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Woodrow Borah

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Aller au sommaire du numéro

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Résumé de l'article

En Amérique latine, au XVIII^{e} siècle, la population double plus ou moins, et l'économie, qui s'oriente dans de nouvelles directions, est en plein essor. L'urbanisation porte l'empreinte de ces transformations. La croissance urbaine se traduit surtout, dans les nouvelles régions ouvertes à la colonisation, par la reproduction de modèles existants. Les villes plus anciennes connaissent une certaine expansion accompagnée d'un renforcement des fonctions urbaines. Buenos Aires, La Havane et Rio de Janeiro bénéficient de la réorientation des économies régionales, mais Lima ne réussit pas à progresser. Dans les villes, vieilles ou neuves, les anciens bâtiments sont remplacés par de nouvelles constructions en matériaux plus durables et, dans les plus grandes, les habitations collectives à étages multiples font leur apparition. On innove, à l'instar de l'Europe : revêtement des rues, éclairage, égouts, etc. Nullement en reste, l'administration entreprend des réformes et la sécurité sociale est réorganisée afin de mieux parer aux catastrophes naturelles. On voit même les premiers cafés, répliques, comme en bien d'autres domaines culturels, de ceux qui existent en Europe.

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Résumé/Abstract

En Amérique latine, au XVIII[e] siècle, la population double plus ou moins, et l'économie, qui s'oriente dans de nouvelles directions, est en plein essor. L'urbanisation porte l'empreinte de ces transformations. La croissance urbaine se traduit surtout, dans les nouvelles régions ouvertes à la colonisation, par la reproduction de modèles existants. Les villes plus anciennes connaissent une certaine expansion accompagnée d'un renforcement des fonctions urbaines. Buenos Aires, La Havane et Rio de Janeiro bénéficient de la réorientation des économies régionales, mais Lima ne réussit pas à progresser. Dans les villes, vieilles ou neuves, les anciens bâtiments sont remplacés par de nouvelles constructions en matériaux plus durables et, dans les plus grandes, les habitations collectives à étages multiples font leur apparition. On innove, à l'instar de l'Europe: revêtement des rues, éclairage, égouts, etc. Nullement en reste, l'administration entreprend des réformes et la sécurité sociale est réorganisée afin de mieux parer aux catastrophes naturelles. On voit même les premiers cafés, répliques, comme en bien d'autres domaines culturels, de ceux qui existent en Europe.

In Latin America the eighteenth century was a time of approximate doubling of the population and considerable economic development and reorientation of the economy. Urban settlement reflected these changes. The bulk of urban growth was by replication of existing patterns into areas of new settlement. Some expansion of older cities and heightening of urban functions took place. In the reordering of regional economies, Buenos Aires, Havana, and Rio de Janeiro profited; Lima failed to prosper. Within existing and new cities, much building replaced older structures in more durable materials, and, in the largest, multi-family, multi-storied structures appeared. Following developments in Europe, beginnings were made in paving streets, providing lighting, installing drains, and so-forth. In similar wise, administration adopted new forms and social welfare was reorganized for more efficient response to natural disasters. Cultural models, copied from Europe, even included the beginning of cafés.

Materials for the study of Latin American cities in the eighteenth century exist in great abundance.[1] Unfortunately, they have been sparsely exploited so that we know surprisingly little about those cities. Accordingly, this essay can be no more than a sketch.

For the cities and towns of Latin America, the eighteenth century was a period of considerable expansion, both in numbers and in the size of existing cities and towns. In both Spanish and Portuguese America the period was, with some exceptions, one of sustained general growth in population and economy.[2] Although we have few reliable counts of numbers, estimates agree that population approximately doubled in the area under European control on the continent and a half. The exceptions lay in the central Andean zone—present-day Ecuador, Peru, and perhaps Bolivia—where numbers drifted downward for much of the century, beginning recovery at some point in the middle or latter part. Rapid increase in other regions, such as the Río de la Plata, Chile, Venezuela, Cuba, and Brazil, more than compensated, keeping the trend one of sustained but slow increase, a compound rate of something under 1% a year. By far the largest part of the increment came from natural increase, a surplus of births over deaths, despite epidemics, famines and other natural catastrophes. In this natural increase, although all racial groups participated, the Europeans and the mixed bloods consistently outstripped the Indians, so that through the course of the century, the proportion of Europeans and mixed bloods in the population rose steadily.

A lesser but considerable part of the increase came from immigration. Although the Spanish Crown subsidized the movement of Canary Islanders to the New World for settlement in strategic areas, the major movement of Europeans to the Spanish dominions came as a voluntary drift of some thousands a year. Portuguese America similarly received much smaller numbers of immigrants from Portugal and the Azores. Even smaller numbers of non-Hispanic Europeans filtered into both sets of dominions as legal naturalized subjects or as illegal settlers subject to penalty but with a good chance of winning acceptance if they were Catholic and married locally. Non-Hispanic immigrants, on the whole, were negligible in the total.

Two important contingents came as involuntary immigrants. Africa, most of all, West Africa, provided very substantial numbers of Negro slaves for the plantations of Brazil, for the rapidly developing cacao and sugar plantations in the Caribbean dominions of Spain, and for much smaller numbers of servants and workers throughout Spanish America. According to Philip Curtin's estimates for the period 1701-1800, African slaves numbering perhaps .6 million were received in Spanish America and nearly 1.9 million in Brazil. They were by far the largest group of immigrants. A very high death rate in the tropical areas and preference for males in the slave trade, however, markedly reduced the effect of such massive importation upon the longer-term population. Outside of the tropical lowlands, the effect was to add substantially to groups of mixed-bloods with part-Negro ancestry, known frequently as *pardos*.

The other contingent of forced immigration came toward the end of our period when the long years of upheaval from 1790 to 1826 brought tens of thousands of refugees from the French Caribbean islands to the Spanish dominions and ultimately even more Spanish-American ones from the continent to the safe royalist havens of Cuba and Puerto Rico. This last movement, of course, represented essentially relocation within Latin America rather than increment from outside the area.

