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Résumé de l'article

Le commerce a constitué un facteur clef de l'expansion urbaine dans les hautes terres du centre de l'Équateur. Trois villes — Latacunga, Ambato et Riobamba — sont étudiées en détail afin de comprendre pourquoi l'activité commerciale a connu un essor plus grand dans certaines villes que dans d'autres. Le principal facteur de la croissance a été l'existence d'un arrière-pays agricole prospère et dynamique. Ambato a grandi plus rapidement que les autres villes, parce que son arrière-pays, où les petits propriétaires blancs sont en assez grand nombre, était mieux préparé à se lancer dans la production de récoltes commerciales que les populations indiennes dans le voisinage des autres villes.

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Résumé/Abstract

Le commerce a constitué un facteur clef de l'expansion urbaine dans les hautes terres du centre de l'Équateur. Trois villes — Latacunga, Ambato et Riobamba — son étudiées en détail afin de comprendre pourquoi l'activité commerciale a connu un essor plus grand dans certaines villes que dans d'autres. Le principal facteur de la croissance a été l'existence d'un arrière-pays agricole prospère et dynamique. Ambato a grandi plus rapidement que les autres villes, parce que son arrière-pays, où les petits propriétaires blancs sont en assez grand nombre, était mieux préparé à se lancer dans la production de récoltes commerciales que les populations indiennes dans le voisinage des autres villes.

Commerce was a key function of urban development in the Central Highlands of Ecuador. Three towns—Latacunga, Ambato, and Riobamba—are examined in some detail in order to understand why commercial functions developed more strongly in some towns than in others. A dynamic and prosperous agricultural hinterland was the key to growth. Ambato grew faster than the other towns because its hinterland, fairly densely populated by white smallholders, participated more readily in cash-crop production than did the Indian population surrounding the other towns.

Many factors have a role in the growth of towns, and the whole process of urban growth is a complex and inadequately understood phenomenon. This paper examines one aspect of urban growth and focuses on one key function in that growth. The aspect of growth considered is that of differential urban population change. Analysis of the demographic data for Central Highland Ecuador¹ reveals striking contrasts between the growth patterns of the three principal towns in the region, and their differential growth provides a framework for assessing the role of the major urban functions.

Research on the Central Highland of Ecuador has already indicated that commerce was a key function in urban development.² In this paper the commercial function is examined in greater detail, and attention is focused on the types and characteristics of urban commerce and the reasons why commercial functions developed more strongly in some towns than in others.

Since the early colonial period, the three principal towns in the Central Highlands of Ecuador have been Latacunga, Ambato and Riobamba (Figure 1). They are sited in the Inter-Andean Valley to the south of Quito, in a region that generally lies at altitudes of over 2,500 metres. The region has a fairly dense population of Indians and whites. In 1778-1781, the regional population was about 157,000, with almost ten per cent resident in the three towns.³ The majority of the population were engaged in farming activities, although during the Spanish colonial period, the region was also characterized by an important *obraje* textile industry.⁴ This textile industry virtually disappeared during the nineteenth century, after more than a century of decline.⁶

URBAN POPULATION CHANGE SINCE 1750

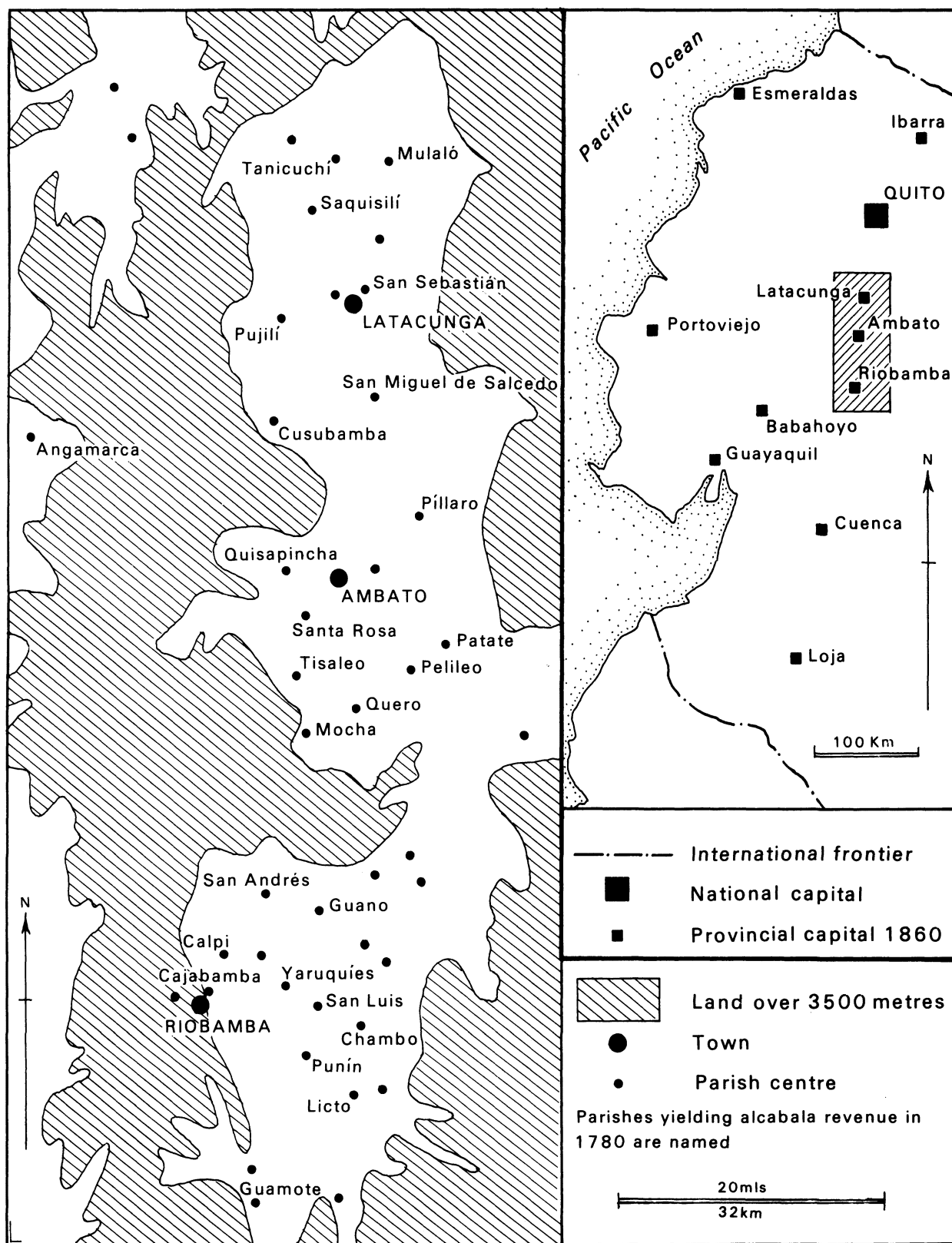
Since 1750, the three towns of Central Highland Ecuador have experienced a variety of trends. The late colonial era witnessed a severe urban recession during which the towns declined markedly in population size. Subsequently, during the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century, urban expansion was re-established. The general trends obscure major differences between the towns, differences which are crucial in assessing the role of commerce.

