

## To submit and to serve: forced native labour in the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala, 1525–1821

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The Indian peoples of the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala, like their counterparts throughout Spanish America, were forced to render labour to their European conquerors in a variety of ways. Foremost among the institutional devices which controlled and exploited native labour were the *encomienda*, the *tasación de tributos*, and the *repartimiento*. Prominent and prestigious chiefly during the first century of colonial rule, the *encomienda* was a means whereby a privileged individual was granted the right to enjoy the tribute, and originally also the labour, of a certain number of Indians in a designated town or group of towns. The amount of tribute owed by a town was stipulated by the *tasación de tributos*, which assessed tribute-paying capacity principally in terms of age, sex, and marital status. Through the operation of *repartimiento*, labour was coerced from the Indians and channelled into a number of menial and servile tasks. During the eighteenth century, debt peonage was a further means of securing a work force in the Cuchumatán highlands, particularly on the large *haciendas* which dominated the commercial agricultural economy of the region.

The two republics, of Spaniards and Indians, of which this Kingdom consists are so repugnant to each other . . . that it seems that the conservation of the former always means the oppression and destruction of the latter.

Luis de Velasco,  
Viceroy of New Spain (1595).

Relentless exploitation of the native capacity to work formed the basis of the Spanish colonial economy and was at the heart of any material enrichment that accrued either to the crown or to individual Spaniards over the course of Spain's three-century domination of much of the New World. A recent volume by William Sherman has impressively documented the changing ways in which, during the sixteenth century, labour was exacted from Indian communities by their Spanish overlords in the Central American isthmian region known as the Audiencia de los Confines.<sup>[1]</sup> While Sherman's contribution is indisputable, a number of questions arise both from the nature of his findings and the scope of his inquiries. Foremost among these, as Sherman himself and at least one reviewer of his work have recognized,<sup>[2]</sup> is the need to explore at the local level the temporal and spatial variations of the myriad forms of forced labour, which differed according to a number of factors, including the size of the Indian work force, regional economic potential, geographical location, relations between colonists and the Crown, and attitudes towards the treatment of the native population. It is the purpose of this

paper to examine the operation of forced native labour throughout the colonial period in a remote corner of Spanish Central America known as the Cuchumatán highlands, today the north-western part of the republic of Guatemala (Fig. 1). Because of the fragmentary nature of the documentary record, this examination of labour relations between Spaniards and Indians emphasizes primarily three different exploitative devices: the *encomienda*, the *tasación de tributos*, and the *repartimiento*.

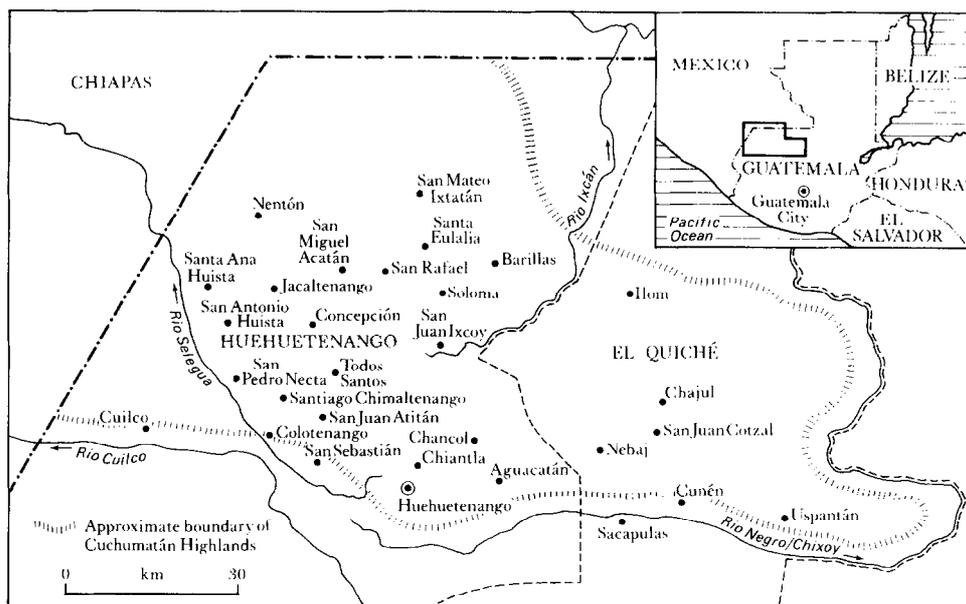


Figure 1. The Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala: geographical setting and location of principal settlements mentioned in the text.