We do not have any reliable information on the population of Latin America around the year 1700. A reasonable guess at order of magnitude would place the total at perhaps eight to ten millions, including Indians not under European control. The territory involved included substantial extensions later removed from the Hispanic world through incorporation in the United States. As of 1810 the population of the continent and a half was of the order of perhaps twenty to twenty-two millions.

These inhabitants were spread thinly and unevenly over an area of more than 23,000,000 square kilometres. Substantial expanses on the northern and southern fringes and centred around the vast lowlands of the Amazon-Orinoco-La Plata drainage remained beyond effective European control. In the Spanish dominions the Europeans and Indians under their control lived in the temperate lowlands but most of all on the temperate uplands of the tropics. They and mixed-bloods were moving downslope to begin settlement of intermediate elevations and tropical lowlands. In Portuguese America the process was reversed in that Europeans, mixed-bloods, and their slaves moved inland from the coast to somewhat higher elevations in Goiaz, Minas Gerais, and Mato Grosso. The Caribbean and Brazilian lowlands benefited from the rapid development of plantations and a substantial increase in black immigration via the slave trade. The networks of cities, towns, and villages, with the associated networks of roads and ports, gave structure and articulation to what was essentially a rural mass, but one that particularly in Spanish America tended to live in villages and towns of surprising size rather than in homesteads.

By far the greater part of the growth in population took the form of an extension of the basic subsistence economy. Peasants took up vacant land in older areas of settlement or moved into new areas. In Mexico, for example, settlers occupied much of the plateau in Michoacán and Jalisco and began to move downslope from the plateau into the intermediate elevations on both the eastern and western slopes of the Mesa Central. In Brazil, settlement more usually meant the occupation of land in the temperate southern region or in the higher elevations inland. Some of the settlement, as in the Mexican North and the southernmost lands of the Río de la Plata and Chile represented movement into land wrested from the Indians. More often the process was the filling in of waste in areas already under European control as small nuclei on haciendas and ranchos became villages and towns and villages became towns and cities. This essentially lateral movement duplicated and extended existing forms and structures with merely the relatively small qualitative change that increases in the total of the peasant economy might bring.[3]

In economic terms, more important developments did bring quickening of commercial movement and more nearly qualitative changes. Some of them were well under way by the middle of the century; others stem from the famous Bourbon Reforms under Charles III. They may be listed briefly:[4] 1) In Brazil, discoveries of gold and diamonds unleashed a massive movement inland to develop mines and soon thereafter to develop local sources of supply for them. Abundant supplies of new slaves were essential to this development which had the further effect of moving the centre of economic and political power south from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. 2) Relatively abundant supplies of slaves and the development of demand in America and Europe stimulated the development of cacao and sugar plantations in the Spanish Caribbean lowlands. The cacao boom of Venezuela was well under way by the mid-century; the prosperity of sugar raising in Cuba came after 1761 and most of all after the destruction of the plantation economy of St. Domingue (Haiti). 3) Silver mining in Mexico, through a fortunate combination of reductions in taxation, new technology, and better arrangements for finding capital rose from an output of three to four million ounces a year at the beginning of the century to a peak of twenty-four million early in the nineteenth century. 4) A rerouting and reorganization of the economic life of much of Spanish South America occurred through the opening of the Cape Horn route for supply of the west coast, the opening of Buenos Aires as a major port, and the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires. Inclusion in the new viceroyalty of the silver mines of present-day Bolivia and setting up a customs line between them and Peru diverted the revenue and trade to Buenos Aires, which developed rapidly as port and capital. It was further favoured by development of trade in hides and salted meat from the pampas. 5) The Bourbon Reforms opened America considerably further to European trade funneled through more ports in Spain and ended most restrictions on intercolonial trade. The growth of the European economy with its demand for colonial wares, the increasing output of silver to provide specie, and the general rise in colonial population all served to fuel a rapidly increasing intercolonial and international trade. Legally Spain served as the funnel to Europe, but in practice there was an enormous amount of smuggling through Portuguese ports near the Río de lá Plata, and in the Caribbean, Jamaica, Curaçao, and St. Domingue.

This quickening of economic life and growth in population inevitably affected towns and cities. There were many more of them, and the existing ones, in general, grew in size. The phenomenon has been little studied and is hard to measure as yet because of certain Latin American characteristics. Although the overwhelming bulk of the population was agricultural, and the proportions of it engaged in mining or activities that might be classified as in the secondary or tertiary sectors of the economy were relatively small, the bulk of the population nevertheless chose to live in villages and towns of considerable size. The extent to which these might have the features of urban concentration, or even cities might truly have them, is unfortunately not clear because of the fact that administrative boundaries of towns and cities included much rural territory. For example, the population of Caracas at the end of the eighteenth century is usually given as 40,000, but John Lombardi, after careful study, would reduce that value to 24,000 on the ground that the formal city boundaries contained parishes with essentially rural population. On the other hand, a reasonably compact agglomeration of 2,000-4,000 people engaged in agriculture would almost automatically develop commercial, craft, religious, and administrative activities that might be characterized as urban quickening.[5]

The eighteenth century was very much a century of founding of new towns. Increase in size of existing towns and cities probably accounted for less of the growth in population of an urban character. The growth of cities in the century may be seen quickly in the data in the accompaning table, which attempts orderly presentation of estimates and gives the date of the estimate in brackets.

