it to the rest of the Borderlands was growth of new communities, rather uncommon in either of the Colonial areas flanking it. Many of these were ranchos suddenly grown to towns, which marked their enhanced status by patriotic names. In the municipality of Sotuta, the rancho Kokobchen achieved town-hood and took on the name of Zavala, while in that of Yaxcaba, Cholul became Libre Union. Libre Union, the state Congress specified, "will within the shortest possible time complete the church which has been begun to be built, as well as construction of the public house for the Republic of Indians, barracks for vecinos, and the most perfect delineation of the plazas and streets of the settlement."129

The editors of the Registro Yucateco pointed out to their readers that a long and detailed description of Indian life and customs written by the cura of Yaxcaba in 1813 was in 1845 partially inaccurate. In the intervening years "very notable alteration the customs of the natives, and chiefly those of the civilized class" had occurred. The rapid change was attributed to enlightenment, which "like magic" had shifted relations of social classes, because of the spreading influence of the printed word, information from foreign travel, and immigration from abroad.130

The Lower Beneficios seems thus to have been altering as rapidly in its way as was the Sierra area to the south,
though in Beneficios sugar was not the prime mover. Cattle, maize, and small amounts of henequén were its chief contributions to peninsular economy. Whatever the economic basis, the fact was statistically clear that isolated villages were being "creolized," as has already been pointed out above. (See Table 23.)

Travelers and local publicists provide small detail on the Lower Beneficios territory, but even less record is preserved for the small sub-region east of Tekax, known as Upper Beneficios. It coursed from about Tzucacab to Tepich. The territory is of special interest here because it was the scene of the first violent outbreaks which opened the Caste War. Yet little or no information is available by which its social and economic situation on the eve of the Caste War can be reconstructed in detail.

One of the few bits of data has been left by Stephens, who passed through Peto. At that time, in 1842, Peto had outstripped both the adjacent towns of Ichmul and Tihosuco, and was therefore cabeza of the partido. Juan Pío Pérez, antiquarian, acted as the local partido's jefe. Later he was chief of the District of Valladolid. Peto was apparently a brisk community, whose streets, like those of Merida, Izamal, and a few other towns, were identified by figures and effigies on tops of houses. As befitted a community with a long history of ecclesiastical control, the church and convent were large and imposing.

Important was that in 1842 the benefice was considered "one
of the most valuable in the church, being worth six or seven thousand dollars per annum." Presumably when the issue of obventions, fees, and other perquisites came to a head a few years later, the area around Peto would be directly affected in major degree. From municipal funds, Peto supported an elementary school.  

Its ayuntamiento left no uncertainty about the fact that Peto and its surrounding towns were vitally interested and dependent on sugar for riches; in 1844 more than twelve thousand meceses of sugar were cultivated by 76 proprietors. Frankly the ayuntamiento stated that to get higher prices for sugar was the principal reason it and neighboring towns had supported the rest of the peninsula in 1843 against Mexico.

In the absence of direct evidence for developments in the Beneficios Altos territory, it is unfortunately necessary to fall back on quantitative analysis and hypothesis. The accompanying table illustrates (Table 28), that the Borderlands as a whole increased its total population by more than ten thousand families in the fifty years from 1794 to 1845. Population movement and growth within the section through those years did not affect each subdivision equally. Development of landed enterprises through the Sierra apparently displaced some of the previous population, pushing it outward into the several adjacent areas. Concentration of population at Tekax in 1794 gave way to dispersion through its dependencies, all
Table 28. POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN THE BORDERLANDS, 1794 vs. 1845

**A. DIFFERENTIAL GROWTH BY ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL DIVISIONS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INHABITANTS</th>
<th>DISTRIBUTION (Percent)</th>
<th>FIFTY YEAR GAINS Population (Percent)</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chenes</td>
<td>8,381</td>
<td>25,869</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra</td>
<td>47,732</td>
<td>42,578</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>20,298</td>
<td>32,850</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajos</td>
<td>30,554</td>
<td>51,051</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>7,601</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altos</td>
<td>47,177</td>
<td>159,869</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacalar</td>
<td>64,002</td>
<td>32,850</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAJOS</td>
<td>109,177</td>
<td>159,869</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** For 1794, "Estado expresivo de las jurisdicciones y pueblos de la intendencia de Mérida de Yucatán...." Archivo de la Historia de Yucatán, Campeche y Tabasco, I, 216, 218-19, 220, 224-25, 228.

For 1845, Regil and Peon, "Estatísticas," loc. cit., Table C (adapted).

**B. COMPARATIVE SIZE OF SELECTED URBAN POINTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Subdivision</th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1794</th>
<th>Fifty Year Gain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tekex</td>
<td>Sierra</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>15,979</td>
<td>-8,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chenes</td>
<td>6,058</td>
<td>4,071</td>
<td>1,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopelcheno</td>
<td>Chenes</td>
<td>3,096</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>1,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bezaschano</td>
<td>Sierra</td>
<td>6,094</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barachano</td>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>3,226</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petco</td>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>5,241</td>
<td>2,431</td>
<td>2,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichmul</td>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>5,311</td>
<td>1,437</td>
<td>3,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tihosuco</td>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>6,222</td>
<td>2,561</td>
<td>3,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socalco</td>
<td>Beneficios</td>
<td>3,147</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>2,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotuta</td>
<td>Lower Ben.</td>
<td>4,328</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>2,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaxcabá</td>
<td>Lower Ben.</td>
<td>4,560</td>
<td>4,774</td>
<td>-214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Table 3, above; "Estado" cited above in A.
of which increased relatively and absolutely. The greatest absolute growth occurred in the Beneficios Altos territory, which gained more than twenty thousand persons; relative to their position in 1794, the empty spaces around Chenes and Bacalar were most spectacular; each more than tripled in number of persons.

In 1845, Beneficios Altos was the largest subdivision of the Borderlands. At least three-quarters of its population was Indian (see above, Table 15). Rise of the area in importance and size was officially signalized by Peto's enhanced status as a villa, to which it received title in 1841. As in Beneficios Bajos, some ranchos were becoming towns. They too took creole names to replace the Maya. Dzitnup and Nojcacab, each in the municipality of Peto, became respectively in 1846 Barbachano and Progreso.133

The winds of change altering human landscape through the Borderlands, in Chenes, in the hinterland of Tekax, and in the Beneficios areas also played over distant Bacalar. One Yucatecan reported that revitalization of the ancient colonial villa and its environs could be noted readily in census reports, and concretely by the innumerable houses that were daily being constructed, by the new streets which were being laid out.134

Though Bacalar had been among the first Spanish outposts established at time of conquest, it had not prospered through the middle years of colonial rule. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the place had degenerated into a neglected
border garrison to which recalcitrant troops were sent as punishment. But by 1846 entrepreneurs eager to exploit its fertile neighborhood had already erected forty-three solid adobe houses in the villa (three of which were two-story affairs), kept its stores well supplied, and carried on commerce in dyewood, sugar, hammocks and hogs. About five thousand people lived in Bacalar, with another two thousand found scattered on ranchos under its jurisdiction.

Transportation rather than water posed a problem for bacalarenos. The villa was almost forty leagues overland from its markets at Peto or Tekax, and thirty from even their outlying settlements. Indians acted as beasts of burden; Maya seemed willing for a small profit to walk forty leagues from Tekax with a load of chickens. A little commerce was waterborne; goods went by sea via tortuous inland lagoons to the Caribbean. In 1826 revenues from the customs house there did not even cover expenses of the office; in 1845 its revenue amounted to only a little more than fifteen hundred pesos.

The merchants and planters of Bacalar looked more to overland transport than to the sea for expanded development of the area. One project was extension of a road connection to Champoton on the west, mentioned above in survey of the West Coast. Such a route would tap the newly settled areas of Chenes and the Sierra; it would also hedge in the Maya. Another was extension of a cartway that had already linked
Sacalaca to Tituc. A publicist, presenting summary information about new Bacalar to a Yucatecan public that seemed ignorant of the place, characteristically closed his account with a demand that the state government relieve the section's need for more roads.  

Bacalar was geographically and socially similar in some respects to the island of Carmen. In relation to the main Yucatecan population, it occupied an extreme position on the southeast, as Carmen did on the southwest; each villa was about ninety leagues from the capital, difficult to reach. Lack of readily available labor hindered economic development, and raised the wages to rather high levels, five to six reales a day for loggers and agricultural workers, at best, and normally at least eight pesos a month was standard in Bacalar. Probably few took manpower shortage seriously enough to copy example of a local lady who trained a monkey for her servant; the animal learned to serve coffee and cigarettes. Unlike the densely packed Old Colonial area, or the native filled East Colonial, the Maya around Bacalar lived in small isolated clumps, with but small experience and little zeal for becoming field-hands on creole enterprises. Unlike Carmen, Bacalar had a great deal to do with the Caste War. Apparently those few Maya who did labor on haciendas of the area were not well treated. Though undoubtedly the story had been magnified by the years and the retelling, still it seems significant that in the twentieth century
some Maya descendants near Bacalar remembered the cruelty of one master of the ante-bellum period; they passed the hearsay on to Thomas Gamn, an English ethnologist and archeologist. According to the report, a well-known merchant of Bacalar before the Caste War was in the habit of burying his Indian servants in the ground to the neck, with their heads shaved, exposed to the hot sun; their heads were then smeared with molasses, and the victims left to the ants. "And this punishment was inflicted for no very serious offense."140

In the region between Bacalar and Champoton, and between Chichanha and Tulum, lived semi-wild Maya known to Yucatecans as huites. Their number was not accurately known, but was estimated at somewhere between twenty and forty thousand persons. They were generally known as "the savages who live between our territory and Honduras." There existed only a modicum of available and accurate information about them in the hands of creole authorities who wished to bring them under control by settling them in communal groups subject to civil government. Reputedly they were offspring of refugees from the Indian uprising of 1761; some even still clung to archaic costume, including the melena, a hair style previously required by Spaniards of tributary Indians.141 Yet their wildness was somewhat tempered by contacts they maintained with newly risen logging establishments on the English edges of British Honduras. Probably their unawareness that the Yucatecan constitution of 1841 enfranchised them differed in degree rather than kind from that of Indians whom Stephens encountered in the very northern parts of Chenes.
These were said by him to be "the wildest people in appearance we had yet seen. As we rode through, the women ran away and hid themselves, and the men crouched on the ground bareheaded, with long black hair hanging over their eyes, gazing at us in stupid astonishment." Inadvertently they had dropped some days from their calendar and had to re-celebrate a local fiesta when the travelers set them straight. But near them was a well-kept rancho owned by a rich Maya who had inherited its lands from his early ancestors.142

Possibly the sole generalization that has general application to all Indians of the Borderlands is that they lacked strong historical tradition of creole domination. Independent villagers of Beneficios, like those of East Colonial sections, had resisted encroachment by land hungry Spaniards through appeals to legal processes; they were the most highly acculturated Maya. Rancheros of the Chenes and upper Sierra seemed in part willing to flee before new waves of creole and mestizo emigration. Huites and their analogues had not been in close contact with creoles for a number of years; numerically they were an unknown quantity.

In nearly every one of the sub-sections of the Borderlands, sugar was or was becoming an important crop. Its rise after 1825 to paramount position in Yucatan's local economy in 1845 is described in the following chapter; here its effects on integration of the section as a whole by spurring creation of roads seems especially significant. No other section seemed
quite so conscious of its defective transportation facilities as did the créoles of the Borderlands. Following 1833, the main Sierra road had been extended from Ticul to Tihosuco, passing through Oxmutzcab, Tekax, Tzucacab, Peto, the new town of Progreso, Ichmul, and terminating on the edge of forest-lands at Tihosuco. Around Tekax spurs pierced fertile lands around Akil, Teabo, and Timneuc, and reached out for connection with Sotuta, already linked with the capital. Though only small amounts of sugar could be grown near Yaxcaba, it was a distilling center.

Sugar lands around Peto were tapped by north-south cart-ways from it, terminating respectively at Tajdziu and Kanoabchen. There existed a somewhat dangling piece between Sacalaca and Tituc that failed at the north to touch Ichmul on the main road to the capital, or the port of Bacalar on the south. Most of the ways south of the Sierra cart-road, except the latter stretch, were almost impassable. Stephens noted on nearing Tekax from Iturbide that upon climbing the Sierra "we entered with a satisfaction that can hardly be described, upon a broad road for carretas and calesas [wagons and coaches]. We had emerged from the narrow and tangled path of milpas and ranchos, and were once more on a camino real.... Now we were coming upon the finest portion of the state, famed for its rich sugar plantations. We met heavy lumbering vehicles drawn by oxen and horses, carrying sugar from the haciendas."145

The drive for roads in the Borderlands was intimately connected with expansion of sugar cultivation. By use of carts
rather than pack-mules, hacienda owners found they could cut freight costs enormously. One of the huge carts they used normally carried the equivalent of fourteen or sixteen mule-loads, and was pulled by five beasts; each mule-load was figured at two hundred pounds so that five mules pulling a cart transported 1,800 pounds more sugar than did five mules used as pack animals. Shippers in the Borderlands not only persisted in their agitation until the Sierra road was completed, but then continued it for successive improvement of their economic life-line; they claimed the cartway was rough and badly graded. Following 1845 came improvement, and with it still another reduction in freight costs to markets in the east. Table 29 provides comparative data on shipping costs to Merida, by traditional muleback freight, by cart before the Sierra road was rehabilitated in 1845, and by cart thereafter to the Caste War. The final figure was less than a third of the first.

The use of carts was limited to the new highways, and even so still did not preclude employment of animals as beasts of burden. For the peninsula as a whole nearly sixteen thousand mules and horses were carriers. Pack trains were conducted from place to place by Indian or mestizo arrieros, drivers, whose traditional role is also that of spreaders of gossip and news. On the busy Sierra road Stephens encountered one who had heard about the United States, where a man could earn a dollar (eight reales) a day, roughly
Table 29. FREIGHT COSTS, SELECTED BORDERLANDS POINTS TO MERIDA, 1830-47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shipping Points</th>
<th>Approximate distances from Merida</th>
<th>Muleback freight 1830-35</th>
<th>Cart Freight ca.1835 to 1845</th>
<th>post 1845</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leagues</td>
<td>Miles</td>
<td></td>
<td>kg/ctw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekax</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xul</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobonil</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xcatmis</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peto</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


equivalent to wages for two months at hacienda labor by Maya. How widespread the knowledge of such exalted wages was or the influence of the information, is, of course, impossible even to guess. It seems highly improbable, though, that the Caste War can be viewed as a strike for higher wages.

Sugar cultivation not only heightened demands for adequate communications, but served as common basis for political thought and action in the Borderlands. By 1845, aside from the staple maize, sugar had become the leading domestic crop in acreage and value. (See below, Tables ). Slightly more than 70% of sugar cultivation was concentrated in three partidos of the Borderlands: Chenes, Sierra, and Beneficios Altos. More than half the distilleries were located in the Borderlands. Its political fate and creed rested on sugar. It was a new, potent, and unprecedented economic element in local affairs. The rural establishments on
which sugar was grown were of recent origin, their proprietors were newly rich, without sense of obligation that often accompanied inherited wealth. There was only brief and weak tradition behind them to inhibit their attempts to meet competition from sugar grown on slave plantations in Cuba and the southern United States. With an eye to profits, capitalists of the older sections were pouring money into the Borderlands and sugar. As a result, it was a dynamic area, characterized by movement and change along lines that foreshadowed Yucatan's future rather than resembling a variation of its past.

The section as a whole, then, still lacked complete unity. Its centers of authority and prestige were strung along one main road that paralleled the Sierra. Of these Tekax and Peto had mushroomed sufficiently to become city and villa respectively, chiefly on basis of creole and mestizo emigration to the fertile lands flanking the Sierra. New towns and haciendas, creole and mestizo directed, jostled Maya land holdings and threatened to engulf them and their sparse but tenacious native populations. Apparently considerable numbers of Maya had emigrated in the face of creole penetration, and were backed now against the forest edge in the lower Chenes, at Iturbide, and at the extreme eastern portion of Beneficios Altos around Tihosuco. In general Maya of the Borderlands were independently-minded, ranging from rather highly acculturated groups in villages around Sotuta and Yaxcaba, to the isolated ranchos of the Chenes, or minor settlements of huils south of Iturbide.
to the Guatemalan border. Some native areas had never been fully pacified, and all seemingly clung rather stubbornly to older ways. Schools, churches, and other instruments of peaceful revolution in their mode of life had been few in the colonial era, and now did not accompany the entrepreneurs who staked out new claims through the Borderlands. As a group the latter did not bring with them a patriarchal tradition such as that which stabilized the Old Colonial region. Public opinion condoned and perhaps even encouraged exploitation and impressment of Kaya as cheap labor, in the name of progress and civilization, to which most of the peninsula was committed. Common aims of the entrepreneurs acted as a unifying sectional force; the growing network of roads promised to integrate the area geographically. Thus on the eve of the Caste War, the Borderlands was well on the way to taking full place as a separate and self-conscious section beside the older areas with more extended history of colonial importance. It was a frontier area becoming sophisticated; its frontier was nearly closed in 1847, as it moved to the forest edge.

V

With the West Coast and East Colonial, Borderlands completed the settled circle around Merida and the Old Colonial region. In common the peripheral sections offered resistance to complete hegemony by the capital. Its rule had been directed largely by hacendados steeped in a tradition of
unquestioned authority. But though a common reluctance to give unmurmuring assent to Merida's orders might provide ephemeral basis for united political action to the point of armed revolt against Old Colonial factions, still the peripheral areas were sufficiently unlike one another in make-up and aspirations to make difficult an agreement on a mutual long-term program of combined action. In short, the development of sectional sentiments, stemming in part from the late eighteenth century, but accelerated following independence put the peninsula in the anomalous position of being unable to agree internally on hardly any major policy except to resist coercion from Mexico. Even the nature and amount of such resistance was disputable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparative Items</th>
<th>Old Colonial</th>
<th>West Coast</th>
<th>East Colonial</th>
<th>Borderlands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landscape</td>
<td>Low bush; medium dry forest.</td>
<td>Low bush; high dry forest.</td>
<td>Medium to high dry and green forest.</td>
<td>Medium bush to high dry forest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soils</td>
<td>Thin; Yellow</td>
<td>Thin; Yellow; Gray</td>
<td>Medium; Black</td>
<td>Red; Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water supply</td>
<td>Cenotes; shallow wells</td>
<td>Caves; medium wells</td>
<td>Cenotes; medium wells</td>
<td>Caves; deep wells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture &amp; Industry</td>
<td>Maize; Cattle; Henequen</td>
<td>Maize; Logwood; Salt; Fish</td>
<td>Maize; Cotton; Salt; Sugar</td>
<td>Maize; Sugar; Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port facilities</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Poor; Scalar</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native labor supply</td>
<td>Adequate; Developing</td>
<td>Inadequate; Static</td>
<td>Adequate; independent; milperos; rancheros</td>
<td>Inadequate; independent; rancheros; Hacendados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole leaders</td>
<td>Hacendados</td>
<td>Merchants; Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>Hacendados; Merchants; Clergy</td>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational facilities</td>
<td>Good; Expanding</td>
<td>Good; Expanding</td>
<td>Poor; Static</td>
<td>Poor; Static</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual life</td>
<td>Brisk; Literary center; Periodicals; Theater</td>
<td>Brisk; Literary center; Periodicals</td>
<td>Lacking; no theaters; no periodicals</td>
<td>Lacking; no theaters; no periodicals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class structure</td>
<td>stable; static; some mobility</td>
<td>unstable; static; no routes of mobility</td>
<td>impossible; rigid high mobility</td>
<td>impossible; rigid high mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basis of superiority</td>
<td>Inherited; Economic; Ancestry</td>
<td>Ancestor; Economic</td>
<td>Inheritance; Economic</td>
<td>Ancestry; Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basis of trade</td>
<td>Export; Havana, New York</td>
<td>Export; Gulf ports, Europe</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Internal &amp; export; Gulf ports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>Independent; Yucatan; local autonomy</td>
<td>Mexican union; independence</td>
<td>Independence, shifting to Unionist.</td>
<td>Independence, shifting to Unionist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political tone</td>
<td>Conservative vs. Liberal</td>
<td>Conservative vs. Liberal</td>
<td>Reactionary vs. Radical</td>
<td>Liberal - Radical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General impression</td>
<td>Strong; Hierarchy; rigid economic base being undermined.</td>
<td>Decadent; static; rigid economy being undermined.</td>
<td>Nativist; shifting into native zones.</td>
<td>Integration proceeding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Regionalism and Society in Yucatan, 1325-1687: a study of interregionalism and the origins of the Caste War."

VOLUME II: Origins of the Caste War
pp. 372-723
"...The agrarian system of a country is closely related to its general social organization. When you answer the question 'Who really owns the soil?' you lay bare the very foundations upon which society is based and reveal the fundamental character of many of its institutions, the systems of taxation, the code of laws, the distribution of privilege and opportunity among the various classes of people, the incentives to individual improvement, and the rate of progress toward satisfactory living conditions...."  

G. M. McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico*. 
CHAPTER FIVE

The Hacienda Complex and the Milpa System

1830 - 1860

"The true agriculturalist in practice carries out the saying, 'Not only is agriculture a means of living, but above all is a way of life.' An important part of this consists in obtaining from the soil products for home use, which is viewed as a personal satisfaction which creates a bond between man and land in many ways, rather than as a business enterprise.... But every day that passes, we approach the extinction of that concept. With arrival of mechanization, alteration that deeply affects rural life in all its economic and social phases begins. The land is then seen as nothing more than a vast factory of numerous products needed to feed industry and cities. Commercial methods of factory production are imposed; the placid chore of the farmer becomes a job, completed with more personal and general economic gain but with perhaps less happiness."

Augusto Pérez Toro, La Milpa (1942).

"The milpa system is the only one practicable in Yucatan, even with modern tools and farm animals."

James H. Kempton, American agronomist (1935).
CHAPTER FIVE—THE HACIENDA COMPLEX AND THE MILPA SYSTEM

Yucatan was a rural area. Not more than ten percent of its half million or so population clustered in communities large enough to be called cities. Of these, possibly only Merida and Campeche were large enough or sophisticated enough to carry on urban activities without close contact with rural ways. Even in those two cities the wealth which permitted a leisure class was drawn from the rural hinterlands. Campeche's reliance on salt as part of its exportable commodities was nearly the sole exception to the peninsula's preoccupation with field and forest. Mining and industry were absent, and therefore created no magnates.

Of the creoles, nearly every family had some connection with the land. Through ownership of an hacienda, or perhaps only as middleman for agricultural products, most of them were conscious of the link. Professional men, a handful of doctors, a few lawyers, and a dwindling number of clergy indirectly drew their livelihood from the land by rendering services to hacendados and agricultural merchants. Hacendados paid the Church its fees in advance for the Maya who toiled for them; in villages and on ranches, the occasional sale of agricultural commodities provided small cash incomes from which to meet recurring obligations to Church and state. Perhaps only in
city barricas and in the fishing villages of Campeche did agriculture play a secondary role in native thought. Ninety percent of the population was in close and intimate contact with the land; the other ten percent in cities were indirectly linked with rural enterprises. Agriculture was Yucatan's sole industry.

The basic rural organization had existed from conquest times, and had in some instances then been adaptation of pre-Cortesian arrangements. Under Spaniards, a characteristic form of rural tenure was the hacienda. As Chapter Two intimated, hacienda holdings co-existed with villages and towns, with Indian ranchos and other small communities. But to perform the necessary task of organizing economic activity and social life for Spanish purposes, the hacienda was a prime institution. Through it a mass of Maya labor worked with effectiveness to support a handful of conquerors and their descendants, whose supervisory responsibilities were often delegated to mixed breeds or principal Indians.

Both in pre-Conquest times and afterward, the great mass of natives performed agricultural labor. Part of this supported a ruling class, in the one case a noble Maya caste, in the other, Europeanized rulers plus such native nobility as were deemed by the Spaniards to be sufficiently like themselves to form part of the new ruling hierarchy. The hacienda was essentially an economic institution, with social overtones; it was distinctively Hispanic, adapted first to the peculiarities
of the New World, then successively shaped to creole needs after establishment of European domination.

There is no reliable record that haciendas, in the Spanish sense, existed in pre-Conquest Yucatan, and data on land tenure among the Maya is rather sketchy. Nobles of the ruling class were in a preferred position to exploit labor, slave and free; some non-noble families were rich and powerful, possibly supported by agricultural wealth of farms and plantations. The nature and organization of these plantations is unknown.

Relationships between the merchants and the large agriculturalists are somewhat vaguely known. Apparently about a century before Conquest there was rivalry between them. As a tentative hypothesis, Ralph Roys has voiced the opinion that "this condition was the result of an attempt at social revolution of a sort in 1441, when the age of the real cities ended, that the big cities were ruled by a warrior-trader class, but after the fall of Mayapan, the agriculturalist got the upper hand." This condition is reminiscent of the Merida-Campeche rivalry treated below, but is more significant here as clarification of transition from Maya to Hispanic economic institutions. Without necessity for new and difficult indoctrination, Maya agriculturalists in the lower ranks could be fitted into Hispanic hacienda patterns.
Previous pages have also mentioned that Spaniards created haciendas at Conquest, and that thereafter the number of such holdings increased. One fact of considerable significance is that Yucatan represented an unusual flowering of the colonial hacienda tradition. In the twilight of the colonial period, the peninsula (including Tabasco in this instance) supported a number of haciendas significantly far out of proportion to its share of the population and area within the whole realm of New Spain. With around eight percent of the inhabitants, and perhaps an equal percentage of territory, the province contained more than a quarter of the haciendas and estancias listed in 1810. Within its boundaries were between half and two-thirds of the cattle estancias; its haciendas were almost twice as numerous as its share of the population and area warranted.

Apparently the colonial administrators distinguished between haciendas, which had as prime objective the production of maize and other vegetable products, and estancias, similar establishments devoted chiefly to grazing activities. In fact, though, the line in Yucatan between the two might be difficult to draw; few haciendas boasted no cattle, and rare would be the estancia which did not raise sufficient maize to support its hands. In terms of sections or regions (outlined at length in the preceding two chapters) haciendas were grouped chiefly in the Old Colonial region, which with the
East Colonial shared the estancias also. The expanded number of these two forms is consistent with the reduced number of small independent settlements, the civil ranchos, and the towns and villas. Yucatan was hacienda country par excellence.

The accompanying tabulation (Table 31) provides concrete quantitative detail. There is no apparent reason for the wide discrepancy in the areas listed by Humboldt and the Tribunal of the Consulado. The Contador, Navarro y Noriega, was dissatisfied with some of the Baron's calculations, but followed him in this item.

Haciendas and estancias of this late Bourbon period were sufficiently like one another to be classed together here as the colonial hacienda. In many ways they were distinct from modern commercial establishments or a transitional type which began to evolve from the colonial ones in the period under review. Modern commercial establishments tend to be factories in everything but name; devoted solely to efficient production of one commodity, henequén, they have in most cases dropped the prime concept which animated colonial haciendas, that of attempt at self-subsistence. Not unusual is purchase of food from outside the hacienda boundaries for distribution to the resident labor supply, which also is clothed and otherwise cared for by goods and services supplied by the urban markets rather than by local facilities.

The idea of permanence, represented in the earlier
Table 31. AREA, POPULATION, and FORMS OF TENURE, NEW SPAIN, 1802-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>NEW SPAIN TOTAL</th>
<th>YUCATAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>Number of total New Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POPULATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803 Humboldt</td>
<td>5,837,000</td>
<td>465,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805 Consulado</td>
<td>5,764,731</td>
<td>460,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810 Contador</td>
<td>6,122,354</td>
<td>528,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AREA (Square Leagues)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803 Humboldt</td>
<td>118,478</td>
<td>5,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805 Consulado</td>
<td>37,145</td>
<td>3,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810 Contador</td>
<td>118,478</td>
<td>5,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810 Contador</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villas</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>4,682</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil (independent)</td>
<td>6,684</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchos</td>
<td>3,749</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haciendas</td>
<td>1,195</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle estancias</td>
<td>4,944</td>
<td>1,519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tradition by entail tends to be minimized in modern establishments, since after a period of from eighteen to twenty years the main establishment is razed or moved. A geographer has stated rather truly that "perhaps there was no greater gap between the Mayan community and the hacienda of colonial times than between the colonial hacienda, dependent on subsistence resources, and the modern commercialized establishment."

In the generation following 1830, colonial concepts about haciendas underwent change, just as did the ideas about education, political rights, and other phases of Yucatecan life already surveyed. Colonial ideas persisted, but a new type hacienda began to emerge, especially in the Borderlands and at the northern and western edges of the Old Colonial section. Production for cash profit began to take precedence over other motives. Yet not wholly pushed into the background was the ideal of self-subsistence. Unlike the present situation, where one zone is almost exclusively dedicated to commercial production for export, and another to cereal production to supply the first, each section, almost each hacienda, continued to feed itself. Not until about 1880 or after did inter-dependence by zones begin to take its present form. The shift came simultaneously with precedence of commercial crop over subsistence, in acreage and value. (See Tables 32-34.)

In 1845, as the preceding figures show, almost 95% of agricultural activity revolved around production of maize.
### Table 32. ACREAGE AND RELATIVE VALUE OF LEADING CROPS, ca. 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Mecates</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Percent acreage</th>
<th>Percent value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize and beans</td>
<td>6,000,159</td>
<td>610,000</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>46,666</td>
<td>4,760</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar cane</td>
<td>102,881</td>
<td>10,390</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco and henequen</td>
<td>181,972</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6,330,478</td>
<td>643,650</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Regil and Peon, "Estadística," 303 and their Tables 5-12 (adapted). See Table 27, below.

### Table 33. PRODUCTION AND VALUE, LEADING CROPS (STATE OF YUCATAN), 1879

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Kilograms</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Pesos</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize and beans</td>
<td>171,685</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>4,931,020</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile pepper</td>
<td>1,656,660</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>138,085</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequen</td>
<td>29,040,000</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>2,420,000</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>202,381,760</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7,489,075</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 34. ACREAGE OF LEADING CROPS (STATE OF YUCATAN) 1881 vs. 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mecates</td>
<td>Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize and beans</td>
<td>357,698</td>
<td>36,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar cane</td>
<td>63,656</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various minor</td>
<td>2,079</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequen</td>
<td>1,129,429</td>
<td>115,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,552,902</td>
<td>158,119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Serapio Baquero, Reseña histórico, Doc. #3; A. Fabila, Exploración económico-social, 34.
Annually the crop represented nearly two-thirds of the money value. A generation later, in 1879, commercial crops accounted for only 15% of cultivated acreage, and still only about a third of annual value. Appearance of McCormick's reaper, perfection of machinery for cleaning henequén (described below), radically changed the picture to one that has continued: only a fifth or a quarter of the acreage produces maize; about three-quarters or two-thirds is commercial crop. In 1930, henequén with a value of slightly over thirty million pesos constituted 88% of crop value; maize, at three and a half million, only 10%. At one point in development of henequén production, its cultivation was extended to all parts of the state, submerging maize to the point that to alleviate scarcity considerable quantities were imported.

When the commercial crop retreated from the central zones where it was relatively unproftable, maize filled the vacuum. Until at least 1880 the subsistence tradition persisted in Yucatan, but by about 1900 the present zoned economy had crystallized: an area of commercial henequén production on the north and west, plus an area of maize—without—henequén east and south of it.
Haciendas in 1830 were the end product of colonial evolution and expressed colonial ideals deeply rooted in the Iberian past. Though their form and emphasis have undergone changes in the century since Independence, not all of the ideals they represented have completely disappeared. Surveying the plantation systems of the world, of which haciendas are an Hispanic-American variant, Isaiah Bowman came to the conclusion that one of two sets of circumstances underlay their continuance through modern times. His generalizations, though derived from investigation of Hispanic South America, are valid for Mexico and Yucatan: the hacienda system persists "in some places because it is economically best for all concerned while in other places it is a device employed by the landowners for maintaining an essentially aristocratic system based on land." The colonial haciendas of Yucatan seem more generally to fall into the latter category than the former, while modern henequen plantations would reverse the order.

In mid-century Yucatan the ornate establishments of the Old Colonial section carried on the older tradition: The functional and less baroque estancias of the East Colonial approximated commercial establishments, rather than symbols of status and prestige. Their proprietors exalted ancestry to cover that need. The newly forming sugar
plantations in the Borderlands/ and the experimental henequen haciendas around Merida/ confessedly were bent on organizing the available capital, land, and labor for profitable production of a commercial crop.

Yet over them all (at this period) hovered certain attitudes and emotional values of considerable strength. The combination of these values and attitudes can be recognized as the hacienda tradition. Its concrete manifestation in buildings, grounds, and negotiations formed the hacienda system. Several elements have been present, giving scope to selective emphasis, to alternative developments.

The hacienda is a capitalistic economic enterprise whose manifest object is to be profitable to its proprietor. It is a system of tenures long recognized in custom and law. Individual haciendas and in general form an almost closed social system in which status and rewards have been empirically adjusted, where roles are relatively well defined and institutionalized. Above all, the hacienda is symbolic of a way of life; beyond its economic and sociological aspects, it stands for abstract qualities latent in the stream of evolution. Possession of land/ and more especially ownership of an hacienda brings recognition and esteem that may often outweigh its disadvantages as a profit-making business.

The emotional aura around haciendas is a significant factor in analysis of change. Though logically enough, if
one accepts economic reasoning that perforce assumes that the greatest profit brings highest emotional rewards to the entrepreneur, the transition from one major crop to another which seemingly offered higher profits would naturally occur. Yet emotional reefs impeded the ease of such shifts. Around cattle and land devoted mainly to supporting the hacendado and his family had been encrusted deep-seated belief that such a use of capital, land, and labor was the only proper one consistent with dignity of gentlemen.

A landed estate, not a rural factory, has been and even yet continues to be a sign of status in Latin America. Few who are familiar with the psychology of a large group of Mexicans would dissent markedly from an investigator's statement that "Every Mexican aspires to be a landowner; and the life of the hacendado holds a charm unrivalled by the attractions of any other occupation." The emotional satisfactions an owner derives from an old-style hacienda may outweigh a tendency to change it and modernize it for greater economic return. Pride of proprietorship, for instance, underlie local feuds, and has been known to withstand blandishments of ready money for sale to foreign individuals or companies who offered sums above the apparent worth of the property.

Possession of an hacienda assures the hacendado of a round of activities which he holds dear. With a minimum of
actual personal toil, he is in position to enjoy the pleasure of leisurely, general oversight of an estate, occasional residence gives almost unlimited opportunity for exercise of authority over humble servitors to whom he is The Law, together with unequalled chance to display fine horses, horsemanship, expensive dress and trappings. Occasional trips of inspection over the properties opens opportunity to spend life in the open, adding to external show the piquancy of personal hardship and danger that should round out the existence of a true caballero, "gentleman." These sentimental values of proprietorship can easily be over-emphasized, but often they are important enough to outweigh the small cash returns which ownership of an hacienda brings.

An hacienda usually represents a considerable capital investment. Haciendas can be described more easily than defined. In general an hacienda is a large holding of land parcels owned or controlled by a single proprietor, on which agricultural operations are carried out by a force of resident labor, and which aim primarily at self-sufficiency and subsistence. Economically the property's chief value may lie in the sums of money its owner can raise by mortgage, in the cheap goods and services it provides him and his family, as well as the assured living which the families of laborers are virtually guaranteed so long as the hacienda remains a functioning unit. Direction and policy rest in the proprietor's hands, lines of authority
in economic and social matters focus on him as the ultimate power; with privileges go responsibilities. Fairly obvious seems the fact that individual variations in masters, their interests and ideals, gives rise to a range of haciendas, each, within broad limits of general similarity, reflecting the policies of its particular proprietor.

With generally common aim of self-subsistence, an hacienda necessarily draws on the several material and human resources of a neighborhood. Within its bounds are diverse types of land, each in sufficient quantity for current use, plus a variable amount held in reserve for future use or recuperating from utilization. Arable land is required for subsistence cereals, and at owners' whim, commercial crop to bring in cash for support of the numerous non-economic activities tending to enhance his prestige. Grazing lands, woodlands, and above all, water, generally fall within the orbit of an hacienda. Building materials, clay or stone, as well as timber, are needed for the physical plant. Depending on the size and nature of the enterprise is presence of necessary adjuncts of social living -- small stores, a chapel, blacksmith and other shops, health facilities and a cemetery.

If an hacienda meets the ideal of self-sufficiency, it forms a small closed world, dedicated to a common purpose willed by its proprietor. So far as his property falls short of the ideal, proprietors logically seek to expand
their holdings in the direction of the needed elements —
arable land, perhaps, or water, or even the necessary docile
labor reservoir on which success depends.

An expanding hacienda is dynamic. Conversely, equally
as logically, proprietors whose properties approximate the
ideal aspire to maintenance of the stability already acquired;
the idea of conservation is less dynamic than that of ex-
pansion, but may be as powerful by its very inertia. To
localize these generalizations to Yucatan in the early
nineteenth century is not an insuperable task. The Border-
lands was filled with expanding hacienda enterprises;
opposing their expansion were two types of conservatives,
the hacienda owners of other sections who found control over
peninsular economy and politics threatened, and independent
Maya whose local adjustments to the land were directly
involved.

The hacienda system in Yucatan in 1830 was a variation
of colonial arrangements, somewhat altered by effects of
Bourbon reforms in the late eighteenth century. In some
respects it differed from the hacienda system on the main-
land of Mexico. For one thing, holdings were relatively
small in Yucatan; they were measured by a few square leagues
at most, rather than in terms of hundreds of square miles,
13
as for instance, in northern Mexico. Consequently,
Yucatecan haciendas usually did not embrace a wide variety
of soil types and land resources.
None of them covered sufficient area to span all the wide zones of vegetation and climate characteristic of the peninsula. One result was that a functioning hacienda in Yucatan could be shifted to a different major product only with some difficulty, and only provided that the new product was cultivable in the area. This simple fact, among others, kept the East Colonial haciendas from vying with those of the Old Colonial region for henequén production, or the latter from rivalling the Borderlands in growth of sugar cane. The distinctive sectional preoccupation with one or two commercial products, based in part on physiography, in part on history, is treated in detail below.

Though haciendas varied by geographical section as to crop, in size, and even in architecture, certain general characteristics were common. Whatever its size and style, inevitably an hacienda had a casa grande or principal to house the proprietor when he chose to visit. This main residence, usually of stone, marked the property off from similar rural enterprises, ranchos and sitios, whose differences from hacienda holdings have been touched on above. Wrote a contemporary, in advising prospective owners about the necessary elements of an hacienda, "A sumptuous country residence, adorned with porticos and statues, with wide steps and columns can satisfy the vanity of the master and give a demonstration of his magnificence and his taste."
Though the author recognised ostentation as a proper motive and an acceptable reason for ownership of a casa grande, he advocated more attention to utility. The main building should be comfortable, elegant, solid, agreeably situated at the center of the holdings, surrounded by a formal garden. Ideally the residence would contain a library, bathroom, dining hall opening on the garden, a parlor, numerous and well-ventilated sleeping apartments, and an office. Each was to be separate from the other rooms, with an independent entrance from the patio. In addition to the master’s quarters, stables and storehouses were to be found; the author called special attention to utility of a dairy and mill, and suggested that the whole complex of buildings be arranged in the form of a rectangle. Usually this central cluster of permanent constructions was generically known as the planta of the hacienda.

Drawing on his own experience, a novelist of the time has left a rather detailed outline of a typical hacienda planta in the Old Colonial section. The hacienda faced east, and was entered through an elaborate gateway; a semi-Gothic archway supported two heavy iron grillwork gates about seven feet high that turned slowly and silently on their hinges, closed together by a large lock. Behind this principal entrance was a quadrilateral grove of shade and fruit trees known as the manga; no formal order marked planting of the trees, and their heavy shade prevented
growth of ground plants. At the end of the *manga*, up a wide set of five or six steps stood the *casa principal* and its dependent buildings on a leveled rise of ground. Around the corridors which encircled the *casa* was a border of flowers and medicinal herbs.

To the right of the main house was that of the mayordomo, stables for horses and burros, and a garden, the *huerta*. In it were planted vegetables, fruit trees, and located in its center were numerous beehives. To the left began henequen fields. Behind the house to the west, down another set of five or six steps were corrals. The main one had a gateway less elaborate than the principal entrance to the *manga*; beside the main corral were minor ones, for calves at round-up time, and the *cercazo*, in which were placed ailing animals or those for whatever reason were not pastured with their regular herd.

On each side of the *casa principal*, north and south, was a well from which water was drawn by a series of buckets attached to a treadmill. Horses or mules operated the treadle, raising water to the surface. By an elaborate series of pipes of hollow cane, water was simultaneously conducted to watering troughs, drinking fountain, storage tank, irrigation works, and a pool in which turtles were kept. Here and there below the *casa principal* stood the straw-thatched huts of native foremen, cowhands, and other servants.
About five hundred paces beyond the planta, at whose edges were the huts, began the milpa, or area in which subsistence crops were raised.

As a general rule, the planta was erected on land which the proprietor owned outright, but the dependent holdings on which crops grew or cattle grazed might be one of several types of tenure. The original plot on which stood the hacienda house and its surrounding apparatus often was a Crown grant to an early colonist, a royal mercad, but equally as often it was an outright purchase or even usurpation of land whose title was subsequently confirmed.

Though general laws governed development of land policy in the New World, not unusual was evolution of a local system which deviated considerably from the norm. Such, for instance, was growth of curious circular grants in Yucatan's near neighbor, the island of Cuba. On the peninsula, a body of custom grew up during colonial days which tended to persist through much of the early nineteenth century.

Landlords seldom purchased outright at full price the plots they needed for grazing or for cultivation. Rather, they were able to rent them, with exclusive rights and provisional title, with but a nominal "down payment" to the Crown, leaving a large unpaid balance that seldom was collected because uncollectible. One seventeenth century
governor, Don Arias, Conde de Losada y Taboada, was remembered for the numerous acordadas of this nature which he issued. Apparently acordadas were partial land titles for plots on which cattle grazed, but for which full price was not received.

Under the Bourbons, viceregal officials were dispatched to Yucatan from time to time for the purpose of land reform. Their mandates included confirming land titles, reclaiming plots for the Crown, allotting to Indian settlements public land that had been usurped by hacendados, or attempting to collect unpaid balances due the treasury. The process whereby clear title was received through them was known as a composición. By payment of a stated sum to the Crown, a special royal judge issued to private or communal owners (who declared that no Crown lands existed among their holdings) a clear perpetual title confirming them in their possession. Each time a juez de composición appeared in Yucatan, local hacienda magnates banded together to impede his work. In the face of opposition, it was seemingly not unusual for him to sell his judgments outright to the highest bidder.

In 1710, for instance, Bernardino de Vigil y Solis appeared as juez comisionado; within two years he had amassed a fortune of eighty thousand pesos through sale of judgments in land litigations, despite the efforts of a group of hacendados to have him withdrawn. An official
reporting on his efforts to clarify the confused land situa-
tion of New Spain mentioned that the efforts of his special
dange in Yucatan in 1784 found it difficult if not imposs-
ible to do anything, as public and ecclesiastical officials
limited his power, and consequently little was done in the
three years to 1787. At that time it was reported that
"there were Crown lands (tierras realengas) occupied by
powerful personages of the country." 23

Colonial hacendados consistently fought to keep Crown
lands from passing irretrievably into private hands. Equal
opposition was aroused to having such titles confirmed for
lands belonging to Indian settlements. The first aim pro-
sumably was based on desire to protect their social and
political position as landowning aristocrats against en-
croachment by latecomers who also aspired to preferment and
prestige. The second was to assure maintenance of the usual
system whereby public lands were freely used without neces-
sity for added capital investment. Provisional title, the
acordada, gave control of desired parcels of Crown lands
without need for more than token payment; fee lay in the
Crown; usufruct and improvements belonged to the hacendado.

In operation, even in the early nineteenth century,
the custom prescribed that the planta of an hacienda rest
on land to which clear title in fee simple belonged to the
proprietor. It might have been acquired by legitimate Con-
quest grant, subsequent purchase, or even by an usurpation
confirmed by fee or bribe given a juez de composición. For the most part hacendados did not have full title to pastures or extensive croplands, though these were effectively controlled in many cases by acordada-type grants. Validity of these was recognized by custom and apparently they were as heritable as were clear titles. Utilized by laborers on haciendas were public lands, the realengos, whose later name baldios did not change their status; on them temporary settlements or merely fields for growth of maize could be established at little or no cost.

Custom, then law, protected planting on baldios. An agriculturalist by clearly indicating intention to cultivate a plot was considered to have created an acotación anticipada, an anticipated boundary within which his crop would be cultivated. For two months after he had claimed it, no other person might choose the same place even though no further work was carried out; so long as the land was worked, the law protected the rights of the milpero to the property, but only for the area actually under cultivation.

Apparently rather than modifying colonial practice, land legislation in the Independence period to 1841 merely legalized custom that had grown through colonial days. Low rental was set on public land, and for individual milpas made there, none. For areas above 100 mecatas/ the fee was fixed at one real per 20 mecatas (0.125 peso/2 acres); by silence presumably the legislators exempted the first
100 mecates, the usual maximum size of native milpas.

To stem the expansion of land-hungry settlements which were claiming public lands as their communal property, the government soon ordered each community to maintain its present limits, and stated that rental was to continue for common lands; for those in litigation, fees went to the ayuntamiento, for those clearly baldío, to state officials.

Provisions similar to acordada grants were formalized in law. The colonization regulations issued in December 1825 aimed at providing land for the agriculturist or hacendado who needed it. Still jealous of public lands and their accessibility, Yucatecans were not long in issuing a supplement to the colonization law. To about 1840 these and other provisions of land policy reflected colonial practice and aspirations, as is clear from Chapter Seven.

Land doctrines changed radically in scope and provisions following the revolutionary movement of 1839 and 1840. Temporally the alterations were linked closely with emergence of the transitional type of hacienda, devoted to henequén and to sugar, treated below. The importance of the shift in land policy as an immediate cause of the Caste War warrants deferring examination of it in detail until later. In general, following 1841 came a series of measures which aimed at increasing the amount of public lands open for colonization but simultaneously facilitating their
transfer from the public domain to private ownership. Entrepreneurs who had invested in sugar cane and henequén required outright control of large plots for extended periods; a land policy satisfactory to them aimed at transfer of public lands to private hands in large tracts at low cost. This ran counter to Yucatecan development whereby older haciendas needed expanses of open public lands around their cores.

IV

The sociological organization of Yucatecan haciendas branched from a graded series of "ascribed" and "achieved" status positions. The order and function of the several roles was early sanctioned by custom and then by written law. At the top was the proprietor, the hacendado. He was the entrepreneur capitalist and director of the hacienda enterprise. At the other extreme were native agricultural laborers, bound to the hacienda by debtor laws. Resident supervisors usually represented the master, who in general lived apart from the place; they saw that his policies and wishes were executed. Within the supervisory group there were subdivisions of delegated authority, and among workers differences in obligations and privileges occurred.

The hierarchy worked downward from the master; below him was an overseer or mayordomo, over one or more mayorales and an official of co-ordinate grade, the fiscal; salaried
hands, usually cowboys or woodcutters, ranked above field-
hands, either workers at day wages or a group commonly
known as luneros. Contributing to the economic well-being
of the hacienda but not necessarily a functional part of it
were various groups who rented parcels of its lands, paying
in kind for the right to raise crops. Such renters or
share-croppers lived apart from the hacienda, in their own
independent ranchos or villages, and were not completely
subject to the hacendado's authority. Differences of
duties and compensation helped define the social grades.

As mentioned previously, there was a considerable
correspondence between vocational status and ethnic back-
ground. Proprietors were customarily creoles; mayordomos
were mestizos; luneros were usually Maya. When the Caste
War depleted the labor reservoir of natives, hacienda
enterprises levied on mestizos to fill the status of luneros,
and laws were changed accordingly. The intermediate
positions of "mayoral", "fiscal", and "salaried hand" could
be filled appropriately by mestizos or Maya. Historical
evolution had helped blend and shape the expectations of each
vocational grade to conform with needs of an hacienda and
adjustment to each other.

In one form or another luneros had probably existed
on haciendas since shortly after Conquest. But not until
the late eighteenth century did they catch the official eye
of royal officials; when they were forced to attention, 
**luneros** did not seem to fit into any of the categories which 
legalists of the day had created for classification of 
Maya tributaries. After a search of precedents, Crown 
lawyers came to the conclusion that **luneros** partook of 
some qualities that defined each of several classes: 
colonos or **gansanes**, salaried or recompensed Maya who lived 
on haciendas, **tercianeros** or **arrendatarios**, those who 
rented private lands, and **vagos**, or vagabonds, who had no 
known or fixed residence in a recognized community under a 
native cacique. They finally were classified as emphyteutic 
laborers who had voluntarily agreed tacitly or directly to 
perform limited services for landlords as recompense for 
use of the lands, water, and other physical resources 
controlled by proprietors. They were free vassals who 
had entered into unauthorized contractual relationships.

The issue over the status of **luneros** arose when the 
Crown suppressed encomienda grants and re-arranged adminis-
trative practice in Yucatan. Under new dispensation, every 
Indian of certain age owed an annual tribute payment of 
fourteen **reales** to the Crown; previously some had been paid 
to encomenderos, while others were paid to royal officials 
at reduced rate. Each family was individually liable now; 
before, tribute levies were a communal obligation. Each 
municipal unit had been assessed in accordance with number
of families who had originated there; an Indian whose parents had been born in Ek tun, for instance, was expected to help meet the tribute levy of that village even though he and his family resided in a barrio of Merida. Tax lists now were drawn by place of residence, not or origin, and tribute payment was ordered to be cash rather than in customary goods whose values tradition had fixed. To facilitate its own work, the local royal bureaucracy in 1786 ordered hacendados to advance the Treasury such sums as were due from Indian tributaries residing on haciendas, on the understanding that the proprietors would subsequently reimburse themselves by withholding wages from their laborers.

The hacendados, or at least a powerful segment of them in the Old Colonial section, attempted to resist the order and have it set aside by appealing to higher authority. Traditionally the encomenderos and hacendados had been reasonably successful at maintaining an unimpaired status quo in defiance of attempts to reform or change the existing conditions; the protagonists of this most recent attempt were ex-encomenderos who also were hacienda proprietors.

They charged that it was impossible for them to follow royal dictates. Luneros formed the largest group of hacienda workers and over them the proprietors had little or no control. These Maya, alleged the masters, were voluntary workers who might shift from place to place, who
earned no cash income, and to whom the proprietor paid no money; thus masters could not reimburse themselves by withholding wages from them, as no wages were paid. They stated that the sole obligation which this class of natives recognized was the duty of working one day a week to repay the landlord for use of his water and land; they worked Mondays, "no more," hence their name, luneros (Sp., lunes, Monday). Hacendados merely extended them right to certain grounds — "a place to live, to raise crops, and to pasture their cattle."

Hacendados distinguished between luneros and asalariados, or field hands to whom cash wages were paid. They were willing to assume responsibility for the latter, but not the former. Local authorities threatened to move and concentrate luneros in villages under caciques who would see that the Treasury received its due from them; hacendados then became the champion of the lunero, pointing out how such moves would prejudice his interests as well as throw the province into chaos.

Their defense provides a view of the lunero in 1785. Proprietors claimed that some luneros owned horses, as well as bee-hives, pigs, and chickens. In the land around their houses or in the neighborhood of haciendas they grew a number of products, including maize and henequén, as well as owning fruit trees whose yield likewise belonged
personally to them. These goods and improvements would be damaged or lost by a forced removal. Moreover, the lunero would lose a considerable investment represented by his house and grounds, as usually he had been helped in erection of the hut, and cleaning and fencing of its patio, by companions whom he had rewarded with considerable amounts of maize. Often luneros had no home village to which they could be returned, since many of them had been born on the hacienda and knew no other residence; but when threatened by force, they would usually flee to unknown parts, leaving their goods behind. In short, argued the proprietors, luneros were really no different from Indians who lived on independent ranchos who paid their own tributes.\textsuperscript{35}

In preparation of its counter case, the local officialdom cast further light on luneros, their duties and relationship to proprietors. The provincial Comptroller discussed the origin of the class. He stated that luneros were Maya, some of whom had been impressed illegally at forced agricultural labor by their encomenderos against express prohibitions of the practice by royal authority; others of them were refugees or descendants of refugees whom the hacendados had enticed from native settlements by offers of better conditions, less work and oppression than Indians suffered under their caciques. The exodus, caused by inducements which were prohibited, had notably reduced
the population of native communities, so that they "remain without people, almost abandoned." On the haciendas, which expanded under the migration from villages, the Indians "enjoy complete freedom under the sole authority of proprietors and their foremen known as mayorcoles, appointed by them."

Such emigrants or illegally exploited Maya of encomiendas became *luneros*, he continued, by accepting the obligation to work the fifty-two Mondays of each year for the hacendado. This was a work-payment for land and water. Most of them, however, rather than perform actual Monday labor had commuted it to cultivation of maize for the account of the proprietor, but not all followed this arrangement. Others avoided Monday work by cutting a given amount of firewood, or even paying cash to the proprietor for those Mondays they did not work. In addition to Monday work, or its goods or cash equivalent, *luneros* customarily performed other minor tasks for the proprietor; they drove cattle, collected wax, and the like. He paid them no money for this, but did provide a ration of maize for the days they were so occupied on his concerns.

The Vice-Governor added still further detail to the Comptroller's findings. He mentioned that hacienda owners had consistently hidden the number of their *luneros*, and professed ignorance about their home villages. The
difference between luneros and regular Indian renters was that the former lived on the hacienda, not in recognized native communities, and paid for usufruct of land by service. When luneros commuted their Monday due, usually they agreed to raise a given area of maize for the proprietor.

The customary amount was ten meoates (about an acre) of first year milpa (milpa de roza) and ten of second year milpa (milpa de caña). The former required much preliminary work, while the latter was less arduous; yields from the first were greater, sometimes two or three times those from a second year patch. If the hacendado had paid for the cultivation of these areas at rates fixed by the government he would have disbursed five reales for the milpa de roza and three for the milpa de caña, as the standard rate for the one was a medio per meoate, while second year milpa could be grown three meoates per medio. (See Table 35 for approximate equivalents of units of measure). Since Yucatan was so arid, the right to water controlled by proprietors and upon which life depended played a large part in the relationship established by the lunaro, thought this official.

Settlement of the litigation in favor of the local Bourbon bureaucracy in 1787 apparently initiated new developments. Up to that time proprietors had actively encouraged native disregard of regulations governing their
Table 35. COMMON WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, NINETEENTH CENTURY

Equivalents are very approximate. Units are general unless specified to particular commodities or items. This list is very incomplete.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Usual Commodity measured</th>
<th>Contemporary Equivalent</th>
<th>English Equivalent (American)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vara²</td>
<td>2 pies²</td>
<td>9 pies²</td>
<td>7.6 ft²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mecate²</td>
<td>574-576 varas²</td>
<td>45,402 meces²</td>
<td>.098 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legua²</td>
<td>6,745 varas²</td>
<td>5,000 varas²</td>
<td>4.530 acres</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINEAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>codo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WEIGHTS &amp; DRY MEASURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>almud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arroba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tercio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quintal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legua</td>
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<tr>
<td>legua</td>
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<td>legua</td>
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<tr>
<td>legua</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COINAGE &amp; EXCHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cinco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veinte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuartillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>real</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NB:** Pesos varied; peso fuerte has been taken as standard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAMPLE CONVERSION FACTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yard²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mile²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hectare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
residence, work, and fiscal obligations. Now, however, masters were injured by such actions, as they had an annual investment of at least fourteen reales per lunero who resided on their property; his escape meant loss of this sum, which fell short of covering the value of his work. Logically one would expect the hacendado to demand safeguard of his investment by restrictions on luneros, and an increase in the amount of labor due from them. What steps were taken in the waning years of the colonial period to shift in this direction are not known, but early in the independence period legislation defining and governing debt peonage is found, and a report of 1813 indicates that at least some masters had already increased the labor of commuted Monday service.

Even in 1813, some masters retained the former norm of an acre of each type of maize (de rosa and de caña), possibly because the value of the cereal had risen. It stood at two reales a load; from the maize obligation at the old standard, a proprietor would gain perhaps fifty reales. The money commutation of Monday labor had been standardized at a real a week for each one which the lunero failed to work personally.42 Thus even by retaining the older mores, a proprietor in 1813 gained about the same by accepting work on two one-acre maize plots as in cash from his luneros. But older standards were not as usual as the more common requirement of twenty mecates each of first and
and second year milpa, from which the proprietor could draw an income equivalent to seven or eight pesos a year from efforts of each lunero, about enough to support one salaried hand. Luneros still performed an unspecified amount of extra work, known as *fatiga*, beyond the amount they owed for use of water and land. Luneros still performed an unspecified amount of extra work, known as *fatiga*, beyond the amount they owed for use of water and land. Apparently only few alterations from late colonial years had occurred by the time John L. Stephens visited Yucatan in 1839-40, and again in 1841-42. His report on the situation of luneros mirrored practice on the Hacienda Uxmal, owned by Simon Peon. This hacendado had the reputation of being an enlightened and progressive master, proof of which seems to be that during the Caste War his armed luneros fought invading rebel Maya to protect his property. The commuted Monday service was usual in 1839; each lunero prepared twenty meceses of maize crop for the master, but whether this obligation represents ten of first- and ten of second-year land, or twenty of *milpa de roza*, Stephens does not say. The practice of *fatiga* continued, unspecified in time and amount. Whenever the mayordomo had the church bell rung five times, all luneros gathered for assignment to work on hacienda interests. But for this/they were paid a day’s wage, one *real*, and were given a ration of maize. Debt bound them to the place, but if they were dissatisfied with their treatment, a lunero had the right to seek transfer to a kindlier master.
This process was colloquially known as "getting your paper." On request a master was obligated to furnish a lunero with a statement that his debt was so much and that whoever would pay that amount might use the services of the Indian. The new master assumed payment of the sum to the old, and thus the lunero transferred his bondage from one to the other. Refusal of a proprietor to grant the statement theoretically was cause for prosecution, but the statutory pronouncements probably had small effect on practice; the Indian was required to prove that his master had been brutal and had refused to grant him his paper.45

To reduce his debt, a lunero of the 1840's (and perhaps earlier) could earn cash credit by agreeing to make milpa of larger area than his obligation for water required. Milpa crop for which he received credit on his own account was milpa pagada. Reduction of debt made transfer to a new master easier. The latter would assume much less risk than on a large account.

A lunero with some ambition might some year prepare a first year milpa of one hundred mecates (more probably two of fifty each). Of them, twenty could go toward balancing his labor due; that was milpa de obligación. Another thirty could be designated, with the master's permission, as milpa pagada. Fifty would maintain himself and his family, and their domestic animals, especially since for himself he would get the yield from about ten mecates of second year.
crop. His *milpa pecada* would, according to contemporary judgment of 1845, produce thirty loads of maize, worth at least a peso each. But because the master would probably buy it "in anticipation" (before harvest), its price would be discounted slightly, and he would possibly net twenty-five pesos credit. Under a fair master, the *lunero* system left loophole for social mobility by providing a means whereby debt could be cleared by the agriculturalist zealous enough to work hard. Once cleared of debt, he might even change his status to that of salaried hand or renter, and might be appointed as *mayoral* in charge of a rancho of other *luneros*. This would be unusual. Apparently few or none chose to rise. Most *luneros* seemed content enough to cultivate a minimum amount of land.

The landlord now was in a favored position. The price of maize had quadrupled since 1813. From the *milpa de obligación* of each *lunero* the hacienda, on an average, would derive maize worth from 200 to 240 *reales* in return for a putative debt that annually could have been met by 52 *reales* cash, one for each Monday. Few *luneros* were willing or able to handle their affairs on a cash basis. The other side to the picture was that in years when crops failed for lack of rain or were washed out by too much, the master generally fed his *luneros* from hacienda supplies, charging it to them at increased rates.

Despite the apparently unfavorable economic position of
a lunero, young Maya born on the place usually were registered in that status when they came to social maturity. Lads who were too young to do a man's work were called chiquereros, but when they were fit to assume adult responsibilities and to make milpa in their own right, they were engrossed on the lunero rolls. In this sense, a lunero status was also an age grade, as well as a vocational category. When each boy had his name placed on the register, opening an account which probably would never be balanced until he died, he "contracted the duty of performing fagina every Monday, and of cultivating a given number of mecates of land, exclusive of those he might raise for the customary price."48

The lunero was a person, not a chattel. Though he could move from the place after meeting the legal requirements, he could not be arbitrarily shifted from one hacienda to another by his master's sale of his debt. He was bound to the land, a sort of glebe servant.49 By the time of the Caste War it seems clear that he owed an additional amount of agricultural labor in the form of milpa, beyond his Monday obligation.