The broad pattern of urban population change is summarized in Table 1. Reliable census figures and estimates which can be cross-checked against other sources are scarce, particularly for the second half of the nineteenth century. Parish registers, head tax records, and qualitative information, however, can be used to sketch in the population trends for periods when such totals are unavailable. Parish register evidence of the annual number of baptisms, supported by contemporary correspondence, indicates that all three Central Highland towns were stagnant or declining during the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶ Epidemics, the decline of the textile industry, and agricultural difficulties, conspired to prevent urban growth.⁷ In 1797, a severe earthquake partially destroyed the towns, hitting particularly hard at Riobamba. Here, tremor-instigated landslides engulfed a large sector of the town, and damage was so serious that Riobamba was re-established on a new site 20 kilometres from the old.⁸ None of the towns thrived during the period of the Independence Wars, and a census in 1825 suggests that each of the three towns had only between two and three thousand inhabitants, considerably fewer than their populations of five to eight thousand each in the 1740s. (Table 1).

TABLE 1
THE POPULATIONS OF LATACUNGA, AMBATO AND
RIOBAMBA 1740-1950

Year	Latacunga	Ambato	Riobamba
1740	5000*	4000*	8000*
1780	3400	4000*	7600
1825	2200	2000*	2500
1836			3600
1844	3700		
1913	8000*		
1921/22		14 300	13 400
1950	10 389	31 312	29 830

Note: All figures are rounded to the nearest hundred except those from the first modern population census of 1950. Figures marked * are estimates. The remainder are derived from censuses.



(Figure 1)

The principal settlements of the Central Highlands of Ecuador in 1780 (left) and the location of the Central Highlands (right)
R.D.F. Bromley

Ecuador gained independence from Spain in 1822, and during the following decades, in all three towns, the trend of urban recession changed to one of rapid growth.⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century however, it was apparent that one of the three towns was lagging behind the others. This was Latacunga, which from being second largest (probably for the whole of the colonial period) became the smallest of the three towns by the 1850s.¹⁰ Its relegation to this position was linked with the vigorous growth of the neighbouring town of Ambato. Riobamba remained the largest town in the Central Highlands until Ambato equalled and almost certainly overtook it at the close of the nineteenth century and during the early twentieth century.¹¹ By the time of the first modern national census in 1950, Latacunga's population was only 10,389, Riobamba's was 29,830, and Ambato's 31,312 (Table 1). Over the 1825-1950 period, average annual population increase was as little as 1.25 per cent at Latacunga, but 2.01 at Riobamba and 2.22 at Ambato.¹² Since 1950, the differences between the three towns have become even more pronounced. In 1974 Ambato was a city of 77,955, Riobamba had 58,087 inhabitants, and Latacunga only 21,921.¹³

For the period since Independence, there is no evidence to suggest that the rates of natural increase differed between the three towns, so that the differences between the three urban growth rates were based on net migration.¹⁴ It is almost certain that these three Central Highland towns assumed an intermediate role in a rather complex pattern of regional migration flows through Ecuador.¹⁵ The towns were losing population to Ecuador's two major cities, Guayaquil and Quito.¹⁶ At the same time, however, they were receiving migrants from the surrounding rural areas. In each of the towns, the balance between out-migration and in-migration would have closely reflected the prosperity of the urban functions.

This paper focuses on the role of commerce in the *growth* of towns. It is not, therefore, proposed to devote much attention to the period of urban decline in the late colonial era; research findings on this urban decline are published elsewhere.¹⁷ However, in assessing the role of commerce in the differential urban expansion of the republican era, it is helpful to utilize evidence from the colonial era. Investigation reveals functional contrasts between the three towns and shows that these existed long before they had an apparent influence on urban growth rates. The differential urban development of the republican era was rooted firmly in the colonial period.

URBAN FUNCTIONS

In the colonial era, commerce was but one of various urban functions which characterised the three Central Highland towns, and many other urban centres of Latin America. The major colonial urban functions have been described as administration, artisan activity and trade.¹⁸ The administrative function in particular has been amply investigated in a Latin American context.¹⁹ Trade or commerce, however, has been relatively neglected, except in terms of the long-distance trading function which was so important to ports, and to other urban centres involved in the transfer of goods from Latin America to Europe. Long-distance trade, and administration, were the basic functions of most Latin American cities. Our knowledge of the functions of smaller urban centres, the towns, is less complete, for most research has concentrated on the cities. The functional basis of towns was undoubtedly different. If commerce was important, emphasis was likely to have been on local, rather than long-distance, trade. While the cities were the origins and destinations of long-distance trade, the towns were either transit points or off the main trade routes altogether. Although local

trade was vital to all urban centres, whatever their size, it was relatively *more* important in the towns, which lacked other major functions.

Urban Functions other than Commerce

The functional characteristics of the three Central Highland towns during the 1750-1920 period can be ascertained from evidence in censuses, tax records, reports and general correspondence located in the archives of Quito, Bogota and Seville, and also in local municipal and gubernatorial archives. Urban functions other than commerce can be classified into three broad classes. First, each town had an administrative and ecclesiastical function, a function that was extremely slow to change. In the late colonial period each urban centre was the seat of a *corregimiento*, and each was either a *villa* or *asiento*.²⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, the three towns were all seats of provinces, and had similar municipal status. Administrative power in particular was crucial to the urban existence, and enabled each town to retain its primate position within its own administrative area.²¹ The strength of the function, however, does not explain the differential growth of the Central Highland towns.

A second function, the agricultural and land-owning, was important in each of the three towns, but also fails to explain differential growth. While the towns were small, agricultural occupations accounted for a significant proportion of the urban workforce. At Riobamba in 1836, a census reveals that 37 per cent of the male workforce was engaged in agriculture,²² whilst an 1832 tax listing of adult white males at Riobamba shows that 24 per cent held such occupations.²³ During the colonial era, the Central Highland towns were fundamentally agro-administrative centres, the classic town type of colonial Latin America.²⁴ However, when they began to develop into larger urban centres during the second half of the nineteenth century, this growth was sustained by the expansion of other urban functions.