### The regional setting

The Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala are the most massive and spectacular non-volcanic region of all Central America. Lying to the north and west of the Río Negro or Chixoy, and to the north of the Río Cuilco, the Cuchumatanes form a fairly well-defined physical unit bordered on the west by the hilly Comitán country of the Mexican state of Chiapas and to the north by the sparsely settled tropical lowlands of the Usumacinta basin. The Cuchumatanes, with elevations ranging from 500 to more than 3,600 metres, are contained within the Guatemalan departments of Huehuetenango and El Quiché, and comprise some 15% (approximately 16,350 square kilometres) of the national territory of the Central American republic (Fig. 1).

Rugged, isolated, and possessing a resource endowment of limited exploitative potential compared with other parts of Central America, the Cuchumatanes were regarded by entrepreneurially minded Spaniards for most of the colonial period as something of an economic backwater. During the first two centuries of Spanish rule in Guatemala the Cuchumatán region was part of the administrative division known as the *corregimiento* or *alcaldía mayor* of Totonicapán and Huehuetenango. This unit included all of the present day department of Totonicapán, most of

Huehuetenango, the northern half of El Quiché, the easternmost portion of Quezaltenango, and the Motozintla area of neighbouring Chiapas. Towards the end of the colonial period the *corregimiento* or *alcaldía mayor* of Totonicapán and Huehuetenango was made a *provincia* composed of two jurisdictions: the *partido* of Totonicapán and the *partido* of Huehuetenango. The jurisdiction referred to as the *partido* of Huehuetenango (Fig. 2) corresponds in approximate territorial extent to the area here designated the Cuchumatán highlands.