The earlier pattern persisted after the struggles of 1847. Only small modifications are reported by 1860. Luneros were then, as in the early nineteenth century, expected to perform a day's work for the hacienda every Monday, or to substitute for it the payment of a silver real. In
place of this, they could cultivate twenty maceates each of first and second year milpa. An alternative was open on some haciendas. The lunero prepared only ten maceates of each kind of maize patch, but then also was required to pay the proprietor his weekly real without fail. Whatever choice was open to commute Monday labor, luneros all performed fatiga, but it had been standardized to a two-hour period on Saturday morning. They were obligated at other times to labor on hacienda interests, but were remunerated in cash or personal credit. The milpa de obligación of two acres of milpa de roza and two of milpa de caña represented an amount of labor for which the proprietor would have paid twelve pesos and four reales [100 reales] said Santiago Méndez.*

The luneros of 1785, 1813, 1840 and 1860 had much in common. Small alterations had taken place over these seventy-five years. In the eighteenth century a lunero could repay his obligation for use of private land and water in a number of ways: by personal service every Monday, by an unspecified amount of firewood, or by preparation of maize plots, each an acre, one of land that had to be cleared, the other on cleared land; in addition he performed an unspecified amount of miscellaneous hacienda work for which he received no pay, but a ration of maize. His link to the hacienda was chiefly through the fact that conditions there were less oppressive than in village communities. No mention is
made in sources of debt bondage or a лунеро's making milpa pagada; his crops were his own, once his labor due had been met.

In 1860 debt bondage, fully crystallized in law, kept лунероs on haciendas. Their obligations included making a milpa de obligación; if they chose to prepare the minimum quantity/ (ten mecales respectively of first and second year land) they owed a real for Monday service. This cash was not due if they made an additional amount of milpa de obligación. To reduce their indebtedness, they also could prepare milpas pagadas. Фатига was institutionalized, at two hours weekly, on Saturday. Other work brought cash returns.

Seemingly, on incomplete evidence, there was less change in the form of obligation and the status of лунероs from 1840 to 1860 than there was from 1785 to 1813, by which time the amount of milpa de obligación had generally doubled. Apparently the labor due from лунероs was independent of changes in wages or the price of maize; it was not open to bargaining, but was set and maintained by custom.

A writer in 1846 analyzed the various advantages and defects in peonage based on лунеро relationships. He deplored the brutality possible and even usual under it, and the static social conditions it bred. He assumed, possibly correctly, that the great group of Maya on haciendas were not zealous for political and economic freedom, but that
they were willing to exchange liberty of action for security. Though in general their material existence was at low level, and they did not live rich emotional or intellectual lives, still "no one sleeps on the ground ... none perishes from hunger or overwork. All have maize, vegetables, fruit, and meat.... It is true that most of the year they go about nearly naked, but that is because of the heat of the climate... It is true also that they lack a doctor's care or medicines for sickness and infirmities, but the masters themselves are subject to the same privation, if they do not live in the capital or large cities."³⁵⁰ Probably the social condition compared favorably to that of slaves on plantations in the United States or Brazil, contemporary peasants in Europe, or the industrial workers in the United States and Great Britain of 1845.

A jornalero worked for a day's wage, paid in cash by an employer. Although luneros might also sometimes be jornaleros, such day laborers did not necessarily live on the hacienda. They might be independent rancheros living at its edge, willing from time to time to supplement their income by contracting a given amount of work. The wage in 1846 for a day's work, counted at a minimum of six hours, was a real, plus half an aljád of maize. Since maize sold
at around a peso a load, this amount of corn was worth
about three or four cents. In cash and kind a day's wage
was about sixteen or seventeen cents. It is interesting
to note that this wage level persisted with but little al-
teration at least as late as 1878, when a committee of
merchants reported that day wages ranged from eighteen to
thirty-seven cents for agricultural work, dependent on the
price of maize. Day wages for artisans in 1878 had been
standardized in cities to thirty-seven cents, although they
might sometimes climb as high as a peso.

Probably the force of jornaleros that an hacienda would
need for seasonal requirements would be recruited from among
its own jornaleros, plus the independent workers who rented
land from the proprietor. Though they were under no legal
compulsion to work for him, they probably would find it ad-
visable to do so if he wished. In 1813 such independent
villagers or rancheros who grew maize on lands controlled
by an hacendado paid him five cargas of maize or ten silver
reales for the privilege. With this payment came right to
a hundred mecate plot (about ten acres) for three successive
years. If the rancho of Sabachshé, which Stephens visited
in 1841, was typical, ground rent had increased in the
same proportion as had milpas de obligación over the years
from 1813.

The renters of Sabachshé annually paid ten cargas of
maize per family to the mistress of the hacienda on whose
lands they grew crop. Apparently too, the ranchers of Nohcacab worked as jornaleros or renters on lands of the Hacienda Uxmal. The proprietor claimed the milpa lands as part of his family holdings, but the independent ranchers demurred. They argued that the lands on which they made their milpas belonged communally and collectively to the settlement, and not the hacienda.

Salaried hands, asalariados, were distinct from other groups of labor, the luneros, jornaleros, and casual renters who might give service from time to time. As early as 1785, hacendados distinguished them from day laborers and "Monday-workers." Unlike the latter, asalariados received a monetary return for their labor; their relations to proprietors were that of employees, not tenants who paid part of their rent by services. Although the term vaquero, cowhand, applied to a particular group of salaried workers, the label seems also to have been generic, applicable to all salaried workers. As mentioned below, the duties of vaqueros in this extended sense went beyond merely caring for cattle and approximated those of hired agriculturalists. The advanced social standing of asalariados over luneros was symbolized by their exemption from the Saturday fatiga. Having no obligation for use of land and water, they performed no Monday labor or its equivalent.

Wages paid to asalariados were on a monthly or annual basis. They varied according to the market for hired hands.
The normal stipend paid in 1846 through the interior points ranged from twelve to fifteen pesos a year, amounting to a monthly return of from eight to ten reales. Less populated sections, where labor needs brought sharper competition for a scarce supply, saw these sums raised considerably. Along the west coast from thirty to thirty-six pesos annual wage (twenty to perhaps twenty-four reales a month) was standard. The eight reales which B. M. Norman reported for the Hacienda Chichen in 1841 was probably normal for the place and time. Moreover, as he mentions, such workers received a weekly or monthly ration of maize for subsistence in addition to money wages. Then and later it amounted to around sixteen or twenty almudes, hovering around a carga and a half. This was the amount thought in 1766 to be the requirement of an average Indian family; from 1765 to 1841 the value of maize had doubled.

The lightly populated zones on the edges of Yucatan (where correspondingly there was lack of available hands) paid the best rates. Wages in Bacalar and Carmen were far above the levels maintained where competition was less keen. Five to six reales a day for a jornalero were promised at Bacalar for intermittent tasks, such as cutting firewood, extraction of lumber for construction, handling small boats, and contractual field work like planting, weeding, or harvesting crops. Monthly and annual salaries were inflated accordingly; in addition to keep, an asalariado there would
earn perhaps ninety-six pesos a year, at the going rate of eight pesos per month.60

Although this scale was eight times that of north central Yucatan (at Chichen), still higher was the one in force around the island of Carmen. Day wages were reckoned at about a peso, eight reales (the sum earned in a month at Chichen), while annual income for an asalariado could easily reach 120 pesos, or ten times that of the agricultural centers of the peninsula.61 Higher wages evidently brought enhanced prestige, as where loggers and field hands worked on the same West Coast establishments, the former were esteemed higher than the latter.62

Commonly the name for salaried workers in agricultural areas was vaquero. The true vaquero, cowhand, with a special costume "which gave them a savage aspect," was analogous to the charro of northern Mexico, the gaúcho of the Argentine pampas, and the North American cow-puncher. But their Yucatecan counterpart seems to have left less trace in popular lore than any of these. He was mentioned only in passing by travelers.63 Possibly the very slight stir of romance which Yucatecan vaqueros caused in the literary circles of the current or later generations is explained by the prosaic nature of their regular duties. These were as much agricultural as they were picturesque specialized and associated only with stock handling. Small estates and restricted area for cattle in Yucatan gave but small scope for significant
development of the semi-nomadic existence which in earlier days (before the introduction of scientific grazing techniques) marked many of the cattle-raising areas of the world, and bequeathed a characteristic folklore as a literary mine.64

Like luneros, the vaqueros formed part of the permanent labor force of an estancia or hacienda. The former, with help from day laborers, and even ground rent paid in kind from arrendatarios, were chiefly preoccupied with cultivation of maize that supported all. Vaqueros, on the other hand, did most of the remaining jobs which fell outside the scope of milperos, persons concerned with milpas. A primary duty of vaqueros was to handle stock and cattle, to guard them, round them up, brand them and carry out routine tasks for maintenance of the herds. Among their regular responsibilities also was repair and renovation of the hacienda water supply and distribution systems, under their charge were the sweep-wells, tanks, and cane pipes that irrigated the fields. In addition, they planted and cared for the truck patch (huerta) and the orchards. Fore-shadowing their eventual submergence into the mass of peons on commercial haciendas, by 1860 a regular chore of vaqueros was extraction of a given quota of henequén fiber from the raw leaves.65 Like luneros, they lived on the planta of the hacienda, apparently in huts furnished them by proprietors. Like the former, and other resident workers, they fell
under the incumbrance of debt bondage. The vaqueros in agricul-
tural districts were quite as likely to be Maya as Mestizo, but their counterparts along the southern part of the West Coast were almost universally Mestizos, "less docile and more demanding than the Indian."66

The minor supervisory roles on haciendas were performed either by Indians or mestizos. The major overseer, the mayordomo, was always a Mestizo or a foreigner. The distinct status respectively of mayocol, fiscal, mayoral, and mayordomo, possibly only would be found separately on large haciendas. The several functions implied by these categories might be discharged on smaller places by only one or two persons. The rank of mayocol and fiscal were coordinate and below a mayoral. The mayordomo stood at the top of the supervisors except in the rare cases where a single proprietor had a number of haciendas which he placed under a general manager, to whom the separate mayordomos reported.67 Usually subsidiary units such as a sitio or rancho, below a full-sized hacienda, were headed by a mayoral.

Mayocol is a hybrid word. Its meaning defines the status and responsibility of the post. From Spanish comes mayor, "chief," and from Maya, col, "milpa." He was inspector of the milpas made for the hacienda's account by luneros and other workers. For instance, he was responsible for all milpas de obligación and that these met customary specifications. He personally apparently had no power
to punish any shortcomings he might discover. He was merely to report them to a mayoral or mayor domo, who then investigated and act ed accordingly.68

If these hacienda authorities ordered punishment for delinquencies, the fiscal administered it. His function was similar to the fiscal in native villages; he whipped, taught, and collected contributions (in some cases). He was a schoolmaster, and instructed children in their catechism and primary letters, if the hacendado supported a private school on his property.69 On haciendas and in villages in colonial times, the whip of a fiscal was his badge of authority. It had not disappeared generally by 1841, when in Ticol Stephens saw one used at a fancy dress representation of hacienda life.70 The remuneration of mayocoles and fiscales is not reported, but probably was the same as for regular asalariados.

A mayoral customarily had full charge of a designated section of an hacienda, or even the whole hacienda itself when the mayor domo was absent. Seemingly the social status and administrative responsibility of this official corresponded about to that of a cacique in a native civil community. In purely local matters he had extensive power, but deferred to mestizo and creole authorities for policy and major decisions. The normal unit over which a mayoral acted was a detached rancho which formed part of an hacienda. On it his charges would be either a group of agriculturalists,
or perhaps be a small body of cowhands. A poem of the period implies that mayorales were likely to be Indian; the one in charge of milpas at the ruins of Uxmal was the only person in the vicinity who could speak Spanish. 71 The rewards and compensations of mayorales likewise are not mentioned in printed sources. Probably they drew salaries equivalent to a vaquero, plus the usual maintenance rations.

"Each hacienda has its major-domo, who attends to all the details of the management of the estate," wrote Stephens after his first visit to Yucatan. "In the absence of the owner," he continued, "he is his viceroy, and has the same powers over the tenants." 72 From brief reports and passing mention of numerous mayordomos found in travel accounts, it would seem that they varied widely in temperament, character, and responsibilities from hacienda to hacienda. 73 Almost without exception they were drawn from Mestizo groups. In some instances the post tended to become hereditary, on occasion filled with the bastard offspring of the incumbent; in other instances there was a high rate of turnover, so that it was thought noteworthy that one hacendado had kept the same mayordomo for twenty-six years. 74

Usually the mayordomo was in a difficult situation. He was responsible to an absentee owner for profitable operation of the establishment, yet dared not exploit the tenantry too far. Even before the Caste War the hacienda Mayas occasionally
killed an overseer; the attitude and actions of mayordomos as a group were thought by Carl Heller to be an important element in the distrust which Indians showed of whites. Lacking the affection or even respect of the Indians, mayordomos likewise were distrusted by the proprietors. Baron Waldeck and Stephens each set forth a view of the overseers that was held by their creole masters.

Waldeck, often more colorful than correct, claimed that mayordomos were the most bold-faced thieves who existed in the province. Though often illiterate, they could figure and calculate exactly enough to cheat their masters through a whole series of tricks and falsifications. Yet with all their thievery, Waldeck added in an unexpected burst of morality, they did not live long to enjoy their gains; women and gambling in turn robbed them of their money and these excesses brought them to an early grave. In the same strain Stephens reported that "These major domos form a class in Yucatan who need sharp looking after. Like the Scotch servant applying for a place, they are not particular about wages, and are satisfied with what little they can pick up about the house."

Absentee landlordism gave them wide scope for exploitation and unchecked stealing. The mayordomo was the central figure on an hacienda during the prolonged absences of masters. In his hands lay administration of justice; he adjudicated quarrels between the tenants, and meted out
punishment for infractions of discipline. He might administer the beatings himself rather than turn them over to the fiscal. For all intents and purposes, the mayordomo was The Law, and his decisions could be appealed only to the master directly, on his infrequent visits. Although self-interest dictated prudence, a mayordomo with a grudge against either a master or a tenant was in a position to inflict considerable damage and suffering. On him fell the odium that a ruling class reserves for those who perform distasteful tasks for them, as well as the accumulated resentment of the labor over whom he was official tyrant. To be a mayordomo was not a gentleman's job.

In his formal attire, a mayordomo was a colorful figure. In workaday times he dressed much as did other laborers, in sandals, loose trousers, and shirt outside the pants; his position was indicated by headgear. Indoors he wore a sort of night-cap, while outside he sported an expensive straw hat that might cost nine pesos. On his rounds of inspection and supervision he dressed in the usual vaquero outfit, but again with distinctive headwear.

But when he donned official wear for formal or important business, no one would confuse him with the other salaried hands. Then his clothes consisted of a tightly buttoned suit made of black and red checked cotton, belted with gold buckles; around his throat was a fancy kerchief, and on his head a small hat something like a derby, on which
were ribbons and a pom-pom, and on his feet yellow leather shoes. Over the right shoulder swung a gay serape, and in his left hand he carried a saber with silver-chased pommel and silver-worked scabbard. It may be that his display of arms was a traditional status symbol, showing either noble Indian blood or Spanish admixture, as colonial law forbade the lower orders to bear weapons except by special order. This gay attire, said Waldeck, "is their formal wear; it is the grand uniform of plantation managers."79

VI

Proprietors played a generally passive role in the day-to-day functioning of an hacienda as a social and economic unit. As entrepreneurs and directors, they delegated most of the irksome details to mayordomos and contented themselves with an occasional supervisory visit to the establishment to audit the accounts of the overseer or to play the lord of the manor by ordering a barbecue and distributing food and liquor at round-up time.

Stephens was quite amazed that generally the hacendados knew so little about their estates. Speaking of the Hacienda Mucuyche, he mentioned that "The whole appearance of things gave an idea of country residence upon a scale of grand hospitality, and yet we learned, to our astonishment, that most of the family had never seen it. The only one by whom
it was ever visited was the son who had it in charge, and he came only for a few days at a time, to see how things were conducted, and examine the accounts of the mayor-domo.  

Even on occasions when masters customarily lived for extended periods on haciendas, they did so only during the six or seven months of dry weather; there was a seasonal migration to urban centers when the rains began, because of the unhealthful condition of the country at that time. Plantations on which the proprietor lived usually were better kept, and illustrated the truth of the Spanish proverb that "The eye of the master fattens the horse."  

But though usually absent, the proprietor carried out an important function. He arranged finances and marketing, and took the necessary political steps to protect the unit as an operating whole. He bought and sold property, and ratified or rejected agreements with renters. In times of scarcity, when crops had failed, he issued the orders that meant much to the resident laborers: if the hacienda granaries were opened to them, they might weather the famine, but if the proprietor chose to market his grain at the high prices which he could then obtain, misery and possibly death resulted. A proprietor could advocate or curb innovations in technique or products, and the consequences of his judgments affected the social and economic well-being of the place. There was virtually no appeal from his economic dictates, and few from the social. He arranged or forbade
marriages among laborers, paid the marriage fees, head-
taxes, baptismal and burial charges of tenants, as well as
advancing them small sums in cash. At the annual fair in
Halachó, Simon Peon pointed out perhaps a hundred and fifty
of his workers to whom his hacienda authorities had given
money for the occasion.

Keeping an hacienda financially above water was not an
especially simple task. In Yucatan, and throughout Mexico
generally, money and credit were scarce. Rates of interest
on borrowed capital ranged from 12% to 24% annually.85 As
a capitalist, an hacienda had to watch carefully the uses
to which his money was put; to tie it up in land or advances
to workers would leave little or no operating money; and
force mortgages whose interest would cut his income to neg-
ligible amounts. Scarcity of liquid capital is one factor
that lay behind the attitude of the neo-colonial hacendados
toward public lands; and the stringent debtor laws govern-
ing labor.

VII

The value of an hacienda lay not only in the land and
water it controlled, but also its permanent labor supply.
The accumulated debts of its workers, which bound them to the
place, were among its frozen assets, if sale of the place
was contemplated. They represented a capital investment
which brought little return but assurance of a stable supply of labor. The financial trick which the hacendado's policy of advances to labor had to perform successfully was to keep the laborers well and contented enough not to flee beyond reach of the law, while at the same time keeping their debts to him at a minimum.

Whatever the several causes, hacienda labor had developed a psychology of dependence; Maya expected the master to do the worrying and to provide them with water, protection, and goods, or the money to buy goods for family existence. Each resident family represented a drain on his resources that had to be made up by them in the form of products. Under prevailing conditions of the money market a small sum advanced to a lunero or a vaquero could have brought a rather large return invested elsewhere, but apparently hacendados did not charge interest on the debts owed them by their laborers.

The accompanying tabulation, Table 36, illustrates debt bondage in detail. It is a sample account, generalized and composite, for any vaquero some time after 1830, but before the Revolution of 1840. Though it is a fictional example, the picture is sufficiently true in principle and circumstantial items to warrant trust. Accounting between master and servant generally took place at round-up time in the spring; then the annual account, the ohan cuenta was cast, and its results incorporated into the larger running
Table 36. SAMPLE HACIENDA LABORER’S OPEN ACCOUNT, ca. 1835

N.B. Sums are in pesos and reales; 8 reales equal 1 peso.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANNUAL ACCOUNT, CURRENT YEAR CONCLUDED (from last Spring round-up)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CREDITS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual salary, one year at 1 peso monthly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>DEBITS</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fixed recurring charges (paid to specified agencies)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comunidad (local government)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Taxes (state)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obventions (Church)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Miscellaneous cash advances to laborer</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last accounting day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip with cattle to city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip with charcoal and wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip with fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiesta of patron saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At birth of child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall round-up (for gelda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Disbursements, total** | 22 3 |

| **DEFICIT, Current year only** | 10 3 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CUMULATIVE ACCOUNT (&quot;Nohoch Cuenta&quot;)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deficit first day of current year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficit this year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, to date</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ANNUAL ACCOUNT, to next Spring round-up (&quot;Chan Cuenta&quot;)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash advance, today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (Total indebtedness, today) | 48 0 |

Source: Gerónimo Castillo, "La hacienda del Refugio," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 246-49; tabulated from verbal description of various items mentioned there.
account, the nohoch cuentas. Translated literally, these Maya-Spanish terms mean respectively "little" and "big" account. In the context from which the figures were plucked, the debtor stated that the cash advances he had received right after settling his score went to buy clothing for his family and to pay for masses, one to Saint Anthony, another for the patron saint of the hacienda, for the success of his crops in the year just closed.86

Debt bondage was institutionalized in legislation governing vagabonds and laborers. The first were to make authorities alert to wanderers who might be debtors. Persons roaming the countryside without being able to account for themselves could be jailed and bound over to the person who paid the fines.87 In scope and intent laws against vagabonds were very similar to colonial legislation incorporated in the Recopilación. Aside from imposing a debt on wandering hands, the device was useful to isolate any disturbing elements; if no one wished to add a laborer to his force by paying the fine, vagabonds could be put to work on community roads or in its fields.88

Labor legislation from 1824 through 1850 varied but little, except in minor detail. A law passed in April 1824 provided that all labor obligations must be fulfilled, and that any worker who did not have a signed receipt from his last master stating that he was free and clear of debt was returnable to that proprietor; this applied especially to
mayordomos, mayorales, vaqueros, and luneros. Other hands, presumably day workers, were to receive a ticket as proof they had completed the job for which they were hired. In 1832 came a similar regulation, one of whose provisions was that salaried hands needed to give a two months' notice before they could receive their final clearance papers.99

In 1843 labor law was given a comprehensive overhauling and provided with an impressive facade; the essence remained the same. The regulation divided workers according to the type of obligations they "voluntarily" undertook. Salaried hands -- mayordomos, vaqueros, mayorales -- as well as jornaleros, carpenters, and others, had an "expressed" obligation; their specific duties were clearly definable. Luneros who were indebted were said to have a "tacit" obligation, while luneros who were free of debt had an "indeterminate" one. No laborer could move about until all his obligations for labor had been met; further, indebted luneros could not seek a new master during the agricultural year, which was defined as the eleven month period from July 1 to May 30. The month of June was left as the recognized time when luneros could seek a proprietor who was willing to assume their debt. The only occasion when a lunero could change during the year was for a provable case of maltreatment. In 1847 came another order along the same lines; one of its provisions was that in payment for the various types of agricultural labor "custom will make the law."90
The reason that numerous labor laws were passed, each similar in tone to the preceding, was that political changes from time to time seated authorities from different parties. The similarity of statutes merely indicates that regulation of agricultural labor never became a major political issue, since politics was largely monopolized by the proprietor class. They thought alike in this respect, however much they might differ on other basic economic and political issues.

The colonial and neo-colonial hacienda system in the first part of the nineteenth century provided its entrepreneurs with fairly regular but small profits from a combination of cheap land and cheap labor. Under the prevailing land doctrines, which hacendados had defended through the late colonial period, very little actual capital was tied up in full ownership of soils on which grew subsistence crops. Various illegal but customary colonial devices, then legal debt peonage provided a constant, inexpensive labor supply. It had nearly all the advantages and also the drawbacks of slave labor, but without the added necessity of tying capital up in purchase of slaves. The agrarian revolution which was initiated about 1830 was not an agrarian revolt by the dispossessed, but was a change of policy at the hands of rival proprietors. It left the labor relations virtually untouched.
VIII

The single most important agricultural activity in Yucatan was the production of maize. Whether measured by value, by acreage, or its place in the thoughts of laborers, the ancient cereal was still pre-eminent. On a regular annual supply of maize rested economic well-being of the peninsula, as well as its social contentment and political stability. Shortage or failure of crop on which all persons directly or indirectly depended for daily sustenance produced dislocations that varied in intensity according to the duration and severity of the lack. Surpluses or even normal maize yields assured a modicum of contentment in the population at large. The business of most haciendas was to provide themselves with the means of subsistence, and if possible, to produce overages that could help feed the relatively small urban populations. To this degree, maize was a commercial crop; to hacendados it brought cash returns in the markets of Merida and Campeche, and on very rare occasions, small quantities might even be shipped to Havana.

But in general the production of cereals fed only local groups in the area which raised it. Haciendas of the time were but one of the units which directed the major part of its activities to cultivation of grain; villages, ranchos, and to a lesser extent, the towns, also aimed at self-sufficiency. The interior economy of haciendas was so
arranged that part of the labor force toiled almost exclusively to produce food for itself and for other workers whose time and efforts were directed by the proprietor toward concerns which in the end would produce some cash revenue, also needed to run the establishment. The economics of commercial products, old ones like cattle and hides and newer ones like sugar and henequén, are treated in the next chapter. Here emphasis is placed on subsistence aspects.

Production of food was not restricted to haciendas, but extended throughout Yucatan as a whole. So far as feeding its own people were concerned, each unit was almost self-reliant. The chief exceptions were cities, where a relatively large body of non-agriculturalists relied for support on maize surpluses from haciendas within transportation distance, as well as from overages accumulated in villages and ranchos.

Maya civilization was based on maize; with some adjustment and additions, so was the Hispano-Indian society that subsequently evolved through the colonial period. Under Spanish rule, each rural Indian family raised a minimum of sixty or seventy maceates of maize; as seen below, this area would yield sufficient crop to maintain the family and to provide additional grain with which part of the required tribute could be paid. Special fields of maize prepared by villagers supported their local native cacique, and payment
of Spanish tribute in cloth, fowl, and maize helped support the conquerors. The increase in amount of labor for each Maya agriculturalist over that which was customary in pre-Conquest times is a matter of speculation, and can be figured variously to give any predetermined result. Whatever the social adjustments were through twenty-eight decades of Spanish domination, it is clear that by the end of Bourbon rule a pattern had been set which changed little by 1845, and which, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, persisted until near the end of the nineteenth century.

The accompanying set of figures (Table 37) needs but a glance to establish the essential similarity between the last decade of colonial rule and the situation about a generation later. At the earlier date only the East Colonial area, and especially the zone around Tizimin, produced significantly more grain than it needed; apparently it flowed to the area of Merida. In each period, the sections were virtually self-contained so far as food supplies were concerned; the leveling off to almost complete sectional self-support that transpired with growth of transportation routes is striking. Local subsistence accompanied growth in each area, for it should be remembered that the total population of the peninsula increased greatly between these dates, as figures in Chapter Two have indicated. Maize was still a major crop everywhere in 1845.

The fact that maize cultivation, whether carried
### Table 37. POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY, 1810 vs. 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population 1813</th>
<th>Population 1845</th>
<th>Maize Cultivation 1810</th>
<th>Maize Cultivation 1845</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Colonial</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Colonial</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
- POPULATION, 1813, Policarpo Antonio de Sahánove et al., Apuntaciones para la estadística de la Provincia de Yucatán que formaron de orden superior en 20 de marzo de 1814 (Merida, 1871), p. 7.
- POPULATION, 1845, see above, Table 18.
- MAIZE, 1813, Pedro Manuel Regil, Memoria instructiva sobre el comercio general de la provincia de Yucatán y particular del puerto de Campeche (Madrid, 1814), Tabla 2.
- MAIZE, 1845, see above, Table 24.

on under the shadow of an hacienda, on the edges of an Hispano-Indian community, or on a lonely rancho, was a way of life as well as an economic activity, injects wide margins of error in any quantitative considerations of this prime enterprise. It supported a system of values and attitudes which has always made calculations difficult and reports unreliable. Morris Steggerda has stated a truism, often overlooked, when he writes that to query how much maize an Indian has sowed, and how much his yield was, is to pose a question which is "a delicate one to ask a Maya. It is comparable to asking a man in our country how much money he
earns or how much he has in the bank. An Indian is often reticent in supplying such figures until his confidence is gained."92 To Maya, who were the ones who raised the food for the other groups, maize is more than a crop; it is a symbol highly charged with emotional force. Its meaning to natives is roughly analogous to that of an hacienda for the creole, the flag to a nation, money to a miser. Prestige and self-esteem rest on it.

The emotional overtones which maize hold for Maya may seem irrelevant to an economic analysis of subsistence agriculture, but they are essential for a true understanding of many social facts and even political episodes. For instance, before and during the Caste War the destruction and sacking of native milpas by Mestizo and Creole troops brought shocked and immediate Indian responses far out of proportion to the monetary value of damages inflicted. That mestizo military forces had burned maize was adduced by Indian caciques in 1847 as just cause and excuse for the atrocities they themselves committed.93 To the Maya mind the sack of a milpa was akin to rape or sacrilege. Among nearly all Maya groups the destruction of maize is a heinous crime; as one route to perdition it is sometimes equated with sodomy and incest.94

The tinkering with agricultural mechanisms which creole statesmen did on the eve of the Caste War appeared harmless to them, since they viewed maize as a commodity which, like any other, was subject to planning and change. But maize
was, and still is, enshrouded with an aura of sentiments that insulated it from calm and rational consideration by Maya. Maize is more than a commodity, it is the visible symbol of an invisible complex world, peopled by mythical beings whom the Maya respect and fear.

Repugnant to native minds was the thought of waging war by destroying an enemy's milpas. Even in bitter pre-Conquest struggles between native groups on Yucatan, the maize plots of each were sacrosanct, and thus were left untouched by invaders. Part of the powerful sanctions responsible stemmed from fear, and were religious in essence.

Despite efforts of Spaniards and creoles over the colonial period, belief in the spirits and gods of the milpas was not killed. Even now they live in Maya minds, however much they have changed their names for Christian ones or have been variously bastardized from the pre-conquest concepts. The attitudes and votive actions accompanying each step of the process by which maize is raised in milpas have remained nearly as stable as the techniques themselves. The latter have changed but little since they were first reported by sixteenth century Spaniards. Still used is an ancient reckoning of the agricultural year, based on lunar count; the shaman-priest, the modern H-men, still plays a significant role. His presence is deemed necessary for the well-being of the crop, and even in his absence the ceremonies are performed by the most adequate substitute available.
The milpa itself is still personified, and generally is thought to have "a mysterious personality." In anticipation or thanksgiving for favors (in the form of a good yield), various offerings are made personally to the plot. Maize and Maya are linked emotionally. The rhythm of cultivation and the series of services prescribed at various points in it set the tone of emotional life. Even modern city Maya, divorced from the land and nearly submerged into an urban proletariat without strongly patterned sentiments of their own retain a considerable knowledge of these rural ceremonies.

On commercial henequén plantations, where maize is bought and distributed to Maya workers by the management, it is not unusual for Indians to prepare a small maize milpa whose yield and economic value is almost nil. Its contribution to the psychic tone of the laborer is considerable. Maize gives meaning to the life of a Maya. It was and has been a preoccupation, almost an obsession among the native populations of Yucatan.

Completely divergent points of view marked the oreóle analysts and the Maya agriculturalists as to the function that milpa agriculture should play in the total subsistence economy. These differences in outlook still exist. To the Maya, the milpa is not an economic enterprise whose profit and loss are calculable wholly in monetary losses and gains. It is the center of a household economy that provides material and other satisfactions. In casting his annual accounts, a
nativo feels content if he has produced enough maize and other subsidiary items to feed himself, his family, and his domestic animals for the forthcoming year.

The milpa yields him much that he required beyond maize. Beans, melons, and other vegetables, honey and wax from the bees usually kept in milpa plots, firewood from clearing the brush, are but some of its by-products. Where older techniques of weaving or shoemaking have disappeared, and he relies on the machine world to provide them, a milpero needs to plan only a relatively small additional amount of cultivation to provide small sums of cash to purchase them, as well as money to pay his taxes and contribute to his Church. The maize itself forms a very high percentage of his family's diet, prepared in numerous ways which Maya tastes find palatable.

Although milpa agriculture is a continuous round of activity in successive months for year after year, there are frequent intermissions in the cycles that give leisure for hunting, attendance at fairs and fiestas, and just plain loafing. Technical skill required to produce maize in milpas is much greater than superficial observers might suppose; a good amount of skilled judgment and decision is involved. The welfare of his family rests on the milpero's correct estimates, often on scant evidence, of soils and weather. His recognition in the community depends on the quality of his crop, and the reputation of the community
in the area is likewise connected with their collective successes or failures. The processes included in the cycle of maize cultivation are simple to enumerate, but difficult to practice.

Milpa agriculture differs from tillage agriculture in that the cultivation uses no plows. The ground is not broken, harrowed and raked. A milpa is an unplowed patch in the surrounding brush, usually fenced to prevent intrusion of animals. The major steps in its cultivation are selection of the field, clearing and fencing, planting, bending over the maize stalks so that they will not be rotted by rains, and harvesting.

Work on the milpa proceeds through nearly every month of the year, with considerable intervals when the plot is not visited. Activities are closely geared to the seasons and weather in each. Milpa sites for the ensuing year are revisited in the dry season; in January or February the milpero with machete hacks away forest growth to make a clearing of required size, leaving the brush piled as it falls. When winter suns have dried the fallen brush and dried the clearing, he sets fire to it in April or May; the wood ashes are the only fertilizer usually applied.

In late May or June comes planting. This may be divided into two operations. With a pointed stick, the farmer makes holes into which he drops maize grains mixed with other seeds, usually beans and calabashes. At this point enters
an important ceremony, Chao-chao, to insure rains. The plot is weeded following the first rain, and then abandoned until September. The "vengeance of the milpa," a spirit who revenges itself on intruders is sufficient protection against other Maya. In September or October, the ears which have grown during the rainy months are bent or doubled, so that they mature and harden by preventing further rain from entering them and molding the grain. Harvesting is a gradual process that extends from November through the next February. Meantime, in August or September, the milpero searches out suitable places for next year's operations, since annually a new milpa in the uncut brush must be planted. 101

Various estimates have been made of the amount of time which a Maya spends making milpa. Recent investigations tend to support each other, within the error attributable to estimates and possibly to different localities. Steggerda has calculated that about eight hundred hours a year must be invested to produce a milpa fifty meates square. A local investigator, Augusto Pérez Toro, obtained figures, which show that 1,584 hours would be needed to cultivate twice the area; doubling Steggerda's findings gives 1,632 hours. Since the Maya working day ranges from six to eight hours, the average of Steggerda's figure and that of Pérez Toro, divided by an average day of seven hours indicates that a plot of one hundred meates would consume 229 & 4
days of an unaided milpero. Thus a carga of maize repre-
sents about sixteen hours labor, the figure used below. 102

Plots of one hundred maceates, or two of fifty, however,
would far outstrip in yield the modest needs of a Maya
family for its own subsistence. A milpero who planted
that much crop would really be an entrepreneur with an eye
to the commercial market rather than modestly contenting
himself with covering the needs of his family for food,
with provision for a minimum cash revenue.

Basic to his own planning, as well as to creole govern-
mental authorities seeking to insure the peninsula as a
whole an adequate supply of maize, is the mooted question
of how much maize a Maya family annually consumes. The
quantitative data show discrepancies. Those for the nine-
teenth century, based on empiric observation, and more re-
cent scientific results are in essential agreement. The
sole eighteenth-century figure encountered is suspect; it
is ambiguous, in that the authors do not state whether it
represents one adult/ or a family, and it may have purposely
been stated low to buttress an argument for reform. Nine-
teenth-century sources do not distinguish as clearly as
would be desirable between maize raised for human consump-
tion/ and that required for animals, a lacuna that is
present in the results shown by Redfield and Villa.

Table 38 attempts to reduce these various findings to
a comparable basis. One difficulty, of course, is that
Hispano-Maya measures are approximations; the basic unit of weight, the carga, varies from 87 to 94 pounds. A carga of 94 pounds is arbitrarily used in Table 38. To assume that an average Maya household annually required thirty cargas of maize for itself and a few fowl would not miss the truth by far, if figures in Table 38 have any validity.

The daily and monthly rations of maize that were customarily paid to day-laborers and salaried hands, about a bushel a week, was thus adequate, and really released them from necessity of making milpa themselves.

Table 38. ANNUAL QUANTITY AND VALUE OF MAIZE NEEDED BY A MAYA HOUSEHOLD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REPORT NO.</th>
<th>Dated</th>
<th>AMOUNTS</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cargas &amp; Almudes</td>
<td>Pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>17 4</td>
<td>1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>34 8</td>
<td>3064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>30 0</td>
<td>2820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>30 5</td>
<td>2860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>22 0</td>
<td>2440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>25 6</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>38 0</td>
<td>3577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>1938</strong></td>
<td><strong>30 5</strong></td>
<td><strong>2860</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES AND NOTES: One carga equals 12 almudes; one carga equals 94 lbs.; 56 lbs. equal 1 bushel; 1 carga equals 1.67 bushels. (1-1766), Valera and Javier de Corres, "Discurso sobre... Yucatán, 1766," loc. cit., 17; (2-1766), ibid., but doubled to include two adults per family; (3-1846), Regil and Peon, "Estadística de Yucatán," loc. cit., 303-304; (4-1846), "Memoria sobre la conservación de los cereales en Yucatán," and "Aprendice a la memoria sobre la conservación de cereales," Registro Yucateco, II (1845), 41-50, 110-13; (5-1846), Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, pp. 56-57; (6-1931), Steggerda, "Maize production," Indians, pp. 127-30, exclusive of animals; (7-1935), ibid., including animal feed; (8-average), excludes first estimate of 1766.
To meet his own needs, a milpero would probably expect to cultivate a plot thirty mecates in area. Although the yield per mecate has always varied according to place and skill of the agriculturalist, figures of the period and those of later investigations have rather well established that a *caña* per mecate is a normal expected return from a milpa. The return from second year milpa would be from a quarter to a half less than the first year yields. A second year milpa is often only one-third the size it was the first year. 103

By cultivation of a first year milpa of fifty mecates, a Maya of 1845 would be able to live comfortably and have a cash balance sufficient to meet most of his obligations. The twenty *cañas* surplus from the first year milpa, and perhaps another fifteen from the *milpa de caña* would have had a cash value of around seventeen pesos. This would fall about five pesos short of meeting the year's needs tabulated in Table 36.

By making sixty mecates of *milpa de roza*, and twenty of second year, a Maya would be free of many worries, if the weather was good. He could stay out of debt, live comfortably, and still have more than half the year as his own for other concerns. To grow sixty mecates of first year crop would require in the neighborhood of 137 days of seven hours each; the *milpa de caña*, requiring perhaps a third less work, would need about thirty such days. In 167 days, therefore, a Maya working alone would provide a living for his household.
spending money for himself and wife, discharge his obligations to Church and state, cover the expenses of a new child, have satisfied unspoken urges and quieted latent fears by properly working the land and mollifying the milpa gods; he was left 197 days -- six months and more scattered through the year -- for his own devices. It was small wonder that the Maya were not markedly envious of the life of créoles and mestizos, and that in general they were apathetic to the new directions which créoles called "progress." It had but little to offer him, economically or emotionally.

The resistance offered by Maya in the 1840's to becoming paid hacienda employees thus was not wholly the consequence of ignorance and "barbarous instincts." Even when analyzed by the restricted logical assumptions that govern economic thought, the results give indication of his relative better condition in a village or on an independent rancho rather than as a paid hand or even a luero subject to frequent impressment at day wages on an hacienda. Calculated on a subsistence basis alone it would be unprofitable for him to exchange the life of an independent milpero for that of a jornalero, and certainly more unprofitable to become a vaquero. The following tabulation shows why. It highlights the fact that independent milperos had a
sound economic basis, aside from emotional ones, for resisting encroachment of creole haciendas and the attempts to reduce native rancheros to the status of fixed-wage earners (asalariados) whose rewards for labor were proportionately less than returns on basis of day wages.

Table 39. COMPARATIVE RETURNS ON 100 DAYS OF LABOR, JORNALERO vs. RANCHERO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>GROSS RETURNS (actual)</th>
<th>CONVERTED NET RETURN (Maize value)</th>
<th>(Peso value)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jornalero (wage-earner)</td>
<td>8 1/2</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>32 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 days at 1 real, plus keep at 1 almud of maize daily. Profit above subsistence</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchero-Jornalero</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>10 1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 days of milpa work</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 days, mixed labor, total return Profit above subsistence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recapitulation of Profits above subsistence needs (maize converted to pesos)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Profit per day's wage</th>
<th>Profit per day's wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jornalero</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchero-Jornalero</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchero</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only were Maya reluctant to serve as day-laborers, but when they did so, they actually demanded pay on the basis...
of job-units rather than on straight day wages. Behind this attitude there was also more than blind adherence to outworn tradition. Whether they all reasoned it out in full is indeed dubious, but at the current rates for labor in 1845, Maya proportionately received higher cash return on a contract basis than on a per diem scale. Contracts were for a given number of mecatas to perform a stated task -- weeding, clearing, and the like.

The unit measure, the mecate, was derived from a Spanish measure, 24 varas, or 72 Spanish feet of 11 inches each. Its use persisted even though the metric system was beginning to displace it toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Somewhat incorrectly a mecate is now thought to be 20 meters; actual Indian measuring cords more nearly approach the old Spanish running mecate. The difference is about 1 meter; 72 feet times 11 inches per foot times 2.54 centimeters per inch yields a metric length of 21.12 meters.

The average length of measuring cords found by Steggerda was 21.5 meters; Indians, apparently unable to account for the discrepancy between the 21 meter plots (on each side) they laid down, told Redfield the difference was for "what the birds take." In fact, the Maya mind probably was never converted to the metric system, a creole importation. Use of the mecate as unit of measure for contract labor also opened up chance of exploitation by a dishonest employer.
One Maya noted by Pérez Toro marked off his running mecate in 30 meter lengths rather than the usual 20 or 21 meters. As a result, the labor he hired for weeding (by the mecate) had to clear 900 square meters of ground rather than the 400 or 430 which "regulation" mecatea contain.

At first glance the following table does not make clear that in 1845 for a Maya to demand that his labor be paid on a unit-contract rather than day wage rates gave him an economic advantage (Table 40). This situation would not be true in 1938; he would be better off to hire out at the day wage than by contract. To establish the validity of the 1845 estimates, to demonstrate the relative constancy of real (as opposed to money) wages, and to indicate the reversal of advantages in the two periods, Steggerda's data from the 1934-38 period are included in Table 40. The comparative section of it exposes the quantitative reasons why native agriculturalists stood to lose by electing a day wage scale. His gain on contract was the difference between the usual day wage of one real (plus keep) and the daily earnings of a real and a half (without keep) he could receive on contract basis. Conversely an hacendado or entrepreneur who could hire maize cultivation at day-wage rates rather than at contract rates stood to increase his profits proportionately.

These figures, had they been presented in the above fashion in contemporary times, would have been important to plans of individual workers and to individual hacendados.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESS</th>
<th>LABOR COSTS—MONEY (Pesos)</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF COST PER PROCESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locating the field</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearing the brush</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing the plot</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bending or doubling</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting and storing</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Direct Labor Costs</strong></td>
<td><strong>37.50</strong></td>
<td><strong>236.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMPARATIVE DATA (Derived)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1938</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard day wage (pesos), see sources</td>
<td>$0.125</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average selling price per carga (pesos)</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
<td>$5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio of day wage to selling price</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost per carga</td>
<td>$0.375</td>
<td>$2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profit per carga (Gross—without overhead)</td>
<td>$0.125</td>
<td>$1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent profit (on cost)</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent profit (on selling price)</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost at day-wage rates (8 hr. days), 200 days</td>
<td>$25.00</td>
<td>$300.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourly wage — contract-job basis</td>
<td>$0.025</td>
<td>$0.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourly wage — day wage basis</td>
<td>$0.015</td>
<td>$0.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio, profit per carga/wage per diem (carga)</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio, profit per carga/contract wage (carga)</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily wage, contract basis (8 hours), pesos</td>
<td>$0.20</td>
<td>$1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent gain for worker at contract rates</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent gain for worker at day wages</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
Neither source includes overhead costs, or price of seed. An additional 20% profit might be expected if milpas lay in areas where lack of cattle obviated necessity of fences.

Government officials and other unofficial planners, however, were interested in larger matters. They were anxious to know...
how much maize the peninsula needed, whether agriculturalists were producing it, and if not, what policy then to follow. Closely connected with these questions were those affecting land law and land use. How much more population could the potential resources of Yucatecan subsistence agriculture support?

Given a total population of approximately half a million maize-users, and the fact that each family of five consumed about thirty cargas a year makes answer to the first query relatively simple. Arithmetic shows that a hundred thousand families each using thirty cargas a year require about three million for the whole. The 3,332,000 mecates reported for 1846 would feed about 550,000 persons.\textsuperscript{106} The actual estimated population was between 575,000 and 580,000 at most and a minimum of 505,000 (See Table 1, above). Taking the errors of estimate and the hidden numbers both of maize areas and of people into account, the congruence between food supply and needs showed that the peninsula was self-sustaining in normal years, when each mecate yielded its accustomed carga.

X

Was the policy of attracting immigration by lure of cheap land and increasing the present population by health measures and the like an economically wise one? Contemporaries produced figures to show that of Yucatan’s total area,
only a small amount was under cultivation. Only about 990 square miles annually grew any crop. Of the whole area, some 46,000 square miles, this was only two percent. Of the "effective area" roughly estimated at about 16,500 square miles, it was around 6%. The area which was not "effective," it will be remembered, consisted of high woodlands, swampy savannah, and other terrain unsuitable for dense settlement. Yet in fact subsistence needs which were met by milpa agriculture necessarily demanded more cultivable land than these low percentages indicated, because of the nature of the system.

For reasons which are not yet wholly ascertained, a milpa produces maize in significant quantities only for two, and at most, three successive years. The precipitate drop in yield during the second and third years a plot was cultivated was formerly attributed by theorists to soil exhaustion, weed competition, or the choking of maize by grasses which the Maya could not combat. Recent researches, and more especially the experiments and results reported by Steggerda, now cast serious doubts on the validity of these earlier explanations. The phenomena, however, remain the same; yields drop rapidly after the second year, and there is significant difference between the first and second years.

How long the land must rest before it can be recultivated, and produce efficiently has never been established accurately. The minimum seems to be ten and the maximum about twenty years. Though in any one year a low percentage of ground is
bearing maize, it represents only one-tenth or one-twentieth of the area required for subsistence; the remaining plots are either reserved for future operations or are lying fallow and recuperating from relatively recent use.

To allow sufficient room for error in estimates of food supply needed, a fairly safe assumption is that a new fifty mecate plot for each family needs to go into production annually. In ten years, each family would require five hundred mecates; if the rest period for the land is twenty years, each would need one thousand mecates. The hundred thousand families of 1846, assuming diet habits to be fixed and yield per mecate to remain the same, would preempt from fifty to one hundred million mecates; these areas respectively equal 7,700 and 15,400 square miles. Of the total area of the peninsula they represent 16% and 32%. Of the area which above pages have assumed to be effective, they are 46.5% and 93%. Permanent installations (roads, etc.) and fixed settlements (cities and towns) currently use up 20% of Yucatan's land. If in 1846 these spaces had been only half as numerous or as large, the percentage of the effective area occupied by them, plus that under cultivation, plus that recovering from cultivation and that being reserved for cultivation in the foreseeable future would bring the amount of land currently used or preempted to an area from 56.5% to 103% of the habitable section.

Appearances were thus misleading. Great stretches of
land, from nine-tenths to nineteen-twentieths of the total habitable area, apparently was unproductive because it lay idle. Yet these uncultivated stretches were necessary merely to feed the half million or so souls living in Yucatan. Further expansion of population meant pushing peoples onto marginal lands — the arid karst of the coast, the heavily forested regions of the east, the dry high forest and savannas of the south.

Contemporaries thought that Yucatan could support eight to ten times the current population of around half a million. Modern estimates equal or double that figure. In the face of these guesses, though, it seems arguable that even had the population of 1846 doubled, the peninsula would soon feel pinched for land on which to raise its food. This was more especially true since commercial cultivation of sugar and other crops was simultaneously reducing the amount of land that could be allocated to maize.

Even as it was, Yucatan suffered recurrent shortages of maize.Bad weather — too much or too little rain — political disorders which kept men from the fields, shortage of hands due to epidemics, and perhaps other causes brought major or minor scarcities in 1807, 1817, 1827, 1832, 1834, 1837, 1842, and 1846 (the year before the Caste War), when floods were a factor in short crops. When maize was short, the scarcity set in motion a number of developments.

People near the coasts imported grain from abroad, to
feed themselves and to succor a horde of refugees which poured in. In 1836-37, for instance, maize was shipped to the cities of Campeche and Merida; though its value rose from the normal four reales per carga to sixteen in the interior, little of the staple made its way inland. Following the bitter war with Mexico in 1842, which dislocated normal living and production, Yucatecans imported between two hundred and two hundred fifty thousand cargas, again largely to the West Coast and Old Colonial areas. One writer thought the shortage of 1842-43 could be blamed on liberal legislation that had relieved the Indians of making a minimum of sixty mecatea of milpa each year; when relieved from official pressures, they raised only enough maize to support themselves.

In times of scarcity, improvident or uncharitable proprietors were likely to release laborers to avoid feeding them. Often these Maya turned to rich Indians who would hire them and provide maize at less than market rates; even such wealthy natives retained some of the feeling that maize was sacred, and not merely a secular commodity, since they avowed their charity in the form of grain was because maize "is the sweat of my brothers and it is not just that they pay too dearly to eat it."

Market prices reflected the shortages. Normally a carga brought an average of three reales in zones like Peto, where much was grown, to six in Campeche, with the peninsular
average around four. These doubled under slight scarcities and quintupled in near famine periods. Shortages of maize thus brought a real emergency, a period of stress when fears were mobilized, when opportunities for exploitation or charity increased.

To ameliorate scarcities, to cushion the shock of famine, and to alter the methods of subsistence agriculture to increase yields and make more efficient use of the land, créoles advocated various changes and innovations. Apparently these had small practical effect as their ideas and plans remained in the literary or propaganda stage. One writer set forth at some length the necessity for establishment of a system of community-owned silos or granaries. By forcing inhabitants to store surpluses of maize in the abundant years, a reserve could be built up against the recurrent crop shortages, thought by contemporaries to happen at least every other year. The rhythm of production seemed to be one year of bountiful crops, followed by two years of scanty or even scarce harvests. The legislature, to whose attention the plan was called, apparently did not write the reform into law.

Another publicist urged that more attention be given to rice as a subsistence item. Not only did it return more profit on capital invested than maize, but in years when heavy rains washed out the corn, these climatic conditions were optimum for rice and the abundant crop would relieve threat of famine.
Still another project was the substitution of tillage agriculture for milpa technique through more extensive use of plows. The latter was said to be an aboriginal development that now had no place in a progressive society. Proprietors who had traveled in the United States and observed methods there, however, demurred from this view, and set forth one that has been repeated independently by modern agronomists, that is, milpa techniques are well adapted to the soils of Yucatan and habits of the Maya. "It is less laborious and more productive to cultivate by the primitive mode than by modern methods," wrote one, probably Simon Peon, adding, "lands...in which the population is concentrated are little appropriate to plowing." But others thought it was time to abandon these simple primitive means, to concentrate grain growing in one zone, and link it to industrial and commercial ones by roads, to stimulate internal trade, "which for nations is like the circulation of blood in individuals."

One or two active steps were taken that touched the interests of native agriculturalists. To provide the state and local communities with funds, a law in October, 1844, taxed maize cultivation. A fee of one real for each ten maces was set, whether the milpa was made on lands belonging to the state or held by villages; in the one case the revenues went to the state treasury, in the other, to local funds, to be spent for the improvement of the village -- probably for schools. Presumably discontent among Maya
and reduction of their milpas ensued, as at the beginning of the following agricultural season, when milperos were seeking new sites, part of the law was repealed.

Natives were not required to pay fees on crops they raised themselves for their own account after November 1845. In August, 1846, came further relaxation in that vecinos, citizens (usually whites) were relieved of paying fees on cultivations made by or for them in the common lands of the settlements in which they lived. This left payments to be made only by hacendados raising maize as a commercial enterprise.

Governmental tinkering with maize production possibly was an added dissatisfaction among the growing accumulation of grievances that Maya villagers and rancheros were piling up against creoles. Nor would it tend to ease the tensions between rival groups of entrepreneurs, the neo-colonial proprietors addicted to cattle and maize, and the newer ones, who hoped to finance operation of Yucatan's government by minimum taxes on their own products, but maximum on the others.

Thus some of the economics and patterns of subsistence appeared on the eve of the Caste War. Slightly modified types of eighteenth-century haciendas remained the characteristic creole rural establishment, an institution that supported
a social system and buttressed a tradition. Debt peonage provided sufficient labor to sustain it, but workers had not been depressed to the level of a rural proletariat. Subsistence was still the leading agricultural motif, and it was organized around the ancient milpa system, carried on by Maya. The wage and social structure of the nineteenth century gave native milperos certain tangible and many intangible reasons for preferring to remain in villages and on ranchos as independent producers.

Subsistence economy was geared to a land system that was marked by relatively small areas owned outright and the existence of large tracts which could be used at nominal or no rental. The latter were exploited by hacendados who raised cattle and maize, by communities of agriculturalists living on haciendas or in civil communities quite apart from them. Because of the peculiarities of milpa agriculture, from five to twenty times as much land necessarily lay idle in any one year as was under active cultivation. The area thus preempted represented at least half and possibly more of the habitable portion of Yucatan, so that further increase of population or penetration beyond the line of settlement in 1845 threatened the food supply of future years. Each section, almost each community, attempted to be self-sustaining. Disappearance of land around them into private ownership and consequent establishment of new groups on it was a matter of grave concern.
"Under whatever aspect our commercial relations of the day are considered, one finds them in decadence."

*La Voz Pública*, February 12, 1847.

"The necessity of living by means of work made them [Yucatecans] extract advantages from even the most improductive soils.... This zeal for work, this necessity of productive activity, made the industrious men fix on the precious henequén plant.... What prodigious riches were formed in an instant! What movement! How much money came forth from the depths of a land that all had looked on with scorn!"

Serapio Baqueiro, local historian, 1879.
CHAPTER SIX — THE WANING AND EMERGING ECONOMIES

Changes on the economic landscape of Yucatan could scarcely be overlooked by even the most casual traveler. The alterations in the old balances between leisurely hacienda life and subsistence agriculture in scattered native ranchos, hamlets, and villages were immediately linked to growing tensions between Maya and creole. The waning of old crops, the rise of new, moreover, had their repercussions on the political scene. Regionalism and factionalism operated from essentially the same economic bases. Differences of opinion as to the course Yucatan should follow in its relations with Mexico and with the United States, as well as the allocation of power to one or another group on its domestic stage tended to follow closely the economic trends of the time.

Because measurable in quantitative terms, even though the statistics often enough had large gaps and errors, the economic transformation of Yucatan from 1830 to 1880 can be described and demonstrated in more positive form than can the equally important social and emotional developments of the period, which conditioned and directed the economic ones. The strong urges to modernize and to progress, which were a constant element in social and intellectual activities, were quite as evident in economic lines.
Added to the impetus given by writers and orators who wished to see Yucatan take an important place in the new era was the inescapable fact that unless new departures were successful, the peninsula's sources of wealth and reservoirs of capital would soon disappear. It was becoming increasingly manifest that the colonial and neo-colonial economy that had carried the place through earlier years was now antiquated and outmoded. Its products found but small sale abroad, and even these slim markets were being whittled away by competition from rival, and often more efficient, producing areas. Thus during the decades from 1830 to 1860 an older economy was dying and a new one was still in a state of gestation. Inevitably hardships and disturbances arose from each of these processes.

As indicated in previous pages, the older commercial economy of Yucatan, and most certainly the new, had a distinctive regional distribution. Each section was virtually self-subsistent, but tended to specialize to a greater or less degree in its productions for export or for internal trade. From the very outset, the Old Colonial area had been wedded to grazing, with minor interests in other lines; a new hope appeared in the form of henequén. Early in colonial times trade in salt occupied the West Coast, to which then was added a lucrative commerce in dyewood, plus other forest products; ship-building on a significant scale began to make its appearance in the middle and late colonial period.
The East Colonial section had undergone a series of disappointments. One after another its major colonial crops declined: ashil for dyestuff had been a mainstay during the century following Conquest, but diminished in importance during the seventeenth century. Cotton, raw and processed, declined in the late eighteenth. Grazing, about the same time, was beginning to push into the area on a measurable scale. Wax, honey, and deerskins had been contributory sources of income, as was copal for incense. Some attempt was being made after 1830 to replace the shrinking returns from these colonial items by emulating the example of the Borderlands and pin the regional hopes on sugar.

In the Borderlands, sugar was hailed as the crop on which Yucatan's future should be based, now that the peninsula was free of the restrictions placed on it by commercial and political interests in Spain. Sugar seemed to offer more than did tobacco, an earlier and continuing interest south of the Sierra.

II

The accompanying tabulations provide a panoramic view of Yucatecan economy, viewed as a productive whole (Tables 31-34). Profiles of various parts of the economic scene have been derived from an inventory made around 1845 by Yucatecans familiar with local habits and market operations. In an attempt to provide a quantitative base on which legislative policies
could be built, they estimated the total value of economic activity which produced commodities for exchange within the bounds of the peninsula or for export and sale outside it. There are undoubtedly errors of smaller or greater magnitude in the figures, as where proven data were not available, a reasonable guess was hazarded. Further, exclusion from the tabulations of income produced by services makes it an incomplete view; in some cases services amounted to considerable sums, as for freight alone peninsular growers and merchants annually paid a calculated 380,000 pesos. Though no statement was made to the effect, however, probably such items are reflected in the unit prices assigned the particular commodities. With all its defects, the inventory of annual production in 1845 seems sufficiently accurate to highlight some of the broader truths about the economic situation, and to warrant some limited generalizations based on it.

Table 31 itemizes the commodities. The original scattered data have been consolidated and grouped, and certain minor errors of addition and extension corrected. As seen from the total, the estimated production of commodities amounted to slightly over six and a half million pesos annually. Depending on which of the several contemporary estimates of population are accepted (see Table 1), this would place the per capita production somewhere between eleven and thirteen pesos.
### Table 42. ESTIMATED VALUE OF ANNUAL COMMODITY PRODUCTION, 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Exported</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pesos</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Pesos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>export</td>
<td>internal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staples</td>
<td>16,108</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3,592,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>61,723</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>82,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest</td>
<td>363,660</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>58,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral</td>
<td>63,753</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>24,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>68,955</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>260,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>10,503</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1,649,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequén</td>
<td>88,971</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>89,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>56,545</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>146,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>718,928</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5,870,110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table 41 above.

### Table 43. UNPROCESSED vs. PROCESSED COMMODITIES IN LOCAL AND EXPORT TRADE, 1845 (in pesos)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unprocessed</th>
<th>Processed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pesos</td>
<td>Pesos</td>
<td>Pesos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERNAL TRADE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staples</td>
<td>3,592,579</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3,592,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,277,531</td>
<td>2,277,531</td>
<td>4,555,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPOR TRADE</td>
<td>3,592,579</td>
<td>557,458</td>
<td>4,150,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>4,150,038</td>
<td>2,438,971</td>
<td>6,589,038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1: UNPROCESSED includes staples, henequén, fiber, uncured hides, leaf tobacco, logwood chips, timbers, uncured deerskins, salt, miscellaneous vegetables, and live cattle and animals. PROCESSED includes all other items listed in Table 41.
### Table 44. RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMERCIAL COMMODITIES, 1845

(Staples omitted; values in pesos, 000's omitted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Total Value total (pesos)</th>
<th>Percent total</th>
<th>Value % internal trade</th>
<th>Value % export trade</th>
<th>Market and amount (sold)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tables 42, 43 above.

### Table 45. YUCATECAN EXPORTS TO FOREIGN LANDS, BY TONNAGE, 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Purchases (chief)</th>
<th>Tons exported</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. France</td>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td>11,991</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. United States</td>
<td>Henequen</td>
<td>11,768</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Great Britain</td>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td>6,441</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cuba</td>
<td>Henequen</td>
<td>5,108</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Germany</td>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td>1,981</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td>547</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Belgium</td>
<td></td>
<td>472</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Holland</td>
<td></td>
<td>366</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Br. Honduras</td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>38,989</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems clear enough that internal trade, for local consumption, was many times more important than export business. The latter comprised only a little more than ten percent of the total value. If commercial production (a figure obtained by omitting values of subsistence items) alone is considered, nearly a quarter of it went abroad. In this foreign trade forest products, especially logwood chips, was the most ponderable item; in value it was three times as important as its nearest competitor, henequen. As more than five-sixths of forest products, more than two-thirds of salt sales, and over three-fifths of henequen production depended on outside markets, any satisfactory foreign trade policy pursued by Yucatan would need to satisfy all these interests to avoid friction among them. Cattle now represented less than five percent of annual sales, and less than ten percent of export trade, although more than two-fifths of the exchanges were made outside the peninsula.