With some exceptions the largest cities grew more slowly than the smaller ones. The most notable exceptions were Buenos Aires and Havana, each of which served as port and economic and administrative centre in a rapidly developing economy. Both benefitted from a remaking of military, administrative, and economic arrangements in their favour. Buenos Aires, which previously had had its port barred from all but a limited legal trade, entered upon a new era of expansion when restrictions on its port were ended, trade to the west coast of South America began to move around Cape Horn, and the city became the capital of a new viceroyalty that could use its administration of the mines of Upper Peru to change the course of trade in southern South America. The economic stagnation these measurers engendered in the truncated remnants of the Viceroyalty of Peru show up in the lack of growth of Lima and other cities in Peru and Ecuador.[6] Lima further suffered from a disastrous earthquake in 1746; hence the two widely varying estimates for its population in that year, one of which is for the population before and the other after the disaster.[7] The then Guatemala City, now Antigua, similarly suffered a disastrous earthquake in 1773 and was rebuilt on a site some distance away.[8]

As the table makes manifest, in most regions the pattern of a primate city was already in evidence at the beginning of the

century. Mexico City and Lima, as old viceregal capitals and centres of business, religion, and culture, entered the century with a predominance they have never lost to this day. Buenos Aires, Caracas, and Havana, already the largest cities of their regions at the beginning of the century, grew as fast or faster than other cities of their districts. Perhaps the most interesting part of this phenomenon lies in Brazil, where at the beginning of the century Salvador (Bahia) was the largest city, with Rio de Janeiro close behind. The emergence of the gold and diamond mines as the most important industries, and consequent development of settlement in the interior of the centre and south, shifted the administrative capital of the colony to Rio de Janeiro and by the opening of the nineteenth century moved that city to first place.[9] That position was consolidated in the nineteenth century, and has given way only in this century before the rise of São Paulo.[10]

The sources of renewal and increase in town and city population were, of course, births and immigration. Our best information is for Mexico. It indicates that urban centres maintained and even augmented their populations through excess of births over deaths. The surplus was largest in the most healthful areas, namely, the temperate uplands and became less with increase in humidity and heat, being lowest on the coasts. It seems probable that the same pattern obtained throughout Latin America. Urban centres on the humid, tropical coasts of the Caribbean and Brazil would have had higher death rates and perhaps even an excess of deaths over births. Urban centres on the arid coasts, such as Lima, or in the uplands or temperate areas, would be able to maintain or even increase their populations through excess of births over deaths. The kind of urban growth I have described needed, of course, more than just vegetative increase since much of the growth lay in the foundation of new towns. In general, again from the example of Mexico, migration was usually from short distances, perhaps two to three days journey on foot as peasants moved to urban centres in search of employment or excitement. Truly long-distance migration occurred in the migration of Europeans, who crossed the ocean to find an appropriate urban centre, and in the movement of Negroes in the slave trade. Although most wound up on plantations, many came to cities as servants and workers.[11]

This long-continued flourishing development of Latin American cities entered upon a more troubled phase when the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars began to reach America in 1808 and rapidly became the violence of the Wars of Independence. In Brazil, the flight of the Portuquese royal family to the New World opened a new era of more vigorous growth, with a peaceful separation from Portugal in 1826. For Spanish America, on the other hand, the new events were very much mixed. Mexico and Venezuela experienced genuine social wars, with much demographic damage. In the Audiencia of the Río de la Plata, the loosening of barriers to immigration led to substantial and continued growth. In Cuba and Puerto Rico, so did the settling of royalist refugees from the mainland. The effect on towns and cities was, of course, varied, but in years of fighting and anarchy the smaller towns and cities probably lost population, whereas the larger ones served as refuges and may even have gained in numbers.[12]

Let us turn now to matters of urban layout and general use of space. As I have already stated, most of the growth of urban population occurred through the development of new towns.[13] In many instances the new towns were new only in the legal sense that they acquired formal town or city status. Actually they represented a thickening of settlement at an existing crossroads, rancho, or hacienda. In such instances the street of the town might represent use of existing irregular roads and trails with little or no relation to the checkerboard plan that had become dominant as model in Spanish America in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, either by local decision or one of higher authorities, the existing roads and trails might be obliterated in order to impose a gridiron plan of streets with a central square. Much of the increase of population in older regions of Europeanized settlement and the taking up of land on the margins, as in the movement of population downslope from the Mexican plateau into the intermediate elevations, involved this kind of growth and the new towns developed their streets in either way. The Spanish-American tradition accepted irregularity in the layout of mining centres, so that the new *reales de minas*, in general, were not bound to the gridiron plan. In Portuguese America, where the central government, on the whole, never had tried to impose the uniform town plan of

Population of Selected Latin American Cities, 1701-1825

Spanish America						
Río de la Plata	**1701-1725**	**1726-1750**	**1751-1775**	**1776-1785**	**1786-1800**	**1801-1825**
Buenos Aires		11,600 [1744]		26,126 [1778]		
		11,118 [1744]		24,205 [1778]	38,000 [1800]	55,000 [1817]
Córdoba					5,500 [1789]	10,587 [1813]
Mendoza				7,474 [1774]	10,500 [1799]	
Montevideo			1,667 [1757]	4,270 [1778]		7,000 [1820]
Chile						
Santiago				25,000 [1778]	30,000 [1800]	35,000 [1813]
Concepción				10,000 [1778]	17,000 [18000]	
Peru						
Lima		60,000 [1746]				
		54,000 [1746]	51,750 [1755]		52,627 [1791]	64,628 [1820]
Arequipa					23,988 [1795]	25,000 [1821]
Cuzco			26,000 [1760s]			16,000 [1820]
Trujillo			9,283 [1763]			10,000 [1825]