A third function, that of industrial and artisan activity, played a more important role in urban growth. In 1836, the Riobamba census showed that 34 per cent of the male labour was engaged in such activity, almost as large a proportion as in agricultural occupations. It is difficult to differentiate between artisan work and factory industry, but in general the small-scale operations characteristic of artisan activity tended to accompany rather than stimulate urban growth, as the majority of their output was sold to the urban population. Here there has been considerable continuity since the colonial era. In contrast, the colonial industrial function was entirely distinct from the modern. The textile *obrajes* which once operated in Latacunga had closed by the early nineteenth century.²⁵ Modern factory industry based on water-power, and later, on electricity supplies, first appeared in the 1890s,²⁶ but became fully established in Ambato and Riobamba in the 1910s.²⁷ The industrial development at these two towns stimulated their expansion in the twentieth century, but at a time when the towns had already established their superiority to Latacunga. Thus Latacunga had failed to keep pace with the growth of its neighbours before factory industry had developed as a major urban function. Similarly, Ambato had equalled or surpassed Riobamba in size before its major factories had opened. Although industrial activity is a key urban function in the twentieth century, it was not in the nineteenth.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the administrative and ecclesiastical function, the agricultural and land-owning function, and the industrial and artisan function, all fail to explain the differential urban growth of the nineteenth century. By a process of elimination, combined with supporting evidence, the other major urban function, that of commerce, assumes a crucial role.

The Commercial Function

Urban commerce comprised two main sectors: trading in permanent retail and wholesale establishments, and trading in the market-place. Evidence on the strength of the urban commercial function is available from tax data, some of which enable a direct comparison between the three towns. Most of the data relate to trading from fixed establishments.

Information on the business capital of *comerciantes* or merchants based in the towns during the 1830s and 1840s suggests that the commercial function of Latacunga was the most weakly developed. A tax list of 1837 shows that as few as fourteen merchants ran enterprises in the town worth 100 pesos or more, and only one of these was worth over 300 pesos.²⁸ By 1843, six merchants in Latacunga controlled trading enterprises worth 400 pesos or more, but only one of them was estimated to have business assets as high as 1,000 pesos.²⁹ The total business capital in the hands of the six merchants only amounted to 3,000 pesos. In the same year, Ambato had eight merchants with operations of more than 400 pesos, whose total business assets amounted to 11,500 pesos (Table 2). In 1845, in a list which appears similar to the damaged 1843 record,³⁰ Riobamba had twenty-five such merchants, who held a total business capital of 35,000 pesos (Table 2). It is evident, therefore, that Riobamba's merchants were not only more numerous, but operated on a far larger scale than their counterparts in the other Central Sierran towns. The data on Quito, however, indicate just how small the commercial functions of all three towns were in comparison with those of the capital city, where there were 187 merchants. Merchants in Latacunga in particular would have suffered because of Quito's relative proximity. The data illustrate the relative strengths of one aspect of the commercial function for a brief period when Ambato was on the brink of surpassing Latacunga in population size. Its commercial superiority had preceded its superiority in terms of population size.

TABLE 2

THE NUMBER OF MERCHANTS CLASSIFIED BY THE CAPITAL VALUE OF THEIR COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES: LATACUNGA, AMBATO, RIOBAMBA AND QUITO 1843-1845

Capital Value Of Enterprises Pesos	NUMBER OF MERCHANTS			
	Latacunga 1843	Ambato 1843	Riobamba 1845	Quito 1843
400- 999	5	3	7	73
1,000- 1,999	1	2	11	51
2,000- 2,999	—	1	3	18
3,000- 3,999	—	2	3	14
4,000- 4,999	—	—	—	9
5,000- 9,999	—	—	1	15
10,000-19,999	—	—	—	4
20,000- and over	—	—	—	3
TOTAL MERCHANTS	6	8	25	187
TOTAL CAPITAL	3,000p.	11,500p.	35,000p.	436,500p.

KEY p. Pesos

SOURCES: 1843 ANH/Q, La Rep. 117, ff.174-214, 'Lista General de Contribuyentes', Quito, 14 viii 1844.
1844: AM/R, leg. 6, 'Comerciantes y traficantes, valor de fundos', Riobamba, 1845.

Further information on the capital value of merchants' operations is available for Riobamba in 1861 and Ambato in 1871 (Table 3). Without knowledge of the rate of inflation, a detailed comparison is inappropriate, but as the total capital value of merchants' enterprises worth 1,000 pesos or more was just over 46,000 pesos in Riobamba, ten years before the same figure was recorded at Ambato (Table 3), the former town undoubtedly still retained commercial pre-eminence in the Central Sierra. However, the gap between the two may have been narrower than it had been in 1840s. Then, as in the 1860s and 1870s, Ambato was still the smaller of the two towns.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF MERCHANTS CLASSIFIED BY THE CAPITAL VALUE OF THEIR COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES: RIOBAMBA 1861 AND AMBATO 1871

Capital Value Of Enterprises Pesos	NUMBER OF MERCHANTS	
	Riobamba 1861	Ambato 1871
1,000-1,999	18	4
2,000-2,999	5	1
3,000-3,999	2	5
4,000-4,999	1	2
5,000-9,999	1	1
10,000 and over	—	1
TOTAL MERCHANTS	27	14
TOTAL CAPITAL	46,200 pesos	46,250 pesos*

NOTE: *The capital is calculated from the tax which was paid at the rate of 0.05 per cent.

SOURCE: AM/R, leg.15, Riobamba, 1861; AM/A, vol.5, f.166, Ambato, 31 v 1871.

Early in the twentieth century, several decades after Ambato had equalled and probably surpassed Riobamba in size, data indicate the commercial superiority of the by-now larger town. The evidence is available from records of the tax levied on the sums of money in circulation (*en giro comercial*). The tax covered buying and selling activity from factories, as well as shops and warehouses. Although the records itemize the names of all payees, they only specify the character of the largest concerns, so that shops *per se* cannot usually be identified. Given this limitation, the tax records reflect the financial importance of a diversity of commercial activity. In 1920, the records show that Ambato had 99 commercial establishments, each with over 1,000 sucres in circulation.³¹ The figure for Riobamba was 96, but here the establishments were smaller than at Ambato.³² Eight of Ambato's establishments were recorded as each having more than 30,000 sucres in circulation, but only two fell into this category at Riobamba. Latacunga, with only 38 establishments taxed and all with less than 30,000 sucres in circulation,³³ clearly had a very weak commercial role (Table 4).

These two sets of data, the first on merchants and the second on money in circulation, reflect only one sector of urban commerce, that involving fixed establishments. The other sector was trade in the marketplace, and of the two, this probably experienced the greatest change and expansion during the nineteenth century. From the start of their existence as urban centres in the early colonial era, the three Central Highland

TABLE 4
THE NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN
LATACUNGA, AMBATO AND RIOBAMBA CLASSIFIED BY
THE CAPITAL IN CIRCULATION 1920

Capital in Circulation Suces	Number of Commercial Establishments		
	Latacunga	Ambato	Riobamba
1,000- 4,999	27	58	53
5,000- 9,999	7	17	22
10,000-14,999	3	8	10
15,000-19,999	—	2	5
20,000-29,000	1	6	4
30,000-39,000	—	3	—
40,000-49,000	—	—	1
50,000-99,000	—	2	—
100,000 and over	—	3	1
TOTAL	38	99	96

SOURCE: MH 1920, 20 24.

towns had almost certainly possessed weekly markets, in addition to daily trading activity in their central market squares.³⁴ By the late colonial period there is evidence that the weekly markets took place on Sundays, when rural dwellers could combine a visit to market with attendance at mass.³⁵ The goods traded in the central squares of the towns appear to have been mainly perishable foodstuffs: fruit, vegetables and meat, as well as firewood and charcoal.³⁶ On market days livestock and a wider range of clothing and hardware were also sold in the town squares and streets.