On the local markets, subsistence crops outstripped all others in value. Well over half of all the aggregate values were comprised by maize and beans, the staple of creole and Yucatecan alike, with a minor note contributed by rice. The continuing importance of the maize-beans combination in the economic and social life of Yucatan was treated above.

When subsistence crops and the exported items are subtracted from the whole, the remainder of goods listed are minor handicrafts (furniture, henequen harnesses and hammocks,
etc.) and foodstuffs that required some processing beyond their ripened state in field or forest. The total of these processed items represented a little more than a third of total annual production. Thus subsistence items accounted for about 55%, processed items for peninsular markets near 34%, and exports, both unprocessed and processed, 10%. The nature of Yucatan's foreign trade is emphasized by the fact that more than three-quarters (77.8%) of its exports were raw materials; the bulk of the processed items were henequén manufactures -- bags, cable, and the like. The figures indicate that hand-made cigarettes were more than twice as important as henequén manufactures, and that soap almost equalled it; both these items stayed at home.

Of items produced for cash sale rather than for subsistence, sugar in various forms dominated the market. Its value was more than a quarter of all production, and more than half the commercial items; in the latter connection it was at least three times as important as any other group of commodities. In 1845 its weight in the export market was nil; its sales were almost wholly localized to Yucatan. Sugar and henequén, as explained below, were post-colonial commercial crops which by the eve of the Caste War had reached some importance. Together they accounted for more than a quarter of all annually produced values (thanks chiefly to sugar), and more than three-fifths of commercial production, made up for more than a seventh of export trade, and jointly
comprised three-quarters of local commerce. As vested interests they were new and obviously could be powerful.

Thus a bird's-eye view of Yucatecan economy, seen from the peninsula, corroborates with figures the adjectives bestowed on it by local writers and travelers. It was primarily subsistence, with the bulk of the remainder dedicated to filling local needs. A small export trade shipped abroad raw materials, and with the advent of henequén, some few manufactured items in addition to a scattering of craft and hand-work like hats and cloth dolls also left the peninsula. Such an inventory, of course, does not reveal what goods and in what quantities were imported to fill demands which the resources of the peninsula could not cover.

The data on import trade tend to be less trustworthy even than those touching local production. Smuggling was rife, and no central fiscal agency existed to collect figures consistently on the movement of goods and money. Regil in a report for 1845 (copied in part by Heller) indicated that at least a million pesos worth of goods entered from foreign ports, and a minimum of fifty thousand from Mexican ones. These figures included an estimated 25% to cover smuggled commodities. When Regil revised his Memoria of 1845 five years later, his figures for 1845 were changed somewhat, but the essential truth appeared that Yucatan had an unfavorable balance of trade that ranged from at least 330,000 pesos to perhaps 440,000, and that the bulk of imports (a
million or more pesos annually) came from abroad rather than from Gulf ports of Mexico. The fact that each year Yucatan imported from Mexico cash to the amount of 468,096 metal pesos perhaps is related to the similar unbalanced import-export trade.

The vast array of minor items that entered the peninsula to make up a million pesos worth of foreign goods annually were reflected in lengthy tariff schedules. In general, as might be expected, they were manufactured commodities from the United States and Europe, especially cloth, luxury goods, and, occasionally, mechanical equipment such as printing presses. In 1845 nearly all imports paid about eight percent ad valorem with the exception of certain items Yucatecans wanted to exclude (mainly sugar, raw cotton, and soap) which paid double this figure. Although the per capita imports amounted to slightly less than two pesos, in fact they probably were restricted to use by whites, so that if this group alone were considered, the per capita consumption of foreign goods perhaps would reach three times the peninsular average.

The vessel which brought Stephens to Yucatan in 1841 was probably typical of shipments; it was a two-hundred sixty-ton American owned and manned bark, whose "cargo was assorted for the Yucatan market." Iron goods, miscellanies (including muskets, cotton, and turpentine), and gunpowder constituted the major classes of merchandise.

No conclusive figures, and very few hints, are available
to show the different amounts of goods which came to Yucatan from the outside world. Unfortunately this lack of specific data makes necessary the assumption that probably commodities shipped to the peninsula emanated in those countries to which Yucatan sent its export items. Even for a somewhat later period in the nineteenth century, little detailed information appeared on the flow of goods from abroad. Writing just before the mushroom growth of henequén rearranged many of the older patterns, Yucatecans mentioned in 1878 that in general there was a scarcity of foreign goods, but that from the United States and England came cloth, with preference to the former, and that from France also were purchased fine cotton goods, cashmeres and the like, silks, as well as luxury items such as jewels, wines, perfumes, even machinery. The writers called attention to the amount of French goods that was shipped to them via England, and in that time the considerable quantity of English steam-engines at work; in 1845 the only steam engine was that mentioned for the Aurora Yucateca, Baranda's cotton mill in Valladolid, which was of American manufacture.

In the absence of other facts, it must be assumed that the countries to which Yucatan shipped goods reciprocated by furnishing the peninsula with manufactured items. Table 45 summarizes the relative size of Yucatecan markets abroad in 1845. Thanks to logwood sales, France was the prime purchaser, with but a negligible edge over the second best
customer, the United States. Great Britain and Cuba together bought about as much as either of these, and the four accounted for over 90% of exported tonnage. It is worthy of note that perhaps in almost that order were the literary and cultural influences from abroad which were being assimilated into the Yucatecan scene at Merida and Campeche.

Superficially the amount of foreign trade in which Yucatan was involved had changed but little in quantity from late colonial times. Figures for the last decade of the eighteenth century resemble very closely similar ones for 1845, but the likeness tends to be misleading. In earlier times, as can be noted from a statement made by a group of Yucatecan officials in 1804, export and import figures included the record of goods trans-shipped. For instance, the salt merchants of Campeche and other mariners plied the waters for a considerable distance from the port, picking up and leaving cargoes; each commodity that was brought into the place, although put in a warehouse awaiting transfer to a point outside the peninsula was tabulated as an import, and as it left, was entered as an export. Further, amounts of coined silver and gold which entered and left appeared as imports and exports, so that without itemized statements of imports and exports, it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the commodities actually produced on Yucatan and sold abroad, or the items coming from outside which were consumed in local markets.

A hasty glance at the comparative figures for exports and
Imports from 1791 onward would give the impression that little change had occurred in the productive capacity of the peninsula, and that the spurt of activity in the years from 1791 to 1796 reached a level that was relatively un-
changed fifty years later. This is not wholly true. It is apparent that the first five years of the closing decade of the eighteenth century seemingly saw an increased interest and movement of goods, a significant fact. Whether the figures of 1796, which doubled those of 1791, owed their increase to a reduction of smuggling or to an actual upswing of economic activity is an open question. Both earlier and later officials were loud in their complaints against contra-
band trade which defrauded the government of revenues. The figures of 1845 included an estimated 25% additional to cover the presumed extent of this illicit trade. Table 46 presents some data on the earlier foreign trade of Yucatan, as well as the estimates for 1845.

For whatever they are worth, the figures in Table 46 lead to the conclusion that from 1804 to 1845 the actual Yucatecan export goods had more than doubled. It certainly seems probable that in the latter year the peninsula was furnishing more goods on the world market than it was at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps more important for the understanding of local affairs on the eve of the Caste War was the change in composition of the trade, in addition to its over-all increase. In
Table 46. FOREIGN TRADE BALANCES, 1791-1845, in PESOS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Gross Imports</th>
<th>Gross Exports</th>
<th>Yucatecan goods exported</th>
<th>Gross Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>428,754</td>
<td>248,732</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>180,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>414,864</td>
<td>303,731</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>111,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>981,906</td>
<td>523,916</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>457,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>1,133,256</td>
<td>822,804</td>
<td>299,064</td>
<td>310,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>1,110,070</td>
<td>718,928</td>
<td>718,928</td>
<td>391,042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>608,357</td>
<td>608,357</td>
<td>391,643</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) Echánove et al., Cuadro estadístico...1814, "loc. cit., par #38; (b) Pedro de Baranda et al., "Estado que forma este Ministerio de Real Hacienda...1804," Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., Apéndice #4; (c) Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 336, adapted; (d) Heller, Reisen, pp. 225-26.

Table 47. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN TRADE, 1804, IN PESOS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VALUE</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>Exports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National goods (New Spain)</td>
<td>347,981</td>
<td>85,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign goods (extra-Empire)</td>
<td>120,146</td>
<td>109,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish-American goods</td>
<td>665,129</td>
<td>330,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucatecan goods</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>298,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,133,256</td>
<td>822,804</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pedro Baranda et al., "Estado que forma este Ministerio de Real Hacienda...Campeche...1804," loc. cit.
1804, without details, the Yucatecans who provided figures for that year also mentioned that the principal items which comprised the local products sent out from Campeche (the only authorized Yucatecan port of the era) were rice, logwood, salt, salted fish, henequén sacks and cords, wax, and tallow. From other sources it is known that colonial Yucatecan export items also leaned heavily on sale of meat and hides in Havana, and even eggs (at about half a centavo each) went to the island of Cuba. The relatively minor role that these items, with the exception of salt, logwood, and henequén, played in the second quarter of the nineteenth century has already been briefly indicated by Tables 41-44.

One reason for the lessened importance of some colonial commodities was a considerable drop in their price. Of the items mentioned for 1804, only salt and henequén twine still held firm in value by 1845. The others displayed loss in value that ranged from a third to more than a half. Only salt showed an increase in price, rising to 1.00 peso a fanega from 0.75, an increase of 25%. Other elements, sketched below, hampered or retarded the continued development of crops and commodities which had bulked large before Independence. Decline in their market values is summarized in Table 48. Sample prices from the first, second, and third quarters of the nineteenth century appear in Table 49.
### Table 48. PRICE DECLINE OF COLONIAL COMMODITIES, 1804 vs. 1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Common unit of measure</th>
<th>Equivalent lbs</th>
<th>Price 1804</th>
<th>Price 1845</th>
<th>Difference (pesos)</th>
<th>Percent drop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td>quintal</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequen bags</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt fish</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>fanega</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequen twine</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Pedro Baranda et al., "Estado...1804," loc. cit.; Aduana de Campeche, 1845; Regil and Peón, "Estadística," loc. cit., Apéndice #5.

### Table 49. PRICE LEVELS OF SELECTED COMMODITIES, 1845-47 vs. 1876

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Pounds</th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1847</th>
<th>1875-76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>carga</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>almud</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steers</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxen</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mules</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullhides</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowhides</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt beef</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lard</td>
<td>quintal</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td>quintal</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deerskins</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>fanega</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white gran.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white ordinary</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
<td>barrel</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henequen</td>
<td>wax</td>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiber</td>
<td>pound</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Table 48; El Noticioso, #23, #37, #84 (Mar., Feb. 6, 20, Apr. 10, 1847); Pedro de Regil Peón et al., "Informe," in E. Busto, Estadística de la República Mexicana (3 vols., Mexico, 1880), I, Table 28, III, 265-69, 410-16.
Beyond the fact that figures such as those which have appeared in Tables 41-49 have only limited utility because of their probable inaccuracies, such quantitative data serve only as clues to the general situations rather than providing an explanation of the development thus outlined. To understand the economic scene on the eve of the Caste War it seems necessary to provide a brief historical survey of the several elements involved in local economy, and then later to relate them to the social and political trends of the times. In general the details on the several classes of goods which Yucatan produced and tried to ship abroad merely refine the somewhat obvious fact that now Yucatan was in a world market (rather than operating within the framework of the Spanish imperial system) and that the goods on which its colonial economy was based found competition from other areas difficult if not impossible to overcome.

The general situation did not escape the notice of Yucatecans. From time to time they looked over the scene and attempted to explain the continuing decadence of their trade, as the decline ran counter to their hopes for an active and progressive civilization. An editorial writer in 1847 took a somewhat pessimistic line. He pointed out that scarcely any Yucatecan goods could hold their own in the traditional market at Havana. Beef from Buenos Aires sold there so cheap
that it was not worth while to ship Yucatecan meat there; soap, lard, and cotton candle-wicks were consistently undersold by those from the United States. Even henequén sacks and bagging felt the pressure of cheaper substitutes made of hemp from Manila.

His solution to the problems was perhaps a sound one. He offered, however, no concrete suggestions about carrying it out: to raise the purchasing power of the large Indian group by paying higher wages and to concentrate Yucatecan efforts on internal commerce which would not only keep trade brisk, but would raise the standard of living. He felt that Yucatan had missed an earlier opportunity to take the lead in producing cotton, coffee, tobacco, and sugar for export, as other Mexican and foreign areas now had gained a head start. As seen below, not all Yucatecans subscribed to his general conclusion that "Under whatever aspect one considers our commercial relations of today, they are found in decadence."

Others would agree that the generalization applied to older colonial products, but was not true of the post-Independence growth of sugar producing and henequén enterprises. A variety of causes lay behind the decline of older items. In some instances demand for them was lowered due to substitution for them of similar cheaper or more efficient things — such as chemical dyes for logwood chips. In others, such as rice, Yucatecan technology had not kept abreast of world developments and an inferior quality of product found few takers.
In still others, large scale production in other areas of
the world lowered the market price below a point at which
it was profitable for Yucatan to operate without serious
sacrifices -- as in the case of cotton, cattle, or ship-
building.

Rice was a Yucatecan product that had always been of
relatively minor importance, both for local subsistence
purposes and as an export item. It was also one which seem-
ingly fired the hopes of some thinkers who viewed its many
virtues and concluded that it had a future role of importance
to play; to the present these hopes have not been justified.
Traditionally the year 1770 is said to be the one in which
rice was introduced into Yucatan as a crop, and by 1811 the
peninsula was annually producing about a quarter million
arrobas (a little over 3,000 tons). There is, however, some
reason to suspect that although rice came to Yucatan in the
second half of the eighteenth century, it preceded 1770 by
some years. In 1766/ two royal officials noted that a small
trade in it was carried on between Yucatan and a group of
Yucatecans located in Cuba. They mentioned that it was a
recent crop, and in quality equalled that of Valencia, and
was only slightly inferior to that of the Carolinas, which
won wide acceptance in European/ and even Turkish markets.
"We can have as much rice as we want," they wrote. "Today
there is excess enough to be shipped to Havana and Veracruz."
They foresaw the day when Yucatecan rice would circulate through the markets of South America, and stimulate a local cooperage industry. Their figures indicated that of every twenty-five workmen in rice-growing Jamaica, six or eight were devoted to the making of barrels. Three generations later, in 1846, arguments in favor of an extended rice cultivation were based on the fact that its cash returns per unit of capital invested were higher than those for maize, and that the climatic conditions that ruined maize, notably floods, merely improved rice crops.

But the same writers mentioned rice was a waning commodity for several reasons. For one thing, the technology employed in 1845 was not only behind that of the rest of the world, but it had declined even from late colonial days in Yucatan. Before Independence ingenious wooden machinery was employed to husk and clean kernels of rice, but by 1845 this processing had reverted to use of pestle and mortar — inefficient hand labor. In earlier days, working within the imperial system, Yucatecan rice had a virtual monopoly in the Havana market, but now it could not compete there with the cleaner, cheaper, better quality commodity produced on large scale by slave labor in the southern United States.

Normally, on the eve of the Caste War Yucatan produced between seventy and eighty thousand arrobas of rice, which cost about 0.58 pesos an arroba to produce, and which sold for an average of about 0.75 on the peninsula; the slightest outside demand
was likely to shoot the price up to 1.25, but as such demand was intermittent and small the incentive to improve equipment and techniques was much weaker than in the case of sugar and henequén, as seen below. Propagandists failed to make rice-eaters out of the Yucatecan population, traditionally addicted to maize.  

By 1877, the area produced only a little over 11,000 arrobas of rice, a far cry from the 250,000 of 1811. With the exception of a brief period at the close of the colonial period, rice was not a major feature on the Yucatecan economic scene; its decline was cumulative, and on the eve of the Caste War there was but small and ineffective attempt to save it.

Unlike rice, the cattle and horses which made up the basis for Yucatan's grazing activities had appeared there shortly after Conquest. As earlier parts have indicated, colonial haciendas were for the most part grazing enterprises insofar as they were economic institutions. Also as stressed previously, the prestige value of controlling cattle and land often outstripped their monetary return as a motive for continued operations. As in the case of rice, Havana was the principal traditional outlet for beef products, especially tallow, hides, and, to a lesser extent, meat itself. In Bourbon times, boots and shoes for the military forces stationed at Havana were largely manufactured from Yucatecan hides, which were either cured on the peninsula by utilizing tanning fluids from an indigenous tree known as chunum, or
were shipped uncured. As mentioned previously, the barrio of San Cristobal at Merida was especially famed for its tanneries; reflection of its dependence on its specialty even appeared in fiction, for one novelist characterized it as "hardest-working and rich.... From it goes out a prodigious multitude of cured hides which constitute a very active commerce with Havana," and another writer stressed these same virtues in limping verse. Despite the fact that cattle and their products were generally on the decline, in 1845 it was believed that 400,000 head were maintained on the peninsula, in addition to perhaps 60,000 horses.  

The difficulties which beset grazers and cattle merchants were similar to those which bedeviled rice-growers. In the Havana market Yucatecan commodities could not meet the low prices caused by great influx from other areas, notably the Argentine. Moreover, in the years following 1824, when Mexico (reluctantly joined by Yucatan) was at war with Spain, the Havana trade was cut off for the cattle-producing sections of the peninsula, and its favorable place there lost. At the close of hostilities, growth of the herds on the pampas and other places had lowered the unit return on hides to such a low point that Yucatecans claimed they were vended in Cuba for little more than the cost of shipping from the River Plate. At about the same time cattle in greater quantities began to appear in northern Mexico and Texas, although the effects of this increase on the international market at Havana are not
readily apparent. Moreover, on Yucatan itself, the capital that had previously turned to cattle as a store of value and a producer of income was more likely to shift to more lucrative enterprises.

Table 42 has indicated that around 1845 the cattle industry accounted for less than three percent of Yucatan's total annual production, and less than ten percent of its exported items. A further refinement of the general weakening of the industry's position may be seen in the fact that in the decade from 1834 to 1844, exports declined appreciably, dropping from around 18% to more than 80% for various items derived from grazing. Table 50 presents the comparative figures for a twelve month period in 1833-34 and for the fiscal year from July 1844 to June 1845.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Shipped 1833-34</th>
<th>Shipped 1844-45</th>
<th>Percent decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanned hides</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>16,200</td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawhides</td>
<td>each</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salted beef</td>
<td>arrobas</td>
<td>9,300</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow</td>
<td>arrobas</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>86.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


But though cattle and grazing seemed to be edging to the lower edges of the economic scale, the prestige which enfolded the enterprises stayed undimmed and some phases of their
operation lent a picturesque touch to the countryside. Annually proprietors had the animals rounded up for branding and to cast accounts. The main round-up usually occurred in January or February, at the slack season for milpa agriculture, and was as much a festive occasion as it was an economic operation. After the hard work of the days was completed, barbecues, music and dancing enlivened the normally still hacienda scene. The prime purpose was, of course, to obtain information on the increase or decrease of the herds since last count. To that end the cattle were congregated in corrals, yearlings apart from others, and recent calves separated from all. As the tally, a bit of tail was removed from each animal and the tallies bound into bundles of ten; as a re-check, the heaves and cows were released from the corral in bunches of five. Yearlings were re-branded; usually they had been brought in as calves during a minor round-up held in the fall and marked with a small iron known as a bozal. At the spring round-up they were given the regular hacienda brand, while the newly born calves, dropped between August and then in their turn were identified by the bozal. It is interesting to note that maize and cattle not only were supplementary in the way in which they used land, but that they were complementary in employment of a labor force: the peak load of the one coincided with a relatively slow period of the other.

If cattle production began to decline chiefly in the years following 1824, the same could not be said for some of
the economic activities which relied principally on the forest resources of Yucatan. For the most part they had started their wane even earlier. The reasons behind their troubled existence and somewhat obscure future were various, as an examination of some of the items illustrates.

Beeswax, for instance, was a mainstay of colonial commerce in the middle years of Spanish control, but through a series of adverse occurrences had almost disappeared as a meaningful item of trade in 1845. The end result of raw wax, usually collected from the hives of wild bees and occasionally produced in domestic apiaries, was usually candles for church use. Yucatecan wax necessarily had to be mixed with other types to produce the desired burning qualities. Collection of wax was almost exclusively a task relegated to Indians, who often paid part of the tribute due an encomendero or the Crown with it.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, production of wax was stimulated by the establishment in Campeche of an English-owned forwarding house which offered to buy all the product of the peninsula and then market it in New Spain. With the certain sale at Campeche assured, "it was worthwhile for bee-keepers to risk the freight costs so that their wax might be exported. Money failed, and the commerce collapsed." The British house was suppressed because of war between Spain and England, presumably the War of Jenkin's Ear, and thus was unable to perform its services as middleman.
The successor to the English establishment was a local merchant who dealt the wax trade a rude blow. He had the unfortunate habit of placing stones in the center of the cakes of raw wax, or filling their centers with water. Meanwhile too an edict had gone forth to archbishops and others that even on the most solemn occasions only twelve large candles should be burned, which cut down the potential market. As soon as buyers in New Spain began to receive Yucatecan wax which was thus fraudulently adulterated, a boycott was declared and the peninsular product received a bad reputation from which it never fully recovered. These were the reasons attributed for its decadence in 1766. Subsequent legislation, treated above, which put tribute payments on a cash rather than commodity basis probably further reduced the quantities of wax collected by Maya after 1786. Suppression of obventions in 1812 (part of which were payable in wax) reduced production to such a low point that Yucatan found it necessary to import it from Cuba, and even though they were re-established not long thereafter, apparently the earlier lucrative export trade—when an arroba of wax sold for eighteen pesos—was almost completely gone. For local needs, however, even in 1845 some wax came almost exclusively from Indian areas near Valladolid and a very little from the Borderlands sections; a negligible quantity went abroad, even though in Mexican markets it under-sold that imported from other places. Perhaps its bad reputation still clung. The Caste War gave a final coup de grace to wax as a significant Yucatecan product.
The peculiar suitability of Yucatan as a site for shipbuilding was recognized by colonial officials and then private entrepreneurs following Independence. Seemingly the area around Campeche had nearly all the elements necessary to make it an important center of naval construction, in an era when wooden ships yet ruled supreme. Certainly as early as 1651, according to royal cédulas, Campeche was engaged in building galleons. More than one eighteenth century source pointed out its success in construction by pointing to the several vessels that had come from its ways — in 1702 "La Guadalupe," in 1763, "El Victoroso," and somewhat earlier, in 1725, "El Blandón." In 1783 two frigates were launched from there, and another was in progress. The size of ships was measured by keel length, and on that basis the several vessels listed ran from about 75 to 120 feet.

In favor of establishing a royal dockyard in Campeche for the building of war vessels, late colonial proponents itemized the advantages of the area. All types of timber were readily available, and could be transported without extraordinary difficulties — much simpler, for example, than bringing oak from the Pyrenees or Galacia to docks in Spain. It was pointed out that Indians were capable carpenters and could easily be taught the requisite skills, and that henequén could be grown and worked for rigging; the twenty to twenty-five hundredweight of cables necessary for most vessels would be easy to fabricate locally.
Perhaps some of these arguments were persuasive, for in 1811 was found at Campeche a rather brisk if small shipbuilding industry. In that year a total of 398 vessels were completed. Many of these were merely coastwise canoes, but the number did include three frigates, eleven brigs, and more than a hundred sea-going craft apart from the coastwise cargo canoes. The yards had registered almost 180 skilled workmen and over 80 apprentices; over two thousand were on the crew rosters of these vessels.\textsuperscript{18}

At the time of independence, Yucatecans had hopes of Campeche's being the point where a Mexican merchant marine would arise, as there were found together the prime materials and the skills necessary. To create a domestic fleet that would rival that of England and the United States was not thought impossible, but the dream faded in the face of actual circumstances. In a tariff law promulgated by Mexico November 16, 1827, the colonial doctrine of giving rebates on goods carried in bottoms constructed in imperial or national yards was altered to granting them on the basis of registration; commodities carried in a vessel built in England or New England which flew the Mexican flag were eligible for the preferential rebate of 16.6\%, whereas previously only those constructed in Mexican yards could qualify. In 1831 all rebates were withdrawn, and in 1833 a strongly nationalistic surge again replaced the innovation by new legislation that protected local naval construction. A reduction of twenty percent from listed
tariffs was allowed merchandise which was carried in vessels constructed within the Republic, owned by Mexicans, and whose captain and pilot, as well as half the members of the crew, were Mexicans.

The protective law lasted from October 24, 1833, to October 9, 1837, and during those years Campeche enjoyed a boom that nearly raised its naval construction industry to the level it had reached earlier in 1811. Wages for skilled wrights rose to as high as 4.25 pesos a day, while unskilled workmen's scales reached a peso—eight times the agricultural wage of a real a day, and at least double or triple the highest common urban pay. A labor force of 170 sawyers, calkers, fitters and carpenters managed in four years to construct thirteen major craft valued at a little over a hundred thousand pesos, the largest of which was the schooner "Privilegio" at 139 tons and worth 13,045 pesos. The French traveler Waldeck, always reluctant to praise anything Yucatecan, was forced to admit in 1834 that the vessels built in Campeche seemed to him "the best that exist through the marine." He remarked on an ingenious device he had seen by which a schooner of a hundred foot keel length was launched.

In 1837, withdrawal of the preferential decree dashed the plans for a continued prosperity based on ship-building. Virtual closing of the yards resulted from allowing foreign shipyards to compete with Mexican ones. Even at the relatively lower wages paid in Mexico, the national product could not
compete with American, which in another context Stephens characterized as "those great factories where ships are built by the mile and chopped off to order, but stout, strong, well-manned and equipped." The "ancient paralysis" which set in after 1837 also had political repercussions: Campeche was willing to join Merida in a revolt against the national government, in the hope that a new one would revive a favorable policy which in turn would stimulate naval construction again. The latter did not transpire, even though the government did change. As a result, in the twelve years from 1837 to 1849, only one vessel of sea-going capacity, the schooner "Fernando," about half the size of the "Privilegio," left the ways, and only sixteen coastwise canoes were launched.\textsuperscript{21} Wages dropped to a third of the scale current in 1834, and only a small nucleus of skilled workmen remained, probably busied in maintenance and repairs rather than on new construction. As in other instances, competition from abroad killed this colonial industry, which had undergone a brief renaissance under a return to colonial doctrines in 1833-1837. It could not stand on its own feet in the competitive modern world.

Of all the forest industries, the commerce and trade based on sale of logwood for dyestuffs was and continued to be most important for Yucatan. Wood from the tree \textit{Haematoxylon campechianum} became an object of value fairly early in colonial history and English attempts to procure quantities of it
directly within the bounds of the Spanish lands on the Gulf of Mexico led to numerous local skirmishes and ill-will. Driven from Carmen and the area at the mouth of the Usumacinta River, British filibusters and ex-pirates managed to settle themselves uneasily around the present site of Belize in British Honduras, from which an inferior grade of logwood reached European markets, especially textile centers. The chief supplier, however, was Campeche's nearby areas, from whence the tree and its product takes its common name, Campeche wood.

In halcyon colonial days, logwood had brought as much as five hundred pesos a ton. By 1826, it had dropped to around eighty, and in 1845, at the common value of fifty centavos a hundredweight (quintal) a ton was worth somewhere around ten or twelve pesos. The drop in value resulted in part from competition by loggers in Honduras and British Honduras, but probably too was influenced by entrance into the market of substitute dyestuffs. On the eve of the Caste War, however, the displacement of Campeche-wood by "diverse chemical compounds which can be substituted for dye" was recognized as a potential threat, but one which at that time played only a minor role in the troubles currently faced by Yucatecan producers.

Their problems were not particularly new, but were approaching a crisis stage because of the falling prices. Two inter-connected predicaments beset the industry. The first
was to obtain working capital at somewhat reduced interest rates, which generally were high because the business was a highly speculative one. The second was caused by rising cost of production due to added transportation costs; earlier operations at the water's edge had removed the best stands of trees, so that current sites were pushed further and further inland, involving expensive freight to shipping points. Reports in the first, second and at the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century show the ills besetting production of logwood in successively more acute stages. The end of the century saw the former markets so completely captured by aniline dyes of German manufacture that reference to logwood as a source of coloring (and revenue) had a quite anachronistic sound in 1900.

The structure and operation of the logwood industry in 1845 was inherited from the past and remained much the same until it completely collapsed. In general the men who logged were not independent entrepreneurs using their own funds, but were small scale operators using borrowed funds. Customarily such an individual would have gained a concession from the state government to extract logwood from a stated area of public lands, paying an annual fee or rental for the privilege. With this in hand he would approach a local merchant or other person of some means for a cash loan to carry on actual exploitation of the concession. Ordinarily the underwriter drew up a contract which placed in his hands the entire
annual output at a discount from the current market price at time of delivery; proceeds from his sale were to pay the interest charges on the loan and to amortize it over a period of years. As the market price of logwood gradually sank lower, more and more production was needed merely to cover interest, and increased production in turn helped lower the prices.

Operators entered into a vicious circle of debt to entrepreneurs which closely resembled the system whereby their own laborers were bound to them by successive advances. Owning neither the land on which they worked, nor controlling the capital which made operations possible, the concessionaires had but little interest in conservation of sites or much care about efficient operation, once in debt so deeply that it seemed improbable that they could ever extricate themselves. Under the prevailing system, loggers tended to strip the best timbers from an area and then pass on to another concession without intensive exploitation of the one previous. Not only was the state left with a large territory of relatively unproductive resources, but the line of virgin timber moved faster and faster inland. The process was similar to the one known in mining as "high-grading."

Added to the woes of entrepreneurs was an export tax levied from time to time by the state. In late colonial days, the Crown had finally been convinced that such an impost was uneconomic and that it restricted production, as well as profit.
When it was removed, production rose, as the difference between the unit price set by the market and that which entrepreneurs could pay operators had a smaller spread, the difference being favorable to the latter. But the state government, usually when controlled by men from Merida, returned from time to time toward the older colonial practice, and placed an export tax of 3% on logwood. Similarly, as seen later, disputes arose over the attempt of the legislature to alter concession arrangements by raising rents or even to try to force purchase of logging tracts; on the other hand, when the climate of opinion was more favorable to the industry, free use of logging lands was stipulated. These matters were essentially political, and were subject to remedy by legislation.

Pressure of rising transportation costs from logging sites to shipping points spurred some improvement in technology. The chief hope was to produce a light-weight substitute for logwood chips by processing them where they were cut rather than have this done abroad by the consumers or middlemen. The aim was to market an extract of logwood rather than the bulky chips. To this end a Frenchman in Merida took time from his trade of clockmaking to work on a process in the years from 1816 to 1820; no tangible results appeared. In 1828, however, Pedro José Guzmán discovered that appropriate machinery had been invented in the United States, and arranged to purchase a mechanism that would reduce chips to extract by
boiling them and then allowing the liquid to evaporate; the residue was then handled further and formed into cakes or tablets. In the fashion common to the times, the state legislature gave him a five year monopoly on the manufacture of this new product.26

Extract, however, proved to be a poor substitute. Natural logwood rendered four firm colors — black, red, blue, and violet — a fact that constituted much of its superiority over other natural dyestuffs. The heat required to reduce liquid to dye in the Yucatecan process was rather intense and the end result was a single color, black. Purchasers in England and France refused to use extract cakes, leaving only the reduced demands of the United States and Germany as a market.

An attempt to obviate the difficulty of an unattractive monochrome product was made by a Yucatecan, Rafael Pedrera, an early industrial chemist in the tradition of Manuel Tiburcio Almeida and predecessor of Joaquin Donde. Experimentally he achieved success in a hot bath process that required less than 100°C and which yielded brilliant carmine, blue, and purple at a second stage in the proceedings. But though a triumph in the laboratory, the complex procedure was inapplicable to industrial demands and proved too expensive for extended use.27 Apparently little or no further work along these lines was carried on after mid-century and the main stream of logwood production remained much the same as it had been through late colonial times.
Thus on the eve of the Caste War, production and shipment of logwood was still an important enterprise, but one which was declining at an alarming rate. More than two-thirds of the annual production was localized to an area around Carmen, where 8 haciendas and 164 semi-permanent ranchos kept nearly three thousand persons busy. Logwood alone represented about 5.5% of Yucatan's total annual production (by value), but forest products accounted for more of its export commerce than did all other items combined, as practically none of them entered the internal commercial channels. Though attempts to substitute extract for chips had but limited success, in 1845 nearly 180,000 pounds of it was manufactured, of which 117,408 pounds went to New York at an average unit price of six cents. As a whole the industry faced and raised difficult political and economic problems; scarcity of labor and attempts of operators to maintain a stable labor force through debt peonage tended, as discussed previously, to create and continue a series of vexing social questions.

Among the colonial products which had sustained Yucatan through the earlier years of its existence as a Spanish dependency, salt was one of the few which retained its price and markets through Independence and into the latter part of the nineteenth century. Unlike the others, also, there were few problems of land and labor that hampered its operations, even though some changes took place in the tenure policies and in the organization of exploitation of the salt pans.
after Independence. Salt was practically the sole mineral resource of Yucatan which had significant export value.

The trade arose from a geographical peculiarity of the peninsula. Along the western coast, from Campeche to Sisal, a series of ridges up to ten feet high lie practically on the edge of the Gulf; to the east of these a chain of shallow indentations act as reservoirs that store fresh water in the form of rain. So highly permeated is the soil with salt that when the water evaporates under the fierce suns of January through March, cakes of almost pure salt remain behind in the charcos or pans. Sea water which entered was likely to ruin the "crop" by producing a slimy covering which prevents the proper evaporation of fresh water. Blocks of salt vary in areal dimensions but were almost uniformly nine inches thick; most of the charcos had a length of from fifty to sixty varas, and a width of from twenty to twenty-five. A few were found along the north coast and on Mujeres Island, but those commercially exploited in the nineteenth century centered around Celestun.28

The history of the industry reveals that salt and Campeche were virtually synonymous. Merchants from that place were the chief entrepreneurs and the product was one of their most valuable assets. When the town was almost destroyed by pirates in the seventeenth century, a special salt tax in 1696 provided funds for its reconstruction. Like the encomenderos and hacendados in other parts of the peninsula, the salt
operators formed a small and tightly knit oligarchy which maintained considerable skill and success in lobbying against royal measures that would injure their interests. Although throughout the Hapsburg reigns the salt beds remained royal possessions, from which revenue was derived by imposts at time of extraction, the product itself was a commodity handled by private individuals. The Bourbons tried from time to time to make the salt trade a royal monopoly, as the following details show.

In 1771 Campeche salt was ordered to be deposited in a royal warehouse in Veracruz, and sold to the Crown at a fixed price of one and half pesos per fanega. The government monopoly then supplied retail merchants with salt at four pesos a fanega. On pleas from Campeche merchants, the warehouse was disestablished in 1772, but again the idea was revived a decade later. Royal officials in Campeche contracted with others in Veracruz to furnish a government warehouse there with twenty thousand fanegas of salt a year, at a price of from eighteen to twenty reales a fanega (depending on whether the shipments were made during time of peace or during wartime), to be retailed at from four to four and a half pesos. By political manœuvres, the merchants again had this monopoly annulled. Further, their demands for a revision of taxes from a flat levy of four reales a fanega were heard, and their suggested two reales plus two percent ad valorem was accepted. Following independence, the major change that was made
in arrangements between the government and the dealers involved transfer of ownership of the charcos from the public domain to private hands. In March, 1824, legislation facilitated this exchange, but apparently little change occurred then. For awhile in 1840, the state government returned to the old colonial system of giving concessions for one harvest from the public salt beds, but in 1845 categorical legislation put the state out of the business and ordered the beds to be turned into private hands. The legislation of 1824 had removed all taxes from salt or salt beds, but in 1845 a five percent ad valorem charge was collected. As in colonial days, the main market for Campeche's salt was Veracruz and the Mexican Gulf coast ports. 30

In earlier and later times the manner of extracting the dry salt from the pans was somewhat similar, but between the colonial method of organizing the labor force and that in vogue after independence there was some difference. In each instance the "harvest" was a group operation that occupied a considerable labor force for a short while, rather than a year round occupation such as mining. The process was somewhat picturesque. The group, which in colonial times amounted to three or four hundred persons and in later days to as many as a thousand, was subdivided and each unit placed under a foreman who took a position (with a checker) on the edge of a pan. The men under him marched out Indian file onto the salt, each carrying two baskets. The file leader filled his from the
previously cut chunks and passed them back to the man behind, receiving an empty one in return; the filled baskets were passed bucket-brigade fashion back to the foreman and checker while empty ones advanced in the same manner. The foreman and checker started a new pile of salt when one reached a given amount, usually twenty fanegas, though in earlier times from twelve to fifteen constituted a pile. The whole operation was carried on at night to avoid the dazzling glare of sun on the white salt pans. Since each fanega was the equivalent of nine arrobas of dry salt or about eleven of wet, each pile of twenty fanegas amounted to around two tons and a half, and was considered the normal unit of work for five men during one night's labor.

In the eighteenth century, laborers at the salt pans were a various crew. Some were Indians sent there to work out their labor portion—a repartimiento, sub-contracted to an entrepreneur by a village cacique or the subdelegado of a partido; others were Indians who voluntarily worked and were paid in kind, being allowed to retain a given amount of salt as wages; still others were free Negroes, mestizos and various castes who might also be paid in salt, but who often received cash; and finally, some semi-permanent but part-time workers who split their efforts between the agricultural concerns of an entrepreneur's hacienda and care of his salt concessions during the year.

Indians usually worked by day wage, at the rate of one
real, while others worked on a piece basis. The unit of
work was a pile of salt fifteen fanegas in weight when wet,
which shrunk to about twelve when dried. Two men were paid
at the rate of four reales each per pile; thus a fanega cost
(for labor) a little over six centavos gross, but evaporation
raised it to around eight and a half. With the usual crew
of from three to four hundred, production from 1761 to 1765
averaged around ten thousand fanegas a season. At that time
salt was subject to an extraction tax of four reales a fanega,
which nearly equalled its selling price of from five to six
and a half reales. The high impost led to much open fraud;
the so-called Alcalde of the Salt Pans, named by the provincial
governor to check it usually not only allowed much to be ex-
tracted without payment but often pocketed the proceeds from
one public charco usurped by him.32

Whether reduction in the taxes or better organization of
labor was responsible, salt production after independence in-
creased over the earlier amounts. Rather than the various
classes of labor earlier involved, nearly all workers were
paid in cash, at the nightly rate of two reales and a ration
of maize worth three centavos. The labor force was doubled
and almost tripled, ranging from eight hundred to a thousand
men. Under the system of cash payments to voluntary recruits,
a fanega of salt cost the entrepreneur about seven centavos
gross (before evaporation). His export tax of 5% ad valorem
(amounting to five centavos a fanega) was but a small fraction
of the market price of eight reales; in other words, wages for day labor had risen to double their colonial level, but the added cost per fanega had increased only one centavo, while the selling price had gone up fifty. At the same time, taxes had dropped. Thus though labor cost was slightly increased, taxes and labor together amounted only to about one real, leaving seven to defray transportation and remain for profit. Earlier labor and taxes had edged near to the market price, accounting for nearly four and a half reales.

It was no particular wonder that production per season in the eighteen forties almost never dropped below thirty thousand fanegas, and might rise as high as eighty. Unlike colonial days, when harvests went directly from pits to lighters and thence to market, in the middle nineteenth century the crop was covered and stored at the cutting sites, presumably to keep the market from being flooded in years of exceptional abundance and to provide a reservoir for years when unfavorable weather reduced the yield below normal.

As demand widened, production rose to meet it. In 1876, for example, around two hundred thousand fanegas were annually extracted. It was said that this could be tripled if cheap transportation through the interior of Mexico could broaden the Yucatecan market at mines and other places there. But the price had dropped to three reales.

The labor force for the most part was drawn from the group of Maya and mestizo towns at the upper end of the West
Coast area and the lower edge of the Old Colonial. The salt harvest season was a very well-defined one which fitted into an agricultural round, in that its peak was reached just before the brush of milpa sites was dry enough to burn. If salt was not removed before the spring rains, the charroos would not yield properly the following winter. Thus annually the inhabitants of these communities augmented their agricultural income by a sum ranging from a minimum of around two thousand pesos (for a short yield of thirty thousand fanegas) to as much as six thousand pesos for a good year. Although current was a belief that continued work at the salt pits produced sterility in males, apparently little difficulty was encountered in recruiting workers. Few entrepreneurs would demur from the contemporary statement that the industry was a lucrative one, limited chiefly by a rather rigid market which expanded slowly. The vested interests of salt merchants linked them to Mexico and continued harmony with the national government; otherwise, tariff barriers rose against their product. They were a small but puissant group with a tradition of getting what they wanted from dissident governments.

IV

With an apparent decline in nearly all colonial items, and with a relatively free hand after they were relieved from the Spanish mercantile system, Yucateans looked around for new items on which new agriculture or industry could be
based. There was a feeling that the future of the peninsula was perhaps more solidly assured if hopes were pinned to agriculture rather than commerce or industry. In the decade from 1820 to 1830, various experiments were attempted, two of which were to prove successful. Men in those years tried to revive sericulture, to found a coffee development, to grow sugar, and to put cultivation of henequén on a commercial basis. With the exception of coffee, all these commodities had some colonial history. Only sugar and henequén proved successful.

Details of the development of these latter two crops illustrate the manner in which the spirit of enterprise so marked in the social and intellectual fields of western Yucatán was reflected in the economic ones to the east and south for sugar, to the north for henequén. Expansion of the sugar belt into the Borderlands was an important element in generating the Caste War.

In the formative period after Conquest, a silk-raising enterprise near Valladolid attracted favorable notices as a well-organized and flourishing development. Presumably the factors that caused a waning of silk production throughout New Spain equally affected the peninsula industry, and unlike the mainland, there seems to have been no sharp and relatively short upturn under the Bourbons. Neither the optimistic commissioners who reported to the Vistador Gálvez in 1766, nor the local thinkers who discussed Yucatecan opportunities
for improvement discussed the possibility of reviving sericulture. 34

Dr. Juan Frutos, a Spaniard who came to the peninsula of Yucatan as a military surgeon, then settled in Campeche for private practice, tried to found a silk industry on one of his two haciendas. Lack of capital rather than determination forced him to abandon the experiment, which began in 1835 and terminated in 1840. He found that the silk worms which he had imported did not seem acclimated to Yucatan or to the leaves from the trees that he also had purchased abroad. Contemporaries thought his attempts had established the fact that with patience and capital a silk industry could probably emerge, and that Frutos' age and short resources rather than physical limitations of the peninsula accounted for his lack of real achievement. 35 However, through following years little was heard about silk culture in Yucatan.

Some Yucatecans had hopes that the peninsula would find in coffee a plant that would buttress their sinking agriculture. The plant was a relative newcomer to the New World, entering via the Antilles in the early eighteenth century, but did not figure as an article of export from New Spain until 1802. The idea of raising coffee for export began to surge strong after independence, as during the years from 1810 to 1820 a sudden drop in the price of coffee had driven out the producers in the Antilles, and liberation of slaves through Veracruz, together with dislocations due to military
operations had virtually extinguished the chief productive area of New Spain. Prices of coffee rose on the world market, and there was a general scramble to meet the growing demand. Yucatan believed that it had as good a chance as any other area to capture at least a portion of the market.

The government backed this view in November, 1825, by offering a series of premiums to persons who would plant coffee. For persons who would, within eight years, cultivate a plot containing either 200 fine bushes or 300 common ones, the legislature decreed freedom from taxes on them, as well as exemption from municipal or other public duties for life. A man who would plant 500 fine or 700 common was offered exemption from all taxes during his lifetime, and for the entrepreneur who could double those figures, the same privilege was to extend to one of his heirs for the latter's life.

Despite these lures, seemingly no extensive plantings resulted. No mention is made of coffee in the minute investigations of Regl for the period just before the Caste War. But the dream of Yucatan's taking its place among the coffee-producing areas of Mexico did not die; in the last third of the nineteenth century, optimism was expressed, and the failure to make the dream real was attributed to a scarcity of skill and labor rather than to climatic or other factors.
Sugar was no newcomer to Yucatan, and its development into a commercial industry was attended by more success than marked attempts to establish coffee or to revive silk. Though known and raised in small quantities during the colonial regime, sugar cane and its products were not mainstays of provincial economy. It was unique among commodities which played an important role on the eve of the Caste War in that the industry had developed to an advanced state after Independence and was beset by seemingly few problems which could not be solved in the political arena. The boom of sugar from 1825 to 1847 had, as outlined below, a number of ramifications. The Caste War was its chief repercussion. As a case study of a nascent industry developing from scratch to a leading position, it has importance even beyond its immediate bearing on the origins of the Caste War.

Sugar cane was planted in Yucatan near the opening of the seventeenth century. No less a personage than the Dean of the Merida cathedral raised a crop of it as early as 1605, possibly as an experiment. This, however, did not found a new economic activity, as consistently in later years various authorities, and for mixed motives, opposed Yucatecan cultivation of the plant, from which came intoxicants as well as sugar. Wine merchants in the metropolis, who looked upon the colonies as a suitable outlet for their goods were instrumental
in achieving royal legislation which prohibited the crop. Both because illicit local manufacture of cane alcohol in the area put cheap liquor in the hands of his Maya charges, and because its competition was ruining Spanish trade, a bishop of Mérida in 1755 ordered his vicar at Valladolid to burn all the cane fields in the vicinity.

A decade later, royal commissioners reported that there must be a large contraband trade in spirits. Although the vice of drunkenness was rather widespread among the castes in Yucatan, little or no revenue was derived because no one reported imports of any liquors; they added that Yucatecans produced some sugar, and that its amount could be increased since the place was suitable for its cultivation. In accordance with an order of 1813, Yucatecans mentioned that some cane was grown, which they thought was as good as that from Jamaica; as no apparatus was available to turn it into white sugar, most of the extracted cane juice ultimately became brown sugar or aguardiente, an intoxicant. The amount was said to be small, chiefly because of labor shortages in the Sierra area where it grew best. Even under a liberalized local tariff granted to Yucatan by the Spanish Cortes in 1814, the monopoly of metropolitan liquors was asserted and safeguarded by prohibitory clauses. Thus for a considerable period the weight of Spanish officialdom was an inhibiting factor for unlimited development of Yucatecan sugar, but despite repression and restriction, slight amounts of cane had been grown and even processed during the colonial period.
However, the beginning of the nineteenth century commercial development dates primarily from 1823, and more certainly from 1825. In the former year, the state legislature took active steps to foster local cane production, while the Mexican war with Spain (in which Yucatan somewhat unwillingly joined) in the latter cut the peninsula off from its usual Cuban sources of supply. Earlier Yucatan had depended on the products of places like Cordoba, Orizaba, and Cuernavaca in Mexico to furnish sugar, but later had shifted to Havana; Yucatecos had thought that the sugar of Louisiana was too poor a quality for too high a price, so that an import sugar trade had never sprung up between the peninsula and New Orleans. The protective legislation which nourished the industry thus forced on Yucatan by necessity is treated in some detail below. It seems necessary to stress the fact that commercial sugar was a post-Independence, pre-Caste War phenomenon whose evolution vitally affected the economic and social life of Yucatan in numerous ways. The Caste War, which it helped engender, killed sugar-raising as a significant element in the life of Yucatan in the second half of the nineteenth century.

A simplified survey of the basic features of the sugar cane industry seems essential for an understanding of the particular form which appeared in Yucatan and its influence on the local scene. The final products of cane are various crystalline sugars for human consumption, as well as numerous
types of intoxicants. In turn these derive from natural juices of the sugar cane plant which have been treated in distilleries or sugar houses by a series of processes which separate a varying purity of sugar, usually by evaporation. To obtain the natural juices for processing, stalks are cut from the growing sugar cane plants, usually once a year, though sometimes twice from the same plant. The life of the plant is relatively short for commercial purposes; depending on its variety, it may yield for from two to seven years before being replaced with new seedlings. Sugar cane has a relatively ancient history, and appeared early in the New World. The particular plant which was most common up to the end of the eighteenth century was a variety known as "Creole."

For worthwhile amounts of crop, sugar cane usually requires a tropical or sub-tropical climate, as well as soils capable of retaining water. If abundant rainfall does not furnish adequate moisture, irrigation may be necessary. A wide range of cultivation methods have been in vogue; although usually cane is a tillage crop, as opposed to milpas, methods suitable to the latter can be adapted with success, as they were in Cuba and Yucatan. The peak labor requirement comes at harvest time, in a dry period after the plants have blossomed once. Harvesting has been a job for hand labor, men swinging machetes, as attempts to mechanize it have met with only limited success. The crop of one year
must be harvested before the rains for the next set in, and preferably is done when the canes hit a peak of maturity; green or overripe plants yield less juice, and it produces less sugar than those which are cut at the point of maturity. Only a small labor force is needed to plant and care for the fields, but a large one is required to produce the best results at harvest time. A good cutter is one who can chop about a thousand pounds of cane stalks an hour, or four tons a day.42

Different varieties of cane give diverse amounts of juice and sugar. Traditionally the New World stuck to "Creole" until the late eighteenth century. Then by a series of romantic incidents, a new type known as "Otaheite" came into the Antilles in 1766-68, Bougainville had touched at the island of Otaheite in the Pacific and brought the cane he found there to Mauritius, from whence it spread, while a little later Captain Bligh of Bounty fame similarly introduced cane directly from Otaheite into Jamaica (1792), where it doubled the productivity of the island. With the exception of Cuba, which preferred a variety known as cristalina, Otaheite cane displaced Creole. It came to Spain in 1816, but did not grow on the mainland of Mexico until 1840. Its shallow rooting habits and other natural characteristics made it quite suitable for Yucatan, and Otaheite (rather than the cristilina or Creole form) was the exclusive variety used by Yucatecan growers after Independence. Under optimum
circumstances, Otaheite will yield up to twelve tons of sugar per acre, but apparently Yucatecans averaged perhaps one and a half to two, due to the environmental hazards and the retarded technology they employed. The date at which Otaheite cane was introduced to Yucatan is nowhere stated, but probably was around 1822, certainly earlier than its use in Mexico generally.

Although Colonial creoles at Valladolid had grown some cane in the times when they thought they could safely disregard orders to the contrary, the lifting of restrictions, replaced by official encouragement after Independence, made the Sierra regions Yucatan's new sugar bowl. A secondary cluster of plantations was found around Épita and Tizimin, which, like the Sierra, offered the best soil and climatic conditions for cane. Table 51 attests that in 1844, when Yucatecan sugar production had reached an apogee, the two partidos of Tekax and Peto cultivated more of the crop than all others combined.

Another inference from Table 51 is that two phases of production -- cultivation and processing -- were not necessarily inseparable, although they might be closely associated in the same area. The placement of distilleries followed closely the distribution of the peninsula's total population, with the exception of the Borderlands which had more than its share, and the Old Colonial, with less. It may be that because cultivation was limited by geographical factors --
Table 51. DISTRIBUTION OF SUGAR CULTIVATION AND PROCESSING, 1844

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area reported</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mecates reported</td>
<td>Major distilleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Merida</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Izamal</td>
<td>599</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLD COLONIAL</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>4,582</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tizimin</td>
<td>9,046</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espita</td>
<td>8,346</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST COLONIAL</td>
<td>21,974</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campeche</td>
<td>2,010</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hekelchakan</td>
<td>1,005</td>
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<td>3,102</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST COAST</td>
<td>6,707</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekax</td>
<td>32,622</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaxcabá</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopelchen</td>
<td>10,028</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peto</td>
<td>30,481</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacalar</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BORDERLANDS</td>
<td>72,801</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENINSULA</td>
<td>102,081</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Exposición...June 18, 1844, p. 25 (adapted).

soils, climate, water, winds -- it was less capable of peninsula-wide distribution, while processing, fixed more by human factors and more strictly economic considerations, tended to locate according to demand and transportation facilities.

Cultivation definitely concentrated in the Borderlands, where from two-thirds to three-quarters of the acreage was found, while processing tended toward regional self-sufficiency.
In 1844 Campeche business men reported that because distilleries had begun to appear more and more in the interior, their production had dropped by three-quarters, and that they were trying to produce gin with the distilling plants at the port.  

Production of sugar cane usually is a large-scale enterprise, rather than a combination of small holdings tilled by individuals and their families. Although in comparison to the size of ranchos on which Maya raised maize, Yucatecan sugar holdings were large, still they were not enormous. Seemingly the same pattern that held for Yucatecan cattle holdings in late colonial times was modified when sugar began its rise. A relatively large number of proprietors operated a fair-sized number of holdings rather than a small group practically monopolizing the sugar lands. It is somewhat difficult to estimate the average size holding, because of the tendency toward secrecy and falsification (to avoid taxes) which was part of standard practice among entrepreneurs. One critic believed that there was an error of perhaps 100%, with certainly 50%, in reports of acreage and yield. Where the growers had reported about one hundred thousand mecales of plantings, there was in fact at least 150,000, with perhaps 200,000 as the true figure. Thus when from the partido of Peto came the information that 76 holdings comprised 12,884 mecales, the resultant average size of planting, 16.5 acres, possibly should be increased to 25, or even 33.  

Even this latter maximum represents a rather small unit of operation, as goes sugar production in comparative areas through the world.

It was said in 1849 that the maximum capital value of a sugar hacienda which included a distillery was around six thousand pesos. Probably the average hovered somewhere above the figure previously extracted as the average value of rural properties in the Borderlands, 1,480 pesos (Table 37), and probably below that for like properties in West Coast hands, 3,000 pesos, since all haciendas did not support distilleries, and since much of the capital needed to initiate a sugar enterprise came from Campeche.

The rise of the first sugar haciendas, however, coincided with the shutting off of the flow of Yucatecan cattle products to Havana. Some money from the Old Colonial area likewise migrated toward the Borderlands in the form of sugar haciendas. These were a capital investment which promised greater returns than did cattle enterprises. So stated the Junta de Fomento of Merida in 1844, whose spokesman mentioned that "not a few merchants and cattle hacendados put their risk capital into founding sugar establishments...they constructed good rural houses, and imported into the area foreign machinery for grinding cane."47

As already mentioned in various places above, sugar haciendas began to dot the Borderlands after 1825. Some of their proprietors retained residence in Merida or Campeche;
such, for example, was Vicente Calero, or the doctor who had tried to revive silk, Antonio Frutos, whose sugar enterprise on the hacienda Callal gave "powerful impulse to the cultivation of sugar cane." Others, like the Señor Trego (who had emigrated to Iturbide's outskirts around 1830), preferred to oversee their new sugar operations personally. Such, for another example, was Anselmo Duarte de la Ruela, who had moved to Peto in 1835 and had founded a brisk establishment for the production and distribution of sugar crops; his letters about his difficulties at the outbreak of the Caste War give important data on political and military movements of those crucial times.48

Though information is scanty, it would seem that a number of capitalists in Mérida and Campeche placed the distilling operations in those cities, while at the same time they established haciendas in the Borderlands to provide the raw materials. Others, like Andrés María España, grouped the two together at the site of cultivation.49 Probably in most cases, to lower transportation costs, grinding the cane to extract the raw juice was performed on the hacienda, no matter where it was finally sent for further treatment.

It did not take a financial wizard to see that sugar was profitable, especially to 1840 before increased production began to lower selling prices. Though possibly high, because the information was furnished to the government,
the cost of raising an arroba of sugar was said to be one peso. Generally from 1825 to around 1840 the selling price of sugar was around 25 reales, a little over three pesos. Earlier, it was higher; sugar was a luxury item. With a potential profit of two pesos an arroba, one good crop would amortize the original investment.

For instance, taking the average holding of perhaps 25 acres in cane, even at the relatively low yields of the time, a proprietor could anticipate a harvest that would amount to around 2,400 arrobas. His gross profit (subtracting only the cost of production) thus would reach some 4,800 pesos. Presumably operators who also maintained their own distilleries would cultivate a larger plot than the average. In one year to cover the initial cost of the maximum investment, six thousand pesos, approximately seventy-five acres of salable cane would be necessary. But in the second year of operation, such an establishment would show 100% profit of six thousand pesos, so long as cost of production remained at one peso an arroba and the selling price at three. At the latter, the price of white sugar was twelve centavos a pound.

Part of the capital investment required for a sugar enterprise was establishment of a satisfactory water supply. The latter not only was necessary for cultivation of cane, which needs water, but also served to recruit the large supply of labor required for harvesting. As seen, the appearance of a new water source in the Borderlands was signal for emigration
there, especially toward the end of the dry season when normal aguadas had been emptied by use and evaporation. The dry season was harvest time for cane, so that a seasonal labor pool appeared when it was most needed. To meet the other needs of hacienda production of cane -- the labor required for planting and care before harvest -- the net of peonage was dropped over some Maya; they were taken as "salaried hands" at the wage of one real a day. Perhaps the lure of this relatively high cash wage brought some voluntary workers onto the haciendas.

The scarcity of labor, however, was a limiting factor for the expansion of sugar. As in other parts of the world, the producers in Yucatan had to face the risk of losing much or all of their crop because it remained uncut in the fields. Speaking of the more general problem (which can be particularized to the Yucatecan scene on the eve of the Caste War), a writer notes that "the cutting of the crop forms an important item in the cost of production, and uses up a large proportion of the visible supply of labour, besides placing the owners at the mercy of an irresponsible population." Even the small crop of 1813 was lost because Indians refused to work voluntarily and the liberal legislation of the Spanish Cortes had undermined the forced labor system in vogue. Peonage of a sort, or forced labor in some guise seemed essential to consistent production of sugar on haciendas.

So long as there was a wide margin of profit between
costs and sale value, there was but small pressure to improve sugar technology. The industry tended to lag behind the technical developments that increased productive efficiency in neighboring areas like Cuba. Though some twenty iron grinding mills were in use on the eve of the Caste War, the vast majority of haciendas clung to wooden rollers. The iron apparatus raised the yield by 10%, but the older fashion wooden ones remained as the usual mechanism until sugar raising almost completely disappeared from Yucatan. Until around 1860 all iron machinery came from abroad, but at that time a descendant of John MacGregor (who had helped Pedro Baranda found the cotton mill in Valladolid) began in a small way to produce sugar machinery in Campeche.

Distillation for the most part also was old-fashioned, in that cane juice was boiled off in kettles over open fires. The process of distillation by use of combined vacuum pans and surface condensers (cooled by syrup or juice), whose invention was attributed to Charles Derosne, was known in Yucatan, but was not extensively employed. The Derosne process (actually the work of a man named Dagrand) was quite popular in Cuba and surrounding sugar areas after 1840, but did not diffuse widely through Yucatan. It was thought to be 20% more efficient than current practice there. Thus a producer who would install iron grinders and avail himself of the newer process of distillation could increase his output by at least 30%.
In somewhat similar fashion, sugar haciendas clung to relatively primitive methods for supplying water to their fields and distilleries. As noted earlier, windmills did not appear on Yucatan until near the end of the century, and until that time the traditional treadmill run by animals or antiquated devices requiring hand labor were usual. In 1846 two American engineers who had come to Yucatan in hopes of improving the production of henequen also turned their minds to a problem which they thought needed a solution. They advertised that they had invented a method of hoisting water that by use of one mule would deliver twenty-four gallons a minute from a well a hundred feet deep, or twice that amount by use of a team of mules. They stated that this was a great improvement over the techniques then employed by distillers and cane-growers, but whether the latter took advantage of the allegedly more efficient device is not known. Perhaps the fact that the Americans failed to complete their primary object, the improvement of henequen rasping machinery, discredited them as oracles of the Machine Age.

Though in practice the majority of sugar entrepreneurs were indifferent to technological advances, a small group of them were sensitive to the changes going on outside the peninsula. The latter claimed that reasons for the upsurge of production around 1840 (even before favorable land legislation of 1841) included the more effective training of mill and distillery operators, a perfecting of clumsy wooden mills
and the introduction of iron ones, as well as some unspecified "new processes." Production had become slightly more efficient, as well as greatly extended, the latter occurring especially from 1840 to 1844 (after favorable land laws). The enterprising spirit of sugar men was channeled more toward bringing new areas under cultivation than it was toward improving their methods.

From its outset, the sugar industry was closely related to government — at first dependent on its protection, then as an influence in political affairs. A brief survey of laws which affected it shows an illuminating set of shifting relationships, as the infant industry grew to manhood, relative to other Yucatecan economic activities and interests. The following paragraphs present such a survey.