Audiencia of Quito					
Quito			28,000 [1780]		
Guayaquil				8,000 [1790]	
Bogotá	20,000 [1723]		19,000 [1772]	18,000 [1789]	28,000 [1809]
Cartagena			13,000 [1772]		18,000 [1809]
Medellín			6,000 [1772]		5,000 [1809]
Venezuela					
Caracas		18,986 [1772] 24,000 [1772]		31,000 [1800]	42,000 [1810]
Barquisimeto		9,000 [1772]		11,000 [1800]	8,000 [1810]
Maracaibo		6,200 [1772]	10,312 [1784]	22,000 [1800]	20,000 [1810]
Valencia		7,000 [1772]	7,000 [1784]	7,000 [1800]	10,000 [1810]
Cuba					
Havana		36,000 [1774]		51,000 [1792]	85,000 [1817]
Puerto Príncipe		14,000 [1774]		16,000 [1792]	22,000 [1827]
Santiago		11,000 [1774]		15,000 [1792]	27,000 [1827]
Central America					
Guatemala City		12,354 [1769] 15,061 [1773]		7-8,000 [1800]	
New Spain					
Mexico City	98,000 [1742]			130,602 [1793]	137,000 [1803]
Durango			6,590 [1777]	11,027 [1790]	14,000 [1805]
Guadalajara				24,290 [1790]	35,000 [1805]
Guanajuato	27,000 [1742]			28,963 [1793]	41,000 [1803]
Mérida	7,000 [1742]				10,000 [1803]
Puebla				56,859 [1793]	67,800 [1803]
Veracruz	8,000 [1742]				16,000 [1803]
Brazil					
Rio de Janeiro			47,000 [1777]	53,000 [1799]	113,000 [1819]
Belém			9,000 [1777]	11,000 [1799]	12,000 [1819]
Curitiba			3,000 [1777]	4,000 [1799]	11,000 [1819]
Porto Alegre			2,000 [1777]	6,000 [1799]	12,000 [1819]
Recife			15,000 [1777]		40,000 [1819]
Salvador			50,000 [1777]	100,000 [1800]	100,000 [1819]
São Paulo			21,000 [1777]	8,000 [1790]	20,000 [1820] 25,000 [1819]

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Spanish America, most of the new settlement that resulted from the movement of population inland developed its urban centres, particularly, on the interior uplands in fairly haphazard fashion, and without rectangular blocks. Even in such irregular layouts, there remained a need for open spaces for squares and marketplaces.

Many of the new towns were founded at the express direction of the provincial and central governments. That was especially true of resettlement of Indians and new settlement of Hispanized colonists on the northern frontier of Mexico, in Chile, and the Argentine northwest. In Spanish America the process had a high degree of formality. The site was selected with care, surveyed, streets and squares laid out. The blocks, in turn, were subdivided into town lots. In the assigning of the lots, religious and public needs were taken into account through allocation of lots around the central square for town and royal buildings, church, and residences of officials. Families of importance might be given lots near the urban centre; the rest would be allocated by *sorteo*, i.e., drawing chances. In Portuguese America, in the eighteenth century, the decision of the royal government to exercise more control over the movement of population inland and a further policy of advancing settlement into zones claimed by the Spanish Crown to the south and west of what was clearly Brazil led to establishment throughout the century of a series of royally sponsored new towns. These were laid out with broad streets, lines of trees stretching beyond the town into the countryside, and squares, all in variations of a gridiron pattern.

For our study, perhaps the most interesting questions concern the expansion of existing cities. In Spanish America, most of them either had a gridiron plan or some variation thereof. Accidents of terrain and historical circumstances might impede expansion by mere extension of the existing checkerboard. Although cities tended to be sharply defined in the landscape with far less margin of part-rural, part-urban occupation than is customary in European and North American cities today, there might be nevertheless nonconforming roads with some dwellings that cities were reluctant to obliterate. Natural features, such as watercourses, marshes, and elevations also might induce variation. The existence of two watercourses on the margin of Buenos Aires influenced the street pattern and form of expansion of that city.[14] Cartagena is another instance in which the presence of lagoons and bays markedly influenced the laying out of new sections.[15] Further, a desire for more squares for churches, markets, and recreation might lead to variation in street pattern. The expansion of urban population usually meant that the older parish or parishes had to be divided, and that division in turn gave rise to the need for more parish churches. That need might be met by conversion of an existing chapel or church, or through erection of a new structure. Where the creation of a new parish coincided with the building of a new section of the town or city, it would be natural to plan a new square on which the parish might build its church. The operation of most of these factors in a single city may be seen by examining a map of Antigua, the former Guatemala City, abandoned in consequence of the earthquake of 1773. The inner city is the urban core laid out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is a classical gridiron pattern with a square in the exact centre. The outer areas of the city, representing expansion in the eighteenth century, are far more irregular and show the influence of roads that were not eliminated in laying out new streets and the need to take into account a stream to the south and two steep hills to the west and north. In addition, some of the irregularity was due to pre-existing nuclei of settlement outside the original urban boundary.[16]

In existing towns and cities, some of the growth, of course, took the form of greater density of occupation, i.e., more people lived within each block.[17] Buildings might be extended laterally through the addition of more interior courtyards, or new streets might subdivide the generously-sized older blocks. The new streets could then be lined with new buildings. One may suspect that such subdivisions occurred as a means by which families made provision for new nuclear units created by the marriage of sons and daughters, but there has been no research on this point. Another means of placing more people within a city block was the building of additional stories on existing structures and the replacement of existing structures by two or even multi-storied ones. Studies of several cities are uncovering a growing body of evidence that older suggestions that buildings near the civic centre in Spanish-American cities were occupied by smaller families and households while ones of larger size tended to be pushed to the urban margin, where there would be more space, do not hold up to inspection. There is, on the contrary, consistent evidence derived from mapping the later eighteenth-century *padrones* that large households tended to be distributed throughout cities, with some tendency to cluster near the civic centre. The wealthier and more socially prestigious the household, the more likely was it to be located in the central area, nearest the principal church, municipal and royal administration, and most commercial activity.