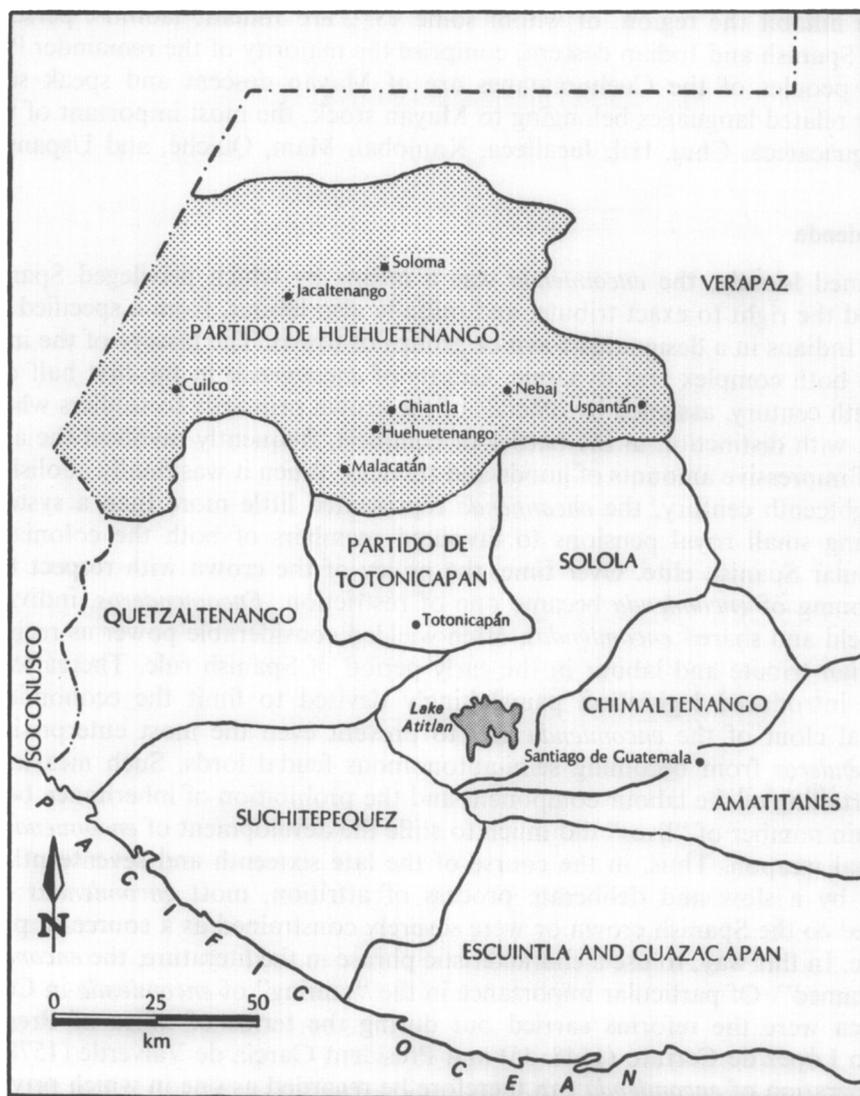


Figure 2. The *partido* of Huehuetenango, showing the district's eight parish seats and the relation of the Cuchumatán region to the other *alcaldías mayores* of western Guatemala and to the colonial capital of Santiago.

Source: Francisco de Solano, *Los Mayas del Siglo XVIII* (Madrid 1974).

At the time of the Spanish conquest of the region, which began in July 1525 and which did not end until December 1530, possibly as many as 260,000 people inhabited the Cuchumatanes.<sup>[3]</sup> By 1670 the native population had plummeted to

its post-conquest nadir of around 16,000, a catastrophic collapse brought about principally by the inadvertent but fatal transfer to an immunologically defenseless New World population of a host of hitherto unknown Old World diseases.<sup>[4]</sup> The demographic recovery which began in the last quarter of the seventeenth century continued, albeit intermittently, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not until the third decade of the present century did population begin to increase sharply, chiefly as a result of the impact of modern medical technology in substantially reducing rates of human mortality.<sup>[5]</sup> Today, about one-half million people inhabit the region, of whom some 73% are Indian; ladinos, persons of mixed Spanish and Indian descent, comprise the majority of the remainder.<sup>[6]</sup> The native peoples of the Cuchumatanes are of Mayan descent and speak several closely related languages belonging to Mayan stock, the most important of which are Aguacateca, Chuj, Ixil, Jacalteca, Kanjobal, Mam, Quiché, and Uspanteca.

### Encomienda

Defined loosely, the *encomienda* was a means by which privileged Spaniards enjoyed the right to exact tribute, and initially also labour, from a specified number of Indians in a designated town or groups of towns. The history of the institution is both complex and dynamic. Grants of *encomienda* in the first half of the sixteenth century, assigned by officials of the crown primarily to soldiers who had fought with distinction in the battles of conquest, frequently involved the allocation of impressive amounts of goods and services. When it was finally abolished in the eighteenth century, the *encomienda* represented little more than a system of awarding small royal pensions to favoured members of both the colonial and peninsular Spanish elite. Over time, the policy of the crown with respect to the functioning of *encomienda* became one of restriction. *Encomenderos*, individuals who held and shared *encomiendas*, often wielded considerable power as recipients of Indian tribute and labour in the early period of Spanish rule. Thereafter, the crown introduced legislation painstakingly devised to limit the economic and political clout of the *encomienda* and to prevent even the most enterprising of *encomenderos* from becoming semi-autonomous feudal lords. Such measures as the curtailing of the labour component and the prohibition of inheritance beyond a certain number of "lives" did much to stifle the development of *encomienda* as a personal weapon. Thus, in the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by a slow and deliberate process of attrition, most *encomiendas* either reverted to the Spanish crown or were severely constrained as a source of private income. In this way, to use a characteristic phrase in the literature, the *encomienda* was "tamed". Of particular importance in the "taming" of *encomienda* in Central America were the reforms carried out during the terms of office of President Alonso López de Cerrato (1548–55) and President García de Valverde (1578–89). The operation of *encomienda* can therefore be regarded as one in which privileges originally granted by the crown were gradually eroded, or completely removed, by the subsequent implementation of restrictive legislation.<sup>[7]</sup>