By a decree of October 13, 1823, the state legislature set a basic policy which was consistently followed to 1850. The government fostered the growth of cane to produce sugar by declaring that cultivation of the plant and manufacture of sugar were to remain absolutely free of duties or taxes. At the same time, taxes on the production of brown sugar, panela, were reduced from 8% to 4%, but intoxicants, aguardiente, paid a flat 20 reales (2.50 pesos) a barrel. To stimulate peninsular trade, it was further stated that no transportation levies were collectible on cane products. The underlying policy seems evident: sugar rather than rum was what Yucatan needed. Distillers, who evidently made more profit
by converting juices into intoxicants, were usually at odds with state policy and through the years struggled to have it changed.

Although the question of sugar exploitation and land legislation is discussed later, here it is worthy of note that one of Yucatan's early land laws probably helped the sugar industry get started. To fill up the empty spaces beyond the fringe of settlement, a statute of 1825 made particularly easy the acquisition of land in the sugar zone. One article, in fact, directed the governor to give to strangers "the fertile public plots of the Sierra Alta and Camino Real Alto partidos." In 1826, the state legislature approved a recommendation which allowed municipalities to add a local tax on the aguardiente state excise, but prohibited them from hindering the production of sugar by taxing it. In that year the governor reported to the legislature that "the cultivation of sugar cane has increased, and is progressing so considerably that before long not only will it meet interior consumption needs, but there will be a surplus of sugars and liquors whose exportation will produce sizable revenues." In 1827, rates on aguardiente were again raised to six pesos a barrel. As in 1823, part of the revenue thus derived went into the general funds of the state, but one-third was allocated to expenses of the hospitals of Merida and Campeche. Evidently the production of liquor was increasing,
as in 1832 the unit of taxation was changed from barrels of aguardiente to *pipas*, pipes, which were equivalent to seven barrels (or 210 *frascos*). In the same year the cane juice destined for sugar not only paid no taxes, but the Church allowed it to pay only a half tithe; this did not extend to that destined for brown sugar or aguardiente. In 1833, the aguardiente tax jumped to 150 pesos a *pipe*, or over twenty a barrel. The first reduction came in 1834 (under a Centralist government), when the rate dropped to 125.

In 1835, the state embarked on a new method of calculating taxes. Rather than make a count every fifteen days of the liquor on hand at each distillery, the lawmakers decided it would be simpler to tax the permanent stills on a monthly basis scaled according to their capacity. A regular old-fashioned horizontal one paid 125 pesos a month, while cylindrical ones were charged 150; the capacity of each was basically 1 pipe. In the same year, the municipality of Peto was allowed to put a municipal tax on sugar, under a Centralist government.

Presumably it was between 1835 and 1840 that sugar production reached a point where that item was no longer considered a luxury. Rather than being measured out carefully on scales, sold by weight as in former days, it now was retailed according to approximate dry measure -- *almudes* instead of *libras*. Not only that, but the point envisaged by Governor Tiburcio López in 1826 had been reached; Yucatan
was about able to meet its own needs and have an export surplus. These various elements had an effect on local politics.

The sugar growing Sierra and its associated distilling centers strongly supported the Federalist revolution of 1839, and after that the first war against Mexico. Soon their reward appeared. Municipal taxes on sugar were abolished, there was a return to the older system of taxing barrels of completed aguardiente rather than the apparatus that produced it, and further relaxation of land law. At this time, since export trade had only just begun to loom, the sugar areas favored Yucatan's independence from Mexico — they thus avoided the possibility of national legislation contrary to their interests, as well as continued influence on a favorable local legislature.

But as the curve of production kept its upward course, they turned their attention to foreign markets. They supported the second campaign against Mexico, and were pleasingly frank about their motives for agreeing to the favorable peace terms finally wrung from the defeated mainland authorities. Higher prices for sugar through export to Gulf ports, said a representative group of sugar men, was "the principal interest" which moved the Sierra towns. The state, desperate for revenue to fill coffers depleted by the military efforts, placed an export tax on sugar products in June 1843, but it lasted only a short time, until December, when sugars and
aguardiente were lumped with maize and beans as goods which could be exported free. 64

Everything seemed clear for better business — favorable land laws, freedom from export taxes, new roads that had cut transport costs, and clear entry to Gulf ports. Then came the notorious decree of February 1844 by which the Mexican national government failed to include on its list of goods which could enter ports free of duty most of the products of Yucatan, sugar among them. 65 Mexican tariffs were high enough to exclude profitable shipments from Yucatan. As a result, the now rather highly geared productive plant in Yucatan poured sugar into its local domestic markets at such a rate that selling prices dropped to or below the cost of production. This also had occurred earlier, in December 1843, when Yucatecan commodities were shut out of Gulf markets pending peace discussions. Table 52 illustrates the downward drift of sugar prices from the earlier level of 25 reales an arroba for fine white sugar; especially noticeable are the sharp dips at times of political crisis, such as December 1843 and February 1844.

The downward trend in price of rum seems to have occurred because of the import of competing products from Tabasco and Cuba. The sugar interests in 1845 had included in the Yucatecan tariff schedule passed in October some protection; most goods imported paid an 8% levy, but sugars and aguardiente fell under a double rate of 16%, along with soap.
Table 52. RETAIL SUGAR PRICES, YUCATAN, 1840-1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Fine white</th>
<th>Regular white</th>
<th>Rum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reales/ pesos/ arroba</td>
<td>reales/ pesos/ pound</td>
<td>reales/ pesos/ barrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1840</td>
<td>17 .067</td>
<td>13 .052</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1842</td>
<td>15 .060</td>
<td>11 .044</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1843</td>
<td>7 .060</td>
<td>9 .036</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1843</td>
<td>7 .056</td>
<td>4 .016</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1844</td>
<td>9 .036</td>
<td>6 .014</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1844</td>
<td>6 .024</td>
<td>4 .016</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1847</td>
<td>16 .064</td>
<td>12 .048</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Exposición ... 18 de junio de 1844, passim.; El Noticiozo, 1846-47, passim.

and cotton. Even more marked was protection obtained the following May, when sugars were raised to 25%, and aguardiente to 45%. The latter brought a conflict between distilling interests (who wanted this high protection) and the merchants of Campeche, whose import business was impaired. The latter won a reduction to the lower 1845 rates for aguardiente.

Defeated on this particular issue, the distillers turned in other directions. Among them the doctrine that taxes should be paid by the consumers rather than by the manufacturers of aguardiente became popular. Around the idea a monopolistic cartel of distillers crystallized, the object of which was to obtain favorable legislation and to control the output of rum. They argued that the 6 pesos a barrel production tax, in effect since December 1841, should be borne by others, as it hampered them to the degree that they could not compete abroad with the products of Cuba and Tabasco.
These latter governments, they sharply stated, did not try to tax the sugar industry out of existence, as no direct levies were collected in those places. Rather than hampering the Yucatecan enterprises by unfair and exorbitant rates, the government should subsidize cane production, just as it subsidized the coach line or the gunpowder factory said manufacturers. Whether their arguments or their political power was the persuasive force, distillers won a major point in April 1847. The consumer's tax replaced the distiller's, but was set at only 4 pesos a barrel.

The Caste War began in the summer and fall of 1847, but in these days it did not put an end to the controversies over sugar taxation. Presumably by the winter of 1848, however, the merchant interests (on whom the consumer's tax pressed) were strong enough to redraw the laws. In any event, a statute invoked an earlier principle and replaced a producer's tax, levied on permanent equipment. Ordinary stills of one pipa capacity paid 240 pesos, while cylindrical ones were taxed at 340. It seems worthy of note that the tax policy of unsympathetic governments was an adverse element in technological advance — the better the equipment a man had, the higher tax rate it cost him.

It was not long before the distillers were again in the public eye, with protests against the law of December 1848. They reiterated the arguments they had advanced before,
but included a novelty in the form of a compromise tax proposal. They suggested that the collection of sugar taxes be farmed out at public auction (much as tithes and other levies had been handled earlier in other parts of New Spain). The successful bidder would then make the appropriate arrangements with the industry as to how the money should be raised. In November, 1849 this peculiar arrangement went into effect. Justo Sierra, writing in El Fénix, predicted that it would not work; for example, the complicated procedure finally left the amount of money to be raised at a 500 peso daily quota.\textsuperscript{70} Under heaviest government taxation, the industry had only yielded about 25,000 pesos a year, according to the distillers' earlier figures.

By now, too, the battles of the Caste War had grown in number and ferocity. Most of them were fought in the sugar raising country. As a result of two years of fighting, haciendas had been burnt, cane fields ravaged, equipment destroyed, communications cut, regular labor non-existent. Not only for the reasons that Sierra outlined, but because of destruction which war had wrought, the auction system was doomed. In fact it was suspended in January 1850.\textsuperscript{71}

The Caste War had burst the bubble of sugar. From time to time during later years the industry fitfully revived, but never on as broad or important a scale as from 1823 to 1847, a quarter century which saw it grow from a small collection of individuals to a monopoly that accounted for nine-
tents of the value of Yucatan's commercial products. A protective tariff, high selling prices, cheap land, inexpensive labor, and an adequate though not advanced technology helped to account for its meteoric rise. Seemingly its chief difficulties were political ones, over which the industry could exercise some control.

In fact, though, the main element which wrecked it was not tax laws but resistance of Maya to further advance of sugar cultivation. The necessities of the enterprise by inner logic required that it expand over the fertile lands on which previously had existed only small Indian rancherías or semi-isolated maize-raisers; at the same time the business required that the Maya be reduced to a stable and disciplined labor force. Though the sugar growers did not initiate peonage laws, they backed and used the existing ones, made especially rigid to safeguard the peculiar interests of logwood entrepreneurs. Unlike nearly all other crops or commodities, sugar competed with the Indian for the best lands. With the weight of government policy behind the sugar cultivators, the competition for control of these lands was not equitable. To the Maya were left the alternatives of submitting to hacienda discipline or of fleeing -- or of fighting.
Henequén has been popularly known as the "Green Gold" of Yucatán, principally because of the streams of wealth it has poured onto the peninsula. The industry which grew up around cultivation, processing, and sale of fibers from the agaves collectively called henequén plants did for Yucatán what most people in the first half of the nineteenth century had expected would be the consequence of raising sugar. Henequén provided a source of wealth and employment that at first supplemented, then replaced colonial economic activities.

The henequén industry as a going commercial concern developed after Independence, but for reasons mentioned below, did not reach as high a point of maturity by the opening of the Caste War as did its companion crop, sugar. In the generation from 1830 to 1860, however, the broad foundations for its later rapid rise were laid, and the emergence of henequén from the dreams of colonial writers to living reality was a significant part of the Yucatecan scene from 1830 to 1847. To henequén was reserved the role of an economic shock absorber after the War of the Caste. Its rise was intimately connected with the course of the war. The paragraphs below round up some of the detailed information on these various aspects of the henequén industry and relate the latter to the more general Yucatecan scene after independence.
Unlike sugar cane, which was an imported plant, the cactus-like agaves that took the name "henequén" were indigenous. The long fibers extracted from their leaves were known and used by Maya before the Conquest, especially for cordage, but unlike some other groups in Middle America, clothing made from henequen receives small mention in records of the Yucatec Maya. Seemingly no organized attempt on the part of Spanish colonials was made to exploit henequen commercially until after Bourbons came to the throne in 1700. After the latter half of the eighteenth century a number of writers called attention to the possibilities which henequen cultivation might offer.

The report of Valera and de Corres in 1766 was as optimistic about the royal benefits which could be derived from henequen and other Yucatecan fibers as it was about other local commodities that might strengthen the Spanish imperial economic system. They enumerated the several uses of fibers, which were used in the manufacture of mosquito nets, bagging, but more especially ship's cables that were superior to those of Holland. Their praises were echoed in 1783 by a Yucatecan marine official who foresaw that the manufacture of bagging, cables, and rigging from henequen would not only help the Spanish Navy, but would enrich Yucatan. On the wealth thus derived the Yucatecan peninsula would then be able to erect and support "those enlightened academies, those brilliant universities, those handsome
establishments that today form the most admirable aspect of the progress of the European arts and sciences. In the dying days of the colonial regime (during the early nineteenth century) a similar view was expressed about the utility and future of henequén. Writing in 1814, a political economist called for group action to foster its expansion, as well as to improve the methods of cultivation and to control prices; he asked that a special group be given responsibility for these things, as well as to offer premiums for improvements and the extension of cultivation. Pointing out that such an industry as he envisaged would gainfully employ the native population and thus spread the benefits of prosperity through the whole social structure, he flatly stated that compared to henequén “there is no mine of gold and silver of similar utility, because its benefits diffuse to all the infinite number of hands which it can integrate as labor.”

Although consistently hopes for the future of henequén as a commodity had appeared through the late colonial regime, and though the Spanish Crown took no adverse action against its cultivation (as it did for sugar), actual establishment of a significant commerce occurred only after separation of Yucatan from Spain. In 1783, there were no cord-lofts or other permanent installations to process the fibers, and the henequén which was produced was extracted by traditional and primitive hand methods; hand scrapers known as *toncos* or
pacehá were the instruments employed.

Apparently in 1828 came the first move to put the industry on a less casual basis than heretofore. In April, the state government became officially enthused over the potentialities of henequén. The legislature ordered that each citizen cultivate at least ten henequén plants a year in his private patio, and that municipal authorities and the repúblicas de indígenas arrange to have all empty houselots in communities, as well as the public lands thereabouts, covered with agaves.76

Despite the fact that this legislative fiat did not create an industry, it seems clear that the desire to foster henequén had reached a point where actual plans were laid for its commercial exploitation; the realm of talk had given way to action. From that time, in 1828, to about 1854 (a year after the nominal close of the Caste War), was an important pioneering epoch. The next two decades built on this foundation by improving methods and techniques of cultivation, production, and marketing. The consequence was that when widespread use of the McCormick reaper demanded almost unlimited quantities of binder-twine made from henequén, Yucatán was ready and able to produce it on a monopolistic basis. The history of henequén after about 1880 is rather well-known and more appropriately is part of the general economic history of Mexico. The evolution of the local industry to 1860 is less well publicized.
As may readily be inferred from the foregoing, the henequén industry which grew after the first third of the nineteenth century was based on the commercial cultivation of agaves, the processing of their leaves to extract natural fibers, and the sale of fibers in a raw or manufactured state. Some natural elements conditioned the developments, due to the peculiar nature of the agaves. Although even to date botanists have not extensively studied and described the taxonomy of Yucatecan agaves, for purposes here their characteristics are sufficiently known.

Several varieties of these Amaryllidaceae have come under commercial growth, the most common being henequén blanco or sacqui (agave fourcroydes, Lem). A writer in 1845 called the agaves an item "which constitutes our truly grand and peculiar agricultural and industrial treasure." A green variety known commonly as yaxqui or babqui was grown especially in the eastern part of Yucatan for use in hammocks, while a number of sylvestrian types had other particular, usually local, uses. 77

Two peculiarities of these agaves helped shape the form which industry based on them eventually took. One is that the semi-arid limestone area around Merida, eastward perhaps to Chichen, southward to Tixul and Yaxcaba, west and north to the edge of the coastal swamps, provided the optimum conditions of moisture and soils for henequen, and these conditions did not particularly favor other products.
Henequén did not compete with maize for land and water. A second important consideration is that a considerable lag of time intervenes between original planting and the first harvest of leaves which will produce significant amounts of fiber. This period may range from five to eight years, depending on the variety of plant, and the point at which an entrepreneur considers the return for first cutting a profitable one. One plant has a usual life-span of about twenty years; the first five, at a minimum, is unproductive while it grows to maturity, the next ten are the best productive years of highest yield, then a decline in yield sets in during the last quarter.78

Starting from scratch, a henequén grower thus is forced to invest without return for five years considerable sums for labor, in addition to the original cost of the land and equipment. At the end of the twentieth year, virtually the whole enterprise has to be abandoned and renewed elsewhere. Although at various points in its life the henequén industry spread over the whole northern half of the peninsula — to the degree that for awhile it nearly smothered maize — it has generally been centered in the northwest quadrant, in a zone now well recognized as "the henequén zone," comparable for the most part with "Old Colonial" as used in these pages.

The requirements and characteristics of the henequén industry when fully developed were much the same as those displayed in its beginnings. It was a large-scale, hacienda
product which required a substantial primary capital investment, far beyond the means of native agricultural Maya. Before an American Senate committee in 1916, Yucatecan henequén growers agreed among themselves that an initial minimum outlay of over 130,000 dollars was needed to set up an average-sized hacienda and operate it for the period before any salable product was obtained; about half this went for productive equipment, exclusive of land.\(^7\)

Henequén fiber has been almost exclusively an export crop aimed at non-Mexican markets, tied into the international financial structure and market. External transportation from the peninsula to markets has been in non-Yucatecan hands, but nearly all of the internal elements affecting production—including transportation to port of debarkation—remained in Yucatecan control. Yucatecans reacted with characteristic fervor (reminiscent of the eighteenth century salt merchants) when in 1856 a Frenchman sought to achieve an official monopoly, with the "exclusive privilege, for a period of thirty years, to cultivate, process, and export textile plants and filaments of the land." Unanimous opposition killed the request, despite the backing José Limantour gave it; local control of henequén production is still a noteworthy feature.\(^8\)

Production of fiber for export involves cultivation of the plants, then the separation of the mature leaves to extract the filaments. The first phase is not as susceptible to technological improvement as the second. From the outset
both were performed on a single hacienda, the basic productive unit. After a field is cleaned and first planted, the chief labor cost comes from keeping it weeded and clean and from cost of cutting mature leaves from the growing plant and bunching them for carrying to the point of rasping. A stable, year-round labor force is needed. In earlier times the number of hands needed to clean the bunches of leaves, pencas, was much greater than that required for cultivation. The complex henequen establishment of modern times tends in many respects to resemble a rural factory rather than the leisurely subsistence estate which the term "hacienda" usually implies.

The proto-type of the latter day henequen finca made its appearance in Yucatan in September 1830. A group of Yucatecans banded together and formed a corporation, perhaps the first such modern institution of Yucatan, whose object was to promote, perfect, and increase the cultivation of henequen, and to aid its manufacture and use. Thirty shares of paid-up capital provided 7,500 pesos to these ends. One of the first steps the corporation took was to purchase the Hacienda Chaczikin, on which a field of commercial henequen was planted. The cost of the hacienda was 838.37 pesos, and the more or less experimental plot was 800 meocates, about 80 acres. 81

Probably the more usual course, rather than outright purchase of an hacienda for the sole purpose of cultivating
henequén, was gradual transformation of a cattle-maize establishment by adding the new crop. Gerónimo Castillo described a typical Old Colonial hacienda and included as one of its characteristics in the 1840's "an immense henequenal (area for henequen), whose limits were lost on the horizon, and observed with wrinkled brow under the shade, at the level of the highest leaves, it seemed to be an immense bay populated by craft whose masts were the upright and flowering stalks which old and discarded plants bear." 82

The Hacienda Yaxcopil illustrates the process of transformation; it became one of the largest producers of henequen. Dr. Ignacio Vado (whose contributions to medicine in Merida have been spoken of in Chapter Three) purchased it at auction in 1846; no henequen was grown on it then. When in 1864 the place again changed hands, the hacienda included a little over 240 acres of henequen, valued at 4,868.75 pesos, and had been producing fiber since 1852 (which implies that Vado planted it soon after purchase). Eventually, after 1864, more than 5,000 acres of henequen were sowed. 83

Calculations of 1846 were based on the practice of planting 81 agaves to each mecate of land, and on the assumption that from each mature plant could be cut 75 leaves a year. An arroba of salable fiber required about 475 such leaves. Each mecate, at this rate, would yield 6,075 leaves, equivalent after processing to nearly 13 arrobas of fiber. 84 In 1861, only 64 stalks were planted to the mecate, each
stalk being expected to produce only 25 bunches, or 1,600 to a mecate. An arroba of useful fiber was thought to require 500 leaves. Thus at the later date a mecate was believed to give only a little more than 3 arrobas per mecate. Why the discrepancy is so great between the earlier and the later estimates seems inexplicable; in each case contemporaries agreed on the basic correctness of the figures for 1846 and for 1861. They are, however, in agreement that nearly 500 leaves had to be processed to produce a pound of fiber.

Wages for cultivation remained somewhat static. On the first plantation of 1830, the corporate owners of Chaczikin paid a real per mecate for each weeding, a process required twice a year; the same scale was in effect in 1861. By 1916, the pay had quadrupled. In 1830, cutting the mature leaves cost 1.00 to 1.25 pesos a thousand; no comparable figures for 1861 were given, but it seems that by 1846 cutters had been raised to a permanent salaried status, with a salary of four pesos a month and maize. Then to cut the product of 142 mecales, 2 men were needed; for salaries and maize amounting to about 100 pesos, they chopped more than 8,500 thousand leaves, which made the cost per thousand negligible. In 1916 the price per thousand leaves for cutting was 2.00 pesos, and represented about 18% of operational cost per mecate. From its beginnings to the present, the planting, cleaning, and cutting of henequen fields has been a hand-job, capable of but small improvements.
Expansion of cultivation, however, was not limited by elements of cultivation, provided that an adequate labor supply could be recruited. The land on which henequen grew best produced crops of no higher value, and was relatively extensive. As seen later, the Caste War helped solve the early labor problem; driven back from the east and south, Maya and mestizos in many cases were more than willing to seek shelter and livelihood in the north and west. In the years before the Caste War, chief barriers to expanded production of fiber were lack of capital and technical difficulties of processing raw leaves into salable fibers. With each pound of fiber needing about 600 leaves, a ton (short) demanded the scraping and rasping of a million — an arduous and inefficient task by hand.

Almost simultaneously with the founding of the first commercial henequen plantation in 1830 came renewed efforts to improve rasping methods. These aimed at substituting mechanization for the traditional toncos. The society which purchased Chaczikin had as one of its objects the perfection of machines that would permit an almost unlimited increase of henequen cultivation. In fact, the hope of acquiring such a device may have been the reason for formation of the original corporation; a month before its formal and legal inauguration in September 1830, the group which later became its shareholders was granted a ten-year monopoly for exclusive use of a rasping machine invented by a Mr. Freeman.
Graham, with whom they had signed a contract. Little or nothing was subsequently heard of that machine, and the numerous efforts from 1833 onward to near the end of the century to invent and improve rasping machinery is presumptive evidence that Graham's apparatus did not fulfill all the optimistic hopes for it. Henequén growers, however, achieved more success in their search than did the attempt (during the same years) of logwood entrepreneurs to improve technology.

Like many activities which became important after independence, a forerunner in the late colonial period preceded the intensive work following 1850. There seems to be no continuity between the attempts of a cleric in 1783 to create a rasping machine (by use of a carriage wheel with attached knives) and the later inventions. The first Yucatecan patent was granted to an American, in 1833, Henry Perrine, then the consul at Campeche, and as enthusiastic about the future of henequén as any Yucatecan. Through his efforts, agaves were introduced into Florida, but failed to produce the henequén he had expected. His machine of 1833 proved too cumbersome in some ways, too delicate in others for use by native labor.

In the first phase of technological search, foreigners took the lead. After the inadequacies of Perrine's apparatus became increasingly apparent, in 1840, the next who tried his hand at solving the basic problems was a Swiss or German,
Fernando Salisch. Congress voted him a premium of 2,000 pesos if he could demonstrate to the Junta de Fomento of Merida that his machine would fulfill his claims for it, but like that of Perrine it too failed to provide the answer -- a mechanism simple enough to be operated by native labor, which would cut and rasp the peculiarly shaped agave leaves. The premium was apparently left as a standing offer, and the next aspirants were a pair from New York, James K. Hitchcock (an entrepreneur) and E. S. Scripture (an engineer). It will be remembered that they invented and tried to sell a new system for raising water from Yucatecan wells. In early November 1846, they briefly set forth the virtues of a machine that would rasp a leaf a minute; one motor run by mule power would operate a battery of rasps, and at the same time draw water.

The New Yorkers soon enthusiastically explained the material advantages of their invention. Their figures showed that by employing a motor which moved six rasps a grower could expect to clear four hundred pesos yearly on a 142 mectate field, or 1,400 pesos on one of 500 mectates. A Yucatecan said that the idea of using machinery for rasping was not a new one, and that several had been failures in tests; he asked that the Hitchcock machine be given a public demonstration. The apparatus did rasp, but so imperfectly that it destroyed a portion of the fiber; moreover, its operation and maintenance were thought impossible, as
the complicated mechanism could neither be operated or re-
placed by the common run of Yucatecan labor.\textsuperscript{92}

At about the same time, another device was displayed
by a foreigner, Luis Koch. Before it too failed, he placed
a price on each apparatus of 2,000 pesos, and asked for a
premium from the government of 10,000. Each machine was
supposed to rasp enough leaves to produce 40 arrobas of
fiber a day; as seen above, this would mean around 20,000
pesos. Still before the Caste war came yet another outsider,
this time from Boston. Mr. Thompson, with an engineer,
brought a machine "whose demonstrations were not happy."

Writing at the turn of the mid-century mark, Yucatecans said,
"We are confident that the hopes of the country will be re-
alized, if not through government stimulus, then by private
interests."\textsuperscript{93}

After the troop of unsuccessful foreigners, Yucatecans
themselves took up and solved their own problems, initiating
a second phase. This began around 1850 and lasted until 1860.
From 1861 onward, the problems were less trying, and con-
sisted mainly of improving the existing apparatus by substitut-
ing steam for animal power, adapting conveyor belts and the
like to mechanisms whose principles had proved successful in
the previous decades. This was a third phase.

A great number of Yucatecans turned their minds to in-
vention, but because of their success and tenacity Manuel
Cecilio Villamor and José Esteban Solís are credited with
providing the peninsula with the necessary rasping machinery. Rather than collaborators, they were rivals; their machines embodied essentially the same fundamental idea, which led to a later lawsuit.

As early as 1854, the waning Centralist dictatorship of Santa Anna in Mexico declared Villamor the inventor of a rasping device and issued a patent to him. A local company in Yucatan was formed to exploit the patent rights, but distrust among the partners (among other reasons) dissolved the outfit; the sole machine it had was dismantled and sold piece by piece into several private hands. Not long thereafter, in 1857, José Esteban Solís obtained a patent from the state government for a somewhat similar contrivance; a ten-year monopoly accompanied the patent. When she visited Yucatan in 1865, the Empress Carlotta pinned on him a "Civil Gold Medal" for his achievement, and in 1868 the state legislature decided that at last they were justified in paying the 2,000 peso premium for a successful rasper, as the Solís had been put to wide use in Yucatan.

Villamor sued Solís in 1871 for patent infringement and demanded 10,000 pesos damages. The first court which heard the case found in Solís' favor, but on appeal the verdict was reversed, and Solís was ordered to pay 4,000 pesos damages. In protest, and because of their appreciation for benefits received from what was then and always
called the "Máquina Solís," the mercantile public of Merida soon spontaneously raised this sum in his behalf. At the end of the decade from 1850 to 1860, at least three variations of the Solís-Villamor principles were giving good results; embodied in working machines. In comparative tests, the Solís machine outdid those built by Villamor and Millet; but at best it could hardly handle more than 262 bunches of leaves an hour. Those at the end of the century handled 20,000. The next decade saw introduction of yet other machines, especially one invented in New York by Eduardo Juanes y Patrulló.

But the chief development of the period after Solís was application of steam engines to henequén rasping. Eusebio Escalante, about whom more below, in 1861 imported the first steam engine applicable to raspers, and installed it on his hacienda Itzincab. At the same time he imported a special henequén press as a companion piece. Improvement in machines and the extension of mechanization to the producing units continued rapidly; in 1872, for instance, the growers were able to offer a reward of 20,000 dollars to any one who would raise the efficiency of the currently used raspers. The sons of Villamor were especially noted for the new aids they designed to increase output, while a contemporary, Manuel Prieto, created a machine which lived up to its name of "The Conqueress" by rasping 20,000 bundles an hour.
Thus by the time the world began to make unprecedented demands for henequen (after wide use of McCormick's reaper occurred, following 1868), Yucatecans had developed and adapted the appropriate technology to fill them. By 1876 at least six hundred raspers were being used, four hundred of which were steam-driven, powered predominantly by English engines. Just a few years earlier, Woesikof had thought Yucatan numbered only about a hundred steam-moved raspers. The groundwork for this later evolution was principally laid from 1830 to 1860; the pioneering efforts before the Caste War produced but few tangible results, but at least defined the problems more clearly and accumulated a body of empirical data, generally of a negative character.

Extension of henequen cultivation tended to follow the course of technology, modified by a number of qualifying elements. Availability of capital, foreign demand, and the price structure, as well as political events, influenced the spread, but the striking correspondence between the number of mecales of henequen raised and the ability of machines to process it seems important. Until the end of the century and even thereafter, there was a constant market for all the fiber that could be produced. Table 53 summarizes a series of estimates, some on rather sketchy basis, of the number of mecales of henequen raised at various times. The jump between 1845 and 1847 is notable, but even more significant is the increase after mechanization got under way in 1861.
Table 53. ESTIMATED MECATES OF HENEQUEN, SELECTED YEARS, 1845-1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mecates (000's omitted)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>16 ?</td>
<td>Crop planted ca. 1838; hand rasping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>60 ?</td>
<td>Pre-Caste War maximum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Mechanical raspers; foreign credit begins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>First steam-moved raspers; French Intervention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>Price recovery; mechanization widespread.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>McCormick reaper demands binder-twine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>Maximum henequén area exploited; new machines.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Calculated for 1845, 1847 from data in Regil and Peón, "Estadística," loc. cit., 312, 313; for 1860-78, 1890, Cámara Zavala, Industria henequenera, pp. 34, 45, 50-61; 1879 calculated from data in "Cuadro de agricultura #28," Bustó, Estadística, I, and Baqueiro, Reseña, Doc. #3.

The pre-Caste War growers faced difficulties of financing their operations, and no data are readily available to indicate how they met this serious problem. Sometime before 1861, the basic financial structure of the modern henequén trade was set when Eusebio Escalante founded a factoring house in Mérida and arranged a line of credit as correspondent of Thebaud Brothers of New York. On personal notes, henequeneros were advanced sums at 9% interest annually. Somewhat later a second correspondent of Thebaud Brothers appeared, the Yucatecan firm established by M. Dondé, and in 1881 Miguel Espinosa Rendon became a partner of Bruggier and Company, also in New York, which also fed credit to the peninsula. Toward the end of the century (1895) G. Amsinck, again a New York house, backed a similar venture headed by Olegario Molina.100
The demand for capital was not satisfied until near the end of the century, as evidenced by interest rates. Around 1845, at least 5% was common, raised to 6% following the Caste War; the 9% charged by Escalante was increased to from 18% to 24% around 1875. Somewhat justly a Yucatecan wrote than that "more than any other, the cultivation of henequen has been the victim of usury." An attempt in 1876 to found a local bank for henequeneros remained merely a project.101

Unlike other Yucatecan products before the Caste War, henequen found a wide and increasing demand in the export markets. The chief uses were found in the United States and in Cuba. The former employed fibers in one or another maritime uses — ship's rigging, canal tow-rope, and the like — while henequen entering Havana was in the form of bags and sacks for charcoal and an incipient coffee industry, whose entrepreneurs had found that Manila hemp tended to rot the beans. Some few hammocks and other manufactured items also found sale abroad. These more or less traditional henequen products were the principal forms henequen took until around 1880, when it was discovered that the rot-resisting qualities which made henequen excellent for ship's cables, and the insect-repellent nature of the fiber, made it especially suited for binder twine. Bailing wire, formerly used, damaged animals who tried to eat the bound sheaves of wheat that were now a major interest in the expanding American West.102
The American trade began between 1845 and 1847. The previous output of henequén had been absorbed almost exclusively by Cuba. In 1845, a little less than 65,000 arrobas went abroad, 85% of which was sacking and bags for the Havana trade. Seven cord-lofts in Merida, near the plantations and with a pool of labor, prepared the fibers in this form, as well as making rope and cables. But in 1847, the United States alone imported a calculated 100,000 arrobas of henequén in a raw state, to be processed after delivery, while manufactured items jumped to almost 85,000. In estimating the gross use for that year, locally consumed items like hammocks, rope, henequén harness, and the like amounted to a respectable total.103

The total, divided as indicated in Table 54, was a large gain over 1845, but even so if measured in short tons, is infinitesimal compared to later figures. For instance, in 1880 about 20,000 tons were exported, and in 1914, a little over 180,000 tons.104 The fact that in 1847 henequén export was measured in arrobas (of 25 pounds each) is indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of goods</th>
<th>Chief market</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufactured</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrobas</td>
<td>Short Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>75,769</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw fibers</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>255,769</td>
<td>3,170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The price structure and fluctuations, of course, affected the export trade of henequén. Curiously enough, a decade before Yucatecan fiber entered the New York market in quantity, it had been able to compete in quality and price with a similar product from Russia. At that time, in 1835, the selling unit was a tercio (about 50 pounds); 150 tercios of Yucatecan henequén brought 170 pesos, while a similar quantity of Russian fiber sold from 180 to 185. The selling price of around two cents a pound seems to have remained standard until around 1848, when apparently it rose to three. If the production costs of the time are to be trusted, the margin of profit on henequén was considerable but not extraordinary.

An estimate for production costs on 500 mecates of henequén for the years 1848 to 1868 reveal, on analysis, that the average profit per mecate was annually sixty centavos. Through this period the yield was generally assumed to be an average of four arrobas per mecate (100 pounds of fiber). The figures from which this average profit is derived are based on several assumptions that might color the final result: that the owner already owned the land without a mortgage to carry, that interest rates did not change from 6%, that no special investment was represented by advances to laborers in order to tie them to the place, and that the selling price (at the hacienda) remained at least three centavos a pound.
At a little later date, 1876, writers said that one reason overhead was higher than necessary was that henequeros built themselves costly houses on credit and imported elaborate equipment beyond their actual requirements. At that time, the cost of raising an arroba of fiber was thought to be four to four and a half reales, two, or a little more, centavos a pound.106

The estimator of 1861 presumed that the chief elements of cost were purchase of the plants, the initial planting, two annual weodings, and rasping. The latter was set at half the gross value of any particular year. Up to the end of the ninth year, interest charges were a significant item, at which time the original investments of capital were amortized and the grower freed from that burden. The figures underline in a practical way the fact that even in its early days, henequén was a business requiring considerable investment. At least 2,200 pesos would be sunk before the fourth year, when the very first cash returns began to come in; later practice deferred this first cutting even longer.

But it is also clear that once the enterprise managed to weather the first years of waiting, returns were ponderable, even at the relatively low selling price of henequén, then three centavos a pound. Higher prices obviously produced more profit, as operating costs tended to remain somewhat stable. Table 55 summarizes data for the period 1848-1868, and Table 56 provides comparisons for the period.
1848-1915; the one deals with returns on 500 mecatas of henequen, the other the selling price, estimated cost of production, and interest rates.

Table 55. RETURNS ON 500 MECATAS OF HENEQUEN, 1848-68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Annual balance</th>
<th>Cumulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Original planting</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>First commercial leaves</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Amortization complete</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>2.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>4.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>5.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>6.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>8.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>Declining yield</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>9.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td></td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>10.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>10.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td></td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>11.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>Abandoned</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>12.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average annual profit per mecate (over 20 years): .80
Average, for 500 mecatas (annual) 300.00
Total, for 20 year period 6,000.00

## Table 56. Selling Prices, Costs, and Interest Rates, Henequén, 1845-1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Selling price</th>
<th>Production Cost</th>
<th>Gross Profit</th>
<th>Interest Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.024 ?</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>13%-24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>c-d</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>13%-24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>e-f</td>
<td>.135</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
- (a) Regil and Peon, "Estadísticas," loc. cit., 305;
- (b) Rejon, "Gastos," loc. cit.;
- (c) Camara Zavala, Industria henequenera, pp. 41, 47;
- (d) Pedro Regil Peon, "Informe," loc. cit., 264-65;
- (e) Yucatan and an American Monopoly, p. 15;
- (f) Importation of Sisal Hemp, 1, 342.

Evolution of the henequen industry brought no immediate repercussions between Maya and creoles, and rather minor ones among creole groups. There was little question of land usurpation in its expansion. Older colonial type haciendas gradually transformed their traditional holdings into henequen plantations, or newer ones were created in the thinly populated parts of the Old Colonial section. Typical of the former were those seen by Stephens in 1839. For the most part, Maya labor at this period was not particularly restive or notably exploited; with all the work connected with henequen cultivation and processing still in a hand-stage, they were not wholly appendages to machines. In 1880/107 admittedly there were at least 20,767 families held in debt.

Possibly between the sugar-growers of the Borderlands and
the henequeneros of the Old Colonial area there was some competition for the services of Maya, but presumably the master class of each section was united on the question of maintaining the peonage laws (which neither had invented but which both used), and were joined in this by the logwood interests of the West Coast.

The search for technical improvement, the stress on profits and production of henequen were in tune with the other "progressive" trends of Merida and Campeche. The closer linking of Merida and Cuba, then the United States, followed trade channels already cut much earlier in Yucatan's history, and tended to divide the Old Colonial from the West Coast and Borderlands, now more than ever tied to Mexico and the Gulf ports by the thin cord of sugar exports (added to salt). As noted earlier, a tangible indication of the growing split was search for a suitable port outlet for henequen. The road between Merida and Progreso, the selected site, was a symbol of the new direction in which henequen trade would lead Yucatan.

The Caste War gave impetus to the new industry. Yucatecans at the time and since have looked upon henequen as a providential plant which saved the place from utter ruin when cattle, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other commodities were almost completely annihilated by the struggles from 1847 to 1853, and in the constant resurgence of military action at least as late as 1873.
Henequen acted as a buffer and shock absorber in several ways. Physically the henequen plantations that ringed for a distance of twenty leagues the capital acted as a redoubt in a way that pastures and milpas never had. More important, refugees driven from the east and south -- Maya and mestizo alike -- found employment in a newly opened section west and north of Merida, in the direction of Motul, as well as in the capital itself. In the city, the manufacture of bags became an important trade. It was estimated that this manufacture paid annual wages of perhaps 25,000 pesos annually, and was hailed as the "life-raft in the general ship-wreck" of the Caste War.108

A careful investigator has repeatedly emphasized that the decades of the fifties and sixties, so barren politically because of revolts and uprisings, are the years when earlier henequen developments joined to form the modern industry. He has pointed out that in these twenty years the plant was cultivated commercially on a wide scale by fixed labor, and that commercial credit was introduced, that the Solis machine was invented, and that mechanization had gotten an important foothold.109

Paradoxically, it might be added, the rising industry aided Mayas and mestizos, in the sense it offered them a more favorable (though still depressing) set of alternatives than would have otherwise been their fate. The increasing need for laborers stemmed a traffic in Maya slaves who were
shipped to Cuba and there usually died. After 1859, local economic pressures probably had more effect than decrees in stopping the unsavory business, whose sardonic operators did not hesitate now and then to include a kidnapped Mexican soldier or two in a shipment. Too, labor needs gave an opening to many who preferred working to fighting. When military forces campaigning against the rebel Maya were divided into "sedentary" and "mobile" troops, most of the former, and not a few of the latter, took refuge on henequén plantations, whose masters often protected them from the recruiting officer.

That mestizos slipped somewhat in the social scale and had become luneros (rather than holding their usual berth of asalariados) can similarly be inferred from this legislation detailing the rights and responsibilities of masters toward "non-native luneros." The Caste War drew a sharp and clear line between those who were willing to accept serfdom and those who would not. The former made a labor reservoir of "sweet, suave, respectful, and obedient" characters, many of them mestizos. The latter were the independent "indios bravos" in the south, and the "bárbaros," in the east. Between them and the henequén zones was a "No-Man's-Land."

As culmination of the henequén complex, the port of Progreso officially supplanted Sisal just after the close of the decade 1860-70. By 1873, cart roads through the
upper henequén zone had fanned out, and the capital and its port were already nearly linked by rail; at that time, mules rather than locomotives hauled the cars. By the time Ober disembarked in 1880, the railroad had been fully equipped with cars and engines, and passed through "the henequén plantations, with miles and miles of Sisal hemp on either side of the track.... Excepting hemp plantations, there is little to interest one." Henequén in 1880 monopolized the attention and efforts of the people in the Old Colonial area, although would still answer to a description of them in 1831 which mentioned they were "disposed to raising cattle and to commerce, in particular that produced by beef...and henequén, raw and manufactured, in which their wealth consists." 

VII

The economic picture of Yucatan from the years just after its political Independence from Spain to the opening of the Caste War was not a particularly complex one, though the problems it presented to Yucatecans of the time were of some magnitude. The biggest business on the peninsula was raising food for itself, an activity almost wholly in the hands of Maya working in milpas, found universally through the area on haciendas, near villages and towns, or isolated ranchos and rancherías. Each section of the territory, due...
in part because a faulty communication system, was nearly self-sufficient.

The zoned economy characteristic of Yucatan today, where one area concentrates on food production to feed the workers of a commercial export agriculture in another, had not made its appearance, and did not until near the end of the century. Milpa agriculture absorbed the major part of the labor supply represented by the mass of natives, and any other enterprises which needed them had either to adjust to the situation or change it. Colonial economy had more or less adjusted to this prime fact, but under the drive for increased participation beyond the peninsula, Yucatecans who proclaimed themselves "avid for progress and prosperity," after 1830 firmly believed that change was desirable and would ultimately benefit the whole area, including the Maya.

The direction that changes took was less toward direct suppression of habitual native ways than extension of new enterprises which were predicated on somewhat different relationships between Maya and creole than was usual in earlier days. Colonial economy rested on Maya labor and effort, but more or less accepted the fact that Indians were permitted to go their own way, so long as tribute goods appeared at the designated times. The newer doctrines, however, began a conscious or unconscious drift toward the concept of the native as a human tool, as part of a disciplined and fixed labor force necessary for operation of large scale commercial
enterprises. As a corollary, such labor was also needed to provide the necessary instruments for expansion of the latter—especially roads. Need for labor mounted rapidly, and with it legislation that empowered enforcement of these demands.

A separate and important development, treated in the following chapter, was competition for land. Henequen and sugar each needed new areas; the one was less a rival for territory held by maize-growing Maya than the other. The marked and considerable extension of sugar cultivation into Indian areas, in the East Colonial and more especially in the Borderlands, brought in its train difficulties over both labor and land. These tended to remain latent, until uncovered and focussed by political disturbances, also in part engendered by the new sugar industry.

The narrowing of foreign markets for traditional products was an incentive to improve technology or to seek more profitable outlet for the small amounts of capital available on Yucatan. Men formerly engrossed in logwood and cattle began after 1830 to invest in sugar or henequen enterprises. Until around 1840 the former had an almost untapped internal market, and the latter an unsaturated foreign one. Destruction of the sugar industry through the Caste War released some capital and considerable labor to henequen; its earlier development was slower than sugar, whose technological problems were more easily solved. Henequen did not enter a
proto-modern phase until after 1850, although the pioneering efforts necessary to later evolution had begun as early as 1830. From 1830 to 1847 hopes for the economic regeneration of Yucatan were placed on sugar and henequen, as visions of ship-building, coffee, and silk economies faded before the political and social realities of the epoch.

The rise of new economies helped split the peninsula into sections that as earlier shown had their respective cultural and even ethnic characteristics. Paralleling these were diverse political objectives and programs, which not only reflected inter-sectional clashes of interest but the division between old and new goals within any one section. Perhaps this shattering of colonial unity of ideals and the culture based on them was a necessary phase before re-integration in response to the complexities of modern times.

Though culturally the modern era began to gather momentum around 1835, economically it was deferred until around 1850, when the elements of henequen industrialization began to fall into place. In each case the late colonial period furnished a point of departure, a handful of thought, and broader horizon, coupled with typical eighteenth-century optimism; the generation from 1850 to 1860 elaborated these scant beginnings by its own contributions and its wide borrowing from the rest of the western world and by so doing created a new context -- neither wholly colonial, not quite "modern."
CHAPTER SEVEN

The Climax:
Land, Church, Politics, and the Caste War

"The defenders of the ancient and rank doctrines, and of principles in vogue during the times we have left behind, have on their side the preoccupation of vested interests and long custom; but the athletes of reform and of liberal innovation count on this inexplicable (but visible) torrent which goes on, rooting up obsolete and lapsed beliefs, and giving place by degrees (as may be seen) to that favorable transformation which all societies are bound to feel in future times."

La Voz Pública, Merida, November 1846.

"Excuse me for extending a discussion of these materials (so little meriting interest in themselves) but, in my opinion, a people reveals itself throughout the habits of its daily life, in the thousand details of its concrete existence. For that reason I have believed it necessary to transcribe all that is encountered here about the Yucatecans' way of life."

Jean Waldeck, Voyage...dans la province d'Yucatan...1834-1836.
Yucatan was no exception to the general rule that in Mexico the prevailing major opinion is immediately reflected first in legislation affecting land, and secondly the relations of Church to the state. The divergent tendencies of change and movement toward new goals in intellectual, social, and economic fields, details of which have already appeared, formed an incubating medium for factionalism in Yucatan. More and more the agreement over general ends and the means to reach them dissolved into a continuous series of disagreements as interests and ideas clashed.

A last minute effort to pull the fabric together was unsuccessful. The result was that conflicts passed from the verbal plane to military action, and thence involved the Maya. As might be expected, from the information presented earlier here, the manner in which natives were drawn into the struggles and the ways in which they reacted, varied by the sections or regions of Yucatan.

Although it anticipates the narrative of the Caste War itself, there is some utility in pointing out what the natives who revolted demanded after a few months of successful fighting. Their requests were embodied in a treaty which listed
the developments to which they made most objection. Aside from the charges of cruelty in carrying on war, the Indians through their chiefs placed their complaints before Yucatecan government authorities in April, 1848. The latter agreed to rectify them.

Among the nine articles of this so-called Treaty of Tzucacab, the contracting parties outlined the following issues and their solutions. First, personal contributions were abolished, for Indians as well as whites "now and forever." A limit was set on Church fees, equalizing them for Indians and Whites at three reales for baptism, ten for a marriage. Article 3 returned to the Indians their right to establish milpas and ranchos on their ejidos, communal lands, and state lands, without payment of rent, and further, prohibited future alienation of such lands into private hands; moreover, the government was to restore either the lands or their value to towns which had been despoiled of them. Articles 4, 5, and 6 stated that Indians were to retain arms, and that to maintain a stable peace Miguel Barbachano was to govern Yucatan and the Indian chiefs were to be subordinate to Jacinto Pat; these two would reach an agreement on the appropriate measures to assure harmony.

Article 7 touched the status of debt peons. Both those who had taken to the field against Whites, and those who had docilely remained at home were to be forgiven their outstanding debts, but "those who may wish to contract new debts,"
they will have to satisfy them with their personal labor." Article 8 abolished any tax on the distillation of aguardiente, and the final one made arrangements for implementing the agreement.¹

That the treaty failed to put an end to the War of the Castes does not diminish its significance as a bill of particulars on the issues which had led to overt conflict. The issues, in turn, had emerged from the several collateral shifts of opinion and policy on the part of Whites. They could not agree among themselves on a single proper course of action, acceptable to all the various political, economic, and social interests involved. The paragraphs below sketch briefly modifications in land laws and legislation which defined the relations between the Church and government. Each was an important contributory cause of the War of the Castes. The treatment also exposes some of the pressing problems of public finance. All these questions had political overtones.

II

In an essentially agricultural area like Yucatan, the significance of land has a paramount importance. Regulation of its use, its allocation to individuals or groups, are fundamental issues. This is more especially true because although the territory of Yucatan was relatively great, the amount of land capable of being exploited for immediate human benefit was and is relatively small. This was especially true
up to the time that henequen could make effective use of the wholly sub-humid parts of the peninsula. Earlier pages have dealt with the physical limitations of Yucatan. All of these were not clearly perceived by optimists on the eve of the Caste War.

Neither at that time nor since have reliable estimates been made of the potential croplands in relation to total area, a quantitative element that should obviously condition legislative policy. Some scattered data are available, applicable only to the present State of Yucatan, in modern times. The figures include the sections here called Old Colonial and East Colonial, and less than half of the Borderlands; the other half and the west coast are omitted, as belonging to the State of Campeche or the territory of Quintana Roo. In 1925 henequen growers thought that about 0.5% of the state of Yucatan could best be devoted to crops other than agave, while shortly afterward, in 1930, government estimators state over half (52%) of the territory was unproductive, but that perhaps as high as 11.6% could produce crops, outside the 20% occupied by towns, roads, and similar permanent establishments. In 1940, a private study showed that maybe 1.2% was available only to crops, with almost 94% better suited to henequen or cattle.

Whatever the biases and varying criteria beneath these figures, they agree on the fact that Yucatan is not a rich agricultural territory. Writers in mid-century Yucatan
tended to toss off as inconsequential the rather considerable territory occupied by "bush, lakes, and human habitations," but stressed the vast open lands that needed filling. Even while the Treaty of Tzucacab was being negotiated, Justo Sierra was trying to lure American colonists and official annexation by promises of grants from Yucatan's public lands, "fertile and rich." Ignorance and optimism formed part of the background against which development of Yucatecan land policies from 1825 through the Caste War must be set.

Another element was the traditional control that colonial hacendados had held over the distribution of lands and the regulation of their tenure. Attempts by Bourbon royal officials to reform some of the land practices of New Spain had come to naught in Yucatan. Although in 1783, as stated in Chapter Five, it was reported that "powerful personages" occupied extensive tracts of public lands while many poor people lacked them entirely, the local civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Merida prevented a royal commissioner from taking remedial action.

Some evidence indicates that toward the end of the eighteenth century some land-grabbing was occurring in the Borderlands. Indians of Dzitbalché complained that they had to carry on incessant war with hacendados who had taken away lands to such an extent that none were left for milpas. When they had made a similar complaint earlier, the governor had ordered that each Indian be allowed 125 mecales for
milpas, provided that half the maize produced were put up for public sale, but in 1815 nothing was done about the situation. This was, however, contrary to the usual alliance between Indians and large-scale haciendas, whose proprietors supported them in attempts to keep large tracts of public lands open and out of private hands.

"Nobody," said Justo Sierra (while attempting to probe the origins of the War of the Castes), "resisted more decidedly the sale and alienation of public lands than hacendados and large-scale entrepreneurs; they were used by them to form immense maize fields on state property, by the same Indians at a miserable compensation." Sierra thought it paradoxical that Indians, through their caciques and their town governments, should demand the perpetual conservation of open public lands "which they always thought of as their own," because such a demand really aided and sustained a system controlled by "the interests they could call their oppressors." Taking the narrow legal view (in which he was trained to think), Sierra thought the Indians had fallen into "sorrowful error" when they fought to defend "that which they contemplated as theirs," that is, the expenses of public lands around their villages and ranchos. Thus, though the old style hacendado permitted little or no tampering with the traditional system during late colonial times, the same system protected the Indian as well as his own well-being. But in
post-independence days, the old policies underwent radical modifications, increasing in extremism as the concept of progress was more and more accepted by Yucatecans and newer agricultural interests supplanted the old.

As the data show, the changing political situation, with its effect on the public treasury, reinforced the idea that the future of Yucatan lay in placing expanses of public lands in the hands of energetic persons who would exploit them. The new concept, not always apparent, was that a rich intellectual and social life could be predicated only on a productive agriculture, and that the latter was dependent on cheap, privately owned, and fully-used land yielding commercial crops.

The early laws seemingly did not deviate much from colonial practice, when sovereignty passed from the Crown to the new state of Yucatan. In 1824 a slight rental, one real for each twenty mecates of maize was charged for fields placed on public lands, or on lands held in common by towns, comunas; only fields over 100 mecates square were subject to the fee, which exempted most Indian plots, but touched hacendados who raised maize for profit. In the same year, each town was ordered to maintain its present size, and where rents for public lands were in dispute, to have them paid to the nearest sub-delegado, or if for communal lands, to the nearest town government.

It may be remarked at this point that land hunger was
not restricted to capitalists and entrepreneurs, but that towns and hamlets as well were likely to extend their limits and claims to areas owned by the state, by haciendas, by other similar towns, or by individuals from other communities. The appearance of a new community, raised from a rancho, usually led to litigation with the parent place. The growth and redistribution of Yucatan's populations, outlined earlier, created a confused situation that was further complicated by the shifts in status of places stemming from the Constitution of Cadiz after 1812 or Independence itself. There were communal as well as personal aspirations for land.7

As early as 1625 the idea that foreign colonization was necessary for the future progress of Yucatan's agriculture was stated, especially in view of the blows that pestilence had given to the local supply of labor. To fill up the land, the legislature passed the first important land law, which set a basic policy that remained in force until 1841.

The Colonization Act of December 2, 1825, made it simple for public lands to pass into private ownership. A laborer or an hacendado need only get a certificate from an ayuntamiento or a junta municipal that certified that the land he desired lay outside the ejido of the place, that it was not communal or private property, and that he needed it for raising crops or animals; lands which fell under none of
these categories were presumed to be state lands, *baldios*, and subject to alienation; a sort of squatter sovereignty was recognized; if a person had been in possession of a plot for four years without having his tenancy questioned, it was presumed that he might get full title.

Nor did a would-be proprietor necessarily have to purchase outright the plot he wanted. By paying full value of the government's assessment he received the land in fee simple, but (and more usually) title was passed to him if he paid only 5% of this assessment and made equal annual payments on that basis. As mentioned earlier in a different connection, the Governor was directed to favor strangers and to designate the fertile lands of the Sierra when they petitioned for public grants.8

Apparently the generous and vague provisions of the colonization statute led to abuses. It was limited and clarified in October, 1827. The amount of land alienable was restricted to the actual plots in use and improved by labor or industry. Public sales that had included "cultivated lands" were nullified. The cattle interests were protected by disallowing grants for pasturage within two leagues of an existing *sitio*, but at the same time the small agriculturalist was likewise guarded by a provision requiring that new pastures be at least four leagues from unfenced plantings. Most important of all, perhaps, was the statement that water rights were not included in grants.
of public lands under the colonization legislation; those previously in common use were to remain so, and the new proprietors were to be recompensed for withdrawal of these from the grants. Increased activity in land transfer may be inferred from laws setting up the professional standards and wages of surveyors. A state corps of surveyors did not come into being until 1837.

The grants by the state government seem to have lagged behind the demand for land. Also in 1827 the bureaucracy was ordered to speed up transmission of titles to those who had received grants. One such grant went to José Antonio Méndez of Izamal; he was specifically given possession of a spring, and the land occupied by the planta of his hacienda there.

A shift in political control from Federalist and "liberal" to Centralist and "reactionary," did not change the basic land and colonization policy (which was specifically reaffirmed). It did work to the disadvantage of natives. On March 1, 1832 the apprehension felt because Indians were dispersing themselves and occupying isolated places was translated into law: unless a place supported at least twelve families, such gatherings were defined as "illegal and furtive." Some confusion was injected into the situation by a decree in April, 1833, which cancelled land grants made before November 5, 1829: communal lands which had passed into private hands were to be returned to the state for
regranting, and towns were to return to their communal
boundaries as of that date.

The somewhat peculiar nature of Yucatecan Centralism
may be seen from the law which in February, 1833, had struck
a blow at the “church haciendas” known as cofradías. They
had been ordered vacated in January, 1821, but not all of
them had been given up; again in 1824 they were ordered
sold and the proceeds applied to funds of the new university,
but evidently a few still lingered on. Now on February 24,
1832, any cofradía lands still possessed by the Church were
ordered sold within six months; further, any communal lands
that had been included within the bounds of the cofradías
were returned to the communities that had been dispossessed
originally. However, the proceeds of these sales were to be
turned over to the Bishop.

More in line with Centralist doctrine, which emanated
from Campeche, was help for the loggers. The older doctrine
of giving monopolistic concessions was annulled and in its
place was substituted the doctrine that forest products on
state lands could be exploited without payment to the state.
In such cases, baldíos were defined as areas to which no
private person held title, and which were not under “the
collective dominion of towns.” In the dying days of the
Centralist regime, Simon Peon was allowed to purchase part
of the common holdings of Sisal, a nearby swamp, to make it
useful. The state also supervised sale of some town lots in
Hunucmá; they had belonged to the community. The funds, however, were spent on local improvements.  

The Federalists again came into power and marked their return to control by a land law. Although it purported to cancel all previous legislation on the subject, in fact it embodied most of the principles which had appeared earlier. Among its twenty provisions, this important act of December 28, 1833, set forth the ways in which the confusion over titles issued or cancelled by the previous "illegitimate" administration could be validated — by payment of more money.

But more important, the statute reaffirmed and modified some earlier concepts. Yucatecan lawmakers had acquired practice since they first began writing laws for themselves in 1823, and this piece of handicraft was quite specific; it was not changed by the Centralists who followed within a few months. The first chapter empowered the state to make grants of baldíos, but limited their size to an area 100 mecates long by 100 deep — about 1,000 acres — and set a minimum price of one peso a square mecate. A further prescription was that public land must be offered at auction, and that it be purchased only to establish an hacienda or other industry. As in earlier legislation, a minimum distance was required between the new plot and existing enterprises, part payment of the assessed value sufficed to obtain title, and provision for rental at low sums (for
pasturage) was included. Too, the rights of small proprietors were legally safeguarded, and common rights to water were exempted from control by proprietors.

The Federalists replaced the traditional doctrine of concessions for the Centralist "free-logging" idea, as a minor part of the December 28 regulation. Within two days they granted such a concession for exploitation of a lumbering area on the Río Kia, in the southern part of the peninsula.14 Although the regulations which appeared in December,1833, tended to favor the hacendados of the Old Colonial and East Colonial sections, they specifically exempted the traditional ejidos from intrusion. In this period, and to 1840, "while there were open lands to be desolated and destroyed, everything went along well."15

The few alterations that the Centralists, who held power from early 1834 to 1839, made in land policy were to reaffirm their earlier stand that natives should not be dispersed, but should be "reduced" and attached to some recognized town, rancho, or hacienda, and to reverse the law about concessions. Communal and public lands were declared free for future exploitation, although existing concessions were to be respected.16

The Revolution of 1839-40, in which the various sections of Yucatan united to oust Mexican Centralists had repercussions on land law. They could hardly escape, in a new constitutional period, one in which reforms of all
kinds were put into effect. As earlier mentioned, the
decade opening with 1840 marked a turning point in expan-
sion of sugar cultivation, as well as the burgeoning of a
cultural renaissance in Merida and Campeche. Social and
intellectual leaders, as well as economic planners, began
more and more to turn to land as a resource that would
support their several schemes. Partly to gain the foreign
colonization, on which hopes were now pinned, reformers
decreed religious toleration, as they believed that state
-sponsored Catholicism was a bar to the type of immigrants
they wished to attract. These latter, it was hoped, would
settle on Cozumel, around Champoton, and the other sections
that "need to be populated, cultivated and benefited, to
make them produce for the greater utility of commerce and
the arts. This was the principal view of those legislators."

A second and equally important idea was to derive an
increased amount of revenue from land sales. "More than
anything," said another participant, "they wanted to ex-
tract all possible benefit from that operation in favor of
the public treasury." He added that the legislators were
misguided by believing that change in the fundamental nature
of Yucatecan agrarian systems -- based on low rental of
state held territory -- could be accomplished quickly and
beneficially, without adequate preparatory steps leading to
slow transition.

As may be seen from the legislation following 1840,
more and more the state lands became the prop of public finance, so arranged that tracts came into private hands. Usually they fell into those of capitalists who had been forced to lend their money to the government. As a result (said Sierra in 1849) the whole system fell into discredit—it did not meet the aspiration of reformers who expected the peninsula to fill up with foreigners and small Yucatecan proprietors. More significantly, "the Indians (by themselves or instigated by others), believed that a notorious injustice was being done them and that it was hoped they would be condemned to perish from hunger. Such was the result of this operation which had offered so many hopes for betterment of the land."18

The newer doctrines of land policy were first imbedded in a general land law date April 5, 1841. It cancelled all previous legislation and proceeded to unfold a program. The first article touched a nerve, as it limited the size of ejidos to four leagues, one in each direction from the main church of any community. Suitable arrangements were made for exemption of existing privately-owned properties, either land held in fee simple or the improvements alone, which might be included. Seemingly the measure was designed to augment the state's property. The area in which baldíos were alienable was increased beyond the limits earlier set in 1825, by opening up the frontiers on Tabasco and British Honduras, although to avoid friction, a ten league strip was reserved inside the boundary lines.
Baldíos were defined as in earlier laws -- outside the ejido of a community, not communal or private property. The latter two categories were again specifically exempted from disturbance. To prevent the creation of enormous latifundios, an individual was limited to two maximum grants, each a square league (about 4,200 acres). For these he would have to pay a minimum cash price.