The existence of markets in the three Central Highland towns was partly connected with ensuring a supply of food to the towns.³⁷ Even though many of the urban dwellers were directly involved in agriculture, those who were not landowners or cultivators, and many of those who were not entirely self-sufficient or who produced surpluses of certain crops, would have largely relied on the market for buying, selling and exchanging agricultural products. The market, therefore, gave the urban population the opportunity of obtaining an adequate supply of food, together with other basic necessities such as firewood and charcoal, which had to be brought in from the surrounding areas.³⁸

The market function of the towns was perhaps the only truly central place activity of the settlements, for the market also served as an outlet and as an exchange centre for the produce of the rural farmers in the immediate vicinity of the towns. Market-place trading served not only urban and local needs, but also acted to supply customers outside the area. Ambato, located in a rich agricultural area, dispatched fruit and vegetables, as well as bread, to Riobamba and Quito,³⁹ a long-distance trade which must have enhanced the town's market function. Latacunga and Riobamba were also involved in inter-regional flows of agricultural commodities.⁴⁰

Market-place trading was clearly an important function to each of the three towns in the colonial era. It is not possible to state with any certainty whether such trading was more flourishing in one town than another, but the comments of Caldas, who visited Ambato in 1804 suggest that the market here may have been particularly large. He described Ambato's market as "well frequented, and abundant in the crops that are produced here, and in those that are cultivated twelve or even

sixteen leagues away. Since I left Santa Fé (Bogota) until today, I have not seen anything similar."⁴¹

Market-place trading experienced a major expansion during the nineteenth century, and so grew in importance as an urban function. The expansion was facilitated by a fundamental reorganization of the system of weekly markets in the towns and villages of the Central Highlands. In the early nineteenth century, the three town markets and most rural markets were held on Sundays.⁴² By the early 1870s, however, the seven largest markets of the region, including those in the towns, had all been transferred to other days of the week.⁴³ The changes in market days resulted in a temporal pattern in which the markets were distributed more evenly over the week. As a result, the efficiency of the market system was enhanced, and goods and traders could move more easily over the region. Market trading continued to expand in association with population growth and urbanization (both in and outside the Central Highlands).

Ambato's market, in particular, benefited from the general commercial expansion, and in the mid-nineteenth century, evidence seems to confirm that its market was the largest in the Central Highlands. In the mid-nineteenth century nearly all merchandise for sale on market days in Latacunga and Riobamba was concentrated into the central square.⁴⁴ At Latacunga, comments even suggest that the main square was far too ample for the amount of produce on sale, and that the square did not warrant the description of marketplace.⁴⁵ At Ambato, in contrast, two centrally located squares were fully utilized on market days.⁴⁶ There is also evidence that the market trading activity was spread over two days of the week. Saturday appears to have been devoted solely to the wholesaling of salt and coastal products, and Sunday, the main market day, to wholesaling and retailing of a wide range of goods.⁴⁷ Tax data suggest that Ambato's market may have had almost twice as much trading in certain major commodities as Riobamba's. The data are in the form of the money totals paid for the right to collect the tax levied on the public weighing (*romana*) of goods in the market-place. Commodities such as salt, cacao, sugar, fish, fat, cotton, tobacco, meat, and animal fodder were all subject to this tax.⁴⁸ In Riobamba, in 1861, one real was levied for each quintal of goods weighed,⁴⁹ with the exception of salt, which was only liable to half a real.⁵⁰ The tax rate was identical in Ambato in 1871,⁵¹ and was probably the same during the 1860s.⁵² In the auctions of 1862, the right to collect the tax of the *romana* fetched 357 pesos in Riobamba,⁵³ and 682 pesos in Ambato.⁵⁴ In 1868, the sums had risen to 393 pesos in Riobamba⁵⁵ and 723 pesos in Ambato.⁵⁶ Thus, at both dates bidders in Ambato clearly expected to obtain almost twice as much revenue from the collection of the tax as their counterparts in Riobamba.

Later evidence continues to indicate the superior size of Ambato's market, both in terms of the quantity of goods on sale and in terms of the numbers of buyers and sellers attracted.⁵⁷ The town's commercial supremacy in the Central Highlands had preceded its rise to the position of the largest urban centre. It had the most flourishing market trade of the three towns whilst it still had the smallest population. When fixed commercial establishments are taken into account, the apparent strength of this sector of the urban commercial function similarly surpassed that expected on the basis of population size alone. All the evidence indicates the key role of commerce in urban growth. The question still remains, however, as to *why* commerce developed more strongly in one centre than another, particularly when superior urban population size was not an initial factor in this development. Here it is appropriate to examine the link between town and countryside.

URBAN-RURAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

A recent review article by Walton points to the fact that a fundamental tenet of what he terms the new urban research is that the urban centre *per se* is not an appropriate unit of analysis.⁵⁸ In investigating city phenomena, it is vital to examine the international, national, and local countryside contexts. This is also true of research on towns, but here perhaps the local countryside context acquires an even greater importance. The influence of the surrounding areas on the growth of towns depends very much on the character of the urban-rural interrelationships.

Four classes of urban function have been identified in this paper. Of these, the administrative/ecclesiastical and the agricultural/land-owning functions involved the management of rural resources, but with a strong emphasis on management for urban benefit.⁵⁹

The revenue from the tribute and other taxes levied in the rural areas supported a number of officials in the towns, and the urban land-owners possessed a disproportionately large share of the area's land. Artisan and industrial functions were very much specific to the town, and here again, if local, rural resources were involved, the emphasis was on benefit to the town. This function, like the landowning function, often relied on the services of an obligated labour force. Examination of these three functions suggests the lack of symbiosis of town and country,⁶⁰ and lends support to the ideas of internal colonialism or internal domination.⁶¹

In the theory of internal colonialism the rural areas are exploited in order to support and foster the accumulation of wealth in the towns, in a process where the urban exploitation is generally linked with white exploitation of the Indian.⁶² In commerce, as in other activities, the urban white man is considered to extract goods at an artificially low price from the rural Indian, and then to re-sell the goods at an unjustified profit.⁶³ However, it is possible to argue that the urban-rural interrelationship, as far as commerce was concerned, probably assumed a less exploitative character than the other urban functions. Clearly there would have been cases of excessive profiteering, but as there were no laws to force farmers to grow products for sale, or to sell them in particular market towns, high levels of commercial exploitation in any one market centre were unlikely.