Furthermore, buildings in the central area frequently were occupied by numbers of unrelated family units rather than by extended families.[18] The nexus was rent rather than blood ties. For the central district in the larger towns and cities, the most likely model was the two, three, or even four story building, constructed around from one to two courtyards, perhaps even three, with the ones farthest from the street devoted to rentals, servants' quarters, storage, and less prestigious uses. The upper floors were reached through stairways in the courtyards. The rooms at ground level, facing the street, would be rented out as shops or contain the family business, or some combination of both. The floor above the ground (the first floor in Spanish and general European nomenclature) would be occupied in part or whole by the owner and his family, an unusually well-to-do tenant, perhaps in part by other tenants. The floors above that were more likely to be rented out. Only the most affluent families would devote an entire multi-storied building to use by their household. In the central areas of Mexico City, during the eighteenth century, three and even four story buildings, there of stone, were rented out in this way. The major divisions on each floor, large rectangular rooms that might be further divided by erecting minor walls, were large enough to house a single tenant and his family. A larger household, if affluent enough, might rent two or more such rooms and space for servants in the meaner rooms on the innermost courtyards. Such buildings became a major form of investment of church endowment, an example followed by the wealthier laity.

Just how urban households met the needs of life within their space remains largely unexplored. There is here a rich field for anyone interested. The smaller dwellings containing a single household and the establishments of the more affluent had kitchens in an inner courtyard or a separate auxiliary building, in which cooking could be done over wood or charcoal fires on grills set in brick or tile stoves such as may be found in the western Mediterranean and large parts of Latin America to this day. Tenants in the multi- storied buildings of the central areas more probably managed with braziers. Any tourist from the United States or Europe who has watched a peasant family cooking a meal over a charcoal brazier has been impressed with the number of pots that can find place on a single one. Heating in multi-storied buildings, to the extent that the family found it necessary and could pay for the fuel, probably came from the same source. Sanitary facilities in the households with some land might be provided by the garden or orchard, or even an outhouse. In the inner city, the substitute might be the privy but more likely chamber pots and, in the more affluent households, the *chaise percée*. Only the most affluent families in the largest

cities might have sanitary chambers emptying into sewers that in time linked up with the few municipal drains. The contents of chamber pots, along with garbage and other slops, probably were dumped into the courtyard or the street. In the better organized towns and cities, they might be taken to a dump, or there might even be a few sewers. Water might be piped into the courtyards of dwellings of more affluent households and those of convents and corporate entities. Generally, the source would be a fountain in the local square, or in the smaller towns, the nearby stream. Itinerant vendors eased the problems of carriage for a price. Cleaning of the streets and removal of slops and garbage, to the extent that there were any, most often were the work of roving pigs, who found their sustenance in this way and ultimately increased the local food supply with what can only have been diseased meat. Only toward the end of the eighteenth century did the larger cities begin to make changes by requiring each owner of a building to clean the street in front and to hang a lantern at night to provide some form of street lighting. Some cities, such as Mexico City, raised funds to provide true public lighting and a corps of guards for maintaining it. Under the same impulse of reform, more cities began to pave the streets of the central area with slabs of stone.

Building materials ranged from wood, wattle and daub, to adobe in the form of tamped earth or sundried bricks, and finally to the relatively permanent baked brick and stone. Roofing also ranged from wood shakes and thatch to bricks, tile, and masonry. In general, there was a progression with time and growing affluence from the ruder forms, such as wood and wattle and daub, roofed with wooden shakes or thatch to the more solid forms of adobe or, eventually, stone roofed with tile, brick, or masonry. The eighteenth century was a time of much rebuilding in more permanent materials and in the inner parts or cities the rebuilding of simpler structures in larger, multi-storied forms.

The eighteenth century was also a period of considerable reorganization in urban services and urban government. Granaries and marketplaces, the inspection of weights, measures, and quality, all already known and characteristic of cities, were extended to yet more. Although policing remained grossly inadequate, the larger cities were divided into *cuarteles* (wards) and the older system of night watchmen and magistrates making the rounds was intensified. Any provision of a police force in our sense of the word awaited the example of Europe and the nineteenth century.

In government, the most notable changes of the century, largely taking place after 1760 or even 1770 in Spanish America, were the intrusions of the royal government into what had been, except in the capital cities, a preserve of the local elites. In Spanish America, the Bourbon Reforms, enshrined in the instance of urban government in the Ordinances of Intendants, but starting earlier, provided for royal supervision of urban finances, and for the supervision of the functioning of the urban government by the local intendant or for the larger cities, a special official called a *corregidor*.

During the same years, there was change in the provision of social welfare, which until then had relied upon Church distributions, the undirected benevolence of guilds, sodalities, and private benefactors, and such municipal officials as the doctor of the poor or of the poor in jail and the lawyer for the poor, again most often serving as public defender for poor charged with crime.[19] In Mexico, and probably in other regions of Spanish America, the disasters of the later eighteenth century, in the form of famine and epidemic, led to a marshalling of community resources under the direction of *juntas de asistencia*, special committees to supervise aid during the emergency. They were presided over by the highest local prelate and drew their membership from the highest officials and richest notables of the community. Their function was to join all dispersed efforts into a single directed flow, to raise funds for a single treasury, if necessary by redirecting the use of endowments and by assessments and loans, and to organize needed services in a rational unified system for the duration of the emergency. In the great epidemics of the last decades of our period they arranged for the care of the sick, quarantining and caring for them in hospitals, the administration of religious rites in a pooled effort of the clergy, and the collection of the bodies of the dead and their burial in new cemeteries at a suitable distance from the urban centres. For the duration of the emergency, they were able to override existing restrictions on endowments and much limiting legislation. Belatedly they began to bring to Spanish America some elements of the great reform of religious endowments and social welfare in the Catholic Netherlands that stemmed from Ypres in the early sixteenth century. Unfortunately, the committees were *ad hoc* affairs for each emergency, and were dissolved as soon as it was over, without provision for a longer-term body that would be in existence before an emergency began. The more permanent residues were the institution of public granaries in many cities that had not had them and a somewhat wider development of hospitals and hospices.[20]