Although scant and of limited reconstructive potential, the extant archival documentation suggests that the history of *encomienda* in the Cuchumatán highlands conforms roughly to the general Spanish American pattern outlined above. The earliest surviving titles to Cuchumatán towns, recorded in the *tasaciones de tributos* (tribute assessments) prepared in 1549 by President Cerrato, indicate that *encomienda* in the mid-sixteenth century involved not only the privilege of receiving

tribute but also the right to the labour of a certain number of Indians (*indios de servicio*) for personal service (see Table 1). At least six towns in the Cuchumatanes were held in *encomienda* at this time either by *conquistadores* or their offspring.<sup>[8]</sup>

TABLE 1

*Cuchumatán settlements included in the tribute assessment prepared between February and August 1549, by President Alonso López de Cerrato (AGI: AG 128)*

Name of settlement	Number of tributaries	Name of encomendero(s)	Annual amount of tribute
Aguacatlán (Aguacatlán)	200	Juan de Celada	6 <i>fanegas</i> <sup>1</sup> of corn 1 <i>fanega</i> of beans 800 feathers 220 <i>mantas</i> <sup>2</sup> 8 dozen chickens 2 <i>fanegas</i> of salt 2 dozen <i>petates</i> <sup>3</sup> 2 <i>arrobas</i> <sup>4</sup> of honey 10 <i>indios de servicio</i> <sup>5</sup> 4 <i>indios para ganado</i> <sup>6</sup>
Chalchuytlán (Chalchitán)	60	Hernán Pérez Peñate and Alonso de Pulgar	2 <i>fanegas</i> of cotton 80 <i>mantas</i> 10 dozen chickens 120 <i>cargas</i> <sup>7</sup> of salt 4 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Chimaltenango y Atitlán (Santiago Chimaltenango and San Juan Atitán)	35	Leonór de Castellanos	4 <i>fanegas</i> of corn $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fanega</i> of beans 125 <i>mantas</i>
Cochumatlán (Todos Santos Cuchumatán)	—	<i>Menores hijos</i> of Marcos Ruíz and García de Aguilar	6 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 200 <i>mantas</i> 8 dozen chickens 4 <i>fanegas</i> of wheat
Cuylco (Cuilco)	290	Hernán Gutierrez de Gibajal and Hernán Méndez de Sotomayor	6 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 1 <i>fanega</i> of beans 300 <i>mantas</i> 150 small <i>petates</i> 30 large <i>petates</i> 8 <i>cántaros</i> <sup>8</sup> of honey 6 dozen chickens 50 <i>fardos</i> <sup>9</sup> of chile peppers 6 <i>indios de servicio</i> 6 <i>indios para ganado</i>
Guevetenango (Huehuetenango)	500	Juan del Espinar	15 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 4 <i>fanegas</i> of cotton 5 <i>fanegas</i> of beans 300 <i>mantas</i> 100 cakes of salt 12 dozen chickens 100 <i>cargas</i> of chile peppers 6 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Motolcintla (Motocintla)	138	Hernán Gutierrez de Gibaja and Hernán Méndez de Sotomayor	6 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 100 <i>guipiles</i> <sup>10</sup> 100 <i>petates</i> 8 <i>cántaros</i> of honey 12 deer skins 8 dozen chickens