In areas of small-scale agricultural production, without strong producers' co-operatives, market towns are an essential element of a "Progressive Rural Structure" facilitating agricultural development.⁶⁴ Rural farmers rely on market towns for selling products and for purchasing supplies and equipment. The urban commercial function closely involved the town with the population and economy of the surrounding hinterland. In this context the rural population derived considerable benefit from the town and it is to the characteristics of the rural population and economy one must look for an explanation of urban commercial development.

Commerce in the town and hinterland

In this paper, various data have been presented to indicate the differing commercial strengths of the three towns. Perhaps more striking, however, are data which reveal the commercial characteristics of each town's hinterland. In the eighteenth century some major differences are apparent. In 1780, data are available on the sales of a wide range of non-foreign goods which were subject to a special sales tax called the *alcabala de viento*. In general, revenue from the *alcabala de viento* reflected the value of all sales conducted by whites, of food-stuffs, cattle, hardware, cloth, and other goods produced within the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé.⁶⁵ It is, unfortunately, impossible to ascertain

the efficiency of tax collection, but it is likely that collection was better organized in the towns than in the rural parishes, a bias which would have been common to the whole Central Highlands. *Alcabala de viento* data are available on a parish basis for each of the three administrative areas and indicate that, while in the corregimientos of Latacunga and Riobamba sales of non-foreign goods were highly concentrated in the towns, such sales were relatively more scattered in the tenencia of Ambato.

In the town of Riobamba the *alcabala de viento* amounted to 154 pesos 3 reales for the last four months of 1780,⁶⁶ suggesting that the annual revenue might have been around 450 pesos if there were no seasonal variation in the sales of these particular goods. In the corregimiento, only two rural parishes, those of Guano and Guamote, were recorded as yielding any *alcabala de viento*. In the other rural parishes, the royal official stated that there was no tax revenue because "there is no commerce in these parishes as their populations are largely Indian."⁶⁷ In fact, there were almost as many whites recorded as living in the rural areas of the corregimiento of Riobamba as in those of Latacunga and Ambato.⁶⁸

In order to assess the relative commercial dominance of Riobamba, the *alcabala de viento* revenue can be combined with the revenue from *pulperías* so that Guano is included in the survey. The results are shown on Table 5. The tax yield from the town of Riobamba represented 84 per cent of the area's total. Guano was the only significant subsidiary commercial centre within the corregimiento.

TABLE 5
ALCABALA REVENUE BY PARISH: CORREGIMIENTO OF
RIOBAMBA, 1780

Parish ^a	Total Population 1770-1781	White Population 1779-1781	Alcabala Revenue ^b Pesos.Reales
Riobamba	7,581	4,190	533.6½ ^c
Guano	4,789	2,510	79.7½
San Andrés	3,805	1,285	7.5½
Licto	7,075	779	5.3½
Calpi	4,227	232	4.6½
Yaruquíes	4,082	347	2.3
Chambo	3,301	1,039	1.0
Punín	4,013	861	1.0
Guamote	4,747	305	0.6
San Luis	760	209	0.4

NOTES a. Eleven parishes had no tax revenue and are excluded from this list.
b. Including the *alcabala de viento* and the *cabezón de pulperías* and *tiendas de mercaderías*.
c. This figure includes an estimate of the annual revenue from the *alcabala de viento*, which was 154 pesos, 3 reales, for 4 months.
SOURCES: Population: ANH/Q, Censos y Padrones, *Padrones*, Riobamba, 1779-1781.
Alcabala: AGI, Quito 536, Riobamba, 1 i 1781.

In the Latacunga area, the urban parishes of Latacunga and San Sebastian contributed 84 per cent of the *alcabala de viento* revenue in the corregimiento (Table 6). No rural parish yielded more than one tenth of the town's tax revenue. The most valuable element in the urban trade was cattle, which accounted for 57 per cent of all tax collected.⁶⁹ Even if the urban cattle trade were ignored, however, the tax revenue on other non-foreign goods sold in the town still constituted 70 per cent of the corregimiento total.

TABLE 6
REVENUE FROM THE ALCABALA DE VIENTO RELATED TO
TAXABLE POPULATION:
CORREGIMIENTO OF LATACUNGA, 1779-1780

Parish	Taxable Population ^a	Tax Per Head of Taxable Population Reales	Tax Revenue Nov.1779- Dec. 1780 Pesos.Reales
Latacunga/ San Sebastián	2,838	0.75	265.2½
Cusubamba	589	0.30	22.3
Pujilí	2,461	0.06	17.4½
Angamarca	749	0.03	3.0
Saquisilí	1,028	0.02	2.3½
Mulaló	662	0.03	2.2½
Tanicuchi	619	0.02	1.7
San Miguel	918	—	0.7
San Felipe	633	—	—
Sigchos	620	—	—
Aláques	398	—	—
Toacaso	256	—	—
Isinliví	104	—	—

NOTE: a. Total population less ecclesiastics and Indians. Mean total for 1778-1780.

SOURCES: Population: ANH/Q, Censos y Padrones, *Padrones*, Latacun 1778-1780.

Alcabala: AGI, Quito 507, Latacunga, 1 i 1781.

In the Ambato area, the disparity between the *alcabala de viento* revenue of the town and that of the rural parishes was much smaller (Table 7), although the town's tax yield still amounted to 56 per cent of the area. Here, it is unlikely that the urban tax revenue was enhanced by a cattle trade as extensive as that at Latacunga. At least three of the rural parishes were distinguished from the others by the importance of their commercial activity. Pelileo, Pillaro and Tisaleo/Mocha together yielded two-thirds as much tax revenue as the urban parish.

TABLE 7
REVENUE FROM THE ALCABALA DE VIENTO: TENENCIA OF
AMBATO, 1780

Parish	Taxable Population ^a	Tax Per Head of Taxable Population Reales	Tax Revenue 1780 Pesos.Reales
Ambato	4,664	0.23	131.3½
Pelileo	2,896	0.08	30.0
Pillaro	2,133	0.11	29.3
Tisaleo/Mocha	1,681	0.13	28.0
Patate	570	0.14	10.1
Santa Rosa	1,260	0.02	3.7
Quero	507	0.02	1.4
Quisapincha	397	0.02	1.0
Izamba	261	—	—
Baños	221	—	—

NOTE a. Total population less ecclesiastics and Indians. Mean total for 1779-1781

SOURCES: Population: ANH/Q, Censos y Padrones, *Padrones*, Ambato, 1779-1781.

These parishes were those possessing the highest concentrations of white population in the rural area of the tenencia. However white population size was certainly not the only factor explaining the distribution of taxable commercial activity, because a rough calculation of tax revenue per head of white population also shows that the rural parishes of the Ambato area had a greater degree of commercial activity than those in the Latacunga area.