Little as we know about such developments in Spanish America, we know less about them in Brazil. With the creation of a viceregal administration centred in Rio de Janeiro, and steady implementation of a policy of imposing royal control on the new settlements in the interior, there was substantial invasion of municipal autonomy as in Spanish America although with somewhat different features and without the Bourbon system of intendants. Brazil, too, had its natural disasters, the magnitude of which went far beyond the possibility of coping by existing municipal pious and social welfare foundations such as the *casas de misericórdia*; but we know little about the mustering of community resources in such emergencies.[21]

Eighteenth century changes in the ordering of society and cultural amenities may be touched on briefly. Society in Latin American cities at this time was frankly racial. In general, each city was a mixture of races. The primary elements were European, Amerindian, and Negro, but they had been combined in so many variations that elaborate systems of classification, probably more theoretical and artistic than practical, had come into being. For practical purposes, all mixtures had come to be viewed in two general categories, *mestizo* (the crossing of European and Indian) and *pardo* (the mixing of European, Indian, and Negro or any mixture that had a Negro component). In Spanish America, they might all be lumped together with Indians in a single contemptuous term *castas*. In the towns and cities of the temperate regions, including the tropical uplands, the primary elements tended to be more European and Indian and the mixtures mestizo, with distinctly less Negro presence and mixture. In the tropical lowlands, and most of all on the humid coasts, the Indians became less important (except in Amazonia) and the Negroes often were numerically the larger group and the mixtures essentially mulatto. Everywhere the whites were the dominant groups except in towns legally designated as Indian although even in such there were substantial and very influential settlements of whites, a situation that quickly came to light in the reorganization of urban governments in Spanish America under the Constitution of 1812. The whites, in turn, were divided into those born in Europe and those born in America (Creoles), the former being the core of the royal administrations and, in general, the most influential of the professional and merchant groups. The European-born obviously were always far smaller in numbers, and the Creoles a steadily increasing population. Below the whites were the mestizos, followed in turn by pardos, Indians, and Negroes. Legally the Indians should have come below the mestizos, but in practice seldom did. During the eighteenth century, there was a

steady refining of racial lines and distinctions, one which led to increasing insistence upon phenotype. On the other hand, wealth and education, or simple migration to another area where the person was unknown, allowed passing into another category. In Spanish America, the *gracia al sacar*, a declaration bought from the Crown at heavy expense, permitted wealthy Negroes or pardos to be formally declared Spanish, with all pertinent privileges. In all probability, the bulk of the so-called whites in Spanish America were mestizos, but it would have been impolite to inquire. For the *castas*, who formed the bulk of the urban populations, the major avenue of upward social mobility in the eighteenth century lay probably in the development of manufacturing and urban crafts. They could become artisans, and so gain a respected position, reinforced by membership in guilds and sodalities.[22]

In terms of cultural amenities, Latin American cities shared in the general European development. During the century there was a substantial increase in the number of schools—primary, secondary, college, and university level. After the middle of the century, the new sciences and the writings of the Enlightenment began to appear in the curriculum even though much of the writing was regarded as sacrilegious and subversive. In Spanish America, small groups either joined Spanish societies of friends of the country, organizations devoted to scientific inquiry, research for improving existing methods, and economic development, or organized their own. In Mexico City a group of savants and writers founded *La gazeta de México* as their organ; in Lima a corresponding group founded *Mercurio peruano*. Both journals became the channels of the Enlightenment in a royalist and Catholic form. All of this development was backed by importation and some local printing of books, pamphlets, and journals of various kinds. Notwithstanding the existence of the Inquisition and inspections in other forms, the forbidden writings of the French Enlightenment circulated among the local elites. Popular diversions included as a principal form the performance of comedies and other plays for which the seventeenth century *corrales de comedias* were rebuilt into the much more sumptuous *coliseos* of the eighteenth century. That of Lima, rebuilt in 1749, was especially magnificent. Other popular diversions included excursions to nearby places of interest, the nightly or weekly *paseo*, games of *pelota*, bull fights and dock fights, and toward the end of the century the introduction of the European café as a place not merely to drink coffee or eat ices but also to read and discuss. In 1791 Lima had six cafés.

It would be a mistake to consider the development of urban cultural amenities and the diversions listed as more than confined to a very small elite. The substantial artisan population might well have a considerable number of members able to read and write, but few among it went beyond that. Below lay the bulk of the urban populations, *la plebe*, religious, credulous, illiterate, ill-clothed, ill-fed, ill-housed, easily led and easily aroused against the possessors of what they did not have.[23] That volcano easily might erupt and in the nineteenth century frequently did so.