TABLE 1—*continued*

Name of settlement	Number of tributaries	Name of encomendero(s)	Annual amount of tribute
Nemá (Nebaj)	35	Francisco Sánchez Tamborino	2 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 3 dozen chickens 4 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Petatán (part of present day Concepción)	—	Diego Sánchez Santiago	2 <i>fanegas</i> of corn $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fanega</i> of beans 30 <i>mantas</i> 100 small <i>petates</i> 3 <i>cargas</i> of chile peppers 4 dozen chickens 2 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Uzumacintla (part of present day San Pedro Necta)	60	Melchor de Velasco	2 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 30 small <i>petates</i> 1 <i>indio de servicio</i>
Vspantlán (Uspantán)	—	Santos de Figueroa	2 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 80 <i>mantas</i> 5 dozen chickens $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>arroba</i> of wax 2 <i>cargas</i> of chile peppers 6 <i>indios de servicio</i> 2 <i>muchachos</i>
Yztlán (San Antonio and/or Santa Ana Huista)	45	Francisco López	4 dozen chickens 100 small <i>petates</i> 2 <i>arrobas</i> of honey 4 <i>cargas</i> of chile peppers 4 <i>fanegas</i> of beans 4 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Xacaltenango (Jacaltenango)	500	Gonzalo de Ovalle	12 <i>fanegas</i> of corn $1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fanegas</i> of beans 4 <i>fanegas</i> of cotton 400 <i>mantas</i> 10 dozen chickens 80 small <i>petates</i> 4 large <i>petates</i> 3 <i>fanegas</i> of wheat 6 <i>fanegas</i> of salt 2 <i>arrobas</i> of honey 25 <i>cargas</i> of chile peppers 6 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Ystatán (San Mateo Ixtatán)	30	Diego Sánchez Santiago	2 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 12 <i>fanegas</i> of salt 35 <i>mantas</i> 3 dozen chickens 2 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Zacapula (Sacapulas)	160	Cristóbal Salvatierra and the <i>menores hijos</i> of Juan Paez	96 <i>fanegas</i> of salt 18 dozen chickens 16 <i>indios de servicio</i>
Zoloma (Soloma)	140	Diego de Alvarado and Juan de Castrogui	4 <i>fanegas</i> of corn 100 <i>mantas</i> 150 chickens 8 <i>indios de servicio</i>

<sup>1</sup> A *fanega* is a unit of dry measure of roughly 1.5 bushels. The area planted with this amount of seed was known as the *fanega de sembradura*.

<sup>2</sup> A *manta* was a standard square of cotton cloth.

<sup>3</sup> A *petate* is a woven reed mat, used for bedding and flooring.

<sup>4</sup> An *arroba* is a unit of weight equal to about 25 pounds.

<sup>5</sup> *Indios de servicio* were Indians granted as an integral part of *encomienda* who could be employed at a number of tasks involving *servicio personal*, personal service. Labour from the stipulated number of Indians was provided on a regular basis to the *encomendero*.

<sup>6</sup> *Indios para ganado* were Indians whose personal services to the *encomendero* involved looking after livestock.

<sup>7</sup> A *carga* was a load roughly equivalent to two *fanegas*.

<sup>8</sup> A *cántaro* is a jug or pitcher.

<sup>9</sup> A *fardo* is a bundle or bale.

<sup>10</sup> A *guipil* or *huipil* is traditionally the name given to a woman's blouse. In this case it may simply mean a unit of woven cotton cloth.