Direct comparisons between the *alcabala de viento* revenue of one town and another are avoided because cattle, a particularly valuable element in trade, almost certainly distorted the totals. Revenues from cattle sales were only isolated in the documentation relating to Latacunga. While it is unlikely that cattle trade was important in the Ambato area, such trade probably was of some significance at Riobamba. Examination of the relative commercial importance of each urban centre does, however, point to major differences between the three towns. Riobamba and Latacunga were clearly similar, in that over three-quarters of all taxed sales of non-foreign goods within their administrative areas took place in the town. In neither of their areas was there a subsidiary commercial centre which yielded as much as 15 per cent of the urban tax revenue. In contrast, tax revenue at Ambato was only half of the area total, and three of the rural parishes in the area each produced nearly a quarter as much revenue as the town. Thus, subsidiary commercial centres were proportionately far more important in the Ambato area than they were in the corregimientos of Latacunga and Riobamba.

Many of the goods subject to the *alcabala de viento* would have been sold in the market-place. Other documentation supports the findings for the Ambato area by showing the existence of some important weekly markets in the rural parishes. In contrast to other markets in the Central Highlands, two of the rural markets occurred on days other than Sunday, long before the period of market-day changes in the mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁰ In the colonial era there is evidence that a market at Patate was held on Friday,⁷¹ and another at Pelileo occurred on both Saturday and Sunday.⁷² Hence it was possible for people living in the Patate and Pelileo zone to attend both the Ambato and the local markets in the same week. A letter in 1797 specifically referred to the fact that Ambato's market depended on provisions from the rural parishes known to have had markets.⁷³

Data specifically on fixed commercial establishments are available for the nineteenth century, but only for the Latacunga and Riobamba areas. They confirm the impression of urban commercial primacy in those areas. In 1839, a tax on merchants and the owners of *pulperías* reveals that 34 men paid tax in Latacunga, while in the rural area only three were taxed.⁷⁴ Whilst Latacunga's merchants paid a total of 77 pesos a year in tax, the rural ones contributed only 6 pesos. In 1870, a listing of 154 taxable shops in Canton Riobamba shows that 88, more than half, were in the town.⁷⁵ Bearing in mind that the urban shops were almost certainly far larger than the rural, Riobamba's commercial primacy was even more pronounced.

The quantitative data are limited, but what there are, combined with qualitative information, indicate that subsidiary commercial centres were proportionately more numerous and important in the Ambato area than they were in the areas surrounding Latacunga and Riobamba. The existence of these relatively strong subsidiary commercial centres may have been conducive to the expansion of Ambato's commercial function. In support of this contention E.A.J. Johnson states that "development is a function of agrarian commercialization and that the rationalization of agrarian conduct under a pecuniary stimulus calls for a network of conveniently located central places where efficient exchange of goods and services occur."⁷⁶ The rural

commercial centres in the Ambato area would have stimulated the agricultural economy and attracted a larger proportion of the agricultural production into commerce than might otherwise have been expected. As the subsidiary commercial centres were relatively distant from Ambato, it is possible to argue that they were complementary to, rather than competing with, the town. The hypothesis is also supported by the evidence that markets in the subsidiary centres occurred earlier in the week than, rather than clashing with, the town market. Furthermore, the abundant correspondence on the area's markets contained in Ambato's municipal archives includes no suggestion of competition, but rather the importance of the links between the various markets.⁷⁷ In contrast there is evidence from the Riobamba area in the early nineteenth century that the town tried to abolish the market in Guano, the only significant subsidiary centre.⁷⁸ Similarly at Latacunga, the town officials attempted to close down the weekly market in the neighbouring village of Saquisilí.⁷⁹ Both Guano and Saquisilí were within eleven kilometres of the urban centres, considerably closer than the distances which separated Ambato from its subsidiary commercial centres.

In addition to arguing that subsidiary centres were conducive to the expansion of Ambato's commercial function, it is likely that the existence of these subsidiary centres reflected certain characteristics of the rural population and economy, which also directly encouraged commercial development in the town. The area around Ambato differed from that around Latacunga and Riobamba by having a larger proportion of whites in the population, a difference which is evident both in the late colonial censuses and in those of the early republican era.⁸⁰ In the censuses of 1778-1781 the population, outside the urban parish, in the Riobamba area was 18 per cent white, in the Latacunga area 20 per cent white, and in the Ambato area 32 per cent white.⁸¹

The Ambato area, particularly the district close to the town, was also distinguished by a land tenure structure in which smallholdings were especially important. Evidence is not available for the colonial era, but land-tax records, supported by contemporary accounts, show fairly conclusively that this was a characteristic, at least from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.⁸² While there were zones of smallholdings in the Latacunga and Riobamba areas, these lay further from the urban centres.⁸³ In the Latacunga area, for example, it is interesting to note that the major zone of smallholdings lay around the market village of Saquisilí. Smallholders, particularly if they are white rather than Indian, are far more likely to engage in local commerce than the owners of large holdings. Evidence from the eighteenth century reveals that hacienda owners often made consignments direct to Quito.⁸⁴ The smallholder, however, produces too little for a long-distance contact to be worthwhile. Instead, he relies on easy access to a market centre, where a trader will buy his products and organize the subsequent sales.⁸⁵ In this way, the smallholders support a series of middlemen, usually based in the town, who work full-time in trade. The middlemen derive their income from these commercial transactions, and further wealth thus accumulates in the town. Moreover, as smallholders are attracted to the towns to sell their products, they tend to purchase their supplies on the same trip. A thriving urban market in the products of the hinterland, enhances sales of hardware, clothing and other commodities in the market stalls and permanent retail establishments of the town.

A further feature of the Ambato area conducive to commerce relates to the wide range of ecological conditions, which permitted the production of a variety of fruit and vegetables. The cities of Quito, and later Guayaquil, were major markets for such products and Ambato was better placed than its neighbours not

only ecologically, but also locationally because of its advantageous routeway position, for supplying the urban demand. The Latacunga and Riobamba areas possessed a more heavily Indian population, larger landholdings, and a livestock grain economy, which were all factors relatively unfavourable to intense commercial activity. Moreover, Latacunga suffered the additional disadvantage of being the Central Highland town closest to Quito.

CONCLUSIONS

Commerce is the most important of all urban functions in explaining town growth in Central Highland Ecuador over the 1750 to 1920 period. It played the key role in the growth of Ambato from the position of smallest Central Highland town to that of largest. The factors involved in this growth almost certainly operated in many relatively densely populated parts of Latin America, where the economy was predominantly agricultural. Where an urban hinterland possesses a large proportion of smallholders, this encourages the development of commercial centres, which in turn further stimulates the expansion of agricultural production. If products are available for marketing and the mechanisms exist whereby those products can reach the town market, whether directly or through the hands of traders in subsidiary centres, the urban commercial function has a firm basis on which to expand.