A departure from previous practice lay in setting minimum prices by regions, rather than blanket rates for the peninsula as a whole. Aside from specified areas, the general price per league was 400 pesos -- about ten centavos an acre -- and ranged upward in the designated zones. Along the east coast from Cape Catoche toward Belize, a league was valued at 600, south of the Champoton-Bacalar road, and in the area from Polyuc to Bacalar, 500, but 1,000 pesos a league for lands on islands. One-half the value of any grant had to be paid in cash to the state at once. The usual 5% interest was charged on the unpaid balance.

Cattle interests were protected by giving owners who rented pasturage the preference in public land sales. Earlier safeguards for small proprietors were omitted. In their place one article stated that the presence of unlicensed cattle or ranches and other "clandestine reunions that do not recognize any municipality," was no barrier to making a grant. However, the new proprietor was expected to pay the dispossessed for any improvements that they had made, which
the squatters could not or would not remove. Administrative sections outlined the detailed obligations of surveyors, as well as the simple routine to be followed by solicitants. Almost as an afterthought came the prohibition against allowing the titles of any of these public land grants to pass into "dead hands," Church mortt uin. 19 A subsequent promise that the state would pay for surveying was annulled; this burden was placed on the land seekers. 20

The campaigns of a united Yucatan against Mexican expeditionary forces in 1841 and in 1842-43 also had an effect on land policy. The state government used its vacant sections to recruit soldiery and to repay the money it "borrowed" by forced loans from local capitalists. In August, 1842, a premium of at least one-quarter league of baldios was offered to any Yucatecan who came to the defense of the state and remained in service throughout the fighting, with additional bonus for bravery. Presumably the Indians who aided Yucatan at this time were eligible for the reward, but in two concessions made to veterans, only one of the names is patently native. In July, 1846, two vecinos of Tixmin each received a quarter league for military service, and in November, 1846, a group of seven veterans was given a two-league plot on Punto Tunichil; one of the men, Lorenzo Poot, bore a Maya name. Little information is extant on the amount of land distributed under this veterans' legislation. 21
More strongly affecting development of the land reform program of 1841 was the application of land resources to the public debt. On November 16, 1843, congress decided that warrants for the forced loan it had levied the previous December could be endorsed over to the treasury in payment for lands. On the following day a more sweeping act applied all terrenos baldíos toward amortization of the public debt, and offered its creditors very favorable terms if they were willing to accept land rather than cash in payment. The allowable maximum size plot was increased by 25%, and the minimum price lowered to 75 pesos a league; these provisions applied only to those who sought grants to repay their loans to the state, as for others the law of April 5, 1841, remained in force. The statement had to be repeated the following year, as apparently everyone believed the price of land had dropped, and that the restriction on obtaining more than two grants had been cancelled; neither was true, for the general populace.

The immediate effect of these bits of legislation was to call out old claims against the state. In practice it was a means to facilitate the concentration of land in the hands of the rich families who had from time to time been persuaded or forced to advance money to the state treasury. Warrants issued before February 18, 1840 (when the Revolution had triumphed) were completely disallowed. Direct loans after that date were receivable at face value, but
other paper was reduced in value by 25%, even though issued following the dividing date.23

While doling out public lands to veterans and to those who had supported it financially, the government was at the same time concerned about ejidos and the use of lands. It is difficult to evaluate the motives behind the regulative provisions. The ostensible intent may have been the real one, that is, to simplify administration and to provide the means by which social advance could be extended. All were not aimed especially at natives; for instance, an act of 1844 required the purchasers of public lands to pay an additional fee to supplement state educational funds.

To encourage municipal schools by providing towns with revenue and to swell the public treasury (which now was carrying a heavier burden due to reforms that cost money) may have been the idea behind a statute of October 18, 1844. It established a levy or fee for making milpas, either on public lands or on the ejidos and common holdings of towns. Unlike earlier provisions of a similar nature, no exemption was made for small cultivators. Every ten mecates planted on land not belonging to an individual was taxed at one real, payable either to the state treasury or to municipal funds.24 The move was not a popular one, as it hit directly nearly every native family in Yucatan. The inclusion (and prohibition) of milpa fees as grievance in the Treaty of Tzucacab attested to the Maya repugnance aroused by the measure.
Also in October 1844, the state legislators attacked the thorny problem of arranging equitable _ejido_ grants. Whether the Creoles who drew the law were moved by an administrative zeal for regularity, or hoped to make more land available for public land grants (by cutting down overside _ejidos_), is not clear. They decided that any municipal community which contained more than 150 taxpayers was entitled to a full-sized _ejido_ of four square leagues. Smaller municipalities, with more than 12 yet less than the minimum standard, were permitted a plot only one-quarter as large -- an area one-half league in each cardinal direction from the church. This discriminated in favor of the larger Creole-mestizo centers, and against the normally less sizable Maya places.

Protection for existing establishments in the _ejido_ lands was included. Fully owned private property was to remain in hands of the owner. Improvements or holdings (like orchards) that had been created even though their proprietors did not have title to the land were to continue under former proprietorship, but for the right of exclusive use the erstwhile possessor was obligated to pay rental to the community, a flat sum of 25 pesos a year or 5% of the assessed value (whichever was larger). Somewhat vaguely the law stated that where the distance between two communities was insufficient to give both the full _ejido_ allowance, they were to divide it proportionately. 25 By inference,
this piece of legislation applied only to places with recognized municipal status, and not to ranchos and rancherías that might have an equal amount of population.26

 Shortly thereafter, in November, these too came under scrutiny. They were allowed smaller ejidos. Rancherías formed by at least 60 taxpayers, living as a civil community under common rules, were to be respected in the event that the territory on which they were placed was included in a grant of public land to a private owner; in addition, such places were given an ejido that extended 1,000 varas from the center. Such places which were smaller (but had more than 10 taxpayers) were entitled only to the land on which their houses and buildings stood, plus a zone 200 varas wide around the edges of the current limits of the population. Lesser groups were again ordered to be "reduced." A number of technical provisions cleared up difficulties that had little to do with ejidos, but which apparently had come to the fore when grants of baldíos had been made. Precedence of claims and rules for surveyors were inserted. The law terminated with the proviso that recipients of a grant from the state's baldíos were to pay, at the rate of four pesos a league, an additional fee that was applicable to the state funds for education, as mentioned above.27

 In the same month, the legislators got around to defining, perhaps re-defining, land categories and playing the familiar trick of requiring land titles to be reviewed and
revised. "Community lands," an act of November 13, stated, "are those which towns possess in full and absolute dominion, by title of purchase and sale, by donation or royal merced." Such areas were inalienable, except for justifiable reasons, which included exchanging them to complete an ejido, or for lands the community particularly needed. Inhabitants of a community were granted the full right to use communal lands, so long as they paid the proper fees, and might even introduce wage laborers from other towns to work on their account. To avoid loss of title, the municipal authorities were directed to order triplicate copies made of the community land papers; the originals might be left to the repúblicas de indígenas, "if they have been the custodians of them." A year was given to complete the task.

Not long thereafter, in December 1844, the laws concerning solicitation of public land grants were weighted heavily in favor of petitioners and against communities. Rather than the petitioner being forced to prove in advance that the site he desired was a baldío, individual communities were responsible for proving that the tract in fact belonged to them or to one of their inhabitants. With the exception of a final review in Mérida, the granting of public lands was delegated to the district jefes políticos and their subordinates.

Although the legislation passed in the closing months of 1844 seems to culminate a policy of limiting and restricting
the lands which towns held or could hold, paradoxically it served as a bulwark in later years against the elimination of *ejidos*, as a consequence of the Mexican Laws of Reform. In 1871 the governor of Yucatan sought Federal permission to confirm grants to communities made in accordance with the statute of October 8, 1844. The national government (through Juarez' Secretary of Fomento) refused to sanction the action by stating that communities would be allowed the land on which their municipal buildings stood, and besides that a *fundo legal* of 1,200 varas on a side (same as colonial Spanish provisions), but that the remainder of the four league *ejidos* should be broken into parcels and distributed to individual families.

That towns resisted such a move is clearly evident from statements a few years later that (despite conflicting national regulations) Yucatecans considered the *ejido* law of 1844 to be in effect, and that it was admirably suited to "fill the philanthropic views of the Supreme Government in favor of the poor classes." The conflict of policy continued into the 1880's. Tenacity in questions affecting the regulation of land in Yucatan was not wholly a characteristic of colonial entrepreneurs in opposition to the Crown, but has extended down the years and embraced Yucatecan communities.

However, for its time, the group of laws put into effect in 1844 encountered difficulties. Not much was done to rectify the situation in the following year. Starting with
1846 there appeared to be a drift toward softening some of the provisions. In May, Panteleon Barrera proposed to congress that a special commission be named to review and reform agrarian laws "to remedy the ills that are so evident in this material," and such a body was named, with Barrera as its president, and with Justo Sierra as one of its members.

The views of the latter probably gave no comfort to natives. He thought that their claims to use of public lands and retention of large communal holdings were as "absurd as they are prejudicial." Some evidence of current abuses appeared in an open letter from the Peto area which claimed that the "clandestine" introduction of cattle on the ejido of that villa was a serious evil which disturbed good order and the "community of agricultural laborers."31

Some further insight into the operation and effects of the legislation between 1841 and 1846 is gained from the case history of the Hacienda Chichen, which expanded under an active proprietor. As early as 1588 the place was mentioned as a cattle pasture, but the hacienda did not reach full development until the middle of the nineteenth century, thanks chiefly to the energy of Juan Socsa Arce, who received it as a legacy in 1840 or 1841, and within a short time more than doubled its holdings.32 The evolution of the place reflects some of the main trends in the economic and land history in Yucatan. The holding was poised on a dividing line between Old Colonial and East Colonial influences.
The first stated date in the title papers of the hacienda is 1729. Then a Captain Blas de Segura Sarmiento owned the area, called only an estancia (cattle pasture). In 1734 a new owner petitioned for a renewal of license to keep cattle, which were said to have grazed without prejudice to the neighboring village of Pisté for twenty years. In the late eighteenth century little was done with the site except to mortgage it (for eight hundred thirty pesos) and to sell it to the Sosa family in 1792. At that time 110 head of cattle formed nearly half the value of the property, whose total worth (including three mecales of sugar cane) was estimated at about a thousand pesos. In 1823 one of the mortgages, held by the ex-Jesuits, was cleared.

By the time the place passed to Juan Sosa Arce, it was valued at slightly over five thousand pesos. In addition to Chichen part of his inheritance included a house and lot in Valladolid, and one in the nearby Maya-mestizo community of Pisté. John L. Stephens and also B. M. Norman visited the hacienda some months apart during 1842; the former noted the number of physical improvements being undertaken, and the latter mentioned that about eighty Indians were attached to the estate, which supported elaborate corrales, an hacienda house, numerous outbuildings (including a chapel), grouped around a noria type sweep-well. So thoroughly did Indians ravage the hacienda during the Caste War that Arce was willing to sell it in 1860 for two thousand pesos. Finally,
in the last decade of the nineteenth century it passed into
the hands of Edward Thompson, a well-known American arch-
eological pioneer. It was said that before Thompson "the
last two haciendados [t] and their families had been mass-
acred by the revolted Indians and the house pillaged. Even
today [1908] Chichen, which practically stands on the border-
land of the disaffected eastern district of the peninsula, is
not as peaceful as it looks. A fortnight before our arrival
a village some thirty miles off called Xocen had been raided
and burnt." Part of the famed Maya ruins of Chichen Itza
lay on the nineteenth-century hacienda and appear in its
papers as landmarks.

To provide a basis for his operations, Sosa Arce had
the hacienda officially surveyed soon after it passed into
his possession. Neighboring villagers and hacendados met
and agreed on the estate's boundaries, which in 1845 enclosed
about a half league of land, some 2,039 acres. The first
step toward enlarging this nuclear holding was taken when
Sosa laid claim to a separate plot, vaguely mentioned in
his title as the "Parage Katun" of colonial times. A neigh-
bror, Juan Manuel Alcocer, disputed the claim.

He alleged that he had purchased the area of Katun in
two transactions with Indians in 1838 and 1839. The one
Maya family had received possession of a lot in 1780, while
the other parcel of Katun had been acquired by the Poot
family, to whom in 1792 it was sold by the proprietor ---
the municipality of Dzitnup. The litigation between Sosa and Alcocer was satisfactorily settled in 1845. It appeared on investigation that the Parage Katun mentioned in Sosa’s documents was a distinct plot from that of a similar name obtained by Alcocer. Vindication of this old title increased the Hacienda Chichen by 455 acres and brought the total original nucleus up to nearly 2,500 acres. Then Sosa started to make purchases.

While the suit over Katun was pending, he had entered negotiations with the Jefe Politico of Valladolld for acquisition of a plot which surrounded a cenote near Chichen called Yula. The cenote was traditionally used by the villagers of Pisté, but they had no legal title to it, now that it lay outside their ejido, as defined by the law of April 5, 1841. From time to time the villagers had also grown maize there. After some difficulty Sosa obtained a statement from the municipal authorities that the land was baldío, and with this certificate he forwarded warrants he had received for money acquired from him in the forced loan of December 2, 1842. After review and delay in Merida, Pisté villagers were ordered to measure the Yula lands. Two assessors (evidently mestizos) from the community then placed a value of two hundred pesos on the half league wanted by Sosa. They reported the land as useless except for pasture. This was the minimum legal price. On September 7, 1844, the sale was consummated and title to the Parage Yula was duly transferred.
to Sosa. This added another 1,053 acres to the hacienda, and brought its new total to around 4,350.

Yula lay near Katun. Between them was a small interstice which Sosa also acquired. This territory had formerly been part of the old lands of Yaxcabá, but under the current legislation the villagers could produce no legal title to it. Although under the political jurisdiction of Yaxcabá, the interstice was state property, a *baldío*. The section had an area of slightly less than a quarter league. As in the previous transaction, a pair of assessors declared that it was virtually useless land, and priced it too low, at sixty pesos. However, the state surveyor, in reviewing the papers, raised this sum to the legal minimum, ninety-eight pesos. When title passed to Sosa, he paid the public treasury ninety-eight centavos for the public education funds (as required by the law of October 8, 1844), and again endorsed more loan warrants to cover the sale price. Legal ownership was confirmed December 1, 1846.36

Thus in two years, the Hacienda Chichen doubled its size. Table 57 details the processes by which this was accomplished. From subsequent events, it seems evident that this was a typical rather than a unique phenomenon in the years from 1845 to 1847, and perhaps earlier.
Soon after 1846 Yucatan's general land policy was altered a little, then more greatly, after it entered the political arena as a live and important issue. A drift toward some relief from burdensome land legislation appeared as early as 1845. In November (when the maize crop for 1846 was thought about as milperos sought new sites) the onerous milpa fee was removed for natives who were planting their own subsistence crop, even though it was on state lands or town commons. Perhaps the law was not clear or broad enough, as the following August (1846) a supplementary statement specifically included ejidos; the latter exemption applied only to the recognized inhabitants of a community who cultivated in the municipal ejido. Venal or ignorant state and municipal officials possibly disregarded these orders, which may have led to the demand in 1848, in Article 3 of the Treaty that Indians be assured the right of "clearing the bush to establish their plantings or to form their ranches on the ejidos of their towns, on the so-called communal lands, and on state public lands (baldíos), without payment of rents."
Early in 1847, land law became a definite political issue. In February a short-lived coup d'état in Mérida against the government of Domingo Barrett that ruled the peninsula from Campeche was initiated on the 28th with a manifesto outlining a program. Among the articles was one which promised "to indemnify towns for the damages they have suffered in the transfer of ownership of communal lands and others possessed by titles from an immemorial source." The manifesto also promised to give high priority to consideration by a legislature of definitive remedial arrangements.

Within a couple of days, the appropriate legislation appeared from a revolutionary "Congress." The decree issued may or may not have had legal force, but it was indicative of a new trend in land policy. This decree of March 2, 1847, repealed the law of April 5, 1841, and voided all claims to lands pending under it. For plots that had been measured and were about to be alienated, the price was raised 25%. Officials of the new "government" promised soon to designate to towns the new lands which it would grant them for their agriculture as indemnification for those already lost. Obviously the revolutionaries in Mérida did not intend to restore the same lands which had already passed into private hands. The decree was a stay-law, not an expropriation.

Response of the "legal" Campeche government to the challenge of the actions at Mérida indicated that the
revolutionists had raised a real issue. Domingo Barret, as provisional governor, issued a long statement in answer to the manifesto; on the question of lands he said that considerable thought had been given to the problem of needed reforms and that his government had only been awaiting the proper opportunity to announce their plans. This meaningless statement, however, was soon followed by concrete action. On March 5, the Campeche government also annulled the land law of April 5, 1841, as well as "all similar decrees that dispose of and regulate state lands." It followed the lead of the Merida revolutionists by stopping the adjudication of all claims, whether officially measured or not, and promised to indemnify claimants for personal expenditures arising from the cancelled land petitions. The final statement announced that the government would initiate and implement (at a forthcoming constitutional congress) a definite program to replace the damage done to towns by loss of lands, and to see that communities had enough property for their subsistence needs.

In the troubled political situation in the months before the Caste War, it is doubtful if either or both these stop laws had much beyond rhetorical effect. Before the Maya-Creole struggles reached an acute stage, one final act appeared, passed April 30, 1847. It was nearly the last one until after the War of the Castes, when control of state public lands passed from local jurisdiction to that of the national government. During the Caste War itself, American
volunteers to fight the Maya were promised land bounties, which later gave rise to difficulties. The legislation of April 30, 1847, did not touch the vexed questions of ejidos and communal lands, nor restitution of lost areas to towns.

It centered on the way the state might derive more revenue from its land resources. The act affirmed the power of the state of Yucatan to alienate or otherwise dispose of its baldios, "when circumstances demand." Temporarily, while a plan for the best use of them for the common welfare was being drafted, concessions for use could be made from those baldios lying south of the Champotón-Bacalar line, and in the zone from Bacalar to Polvuc; the rent was set at 6% of 1,000 pesos base price per league. All previous concessions of use were ordered reviewed, for regranting on terms similar to those for new ones. A maximum rental period of 10 years was fixed, with a minimum of 5, but rental of a plot did not inhibit its being sold to another party if the government so desired, though the renter might bid for it at public auction. The promised "plan for the common welfare" never appeared, as the Caste War broke out in July, and within a short time the thoughts of Yucatecans were engrossed with self-preservation.

From the foregoing synopsis of legislation and development of land policy, it seems safe to conclude that attempted changes of traditional concepts was an element in the origins
of the Caste War. From 1825 to 1833, after an enthusiastic and almost indiscriminate opening of state lands to colonists in the hope of luring immigrants, the governments had tried to foster "progress." But at the same time both Centralists and Federalists rather scrupulously included provisions to safeguard the customary rights of individual natives and communities to sufficient land and water. When Centralists were in control, more stringent rules which affected small Indian groups were enacted, but on basic policies there was little difference between Federalist or Centralist governments. Some underlying stress between cattle interests and loggers, respectively at Merida and Campeche, tended to appear in the fluctuating policy of concessions.

From the general land law of 1833 to that of 1841, earlier fundamentals remained much the same, but restrictive provisions began to emerge. Needs of the Treasury were crystallized in law: a high minimum value on public lands (10 pesos an acre) was set, and state control was asserted by prescribing the maximum size of grants. Earlier safeguards were continued. Again little distinction can be noted between the actions of one or the other main political groupings, so far as land policy was concerned. Sectional economic interests were favored when one or another group gained power.

A number of earlier trends converged in 1839-1840 and were given legal expression in a fundamental land law of
April 5, 1841. The previous idea of fostering immigration was again revived and strengthened. Connected with it was the hope that more financial advantages could be reaped from outright sale of lands. The needs of sugar growers for cheap public land may be reflected in the lowered prices, which were but a tenth of those announced in 1833. The state rather than individual communities was to be arbiter of exploitable territories. It moved to define and limit the rights of municipalities to their traditional holdings, and threw open some closed Indian territories for exploitation and population.

The official zeal to turn its lands into cash or to use them as a substitute for cash to meet various obligations led not only to the removal of earlier safeguards, but a series of enactments that gave a positive blessing to land-grabs. At the same time legislation which affected native interests specifically appeared -- milpa fees were different from earlier times in that they touched even the smallest cultivator, while ejido legislation set narrow boundaries around communities that had been accustomed to unrestricted use of surrounding territory in their political jurisdictions. Though expansion of population into new zones, and growth of small places into large ones (as outlined in Chapter Two) may have called the regulation of ejido lands into being, it affected older places as well as the new; for the latter it may have been a boon, but for the former its advantages were not so clear.
The surge of "progressivism" so apparent in cultural and intellectual lines after 1840, and reflected during the same period in increased economic activity, had as its background the same spirit which had dictated the land policies from 1841 to 1846. Both the theory and practice thus fostered, however, ran into unexpected and deep-rooted resistances among Maya as well as among other communities. A last-minute attempted modification or even reversal of land policy did not get beyond the stage of talk before the Caste War engulfed the planners. Though the Caste War was not simply a struggle for land, the latter was quite important among the grievances behind the outbreak. Beyond its economic significance, land and its use had an explosively high emotional value, a consideration urged above in Chapter Five.

III

One of the chief repositories of the colonial tradition, and an instrument by which Spaniards had maintained control of native populations, was the Roman Catholic Church. Judgment on the ultimate value of the close and official relationship between ecclesiastical and civil authorities, a frankly sanctioned and protected combination through the colonial regime, has varied widely. Few topics in Latin American history consistently bring forth such heated and extremist views and opinions. Yucatecan history is no
exception. After Independence (and to the present) there was considerable difficulty in arranging a balance between the power that the Church as a temporal institution should exercise over a nominally Catholic people, and the sphere in which civil governmental authority should prevail.

Each makes a claim for the whole man -- to see that he is legitimately born, that his education as a child is appropriate, that his marriage is sanctified, and that upon death his body is interred properly. Each depends on a share of the economic activity of the individuals under it to carry on its functions; each attempts to direct an emotional identification of the individual with the larger institution, Church or State. When the two are interwoven, internal problems between them may be thorny, but present a rather unified front to their joint supporters.

When separated, each attempts to validate its claim to regulate the whole life of an individual for his own good and institutional welfare. The result is often that the latent difficulties (previously internal disputes) may become open conflicts in which the individual must choose one or the other; each has at its disposal an arsenal of political, emotional, and economic weapons to coerce and influence this choice. The violence of the struggle tends to reflect the actual and potential power Church or State can bring to bear on the same individuals. In Mexico generally, the clash was bitter and recurrent. Oddly enough, in Yucatan, it was not; due to local causes, friction was minimized.
The history of relations between Church and State on the peninsula is directly connected with the origins of the Caste War. The ecclesiastical institution was vital and was in direct contact with the large mass of Mayas, on whom it relied for economic existence and to whom it ministered. As elsewhere, the Church in Yucatan was divided up into a number of units on a somewhat functional basis, according to its own rules.

On the one hand there was the secular clergy, headed at the top by a Bishop in Merida and including the lesser grades of village curas, ministros, and their various assistants. According to Catholic doctrine the seculars were the only ones capable of administering the Holy Sacraments, their power deriving from ordination by the Pope, who in theory traced his right back to a mandate from Jesus Christ. On the other hand were regulars, monks and nuns, whose normal duty was teaching and ministering to the physical needs of the faithful; nominally they lived according to the rule, regula, which enjoined poverty, chastity, and obedience. In Yucatan, the lines between the two (seculars and regulars) were often blurred because by special dispensation the latter often performed the functions of the former.

The missionary programs of the Crown and considerable temporal control over natives had been delegated in the early days to regulars. Their convents, as noted previously, dotted the Yucatecan landscape, but they were interspersed
with secular benefices and parish churches. The overlap of jurisdiction and confusion of duties was an element of discord between these two major branches, which equalled or surpassed the similar jealousies between the various Orders of regulars.

Before Independence was declared, the Orders had been largely stripped of powers and wealth, some of which passed into the hands of secular clergy. The Jesuits had been expelled in the late eighteenth century, and the Franciscans in the closing days of the colonial regime were given the choice of becoming seculars or going into virtual exile, as only two convents were permitted to remain. The rest were secularized.

Groundwork for this important move had been laid in 1814, when on petition of the Bishop, the Pope had given him power to secularize the monks and the convents which had been infected with liberalism; the consequent vocal quarrel of the ousted tended to discredit both. The Bishop was not particularly moved to defend the Franciscans. Only about thirty of the two hundred Franciscans did not secularize; high personages of the Order were among the first to change their status and enter the secular hierarchy. Thus there remained to the Franciscans no real or effective leadership to agitate for reinstatement or to carry on a guerrilla warfare of polemic against civil authorities. The peninsula was almost completely under the direction of the Bishop and his secular underlings at the time of Independence.
The secular clergy of Yucatan, as a group, were as "liberal" as the bounds of their dogma could permit. Partly because the Franciscans (of whom they were jealous) were identified with the ancien régime and held the better posts, partly from conviction, and from any number of other motives that move men to action, the lower clergy were often intellectual rebels. It will be recalled that the Society of San Juan, the core around which formed the early liberal party of Yucatan, was a group of lower clergy and pious laymen who met in the barrio of that name to discuss reform and civil welfare. From the very outset, a sizable group of Churchmen were allied with the liberal cause and continued to be numbered among the reform element; as earlier mentioned, the advanced Constitution of 1841 was partly their handiwork.

Though many, notably those in urban parishes of Merida and Valladolid, were associated with reform movements, as in any group there was considerable variation. The cura of Tihosuco, at the extreme edge of the Borderlands, José Antonio Mais, was known as a "reactionary"; he was "master of a prodigious wealth from his fat rents." Another in the area, said the Maya, "put his saddle on a poor Indian, began to whip him, and tore his belly with his spurs." Opposed to these types were others whom the Indians loved and respected for their kindness and piety. No single stereotype extracted from the extensive polemic over priests fits exactly all the individuals who were secular clergy on the eve of the Caste War.
As a group they were not the special targets of rabidly anti-clerical writers, both because of the general fact that the clergy had supported rather than resisted change and because reformers themselves were not particularly anti-clerical. One reason for the somewhat mild attitude taken by statesmen in dealing with the Church was that family connections interlaced Church and State. A brother of Justo Sierra, for instance, was Vicer of Valladolid. Nearly every Creole family of importance had connections (by blood or marriage) with ecclesiastical functionaries; these same families provided the legislators and governors, as well as the entrepreneurs.46

But another, and probably more important reason that civil government could and did make changes which limited Church power, was that the Bishopric of Merida was unable to mobilize any overwhelming influence and power of resistance. The military element, which was accustomed in other places to aid the Church defend the group of special privileges (generically called fueros), was a minor and negligible part of the Yucatecan scene. Probably true was a local historian's statement that "There is in the Yucatecan people a profound aversion to a military career."47 The Church could not actively draw upon the deeply vested interests of armed forces, headed by ambitious local officers, to support its conservative programs.

Nor did the interests of large property owners particularly coincide with those of the Church in Yucatan.
As mentioned in Chapter One, the dues demanded by the Church from Maya on haciendas were regarded by the proprietors as a nuisance and an economic drain on their own purse; the hacendado's cash was advanced to the Church for the *luneros* and others, and added to the Indian's open hacienda account, which might be lost by his death or disappearance (See Table 46). And above all, the reforms in Yucatecan life were sponsored by the vested property interests themselves, and more especially, those who were themselves convinced of the need for a dynamic rather than a static economy.

The peculiar position of the Bishopric goes far to explain its lack of spirited resistance against the encroachment of the civil government into spheres traditionally reserved to ecclesiastical authority. The Bishop who held the miter during the period just before Independence was Pedro Agustín de Estévez y Ugarte, a Spaniard. When he arrived, he had brought with him a group of other Spaniards, to whom the best local posts were given. This did not endear him to the local clergy; they did not spring to his defense when the Yucatecan civil authorities forced him into temporary exile. After a stormy career, he died in May 1827.48

The See remained vacant during the crucial years when reform was getting under way. A new Bishop did not get himself seated until 1834. The manner in which the successor to Estévez occupied the Cathedral in Merida and took jurisdiction over the peninsula made his opposition to civil control a difficult, if not impossible, task for him.
Jose Maria Guerra, after considerable difficulty, established himself as Bishop. He was a Yucatecan, born in Campeche, March 19, 1793; he was educated in Merida by Franciscans and Jesuits. After his ordination he was vice-rector of the Seminary, and as a young man came out strongly against any liberal institutions, particularly the "Casa de Estudios" which sanjuanistas established to broaden education. His chief rival for posts and preferment was a less conservative contemporary, Jose Maria Meneses. After considerable intrigue, Guerra emerged victorious in an election which local ecclesiastical authorities held in 1833 to nominate a Bishop, to be confirmed by Mexican political authorities and the Pope.

Liberals almost immediately attacked him in scurrilous pamphlets, undermining the legality of his election and finally getting him exiled to Veracruz for supposed support of a plan to foment a conservative revolution. When Centralist forces did manage to capture the Yucatecan government, Guerra was allowed to return; he was consecrated in July, 1834, and came to Yucatan in October. Despite efforts to unseat him, he was Bishop until his death in 1863.49

For awhile after 1834 no great threat to his position appeared, but then a counter candidate for the Bishopric made a strong bid for recognition. Manuel Jose Pardo, cura of Sotuta and Provisor, enlisted the aid of various powerful persons (among them la Condesa de la Cortina) to have Guerra
removed; liberals tended to back him, as did a number of priests who had been displaced by Guerra for their liberal tendencies. They spread stories that Guerra, while in Mexico on business, had raped a nun, and in other ways tried to make his post untenable. Santa Anna backed Pardio, and when Bulls from the Pope came to Mexico permitting consecration of him (opposed by the Mexican hierarchy), Santa Anna arranged to have Pardio taken to Venezuela for the rite. No Archbishop of Mexico would consecrate the alleged usurper. On September 25, 1842, Pardio was also proclaimed Bishop of Yucatan.

The Mexican Metropolitan Bishop (at Guerra's request) ordered Pardio to cease considering himself as Bishop of Yucatan and forbade his return to the curacy of Sotuta. He stayed awhile in Havana, from whence he hoped to enter Yucatan via Bacalar and set up his Bishopric at Sotuta, but the plot was discovered. Pardio then proceeded to Mexico, where he waited in hope that when Guerra died he could validate his claim to the Yucatecan Bishopric. However, Pardio died two years before Guerra. But almost from the time Guerra was named as Bishop-elect until his own death there was a suitable competitor who could be used by the government as a threat; although the disturbed situation of the Bishopric did not reach the point of an outright schism, it did divide the loyalties of the clergy, both on political and ecclesiastical grounds. Guerra's policies were as conservative as possible under the circumstances.
Travelers were impressed by him. Stephens said Guerra was "the greatest man in Merida, and lived in the greatest style." Norman, a little later, reported: "He has a fine head. His person is tall, rather robust, and looked the bishop to the life. He was clad in a blue silk gown, and a cap of the same material, resting upon the crown of his head; and embellished with a massy gold chain." They agreed he was a politician, with strong Centralist leanings.

Friction between the civil government and the Bishop (representing the Church's numerous spiritual and temporal interests) arose over a number of issues. In general the state won. There was constant cutting down of the ancient prerogatives and privileged position of the Church, despite the Bishop's strenuous objections and his counter-policy of attempting to revive and strengthen ecclesiastical institutions. The struggles were chiefly over economic and political questions rather than a direct clash of opposed ideologies. Concretely, the collection of funds -- tithes and obventions -- and their allocation was a paramount point in the controversies, and the settlement had a direct bearing on the origin of the War of the Castes.

The tensions over control by Church or by State appeared openly in the detailed matters of cofradías, tithes, and obventions. These were the main economic supports of ecclesiastical power. The general relations of the civil and Church institutions were specifically set forth in Yucatecan
constitutions. Previous pages have indicated how cofradías, "Church haciendas," were at first re-established after independence, but were then ordered broken up and sold to private owners or returned to local communities. The result was that by 1840 scarcely any were left. 52

By the Constitution of 1825, the apostolic Roman Catholic religion remained the sole and established one, with its ancient privileges guaranteed. The charter of 1841 made a number of changes in this relationship: liberty of conscience was proclaimed, the abolition of ancient fueros announced, and withdrawal of clerical privilege to apply temporal punishments. Part of this liberal reform was motivated by the hope that foreign and presumably Protestant immigration would find a more agreeable atmosphere. To maintain some recognition of the undoubted fact that Yucatan was a predominantly Catholic area, the Constitution of 1841 stated the government would "protect" that religion -- but it was not in the unique position earlier enjoyed. 53

The question of tithes affected only the Whites. Obventions were levied solely on natives, in lieu of tithes. The position of the government at Independence, under the doctrine that the state aided the Church to maintain supremacy of Catholicism, was that civil authority backed up the levy and was partially responsible for the collection of tithes. The obligations of civil authority were spelled out in detail by a law in October, 1826. However, during the Liberal interlude
in 1833, the government abolished tithes as such, but agreed to subsidize the Church by an annual payment of 8,000 pesos from state income; the annual sum was seldom paid in full, and sometimes not at all. Although the Pope had approved this abolition, Bishop Guerra in 1836 attempted to reinstitute tithes; he named as collector José María González, "who carried forward the task with zeal." Guerra's brother was Centralist Governor of Yucatan at this time.

In the revolutionary surges of 1839–1840 the state's connection with tithing was again wholly severed, and apparently the official institution as such disappeared. The revolutionary state government asserted its supremacy in money matters; it was to subsidize Church activities in Yucatan.54

The religious end of life, now devolving upon the state with the Church as its agency, was arranged after 1843, the year in which obventions finally were uprooted. It will be recalled from Chapter One that obventions were the money or goods, sometimes services, that Indians owed the Church in place of tithes, and that they had been a bone of contention in the period when the Spanish Cortes ruled the colonies in the name of Ferdinand VII. Even before continuance of tithes had been written into the laws of independent Yucatan, the institution of obventions was decreed, in November 1823.

With reinstitution of repúblicas de indígenas in the following year, soon one of the duties of caciques (as political heads of Indian units) was to collect obventions, with
the aid of the creole Justicia. At that time, obventions were due from Indian men and women alike, although the latter since colonial days had been exempted from civil levies. The forced labor aspect of obventions was not abolished until 1832, when civil authorities began to check ecclesiastical practices by setting up a scale of prices for various services priests rendered and attempting to abolish an institution known as the sacristía mayor, another sort of privately endowed and exclusive Church jurisdiction supported by rents.55

Under Centralist governments little was done to change the situation of obventions, but as one lure for native support in the revolution in 1839, Santiago Iman promised Maya that obventions would be abolished, in favor of a substituted monthly fee. He assured his followers that women would be exempted entirely from such a levy, which would amount to one real a month for males between the ages of fourteen and sixty.

When the movement of 1839 was successfully established, the promise was partially translated into law. The reduced fee was still called an "obvention." Perhaps because some doubt arose as to whom it applied, in November 1840 its provisions were also extended specifically to indios de barrio. The state collected the obventions in cash, via caciques and local civil authority. The law halved the previous rate of obventions by designating the maximum
payment as one real a month (collected only from males).\textsuperscript{56}
This was in addition to civil taxes.

In January 1842 a commission of consultants was formed to consider the status of Church rents and their relation to the government. Five clergy and five civil functionaries met. Probably due to the intervening campaigns against the Mexican expeditionary forces, no legislative action was taken until June 1843. At that time obventions as such were abolished, although date of the abolition was not fixed, and a statement was issued that the whole matter of Church rents would be re-arranged on a new basis.\textsuperscript{57}

Although Bishop Guerra protested dutifully that the civil government was invading the purely ecclesiastical sphere, he answered the demand for a projected settlement of the issue and turned it over to Governor Méndez in 1844. Under terms of the agreement reached, the Church ceased entirely to collect obventions or similar religious fees directly, but accepted an annual subsidy of 100,000 pesos to carry on the work of the Bishop, maintain the Cathedral and its seminary, and meet the expenses of parish priests and their aides. At that time the state authorized no special religious contribution or fee in addition to its regular civil "personal contribution," due from each male of appropriate age; authorities hoped to finance this Church subsidy out of its regular revenue.\textsuperscript{58}

Far from satisfied with the arrangements, the Bishop
and his priests, however, accepted them. Their dissatisfaction mounted when the promised monies failed regularly to appear. At first the monthly installments of the annual state subsidy came in full on the dates due; then they came regularly but with reduced amounts, then irregularly or not at all. The governor in 1847 admitted owing the Church 58,792 pesos for 1846, and added that this debt was rapidly increasing. Church authorities claimed that after the first month, payments following the arrangements had varied from a quarter to half the monthly allotment, then had dwindled away to zero. As a result, a number of priests had given up their ministries, or had been forced to cut their services down to a disgracefully low level.59

In 1847 a commission formed to review affairs of Church and state and to recommend the appropriate legislation presented some detailed data. As a basis for their recommendations they stated that the minimum maintenance of the Catholic cult in Yucatan required at least a real a month from each male. Only the very largest parishes could be maintained on the medio (half real) that the Church had been averaging. In the parish of Ichmul, one of the largest, a medio left the resident cura a monthly profit of about 44 pesos. It had a resident population of about 3,000 families (Indian and white), that returned an income of 187 pesos monthly, but from this came payment of four ministers, the cost of collecting the fee, a contribution to the Cathedral (one seventh of
the gross), a pension fund, and payment of a scribe, totaling 143 pesos. The Cura of second class parishes like that of Santiago in Merida cleared perhaps seven pesos a month, while the numerous small parishes sustained a monthly loss.

The commission pointed out that under the state plan whereby 100,000 pesos was presumed to cover the needs of the Church, parishes received an average of only 31 pesos each to cover expenses. Normally the parish of Ichmul needed at least 187, as stated. Santiago, which regularly expended at least 68 pesos a month had been granted only 10 under the 1843 plan. The figure of 31 pesos per curacy was based on the assumption that the state had met annual obligations in full, which in fact had not happened, so that parishes were even worse off than their budgets indicated.

The investigators stated flatly that it was impossible to discriminate among parishes by levying higher fees in those which were not self-sustaining, or between parishes of whites and of Indians. Even in 1814, "when the Indians were more docile and circumstances more favorable" such a move had failed. Among the several recommendations which the commission presented, the prime one was that from the state civil tax (the contribución personal, capitation tax), one real per head be allocated to the maintenance of the Catholic cult. 60

In the course of their discussion the commission of 1847 had pointed out that politicians had always given an
easy answer to Church pleas. When pressed for payment even of the promised regular sums, civil authorities had replied, "There is no public money; you should use your derechos de estola." The latter were the sums collectible for administration of the Sacraments, especially marriage and baptism. By law, however, these had been set at three reales for a baptism, and four to cover a marriage ceremony. Indians presumably had been exempted in 1843 even from these payments.61

Evidently by June 1847 (a month before the Caste War broke out), all parish priests had agreed to give up charging for burial services. Nominally the sums for baptisms and marriages had been equalized over the peninsula. This led optimists to say that "nobody now will have any motive for complaint."62 If the legal prescriptions had been followed literally, this statement might have been true. But the fact that Indians at the beginning, and during the Caste War, claimed that all they wanted was equal treatment with creoles in the matter of these fees leads to the conclusion that certain priests had attempted to close the gap between their expenses and the incomes promised them by the state by asking exorbitant sums for performance of baptismal and marriage rites.

The high place which Indians gave this demand in the Treaty of Tsucaacab supports this view, as do the later negotiations between Indians and the civil government at Merida.
At one point the latter promised to supply state-paid priests to the Indians to perform Catholic rites without payment of fees. Indian chieftains told British officials that the origin of the Caste War lay in oppressive contributions unfairly levied by subordinates of the Yucatecan government who disregarded their instructions, and who failed to keep their promises.65

Several things stand clearly revealed in this brief survey of the Church in Yucatan after Independence. One is that by 1841, it had lost most of its entrenched position and special privileges to the civil government. Its cofradías had been removed and placed among the state's public lands, or otherwise secularized; the power of the government no longer backed it for collection of tithes, and obventions had been reduced to an almost negligible point. The state had assumed the burden of education. In 1843 obventions disappeared entirely. Ecclesiastical institutions after that date were legally almost wholly dependent on the civil treasury for their support.

Behind this unusual state of affairs lay a number of developments. The absence of a forceful Bishop after 1827 was important; the See itself was for awhile vacant, and when filled by Bishop Guerra, his personal troubles and the existence of potential rivals tended to inhibit strong resistance on his part. His lower clergy for the most part had no strong emotional ties with the ancien régime.
symbolized by the Franciscans whom they had succeeded in ousting just before Independence. Justo Sierra placed stress on the fact that the "Yucatecan clergy, among whom there were many and very notable characters who professed liberal ideas, comported itself with moderation, without any who tried to provoke a civil war because of the important reforms, the most serious (which up to that time) any state of the Republic had attempted."64

More important, and connected with this, was that a Yucatecan spirit of progressivism had turned most Creole minds away from a preoccupation with the Church. Yucatecans of 1847 were not especially hostile to religion and the claims of the hierarchy so much as they appeared merely uninterested. When Guerra succeeded in re-establishing the Franciscans as an open Order only seven youths could be found to enter the novitiate; this lack of zeal to make a career in the Church and to turn to secular fields was characteristic of the times.65 No vested interests relied upon Church support for maintenance of a status quo, so that the cry of "Religion y Fueros" which rallied conservative forces in many other parts of Mexico found but small echo as a moving force in Yucatan. On the eve of the Caste War, the Church was merely one of several special interests jockeying for protective legislation, rather than a dominant partner in government.

A second consideration is that the civil government,
in taking over an added amount of responsibility by agreeing to support the Church, extended itself beyond the economic resources potentially at its disposal. Even though the financial commitment that civil authorities had made did not maintain the prestige and services of the Church at a level thought desirable by many Yucatecans, the several and more insistent calls on the public treasury made fulfillment of even that reduced ecclesiastical commitment difficult, often impossible.

The social consequences were grave. On the one hand, some clergy resorted to measures beyond the legislative reach of civil authorities by levying heavy charges for rites like baptism and marriage; on the other, a group of men in close contact with masses of Maya were (in some cases) dissatisfied and aggrieved by the action of the government that had nearly wiped out their source of livelihood. The Church was not a stabilizing element. Its individual members were as likely to be a disrupting force as they were to maintain a social situation highly unfavorable to them. This would be more especially true in large rural parishes, such as the cited one of Ichmul.

IV

It seems evident that many of the ills besetting Yucatan stemmed from the condition of its treasury and its finances. Had the latter been in a flourishing state, the added strain
placed on it by assuming the burden of the Church support could have been met with less dislocation. From 1840 onward more and more it became clear to liberals that reforms cost money — either by reducing the income of the state by suppression of repugnant practices, or through adding to expenses by including new and needed services to those which the state already offered. The times called for outlays to aid education, communications, "national" defense, and a variety of expenditures to make Yucatan modern and progressive. To these was now joined an obligation to maintain the ecclesiastical institutions. In turn, the financial affairs of the peninsula were closely tied to the condition of its economy on the one hand, and on the other, the manner in which its political leaders tapped it for income. With a unified and sound political program on which all agreed, matters might have been simpler, but unfortunately there were nearly as many programs as there were factions, and these had again proliferated following the ephemeral unity that the Revolution of 1839 had brought. Party strife reflected the other strains. Against the broader background, factionalism appears as the instrument rather than the cause of social disorganization which bred the Caste War.

There is no immediate need for providing a detailed rehearsal of the growth of political factions in Yucatan or an extensive treatment of their interactions. Chapter One has sketched major outlines of political activities to and through the movements which in 1839 and 1840 led to
submergence of Yucatecan differences in a successful effort to rout from the peninsula the Centralist politicians. The latter drew most of their inspiration and support from governments in Mexico. Yucatecan writers, both at the time and since, have explored most of the nooks and crannies of the peninsula's political history and the individuals concerned in it.

Although the pages of local history are not without traces of partisanship and bias (even at this late date) and despite the lack of agreement about individual motivations, Yucatecan writers generally concur about the order of events, even details of the political events themselves. Little attempt is made below to collate these details and present a critical or rectified view, but rather the aim is to link the political currents to some of the broader developments that have been traced earlier, and to suggest their relationship with the native revolts which together formed the Caste War. Some of the materials presented earlier are repeated purposely to give coherence to the narrative.

The two principal figures around which most of the political life of the era revolved were Miguel Barbachano and Santiago Méndez. Although usually opponents, these two often cooperated, and they had much in common. Each was a relative newcomer to politics; their rise to power stemmed mainly from their services in the revolt of 1839. Each was
a Yucatecan-Creole with a mercantile background; both were born in Campeche.

Santiago Méndez resided there, and came from a family that had been associated with Iturbide's Empire and various Centralist intrigues. He himself was more generally on the liberal, Federalist, side in such disputes. His political strength lay along the West Coast, and in some of the Borderlands places. His son-in-law was Justo Sierra O'Reilly, similarly identified with the political interests of Campeche.

Miguel Barbachano, although born in Campeche (1807), was educated in France and Spain. On his return to Yucatan in 1837 or 1838 he settled in Merida. He too was a merchant, and like many of the other leading men of the place, was well-educated, and had some fame as an orator. Young and personable, he became a leading political figure. Both he and Méndez, it would seem, were rather more the instruments of group interest than strong leaders with considerable initiative and force of their own.

In the first days after the successful coup which cleared Mexican influences from Yucatan in 1840, the American traveler John L. Stephens chatted with Méndez, and found that he was not quite sure to which political faction he really belonged. Stephens describes him as "about fifty years of age, tall and thin, with a fine intellectual face, and of very gentlemanly appearance and deportment.... The governor shrank from the hazard of extremes, was vacillating, undecided, and unequal
to the emergency.... Dissatisfaction and discontent prevailed. Both parties blamed the governor, and he did not know himself to which he belonged. 68

Strong party lines did not form until 1845, although they had started to crystallize even in 1840. The issue of Yucatecan independence or adhesion to the Mexican Republic was an early dividing line. When the parties did form, Méndez headed one, Barbachano the other. Their bases were respectively the cities of Campeche and Merida. Up to 1845, the threat of invasion from Mexico, or actual military campaigns themselves, tended to inhibit the full-blown emergence of factionalism, but issues became clearer and tempers shorter after June 1845. As the following paragraphs indicate, external pressures as much as internal developments were involved in political alignments of Yucatan on the eve of the Caste War.

Santiago Méndez was elected governor, and Miguel Barbachano vice-governor, in the elections called after establishment of a Federalist program by the revolt of 1839-1840. These two officials reached a satisfactory working agreement for shared responsibility when at first Mexico (under Santa Anna) threatened to invade the peninsula and then thought better of it by sending Andrés Quintana Roo to treat with the newly-established Yucatecan government. It will be recalled that in 1841 Yucatan agreed to stay in the Mexican Federation and to support Santa Anna's hybrid Centralist-
Federalist plan known as the Bases of Tacubaya if the Mexican government would recognize the Yucatecan claims for special treatment in the matter of tariffs, home-rule, and repatriation of local troops. Although Quintana Roo had agreed to these stipulations, Santa Anna did not; his temper was not improved by the fact that his envoy had been captured by the Texan Navy and was released only after Yucatecans had intervened.

Locally the tide was running strong for a declaration of Yucatecan independence, chiefly on the part of Barbachano and his followers. Opposed to this important move was the Governor and the port interests. They felt that Yucatan could possibly have all the advantages both of independence and the protection of the nation, as well as the Gulf trade, by proper negotiations. While the punitive expeditions of 1842-43 sought to force Yucatan back into the Mexican confederation, Méndez and Barbachano split the administrative responsibility, the one commanding at Campeche, the other at Merida.

During this period of stress, they jointly agreed to mobilize the peninsula's manpower by offering exemption from personal taxes to natives and others who served as auxiliaries and military. They also offered the land premiums already noted above. One or two incidents during the struggle indicated that partisanship was not wholly dead among Yucatecans, but in general a united front was rather cooperatively maintained, and endured until victory was assured.
At the close of the campaigns, the Yucatecans were in a rather good bargaining position, chiefly because of military victories. The subsequent agreements with Mexico, drawn up on a bi-partisan basis, and ratified December 14, 1843, were favorable to Yucatan. By this treaty, Yucatecan goods and natural products had free entrance into Mexican ports, virtual local sovereignty was promised, and the military forces of the peninsula were not obligated to fight outside the state's bounds. In return for these important concessions, Santa Anna's now openly Centralist regime was recognized (which put in jeopardy Yucatan's Federalist Constitution of 1841), and Yucatan agreed to consider itself a part of the Mexican nation, symbolized by flying the national flag.

Under the terms of the transaction, Santa Anna was allowed to choose the governor of Yucatan from a list proposed by Yucatecans. The peninsula changed its Federalist "Congress" to a seven-man Centralist Assembly. All parties, Mexican and Yucatecan, agreed that the governor should be a respected but ancient neutral figure, José Tiburcio López. By the Treaty of December 1843, the program generally advocated by the Campeche party, mendicistas, had prevailed. Barbachanistas, however, were content enough, as they had a preponderant majority in the new Assembly. Although Centralist in name, Yucatan was as free as though it had been Federalist, without the added external dangers independence might have brought.
Yucatecan hopes for a tranquil political future were almost immediately dashed by a trick played by the Central Mexican government. In an official executive tariff circular sent to Gulf ports, nearly all Yucatecan exportable commodities, even maize, were excluded from the free list, and were enumerated on the schedules subject to regular payment. This order was dated February 21, 1844. The reactions to it upset Yucatecan political balances, and re-opened all the older factional disturbances.

Barbachanistas, as staunch Federalists found themselves enmeshed with a Centralist regime that had withdrawn the concessions that made it tolerable. Mendozistas found their political program discredited and their economic hopes dashed, predicated as they were on favorable commerce with Veracruz, Tampico, and other Gulf entrances to the Mexican markets. To say that they were irritated at Santa Anna's action is to understate the vigor of their outburst of fury. For reasons not connected with this particular order, however, Santa Anna soon left the Presidency of Mexico.

A counter movement to Centralism in Mexico had placed a new president in power for a short while. Yucatecans still hoped that if the chicanery of Santa Anna were brought to the attention of the new regime (which they supported temporarily), the matter might be cleared quickly by having the February 21 circular suppressed or changed. Over Tiburcio López's signature a strongly-worded plea, with substantive proof of the
difficulties caused by the circular, was presented to national Congress by Yucatecan delegates. Just after it had received favorable notice in the lower house and was being transmitted to the Senate for final approval, yet another Mexican revolution displaced the ephemeral regime, and ushered in a new President, Mariano Paredes took office January 3, 1845.

Persistent in their hope that Paredes' group would similarly see that Mexican promises were kept, Yucatecans again pressed their demands for recognition of the Treaty of December 1843 and a withdrawal of the order of February 1844. When it became obvious that the dilatory action which the new national government was taking probably meant refusal, the barbachanistas in Merida fomented a local revolution. Their program included complete separation from Mexico and an independent Yucatan. Their members in the Assembly presented this program as a working policy to the governor, but rather than sign it, José Tiburcio López resigned.

Miguel Barbachano was named by the Assembly as acting or provisional governor. The final step of separation was not yet taken officially. Barbachano, however, called home the Yucatecan representatives in the national capital; they brought with them an informal presidential note saying that if Yucatan would recognize the new Paredes government, then it would formally discuss the Treaty of 1843. Barbachano replied that if the government would withdraw the order of
February 21, 1844, Yucatan would recognize Paredes and fully re-enter the union. Each side tried to outwait, but not particularly to outwit, the other.

Mendocistes yet expected that their original policy would bear fruit. All that was required was withdrawal of the notorious circular. Barbachanistas were not as convinced of the need for independence as they had been, but still followed that line. Until June 1845, the two factions were in agreement that Mexico should recognize its pledged word and without further quibble put in full force the Treaty of 1843. The position of Yucatan was anomalous; it was neither in the union, nor quite out of it.

July 2, 1845, the barbachanista Assembly took an ultimate step and re-affirmed Yucatan's intention of remaining completely independent. Elections were to be held for post of governor (or president) and the peninsula was to run its own affairs. This was not a line which pleased mendocistes, who still hoped for a reconciliation and adjustment, so long as Yucatan had not openly broken away from Mexico. They claimed Barbachano had usurped the governor's office. Each party put forth utmost efforts to gain the new election. It fell, as usual, to the whole slate of barbachanista candidates. Partisan feeling reached a height when Barbachano actually took office in January 1846.

The new government did not take many radical steps, and circumstances put a new face on factional aspirations. Santa
Anna, exiled in Cuba, was then bidding for a return to the Presidency of Mexico. For reasons best known to himself, he performed one of the about-faces for which he was notorious. He proposed to re-instate a Federal regime (although for many years he had been Centralist) on the basis of the Mexican Constitution of 1824.

Prior to his actual coup, he met at Sisal with Miguel Barbachano. They agreed on a transaction: Yucatan would support Santa Anna's candidacy and presidency, provided that when he attained power he would fully reinstate the Treaty of 1843 and withdraw the order he had issued February 21, 1844. Barbachano seemed more concerned with maintaining a Federalist regime in Yucatan than with independence. A howl went up from Campeche when they heard their long detested enemy Santa Anna was to occupy the presidency of Mexico, supported by Yucatan.

Moreover, a new issue had appeared. The war with the United States, in which Mexico was engaged, meant that to re-enter the nation now did not guarantee a commercial boom; Mexico did not control the Gulf ports, but the blockading Americans did. A reversal of positions took place: Merida supported close ties with Mexico, banking on the guarantee that Santa Anna had given that the new regime would be Federalist, while Campeche hung back, in the hope that Yucatan as a semi-independent unit could proclaim its neutrality and thus be granted certain advantages denied it as a component
part of a belligerent country, Mexico. A curious document resulting from a conference between Barbachano and Méndez allegedly had as one of its articles that the public treasury would establish a periodical in Campeche, and one in Merida, to debate the issue of whether Yucatan should seek the protection of some foreign power. 73

The first of several local uprisings took place in Campeche on October 25, 1846. Its inevitable manifesto had as main points the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1841, the reduction of the capitation tax to one real, and restitution to office of Campechanos who had been ousted. The revolutionaries inveighed against an "Organic Law" that had altered the Constitution of 1841, an interim measure until Yucatan re-entered the Mexican union. Only the West Coast and Tihosuco supported the movement. Obviously the underlying purpose was formation of a government dominated by Campeche partisans.

Just at this time Santa Anna gained his desired post as president and complied with his word pledged to Barbachano. His government on September 29 expressed itself willing to consider the Treaty of December 14, 1843 in full force, and on September 26, it had already withdrawn the trouble-making circular of February 21, 1844. 74 These things having been done, and the short-lived Campeche revolt suffocated, Barbachano by decree re-incorporated Yucatan into the Mexican nation on November 2. As earlier agreed, at the same time
he put in effect the old Constitution of 1825 as the one most nearly in harmony with the Mexican one of 1824, under which Santa Anna now ruled Mexico. An amnesty was granted the revolutionaries of October 25, and new elections were called for. Had it not been for the war with the United States, perhaps some of Yucatan's travail would have been avoided. Neutrality, not union with Mexico, was now (November 1846) the major issue of the hour.

The uprising in the city of Campeche on December 8, 1846 set in motion a chain reaction that had devastating consequences. Against the better judgment of their nominal chieftain, Santiago Méndez, some of his followers issued a revolutionary program. It was drawn up primarily by Justo Sierra and José Sosa (from the hinterlands). The program did not recognize the reincorporation of Yucatan into the Mexican Republic because the latter had not been the act of a sovereign Mexican assembly; it reinstated the Yucatecan Constitution of 1841, and provided that the state be ruled by a governor and council, composed (naturally enough) of mendecistas; if Barbachano did not accept the program, provisionally the governorship would devolve on Domingo Barret; the personal contribution was to be reduced to one real monthly; while Yucatan was thus separated from Mexico, it could and should arrange its affairs with foreign nations according to the "sane and healthy principles of international law." A chronicler with pro-Barbachano leanings has catalogued the
motives behind the discontent of Campeche with the Barba-
chano government at this time as resistance to constitutional
amendations, indignation against favoritism, especially to-
ward some who had opposed the Revolution of 1840, low pay
for civil servants, wounded vanity, and localism. 76

The December 1846 revolt won wider support than had
the one in October. Before long the revolutionaries put
troops into movement, and captured the Sierra towns (some
of which favored the uprising); Valladolid, chief bastion
of government strength in the east was strongly defended,
but was taken January 15, 1847. The manner in which this
was done, by the aid of Indian troops, but more especially
the mestizos and Indians of the barrios was significant, and
discussion of it is deferred; although a controversial point,
some believe January 15 to mark the beginning of the War of
the Castes.

A week after Valladolid fell, revolutionary troops in-
vested Merida, and on January 22 the capital city surrendered.
On January 26, the official capital was transferred to Cam-
peche. In the interim, when the revolutionary government
under Barret ruled part of Yucatan from various points (Bocal,
Ticul, Maxcanú) and while Barbachano maintained another at
Merida, the Swiss botanist Heller arrived; his accounts give
valuable sidelights on the situation, as do those of Arthur
Morelet, a French traveler who in 1847 found the Yucatecan
government centered in Campeche.77
Until January 26, each government claimed to be the sole legal one and legislated for the whole area. Barba-
chano and his officials issued a number of manifestos charging that all citizens who failed to rise against the Campoch rebels were traitors to Yucatan and to Mexico, but these decrees did not stop the successful advance of his opponent's forces. 78

The mendicistas after January 26, 1847 nominally con-
trolled the whole state of Yucatan until the events of the Caste War in 1848 made their position completely untenable. Then direction of the war and of the peninsula's internal affairs was voluntarily turned over to Barbachano. During their administration, one of the first things they attempted was to get the neutrality of Yucatan recognized by the United States, and short of that, to obtain special trade concessions from the American commanders whose forces occupied Carmen and other points along the coast which were crucial to the peninsula's Gulf trade.

A preliminary mission to Washington met with little success. To follow up the first conferences, Barret's gov-
ernment dispatched Justo Sierra (with aid and permission from Commodore Perry, the American naval commander in the area) to seek these concessions, and when it became apparent in late 1847 and early 1848 that Yucatan was really fighting a Caste War, to obtain annexation of the peninsula to the United States. Sierra also sought aid in the form of men,
arms, and ammunition for his government to combat the successful Maya forces. The Treaty of Tzucacab in 1848 put an end to these negotiations, as the American Senate felt that this had ended the Caste War, and moreover, that for many reasons annexation of Yucatan was not a proper move. 79 Thus the "foreign policy" of the mendecistas operated, and failed. It was left to Barbachano to re-re-incorporate Yucatan into the Mexican Republic in 1848.

Internal affairs (after the successful establishment of mendecista rule in January 1847) were the chief focus of attention. At that time Miguel Barbachano and his brother Manuel left for Cuba. In his absence (possibly with his encouragement) a movement in Merida on February 28 headed by Sebastian López de Llergo attempted to dislodge the new Campeche government, but was forced to surrender in March. As earlier mentioned, the Barret administration, although determined to retain power by putting down the revolt, took steps to revise the land laws (a main point of López de Llergo's program); it also enacted into law another of his demands, that the personal contribution be reduced to one real monthly. This, of course, had been one of the earlier mendecista bids for support, but had not been acted on after they had gained control.

Campeche troops managed to extinguish the López de Llergo coup throughout the Old Colonial section, but guer-rilla warfare continued in the east. On March 9, amnesty
was given López de Llergo and the troops who had supported him. A brief respite in partisan warfare followed, especially after May 16 when the American military forces on Cermeñ permitted their blockade to be arranged in a manner which favored a limited commerce.

Barret's government, as the mendecistas well knew, was a precarious one. It was not fully supported by the numerous places which for a number of years had been pro-Barbachano. Now that it had set in motion the negotiations which it hoped would achieve the principal object of the revolt of December 8, neutrality, it was willing to compromise on internal questions, and to that end tried to become a popular, coalition administration by taking the unusual step of calling an extraordinary Assembly. The meeting was to be held in the villa of Ticul (a dividing point between the influence of Merida and that of Campeche) on May 24, 1847. The decree calling the convention named the leaders of numerous factions, as well as the important figures in peninsular politics (though chiefly mendecistas). A penalty of two thousand pesos was set for non-attendance.

The object of the Extra-ordinary Assembly of Ticul was limited to discussion and recommendations on local affairs. The agenda was fixed to include only four items: suggestions for reorganization of public finance and the proper amount of personal contribution, a similar overhauling of the military establishment, a discussion of ecclesiastical rents, and
finally, a discussion of forthcoming constitutional elections. June 20 was set as the terminal day for the Assembly's work.