NOTES

1. Researchers are finding very substantial masses of documents in municipal archives, parish registers, and notarial holdings. The general rule of preservation, namely, that the more recent the records, the more likely that they will be preserved, means that by the eighteenth century, very considerable masses are preserved. See, for example, the discussion and listing of holdings in Woodrow Borah, "Notes on Civil Archives in the City of Oaxaca," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXI (1951), pp. 723-749. For a general review of Latin American archives that is now being filled out much further by individual reports see Lino Gziez Canedo, *Los archivos de la historia de América. Período colonial español* (2 vols., México City, 1961). An idea of the potential of parish archives may be gleaned from Susan M. Cottler, Roger M. Haigh, and Shirley A. Weathers, *Finding Aids to the Microfilm Manuscript Collection of the Genealogical Society of Utah: Preliminary Survey of the Mexican Collection* (Salt Lake City, 1978). The work of Germán Colmenares revealing how rich are the archives of Popayán and Cali in southern Colombia (*Cali: terrantenientes, mineros y comerciantes—siglo XVIII* (Cali, 1975), may be taken as an example of what is possible. In addition, the physical plant of eighteenth century Latin American cities, to a great extent, survives for study.
2. For the sections which follow the basic data are presented in Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, La población hispanoamericana y su distribución social en el siglo XVIII," *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, No. 78 (noviembre-diciembre 1954), pp. 111-142; Angel Rosenblat, *La població indigena y el mestizaje en América* (2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1954), I, pp. 36-95 and 171-238; and Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History* (3 vols., Berkely and Los Angeles, 1971-1979), *passim*. I have modified considerably the conclusions of the first two authors, but use the same data. For the Andean region, see Günter Vollmer, *Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Vizekönigreich Peru zu Ende der Kolonialzeit 1741-1821* (Bad Homburg vor der Höhe, 1967); David G. Browning and David J. Robinson, "The Origins and Comparability of Peruvian Population Data: 1776-1815," Syracuse University, Department of Geography Discussion Paper No. 23 (October 1976), pp. 1-31; and Rosemary D.F. Bromley, "Disasters and Population Change in Central Highland Ecuador, 1778-1825," David J. Robinson, ed., *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, 1979), pp. 86-115. For Brazil, see Dauril Alden, "The Population of Brazil in the Late Eighteenth Century: a Preliminary Survey," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XLIII (1963), pp. 173-205. On the importation of Negroes from Africa, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, 1969), pp. 126-264. Estimates of population, further, must take into account the ravages of the Wars of Independence, but may not always do so. Haiti, Venezuela, and Mexico suffered especially severe loss, compensated in minor measure by the settlement of refugees in Cuba and Puerto Rico. For the effect on the population of Venezuela, see Miguel Izard, *Series estadísticas para la historia de Venezuela* (Mérida, Venezuela, 1970), p. 9; John V. Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela* (Bloomington, 1976), pp. 90-108, 129-130, *et passim*.
3. In addition to the sources cited in note 2, see David J. Robinson and Teresa Thomas, "New Towns in Eighteenth Century Argentina," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, VI (1974), pp. 1-33; Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Contribução ao estudo de evolução urbana do Brasil (1500/1720)* (São Paulo, 1968), *passim* but esp. p. 88; Gabriel Guarda, *La ciudad chilena del siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires, 1968), *passim*; Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, "The Urban Center as a Focus of Migration in the Colonial Period: New Spain," Richard P. Schaedel, Jorge E. Hardoy, and Nora Scott Kinzer, eds., *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginnings to the Present* (The Hague and Paris, 1978), pp. 383-397; and Michael M. Swann, "Population Growth and Settlement Pattern Change in Nueva Vizcaya, 1765-1803," a paper presented at the 75th Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Philadelphia, April 23, 1979.
4. The following paragraphs are based upon Bailey W. Diffie, *Latin American Civilization: Colonial Period* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1945), pp. 315-440 and 674-704; Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), *passim*; C.R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil—1695-1750; Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), *passim*; Miguel Izard, *El Miedo a la revolución: La lucha por la libertad en Venezuela (1777-1830)* (Madrid, 1979), pp. 50-110; Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Lima y Buenos Aires; repercusiones económicas y políticas de la creación del virreinato del Plata* (Sevilla, 1947), *passim*; Alexander von Humboldt, *The Island of Cuba* (trans. J.S. Thrasher (New York, 1856), pp. 250-314 *et passim*; Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* (2d ed., 5 vols. Paris, 1811), III-IV, *passim*; and Josep Fontana Lázaro, *La quiebra de la monarquáa absoluta, 1814-1820 (La crisis del Antiguo régimen en España)* (Barcelona, 1971), pp. 50-67.
5. Lombardi, *Peoples and Places*, pp. 47-65, esp. pp. 59-62; David J. Robinson, "Changing Settlement Patterns in Colonial Hispanic America," Peter J. Ucko, Ruth Tringham, and G.W. Dimbleby, eds., *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972), pp. 931-943; Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, "A Case History of the Transition from Precolonial to the Colonial Period in Mexico: Santiago Tejupan," David J. Robinson, ed., *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure*, pp. 429-432.
6. Céspedes del Castillo, *passim*; statistics in table accompanying this essay; and the references in note 2.
7. Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de la ciudad de Lima* (Lima, 1945), p. 71.
8. Markman, Sidney O., *Colonial Architecture of Antigua, Guatemala* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 64, Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 18-20.
9. Alden, *Royal Government in Brazil*,
10. James W. Wilkie and Peter Reich, eds., *Statistical Abstract of Latin America, volume 19* (Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978), p. 401; Richard E. Boyer and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th Century Latin America: Statistics and Sources* (Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 23-24 and 28-29.
11. Hérnandez Sánchez-Barba, pp. 116-123; Borah and Cook, "The Urban Center as a Focus of Migration," pp. 383-396; and Swann, "Population Growth and Settlement Pattern change."