The volume of commerce increased considerably throughout Ecuador during the nineteenth century, stimulated by population growth, urbanization, the improvement of communications and Ecuador's greater role in world trade. Ambato was particularly well placed to benefit from these changes. The wide range of ecological conditions supported a varied agriculture and permitted the production of fruit and vegetables which serviced the increasing demand from Ecuador's cities. The area's fairly dense white population participated more readily in cash-crop production than the Indians of other highland zones. The development of a thriving agriculture in the Ambato area supported a significant population increase, an increase which was more pronounced than in the more heavily Indian areas of Riobamba and Latacunga. Accompanying the population growth the subdivision of land in the Ambato area became more extreme, and perhaps intensified the land tenure contrasts between the three town hinterlands.

Given that growth in population, production and demand generates commerce, and given that small-scale producers generally have to rely on urban traders, then the local town will accumulate wealth and expand. Thus, an expanding commercial function, relying closely on the population and economy of the hinterland, generates urban population growth, and in the Central Highlands of Ecuador, such factors enabled Ambato to overtake the other towns.

NOTES

1. The Central Highlands of Ecuador are defined as that region covered by the late colonial corregimientos of Latacunga, Ambato and Riobamba, and now occupied by the provinces of Cotopaxi, Tungurahua and the northern two-thirds of Chimborazo.
2. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador, 1698-1940," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Wales, 1977); R.D.F. Bromley, "The Functions and Development of 'Colonial' Towns: Urban Change in the Central Highlands of Ecuador, 1698-1940," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N.S., vol. 4 (1979), pp.30-43.
3. Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito (hereafter ANH/Q), Censos y Padrones.
4. See J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (London, 1806), vol. 1, pp. 293-315; R.B. Tyrer, "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry 1600-1800," Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (University of California at Berkeley, 1976).

5. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 377-380.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-64, 175-185.
7. R.D.F. Bromley, "Disasters and Population Change in Central Highland Ecuador, 1778-1825," In D.J. Robinson (Ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (University Microfilms International, 1979).
8. ANH/Q, Pres. de Quito, vol. 332, fol. 8, Cajabamba, 22 March 1797; In August, 1797, the President of the Audiencia acknowledged that the *cabildo* of Riobamba was in favour of refoundation on the Llano de Tapi: ANH/Q, Pres. de Quito, vol. 332, fol. 128v, Quito, 12 August, 1797.
9. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban-Rural Demographic Contrasts in Highland Ecuador: Town Recession in a Period of Catastrophe, 1778-1841," *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 5 (1979), pp. 281-295.
10. This is suggested by Wisse's estimates in *El Nacional* (Quito) 17 October, 1848; and correspondence concerning Latacunga's designation as provincial capital: *Ibid.*, 13 May, 1851.
11. C.W. Rush, "Ferrocarril Intercontinental: Informe, 12 de Julio, 1893," *Boletín de Obras Públicas*, vol. 5 (1940), nos. 56-58, pp. 33-34; Censuses in 1921 and 1922 indicate the larger size of Ambato: L.T. Paz y Miño, *La Población del Ecuador* (Quito, 1942); Archivo Municipal de Ambato (hereafter AM/A), vol. 58, Ambato, 9 July, 1930.
12. This calculation is based on the 1825 and 1950 censuses (see Table 1)
13. Oficina de los Censos Nacionales, *III Censo de Población y II de Vivienda: Resultados Provisionales* (Quito, 1974).
14. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 348-360.
15. J. Estrada Ycaza, *Regionalismo y Migración* (Guayaquil, Publicaciones del Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 1977); R.S. Landmann, "Politics and Population in Ecuador: The Impact of Internal Migration on Political Attitudes and Behavior," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1974); J. Molina, *Las Migraciones Internas en el Ecuador* (Quito: Editorial Universitaria, 1965).
16. See, for example, the enumerators' books of the 1919 Census of Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, Censo Municipal de Guayaquil, Guayaquil, 1919.
17. R.D.F. Bromley, "The Functions and Development of 'Colonial' Towns . . .," *idem.*, "Disasters and Population Change in Central Highland Ecuador . . .," *idem.*, "Urban-Rural Demographic Contrasts in Highland Ecuador . . ."
18. R.J. Johnston, "Regarding Urban Origins, Urbanization and Urban Patterns," *Geography*, vol. 62 (1977), pp. 4-5.
19. See J.E. Hardoy and C. Aranovich, "Urban Scales and Functions in Spanish America toward the year 1600: First Conclusions," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 5 (1970), no. 3, pp. 57-91; J.P. Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs* (Durham N.C., Duke University Press, 1954); *idem.*, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Bourbons* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966).
20. J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, vol. 1, pp. 192-193.
21. This theme is elaborated in R.D.F. Bromley, "The Functions and Development of 'Colonial' Towns . . .," pp. 38-39.
22. The census schedules for 1836 are in the Archivo de la Gobernación, Riobamba (hereafter AG/R), unclassified.
23. Archivo Municipal, Quito (hereafter AM/Q), vol. 64, ff. 272-277, Latacunga, 10 February, 1832.
24. R.M. Morse, "Trends and Issues in Latin American Urban Research 1965-1970," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 6 (1971), no. 1, p. 5.
25. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 434-437.
26. A *cabuya* factory was founded in Ambato c. 1891: Bureau of American Republics, *Ecuador* (Washington D.C.: Bureau of American Republics, 1892), p. 60. Water drove the factory's machinery, and the workforce was recorded as 47: F. Moscoso, *Cuadro Sinóptico de la Provincia del Tungurahua* (Ambato, 1893), p. 32.
27. During the 1910s, textile factories using electricity were founded, for example La Industrial Algodonera at Ambato in 1919 (*La Defensa Nacional* [Ambato] 12 December, 1919), and El Prado in Riobamba in 1916 (*La Evolución* [Riobamba] 23 December, 1916).
28. ANH/Q, La República, vol. 55, f. 368, 'Clasificación de comerciantes,' Latacunga, 28 July, 1837.
29. ANH/Q, La República, vol. 117, f. 213, 'Lista General de Contribuyentes,' Quito, 14 July, 1844.
30. AG/R, Riobamba, 13 September, 1843.
31. Ministerio de Hacienda, *Informe del Ministro de Hacienda* (Quito, 1920), pp. 20-24.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Apart from one establishment in the 20,000 — 29,000 sucre category, all were under 15,000. *Ibid.*
34. See R.D.F. Bromley and R.J. Bromley, "The Debate on Sunday Markets in Nineteenth-Century Ecuador," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 7 (1975), pp. 85-108.
35. ANH/Q, Indígenas, Latacunga, 4 August, 1798; ANH/Q, Presidencia de Quito, vol. 223, f. 12, Santa Rosa, 22 January, 1785.
36. ANH/Q, Estanco, Latacunga, 12 March, 1759; ANH/Q, Gobierno, Latacunga, — 1786.
37. D. Kaplan, "The Mexican Marketplace Then and Now," in J. Helm (Ed.) *Essays in Economic Anthropology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), pp. 83-84; see also Francisco de Solano, "An Introduction to the Study of Provisioning in the Colonial City," in R.P. Schaedel, J.E. Hardoy, and N.S. Kinzer, (eds.) *Urbanization in the Americas from its Beginnings to the Present* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978).
38. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 128-133.
39. J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, vol. 1, p. 313; Juan de Velasco, *Historia del Reino de Quito* (Quito, 1946), vol. 3, p. 136; Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Quito *legajo* 223, 'Idea del Reino de Quito,' c. 1759.
40. ANH/Q, Estanco, Latacunga, 19 April 1768; AGI, Quito, *legajo* 139, Madrid, — October, 1745.
41. F.J. de Caldas, *Semanario de la Nueva Granada* (Paris: Librería Castellana, 1849), p. 457.
42. R.D.F. Bromley and R.J. Bromley, "The Debate on Sunday Markets . . .," p. 94.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Archivo Municipal de Latacunga (hereafter AM/L), *legajo* 1864, Latacunga, 8 April 1864; Archivo Municipal de Riobamba (hereafter AM/R), *legajo* 12, Riobamba, 22 March, 1857.
45. AM/L, *legajo* 1867, Pujilí, 11 February, 1867.
46. Archivo Municipal de Ambato (hereafter AM/A), vol. 3, f. 376, Ambato, 14 October, 1866; P.F. Cevallos, *Geografía de la República del Ecuador* (Lima, 1883), p. 295.
47. AM/A, vol. 00, ff. 24-25, Ambato, 5 December, 1857; see also I. Toro Ruiz, *Centenario de la Feria en los Días Lunes* (Ambato, 1970), pp. 5-8.
48. See AM/L, *legajo* 1862, Latacunga, 14 January, 1862; AM/R, *legajo* 29, Riobamba, 13 June, 1869.
49. A *quintal* was equivalent to 100 lbs. (45.36 kg.): P.F. Cevallos, *Geografía de la República del Ecuador*, p. 103.
50. AM/R, *legajo* 17, Riobamba, 13 June, 1861.
51. AM/A, vol. 5, f. 169, Ambato, 20 December, 1871.
52. As the general trend in taxation was an upward one, it is very unlikely that market taxes in Ambato were higher in the 1860s than in 1871. They may have been lower.
53. AM/R, *legajo* 25, Riobamba, 27 January, 1862.
54. AM/A, vol. 2, f. 458, Ambato, — January, 1862.
55. AM/R, *legajo* 27, Riobamba, 8 February, 1868.
56. AM/A, vol. 4, f. 219, Ambato, — January, 1868.
57. P.F. Cevallos, *Geografía de la República del Ecuador*, p. 295; R.J. Bromley, "Periodic and Daily Markets in Highland Ecuador," Unpublished Ph. D. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1975), pp. 137-140.
58. J. Walton, "From Cities to Systems: Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 14 (1979), no. 1, pp. 164.
59. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban-Rural Interrelationships in Colonial Hispanic America: a Case Study of Three Andean Towns," *Swansea Geographer*, vol. 12 (1974), pp. 15-22.
60. See R.M. Morse, "Latin American Intellectuals and the City, 1860-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 10 (1978), p. 235.
61. See for examples: P. González Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development," in I.L. Horowitz, J. de Castro, and J. Gerassi (eds.), *Latin American Radicalism* (New York, 1969); D.A. Preston, *Farmers and Towns: Rural-Urban Relations in Highland Bolivia* (Norwich: Geo Abstracts Ltd., 1978); R. Stavenhagen, "Classes, Colonialism, and Acculturation: A System of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Mesoamerica," in I.L. Horowitz (ed.), *Masses in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
62. R.J. Bromley, *Development and Planning in Ecuador* (London: Latin American Publications Fund, 1977), pp. 36-43; H. Burgos Guevara, *Relaciones Interétnicas en Riobamba* (México D.F.: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1970).
63. R.J. Bromley, "Periodic and Daily Markets in Highland Ecuador," pp. 207-208; H. Burgos Guevara, *Relaciones Interétnicas en Riobamba*, pp. 262-276.
64. A.T. Mosher, *Creating a Progressive Rural Structure* (New York: Agricultural Development Council, Inc., 1969).
65. According to a tax official at Ambato the *alcabala de viento* was levied on "ventas de menudencias, frutos, comestibles, ganado de abasto, y otros efectos," AGI, Quito, *legajo* 445, Ambato, 1 January 1781. See also R.S. Smith, "Sales Taxes in New Spain 1575-1770," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 28 (1948), p. 19.
66. AGI, Quito, *legajo* 536, Riobamba, 1 January, 1781.
67. *Ibid.*
68. In 1778-1781 there were 14,441 whites in the Riobamba area; 14,557 in the Ambato area, and 11,520 in the Latacunga area: ANH/Q, Censos y Padrones.
69. AGI, Quito, *legajo* 507, Latacunga, 1 January, 1781.
70. These two were Patate and Pelileo, although the latter had two market days, one of which was Sunday: R.D.F. Bromley and R.J. Bromley, "The Debate on Sunday Markets . . .," p. 94.
71. ANH/Q, Gobierno, Latacunga, 26 April, 1782.
72. ANH/Q, Indígenas, Pelileo, — 1817.
73. AGI, Quito, *legajo* 403, Ambato, 18 February, 1797.
74. ANH/Q, La República, vol. 55, f. 368, 'Clasificación de comerciantes,' Latacunga, 28 August, 1837.
75. AM/R, *legajo* 30, Riobamba, 4 April, 1870.

76. E.A.J. Johnson, *The Organization of Space in Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 28.
77. This is revealed in the correspondence relating to market-day changes: R.D.F. Bromley and R.J. Bromley, "The Debate on Sunday Markets"
78. ANH/Q, Presidencia de Quito, vol. 559, f. 207, Guano, 13 April, 1818.
79. ANH/Q, La República, vol. 57, f. 188, Latacunga, 10 December, 1837.
80. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 154-175, 334-348.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165
82. See AM/Q, vol. 64, ff. 83-96, Property registers for the parishes of Canton Ambato, January-September 1832: AG/R, Property registers accompanying the 1836 Census; ANH/Q, La República, vol. 121, f. 124 *et seq.*, Latacunga, 1 August 1849. These and other sources are discussed in R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 385-389, 426-434.
83. *Ibid.*
84. R.D.F. Bromley, "Urban Growth and Decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador . . .," pp. 131-132; R.B. Tyrer, "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito . . .," pp. 278-296.
85. R.J. Bromley, "Interregional Marketing and Alternative Reform Strategies in Ecuador," *European Journal of Marketing*, vol. 8 (1974), pp. 245-264.