The work of the Assembly reveals much about the situation of Yucatan a month or so before the Caste War "officially" opened in July 1847. The fact that it met at all signified the critical state of affairs. Nearly every recognizable group on the peninsula had at least one grievance, usually as a consequence of developments which occurred since Independence, but more specifically, after 1840. Part of the creoles, moved by patriotism, partisan feelings, and perhaps the desire to carry out Yucatan's end of the bargain made by Santa Anna and Barbachano, believed that the peninsula was part of Mexico, and therefore should rise or fall with the nation at war with the United States.

Another part, now in control, felt the self-interest of Yucatan lay in remaining aloof from an entanglement of this nature by dealing directly with the United States, which might recognize Yucatan as an independent unit and respect its non-belligerent status by allowing commercial and political concessions that would satisfy the needs of Yucatecan trade and which conformed with the incipient peninsular nationalism that had ever marked the place but which had been given acceleration after 1840. Cultural autonomy had almost matched successful military action against two attempts by Mexico to dominate the peninsula. Commercial considerations, as well as political differences, made themselves
clearly manifest in discussions at the Extra-ordinary Assembly at Ticul.

V

At the opening of the Extra-ordinary Assembly in Ticul, Domingo Barret, Provisional Governor, briefly reviewed the current status of the public treasury, the military establishment, and the matter of ecclesiastical rents. He asked that the members of the convention suggest ways and means to adjust the difficulties in each of those important branches.

He pointed out that since 1840 a spirit of mercantile reform had developed and efforts were being made to increase business for the peninsula. Tariffs had been dropped as low as possible. But despite all efforts to stimulate it, agriculture seemed static, and more especially since exports to Veracruz, Tampico, and Tabasco had been cut down, first due to the order of February 21, 1844, and then by the American blockade. This decline had especially hit the Yucatecan distillers of aguardiente. As the public treasury depended to a large degree on imposts from commerce, it was in a precarious position.

Barret estimated that in the forthcoming year, commercial taxes and tariff might yield around 168,000 pesos. Although in 1846 the revenue from capitation taxes, the
personal contribution, had provided 288,488 pesos, in 1847 much less could be expected; political factions had exempted militia from the tax, and only about 216,000 pesos would probably be drawn from this source. Miscellaneous income—sealed paper, land sales, and the like—could be counted on for only a little over 24,000 pesos. The total estimated revenue for 1847 was 408,842.11 pesos, but expenditures were budgeted at 612,032.55; the state faced a deficit of 103,590.44 pesos. He added a few words about the necessity for maintaining a military establishment during the troubled days when the United States and Mexico were at war and Yucatan's position was not wholly clear, and touched on the position of the Church, now financially dependent on the state.

While separate commissions attacked these latter two problems, the Church and the military, a picked group met to consider the outlined financial problems. They made a preliminary report, and then a second one, based on findings of the other commissions and actions of the Assembly as a whole.

In the first, or preliminary report, there was a majority finding, and two minority recommendations. The majority stated that in its first few days it could do little but sit and contemplate the sad state of Yucatecan affairs. Then it was decided to see what economies could be made, what new revenue added. A basic decision was that additional revenue could not be raised at the expense of the natives by raising
the personal contribution rates from the current level of one and a half reales a month. To do so would "not be just, prudent, nor economical." To sustain religion among Yucatecans, it was agreed that half a real of the monthly personal contribution should go to the Church, and should be collected directly by ecclesiastical authorities. Chief budgetary slashes came at the expense of the military.

The majority also took up the matter of new revenue. They suggested a property tax that would hit those holdings with a valuation of less than two hundred pesos (Indian huts); this would be at the rate of 6.25%, while .05 pesos per hundred would be added to the current taxes on [Creole] properties above the usual minimum of two hundred pesos valuation. Further, a tax on sugar cultivation was suggested. It would be one real for each cultivated mecate, in addition to a regular alcabala, which brought the total to two. The committee members justified this suggestion by pointing out that of all Yucatecan crops, cane was the one which gave its growers the largest and quickest clear profit, more especially now that excise on distillation had recently been removed.

As another revenue-raising device, they also recommended a monthly fee of two reales on every axe used in commercial logging. This was just, they averred, because loggers ripped up state lands and destroyed its forests for private profit, without contributing a proportionate share to the public treasury for their use of the terrenos realesgos.
One of the minority statements, an individual report returned by Pedro Escudero (an old Centralist), also favored a tax on axes, but differed from the majority by advocating a raise in the personal contribution, to two reales a month. This would cover half the deficit, while inheritance taxes, an increased capital tax and similar small levies could close the remaining gap.84

Pedro de Regil, one of the most astute financiers of the time and place, similarly dissented from the majority report by separately recommending an increased personal contribution. But, and in this he was insistent, he wanted a written accord between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities by which the latter would unequivocally agree to lower their derechos de estola (baptismal and marriage fees) "which now oppress the poor citizenry, who now, being almost as numerous as the Indians, pay even more than these...."85

As may be seen, disagreement among committee members primarily arose over the question of personal contributions. The history of this particular levy has been touched on briefly in earlier pages. By the Bourbon reforms in the encomienda system, the previous community group payments in kind by natives were transmuted into individual cash payments to the Crown; vecinos had individually regularly owed various dues. After Independence and under Iturbide's Empire, inequities were levelled off by having all males, native or creole, pay a "patriotic contribution" that endured beyond Iturbide's brief imperial interlude.
In April 1824, the personal contribution for all male Yucatecans was definitively established under that name. After some changes upward and downward, in 1844 the contribution was generally two reales a month for all but a few males; some, because they were incapacitated paid nothing, while others, who had incomes of magnitude, paid double. Possibly spurred by the revolutionary programs of Campeche, which inevitably promised a reduction in the contribution to one real, and exemption for those who supported the program, the Barbañano government had in early December 1846 reduced the levy to eighteen reales a year, payable at a real and a half a month.

As already seen, for military services, usually in behalf of a partisan revolt, Indians and others were usually promised exemptions. The first such instance seems to have been in 1834, when the native troops who aided Francisco Paulo Toro to power were relieved of these payments; Iman in 1839 made similar promises, as did Barbañano and Méndez in 1843 when they needed troops and auxiliaries to combat Mexicans. Active troops paid no contribution.

At the time when the contribution had been cut to eighteen reales a year, the government was already in debt for the amount of 425,917.12 pesos, an amount piled up since 1840. To offset some of the expected loss in revenue, it had put a tax on salaries, municipal funds, a new property tax, had raised the tariff from 5% to 10% and had set a
maximum figure on public salaries of 3,000 pesos. To obtain enough funds on which to operate, the new government of Barret had resorted to a forced loan, and obtained 75,000 pesos from Yucatecans by pledging part of the customs receipts to amortize it.  

Apparently typical of the years from 1840 to 1847 was the year 1842. An annual deficit of 55,055 pesos appeared, the difference between expenditures of 561,407 and income of 506,352.94 pesos. Of the latter, personal contributions (then at one real monthly) had yielded 122,526.64 pesos. This was not materially different from 1824, when the annual income was stated to be around 550,000 pesos, 100,000 of which was derived from internal (non-commercial) sources; but at that time the military spent 400,000 of it.  

Seemingly more imaginative than correct was Sierra's statement to the U.S. Secretary of State that Yucatan, "in her days of prosperity...had an annual revenue of a million dollars, sufficient to cover all her expenses." It was an unusual year in which Yucatan had a balanced budget and a more unusual one when the income reached much more than half a million.

While the committee on public finances was busily trying to pare down military expenditures, a committee of generals was equally occupied in planning a complete and expensive renovation of the armed forces. Their report casts some light on the rather inefficient military establishment and
helps explain why, despite brave manifestos and reports of victories, Yucatecan regular troops were unable to make any impression on rebel Indians when the latter began in late 1847 to surge toward Merida. The fixed and field artillery was virtually useless as it had not been replaced since the time of colonial rule; in armament Yucatan was far behind every nation, and no equipment with modern improvements were to be found. Infantry arms "are even in a worse state." They recommended a complete replacement of these obsolescent weapons. Yucatecan cavalry and Navy were officially abolished.

That the picture they presented was not overdrawn seems indicated by independent reports of the Yucatecan military forces. Norman, in 1840, was not much impressed by the drilling and discipline of the troops, officered by the young gentlemen of Merida for parade purposes. He left a probably accurate description of a cavalry patrol:

They were headed by a small, bloody-looking Mexican, with a pair of mustachios that the proudest Castilian might have envied. He was dressed in a blue roundabout, loose white trousers, and a glazed Mexican hat. His followers were mounted upon mules of the most jaded appearance, saddled and caparisoned with manilla matting and ropes. Each wore a shirt, trousers, and a straw hat; and was barefoot, except a pair of huge spurs, which embellished the otherwise naked heel of each rider. Their usual arms were the broadsword [machete] and pistols, but this squadron was not well equipped; and the common bayonet, with them, was frequently compelled to do duty for one or both the other weapons.
At about the same time, Stephens had similar reactions of amused tolerance for the efforts of Yucatecan military men. The situation had not appreciably bettered to 1847, according to this report of the military commission at Ticul, and in February 1848, the government reported to Americans that Yucatan had only a single battalion of regular infantry and two companies of artillery, neither of which was effective. The militia was untrained and useless for protracted campaigns. American military observers were constantly amazed at the poor quality of troops and leadership, although there were obvious exceptions in individual cases. It seems quite clear that historians who talked of the lack of military tradition on Yucatan were rather well informed, and further, it seems equally evident that Creoles were not prepared to fight the Caste War themselves.

The recommendations of the ecclesiastical committee at Ticul have already been outlined above. The members felt that at least one real a month from the personal contribution should be allocated for Church purposes. This, of course, was double the figure that the financial committee was prepared to back. By giving the Church only half a real a month, the financiers felt that the treasury might even have a small favorable balance of 800 pesos. The Assembly as a whole, however, recommended to the government the ecclesiastical estimate, which meant that a deficit of at least 30,000 pesos would appear.
When the Governor and his Council of State actually did legislate on the matter, they compromised by allocating three-quarters of a real (or half the total individual tax) to meet the estimated Church expenses of 96,745 pesos a year, and in August, the old special religious tax of one real a month was levied, in addition to the regular personal contribution, but was withdrawn in January 1848. Seemingly it lasted just long enough to irritate the Indians.

After the military and the ecclesiastical committees had reported and the Assembly as a whole had discussed the various recommendations, the tangled financial problems were returned to the finance committee to be unsnarled. It gloomily reported that because some items of potential revenue had been struck out, and new expenses added they saw a minimum deficit of 10,000 pesos, and had no constructive further suggestions of how to cover it. They merely expressed the hope that income from tariff might rise and be better than expected, but if not, then civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities would have to live on patriotism, and be glad of whatever reduced sums they obtained from the overburdened treasury.

Strikingly absent from discussions of revenue and policy was any consideration of money from land sales. Presumably the resistance which had spawned the stop-laws detailed above was still sufficiently strong to remove public lands from the revenue-hungry eyes of the government or its financial
advisers. Equally important, perhaps, is the fact that no thought of cutting down state aid to education appeared, although the sums budgeted would adequately have covered the estimated deficit of 10,000 pesos, had they been withdrawn. Such is the mixed picture of Yucatecan finances and attitudes that emerged from the Extra-ordinary Assembly of Ticul, which closed its sessions in June 1847.

VI

The months from July to December 1847 were especially momentous ones for Yucatan. It was not until near the end of that year that creole Yucatecans became fully aware that they were engaged in a Caste War, as up to that time the cross-currents of factionalism and continued political instability obscured the larger issues. The political issues remained much the same as in the months preceding the Extra-ordinary Assembly at Ticul, but the actors and chief theater of events changed slightly.

The partisans of Santiago Méndez, represented in the provisional government of Domingo Barret, stood on the platform they had set forth in December 1846 and which they had established by arms in January 1847. They held that the proper course for Yucatan was neutrality in the Mexican-United States controversy, with possible annexation to the latter country, if possible. They maintained that the acts
passed by the Extra-ordinary Assembly were law, as they
had been countersigned by the executive and his council.
To legalize their position, elections were held in July
1847, and as expected, Méndez won the governorship. To
ease tensions somewhat, Miguel Barbachano was included in
the new administration, which in fact was actively guided
by a mendecista vice-governor. But although Santiago Méndez
was an important background figure, much of the developing
drama centered around the jefe político whom Barréz and he
had assigned to Valladolid. This was a military man,
Eulogio Rosado.

On their part, the barbachanistas continued to believe
that Yucatan should support the Mexican cause and that the
revolutionary government and program of the mendecistas was
an imposition. Miguel Barbachano had not been permitted to
serve out his full term, as his career as elected governor
had been interrupted by the successful coup of December 8,
1846. The principal protagonist representing barbachanista
interests was also a military figure, José Dolores Zetina
(indifferently spelled Cetina).

Almost immediately after the elections which elevated
Méndez to the governor's post in late July, Zetina raised a
revolt in Tizimin, on the 26th. His program was a familiar
one, borrowed from the previous unsuccessful try by López de
Llergo; he demanded replacement of barbachanista officials,
with Barbachano as governor; to lure supporters he promised
reductions in the personal contribution to one real, and exemption for those who enlisted as soldiers in support of his movement. He sent this demand to Rosado at Valladolid.

The latter, rather than sallying forth and giving battle to the rebels, as he had done previously, sent two commissioners with a message that the Indians were restive, and that a caste war was in progress. He pointed out that it was the plain duty of Zetina to submit to the mendecista government and present a united Creole front to the natives. Zetina was moved to comply, as events had indicated some unrest among Maya. He took his troops and rendered himself at Valladolid. This unusual manoeuvre was matched in Merida by a love feast between Barbachanista and Mendecista partisans, who swore to let by-gones be by-gones in face of a Maya "conspiracy," (to be discussed below).

Rosado left Valladolid to organize defenses around Tizimin, and in his absence Zetina filled his own ranks with Indians. In the name of Barbachano he rebelled at Valladolid. Although soundly beaten in battle with Rosado on September 27, Zetina immediately returned to Merida and proclaimed yet another revolt, on August 7. This had wide support through the Old Colonial region, and also among the troops in the East Colonial, assigned to fight the Maya. Military volunteers began to drift back from the eastern parts of the peninsula to enroll under Zetina. On August 10, the revolutionaries (as expected) proclaimed Barbachano as provisional
governor. Once again there were two governments in Yucatan, Méndez in Campeche, Barbachano in Merida.

The numerous military forces under Méndez control began to turn their attention to Zetina. His efforts had failed to achieve a desired transaction whereby Méndez would share legal authority with Barbachano, so he left Merida on October 27, ostensibly to fight Indians in the east. Méndez, firm in his conviction that he was legally master of Yucatan, issued an amnesty to Zetina and others and considered that the abortive revolt of August 7 was at an end. But on November 5, Zetina again broke out with an uprising, this time at Izamal; he proclaimed himself governor, until Barbachano could be "legally" elected. He then started toward Valladolid, in hopes of crushing any mendecista force Rosado might direct against the new eruption. On November 17, battle between the two was joined at Valladolid, and once again Zetina was routed. His ardor was not completely dampened.

He started toward Merida and enroute captured stores and ammunition in transit to Rosado. Zetina entered Merida, which was nearly undefended by mendecista troops, most of whom were supposed to be on punitive expeditions against Maya. On December 4 Zetina published his now very familiar demands, but found that public support there was not as solidly behind him as it had always been earlier. Greater issues seemed at stake.

With this in mind, Zetina first tried to arrange a transaction with Méndez, and when this failed, quietly
surrendered the city to him. At that late date, December 1847, for the first time the two factions paused long enough from their own quarrels and counter-moves to see what had occurred among the Maya in the east and south.

VII

In these struggles (from July to December) each side had regularly used Indians against the other faction, and as from as early as January 15, Indians had been killing whites (in the name of a revolutionary program). It was somewhat difficult to disentangle partisan encounters from what seemed to be a sustained effort on the part of some Maya to exterminate all whites, regardless of party affiliations. News of these disturbing incidents had filtered back to a population already in a high state of emotional tension from other reports, chiefly that eastern Maya were conspiring to annihilate white civilization. Rumor fed on rumor, so that even now to disengage allegation from fact is not always possible. Some facts were then clear, however.

On July 10, 1847, not long after the Extra-ordinary Assembly at Ticul had closed its sessions, and as the peninsula was presumably getting ready to elect a new governor, an alleged conspiracy among Maya was uncovered. According to the traditional accounts, a Creole hacendado named Miguel Gerónimo Rivero, whose property lay ten leagues south of
Valladolid, noticed that a number of Indians were carrying supplies to the rancho owned by Jacinto Pat, the cacique of Tihosuco. To ascertain the facts, which he believed suspicious, Rivero ordered a Mestizo servant to follow the natives and learn exactly what was transpiring. Soon this agent returned with the uncorroborated story that Indians were gathering there and were plotting to exterminate the Whites. Their chiefs were Bonifacio Novelo, Jacinto Pat, and Cecilio Chi. Further, they had arms sent them from British Honduras. Frightened by this tale, Rivero did not pause to check it further, but moved his family away, and hurried to Valladolid to break the news to Balagio Rosado, the District jefe político there.

A second independent incident seemed to strengthen the first story. Manuel Antonio Ay, cacique of the Indian village of Chichimilá (just outside Valladolid) was drinking in the public house run by the creole alcalde, Antonio Rajon. From his hat, while drunk, Ay let drop a letter, supposed to be from Cecilio Chi. The letter, written in Spanish, said among other vague things, "it is my intent to attack Tihosuco," and asked Ay to name the day on which he was going to come down there and aid. Rajon reported this incident to Rosado. The jefe político lost no time in taking direct action. He had Manuel Ay and three other Indians arrested and brought to Valladolid, and sent Antonio Trujeque and another officer south to capture Jacinto Pat and Cecilio Chi.
In the investigation of Ay's affairs, some papers were said to have come to light which listed sums of money contributed by Maya, and the names of others. Ay tried to explain that the lists and money were connected with a forthcoming political revolt that was going to reduce the monthly contribution to one real, and that he was merely depository for the money collected by a Secundino Loria (a Mestizo?). The latter denied any connection either with Ay or the money, and claimed he was only an unwilling captive taken by the Maya on January 15. These data were placed before a military tribunal, which ordered Ay shot on July 25, 1847.

A touching bit of death-scene rhetoric was placed in his mouth by reporters. Purportedly it was a final statement to his son which started out, "I am going to die, my lad, because unwisely I became involved in a great war against the whites, a war whose final consequences will continue until who knows what point...." The Maya of the other barrios of Valladolid were called together to witness the execution in that of Santa Ana. Ay's body was left on view in an open coffin, in the hamlet of Chichimilá. The informers, Rajon and Loria, required a cavalry escort to Valladolid. Very few of the letters said to have been exchanged between Ay and Chí were offered in evidence or have since been found.98

Meantime, Trujeque had a difficult and unpleasant task.
The alleged conspirator, he and Jacinto Pat were old companions-in-arms. They had fought together in the revolution of 1840 and in the campaign against Mexico in 1843. Trujeque was ordered to bring him and Cecilio Chi to Valladolid for a "trial." As he neared the area, he met Pat but did not capture him, but continued on to Tihosuco. From there, Trujeque sent word to Chi, in Tepich, that he should come to Tihosuco regarding an official matter; this seems to have been a device to permit the Indian leader to make his escape, as normally in such cases every effort would have been made to surround the town in which the wanted person was to be found. Rather than taking to flight, however, Chi apparently determined to kill Trujeque and take Tihosuco. This was the tale taken to the latter by a Creole.

The officer determined then to complete his mission. He started toward Tepich; on arriving there he found the Indian leader gone. Trujeque had been accompanied by a small contingent of troops, augmented by a number of Creoles from Tihosuco. In the search for Chi, these persons sacked the Indian huts, and allegedly killed a girl of twelve or fourteen years old, after raping her. This occurred July 28, three days after Ay had been shot at Valladolid. Trujeque left some arms with the Creole inhabitants of Tepich, in order that they might protect themselves against Chi if he returned, and then Trujeque departed.

En route to Tihosuco, Trujeque picked up a number of
Maya as his prisoners. Creoles denounced them as "conspirators." Five of these Maya were shot without trial, at Tihosuco. This occurred on July 30. On the same day, Cecilio Chí reappeared in his town of Tepich. He and his followers in revenge for the previous happenings, the sack and rape, killed twenty-five or thirty families of Creoles; one white person escaped the slaughter, to carry news of the disaster to Valladolid.

July 30, 1847 is usually taken as the opening date of the Caste War because it was the day that Tepich was burned by Chí. Part of the tradition which fixes on this among the numerous possible dates arises from the great publicity given the occurrence by politicians in Mérida and Campeche, as Rosado immediately notified the government. Barret (who was acting governor until Congress in September officially announced the election of Méndez) issued a decree which called on all to lay aside factional differences and to unite and fight together for "the holy cause of order, of humanity, of civilization," against this conspiracy of the Maya. For a short while unity did reign; this was the love feast mentioned above. As seen, it did not last. Before the ephemeral unity evaporated, the shock caused by news of Chí's action at Tepich brought forth a number of responses.

One was that "conspiracies" or "the conspiracy" were found all over Yucatan. To uncover one seemed the height
of fashion, and the fad resulted in the death of many native caciques, many of whom "confessed" after torture. Possibly the most famous, and unjust, summary execution and trial involved Francisco Uc, cacique of the barrio of Merida known as Santiago. He was accused of fomenting a plot to wipe out the whites of Merida; his accuser was a nephew who apparently coveted some property. Despite the general reputation for honesty and the respect paid him by vecinos of Merida, Uc and lesser Maya were tried and condemned. Execution soon followed. A reign of terror against Maya officials presents a number of similar cases.100

Not all Yucatecans were carried away on the tide of emotionalism. There were contemporary doubts about a widespread subversive native conspiracy. The editors of the Revista Yucateca enrolled themselves among those who doubted the extent and danger of the purported plot, but added that they also could be counted in the other camp, too. They averred that the known facts about Maya made it improbable that an extensive cooperation had been set up, but that within the bounds of possibility was a small perhaps regional working arrangement; if this were found to be the case, obviously simple and necessary would be quick and decisive action to nip it in the bud.

Periodicals at Campeche scoffed at the idea that any conspiracies at all existed except in the minds of nervous partisans of Barbachano. The Amigo de Pueblo stated that
Yucatecans were unduly perturbed, and had worked themselves into such a frenzy that they were prone to see "a conspirator in every drunken Indian, and an emissary in every wanderer." Rumors of a plot had been afoot as early as April 1847, Heller found from a priest at Becal. Another common explanation, which side-stepped the conspiracy theory, was that partisan leaders, especially *barbahantas*, had begun to organize a counter-revolution to oust the *mendicistas*, and in so doing organized the Maya. Local chroniclers have tried to deny this charge. As mentioned in Chapter Two, these two strands have been interwoven — conspiracy and political chicanery — to account for the outbreaks.

The actual evidence for an Indian conspiracy is at present practically nil. There seems abundant data, however, to indicate that under various pressures the Maya were restive and dissatisfied. The demands they made in the Treaty of Tzucacab, summarized at the opening of this chapter, particularized these diverse grievances. There is insufficient information to determine how much the partisan intrigues carried on by one or the other major political group influenced the outbreak of the Caste War. The major fact is that the several economic and social developments that created the atmosphere in which partisanship and factionalism was almost inevitable were not the work of one man, one party, or even a coterie of factions, but were the
cumulative results of change that had started in the late eighteenth century. To single out a specific group for responsibility and culpability is not only unwise, but has little historical justification.

The fact that many Yucatecans believed in the conspiracy, and that from a number of other tensions the general atmosphere was a tense one, led to a violent response beyond the discovery of new "conspiracies." The peninsula was placed under martial law, and soon the legislators attempted to install all the known social controls over Indians by officially returning them from citizenship to a state of colonial tutelage. The "ancient laws" were revived on August 27, 1847. This was the answer to a question asked by a journalist, "without money, without troops, with commerce paralyzed, with agriculture abandoned, and the country menaced with an uprising forecast by acts as horrible as those of Tepich, what will the government do?"

The repressive act of August 1847 stripped citizenship from the Maya, and characterized them as "offensive to society." For the common good and their own best interests, the government argued that all natives should be constantly and usefully employed at tasks that corresponded to their low intellectual and moral capacity. All the trappings of the old Hapsburg and Bourbon days were re-instituted to carry this policy into effect.

The republicas de indígenas were altered in detail to give the cacique more power, but the former prescription
that the post should be filled by a Maya was changed to permit only Creoles or Mestizos to qualify. The older institutions of the *juez español*, large social and political power in the hands of the *cura* or his minister, and even the colonial Indian Tribunal (with its Protector, Defensor, scribe, and interpreters) re-emerged. To support the Tribunal, a *real* a year was levied on each Indian. This sum was in addition to the regular personal contribution of a *real* and a half monthly, a new impost of a *real* a month for religious dues.

District and partido *jefes políticos* were invested with large powers to carry out the policy. They were responsible for supervising the ecclesiastical teaching and preaching, and especially to see that no vagrancy or laziness occurred among Maya. The latter were stripped of all weapons, but were allowed to retain their machetes and hoes. Perhaps patterned on some of the more hypocritical Hapsburg *cádulas*, the nineteenth century law piously advised the *jefes* to counsel and reason with Indians, but if this did not "suffice to make them docile and submissive, [authorities] will employ prudent correctives, suited to [Maya] nature and customs."

Translated from the jargon, this meant beat them.

There was contemporary criticism of this extreme measure. In a series of comments, Vicente Calero pointed out some of its obviously unattractive implications. Not only was such an ordinance difficult to enforce, but it made no
concession to the actual social distance which many Indians had come since Independence. "Their ancient habits are dormant and their customs almost forgotten; the clergy, who is supposed to have such a large part in their management, in their government, as it is called in this country, is now without prestige and without authority." He thought it completely unjust to accuse Indians of barbarity when the whites thrust themselves into Indian huts, robbed the natives, and misused their wives and daughters; consistently in favor of punishing guilty Indians by due process of law, he saw no need to "oppress and vex the innocent." His type of thinking eventually prevailed. When emotion died somewhat, though, it was already too late.

As part of a policy looking toward a negotiated peace, some of the most oppressive measures of the law were repealed in the following January. Meantime, two general consequences had flowed from this and other legislation which forced all natives into the same stereotype and punished innocent as well as "guilty" Maya: repression tended only to convince some of the Indians further that Whites aimed to exterminate them, and secondly, it helped swell the ranks of Zetina's forces, whose programs denied the right of a mendicista Congress to legislate.

For those natives who took the first view, the distraction among creole troops by political revolutions was an aid to their taking and usually destroying Creole places—haciendas, villages, even larger communities. For the perhaps
more moderate Maya, protection offered by a revolutionary slogan sanctioned the use of these same means, but toward a different end. By aiding Zetina place Barbachano in the governor’s chair, they could claim their reward by demanding the withdrawal of this oppressive law. The confusion of goals among Maya persisted until the irreconcilables, a minority, were forced back by military pressure of a somewhat united Yucatan, one that employed professional troops, Americans, then Mexicans.

VIII

When did the Caste War really begin? Any answer is a disputable one. It must rest on a definition of what the Caste War was and an interpretation of contradictory information. If it was a struggle in which all the Maya agreed to exterminate all the non-Maya on Yucatan, then it probably did not begin at all. At no point in the events from 1847 onward was there unanimity among natives. Many willingly sided with the government to combat the Indians whom the latter claimed were in revolt. The loyal Maya have received the title of hidalgues in local history, and there is even a monument to their memory in Merida.

If the Caste War is considered to be a loosely connected series of assaults that developed from the period in which Maya first killed creoles on a fairly large scale,
the action at Valladolid on January 15, 1847 merits attention. It will be recalled that the attack on that place was an attempt by mendocistas to establish their revolutionary government according to the program announced December 8, 1846. Antonio Trujeque headed a small contingent of rebel militia, which had rather small hope of dislodging the barbahanistas garrison in the center of the city. But his forces were augmented by a number of Indians, especially from the barrios of Valladolid, as well as by some mestizos from the area. When the city was taken finally, it was sacked and a number of atrocities committed, presumably by the victors.

Barbachano and his followers immediately claimed that the Indians under Trujeque's direction had raised the cry of race war, and asked for an investigation. After this was made, in the consequent report, the fact of the atrocities was established, but, said this admittedly political document, depositions of eye-witnesses did not "contain a single word...by which it was stated that the Indians who formed part of Sr. Trujeque's forces killed all the whites in Valladolid and killed them for the sole reason of their being whites."106

Although pro-Barbachano in most respects, Serapio Baqueiro makes a telling case for clearing Trujeque of responsibility for starting the Caste War by inciting Maya to wipe out the creoles of the center at Valladolid. Both
Ancona and Baqueiro agree that local tensions between the inhabitants of the center, and the Indians in the barrios and surrounding villages were given release through the sack of Valladolid. Although it was a struggle of creole against Maya, it was particular individual creoles and specific, local Maya, over local questions. It was an early case of a more general situation later in the year where many local frictions worked themselves out under the guise of a short-lived "revolution." That seems to be one of the functions of "revolution" in Mexico.

From the Maya point of view, and from any other, the shooting of Ay on July 25, 1847 could be cited as an act which set in motion events leading to the larger conflagration, which developed fully in 1848. The first rape of Indians at Tepich by forces headed by Trujeque is an equally good date, July 28. The traditional July 30, signalized by Trujeque's shooting of Maya hostages and Cecilio Chi's raid of revenge has much to recommend it, but is but one among many. Nearly any of the pronouncements of Zetina would do as well.

Officially, provisional governor Barret's manifesto of unity in face of a large Indian uprising, dated August 5, 1847 marks the placing of the war on a formal, bi-partisan, creole basis. The repressive measures crystallized into law on August 27, when the ancien régime was exhumed, seem also to designate a significant turning point: it denied to Maya
the right to revolt, the *de facto* if not *de jure* privilege of a Yucatecan citizen, and acted less as an extinguisher than as a bellows. Certainly by December 6, Maya and creole alike seemed rather generally to realize that something big was afoot. It was not a barracks uprising, ended by an amnesty after a few shots had been fired.

Each group, as is customary, blamed the causes on the other. The Maya were said to be aiming at political and social hegemony, obtainable only after Whites had been cleared away from the ancient soil of Mayab; Whites felt they were defending not only their lives, but civilization against a regression to barbarism.

The armed Maya, on their part, consistently claimed that they were also fighting a defensive war, against extermination by Whites who had taken the first steps in aggression. Before innumerable and rather well authenticated atrocities on each side had obscured the original issues and before the Caste War had evolved into a series of life-or-death issues, a typical Maya view was set forth in a manifesto signed by the caciques Manuel Ay (whose death was one of the precipitating episodes to the all-out struggle) and Hyacinth Canek, whose name unfortunately brought to the fore all the emotional forces interwoven with memories of the uprising of 1761, also headed by a Canek. On September 3, 1847 they jointly wrote:
We poor Indians are aware of what the Whites are doing to injure us, how many evils they commit against us, even to our children and harmless women. So much injury, without basis, seems to us a crime. Indeed, therefore, if the Indians revolt, it is because the Whites gave them reason: because the Whites say they do not believe in Jesus Christ, because they have burned the milpas. They have thus given just cause for the reprisals of the Indians, whom they themselves have killed. When this happened we were certain that they had begun war to take life. But even these things now that they have begun will not discourage us, even if they last twelve years and always go against us, for we are God's sacrifices. They will have to say whether God gave them permission to slaughter us all, and that we have no will in the matter, as Juan Vásquez started to do. He deceived us, and after he had betrayed us, started anew to kill us. Therefore, if we die at the hands of the Whites, patience. The Whites think that these things are all ended, but never. It is so written in the Book of Chilam Balam, and so even has said Jesus Christ, our Lord on earth and beyond, that if the Whites will become peaceful so shall we become peaceful.
The Dream:
"If I were trying to write a book for the luxury trade, with illustrations, then I would engrave beautiful plates on which would be represented steamships, workers levelling the ground and laying planks for railroads...towns springing out of the soil and dedicating themselves to its immediate improvement; rooms filled with children of both sexes learning to read and write, workers and artisans with their tools in one hand, a periodical in the other...."

Lorenzo de Zavala, *Viaje a los Estados Unidos del Norte de América* (1834), p.89.

The Reality (1849):
"Yucatan is completely spent and exhausted of resources. There is no landed property. Commerce languishes. Industry has died, as every hand devoted to it is in the military campaign. Our brave men tire and perish. Our ranks are depleted. There is no way or possibility of relieving or giving a rest to the corps under arms. War continues; the barbarous Indians do not come to terms -- what can be done?"

*El Fénix*, #49, July 1, 1849.
Perhaps the one most general conclusion which emerges from the lengthy treatment above is that the so-called War of the Castes in Yucatan had a complex origin. The precipitating episodes in 1847 were chiefly political, but the factionalism among creole Yucatecans did not itself create the underlying conditions and situations that gave rise to the struggles. The view that has been maintained throughout these pages is perhaps most simply put by stating that the Caste War was an unfortunate end-product of a number of dynamic tendencies which were transforming Yucatan throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. These were the results of a major shift in thought and attitudes, one that had begun to manifest itself openly in the late eighteenth. Accompanying the change in the climate of opinion were substantive alterations in nearly all phases of Yucatecan life — social, economic, intellectual. The idea of Progress set the new goals and provided a justification for them, as well as sketching some of the means by which they could be attained. The peculiar localism of Yucatan gave Progress there a unique tinge.

Briefly, the doctrine of progressivism which is clearly apparent in some instances, more covert in others, implied
that Yucatan was capable of becoming a self-respecting unit in the modern world by the associated efforts of its inhabitants. Undoubtedly imported in the first place, the idea took root and even began to alter Yucatan before the close of the eighteenth century. It is worthy of note that many of the reforms and innovations sketched earlier were carried out by men who had grown to maturity in the period around the turn of the century. The political consequence of the newer view of destiny for man and society was Independence, in 1821.

In a sense it was a means to an end, not the end itself. Unhampered by regulation from above, Yucatecans felt freer to carry forward plans already sketched out. These might well have been pushed even within the imperial framework, for as seen, the actual issue of political independence was a relatively minor one so far as the Yucatecan peninsula was concerned. Previous experience had indicated that appropriate lobbying and various pressures usually permitted local interests to dominate actual operations there, whoever the nominal ruler might be, and whatever the official policy might prescribe.

Plans for improved transportation and communication systems, for public education, for economic expansion by exploitation of new crops (especially henequén), and for a number of other developments that became realities after Independence had been discussed in detail during the late
colonial regime. A brief interlude from 1808 to 1814 allowed some experimentation, but the chief bursts of activity followed actual independence in 1821. Generally speaking, the decade from 1820 to 1830 saw renewed planning in the face of concrete situations, while many of the colonial doctrines and practices still held sway; the following decade brought some of the plans to fruition, but they tended to climax between 1840 and 1850. That latter span encompassed a literary and cultural renaissance, a political drive toward Yucatecan autonomy, a final assertion of civil over ecclesiastical authority, the maximum expansion of a new hacienda economy based on sugar cultivation and the first ponderable results of a transitional henequén industry. The "secularization" of thought was a principal feature.

Collaterally and connected with these several developments were others. An expanding and rather mobile population created a number of problems, administrative and economic. The former were simpler to solve than the latter, which impinged on land use and the stability of the labor force needed as the mainstay of hacienda economy. Most important of all, perhaps, was the emergence of a new region beyond the previous frontiers of continuous settlement. Earlier economic and political balances had attained a workable though somewhat uneasy equilibrium among the zones focussed respectively at Merida, Campeche, and Valladolid,
though decline in the latter had already begun in the last eighteenth century.

To these three colonial areas of importance was now joined a new and still somewhat amorphous region centering at Tekax. It was expanding rapidly toward the south and east, and had virtually reached the limit of habitable areas by 1847. In the wake of the moving population line were dropped the sugar haciendas which consolidated the advance. Lesser in intensity and importance was a somewhat similar development northward and eastward from Espita. Both these spearheads of the new Yucatecan civilization entered areas inhabited by Maya whose contacts with Spanish creole ways were less extensive and less frequent than were those of natives to the west in what have here been termed the Old Colonial and West Coast sections, at Merida and at Campeche. New population and new communities, civil and hacienda, created needs and aspirations reflected in changing land legislation; laws discriminated in favor of creole entrepreneurs and against the smaller native clusters, traditionally proprietors of considerable tracts to which they could show no legal title.

The emergent regionalism also had social, and especially psychological, implications. The two fully sophisticated areas, Old Colonial and the West Coast, were rivals in literary and artistic spheres, but were competitors for political and social hegemony. Such rivalry acted as mutual stimulation
toward beneficial endeavors, while the competition tended to increase regional self-consciousness. Divergent economic interests had already existed, but were accentuated by developments after independence, when the henequén from the Old Colonial went beyond Cuba (a traditional outlet) to New York, when the hope of a strong and friendly Mexican national government was one of Campeche's few hopes for revival of its older industry of ship-building; such a government would also act as an advocate for Campeche to obtain favorable trade terms abroad (a needed aid to an ailing logwood trade), and would assure continued high returns from salt exports to Mexican Gulf ports. Economic questions revived and sharpened the old feuds over regional prestige; they narrowed the bases on which political compromises could be made, and ultimately in 1858 led to the de facto and then the de jure separation of the two areas into separate states within the Mexican framework.

Neither of the eastern sections, East Colonial or the Borderlands, aspired openly to social or political hegemony, or shared fully all the trends which characterized the western half of Yucatan. Each, however, played an important role after Independence because of the form and direction that changes were taking there. These changes were differential.

The area around Valladolid was not swerved much from the declining course the region had begun to follow after Bourbon and other reforms had begun seriously to undermine the
A different set of circumstances appeared in the Borderlands. There a whole series of new elements appeared and interacted. As a frontier area it siphoned from the older places the more enterprising population, Maya and Creole, as well as an increasing amount of the scarce capital
obtainable on the peninsula. On the one hand this altered
the political, and certainly the economic, balances that
had existed at time of Independence, and on the other posed
a whole series of problems locally. The scattered and some-
what sparse native population was vitally affected; in gen-
eral to them was offered the alternative of fleeing, or
becoming fixed as a labor force on the encroaching haciendas.
A third choice was to repel intrusion by force.

Current opinion in Yucatan strongly backed the idea
that the lands held by such scattered groups was better
utilized by commercial production of sugar and that it was
the manifest duty of the state to encourage and extend spe-
cial concessions to entrepreneurs there. The Maya had little
or no legal redress for what they might consider usurpation,
even had they been accustomed or willing to employ constitu-
tional and legal methods in protest. Friction between natives
and Creoles was not necessarily a consequence of planned
exploitation by the latter, but arose from a complex combina-
tion of issues.

On the one side, Creoles possibly sincerely felt a
"mission" to civilize and reduce to control a group of re-
latively unassimilated Maya, for the greater glory of a new
Yucatan. That their economic self-interest and need for
labor coincided with this latter ideal lent it a force and
fervor of extraordinary power. The combined pressures,
patriotic and particular, over-rode the warnings and advice
of the more moderate. Sanctioned by a respectable and responsible body of opinion, a frontier element of irresponsible settlers (such as those at Iturbide) took fullest advantage of it to exploit and oppress local native populations.

Thus from Independence to 1847 a number of developments had occurred among the Creoles. With traditional extrapeninsular authority removed in displacement of the Crown by local Creole groups (who only occasionally recognized Mexico's rights and limited them), special interests struggled for supremacy. These interests were several: regional, economic, and to a lesser degree, social (as between the older subsistence-hacienda classes and the newer merchant-entrepreneur groups).

Early agreement on general objectives gave way to discord over foreign and domestic policies, symbolized and channeled by the crystallization of two major political groupings after 1840, and more especially following 1845. Within each party were dissident factions representing an emergent and changing spectrum of interests. When in power, either was handicapped in effectiveness by internal dispute over a satisfactory program, and a chronic shortage of public funds. As interests proliferated, waned, or increased with population movement, growth of one or another industry and general decline of the colonial ones, political bargaining deteriorated in the hands of particularistic factions generally unwilling to compromise.
It seems necessary to point out that these partisan ends had meaning in terms of Creole aspirations. All political activity was not a series of personal quarrels and feuds. To capture the government was not the ultimate goal in itself, or at least not the exclusive object of political action. Both the internal and external situation of Yucatan was affected by the basic policies espoused by each of the parties. The one pointed Yucatan's "foreign" policy to the Gulf area for reciprocal trade advantages with Mexico, which in turn depended on practically free use of state public lands for logging, cheap land sales to the sugar hinterland in the Borderlands behind Campeche, stabilization of a native labor force by law (in areas where custom had not rooted them), a minimum or no export tax on sugar, salt, and logwood, with high protection on sugar and tobacco.

The northern half of the peninsula was, except for a peculiar political transaction that linked its party to Santa Anna (in 1846 a Federalist), less concerned with close bonds between Yucatan and the national governments on the Mexican plateau. Trade flowed normally to Cuba, and later, to New York, with increasingly closer social and intellectual ties with those places. The traditional land policy of virtually free use of public lands at nominal rental for grazing was not affected by the rise of henequén; surrounded by a relatively docile and more acculturated native labor force whose duties and privileges had been
defined and backed by generations of tradition, the older (and even the new) entrepreneurs of the Old Colonial area could support milder measures relating to native populations, and could even logically appear as their champion; divisions over internal policies, however, were probably more numerous than in the south, but did not take the extremist forms apparent in the east.

At the same time that economic and political issues were given free play, as offshoots of the same drives came removal or weakening of colonial balances and checks. Most notable of these was loss of Church power and prestige. Rather than an intermediate instrument potentially and practically (even because of its selfish ends) the champion of natives, the ecclesiastical institution at first was party to factional fights, then virtually eliminated as a unit. However, the individuals who composed it were active. Almost as a means of survival, personal and institutional, they turned to natives as a source of income and power, in opposition to the stated views of the civil government. Rather than an aid to social control, as in earlier days, the Church was a rival and competitor, especially after 1840. Original disorganization following expulsion of regulars at time of Independence was not repaired in the decades which followed, but was increased through the peculiar status of the Bishop at Mérida.

The special legislation and agencies created by the
Crown to handle Indian affairs also disappeared after 1821. However ineffective it may have been earlier, the ameliorative influence of protective laws administered by the Tribunal of Indians was removed. Only the repressive features of colonial legislation remained on the statute books. Opinion in Yucatan was somewhat divided about the nature and future of the Indians. In the reforms of 1840 the most optimistic view prevailed, and was written into the code granting them citizenship and limited suffrage. Though possibly intellectually prepared to carry through this commitment, Creoles in general were emotionally incapable of expunging from their habits of thought and action the inheritance of the past which had as a premise that Maya were servile and lower beings.

By inference and by direct evidence, the mounting psychological tensions on the peninsula after 1845 were a potent element in the outbreak of the Caste War in 1847. Literary efforts that kept alive the fears of an Indian revolt such as that of 1761 were common, but more important, in the fluid and changing situation of mid-century Yucatan hardly a group of Creoles felt emotionally secure. Political and economic threats to livelihood, prestige, even fundamental values, hedged almost every action. Frustrations and barriers to achievement pressed from all sides, especially as the enormous gaps between the real and the ideal Yucatan were contemplated. The cumulative effect of
individual discontent and partial failure apparently was sufficient to create a condition of strain that supercharged the atmosphere with distrust and suspicion. In such a diffuse context perspectives were considerably warped, and cool logic inhibited. The violent, almost hysterical response, to the news of events at Tepich on July 30, 1847 seems explicable in these terms.

Discontent and somewhat indefinite fears of an Indian uprising were matched by dissatisfactions and equally strong distrust of Creole actions and motives by Maya, especially those in the east and south. Despite the fact that perhaps as many natives were sacrificed as "examples" in the Old Colonial region during the reign of terror in the autumn of 1847, the mass of natives did not revolt. On the edges of the Old Colonial -- in the Borderlands and East Colonial -- groups of natives had specific and concrete grievances: land grabbing, exorbitant Church fees, broken promises about personal taxes, levies on milpas and the actual destruction of milpas, an attempt to deprive them of arms (needed by many for hunting), and to a lesser degree, complaints about the peonage system.

Added to these were personal abuses and even fatalities at the hands of individual Creoles. These increased in number, intensity, and brutality after Maya took reprisal. Repressive measures passed from individual to official hands, partly as a political device to resolve disunity among
factions, partly from the genuine fear that Yucatan was threatened with the long-feared mass revolt, partly from lack of alternative policies. Yucatan had drifted into the Caste War.

II

Behind the secondary developments represented by a changing regional scene, an altered political outlook, an economic system in travail, the cultural renaissance that bloomed after 1830, lay a major and primary shift which apparently occurred in the late eighteenth century.

It was a change to, or rather perhaps the introduction of, new ideals. Here they have been summed up (but not defined) as a spirit of progress. Why and how it came about has not been established, but its manifestations are seen at every hand in the period from perhaps 1825 onward. Two significant legacies were left by the "progressive" men who came to maturity from 1830 to 1845: the one was a solid and important series of pioneer efforts in intellectual, social, and to some degree, economic endeavors that have left their marks even on present-day Yucatan, and the other was the Caste War, whose final sparks have not been extinguished even yet.
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Chapter One, #9 - #19


15. Steggerda, Indians, pp. 103-35.

16. Redfield and Villa, Chan Itza, pp. 127-69; Augusto Pérez Toro, La milpa (Merida, 1942), pp. 22-52, 43-44; Villa, Quintana Roo, pp. 97-151, and esp. Fig. 6 (p. 78) "Yearly round of activities in Tusik.

17. Redfield, Folk culture, p. 5.


Chapter One, 20 - 27


23. Even on busy house quen haciendas in 1861, water was still drawn by hand. P. A. Obor, Travels in Mexico and life among the Mexicans (Boston, 1909), p. 62; by 1908 travelers reported, "merida might well be called the 'city of windmills.'" On each side of the train you see the horizon literally crowded with air motors...there are in Yucatan's capital 6,000 of these eyesores," Channing Arnold and Frederick J. T. Frost, The American Egypt, a record of travel in Yucatan (New York, 1909), p. 59. The first steel windmill was erected March 30, 1880, Gabriel Ferrer do M., Muestra olvidada de Yucatan (1642-1938) (Mérida, 1958), p. 8.


28. Stephens, Central America, II, 227-32, 280, et passim. A conservative and careful man, he wrote, "It is my belief that among the whole mass of what are called Christianized Indians there is not at this day one solitary tradition which can shed a ray of light upon any event in their history that occurred one hundred and fifty years from the present time; in fact I believe it would be almost impossible to procure any information of any kind beyond the memory of the oldest living Indian," Yucatan, II, 446.
Chapter One, #26 - #33


Chapter One, \#34 - \#39

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35. Francisco de Oviedo Valenzuela, Relation historial eelestalités de la provincia de Yucatán de la nueva Española escrita en el año de 1539 (Mexico, 1857), pp. 112-13; Roys, 614, p. 44-45; and his "The enquisne system in Yucatan," Colonial Background, pp. 129-71.


Chapter One, 40 - 46

40. Valera and Javier de Corres, "Discurso," loc. cit., 20. They were, however, afraid that Indians could be roused by unfriendly nations if Yucatan was invaded. For data on Oistain revolt of 1761, see below, Chapter Three, Note 41, and esp. Sierra, "Consideraciones etc." El Fénix, §63-72 (Sept. 10 - Oct. 2, 1849).

41. "Reglamento provisional, o reflexiones instructivas...por la que S. M. ordena se incorporen a su Real Corona...todas las encomiendas de índios de esta provincia de Yucatan y la de Tabasco," (June 28, 1786), Archivo General de la Nación, Boletín, IX (Oct. 1898), 597-608, speaks of "una provincia tan dilatada como la de Yucatan" (p. 605). Lieutenant [James] Cook, Remarks on a passage from the River Bailee...to Merida...in February and March, 1766 (London, 1769); Muriel Haas, Remarks...by Lt. Cook, a facsimile of the original with perspective (New Orleans, 1955), in which Lt. Cook is correctly identified and distinguished from Capt. James Cook, explorer of the Pacific.

42. Tomas Anzar Barbachano and Juan Carbó, Memoria sobre la conveniencia, utilidad y necesidad de origin constitucionalmente en estado de la confederacion mexicana al antiguo distrito de Campeche (Mexico, 1861), pp. 12-15; Pedro Manuel Regil, Memoria instructiva sobre el comercio general de la provincia de Yucatan, y particular del puerto de Campeche (Madrid, 1814) pp. 7-8; ibid., El Fénix 70 (Dec. 1, 1849) - 71 (Dec. 26, 1849); Hussey, Corames Companys, p. 230.


44. Boharuco, "Cuadro estadístico...1814," esp. "Comercio" (Fénix, §22-22, Feb. 23 - Mar. 1, 1849) and "Clases de elaboración" (ibid., §22-22, Mar. 10-15, 1849); Regil, Memoria...sobre comercio; Oswaldo Escambray Anduze, la ciudad heroica: historia de Valladolid (Merida, 1944), pp. 227-41; Justo Sierra, "Algunas observaciones sobre el proyecto del aruazol," El Fénix, §1-5 (Nov. 1-10, 1849); "Reglamento...para la plenifización del comercio libre, con las potencias amigas y neutrales (6 de abril de 1849)," Anales, Historia, IV, 499-506.

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49. "Cuatro de los indios de Calkini, por falta de tierras para labranza, 1818" (Eli, Alfredo Sarría Vázquez Collection); Sierra, "Consideraciones," Passim; Ancona, Historia, III, 28-36; draws heavily on Sierra and a work I have not seen, José Martínez de la Pedrera, Idea de la esclavitud de Yucatán en el gobierno de los reyes (Madrid, 1816).


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53. "Estado general de la población de la Provincia de Yucatán por el año de 1798," Documentos para la historia de Yucatán, III 99; Archivo de la Historia, I, 257-10.

54. Figures for 1772 given in Echávarro, "Cuadro estadístico...1814," El Fénix, #22 (Feb. 15, 1840); for 1784, "Estado expreso de las jurisdicciones y pueblos de la intendencia de Mérida de Yucatán, número de habitantes...con su resumen al fin de todas ellas," Archivo de la Historia, I, 207-47.

55. Valera and Javier de Corres, "Discurso," loc. cit., p. 49; "Reglamento provisional...por la que se trata de incorporar...les encomiendas," loc. cit., p. 608; Harbold, Estad. II, 533-54; Echávarro, "Cuadro estadístico...1814," El Fénix, #28 (Feb. 16, 1849).


57. Cooke, "Yucatán...1765," pp. 50-52; Royo, Titles of Spanish, 45-46, 145, and his Colonial background, pp. 154-61 at passim, to p. 171; Valera and Javier de Corres, "Discurso," loc. cit., p. 49; Arts. 11-14, "Translation of the Ordinance of Intendents for New Spain," Fisher, Intendant system, 108-111. The Tribunal was composed of a Defender and Protector of Indians, an administrative agent (procurador), a lawyer, two interpreters, and a scribe or clerk (secretario); "vecinos españoles y pardos," were grouped by partido, under a sub-delegado, so that between them and Indians, "en lo governativo había una total separación de cuerpos." Echávarro, Apuntaciones, p. 15. In most of the communities where the two were mixed, Indians did not get to be regidores but did hold "las varas de alcaldes" after Art. 310 went into effect, ibid. Sierra, "Consideraciones," El Fénix, #64 (July 25, 1940) gives data on suppression of Indian Tribunal.

59. Ancona, Historia, III, 5-19; "Periodicos: Curiosa relacion, por orden cronologico de todos los que se han publicado en Yucata, desde que se establecio la libertad de la prensa etc.," Registro yucateco, 1 (1846), 233-37; "Proyecto para importar una imprenta en esta ciudad," (Dec. 2, 1845), Francisco Almaz, Anales historicos de Campeche, 1812-1910 (2 vols., Merida, 1912), I, 20-26; J. T. Medina, La imprenta en Yucatán (1813-1921), notas bibliograficas (Santiage de Chile, 1904); Merya Priego de Argentina, "Datos para la historia del primer siglo de la imprenta," Revista de bibliografia yucateca, #3 (Dec. 31, 1936), 1-16; Antonio Canto López, "Algunos datos sobre la introduccion y primeros anos de la imprenta y del periodismo en Yucatán," ibid., #9 (Sept. 1939), 6-17, and his "Reseña de la historia de los primeros anos de la imprenta y del periodismo en Yucatán," ibid., #16 (Jan. 1943), 3-13; A. Barroso Viáquez, "Apuntes para la historia del periodismo yucateco," ibid., #10 (Nov. 1939), 2-5; Juan de D. Pérez Gallo, "La introduccion de la imprenta en Campeche, gobierno de Campeche, Gobierno de Campeche, Cuaderno núm. 4 (Campeche, 1942); many of these early periodicals are reproduced in the excellent summary of Ricardo López Méndez, "La imprenta en Yucatán," IV Centenario de la imprenta en México, la primera en América (Mexico, 1939), pp. 177-224.

60. Ancona, Historia, III, 130-62; Castillo, Diccionario histórico, pp. 52-63.


63. Pedro Delio and Policarpo A. de Echánove, "Examen instructivo de los fondos de medio real de ministros y comunidades de indios de la provincia de Yucatán en su teoría principal de Mérida, abril 22 de 1813," El Fénix 1849); "La república de indios de Yucatán," ibid., #16 (Jan. 1849), 3-15; A. Barroso Viáquez, "Apuntes para la historia del periodismo yucateco," ibid., #10 (Nov. 1939), 2-5; Juan de D. Pérez Gallo, "La introduccion de la imprenta en Campeche, gobierno de Campeche, Gobierno de Campeche, Cuaderno núm. 4 (Campeche, 1942); many of these early periodicals are reproduced in the excellent summary of Ricardo López Méndez, "La imprenta en Yucatán," IV Centenario de la imprenta en México, la primera en América (Mexico, 1939), pp. 177-224.

64. "Real obligación de 7 de enero 1813 sobre repartimiento de tierras a los militares y a los ciudadanos que necesitan de este recurso para subsistir," Archivo General (Mexico), Boletín, XIII (Oct. 1943), 604-609; Ancona, Historia, III, 50-55.

65. "Instrucciones que la diputación provincial de Yucatán dio a los Sres. Diputados que eligió la provincia para concurrir a las cortes generales y ordinarias de la monarquía en los años de 1821 y 1822," El Fénix, #20-22 (Mar. 25 - Apr. 5, 1849); budget also reprinted in Enríquez, Besoña, pp. 40-49, and Hector Pérez Martínez, "Orígenes económicos y sociales de la Guerra de Castas," Prologue to Justo Sierra O'Reilly, Diario de nuestro viaje a los Estados Unidos (La pretendida anexión de Yucatán, Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, XII (Mexico, 1938), pp. xxxi-xxxii. Total income was 280,000 ps., expenses were 271,485 (including an item of 247,000 ps. for troops). Sierra says the "Instrucciones" of 1821-22 were the same as those given in 1813, which he had seen, El Fénix, #30.


68. Ancona, Historia, XII, 87-99 (Based on Governor's report); Schunove, "Cuadro estadístico...1814," par. 102-105, El Perú, p. 22 (Mar. 15, 1849).


70. Justo Sierra, "Informe sobre rentas seculares en el Estado de Yucatán," in Juan Súñeres y Navarro, Informe sobre las causas y carácter de los frecuentes cambios políticos en el Estado de Yucatán... (Mexico, 1861), pp. 46-56, esp. 46-47; Alvare, Angale, p. 22-30; Ancona, Historia, III, 99-106 (quote on p. 97).


74. Castillo, Diccionario histórico, p. 286.

75. Ancona, Historia, III, 189. Cf. "De esta manera solamente, pacífico, 6 inocente se llevó a feliz término en toda la provincia de Yucatán la evolución más trascendental que se registra en los anales de las agrupaciones humanas, pasar de una tiranía secular impuesta por la fuerza, a la vida autónoma, independiente y libre," Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 115.

76. Wilfrid B. Galloott, Santa Anna: the story of an enigma who once was Mexico (Norman, Okla., 1936), and his Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857 (Durham, 1928); Carlos E. Huandez, La huella del General don Antonio López de Santa Anna en Yucatán (Xerida, 1883). Banoroft, History, V (1924-25) remains best single general source for details.
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77. Callcott, Santa Anna, p. 85 apparently relies exclusively on Asnar Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria; Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 1-20; Santa Anna arrived in Campeche May 17, 1824 and disembarked the following day, ibid., p. 27.

78. Ancona, Historia, III, 269-92; Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, pp. 21-40; Acero et al., México y Yucatán, pp. 50-57; Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 23-27. Details may be found in José María Peón and Isidro Gondra, eds., Colección de leyes, secretos, y órdenes del augusto congreso del estado libre de Yucatán (corrected edn., 2 vols., Merida, 1833), which covers period 1823-1833. Alvarès, Anales, I, 166-68; Zavala, Revoluciónes de México, I, 261. Proyecto de constitución política de la República de Yucatán, presentado a su Congreso Constituyente en 18 de noviembre de 1823 (Merida, 1822; Barrera Vasquez Coll.);


81. Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 19-20 (uses phrase, ‘Yucatan era considerado desde entonces como la Siberia mexicana’); Callcott, Santa Anna, pp. 53-63; Ancona, Historia, III, 293-96.

82. Pedro Almeida, Un Héroe, El Pocado de Adam; poema, doce jornadas en doce cantos, con notas elusivas a los sucesos de la independencia mejicana en general y relativamente a esta península de Yucatán (Mérida, 1838), p. 241 says the Aurora, founded 1818, changed from York rite in 1822) Asnar Barbaoliano and' Carbé, Memoria, pp. 39-40. Ancona, Historia, III, 310-12 lists refounded lodges as Aurora Yucateca, el Tri de la Paz, Fuerza Máxima; new ones in 1824 were las Virtudes Civícas, Perfecta Union, La Union de la Virtud, La Antorcha luminosa, Foco de las Luces, "y otros.

83. Callcott, Anexo al Congreso Constituyente de Yucatán al Congreso Nacional (Merida, July 6, 1824; also in El Fénix, 28, Aug. 10, 1849); "Comisión especial a S.G.,” June 21, 1824, reprinted in Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 55-59.

84. Antonio López de Santa Anna to Secretary of State, July 9, 1824, El Fénix, 56 (Aug. 5, 1849); also in Asnar Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, "Documentos," pp. 9-14; Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 210-25.

85. Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 57-145, 232-48; Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 144-47; Callcott, Santa Anna, pp. 54-56. Local historians disagree with Callcott's dictum that "There can be little doubt though of Santa Anna's substantial success in the difficult post of Governor of Yucatan" (p. 56).

86. Luis Chaves Oroso, ed., Un esfuerzo de Mexico por la independencia de Cuba, Archivo histórico-diplomático mexicano, XXXII (Mexico, 1930); Menéndez, Huella...Santa Anna, pp. 147-67; Callcott, Santa Anna, pp. 54-55.
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87. "Constitución política... de abril de 1826," Peon and Gondra, Coleccion, I, 214-50; the document was divided into 24 chapters, with 257 articles, strongly Federalist in tone. Cf. analysis in Azone, Historia, III, 305-306.

88. "Instrucciones...1821 y 1822," loc. cit. (See Note above).

89. The local seminary became University Mar. 10, 1824, Peon and Gondra, Coleccion, I, 96-96, but did not finally get under way until Dec. 4, 1825, ibid., I, 106, II, 39-40; Registro yuacateco, III (1846), 109-109. Proceeds from sales of Church real estate were to support University, Sierra, "Consideraciones," El Fenix, #41 (May 20, 1849).


94. Sierra, "Consideraciones," El Fenix, #41 (May 20, 1849), #43 (June 1, 1849), and his "Informe sobre rentas," loc. cit., 49-61, in which he states "ya no existía ninguna cofradía en el año de 1840" (p. 50), and his "P. Fr. Luis de Pina y Masa," Registro yuacateco, IV (1849), 372-73. Local law defined cofradías as "haciendas de ganado vacuno y caballo formadas de donación y oblations de los fieles," Orden, Jan. 19, 1824.

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96. "Información instruida en abergamiento del arribo a este puerto del Ex.mo Sr. Emilio... recibida por el Supremo Gob. de la Nación, D. Lorenzo Zabala y de su saludo..." Sisal, Oct. 5, 1829 (Ms., Barrera Vázquez Coll.). Justo Sierra, "Apuntes y memorias para la historia de las revoluciones de Yucatán," 1854 (Ms., Ricardo López Héndez Coll.). Observaciones sobre las iniciativas que han dirigido al Congreso General... a los negocios de Yucatán y por apuntes, una colección de los periodos y artículos que se han publicado sobre este mismo asunto en el presente año (México, 1851; López Héndez Coll.).