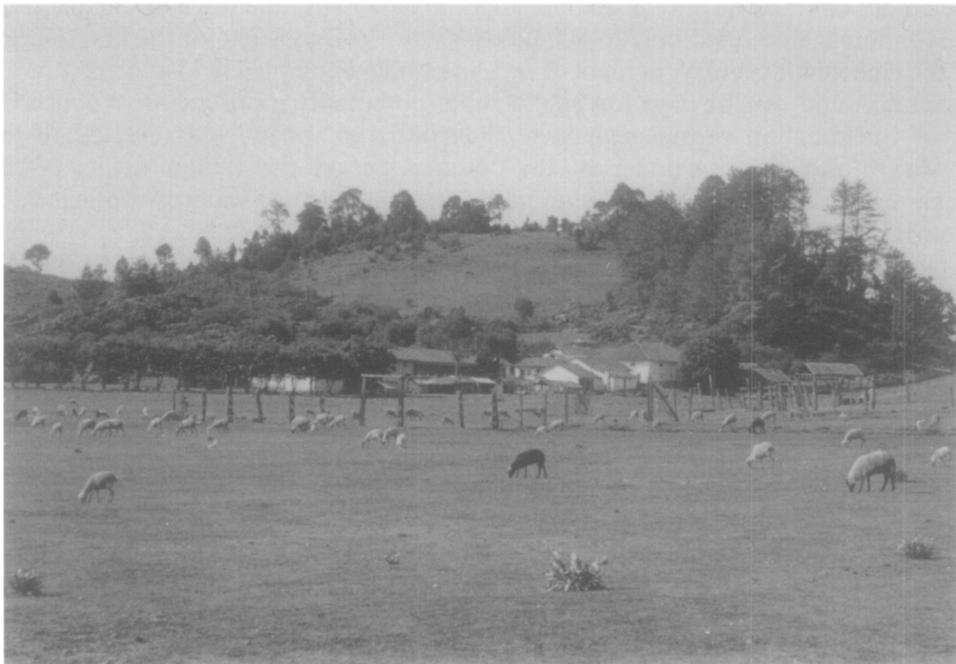
Some of the larger towns, such as Huehuetenango, Jacaltenango, and Sacapulas, initially furnished enough tribute and labour to provide *encomenderos* with a fairly comfortable living; for example, Juan de Espinar, the first *encomendero* of Huehuetenango, was once so wealthy that he could afford to lose 20,000 *pesos de oro* through gambling.<sup>[9]</sup> By the early seventeenth century, however, prohibitive governmental legislation and a dwindling native population resulted in the failure of the *encomienda* system to support its recipients in the style of life to which they aspired. *Encomienda* privileges around the year 1610, particularly at San Juan Ixcoy, San Mateo Ixtatán, Soloma, and Uspantán, resembled little more than a modest type of pension.<sup>[10]</sup> By the middle of the seventeenth century *encomienda* benefits were minimal and, at Aguacatán, Chajul, and Nebaj, were the equivalent of a very humble annuity.<sup>[11]</sup> In 1678, at the depth of the economic recession widespread throughout much of Central America, the *encomienda* income accruing to the holder of Chiantla and Huehuetenango, together with the town of Guajiaquero in Honduras, amounted only to 400 pesos a year.<sup>[12]</sup> By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, holders of *encomienda* had completely lost interest in the institution and sought their fortune in other potentially more lucrative concerns. Most Cuchumatán *encomiendas* were then declared vacant and reverted to the crown.<sup>[13]</sup> For the remainder of the colonial period the Indian towns of the Cuchumatán highlands paid tribute not to individuals but, via crown officials, to the royal treasury.

Documentation relating to the history of one single *encomienda* is most complete for the town of Huehuetenango. Shortly after the conquest, Huehuetenango was assigned to the *conquistador* Juan de Espinar. A distinguished soldier and one-time *alcalde ordinario* of Santiago de Guatemala, the ambitious Espinar also owned land in the Huehuetenango area and was responsible for the discovery and exploitation of the silver deposits in the hills north of Chiantla. Prior to the reforms introduced by President Cerrato in 1549, Espinar exacted *encomienda* labour from 200 to 300 *indios de servicio* who hauled ore and wood in the *encomendero's* mines; Indian women he put to work in the preparation of food raised from his nearby holdings or paid by Indians as part of their tribute requirement. Espinar earned 8,700 pesos a year from his mining operation and a further 3,000 pesos annually from his involvement in agriculture. After the Cerrato reforms, Espinar was allocated the labour of only six *indios de servicio* and the tribute of 500 tributaries from whom he received corn, beans, chile peppers, cotton cloth, salt, and chickens.<sup>[14]</sup>