12. See references above.
13. The section which follows is based upon Alden, "The Population of Brazil," p. 189; Roberta Marx Delson, "Colonization and Modernization in Eighteenth Century Brazil," Robinson, ed., *Social Fabric*, pp. 281-313 (the map on p. 287 of planned settlements should be compared with that in Alden above on p. 189 of all settlements); Guarda, *La ciudad chilena del siglo XVIII*, *passim*; Lombardi, *People and Places*, pp. 47-65; Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History*, I, 300-375; and II, 75-179; and Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *The Population of the Mixteca Alta, 1520-1960* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), pp. 47-59. For large parts of Mexico, I rely upon personal examination of towns. The expansion of settlement in much of Central America, Venezuela, and Colombia cannot have been much different. See further, Woodrow Borah, "European Cultural Influence in the Formation of the First Plan for Urban Centers That Has Lasted to Our Time," Schaedel, Borah, Browning, etc., *Urbanización y proceso social en América* (Lima, 1972), pp. 33-54 (a volume of the proceedings of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists, Lima, 1970).
14. Lyman L. Johnson and Susan Migden Socolow, "Population and Space in Eighteenth Century Buenos Aires," Robinson, *Social Fabric*, pp. 339-368.
15. Linda L. Greenow, "Family, Household and Home: A Micro- Geographic Analysis of Cartagena (New Granada) in 1777," (Syracuse University, Department of Geography Discussion Paper No. 18, June 1976), *passim* but especially p. 3.
16. Sidney David Markman, *Colonial Architecture of Antigua, Guatemala*, p. 228, reproduces a map of Antigua. I am also indebted to Luis Luján Muñoz of Guatemala City for an illuminating discussion on these points.
17. The discussion which follows is based upon Greenow, "Family, Household and Home"; Johnson and Socolow, "Population and Space," esp. pp. 354-368; Linda L. Greenow, "Spatial Dimensions of Household and Family Structure in Eighteenth-Century Spanish America," (Syracuse University, Department of Geography Discussion Paper No. 35, July 1977); Michael M. Swann, "Real Property and Social Status in Late-Colonial Durango: A Geographical Perspective," (Syracuse University, Department of Geography Discussion Paper No. 37, July 1977); David J. Robinson, "Cordoba in 1779: City and Countryside," a paper read at the 75th Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Philadelphia, April 23, 1979; and Borah and Cook, "A Case History," esp. pp. 422-424. In addition, I have been able to examine eighteenth and early nineteenth century maps and rental records for urban buildings in the centre of Mexico City, all of them now in private possession.
18. These paragraphs are based upon personal examination of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century rental records for urban buildings in the centre of Mexico City, and upon examination of eighteenth century buildings throughout Mexico, in Antigua (Guatemala), and in Peru and Chile. The most sanitary and satisfactory arrangements were the privies in the Dominican convent in Yanhuitlán, dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century. I am indebted to Luis Luján Muñoz of Guatemala City for a discussion of sanitary arrangements in Antigua, the knowledge of which comes from his work in excavation and restoration. On water supply, see his *Fuentes de Antigua Guatemala* (Guatemala City, 1977), with its map and list of all known fountains. For building materials and methods of construction, see Markman, pp. 21-51. See further, Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787-1810* (2 vols., Mexico City, 1971), II, 120-128; Expedientes sobre alumbrado, 1791-1865, MSS in the Archive of the Secretaría Municipal, Puebla (Documentos varios, C); Articles 68, 72 and 73, Artículos de la Real Ordenanza establecimiento é instrucción de Intendentes de Exército y Provincia en el Reyno de la Nueva España, Madrid December 4, 1786, Eusebio Ventura Beleña, *Recopiliación sumaria de todos los autos acordados de la Real Audiencia y Sala del Crimen de esta Nueva Espanña y providencieas de su superior gobierno* (2 vols., Mexico City, 1787), II, app. xxiv-xxvii; (The provisions in the Ordinance for New Spain were characteristic of those for other regions.) Fabián de Fonseca and Carlos de Urrutia, *Historia general de real hacienda* (6 vols., Mexico City, 1845-1853), V, 243-349 and 410-432.
19. Woodrow Borah, "Social Welfare and Social Obligation in New Spain: A Tentative Assessment," XXXVI International Congress of Americanists, Barcilona, Madrid, Seville, 1964, *Actas y memorias*, IV, pp. 45-57; *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* (6 vols., Madrid, 1805-1807), *lib.* V, *tít.* I, *ley* xxix and *tít.* V., *ley* x; *Puebla*, Libros de cabildo (MSS, Archivo de la Secretaría Municipal) XVI, ff. 123 and 137, appointing a doctor for the public jail in resolution of October 22, 1622 and February 10, 1623, and XVII, f. 41, discussion on February 5, 1627 on appointment of a lawyer for the poor in the public jail. Both kinds of appointments may be traced annually through the deliberations of the city council. In general, they may be found in the records of the larger cities throughout Latin America.
20. Borah, "Social Welfare"; Sherburne F. Cook, "The Hunger Hospital in Guadalajara, an Experiment in Medical Relief," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, VIII, No. 4 (April 1940), pp. 533-545; Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic Disease in Mexico City, 1761-1813* (Austin, 1965), *passim*; and A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1775* (Berkely and Los Angeles), *passim*. See also the citations in note 17.
21. Alden, *Royal Government*, *passim*; and Russell-Wood, *passim*.
22. The literature on race in Latin America is enormous. I cite as representative specimens which will indicate the basis for this section, Hernández Sánchez-Barba; Cook and Borah, *Essays*, II, pp. 180-269;; Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967), pp. 1-91; James F. King, "The Case of José Ponciano de Ayarza, A Document on *Gracias al Sacar*," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXI (1951), pp. 640-647; Sherburne F. Cook, "The Population of Mexico in 1793," *Human Biology*, XIV (1942), pp. 499-515; James F. King, "The Colored Castes and American Representation in the Cortes of Cadiz," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXIII (1953), pp. 33-64; Julita Scarano, *Devoção* e escravidão (São Paulo, 1976), *passim*; Diffie, pp. 460-491; Mario Góngora, "Urban Social Stratification in Colonial Chile," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, LV (1975), pp. 421-448; and Johnson and Socolow, pp. 341-353.
23. A. Owen Aldridge, ed., *The Ibero-American Enlightenment* (Urbana, 1971), *passim*, but esp. the essays by Arthur P. Whitaker, Isaías Lerner, Luis Monguió, E. Bradford Burns, and T.B. Irving; Bernabé Navarro B., *Cultura mexicana moderna en el siglo XVIII* (Mexico City, 1964), *passim*; José Miranda, *Humboldt y México* (Mexico City, 1962), *passim*; Diffie, pp. 492-566 and 693-717; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid, 1945), pp. 313-530, and esp. 405-409; "Idea de las diversiones públicas de Lima," and "Rasgo histórico y filosófico sobre los cafées de Lima," *Mercurio peruano*, January 13, 1791 and February 10, 1791 (I, pp. 28-30 and 108-111) respectively; and Monelisa Lina Pérez-Marchand, *Dos etapas ideológicas del siglo XVIII en México a través de los papeles de la Inquisición* (Mexico City, 1945), *passim*.