97. Zavala, Revoluciónes de México, I, 378-81, II, 206-14, 296-97, 352-54; Amaro Barbashano y Carbó, Informe, pp. 44-61; Anoona, Historia, III, 509-57; Barranda, Recuerdos, I, 155-326; Pires Alcalá, Recuerdos, pp. 3-46; Bancroft et al., V, 27-217; Carrillo y Anoona, Obligado, pp. 996-1031; Carlos R. Martínez, Revistas de historia de Yucatán 1911-1916; relación síntesis y cronología de los acontecimientos más notables, políticos, sociales, económicos, artísticos, literarios, científicos, etc. (Mérida, 1897), pp. 428-58. Jean Frédéric Maximilian, Baron de Wladislaw, Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale) pendant les années 1834 et 1836 (Paris, 1838), pp. 9-110, gives much data, especially as he got into trouble with local political authorities (pp. 75-76, 107-110). Mexican relations with Yucatán are summarized in Añereto, México y Yucatán, pp. 58-62; Rubio Muñoz, Separatismo, pp. 50-61; Alvare, Anales, I, 166-517; Ármar Pérez, Colección, III, 1-254.

98. General Joaquín Rivera Zayas (Commanding at Campeche) to President Anaxagatos Bustamente, Aug. 22, 1839, El Fénix, #75 (Nov. 1, 1945); reprinted "Documentos," Anaro Barbashano and Carbó, Memoria, pp. 10-17.


100. Constitución política del estado de Yucatán, sancionada el 15 de marzo de 1854 (Mérida, 1854). The change from Federalist document of 1825 to Centralist appears in "Indicativa de reforma de la constitución del estado," Mr. 1, 1326, Peon and Gondra, Colección, II, 226-226.

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102. Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 323-26; Alvarez, Anales, I, 250-57, 341-44.

103. Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 344-46; Baqueiro, Ensayo, I, 52; Anonoma, Historia, III, 323-26; Barahona and Carbó, Memoria, p. 69. The document was largely the work of Manuel Crescendo Rejón; in addition to the secular tone (abolition of fueros, etc.), it embodied the important concept of amparo, a stay-writ issued by courts to prevent an unconstitutional act from being performed, of great importance in Mexican jurisprudence. See Carlos A. Echávarri Trujillo, La obra jurídica de Manuel G. García, padre del amparo (México, 1987); Francisco de F. Sosa, Manuel de biografía yucateca (Mérida, 1866), pp. 176-82. Cf. Carlos A. Echávarri Trujillo, La vida nacional e inquisita de Don Crescendo Rejón (México, 1941).

104. Mérito, de Zamacois, Historia de México desde sus tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días (23 vols., Barcelona, 1876-1908), XII, 219; Bancroft et al., History, V, 217-18. Survey of confused period 1840-47 given by Pérez Alcázar, Recordaciones, pp. 47-127; Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 344-67; Anonoma, Historia, III, 326-466; Baqueiro, Ensayo, I, 55-55; Anamar Barahona and Carbó, Memoria, pp. 29-74; Azarco, México y Yucatán, pp. 75-85; Rubio Núñez, Separatismo, pp. 52-56. See below, Chapter Seven.


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111. Exposición del gobierno de Yucatán al supremo de la república, pidiendo la derogación del decreto de 21 de febrero último, June 18, 1845 (Merida, 1845): Exposición que dirige al soberano congresso nacional el gobierno del departamento de Yucatán, June 7, 1845 (Merida, 1845): Pliegos justificativos de la conducta política de Yucatán, al observar la del gobierno de México, respecto de los convenios de 14 de diciembre de 1845 (Merida, 1846); Pantaleón Hidalgo, *Pentahz_, 39-42; Anuar Pérez, Colección, III, 217-19. Bancroft (1888) wrote, "Yucatán, which once proved most turbulent and aimed at independence, has become reconciled, partly under the stress of Indian uprisings, partly by a division of the peninsula into two states." *History*, VI, 479 n. 21.


113. Villa R, *Quintana Roo*, pp. 20-56; Gabriel Antonio Menéndez, ed., *Quintana Roo, album monográfico* (Mexico, 1930); Francisco Cantón Rosado, *Bienes y documentos relativos a la vida militar y política del Sr. General Brigadier don Francisco Cantón* (Merida, 1853), pp. 7-19; *Quinta* #106-99 (docs.).

Chapter Two, 91-92 (cont'd)

1. Political origin of the Yucatec War (and its accompanying corollaries) appeared early and continued to date, e.g., Justo Sierra to J. Buchanan, Feb. 15, 1846, Senate Executive Documents, 30 Cong., I Sess., VI, Doc. 42, Mckeeney to H. C. Perry, Mar. 13, 1846, ibid., VI, Doc. 43, pp. 15 ff., Santiago Mendez to J. Buchanan, Mar. 25, 1846, ibid., V, Doc. 40, pp. 11 ff. Justo Sierra, Diario de nuestro viaje a los Estados Unidos, (Prueba unida anexión de Yucatán) Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, XII (Mexico, 1886), passim.

Tomas Anuar Berchano and Juan Carbó, Memoria sobre la conveniencia, utilidad y necesidad de origir constitucionalmente en estado de la confederación mexicana el antigo distrito de Campeche (Mexico, 1864), pp. 70-71; Juan Suyasa and Navarro, Información sobre las causas y causas de los frecuentes cambios políticos ocurridos en el estado de Yucatán (Mexico, 1900), pp. 5-8; A. Garcia y Garcia, Historia de la guerra de costas, sirviéndole de prólogo una recena de los usos, costumbres e institución de los indígenas (Marida, 1858); Guadalupe Carrillo and Anuosa, Antecedentes históricos sobre la raza indígena de Yucatán (Veracruz, 1865), pp. 44 ff., his Vida del v. padre Fray Manuel Martinez, celebre Francisco yucateco (Marida, 1888), pp. 142-48, his Osteofanía de historia de Yucatán (Marida, 1897 edn.), pp. 75-78 (textbook); Serapio Baqueiro, Catecismo de historia de Yucatán (Marida, 1881), pp. 76-79 (textbook).

2. Report of Cabildo of Maridea, 1700, in Jean Frédéric Maximilian, Baron de Waldeck, Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d’Yucatan (Amérique Centrale, pendant les années 1834 et 1835) (Paris, 1838), p. 82; (b) Poliorcanto Antonio de Béknolve et al., Cuadro estadístico de Yucatán en 1816, El Faro, 82 (Feb. 16, 1849), passim. 18-52, also published as Apuntaciones para la estadística de...
la provincia de Yucatán, que formaron de orden superior en 20 de marzo de 1814 los Senores Calcedón, Sahonov, Bollo, y Yzunatav


5. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 292. According to the same calculations, Mexico would [in 1846] have a population of more than 24,500,000, a figure not yet reached [1946].

7. Regil and Peon, "Estadoística," loc. cit., 293; "Memoria sobre la conservación de los cereales en Yucatán," Registro Yucateco, II (1846), 61-62; "Apéndice a la memoria sobre la conservación de cereales," ibid., II (1848), 110-15. Probably this was written by Juan Hübner, a German-born doctor who settled in Campeche and married into a famous Yucatecan family.


Peto on Dec. 17, 1841, Aznar Pérez, Colección, II, 180. Such changes from one cabecera of party to another were frequent, e.g., Oct. 27, 1835 Peto replaced Ichuán, which reduced latter to a place governed by a junta, ibid., I, 235; Epita replaced Aisimin Nov. 3, 1845, with some result, ibid., I, 283; Oct. 26, 1843 Soiba-playa displaced Chiapaun, ibid., II, 237; there was rivalry between Holonchentical and Hopelohen, former replacing latter on Oct. 6, 1841, then losing to Hopelohen in November 1845, but again becoming cabecera Oct. 21, 1846, ibid., II, 157-68, 253, III, 76.

Yucatán and Cotzum made similar exchanges, ibid., I, 480, II, 114.

Ranches which became towns usually took patriotic names, e.g., Dzabulone became Turtlalde, Dec. 18, 1841, ibid., II, 159; Cholul became Libre Unión, Nov. 15, 1844, ibid., II, 569; Xojacaba to Progreso, Dec. 19, 1845, ibid., II, 485; Deltun to Barbachano, June 3, 1846, ibid., II, 487; Bolonchen to Zavala, Mar. 30, 1846, ibid., III, 117-78; became Moreno, Aug. 21, 1846, ibid., III, 49.

18. See also, Alvarez, Anales, I, 176-77.


21. "Concediendo ejidos a unos muchos, mandando reducir a poblado a otros, y sobre sucesos de terrenos baldíos," Nov. 6, 1844, Aznar Pérez, Colección, II, 654. For attempts at reduction of wandering natives by decree, see "Sobre los desechos...que se declaran vijientes," Mar. 1, 1835, Art. 4 (frm. 4-6), Peon and Gondra, Colección, II, 222-26 (against "furtivo y ilegal" reunions of natives; 12 families needed to form legal rancho), "Sobre el ejercicio de la casa y reducción de los indígenas a vivir en poblado," June 27, 1856, Aznar Pérez, Colección, I, 287-89.


24. "Dictamen del contador," Sept. 22, 1786, Archivo General de la Nación. Boletín, IX (oct. 1886), 846. He stated that Indians on haciendas "En mucha parte se componen de sus indios encomendados...y otros huyendo de los tequios y obligaciones de sus pueblos..."
26. Stephens, Central America, II, 404. The Hacienda Xcanchakan had "nearly seven hundred souls." Yucatan, I, 163, but Hacienda Ake had only six. Ibid., II, 440.


27. Royo, Ebtun, pp. 69-83, passim, esp. p. 105. Royo remarks, "The tenacity displayed by the people of Cunamul and Ebtun during this long controversy (1658-1820) furnishes an interesting sidelight on the character of the Indians of Yucatan. It helps us to understand the manner in which they have been able, not only to preserve their language for themselves and the greater part of the mestizo class, but also to retain so many of their old customs and ideas down to the present time." Ibid., p. 36. Cf. supra, Chapter 1, Note 30.


30. Early orders on Spanish town planning are numerous. E.g., "Instrucción dada a Hernán Cortés para la población de la Nueva España," June 22, 1539, Disposiciones complementarias de las Leyes de Indias (3 vols., Madrid, 1890), Lib. IV, 7; Hernán Cortés, "Ordenanza de buen gobierno para los vecinos y moradores de la Nueva España," Mar. 20, 1524, and his "Ordenanzas locales para que por ellas se rixan e gobiernen los vecinos, moradores, estantes e habitantes de las villas pobladas e las demás que en adelante se poblaren," 1524, Coelección de documentos inéditos...especialmente del de Indias (4 vols., Madrid, 1864-89), XXVII, 135-48, 179-54; "Ordenanzas de Población, 1785," ibid., VIII, 484-637, XVI, 162-67; and in Actas (Mexico), Boletín, VII (May, 1856), 321-60; Zelía Nuttal, "Royal ordinances concerning the laying out of new towns," Hispanic American Historical Review, IV (Nov. 1921), 743-56 (trans. Arts. 110 ff. of Ord. of 1785); Hist. viii-xvii, Lib. IV, Recopilación; see also George Embre, "Mexican urbanism in the sixteenth century," Art Bulletin, XXIV (June 1942), 160-71; Norman S. Haymer, "Mexico, city of Old Mexico," Sociology and social research (November 1946), 87-96, and his "Mexico City..."


33. "The barrios were a different world.... In many respects they were villages...the strongest loyalties of the inhabitants were to their barrio rather than to the city as a whole.... The humblest person in the barrio felt himself superior to people born outside Mérida," Hansen, "Ecology," loc. cit., 150-51.

34. Gerónimo Castillo, "Un pacto y un pleito," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 41. Cf. "Residents of other barrios were looked upon as foreigners and gang fights took place between them. It was somewhat dangerous to go into a strange barrio at night.... Although in general the barrios were similar to one another, they exhibited certain individual characteristics," Hansen, "Ecology," loc. cit., 150-51.


36. In 1794 Dzitas had a population of 724, Ticul 10,928, AHY, I, 223, 224; in 1846, respectively 2,790 and 6,988 (See above, Table 3). Redfield gives pop. of municipio of Dzitas in 1930 as 2,411 (op. cit., p. 373), while Ticul's is stated as 7,520 (third largest in Yucatan) by Morris Steggerda, "A description of thirty towns in Yucatan, Mexico," Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 136 (Washington, 1943), p. 243.

37. Roye, Colonial background, p. 50, 179, 185-86, 191-92; see Tables 5 and 6; supra; Regal and Leon, "Metadistics," loc. cit.; Table C; Heller, Memo., pp. 226-26; Steggerda, "Thirty towns," loc. cit., 245.


43. "Division territorial," May 24, 1857, Naner Pares, Coleccion, I, 260-64; "Division territorial del estado," Nov. 30, 1840, ibid.; I, 250-56; set up five "Departments" to divide seventeen partidos, and then included 226 towns.

44. Stephens, *Yucatan*, II, 111.


47. Angel Rosenblat, "El desarrollo de la población indígena de América," Tierra Firme, I (1935), 31-33, 71-73, 117-46, 119-41. Joaquin Roncal, "The Negro race in Mexico," Hispanic American Historical Review, XXXIV (Aug. 1944), 530-40. Both these give much bibliography; the Journal for that issue was devoted to minority groups in Latin America. There is a growing bibliography on the topic.


49. José M. Valdés Acosta, A través de las centurias: obra especial que contiene apuntes históricos, relatos panamericanos, resenas biográficas...etc. etc. (3 vols., Mérida, 1892-93), I, 274-80, mentioning Pedro Hijo y Torrecilla as "el primer oriollo a quien se confirió este empleo." Gerónimo Castillo, Diccionario histórico biográfico y monumental de Yucatan desde la conquista hasta el último año de la dominación española en el país (Mérida, 1866), p. 107; Ancona, *Historia*, III, 153-56.

Chapter Two, #51 - #58

51. Fisher, Background, p. 35 (gloss of report of 1802 [based on AGI docs.]), "Description of the ordinance of Intendants for New Spain," Arts. 153, 157, and esp. 159, Fisher, Intendant system, pp. 169-90, 185-94, 195; Tit. 5-40, Lib. VI; Reconstitución. Tribute of "Negros, free mulattoes and of other castes" was 24 reales, that of Indians 16 (Art. 157), but free castes (pardos) were those who served in provincial militia; their exemption from tribute "shall not be extended under any motive or pretext to those of the same class who are enlisted in the flying and urban companies" (Art. 159). "Estado expresivo de las jurisdicciones" 1794, AHY, I, 200-34 indicates companies of militia of varones in Merida (p. 200), Izamal (p. 216), Hocytán (p. 218), Mama (p. 226), Namocán (p. 227), Calkiní, and Tonabo (p. 229), Campeche (p. 230), amounting to a total of perhaps 1,500; this would account for about 7,500 pardos, assuming an average family of 6 for each. The probability is high that Indians who managed to get enrolled in the militia were placed in companies of Pardos Disciplinados rather than in companies of Blancones.

52. Juan Antonio Valora and Francisco Javier de Correa, "Discurso sobre la constitución de las provincias de Yucatán y Campeche, 1766" complained to José de Galván that "Además de los indios tributarios hay un considerable número de ellos en la provincia en clase de hidalgos que no contribuyen tributo alguno y están alistados por milicianos* and that there were also a great number of "mestizos y mulatos" who likewise avoided tribute; they collectively were tabulated as "Gentes de Color," AHY, III, 10-11.

53. Bahónové, "Cundro estadístico...1814," loc. cit. (see above, Note 2(g)).

54. Sources, Table 10; "Estado general de la población de la jurisdicción de Mérida, capital de la provincia de Yucatán, año de 1790," BHY, III, 112, AHY, I, 210-12; the editor states that the version in BHY had "algunos errores que aquí [AHY] se han enmendado a vista del documento original (AHY, I, Iaix, n.). I am indebted to F. V. Scholes for suggestions and clarification of vocational terms, and for criticism of an earlier version of this tabulation.


56. Fabian de Fonseca and Carlos Urrutia, "Juntas," Oct. 31, 1792, Historia general de Real Hacienda, escrita...por órden del virrey Conde de Revillagigedo; obra hasta ahora inédita (6 vols., Mexico, 1845-53), IV, 221-56, par. #69 (quoting informe of 1789); the title was one of the few on which royal dues were paid to date; par #69 gives date of title as founded Feb. 11, 1772; Valdés Acosta, Centurias, I, 355-36.

57. Scholes, in private letter, writes that holders of late colonial fuero militar collectively formed a group which "apparently included most of the heads of colonial families in Mérida who did not hold some other office or rank." Quote from Anoona, Historia, III, 347.

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69. See below, chapter 6, Ancona, Historia, III, 340-41.


63. Regil and Peon, "Estatísticas," loc. cit., 324, adding that rightfully labor should organize and become "una de tantas ruedas en el mecanismo político" of the state.

64. Ancona, Historia, III, 266-66, 289; Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 162, 164-66; Anner Barahoxano and Carbé, Memorias, p. 25 also say Spaniards in Campeche, locally called Catalanes, mostly embraced the liberal, republican causes "con tal calor y entusiasmo...que no podían tolerar la dominación despótica de D. Agustín Iturbide" but of Ibi, p. 36.

65. Rubio Hane, "Barrios," loc. cit.; Hernández Fajardo, "Acoro," loc. cit. Santiago and Sta. Catarina were west, comprised of natives found by Montejo on arrival; San Sebastián also contained Mayas; on east, San Cristóbal contained Nahua allies brought by Montejo; none of the barrio Indians were held in encomienda, and received reduced rates of tribute payment. Santa Lucía was created on north "poblado de esclavos negros y mulatos." Santa Ana formed later in XVIIIth c., on north. Rubio Hane, op. cit. The parish of Jesus María seemingly was "de los pardos," but was extinguished 1774. Registro Yucateco, II (1846), 359; a new 'barrio', Santuario, was created ca. 1765, Ibi, IV (1846), 181.


67. Eohánove, "Cuadro estadístico...1814," par. 104, El Fénix #28 (Mar. 16, 1849), but he pointed out that census data included inhabitants "hasta los originarios de Africa," par. 16, op. cit., #22 (Feb. 15, 1849).

68. Lorenzo Zavala, "Memoria histórica de las revoluciones de México desde 1809 hasta 1822" (2 vols., Paris, New York, 1831-32), I, 379 "por fortuna la raza negra apenas se ha conocido en aquel estado, en donde no pasaba de doscientos el número de esclavos, cuya mayor parte estaban en Campeche."

69. Alvarez, Mexico, I 26-26. Melchor, a "negro claro," was given his "liberty card" April 8, 1818 after he had paid 350 pesos. Lorenzo N. Calderon's will, in form of verse, Registro Yucateco, I (1846), 369.
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70. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 110; adds, "Their complexion is a black tinge laid upon copper...[their] costume...a vile caricature of the common European dress, with some touches of their own elegant fancy." Cf. ibid., I, 17, 28.

71. Kromer, Rambles, pp. 65, 228. "The latter class [blacks] is principally composed of runaway slaves from the neighboring islands. Their number, however, is small" (p. 65); the village was San Fernando, seven leagues north of Tizimin, "sounding about seventy miles." (p.228).

72. Heine, Schlesse, p. 228, "Es nah von weltem aus wie mit Schnee bedeckt; hunderte und hunderte Indianer und Indianerinnen, Kostüme und Schurze beiderlei Geschlechts hatten sich daseit verasemelt." [italics mine.] Arthur Jorodet, Voyage dans l'Amérique Centrale, l'Ile de Cuba et le Yucatan (2 vol., Paris, 1897), I, 156, speaking of an escaped slave girl "on which croisé and qui participaient de la race africaine.

73. Introduction of slaves forbidden, and children of slaves freed as born, Sept. 15, 1822, Penn and Gondra, Coleccion, I, 19; prices of slaves to remain fixed (no profit on re-sales), ibid., Nov. 16, 1825; absolute freedom, owners to be indemnified, Oct. 15, 1829, Alvarez, Anales, I, 217-10.

74. Redfield, Folk culture, p. 35, referring to period 1890 and after. Cf. José Vasconcelos, Ulises oriollo; vida del autor, escrita por el mismo (6th ed., Mexico, 1930), 117, reporting on his residence there, 1910-15, states that in Campeche "Problemas de raza tampoco...los habitantes blancos jamás hallaron contacto con el negro."

75. Of the many works on race, culture and language, the following are valuable summaries, Franz Boas, The mind of primitive man (New York, 1911, rev. 1938), and his Race, Language and Culture (New York, 1940); Leslie Spier, ed., Language, culture, and personality; essays in memory of Edward Sapir (Mesa, Ariz., 1941), esp. Ralph Linton, The study of man: an introduction (New York, 1941), pp. 22-69, 496-97; Clyde Kluckhohn and W. H. Kelly, "The concept of culture" (mimeographed, Cambridge, Mass., 1964). These contain bibliography.

76. George D. Williams, Maya-Spanish crosses in Yucatan, Harvard Univ., Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Papers, XIII (Cambridge, 1931); Morris Steggerda, Anthropometry of adult Maya Indians; a study of their physical and physiological characteristics, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 284 (Washington, 1932) give some comparative information. See also, Juan Comas, Las antropología física en Mexico y Centro-America: estadísticas, bibliografía, y mapas de distribución de caracteres somáticos, Instituto panamericano de geografía e historia, Publicación 68 (Mexico, 1945).

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83. Norman, Rambles, pp. 22, 42, 54-55, 56; Buenaventura Vivió, El extranjero en Mérida," Registro Yucateco, II (1845), 352-80, esp. 372-76; Robertson, Visit, I, 102.

84. Cook, Merida...1765, p. 27; José Fernando Ramírez, Visita a Yucatán, 1866, G. R. Hermández, ed. (Merida, 1866). The speeches of a Miss Amanda Haltorf in Boston, against custom of "ajustarse el oreo," were reported with delight, El Noticiero, #186 (July 21, 1847).


92. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 247; Heller, Heiden, pp. 276-77; Robertson, Visit, I, 162; A. Woelke's 'Reise durch Yucatan und die südöstlichen Provinzen von Mexico,' Petermanns Mittheilungen, XV (1879), 204.
95. "Fenómenos de los establecimientos y productos," Exposición del gobierno de Yucatán etc... [June 16, 1844], p. 28; Regil and Jon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 323; they state the soap used "es ordinario, trigueno y de poco agradable olor."


97. Waldeck mentions three different costumes usual for mayordomos. Stephens, Yucatán, II, 98. See Plate VII, below.

98. Waldeck, Voyage, p. 91 carefully describes mestiza costume of Campeche; p. 92, that of Mérida; he thought they were "Femmes dasinées par Michel-Ange." Heller, Reisen, p. 216; Bellet, Voyage, p. 117; esp. Robertson, Visit, I, 162; Charmy, Cités, pp. 206-307; Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, "Notes on Yucatán," Stephen Salisbury, ed., The Mexican calendar stone etc., (Privately printed, Worcester, 1879); pp. 85-86, who wrote, "Nothing can be prettier than a young mestiza in holiday attire — her pio and vilip both edged with colored embroidery and deep lace, made by the natives, around her neck a gold rosary, from which depend coins of the same metal, and ribbons of various hues. Her hair is either worn in two plaits, or fastened in a peculiar knot, called a Tuchi, that falls on the back of the neck," pp. 96-97.

99. Stephens, Yucatán, II, 98, 100; Norman, Rambles, p. 99. Norman mentions their wearing white stockings and shoes; Stephens found some shoes and stockings in recent Mestizo graves, Yucatán, I, 246, 287.


101. Ancona, Historia, III, 282 n. 5; Rubio Mane, Casa de Montejo, pp. 96-97.

102. Redfield, Folk culture, pp. 61, 76.

103. José Tiburcio Ipes, Mensaje del...gobernador del estado de Yucatán etc. (Campeche, 1826); Eduard Coll; José Ruiz; Grematia yucateca, Forma para la instrucción de los indígenas (Merida, 1844); A. R. Tyler, "Notas on the Spanish of Yucatan, Veracruz, and Yucateca," Modern Philology, XXVII (May, 1930), 461-69; Estudio Ostentoso Bello, "Meyismos, barbarismos y provincianismos yucatecos"; Sociedad cientifica Antonio Alata, Memorias, LII (1929-31), 73-176, and separately under correct title, México yucateco etc. (Mexico, 1932); Carmen Heredia U., "Dialectología de Yucatán," Investigaciones Linguisticas, II (Nov. 1954), 371-80; Alfredo Barrera Maqueo, "Meyismo y voces mayas en el español de Yucatán." Ibíd., IV (Jun. 1957), 1-36; Pedro Hernández Urena, El español en México, los Estados Unidos, y América Central, Univ. de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Filología, Biblioteca de dialectología hispano-american, IV (Buenos Aires, 1955), esp. pp. xvi-xvii.
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104.

Bartolomé del Granado Baesa, "Informe dada por el cura de Yaxoabá... sobre el manejo, vida, y costumbres de los indios..."


105.

Hansen, "Ecology," loc. cit., p. 120; Redfield, Folk culture, p. 25.

106.

Stephens, Yucatan, I, 139. Tesser, Maya and Lacandones, p. 3; Redfield, Folk culture, pp. 60-65.


108. "Chan Santa Cruz a través de la historia," Quintana R, album monográfica (V. A. Hernandez, ed., Mexico, 1936), p. 21; Adrian, "Maya-Indianer," loc. cit.; Redfield, Folk culture, pp. 60-61; Villa, Quintana R, p. 94 says that huachob "are set apart from all others by their evil ways, cruelty, and lack of morality and religion." Fellow students in Campeche (1896-96) called José Vasconcelos a guaoho, "es decir, mexicano arrineno, hombre de la meseta, poco amigo del agua y vagamente turbio en su trato," Ulises Orillo, p. 118.

109.

Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, pp. 101-102.

110.

Woelkof, "Haisam," loc. cit., 204; Stephen Salisbury, The Mayas and the sources of their history (privately printed, Worcester, 1877), p. 22 present diametrically opposed statements for about the same period; the one states "die Mestizen nähern sich in ihrer Lebensweise mehr den Maya als den Européern und sprechen unter sich Maya-Sprache," while the other declares "the half-breeds, or Mestizoes prefer to associate with the whites rather than with the Indians...." Cf. Koster, Rambles, p. 30; Stephens, Yucatan, I, 373-74 mentioning that his mestizo aide was formerly a blacksmith and "knowing the character of the Indians, speaking their language, and being but a few degrees removed from them by blood, he could get out of them twice as much work as I could."

111.

E.g., Laureano Pech, Bernardino Chan, Bernardino Ya, and Alejandro Jib in "Razón de los hacendos que han pagado en el partido de la Costa Alta, 1786," AGN, Bolivar, IV (Oct. 1886), 682; Francisco Anel, Isidro Puch, Juan A. Xuc, Juan Chi, Juan de la Cruz Camel as subscribers to Registro Yucateco, 1846 (III); in 1808 a single Indian was found among the 159 presbyters of the Franciscan Order, Francisco Mariano Chan (total of 12 Spaniards, 180 curiales, none of whom had Indian names). Carrillo and Ancona, Prestes Mayas, pp. 49-50; Chan may well have been mestizo.
112. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 258. I have not seen the article promised for vol. VI, of Enciclopedia Yucatanense which hopes to "estudiar el tipico mestizo" (ibid., 1, 14).

113. E. B. Router, Race mixture; studies in Intermarriage and miscegenation (New York, 1931), p. 216; see ibid., 181-215 for sociological and psychological probing of mixed breeds; see also his Race and culture contacts, passing esp. pp. 1-15. One of several attempts to place mestizaje on an investigable plane is Melvin Tumin, "Culture, genuine and spurious; a re-evaluation," American Sociological Review, X (Apr. 1945), 189-207 based chiefly on Guatemalan Maya.

114. Ancona, Historia, IV, 10, n. 9. The nomenclature which labelled whites as "vecinos" as opposed to "indios" was current in 1841, and has persisted in some parts of Yucatan for a century thereafter, see Stephens, Yucatan, I, 253; Redfield, Folk culture, pp. 66, 376-76.

115. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 256-66. Others estimated the native element higher, e.g., Kavale, Revolutions de México, I, 378; Dorman, Rabies, p. 62; Heller, Relations, 178 mentions that the mestizo Indians numbered 50,000-40,000; this would amount to about 6,000 additional heads of families, which when added to the Indians noted in Tables 10 & 11 would make the relative percentages of whites and Indians 29 and 71, or a ratio of 2.4/1.0 Indian males to white.


117. Black marble Amerindian Site, Itza, Palenque, Chichen Itza, Uxmal, Yucatan Mitla, Palenque, Chichon Itza, Uxmal (Paris, 1863), p. 250. Cf. typical Yucatecan statement: "The Republic, to call it such, is composed of heterogeneous parts, among which, proceeding with sufficient prudence and caution, it is possible to establish a certain harmony, but never will it be practical to convert them into a compact mass, as every time that is attempted, invincible resistance arises," Pantaleon Barrera et al., Observaciones sobre la actual situación política del departamento de Yucatan (Noviembre 25, 1841) (Mexico, 1842), p. 20. Gratitude is here expressed to the Social Science Research Council for a Pre-Doctoral Fellowship which permitted me to study some phases of the problem of the patria chica in Oaxaca, Mexico, 1943-45; results of that study remain unpublished.


120. See above, Note 1; Oswaldo Daquisio Anchez, La ciudad herética: historia de Valladolid (Merida, 1943); Felipe Pérez Alcalá, Ensayos biográficos, cuadros históricos, hojas dispersas (Merida, 1914) and his Recorridos históricos (Merida, 1918); Francisco Cantón Rosado, Ensayos históricos, apolojicos y literarios (Merida, 1929) and his Datos y documentos relativos a la vida militar y política del Sr. General Brigadier Don Francisco Cantón (C. H. Mendez, comp., Merida, 1931); Gustavo Martinez Alonso, Los historiadores de Yucatan (Cempecho, 1906); Gabriel Ferrer de Mendocías, "Historia de la historiografía," Enciclopedia Yucatanense, V, 815-46.
Chapter Two, 212

121. Fabian Carrillo Suaste, "Juan Pío Pérez: memoria biográfica," in Juan Pío Pérez et al., Diccionario de la lengua maya (Cerda, 1866-79), pp. 156-67, 194-201; Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, "Don Justo Sierra," Repertorio Pintoresco, I (1865), 486-508. Received too late for use here was Erosa Paulino Novelo, Monografía de Zapita (Cerda, 1945), a 60-page pamphlet.

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3. Peláez de Boleano et al., "Cuadro estadístico de Yucatán en 1814," pars, 80-81, El Fénix, June 27 (1er. 10, 1849); Pedro Manuel Regil, Memoria instructiva sobre el comercio general de la provincia de Yucatán y particular del puerto de Campeche (Madrid, 1814), see El Fénix, Dec. 1846, 32 (Apr. 8, 1849); José H. Regil and Alonso Manuel Poon, "Estadísticas de Yucatán," Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Boletín (1862-63), 257-540, esp. 325-26; Juan de Dios Cougaye, "Relación que en el extracto manifiesta la instrucción...servicios...que con utilidad común y pública ha desempeñado," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 62-64, esp. 56; José Tiburcio López, "Mensaje...del gobernador del estado de Yucatán...el abrira las sesiones ordinarias de la legislatura del anf de 26 (Campeche, 1826; Colton's Collection), p. 2; it is worthy of note that this pamphlet is the earliest known imprint from Campeche.

Chapter Three, §4 (cont’d) - §6

Mar. 5, 1845, ibid., II, 396. Regil and Peón, "Estadística," loc. cit., 385-86. Map by Santiago Agüa de San Martín, "Plano de Yucatán, 1846"; (also same map, with more data, in Stephen Salisbury, Jr., The Mayas, the sources of their history, privately printed, Worchester, 1877); "Mapa de Yucatán nach der handgeschrieblichen Karte von Juan José de Leon und anderen, bearbeitet, verbessert und gezeichnet von Carl Heller, 1867." C. B. Heller, Berlin in Mexico in the Years 1842-1843 (Leipzig, 1888); Jean Frédéric Champollion, Baron de Waldeck, Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale) pendant les années 1834 et 1836 (Paris, 1838). Pl. II, "Carte de la province de Yucatan... 1836."


17. Ferrer, "Beneficencia," *loc. cit.* deals competently with hospitals and other foundations; he cites considerable bibliography, especially recent studies by Francisco Canton Rosado, which I have not seen.
Chapter Three - #18 - #50

18. Boletín Comercial de Mérida y Campeche, #80 (June 20, 1842; Barrera Vásquez Coll.). Noman, Rambles, pp. 22, 302-205; Stephens, Central America, II, 397; Yucatan, I, 13; Heller, Reisen, pp. 275-76; Garnsey, Citées, pp. 505-509.

19. Echéves, "Cuadro estadístico...1814," El Félix, p. 23 (Feb. 10, 1849) writes that the market had "la comodidad de dilatados corredores cubiertos, dando en ellos separación a la venta de carne y de peje." Waldeok, Voyage, p. 28; Noman, Rambles, p. 57; Herrlet, Voyage, I, 149. Cf. Ober, Travels, p. 40.

20. Herrlet, Voyage, I, 149.


22. Advts., Boletín Comercial de Mérida y Campeche #80 (June 20, 1842) for wines; El Noticio, advts. (1847). "Complaint about food adulteration in LA Voz Pública," #11 (Mérida, June 2, 1846; Barrera Vásquez Coll).

23. Herrlet, Voyage, I, 149.

24. "Canoa," Castillo, Diccionario, p. 156; Herrlet, Voyage, I, 149. Waldeok, Voyage, p. 12; M. 1 states that in 1854 each quartillo equalled 25 grains (100 per real); Stephens, Yucatan, I, 186-97; Noman, Rambles, pp. 53-85, 105; Decrees, June 10, 1850, Amar Pintas, Colección, VII, 355.

25. Castillo, Diccionario, p. 155. Manuel Romero de Terreros, "Numismática colonial y henequenera," Enciclopedia Yucatanense, IV, 900-14. Justo Sierra en El Félix, 66 (Nov. 29, 1848), equating U.S. half-dollar to 4 reals. Cf. difficulties with Spanish money, in which pieces of "4 reales de vellón" were set equal to one-fifth of a peso fuerte, July 18, 1827, Francisco Alvaras, Anales históricos de Campeche, 1812-1912 (2 vols., Campeche, 1912), I, 136. One contemporary complaint was that certain hacendados refused to pay workers in legal tender, but gave them bits of tin cashable only at local stores, Felipe de Barre, "Informe, June 4, 1842," Boletín Comercial, #60 (June 20, 1842).


56. Waldeck, Voyage, pp. 56-58; Stephens, Central America, II, 402; Yucatan, I, 42-44; Norman, Rambles, pp. 54-56; José C. Romero, "Historia de la Cátedra," Biblioteca Yucateca, IV, 659-622 (esp. 674-76).

37. Advirta, Boletín comercial de Mérida y Campeche, 260 (June 20, 1842); La voz pública, 731 (Aug. 11, 1846); El Nino, 729; 104, 112 et passim (Feb. 11, Apr. 30, May 19, 1847).

38. Boletín comercial, loc. cit.; El Nino, 123 (Feb. 6, Mar. 17, 1847).


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Chapter Three - §42 - §66

42. "Diego el Mulato," LA VOS PUBLICA, §12 (June 6, 1846).


44. "Autorizando al gobierno para sostener en Italia a D. Gabriel Qaona, a fin de que se perfeccione en el dibujo y pintura," Dec. 31, 1846, AMAR FERNÁNdez, Colección, II, 459. EL NOTICIOSO, §60, §27 (Apr. 10, 1847). DON BULL-BULLO (2 vols., SERIA, 1847); I had brief opportunity to see a copy of this owned by Col. Bernarardo Mena Brito, Mexico City. "Fichete's" works are reproduced in ENCICLOPEDIA YUCATECANA, IV, 552-542, esp. 555-557; E. G. FERNÁNdez, "Historia del dibujo, la pintura, y la escultura," Ch. 2, ENCYCLOPEDIA YUCATECANA, IV, 552-542, esp. 555-557; he cites an article I have not seen. DÍAS DE LEÓN, "Gabriel Vicente Gahona, Mexican artist of the XIX century," REVISTA MÉXICO, §4-5 (Mexico, Dec. 1847).

45. "Academia de dibujo," REGISTRO YUCATECO, I (1846), 155-72; AAD, EL NOTICIOSO, §178 (July 12, 1847).


48. "El daguerrótipo," REGISTRO YUCATECO, I (1846), 150. STEPHENS, YUCATÁN, II, II: "An instructing me to supply portraits by Daguerre or any other which but one specimen had ever before appeared in Yucatan." EL NOTICIOSO, §178 (June 2, 1847).

49. El noticioso, §177 (Mar. 26, 1847).


52. "Apuntamiento biográfico," D. MANUEL ALFARO ALMENDOZ, REGISTRO YUCATECO, I (1846), 562-64. ALMENDOZ was born April 16, 1817.

53. JOSÉ MARÍA GARCÍA MORALES, "Una biblioteca pública en Mérida," REGISTRO YUCATECO, III (1846), 190-95; "Necesidad de un museo," ibid., I (1845), 272. JUSTO SIERRA, "Importancia de un museo de antigüedades," MUSEO YUCATECO, I (Feb. 1841), 117.

54. EL NOTICIOSO, §176 (June 22, 1847).

55. DECREO, MAR. 2, 1852, ELIGIO ANCONA, ed., COLECCIÓN DE LEYES, DECRETOS, ORDENES Y DEMÁS DISPOSICIONES DE TENDENCIA GENERAL EXPEDIDAS POR EL PODER LEGISLATIVO DEL ESTADO DE YUCATÁN (5 vols., SERIA, 1852-53), I, 85, esp. 10; 11.

56. GARCÍA MORALES, "Bibliotecas," loc. cit.
Chapter Three - \#67 - \#64


68. Diodoro Sisénio y Fuentes. Yucatan, I, 82; Haller, Relato, p. 279. The Frenchmen, Waldock and Boreau, were less enthusiastic.


70. Andres Quintana Roo, "Oda," El Apuntador, I (1841), 212-31; Manuel Sánchez Ramón and Alonso de Zúñiga y Peón, Colección de poetas yucatecos y tabasqueños (Merida, 1861); Poesías de E. Renécela, con una noticia biográfica y algunas observaciones (Merida, 1846). José L-equivel, "Historia de la poesía, la novela, el humorismo, el costumbrismo, la sátira, la crítica y el ensayo," Enciclopedia Yucatecana, V, 365-782, esp. Ch. III, "Poesía: De 1821 a 1849.

71. Pedro Almeida, Un Matador; el poeta de Adán. Poemas. Two formadas en dos cuartetas, son notas alusivas a los sucesos de la independencia mejicana en general y relativamente a esta península de Yucatán (Merida, 1838); López Méndez Coll. and Herrera Viquez Coll. each contain a copy; I used the former. Esquivel Pren, "Historia crítica," Man. cit., 321-82.

72. Museo Yucateco (1931-42), passim. Justo Sierra, Un año en el Hospital de San José en Registro Yucateco, I-IV (1944-49), passim. La hida del Justo, in El Pénit, 47-49 (1945-51); these novels make up his obras (4 vol., Mexico, 1905-08). See next chapter for discussion of Justo Sierra.


68. Antonio Canto López, "Historia de la imprenta y del periodismo," Enciclopedia Yucatecana, V, 5-107, esp. obs. 1-4. See above, Chapter 1, Note 59.


70. Revista Yucateca, I (Oct. 1847), 125.

71. El Pintor, 615-617, 76, 79 (Jan. 1-Dec. 5, 1849); see also for notes on other Mérida periodicals, ibid., 527 (May 1, 1849). Registro completion by Sierra noted ibid., 525, esp. 576, 76 (Mar. 15, Nov. 5, 16, 1849).


Chapter Three - #76 - #96

76. "periódico: curiosa relación, por orden cronológico de todos los que se han publicado en Mérida..." Registro Yucateco, I (1846), 233-37.


78. Roman, Memias, pp. 61-62.

79. "Instrucciones...a diputados, 1831," El Pénix, #30 (Mar. 26, 1849); see above, Chapter 1, Notes 50-61.


81. Tiburcio López, Mensajes, pp. 3-4.


84. Inna Wilson, Mexico; a century of educational thought (New York, 1941), pp. 81-186, cites contemporary trends. See esp. Webster B. Browning, "Joseph Lancaster, Jesse Thompson, and the Lancasterian system of mutual instruction, with special reference to Hispanic America," Hispanic American Historical Review, IV (Feb. 1921), 49-86.


86. "Que se envíen cuatro jóvenes a instruirse en el sistema lancasteriano, ciencias e idiomas inglés y francés," Oct. 20, 1828, Peon and Gondra, Colección, II, 164.


89. Misco Yucateco, II (1846), 144-89.


92. Roman, Memias, pp. 64-66.


95. La Voz Pública, #96 (Aug. 22, 1846), edtv. Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 186, as a "new school." El Mosaico, II (May, 1848).

96. La Voz Pública, #96 (Sept. 29, 1846).
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100. El Hidálico, 225 (Feb. 8, May 30, 1847) advt.


103. La Voz Pública, #24 (July 10, 1846).


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129. El Hípico, p. 175, p. 176 (July 8, 10, 1847).


132. Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 155; "Autorizando...una casa de empeño," Sept. 7, 1858, Anuar Pérez, Colección, III, 372-76.

133. Anuar Pérez, Colección, III, 256, 333-41; Ancona, Colección, I, 55.


136. Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 153, "Del mismo modo que la de Camaquey se está platicando en Mérida una Lonja, cuya positiva utilidad ninguno desconoce." Advise for meetings appear in El Hípico, passim.


140. "Sancionando que el gobierno cuide de restablecer las sociedades de fomento," Apr. 1, 1861, Ancona, Colección, I, 86-89.

141. Valdés Acosta, A través de las centurias, III, 255.


Chapter Three, #144 - #152


148. Bernardo de Lisana, Historia de Yucatán, devocionario de la Ere. de ismael y conquista espiritual (1865; Etd edn., Mexico, 1898); Francisco de Cárdenas Valencia, Vida del padre José Granado Bensa, "Informe dado por el cura de Yaxobá sobre el manejo, vida y costumbres de los indios, 1815," Registro Yucateco, I (1845), II, 171, par. XII.

149. Bernardo de Lisana, Historia de Yucatán, devocionario de la Ere. de ismael y conquista espiritual (1865; Etd edn., Mexico, 1898); Francisco de Cárdenas Valencia, Vida del padre José Granado Bensa, "Informe dado por el cura de Yaxobá sobre el manejo, vida y costumbres de los indios, 1815," Registro Yucateco, I (1845), II, 171, par. XII.

Chapter Four, #1 - #2


2. Joaquín Barranda, Recuerdos históricos (2 vols., Mexico, 1907-13), I, 36-51, II, 241-249; Teodoro Barrancos and Juan Carbó, Memoria sobre la conveniencia, utilidad y necesidad de origen constitucionalmente en estado de la confederación mexicana el antiguo distrito de Campeche, constituido de hecho en estado libre y soberano desde mayo de 1868 (Mexico, 1901), esp. pp. 127-141; Edmundo O'Gorman, Breve historia de las divisiones territoriales: aportación de la progresión de México (Mexico, 1927), pp. xxxiv, 149-56.

4. See above, Chapter 1, Note 7.


7. "Concediendo privilegio exclusivo para establecer diligencias entre Mérida y Campeche," Dec. 31, 1840, Alonso Asnar Pérez, Colección de leyes, decretos, y órdenes 5 acuerdos de tendencia general del poder legislativo del estado libre y soberano de Yucatán (3 vols., Mérida, 1845-51); I, 374-75; "Aclarando el decreto de privilegio exclusivo a que se refiere," Jan. 3, 1842, ibid., II, 166; "Consignando un auxilio pecuniario en favor de la empresa de diligencias," June 1, 1844, ibid.; "Concediendo a la empresa de diligencias conducir la correspondencia entre Mérida y Campeche," June 5, 1846, ibid., III, 36-37. Boletín Comercial de Mérida y Campeche, #80 (June 20, 1842) advt.

8. B. W. Norman, Rambles in Yucatan; or notes of travel through the peninsula, including a visit to the remarkable ruins (New York, 1842, 2 vols., 1846), pp. 365-95; Hellor, Relato, p. 221, 272, 278-80; Morelet, Voyage, I, 166-61, reporting that he made the trip of 40 leagues in 12 hours. Though he did not make the trip, J. L. Stephens describes the discomfort of passengers he saw at Jalaoho, Incidents of travel in Yucatan (2 vols., New York, 1848), I, 197, describing a coach that "came up on a run, drawn by wild, uncowed horses not yet broken to the bit, and with their breasts galled and raw from the pressure of the collar."

9. Hellor, Relato, p. 282, somewhat incorrectly stating that Hekelolohamun "hat sogar, wie nur die zwei Hauptstädte, mit Laterne erleuchtete Straßen." Ixmal and Tekax also had lighted streets.


12. Regil and I Marvin, "Estadística," loc. cit., 246; desc. ibid., 246-48; Carlos Antonio de Rochfro and al., "Cuadro estadístico de Yucatán en 1814," El Fénix, #22 (Feb. 16, 1849; see above, Chapter 3, Note 14); Jean Frédéric Maximilien, Baron de Waldsee, Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale) pendant les années 1834 et 1835 (Paris, 1835), pp. 9-10, ff. 112, 113;
Chapter Four ¶12 (cont'd)-¶19


14. Echévarre et al., "Cuadro estadístico...1814," loc. cit.; Sierra, San Ildefonso, I, 121-29; Waldeck, Voyage, p. 10. The "H. MacGregor, náufragant americain très-estimé" with whom Waldeck stayed was John Le father of John F. and Edward who purchased the site of the old jail for erection of their two-story houses; for these latter see Alvares, Anales, I, 544, 573-75, 582; advt. in El Félix, 555 (Apr.-10, 1849) for "Comerama" to be given in area between the edifices of "Eres. D. Eduardo y D. Juan MacGregor." The latter also served as U.S. Consul in Campeche, see letter to A. Bigelow, Mar. 22, 1848, Senate Executive Documents, 50 Congr. 1 Sess., VI, No. 43, p. 39. José MacGregor y Castro was born May 1815, died 1842, after receiving schooling in U.S. and entering business as a merchant "like his dead father and his brothers," Vázquez Yucateco, II (1842), 30-40.

15. Norman, Rambles, p. 214; Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 77.


18. Alvares, Anales, I, 52-54, 97-98; Carlos R. Lamández, Huentay años de historia de Yucatán (1821-1910), relación sintética y cronológica de los acontecimientos, etc. (Merida, 1937), pp. 4, 16.

19. Alvares, Anales, I, 219-25, see ibid., 225-28 for drainage canal; Baranda, Recordaciones, I, 325-28; Lemna got a passe and Alameda at the same time as Campeche.
20. Huret, Voyage, I, 153. Waldeck mentions that due to the numerous catacombs and caves under Campeche, the streets were constantly falling down into them; arches to support the streets were placed by a Frenchman, Théodore Journot. Cf. Norman, Rambles, pp. 211-12.
23. J. L. Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan (2 vols., New York, 1841), II, 277-80. The correct spelling of this name is given above (rendered by Stephens "Ihebrea.") Abreu's vast fortune (for its time) was dissipated building a theater and a railroad from Mexico to San Angel, Nistico de Zamacois, Historia de Mexico (28 vols., Barcelona, 1879-1905), XII, 269.
25. Pedro Baranda, "Escuelas de pobres," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 161-65; Alvaro, Anales, I, 383-90, relating that from municipal funds came 1,526.82 pesos, from the general public 216.25, and from rich families ("personas de posibles"), 811.37. El Noticioso, p. 186 (July 20, 1847). See also Gabriel Ferrer de Mendiolos, "Historia de la beneficencia pública y privada," Enciclopedia Yucatanense, IV, 64-74. The Casa was founded in 1846 and by 1847 had 119 inmates; San Isidro was merged with it in 1849.
28. El Vigilante, s/f (Merida, Oct. 11, 1845); Amor Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, p. 164.
30. Alvaro, Anales, I, 440-42; El Pénix, s/f (Nov. 15, 1848), p. 15, 17 (Jan. 1, 20, 1849). Of the 18 youths chosen for education, 2 proved too young or "not art," so were replaced with others; first classes started in 1850.
33. Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, p. 186.
34. Alvaro, Anales, I, 524-25; "Estableciendo en la ciudad de Campeche una escuela de matemáticas y náutica," Oct. 31, 1846; Amor Barbachano, Colección, I, 529-50; Justo Sierra, "Dr. José Martín y Espinosa de los Menteros (Noticia Biográfica)," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 82-85.
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40. Vasconcelos, Ulises orillo, p. 106.


46. Registro Yucateco, III (1848), 10, 275-76; El Fénix, §37 (May 1, 1849); Harbachero and Carbó, Memoria, pp. 88, 140. Las Riformas materiales (1859-60; Lib. Congr.), which I did not see.

47. Antonio Carito López, "Historia de la imprenta y del periodismo" Enciclopedia Yucatecana, V, 65-64, 78.


52. Bigelow to Perry, Feb. 20, 1848, Senate Executive Documents, 30 Cong., 1 Ses., VI, No. 45, p. 4.

53. O'Cormac, Divisiones territoriales, pp. 42, 116, 156, 166, 176; Menéndez, Reunión, pp. 288.

54. Vasconcelos, Voyage, pp. 11; Heller, Relaciones, pp. 229-58, 265-66. An analysis of the encomienda system in Campeche is needed; some data are available in Tasaciones de los pueblos de la Provincia de Yucatán pertenecientes a los encomenderos de la villa de San Francisco de Campeche, hechas por la Audiencia de Santiago de Guatemala en el mes de febrero de 1648, Gobierno del Estado de Campeche, Cuaderno 3 (Campeche, 1942); in 1639, among its 300 vecinos, Campeche had only 15 encomenderos (merida with 400 vecinos had 79; Valladolid, with 100 had 87), Francisco de Córdova, Relación historico etc. (Mexico, 1867), pp. 79, 81, 85, 92-93; at the end of the colonial period, revenues from encomiendas in Campeche were only 6,300 pesos, or 9.6% of the total for the peninsula in 1786, Diego de Luna, "Registos de los productos de dichas encomiendas...Campeche, July 28, 1786," Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, IX (July 1868), 662-67.

55. Duran and Carbia, Memoria, pp. 2-4. Speaking of Merida the authors said it appeared to them that "los espanoles hablan venido a esa parte de Yucatan o ser conquistadas por los indios," as they spoke a Mayanized Spanish learned from their native wet-nurses. (Cf. above, Chapter 2, Note 158.) For Merida's long rebuttal, see Carpio Enríquez, Historia histórico (3 vols., 1872-73), 2, 153-54; n. 1.

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57. No contemporary traveler visited these groups. But see, C. L. Lundell, "The agriculture of the Maya," Southwest Review, XIX (1953), 65-77; S. Solhe and R. L. Boye, "History of the Maya area," Carnegie Institution, Yearbook, XLII (1942-43), 182-83; D. C. B. and C. E. Bond, "The population there which "abandoned the ancient places where they lived and settled in the new municipalities," which recognizes the government of the State of Campeche." Solhe and Boye are preparing a study of this area in colonial days.

58. Regil and Peón, "Estadística," loc. cit., 278, 306, stating also that the coast "la rivalidad de los empresarios produce en general la exageración de las anticipaciones, y lo que es consiguiente persecuciones exquisitas que suelen degenerar en opresión y servidumbre, para evitar su defraudación o la fuga de los adeudados." Morelet, Voyage, I, 207-208, 222, 240-41.

59. Alva


61. Aníbal Barbamano and C. E. Bond, Memoria, pp. 139-40.


64. Miguel Ibarra, "Derrotero de la península de Yucatán, de todas sus costas etc. . . . en el año de 1817," Registro Yucateco, I (1843), 126; Regil and Peón, "Estadística," loc. cit., 244; Francisco Cervantes, "Yalahau," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 238-39; "Yalahau," El Album Mexicano, IV (1847), 397; Stephens, Yucatan, II, 540-52.
65. Juan José de Torro, "La montaña de Bacalar," Registro Yucateco, I (1846), 217; Stephens, Yucatan, II, 408.


68. Norman, Rambles, p. 89; "No wheeled carriages, of any description, were seen." Adds other data.

69. Justo Sierra, "D. Pedro Salin de Baranda," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 194, saying: "Hasta era el tema favorito de los proyectos del Sr. Baranda."Sobre las haciendas," July 16, 1846, Amér Peres, Colección, III, 45-46 ordered that all inhabitants of partido of Tizimin be required to work at least six days to complete the road from Tizimin to Yalahau.

70. Communication from Leandro Post to R. L. Hoys, Erbon, p. 69, "states that the chief complaint of the natives of his town at this time [1847] was the ill-treatment of the Indians, who were sent to Valladolid to do faginas."

71. Regil and Peon, "Estadísticas," loc. cit., 254. Bohónove et al., "Cuadro estadístico...1814," par. 97, El Fénix, 925 (Feb. 20, 1849), adding "Con decir que dos o tres pesos mensuales son alquiler estimativo de las mejores casas, se deduce su misera situación." Cf. view of 1950, "One wonders how the bulk of the population supports itself.... Most of the buildings look neglected; some are in ruins, few new houses are to be seen, and the bush encroaches upon the outskirts of the town," George Shattuck, The peninsula of Yucatan, etc., Carnegie Institution, Publication 331 (Washington, 1928), p. 93.


73. Norman, Rambles, p. 96; Stephens, Yucatan, II, 333.


78. Baqueiro Anduze, *Valladolid*, pp. 196-97, "levantada para el disfrute de una vida de sosiego, la población se mantiene en inquietante vigilia."


81. "Memoria de los creó de los distintos colegios en los puntos de reunión que se expresa," Registro Yucateco, LIV, p.p. Stephens and Naranjo each stated Valladolid had about 16,000 people, but official count of 1646 states 10,220.


83. *La Voz Milionica*, §7 (May 19, 1846).


85. Cantón Rosado, *Francisco Cantón*, p. 1; *La Voz Milionica*, §6 (May 16, 1846).


Chapter Four, §86-§97 (cont'd)

88. Juan Antonio Valora and Francisco Javier de Corras, "Discurso sobre la constitución de las provincias de Yucatán y Campeche, 1766," F. V. Scholes et al., eds., Documentos para la historia de Yucatán (3 vols., 1936-38), III, 17-18, 20, 55-56; Rosário et al., "Cuadro estadístico...1816," para. 43-47, El Fénix, 514 (Feb. 21, 1843), 101, 128 (Mar. 15, 1848); La Voz Publica, 566 (Nov. 8, 1846), art. 89.

89. Roys, El Imp., pp. 63-64; Pérez Alomar, Ensayos, pp. 82-83; [quoting memoria of 1846] says that in the partido of Valladolid there were 57,556 inhabitants in 26 towns, with 14,049 rural dwellers scattered on 117 haciendas, 115 ranchos; the latter figures are probably low estimates.


91. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 386.

92. Norman, Rambles, p. 224; he also thought (p. 223), "The glimpse the Indians have just caught of what they may do... may probably stimulate them to make the effort to free themselves from the bondage of the whites. They intelligent and well-informed men... fear this may ultimately be the result." See Stephens, Yucatan, II, 381.

93. See long explanation of why Campeche did not support a revolt in the east of 1845, Álvarens, Anales, I, 566-69; the ayuntamiento of Campeche said it would not aid an attempt "retrogradar a Yucatán a unos tiempos tan melancómicos y ominosos," but held themselves to be "amigos del progreso y de la civilización."

94. Carlos R. Humbert, La primera crisis de la revolución mexicana; el movimiento de Valladolid en 1810; estudio histórico-critico (Mexico, 1919).

95. See below, Chapters 5-7.

96. Roys, El Imp., pp. 12, 53, n. 6; Plates 1-2; also his Indian background, p. 17, 58-64, 170-94, esp. Map 4 (p. 150); Villa R, Colonias Mayas, pp. 7-8. Possibly some of the lands of Elío could be assigned to "Borderlands" but most of them are here considered "East Colonial." The lands of Hamati, Caolotzul, Tzucacab and Peté shown by Roys (Map 4, Indian background) also would fall in Borderlands; those of Ixcatá would be allocated to "Old Colonial."

97. Francisco de Córdoba Valencia, Relación histórica eclesiástica de la provincia de Yucatán de la Nueva España, escrita en el año de 1839, Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, III (Pedrode Orosco, ed., Mexico, 1887), pp. 99-110; Carrillo y Arona, Martínez, pp. 49-60; "Conventos y Casas de la serenísim Provincia de San José de Yucatán, según está se encontraba en el año de 1800").

In explaining the tri-partite meaning of the word provincia as used in Yucatán, Córdoba mentioned that it meant (1) the whole peninsula, which was divided into five parts, (2) each fifth was also called a provincia, then (3) each of the latter small provinces was subdivided "otra vez en otras que hay... mas particulares... las cuales se componen de algunos pueblos que para su buen gobierno y administración... los subordinan a otro pueblo que los sirva de..."
cabecera, y estos pueblos así agregados llaman provincias...”

Chapter Four, p.97 (cont’d)—109

op. cit., p. 98. The common names of the “provinces” [in the latter sense], such as Beneficios Altos, Camino Real Bajo etc. (shown in Table 5 above) were well-established by the end of the XVIIIth century, according to F. Melina Soló, Historia de Yuatán durante la dominación española (5 vols., Merida, 1904-13), II, 300.


97. Francisca Martínez de Arrandondo, “Bolonchontoul,” Museo Yuatcoo, I (May 1941), 217-21 (also reprinted in Castillo, Diccionario, pp. 107-15); Justo Sierra, “Xcambuchilxan” Registro Yuatcoo, I (1946), 245-57; Stephens, Yuatan, II, 144-56 (water was at a depth of 450 feet below the surface).


102. Stephens, Yuatan, II, 141-46, 156.


106. Pedro Baranda, “Tradiciones vulgares,” Registro Yuatcoo, III (1846), 467-65 reporting conversation with an ancient of Bolonchontoum in which are given myths and beliefs about caves there. Author addresses the reactionary old fellow by rhetorical questions, such as “Have you not heard of the progresses of science...doesn’t it please you to hear of the multiplication of railroads, rapid communications of commerce? Don’t you know about the establishment of electric telegraphs,” then the query inserted above.


109. “Acta de la villa de Bolopehan,” Apr. 9, 1858, Barberano and Carbó, Memoria, “Documentos,” pp. 150-56. See ibid., Actas de Díabolehan, Bolonchontoul, Iturbide. The best political map of Chenes and West Coast is that in this Memoria, by H. Fremont (1861), large scale.

110. Felipe de Harra to Secretaría de Gobierno, June 6, 1841, Boletín Geográfico de Mérida y Campeche, 20 (June 30, 1842).
110. Fabián Carrillo Suaste, "Fragmentos de un viaje hecho a la Sierra Alta en enero de 1846 y escrito en el mismo año," [Parte III, IV, V] El México, I (1850), 204-209, 265-69, 361-66; unfortunately I have been unable to see his "Fragmentos de un segundo viaje a la Sierra Alta a mediados de 1860," Revista Yucateca, I (1860), 401-06. Regil and Peon, "Estadísticas," loc. cit., 265.


116. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 172-75, 207, 211-13. At one time 1,500 Indians under 80 mayordomos were employed to clear the walls and aquada.

117. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 216-17. In 1842 only fifty souls lived there, as the system of cisterns was not fully developed.

118. Decree, Aug. 21, 1846, Asnar Pérez, III, 48. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 221-23, saying (222), "The situation of this rancho was on a fine open plain the land was good, and water abundant, though not very near at hand..."


124. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 175, 177, 182-86, 203-206. "We had not formed any very exalted opinion of these people, and they did not rate themselves very high. Don Juan told us that the Indians were all drunkards, and half the white people; and the other half had occasionally to take to the hummock he said too they were all gamblers, and the alcalde, as he shuffled the cards, confirmed it..." (206).
Chapter Four, #125-#140

125. "Medidas para reducir a poblado a las familias que viven dispersas en las montañas," Oct. 17, 1846, Aznar Pérez, Colección, III, 75. Through orders like these, families who lived around Izcoacab were to be made to recognize the jurisdiction of the nearest town (Iturbide) and to subject them to all responsibilities for which they were obligated as Yucatecans. 


127. Roman, Familias, pp. 156-58. Cantamayec, four leagues south of Sotuta, was "a miserable town...occupied by half-breeds and Indians."


129. Kolobolím, Mar. 20, 1846, Aznar Pérez, Colección, III, 11; Cholul, Nov. 12, 1844, ibid., II, 269.

130. Bartolomé del Grandema Saeta, "Informe dado por el cura de Yaxoaba...sobre el manejo, vida y costumbres de los indios...Apr. 1, 1815." Registro Yucateco I (1846), 165-78. Editorial comment on final page.


138. Acevedo, "Bacalar," loc. cit., 315, "Tan solo hay que lamentar al mal estado que guarda el camino principal de aquella villa...para facilitar y dar impulso a aquel comercio de positiva utilidad y conveniencia era de desearse que las personas a quienes corresponen una mano protectora...."

139. Acevedo, "Bacalar," loc. cit., 314; Torres, "Montana de Bacalar," loc. cit., 212, stating the monkey "prestaba servicios con docilidad...con limpieza como un joven jilguero." Also states (p. 209) "no hace mucho tiempo que en ella se han establecido arrojidos ingenios de azúcar," referring to the district of Bacalar.

141. Seo above, Chapter 2, Notes 87-90. J. J. Hernández wrote in 1846 that unless appropriate steps were taken, "mientras continué
la misma rutina que hasta aquí, podemos asegurar, sin pretensiones de profetas, que nuestros indígenas se irán alejando más y más de las poblaciones, hasta confundirse con los salvajes que existen entre nuestro territorio y Honduras," in "El indio yucateco," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 430.
142. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 36, 69-71. The inhabitants of Schwell in the same neighborhood lived on traditional lands. "They consider themselves better off than in the villages, where the people are subject to certain municipal regulations and duties, or than on haciendas, where they would be under the control of masters," ibid., II, 14; this was a community of 100 heads of families.
143. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 244.
145. Regil and Peón, "Estadística," loc. cit., 283, 323; gives number as 15,883, with standardized freight rate of 1 real per arroba.
146. "Resumen de los establecimientos y productos agrícolas e industriales del Departamento de Yucatán," Exposición...1844, p. 25. Of the 102,081 meatas of sugar, 72,801 (71.5%) were in partido of Hopolohen (10,028), Tekax (32,292), and Yucatán (30,481); of 79 distilleries, 42 (53.2%) were in Tekax (17), Yucatán (5), and Hopolohen (17).
Chapter Five, §4 - §17


5. Alonso Fabiá, Exploración económic-socio-cultural del estado de Yucatán (Mexico, n.d. [1934]), p. 11: Sugar's value was only 32% in 1920.


9. G. M. McBride, The land systems of Mexico, American Geographical Society, Research series No. 15 (New York, 1925), p. 40. Cf. Preston B. James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 608: "The ownership of a hacienda provides two things which every Mexican desires but few can achieve: social prestige and economic security. Because the owner is relatively free from land and labor costs, he is able to profit from the sale of his products, even when transportation costs are high... The owners of ranches do not share either the prestige or the economic position of the large landowners."

10. In modern Mexican literature, one type of novel deals with hacienda life and various emotional conflicts arising from the changes connected with them. For examples, see José López Portillo y Rojas, La mascota (Mexico, 1895); Gregorio López y Puentes, Tierra; la revolución agraria en México (Mexico, 1933), and esp. his Huenteca; novela huenteca (Mexico, 1939); Mauricio Magdaleno, Sunkurr (trans. Anita Brender, New York, 1944).

11. McBride, Land systems, p. 40, repeating that "the sentimental value that attaches to these holdings is an influence in the life of the nation that far eclipses the economic value of the properties."

Cf. ibid., pp. 28-29.


13. McBride, Land systems, pp. 37, 79 (Table V).


17. Gerónimo Castillo, "La hacienda del refugio," Ch. 9 of Un paro y plecto; novela yucateca, in Registro Yucateco, IV (1846-49), 241-61; the entire novel runs throughout the volume, the description summarized above on pp. 242-44. An excellent detailed exposition which has little place in the novel.
Chapter Five, #18 - #27

18. The hacienda described by Castillo, "Refugio," loc. cit., 241, purportedly was one that had existed for three hundred years, founded by ancestors who had obtained it "en premio de su lealtad y buenos servicios." The author had evidently pored over actual land documents, as he correctly alludes to the usual ceremony by which such grants were given, wherein the recipients and the grantor follow the boundaries, "arrancando yerbas, trozando árboles, dando gritos y arrojando piedras, en señal de dominio."  

19. D. S. Orbit, "Mercedes and realengos: a survey of the public land system in Cuba," Hispanic American Historical Review, XIX (Aug. 1939), 262-65. Lib. IV of the Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las indias (Madrid, 1681; 3rd edn., 3 vols., Madrid, 1774) deals chiefly with land problems, but references are scattered throughout it; e.g., Lib. VI, Tit. 5, Lib. II, Tit. 31, Leyes IX, xiii. Bibliography in Madrid, land systems is stronger on nineteenth century items than colonial or more recent; for a helpful bibliography of modern land practice in Mexico, see E. W. Simpson, The Ejido, Mexico's way out (Chapel Hill, 1937). Handy collection for main features are documents reprinted in Francisco F. de la Isusa, Código de colonización y terrenos baldíos de la República Mexicana, anos 1410 a 1889 (Mexico, 1889). Surprisingly few sets are listed for Yucatán in the published index of the Remo de Tierras, Archivo General de la Nación, Boletín, II ff., which has covered about half the collection.


21. Madrid, land systems, pp. 56-57; composición was generally instituted by Hapsburgs, but became an effective instrument under Bourbons. A study of the processes and variations is needed, as documents I have seen for Yucatán indicate considerable divergence from one period to another, and from one place to another.

22. Justo Sierra, "Consideraciones sobre el origen, causas, y tendencias de la sublevación de los indígenas, sus probables resultados, y posible remedio," El Fénix (6 times monthly, Campeche), #5 ff. ref. #47 (June 20, 1849).

23. Baltazar Ladron de Guevara to Viceroy Manuel de Flores, Nov. 11, 1789, par. #69, reprinted in Fabian de Fonseca and Carlos de Urrutia, Historia general de Real Hacienda escrita...por orden del virrey, obra hasta ahora inédita (6 vols., Mexico, 1641-51), IV, 242-48.


31. "Testimonio de poder," May 18, 1787, Encomiendas, loc. cit., 626-27; only 26 out of ninety hacendados signed the list, and royal officials claimed they were not representative, but were merely disgruntled magnates whose encomiendas had been taken, ibid., 653.


36. Morris Steggerda, Maya Indians of Yucatan, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 581 (Washington, 1941), pp. 117-24; in special milpa for experimental purposes, Steggerda found second year yield was nearer three-quarters than half the first, but whether this would be true of the Old Colonial section is still an open question. Steggerda's experiments were carried on in only one area of Yucatan, in the "maize" zone.


46. When maize sold for 2 reales a carga (4 medios), it was discounted 1 medio if bought "in anticipation," Bessa, "Informe," loc. cit., 176, but he added "if the buyer is not wide awalus he usually does not collect all the maize he pays for." Price of maize in 1846 from Table 5, José M. Regil and Alonso Manuel Peon, "Estadística de Yucatán," Sociedad mexicana de geografía y estadística, Bolstín, III (1882-83), 327-340.

47. When maize sold for 2 reales a carga, rising to 12 in times of scarcity in 1846, for export purposes at Campeche it was valued at ten reales per carga, see previous note.


49. Santiago Méndez, "Noticia sobre las costumbres, trabajos, idiomas, industria, fisionomía &c. de los indios de Yucatán" Oct. 24, 1861, Sociedad mexicana de geografía y estadísitica, Bolstín, época 2, tomo II (1870), 376-87. This seems to be a compilation, brought up to 1861, of several previous reports; it follows the same wording as Bessa, "Informe," loc. cit., and reprints verbatim [with exclusion of a long poem] for its section on "Women," the article Juan José Hernández, "Las indias de Yucatán," Registro yucateco, III (1880), 290-96. The Méndez article has been translated by Marshall H. Saville under the title of "The Maya Indians of Yucatan in 1861," Museum of the American Indian, Indian Notes and Monographs, IX (1921), 148-86; because of minor discrepancies in translation I have preferred to use the original article, where section on lumeros is found, pp. 377-78.


51. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 366; Stephens, Yucatan, II, 171, "by furnishing them constant employment; Indians can be procured in any numbers at a real per day..."


58. B. M. Norman, Rambles in Yucatan or, notes on travel through the peninsula, including a visit to the remarkable ruins (New York, 1849, 4th ed., 1864), pp. 71, 132.

Chapter Five, #60-#74 (cont'd)


63. Désiré Charnay, Cités et ruines américaines (Paris, 1863), p. 355 gives description of vaquero in 1850; see above, Chapter 2, Note 96 for references to period around 1840.

64. Méndez, "Indios," loc. cit., 376.

65. I know of no adequate study of the charro in Mexican literature. For interesting sidelights on the extension of cattle economy from the Mexican northern areas to the American Southwest, see J. Frank Dobie, The Longhorns (Boston, 1941), esp. pp. 5-26, "The first Spanish cattle, with bibliographical notes. Pedro Henríques Garra, Literary currents in Hispanic America (Cambridge, 1945), gives dis-
cussion and bibliography of gañocho literature, pp. 164-47, 259 n.22, as does W. Rex Crawford, A century of Latin American thought (Cam-
bridge, 1945), pp. 44-47.


67. Simon Peon was trying to train a young emigrant Spaniard (who had worked as a waiter in New York's Delmonico's restaurant) to take over a general manager's job. The boy failed to learn, and drifted off to Tabasco. Stephens, Central America, II, 143-50.


70. Stephens, Yucutan, II, 101. The blue cloth worn by one of the fiscales at the ball was said to be actually one used by a cacique of colonial times; fiscales would not have been allowed to usurp this prerogative of office, as their symbols were the whip and key.

71. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 161; cf. ibid., I, 180, "The building was a mere rancho, erected only for the residence of a mayoral, a person inferior to a major-domo..." "La hija del mayoral," in Hernández, "Indias," loc. cit., 256.

72. Stephens, Central America, IV, 405.


74. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 148. Cf. Central America, II, 406, "At this hacienda the major-dona was a young mestiza, and had fallen into his place in an easy and natural manner by marrying his predecessor's daughter, who had just enough white blood to elevate the dulness of the Indian face..." Jean Frédéric Maxmillien, Baron de Waldeck, Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan.
Chapter Five, 274 (cont'd) - 286

(Amérique Centrale) pendant les années 1834 et 1836 (Paris, 1838), p. 95, saying "sont ordinairement les hétards des majordomes, dont les fonctions deviennent ainsi héréditaires." I suspect the accuracy of this, but it is not impossible; most of the majordomes I ever knew had plenty of legitimate offspring.

75. Holler, Reisen, pp. 256-57, saying "Da wir...keinen Grund hatten, diese Besorgnisse sorgfältig zu halten," especially since "In der Nähe schon mehrere Fesseln stattgefunden hatten und auch schon früher in Yucatán ein weiser Kayordomo erschlagen worden war." This was in the spring of 1847.

76. Waldeck, Voyage, p. 95.

77. Stephens, Central America, II, 418.

78. Castillo presents some typical cases, "Refugio," loc. cit., 286, as does Stephens, Central America, II, 417-18.

79. Waldeck, Voyage, p. 95. See above, Chapter 2, Note 95.

80. Stephens, Central America, II, 406; the various haciendas owned by the Peon families were not often visited, see Stephens, Yucatan, I, 169, 206, II, 62 et passim.

81. Stephens, Yucatan, II, 377; ibid., I, 143 saying that "the stately hacienda of Xoanohaken...showed that it was often subject to the master's eye...."

82. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 191.

83. Brief and unsatisfactory are discussions of money and banking of the period; see Carlos Días Díufo, "The industrial evolution of Mexico," Mexico: its social evolution, Justo Sierra (ed.), ed., C. Sánchez, trans. (2 vols., Mexico, 1900-04) II (Part 3), 186 ff., and H. K. Benoist et al., History of Mexico (5 vols., San Francisco 1883-88), VI, 502-25, each summarizing annual reports which I have not seen.

84. Regli and Poon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 300-307; cf. for later period, re haciendas around Mérida, "...labor was at a premium there. All the planters had all the land they wanted -- more than they required -- but they did not have as much labor as they wanted. Therefore the value of a plantation was largely determined by the number of workers who lived there," Importation of Sisal Hemp, Hearings, II, 1561; the passage system as it developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Yucatan is set forth ibid., II, 1556-63; this balanced view was needed to correct the journalistic account of the muskraker, Kenneth Turner, Barbarous Mexico (New York, 1911), ch. 1, "The slaves of Yucatan"; the cruelty he noted was not in the economic self-interest of the majority of owners.

85. Castillo, "Refugio," loc. cit., 240; nearly every contemporary writer who discussed Indians pointed out with more or less heat that they were unmoved by economic rewards, and were unable to grasp the necessity for saving money. This trait was variously labelled "fatalism" or "stupidity," and was object of much concern.
Chapter Five, #86 - #98


88. In 1814 when there was a marked shortage of maíz, the Captain-General of the province ordered all who were caught as vagrants to be put to milpa work, Francisco Álvarez, Anales históricos de Yucatán, 1812-1910 (2 vols., Mérida, 1912), I, 34-35.

89. "Aclaraciones sobre el reglamento para el manejo de hacendados, labradores, y jornaleros," Apr. 19, 1824, Peon and Gondra, Colección, I, 102-103.


91. J. B. Molina Font, Historia de Yucatán durante la dominación española (5 vols., Mérida, 1904-13), I, 312; Hoyos, Indian background, p. 156-47, Edbom, p. 45, saying that "the town was obliged to cultivate a milpa of sixty mecos," for the gobernador-civil. Written into Yucatecan law after independence, "Reglamento de indígenas," July 20, 1824, Arts. 2, Peon and Gondra, Colección, I, 136.

92. Steggerda, Maya Indians, p. 117. Cf. Alfonso Villa R, The Maya of east central Quintana Roo, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 689 (Washington, 1945), p. 59, "The difficulty of obtaining the full cooperation of all the natives...make it impossible to determine the total precisely." The total milpa produced was 60,000 mecos.


94. E. F. Cline, "Love and deities of the Lacandon Indians, Chiapas, Mexico," Journal of American Folklore, XIV (April 1904), 111, n. 29.

95. T. nanseñT"personal letter to Redfield, quoted in Folk culture, p. 459, n. 6.

96. Gustavo Molina Font, La tragedia de Yucatán (Mexico, 1941), pp. 106-107, "...en la zona henequenera de Yucatán madr siehne más por espíritu de lucro. En general los indíos mayas asentados en esa zona buscan su subsistencia en los trabajos agrícolas e industriales del henequén, y durante además una pequeña milpa (entre media y una hectárea) es mas bien por satisfacer una necesidad espiritual forzada por una tradición milenaria," (p. 107). A hectare contains about 24 mecos.
Chapter Five, #99 - #105

99. Pires Toro, *La milpa*, pp. 39-41. One informant told him that "la milpa no está haciendo para tener dinero; es para alimentación," and that by raising 40 meocates he produced enough to support himself, his wife, 2 minor children, 5 hogs, chickens; another twenty meocates were raised for sale. Cf. Redfield and Villa, *Chan Kom*, pp. 52-57.


102. Steggerda, *Maya Indians*, p. 127, using average figure of nine hrs. per hour in the equal 6.2 lbs. per hr., or 15.1 lbs. per 94 lbs. carga. Pires Toro, *La milpa*, pp. 37-38, using 2 kg. (4.4 lbs.) per carga. For days, Steggerda uses 8 working hrs., Pires Toro uses 7 hrs./day.


104. Regil, Peon, Zavala and Donde, "Informe," loc. cit., III, 257, also mentioning that in 1879 proprietors tried always to get labor on contract basis rather than day-wage, but that "cada especie de trabajo se hace por jornal o por tarea, según lo tiene fijado la costumbre y ésta es muy variada."

105. Regil and Peon, *Estadísticas,* loc. cit., 290 n. 1; "Contestaciones relativos a los pesos y medidas entre los Sres. Museo y Guatemalteco," Sociedad mexicana de geografía y estadística, Boletin, VI (1859), 71-86; Steggerda, Maya Indians, p. 94; Redfield and Villa, *Chan Kom*, p. 45 n. 2; Pires Toro, *La milpa*, pp. 4, 40 — "en su seno hay meocates de treinta por treinta metros, y 'cargas' de quince almudes para defraudar a los deshervadores y a los carreros respectivamente."
Chapter Five, 7106 -#118 (cont'd)

106. Heller, Reisen, p. 226, quoting memoria of 1846. The total given in Heller, 5,082,057 is an incorrect sum of the separate items; the correct figure is 3,332,057.


108. See above, Chapter 3, pp.

109. Steggerda, Maya Indians, pp. 119-124, 137. Steggerda assumes losses by animals, etc. the same for each year, whereas Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 226 not only include weeds and lack of ashes (no burnings) as factors, but the great number of ants and rats and worms attracted to a milpa after its first year as destructive agents reducing its second and third year yields, especially as they uproot and destroy seed corn after planting.

110. Dirección de Estadística, Censo Agrícola de 1930, cited and reproduced by Fabila, Exploración, p. 24; their figures showed that about 12% of lands in the state of Yucatan were arable, and that 52% were not able to produce subsistence crop (aside from forest lands, 15% more).

111. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 303; Emerson, "Survey," p. 11, "If this guess is not too wild to be credited, 15 to 20 times as much maize might be produced each year is now grown, thus supporting that many times as large a population...."; Kempton, "Preliminary report," p. 4 suggests 4 or 5 times present pop.; Steggerda, Maya Indians, 149 says "the land is capable of supporting eight times as many people as there are at present" (286,096 persons in 1930, Ibid., p. 2). These estimates assume that every square unit of land could be made into a milpa, which is obviously impractical and impossible without drying up the swamps, clearing off all the forests, etc., and that no other crops would be raised. Soil and climate factors should almost halve the maximum estimates, at least.


115. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 300 state 260,600 cargas, while 216,000 is given in "Apéndice...sobre cereales," Registro Yucateco, 61 (1846), 110-11.

116. "Memoria sobre cereales," loc. cit., 61-62; "Consecuencias de la buena cosecha de este año," El Noticiero, 61 (Nov. 24, 1846) pointed out that "Foodstuffs have become extra-ordinarily dear, day wages the same, and difficulty of encountering workmen has grown." Ironia is the use of "good crop" in the title.


118. "Memoria sobre cereales," loc. cit., 66; Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 506; Heller, Reisen, p. 294. Prices never fell below 4 reales the carga, and averaged from 6-8; slight shortages pushed them up quickly. In 1847, in addition to losses from an
extraordinary flood on June 30, 1846 (which washed out crops),
exportation of 16,902 cargas lowered the supply prices from about 0
reales to 12 (July, 1847), La Voz Publica, p20
(July 4, 1846), El Noticiero, p187 (July 25, 1847).

119. "Memoria sobre cereales," loco cit., 45-50; "Apendice...sobre
cereales," loco cit.

120. Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loco cit., 305.

121. José Jesus Castro, "Agricultura...e sostos establecimientos
rurales," El Hesitico, I (1850), 267-71 though fertilizers and deep
plowing was an answer; Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loco cit.,
287-88 insert various views. Most agronomists now agree milpa
techniques are best suited to Yucatan (see quotation at head of
this chapter).

122. "Sobre arrendamiento de terrenos baldíos y comunes," Oct. 18, 1844,
Anuar Perez, Colección, II, 365-66

123. "Que los indígenas no paguen arrendamiento de tierras baldías o
comunes," Nov. 12, 1845, Anuar Perez, Colección, II, 484; "Que
por labrar los ejidos de los pueblos no paguen arrendamientos los
vecinos respectivos," Aug. 19, 1846, ibid., III, 47.

Chapter Six, #1

1. José M. Regil and Alonso Manuel Paez, "Estadística de Yucatán,
Sociedad mexicana de geografía y estadística, Boletín, III (1852-63),
287-340 (ref. pp. 334-56); C. B. Weller, Reisen in Mexico in den
Jahren 1846-1848 (Leipzeg, 1858), pp. 229-28. The "Estadística-
ica" is primarily the work of Regil, based on a summary Memoria he pre-
sented in 1846 (which I have not seen) which in turn borrows some
data from earlier treatments, esp. Pedro Manuel Regil, Memoria
Instructiva sobre el censoario general de la provincia de Yucatán y
particular del puerto de Campeche (Madrid, 1847), reprinted in El
Péniz (Campeche, loc. 1848 - Jan. 1849), and Felipes Antonio de
Estéfano et al., "Cuadro estadístico de Yucatán en 1814," El Péniz,
#21-#29 (Feb. 10 - Mar. 20, 1849), reprinted as Apuntaciones para
la estadística de la provincia de Yucatán que formaron de orden
superior en 20 de marzo de 1813 los señores Caamaño, Estéfano,
Boilo y Zunzarén (Herida, 1843; photocopy copies in collections
of InriFloor Vasquez and of ÍSoles Méndez), and "Instrucciones que la
diputación provincial de Yucatán dió a los Sres. diputados que
elegió la provincia para concurrir a las cortes generales y ordi-
narias de la monarquía en los años de 1821 y 1822," El Péniz, #30-#32
(Mar. 25 - Apr. 5, 1849), and José Julian Paez, Grafías estadísticas de
Yucatán (1850; 2nd edn., Mérida, 1901), as well as numerous pamph-
lets, "exposiciones," and articles, some of which are cited below.


4. Pedro de Regil Peon, José García Zavala, and Manuel Doncel, “Informe que presentó el síndico del estado libre y soberano de Yucatán para satisfacer el deseo de los miembros acerca del ministerio de hacienda...Herida, Marzo 26 de 1878,” in Melchion Busto, Estadística de la República Mexicana, Anexo núm. 5 a la Memoria de Hacienda del año económico de 1877 a 1878 (3 vols., Mexico, 1880), III, 255-69, 420-16, esp. pp. 256, 413. See above, Chapter 4, pp. 41 for Daza’s Aurora Yucateca.


16. "Comunicando al virrey de la N.E. del galeón que se fabricó en Campeche, 16 de marzo de 1651," Ms., Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Huelas Órdenes, Vol. 4, Exp. 10. The vessel was built for a private account.

17. Valera and de Corres, "Discurso...1766," loc. cit., 47; "Observaciones que el alférez de frigate D. José María de Ima forma sobre la planta nombrada henequén...Octubre 16 de 1788," Registro Yucateco, III, 91-92. Keel measurements usually were in units of codos (lit. "elbows"), composed of 6 "palmas" of six "fingers" each for ordinary purposes, but 33 "fingers" for maritime measurements; a maritime codo is equivalent to about 1.84 feet (English). Usually two ordinary codos (48 "fingers") equaled a Castillian vara.


Chapter Six, #29 - #43

29. Fabián de Fonseca and Carlos de Urutia, Historia general de la Real Hacienda, escrita por orden del virrey Donde Revillagigedo (6 vols., Mexico, 1850-53), IV, 62-76.


34. Justo Sierra, "Dr. Juan Antonio Frutos (Noticia Biográfica)," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 106-110; Francisco Alavés, Anales históricos de Campeche, 1811-1810, documentos oficiales y de publicaciones autorizadas (2 vols., Mérida, 1812), I, 366; Regil and Peon, "Estadística," loc. cit., 286.

35. Dr. A. Pando, "Sobre el uso de café," El Espectador de Mexico, III, 7-15 (Nov. 8, 1861); Matías Romero, "Artículos sobre el cultivo de café," Parte II, El Estado de Oaxaca (Barcelona, 1886), 68-69, cf. ibid., Part III, pp. 149-151 indicating that even as late as 1876 no one area had an extended domination over coffee production.

Chapter Six, #44 - #62

44. "Informe...de Campeche," loc. cit., pp. 34-35.


46. "Exposición que los destiladores de aguardiente de la capital elevaron a la legislatura del Estado, agosto 22 de 1849," El Fénix, #62 (Sept. 5, 1849).

47. "Informe de la Junta de fomento de agricultura e industria del distrito de Yerida, marzo 22 de 1844," Exposición...junto a 18 de 1844, pp. 22-23.


49. Angel Cuervo, "Yucatán," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 16-17.

50. "Exposición que los destiladores...elevaron," loc. cit.


54. "Informe...de Campeche," loc. cit., 34.


See above, Chapter One, Notes 107-113.


74. Valera, "Discurso... 1705," loc. cit., 60-61; "Observaciones... sobre henequén," loc. cit., 84-86 (quot. from p. 91).


78. José A. Bolio, Manual práetíoo do noncguon» su ouHiivo y oxplotaoiór (Marida, 1914), pp. 50-45.

80. F. Cline, "Bibliography" cit., p.177.


82. Gerónimo CastUloir, Un pacto y un pleito, in Registro Yuoateoo, IV (1846), 245.

83. Cámara Zavala, "Industria henequenera, pp. 24-25.

84. James K. Hitchcock and E. S. Scripture, "Cálculo que manifiesta las ventajas que produce el raspar jenequán por medio de máquinas," La voz Publica, #56 (Marida, itov. 7, 1846) | an anonymous correpsondent approved the calculations but thought the machine should be tried publicly, ibid., #67 (Nov. 10).


86. Cámara Zavala, "Industria henequenera, pp. 24-25.


Chapter Six, #89 - #101


95. Cámara Zavala, Industria henequenera, pp. 30-31; Menchaca, Noventa anos, pp. 15, 404.

96. Cámara Zavala, Industria henequenera, p. 51. The original pamphlets on which his treatment rests are listed in Priego de Arjona, "Informe," loc. cit., 264, as from 1869-76 Villanueva and his lawyers bombarded the public with data.


Chapter Six, \#102 - \#116


104. Ober, *Travels*, p. 54; *Yucatan and an American monopoly* (n.p., n.d. [1910]), p. 6. In 1876, about 6,000 tons were exported; Molina Font, *Tragedia*, p. 70, quoting Enrique Iñáñez, *Exploración estadística* de la producción henequenera de Yucatán (which I have not seen).

105. Noticiosos de Ambos Mundos (New York), I, \#9, \#10 (Feb. 1858), 63, 80. I am indebted to Ricardo López Méndez for this reference.


113. Pedro de Regil y Peón, "Informe," loc. cit., 256-57, stating that mestizos were superior to Negroes for field work.


3. José M. Regil and Alonso Manuel Peón, "Estadística de Yucatán," Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía e Historia, Boletín, III (1855), 305. As mentioned elsewhere, this study is an elaboration of an official memoria presented by Regil in 1846. Sierra to Buchanan, Apr. 8, 1848, 30th Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Executive Documents, V, p. 40, p. 25.
4. See above, Chapter 5, Notes 22, 23.
5. "Queda de los indios de Calkini por falta de tierras para labranza, 1815," id., Bárbara Vázquez Collection. The Indians of Dinahchá were under the sub-delegado of Calkini for repartimiento. Cf. the heated polemics reproduced by Vásquez, Consulado (pp. 19-24), Yucatán to the consideration of the senators (New Orleans, 1850), p. 78.
6. Justo Sierra O'Brien, "Consideraciones sobre el origen, causas y tendencias de la sublevación de los indígenas, sus probables resultados y su posible remedio," El Fénix, 28 (Nov. 10, 1848) et seq., quot. from §46 (June 25, 1849).
Chapter Seven, #12 – #26


17. Pantaleon Barrera et al., Observaciones sobre la actual situación política del departamento de Hidalgo (Mexico, 1846), pp. 7-5.


21. "Nuevos premios de campaña," Aug. 26, 1844, "Sobre adjudicación de tierras en premio de servicios prestados," July 14, 1845, "Que se adjudiquen las tierras ofrecidas en premio de servicios," Nov. 13, 1846, Asnar Pérez, Colección, II, 216-16, 407; III. In 1845 and 1846 the government stated it was acting as quickly as possible on applications for land for military services.

22. "Sobre el préstamo forzoso de 2 de diciembre de 1842," Nov. 18, 1845, "Apliando los terrenos baldíos a la amortización de la deuda del estado," Nov. 17, 1845, "Aclaración del decreto de 18 de noviembre de 1845," Sept. 5, 1846, " Ratificando el Art. 70 de la ley de 5 de abril de 1841 sobre venta de terrenos," Oct. 22, 1846, Asnar Pérez, Colección, II, 268, 269, 247, 283. The "loan" levied a 2% contribution on everyone who had more than 100 pesos a year income, ibid., 231-53. The preliminary decree of Nov. 17 became law on Nov. 18, 1845, hence the discrepancy in dates.


26. See above, Chapter 2, for the various distinctions between towns, hamlets, and the other technical terms (such as baldíos, ejidos) employed here.
"Conoedlendo ejidos a unos ranchos, mandando reducir a poblado a otros, y sobre mensuras de terrenos baldíos," Nov. 4, 1844, Anzar Pérez, Colección, II, 553-55.

"Sobre terrenos comunes," Nov. 13, 1844, Anzar Pérez, Colección, II, 565-66. The old prescription that new cattle haciendas or estancias must lie at least a league from the near-est existing one was re-affirmed, ibid., 569.

"Sobre demasías y mensuras de los terrenos baldíos," Dec. 2, 1844, Anzar Pérez, Colección, II, 571-72. Even after a solicitant's first request was turned down because the community had shown the area to be communal or ejido property, he had a second chance to prove to "una informacion" that the territory he wanted was in the state domain (Art. 3).

José C. Valadés, El Porfirismo: Historia de un régimen, I (Mexico, 1941; 2 other vols. in ms.), 236-54. Pedro de Legl Peón, Manuel Dondé, and José García Morales, "Informe que presenta al Gobierno del Estado de Yucatán la comision que suscribe," Mar. 25, 1876, Emiliano Bustos, ed., Estadística de la República Mexicana (3 vols., Mexico, 1800); III, 588-89; the commission thought that there were 2,000 leagues of fertile lands in the Borderlands held by Indian forces. J. F. Molina Solis, "Ríos," Dec. 24, 1881, in his El primer Obispo de la nación mejicana: artículos publicados sobre esta materia y sobre otros puntos de nuestra historia (Mexico, 1897), pp. 305-64. Ot., polemico tratement, Andrés Molina Enríquez et al., El ejido en Yucatán (Mexico, 1897).


Channing Arnold and F. J. T. Frost, The American Egypt: a record of travel in Yucatan (New York, 1907), pp. 86-87. The hacienda was absolutely abandoned in 1875 and 1876 when J. Plougheon worked there, living in the ruined church at Pisté, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., "Dr. La Plougheon in Yucatan, his account of discoveries," The Jayses (Worcester, Mass., privately printed, 1877), pp. 50-68; though La Plougheon later became insane, this account of his travels is lucid, graphic, and probably very accurate.

"Títulos de la Hacienda Chichón." (See note 55, above.)

"Que los indígenas no paguen arrendamientos de tierras baldías o comunes," Nov. 12, 1846. "Que por labrar los ejidos de los pueblos no paguen arrendamiento los respectivos vecinos," Aug. 19, 1846, Anzar Pérez, Colección, II, 484, III, 47. Benádades, Gomercio, p. 52.
Chapter Seven, §38 - §49


40. Miles Register, LXXV (1848), 206; El Félix, nº5 (Aug. 16, 1848), The leader of the American troop claimed the Yucatecan government owed him and his men lands to the value of $120,000.


43. Baqueiro, Ensayo, I, 36-37.


46. Valdés Acosta, A través de las centurias, I-III, passim.

47. Ancona, Historia, III, 302.


49. Justo Sierra, "José María Guerra," Registro Yucateco, IV (1849), 444-45. José María Alpufohe y Infante, Exposición, o sea satisfacción que el que suscribe hace al Supremo Gobierno de la República contra el despotismo del Alto Claro Yucateco y Metropolitano (México, 1837), Edward Collection; and his Carta...al Alto Obispo de Yucatán y Tabasco, Dr. don José María Guerra y Rodríguez Ortega, 6 de enero de 1836, reprinted in 20 Anos de la denuncia de despotismo y fundación de la ciudad hasta el 2 de febrero de 1858 (Mérida, 1858), pp. 17-18; Pedro Almeidía, Un Mejicoano. El Pescador de Adan, Penza, etc. (Merida, 1831), pp. 195-206, 288-97. Campeche became a separate Bishopric in 1808.
Chapter Seven, #50 - #66

50. Carrillo y Ancora, Obispado, pp. 1027-34. Manuel Crescenzo Bajón accompanied Paridó to Venezuela for the consecration.


52. Anacostero Blum, Los Diezmos de Yucatán: Estudio histórico y jurídico (Barcelona, 1969), López Márquez Collection.

53. See Chapter One, Notes 78, 87, 100, 103.


57. "Creación de una junta consultiva para el remo de rentas eclesiásticas," Jan. 7, 1845, "Aboliendo las obvenciones," June 17, 1845, Aznar Pérez, Colección, II, 169-70, 249. Barranquero was in power at these dates.

58. Carrillo y Ancora, Obispado, pp. 1019-20; Justo Sierra, "Rentas," loc. cit., p. 46; "Dictamen de la comisión de negocios eclesiásticos," June 9, 1847, El Noticioso, #164 (June 29, 1847).


60. "Dictamen de la comisión de negocios eclesiásticos," El Noticioso, #164 (June 29, 1847).

61. "Dictamen de la comisión de negocios eclesiásticos," El Noticioso, #164 (June 29, 1847).


63. "Dictamen de la comisión de negocios eclesiásticos," El Noticioso, #164 (June 29, 1847).


65. El Noticioso, #164 (June 29, 1847).


67. El Noticioso, #164 (June 29, 1847).

68. Carrillo y Ancora, Obispado, pp. 1026-27. Guerra also tried to reestablish the Jesuits, but none came; he had the Society of Jesus at Belize take over part of Yucatán near Bacalar in 1845 (p. 1026).
66. See esp. Chapter One, Notes 97-115; Chapter Two, Note 1 for the major primary sources and secondary works. Little has been added factually to the investigations of Baquero, Ensayo, Ancona, Historia, III, both of whom used contemporary periodicals and especially leaned on Peon and González. Colección, and Anuar Pérez, Colección, as well as Tomás Anuar Barbachano and Juan Carbó, Memoria sobre la conveniencia, utilidad y necesidad de originar constitucionalmente...el antiguo distrito de Campeche (Merida, 1861); a later synthesis was that of Joaquín Baranda, Recuerdos históricos (2 vols., Mérida, 1907, 1913). Standard reference work is J. F. Molina Solís, Historia de Yucatán desde la independencia de España hasta la época actual (3 vols., Mérida, 1921-27). The following account is based on these sources and on periodicals and pamphlets.

67. Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, pp. 69-70; Baranda, Recuerdos, I, 2-3; Valdés Acosta, A través de los siglos, III.

68. Stephens, Yucatan, I, 32-35; Honnold, Memoria, p. 50.

69. Barrera et al., Observaciones; Plieas justificativas de la conducta política de Yucatán, al observar la del gobierno de México, respecto de los convenios de 16 de diciembre de 1845 (Merida, 1846) gives data to Mar. 7, 1846; José Tiburcio Ápez, Exposición del Gobierno de Yucatán al supremo de la República, pidiendo la derogación del decreto de 21 de febrero último (Merida, 1846). Manifiesto del gobierno Provisional a la Nación acerca de los negocios de Yucatán (México, 1845; Barrera Vilánez Collection) for Mexican views: El Vigilante, 31 - 93 (Merida, Sept. 20 - Dec. 3, 1845) (pro-Barbachano); El Yoto Méhico, 31 - 77 (Merida, Sept. 17 - Oct. 8, 1845) (anti-Barbachano). Miles National Register, LXI-LXIII (1841-43), passim.


71. El Independiente, Ep. II, 31 - 36 (Jan. 6 - 28, 1846). Almara, Anales, I, 385-92. Miles National Register, LX (1846) mentions that once again Yucatan flew its own flag; in one place it is said to have had five stars (p. 16, Mar. 7, 1849), in another three (p. 276, July 4).

72. Baquero, Ensayo, I, 146-47.

73. Baranda, Recuerdos, II, 10-16 discusses this proposition and concludes (on negative evidence) that such a conference did not take place.


76. Baquero, Ensayo, I, 147-49. Consistently mendacists claimed Barbachano was directed by a rich merchant merely identified as "The Anonymous Power"; he was José Encarnación Cámara.
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Chapter Seven, #77 - #87


79. El Noticiero, #71 (Mar. 20, 1847); Requieiro, Essay, L, 160-90

For Rovira mission: Rovira was educated in the U.S.; brief mention also in Miles National Register, LXXII, 113: For the Sierra Mission, see Ollas, "Bibliography," loc. cit., p. 173. The basic sources are U.S. Senate, Executive Documents, 30 Congr., 1 Sess., V, VI, 120, 132, 140, 142, 146, and "Temporary occupation of Yucatan, Debate in the Senate," Apr. 22 - May 17, 1846, Congressional Globe, 30 Congr., 1 Sess. (172), 1847-48, Appendix, pp. 388-393.

Yucatecan side appears in various works by Justo Sierra: "Borrador de oficios y comunicaciones oficiales, Comisión de Yucatán, 1847" M., López Mendez Collection, printed as appendices to Diario de nuestro viaje a los Estados Unidos (la pretendida anexión de Yucatán), Doctor Pérez Martínez, ed., Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas, 12 (Mexico, 1938), Impresión de un viaje a los Estados Unidos de América y al Canadá (5 vols., Campeche, 1850-61; López Mendez Collection). Correct in the main, but inaccurate in many details is M. W. Williams, "The secessionist diplomacy of Yucatán," Hispanic American Historical Review, IX (1929), 132-48. See also J.D.P. Fuller, The movement for the acquisition of all Mexico (Baltimore, 1936).

80. El Noticiero, #86 (Mar. 11, 1847).


84. "Dictamen de la comisión de hacienda, Pedro Escudero," El Noticiero #163 (June 28, 1847).

85. "Dictamen de la comisión de hacienda, Pedro Escudero y Estrada," El Noticiero #163 (June 28, 1847).

86. "Dictamen de la comisión de hacienda, Pedro Regil y Estrada," El Noticiero, #164 (June 29, 1847).

87. "Dictamen de la comisión de hacienda, Pedro Regil y Estrada," El Noticiero, #180 (June 30, 1847).


87. "Techo de la memoria leída ante el congreso...el 18 de setiembre de 1846 sobre reducción de la contribución personal y medidas de cubrir el deficit que resulte," and "Voto consultivo del senado...sobre reducción de la contribución personal y eximiendo de ella a los ouerpos permanentes y locales que sean fiel al gobierno y sostengan la unidad nacional," El Noticiero, #9, #10 (Jan. 10, 12, 1847). Henríquez, Noventa Anos, p. 161.
Chapter Seven, #88 - #108


91. Norman, Rambles, p. 31.


93. El Noticioso, #169 (June 24, 1847); "Dictamen de la comisión de negocios eclesiásticos," ibid., #164-#166 (June 29 - July 1, 1847).


96. This summary is based largely on Baquieiro, Ensayo, I, 243-342, Ancona, Historia, IV, 5-61, Barbaehano and Carbó, Memoria, pp. 75-77; weekly reports appear in Revista Yucateca (Sept. 1, 1847 - Jan. 20, 1848), and the appropriate legal acts in Asnar Pèrez, Colección, III. See also, Heller, Reisen, 225-51; Méndez formed a battalion of foreigners, in which Heller was forced to serve. W. F. Robertson, Visit to Mexico, by the West Indies, Yucatán, and Mexico (2 vols., London, 1863), I, 149-56. Both these accounts reflect information from Campeche. Cf. fictional treatment by Severo del Castillo, Ceceillo Chit, novela histórica yucateca (1869; 2nd ed., Merida, 1888). See above, Chapter 1, Notes 36, 67, 95.

97. Baquieiro, Ensayo, I, 285-39; all accounts after Baquieiro follow his treatment based on official reports, and eyewitness statements.


101. Revista Yucateca, I (Sept. 1847), 5. Miles National Register, LXXXIII (1847), 6, 10-11, 33 reports a "conspiracy" in Yucatán that had been maturing 17 years; no one knows how this figure was derived.


Chapter Seven, §104 - §108

104. Revista Yucateca, I, 12-13, 74-76.

105. "Extinquiendo la contribución religiosa," Jan. 26, 1848, Anuar Pérez, Colección, III, 182. Besides abrogating the 1 real fee, Arts. 18-22 of the earlier law were repealed.

106. Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, Apendices, §7, pp. 31-34; Baquieiro, Reuyo, I, Doc. 43, pp. 556-71.

107. Baquieiro, Reuyo, I, 178-84; Ancona, Historia, III, 468-72; it was said that cannibalism occurred in the eight days of rape, during which perhaps 84 victims were killed. Cf. Barbachano and Carbó, Memoria, p. 74; Baranda, Recordaciones, II, 17-18.

108. Holler, Meisen, p. 286; the original Maya appears, ibid., p. 295. In a note Holler states that Juan Vásquez was an alcalde whom the Indians killed, and afterwards whose flesh they roasted and whose bones they burned (1847). Holler's German translation has the name as "Juan Velásquez," but the Maya version is "Vasquez."
BIBLIOGRAPHY: A Preliminary Note

The wide range of materials and topics utilised is reflected in an accompanying scheme. Contrary to practice followed by archaeologists and ethnologists, but in accordance with historical usage, source works are separated from secondary materials of various types. To facilitate reference to the writings of any one author, Part V of the Bibliography provides an alphabetical list of writers, editors, cartographers, and pseudonyms.

Manuscript materials are not extensive. They represent casual gleanings from the Archivo General in Mexico, the by-product of research along other lines, or they were especially called to attention by those who believed they might aid this study. Little attempt, either, has been made to exploit the colonial chroniclers to the fullest. The body of the text essentially rests on the items listed under sections C through E of "Primary Sources."

In addition, there is a respectable body of specialized writings which has not been synthesised recently. Section II, which lists those used here in one way or another, makes no claim to completeness; it does indicate the range and type of material which is now available for the social historian. Section III, in which still more general books and articles are listed, has a two-fold aim: to acknowledge the sources of specific ideas and facts, and to draw attention of those in other disciplines and countries to some of the basic or recent historical treatments which might aid in their special investigations. The bibliographical aids outlines in Section IV refer almost exclusively to Yucatan and its surrounding areas, with the exception of the final item, #681. I have not listed the standard tools, such as the Handbook of Latin American Studies.

A few abbreviations have been employed. The chief ones are

ABV The collection of Maya and Yucatecan materials owned by Alfredo Barrera Vázquez, Mexico City. Many ass., pamphlets, periodicals, and specialized linguistic works, with most standard historical works. Especially useful were complete files of La Voz Pública and El Noticioso.

AGN Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D.F. A number of documents appear in its Boletín.

Behanis Collection of over 25,000 items of Mexicana owned by G. N. Behanis, Mexico, D.F.

HCL Harvard College Library. Includes not only the Widener collection but also specialized ones at the Law School (rich in codes, pamphlets), and in Peabody Museum, one of the most complete on the Maya areas.

Mena Brito — A small collection of valuable items owned by Coronel Bernardino Mena Brito, Mexico, D.F. Though willing to exhibit them, the owner was loath to place them at the disposal of scholars. Chief item is the complete file of El Fenix.

RJM A small but valuable collection of Mexicano and Yucatecan items owned by Ricardo Lopes Mendes, Mexico, D.F. Especially strong in periodicals and in mss. of Lorenzo Zavala and Justo Sierra O'Reilly. Completely at the disposal of serious students. A number of photostats and microfilms supplement the books and mss.

In addition to the above collections, I have used those in the New York Public Library, Boston Public Library, and a small collection of material purchased by me at various times. The major places where additional data may be found would include the state Museum in Merida, the private collection in that city belonging to C. E. Mendez, the state library in Campeche, and scattered items in research libraries of the United States, as listed in their catalogues. Chief of these, perhaps, would be the items in Tulane-Middle American Institute, and in the Berendt Collection in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. When I was in Yucatan in 1959 I did not envisage the present study, but fortunately covered some of the area touched by it. Later trips to Mexico brought me no nearer Yucatan than Chiapas and Tabasco.

Where available and advisable, I have tried to use the first edition of a work. The edition actually used is listed, as well as the place and date of the first, when the latter was not used.
SCHEME OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES (Items #1-#275)

A. Manuscript Materials
   1. Colonial
   2. Post-Colonial

B. Colonial Chroniclers

C. Printed Documentary Materials
   1. Official publications, Ordinances, Statutes
   2. Collected and edited documents
   3. Extended semi-official summary reports
   4. Brief official and semi-official papers
   5. Projects, memorials, petitions, polemic pamphlets

D. Periodical Materials
   1. List of periodicals
   2. Selected list of useful articles

E. Other Yucatecan Writings, 1820-1860

F. Foreign Observers and Travelers, after 1766

G. Contemporary Autobiography and Biography, to 1870

H. Maps of Historical Interest, 1858-1886

II. YUCATAN & THE MAYA: SPECIALIZED MATERIAL AND MONOGRAPHS. (Items #276-#464)

A. Historical Works
   1. General synthesis
   2. Topical treatises and collected essays
   3. Fiction with historical information

B. Geography

C. Archeology

D. Maya Indians and Hispano-Indian society

E. Primary Creole Cultural Developments
   1. Biography of Yucatecans
   2. Arts, Sciences, Humanities and Welfare
   3. Hispano-Maya language
   4. Mérida de Yucatán

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F. Land Economics and History
   1. Subsistence and ejidos
   2. Commercial and haciendas

III. GENERAL WORKS CITED (Items #465-666)

A. New Spain and its later subdivisions
   1. Books and Monographs
   2. Articles

B. The Hispanic New World
   1. Books and Monographs
   2. Articles

C. Concepts and Scholarly Disciplinary Materials
   1. Human Geography and allied topics
   2. Social Relations

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS & CRITIQUES
   (Items #667-#681)

V. NAMES CITED, ITEMS #1 - #581
X. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

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1. "Para que en las provincias de Yucatán se guarde lo contenido en esta carta sobre los religiosos que ha de haber en cada monasterio para la doctrina de los naturales," 1594.

2. "Francisco de Aguiler contra Leonor de Aguiler sobre posesión y encomienda de los pueblos de Imae a Jete que tuvo el conquistador Paez de Herrelo." 1618


AGN, Reales Cábalas. Vol. 4. Exp. 10.

5. "Alamat entre obispo Juan Gómez de Parada y D. Antonio de Cortés." 1726

6. "Para que se deje a los naturales las cantidades indispensables a sus urgencias," 1788.

AGN, L-1-4 ff.

8. "A la República de Indios del pueblo de Hopalchen solicita se le den del fondo de su comunidad veinte y cinco pesos para reparar su audiencia." 1816
AGN, L-1-4 ff.

2. Post Colonial (by date)


AGN, L-1-10 ff.

Rilé. L-1-5 ff.

12. Justo Sierra, "Tesoror de oficios y comunicaciones oficiales, Comisión de Yucatán, 1847, comenzado en Veracruz a 20 de Septiembre de 1829." Rilé. Published in Appendix to Diario etc. (see below, p. 239).
Censo de Yucatán en 1644.

Apparentiy copied from official sources, 3 ff.

B. Colonial Chronolore (by author)


C. Printed Documentary Material

1. Official Publications, Ordinances, Statutes, etc.

19 Anon., Eligio, ed., Colección de leyes, decretos, órdenes y demás disposiciones de tendencia general, expuestas por el poder legislativo del estado de Yucatán. 8 vols., Madrid, 1822-38.

20 Anón. Anón., ed., Colección de leyes, decretos, y órdenes de acuerdo de tendencia general del poder legislativo del estado libre y soberano de Yucatán. 5 vols., Madrid, 1848-51.

21 Bustos Villalobos, ed., Estadística de la República Mexicana; revisión y análisis de los informes remitidos a la Secretaría de Hacienda. 3 vols., México, 1880.

22 A Censo general de habitantes, 30 de noviembre de 1921. Departamento de estadística nacional. 31 vols., México, 1922-33.

23 Constitución política del estado de Yucatán, aprobada en 31 de marzo de 1921. Madrid, 1921. 3 vols.

24 Report of the Interior and Indian Affairs, Senate Hearings, 64 Congr., 1 Sesión, Committee on agriculture and forestry. 2 vols., GPO, Washington, 1916.

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35. Castro, Juan Miguel, Documentos e informes relativos a la proyectada población del Progreso. Mérida, 1866. 2nd ed., 1909. KCA.


37. Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceania, sacados de los archivos del reino y muy especialmente del de Indias. 42 vols., Madrid, 1866-69. (Conventionally cited DII.)


39. "Division política de Nueva España, conforme a la Real Ordenanza de Intendentes," AGN Boletín, II (May 1881), 354-61.

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41. "Documento inédito: preliminares para conceder el título de ciudad a la villa de S. Francisco de Campeche," June 15, 1772, Registro Yucateco, III (1847), 63-68.
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61 Suárez y Navarro, Juan, Informe sobre las causas y carácter de las frecuentes cambios políticos corridos en el estado de Yucatán, México. 1861.


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104 El Boletín Comercial de Méjico y Campeche. 1 issue only (Oct. 23, 1843). ABV. Whole file should cover 1841-42. Contemporary advertisements in other papers of 1845 indicate that a complete file was even then a rarity. Should be a mine of data to check: findings of the present study.

105 Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía e Historia. Vols. I-VIII. Mexico. 1848-66. [MI: This serial cited in a different form through other parts of the Bibliography for materials after 1860. The included volumes here are considered a very useful source of contemporary information.]


107 La Ilustración, periódico de la Sociedad Púlico-Farmacéutica de Méjico. 1 vol. 4 vols. Mexico. 1849-60.

108 El Finist, periódico político y periodístico. 1 vol. Campeche. 1864. In the Irene Brito Collection I saw a complete file, but was not permitted to use it. The complete file covers period from Nov. 1, 1845 to Oct. 23, 1851. The Library of Congress has a little over a year, Nov. 1846 through December 1849.


112 Las Líneas materiales: agricultura, industria, comercio, colonización, estadística y administración pública. Campeche. 1848. The file in the Library of Congress seems hopelessly misplaced and was not available for this study. Materials therein should give material to check and revise conclusions here.

113 Unas Líneas, periódico constitucional del comercio de Méjico de Yucatán. Méjico. Nov. 23-29, 1850. Photostats, NMI.

114 El Eclesiaco, periódico de la Academia de Ciencias y Literatura de Méjico. 1 vol. Méjico. May 1843- Dec. 1845. RM.

116 El Ilustrado Mercader, o Mercancías Pintorescas de mercaderes curiosos. 5 vols. Mexico. 1840-43. NDL.


117 Index National Register, Vol. IX-XXII. 1840-45. Reprints numerous items of news on a weekly basis.
2. "Selected Periodical Articles (cited in Text)

Abbreviations used in this section only:

Pol.  Boletín de la sociedad peruana de geo. e estad.
El Noticioso. Instr. 115
Rev. Vuc. Registro Yupanqui. Item 119
Rev. Hist. Repertorio Pintoresco. Item 121

128 "Adonis a Campaña." Liceo pastor, I (1844), 328.
129 "El aeronaute Dr. José María Flores." Rev. Vuc., I (1846), 155-56.


Bolívar, J., 156 (Mar. 9, 1847).


Calero, Vicente, "Visita a la penitencia de Filadelfia," Reg. Yuc., II (1846), 460-65.


Casasús, José Luis de, "Historia sobre las cuevas de arcoar blancos, cristalinos yothers," Bol., VI (1860), 103-46.


"Contestaciones relativos a los pesos y medidas," Bol., VI (1862), 71-90.

"Los días en los ayates," Reg. Yuc., II (1845), 251-72.


"Daguerrotipo," Ixigo Yucateco, I (1844), 130.

Dorosne, Charles, "Joyas introducidas en las fábricas de 

Dias, Calixto, "Descripción geográfica de la costa que 
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"Péderico Maldonado, su obra está llena de contrabandos y desiertos."


García Ibarra, José L., "Una biblioteca pública en México."


"La isla de Consuelo," Album Méxicano, I (1846), 229-30.


Herrández, Juan José, "Costumbres de las indias de Yucatán."

Hitchcock, James K., and E. S. Scripture, "Hallazgos que manifiesta 
las ventajas que produce el raspar jenequín por medio de 
maquinillas," Yuc., IV, 30 (Nov. 7, 1846).

"Historia de una invenzione," Yuc., 76 (Nov. 7, 1846).

"Explotación de un museo de antigüedades," Museo Yucateco, I (Feb. 1841), 117.

"Pecho de burlote," Museo Yucateco, I (1843), 418.


"Las máquinas de vapor," Supervisor, IV (-5, Jan. 5, 1852), 119-20.

"Bitínes de Arredondo, Francisco," Dolomentalis, noticias de 

Hidalgo, Miguel, "Investigación de la península de Yucatán, de todas 
sus costas, ilas, bajos, puertos y arrecifes...en el año de 


**E. Other Yucatecan Writings, 1820-1860 (exclusive of biography)**

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203 Almada, Dionisio. Poemas de la Genoveza Almada, con una noticia biográfica y algunas observaciones. **Merida.** 1844.


205A ["Fragmentos de un segundo viaje a la Sierra Alta a mediados de 1850," Revista Yucateca, I (1869).] I did not see this place.

205B *Colección literaria. Merida. 1881.* Includes both Nos. 205 and 205A, as well as much data on the intellectual life of Merida following 1846. Same Brito (2 copies). Not available for this study.

206 Carvajal, Rafael (pseud. "Adolfo Donreo de Bollra"). "María, la hija del abuelo (leyenda histórica)." *Registro Yucateco.* I (1856), 204-222.


210 Interior. "Consideraciones sobre el origen, causas y tendencias de la abolición de los indígenas, sus probables resultados y posible remedio," *El Píntico.* 11 (Nov. 10, 1846) and nearly every subsequent number. A review of the colonial period, but with topical treatment often extending to contemporary times; narrative to Independence. A useful but polemic work.

211 Interior. *Obras.* 4 vols. **Mexico.** 1805-1808. These include (I. II), 1846 in the Hospital de la Misericordia. From *Registro Yucateco.* I (1856), 12 to X (1859), 498, passim.


214 Zavala, Lorenzo, *Viaje a los Estados Unidos del Norte de América.* **Paris.** 1834. ECL.
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F. Travel Accounts, after 1765


216 Baron, Aldo, Yucatan. Mexico. 1887.


219 Calderon de la Barca, Francisco Erakine, Life in Mexico during a residence of ten years in that country, 2 vols. Boston. 1853.


222 Cook (James), "Notes on a passage from the River Balisario to Yucatan in February and March 1762. London, 1769. See also below, Rom 226. In.


224 Fowler, Henry, A narrative of a journey across the unexplored portion of British Honduras, Delles, K. J. LC.


226 Holler, Carl B., Reisen in jamaica in den Jahren 1845-1846. Leipzig. 1848. A valuable and neglected source on the affairs of Yucatan, where Holler spent much time and traveled widely.

227 Le Plongeon, Auguste, "Description of the Island of Nijaro," June 16, 1878. In Salisbury, Mexican Calendar, Stone etc., pp. 87-97. See also below, Rom 314.


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233 Nevins, Jr., Henry, "Reminiscences in Yucatan, or notes of travels through the peninsula, including a visit to the remarkable ruins," New York, 1842. 4th ed. 1844. Spotty in accuracy and impressions.

234 Sherr, Frederick A., Travels in Mexico and life among the Indianos. Boston. 1866. (Yucatan, pp. 23-182.)
Cosgaya, Juan de Dios, "Relación en que extracto manifiesta la instrucción, conocimientos, aptitud, opinión, destinos, desempeño de éstos, méritos y servicios contraídos en ellos y otras ocupaciones que con utilidad común y pública ha desempeñado," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846).

"Dr. Juan Ribbe, doctor en medicina y cirugía," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 366.

Ferril, Pedro, "Noticia biográfica de D. Vicente Calero Quintana," Mérida, 1856.


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"Pedro Salas de Aranda," Registro Yucateco, IV (1846), 187-96.

"J. José Martín Joria," Registro Yucateco, III (1846), 239-56.

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"Dr. Fr. José Nicolás de Jara (noticia biográfica sobre este célebre yucateco)," Registro Yucateco, II (1846), 101-106.


[V. de Ramaventura, Memorias de Ramaventura Vivió, Ministro de Elégio en Yucatán, durante los años de 1825, 1826, y 1827. Mérida, 1856. Reprinted in part en las Memorias de D. Rama- venture Vivió y la venta de indios yucatecos en Cuba... en la obra de Merry, ed. Mérida, 1836.]

Historical Maps, 1838-1895. by date

Tardieu, Ambrose, "Corte de la Provincia de Yucatán, 1858." Plate 1 in Mérida, Voyage. See above, Item 144. Useful.

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II SPECIALIZED AND MAPPING MATERIAL ON YUCATAN AND THE MAYA

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1. General works (often include documents as appendices).

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See below, also sections D, E, F, and subdivisions for other monographic treatment of historical topics.

3. Fictional Treatment, with historical value.


**Geography**

Abbreviations used in this and following sections:

- **CE**: Carnegie Institution of Washington
- **ENAO**: Enciclopedia Yucateca. See above, Item 326
- **CBT**: Censo General...1921. See above, Item 321


324 Villaseñor, Roberto, El separatismo en Yucatán, novela históricopolítica manceña. México. 1918.


329 "Estado de Yucatán: Datos geográficos." Conso. General...1921, Vol. VI. (See above, Item 321.)


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345 ---, *La geografía fízica y la geología de la Península de Yucatán*, Instituto geológico de México, México, 1980.


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353 Broman, Max, *The origins and history of the Maya, a general reconstruction in the light of the basic documentary sources and the latest archeological discoveries*, Part I, Los Angeles, 1940. (Bound. See below, Item 354.)


356 Holley, Sylvena G., *The ancient Mayas*. New York, 1946. Probably will be standard account for some years. Received too late for inclusion in this study.


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363. F. Alcibone, "Los indios de Yucatán," Sociedad de geografía e estadística de la República Mexicana, Boletín, Ep. XII, t. 11 (1889), 73-76. Apparently Englished from F. Alcibone, an Austrian official under Maximilian.


365. Carrillo y Ancona, Estudios históricos sobre la raza indígena de Yucatán. Veracruz, 1940.

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370. Gann, W. C., and D. Eric J., Thompson, The history of the Maya from the earliest times to the present. New York, 1918. (Tea lots in parts.)


Starr, Frederick, "The sacred spot in Maya Indians," Science, XXIX (1903), 123-25.


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396 Rebónovo, Fulscarpo A., Algunos documentos sobre la vida pública del Sr. Coronel H. Fulscarpo A. Rebónovo. Mérida, 1907. ABV.
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397 ________, La vida personal e inquieta de Don Manuel Crescencio Rejón. Mérida. 1941.
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399 See also above, L. Section G.

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406 Cervantes Perez, José, "Historia de la poesía, la novela, el humorismo, el costumbrismo, la oratoria, el crítico y el ensayo," Pedió, X, 5, 325-762. A history of Yucatecan literature.
410 Cervantes Perez, Gabriel, "Historia de la historiografía," Pedió, X, 5, 615-66.
411 Caraballo Caraballo, "Historia del teatro y de la literatura dramática," Pedió, X, 5, 110-216.
412 ________, "Los primeros teatros que se editaron en Mérida," in Rafaelo, Diccionario, pp. 190-206. See Item 404.
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Hernández Fajardo, José, "Historia de las artes manuales," Boletín. Yuc., IV, 225-99. Includes dress, handicrafts, cuisine, etc.


Martínez Alcora, Gustavo, Los historiadores de Yucatán. Campeche. 1906.

Medina, J. T., La imprenta en Mérida de Yucatán (1813-1821), notas bibliográficas. Santiago de Cali, 1906.


165 Pérez de León, Juan de, La introducción de la imprenta en Campeche. Gobierno de Campeche, Mérida. 1942.


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4. Mérida de Yucatán

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440 Emerson, E. A., "A preliminary report of the milpa system of maize culture as practised by the Maya Indians of the northern part of Yucatan," Ethnographied. Wash. 1923.


443 Landell, C. L., "The agriculture of the Maya," Southwest Review, XIX (1933), 60-77.


445 [Valdez Enriquez, Ricardo, Los Pueblos de Yucatan. Merida, 1935.] Not available for this study.


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Curea Zavala, **Breve historia de la industria henequenera de Yucatán.** Merida, 1926.


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**III GENERAL WORKS**

A. New Spain and Its Later Subdivisions

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2. Articles


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Harriss, C. E., "The birth of the mestizo in New Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review, XX (May 1940), 103-84.


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Harms, Lewis, The first social experiments in America, a study of Spanish Indian policy in the sixteenth century. Harvard Historical Monographs, V. Cambridge, 1936.


O. C. Chapdelaine, Jr., Estudios de historia del derecho español en las Indias, Universidad Nacional, Facultad de derecho y Ciencias sociales, Bogota, 1944.


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Vasquez, Genero V., Doctrina y realidades en la legislación para los indios, Mexico, 1940.


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547 Nystuen, George, "The rise of the factory in Latin America," Hispanic American Historical Review, XXV (1945), 296-314.

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