In 1562, after Espinar's death, Huehuetenango was granted to Luis Manuel Pimentel, a Spanish *vecino* of Santiago de Guatemala who was later awarded sizeable agricultural holdings in the Huehuetenango district.<sup>[15]</sup> When Pimentel



*Figure 3.* Detail from a mural in the parish church at Chiantla, depicting a robust Spaniard (possibly meant to be Juan de Espinar) supervising Indian labour. Although output was modest, silver from the mines of Chiantla was used to decorate church altars throughout Guatemala.



*Figure 4.* A view of the Cuchumatán páramo, a high plateau upwards of 3,000 metres in elevation which was the principal sheep raising area of Guatemala throughout the colonial period. In the background, sheltered by trees, are the still occupied remains of Hacienda Chancol, once a vast estate whose Indian workforce was obtained and held by debt peonage.

died in 1575 the *encomienda* was passed on to his widow, Doña Juana de Guzmán.<sup>[16]</sup> Around 1580, at the time of the new province-wide *tasación* of President Valverde, Huehuetenango was assigned to Francisco de la Fuente who received an unimpressive amount of tribute from 367 tributaries.<sup>[17]</sup> The downward adjustment by Valverde of the tribute assessment of Huehuetenango, carried out after the *tasación* of the town had already been substantially reduced by Cerrato some thirty years earlier, reflects directly the two factors most responsible for the decline of *encomienda* as a viable economic institution: the enforcement, by officers of the crown, of legislation designed to curb the power of *encomenderos*, and the diminution of a native work force constantly exposed to, and stricken by, wave after wave of epidemic disease.<sup>[18]</sup>

Almost a century after the Valverde *tasación*, the *encomienda* of Huehuetenango comprised the tribute of a mere 156-1/2 tributaries who paid their *encomendero*, José de Balcarcel, an annuity of 78 pesos and two reales along with a small quantity of corn, chickens, and cotton cloth.<sup>[19]</sup> In 1678 the *encomienda* was given to Doña Mariana de Alvarado y Velasco of the city of Madrid who derived from it an insubstantial pension.<sup>[20]</sup> Soon thereafter the *encomienda* escheated and the crown became the sole recipient of the now meagre tribute of Huehuetenango.

Two developments in the *encomienda* history of Huehuetenango are of special interest. First, there was an early connection in the district between *encomienda* and landholding *per se*. Two sixteenth-century *encomenderos* of Huehuetenango, Juan de Espinar and Luis Manuel Pimentel, both owned land in the vicinity of the town; the latter in particular was extremely assiduous in seeking formal title to land within the limits of his *encomienda*.<sup>[21]</sup> Although most scholars now consider the history of the *encomienda* and that of the *hacienda*, or landed estate, as legally quite separate and distinct,<sup>[22]</sup> there was frequently, as James Lockhart has pointed out, a close link "in the realm of actual practice" between the two institutions.<sup>[23]</sup> Such was certainly the case at Huehuetenango in the mid-sixteenth century. Second, there was a marked tendency towards "absentee" holding by the late seventeenth century as the crown increasingly awarded *encomiendas* in Central America to powerful Mexican families or members of the peninsular Spanish nobility, much to the chagrin of Guatemalan creoles.<sup>[24]</sup> One of the last *encomiendas* of Huehuetenango was a *madrileña* who probably never set foot near her *encomienda* and would likely have thought of it only when wondering why her pension from the royal treasury amounted to so little.<sup>[25]</sup>

### Tasación de Tributos

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Spanish policy of *congregación* had resulted in the formation of a nucleated pattern of Indian settlement throughout much of highland Guatemala.<sup>[26]</sup> The logic behind the ambitious task of resettling thousands of native families scattered throughout the countryside in church-dominated "congregations" was not solely to promote their conversion to Christianity. An equally significant design was the creation of centralized pools of labour that could be drawn upon to carry out much more worldly pursuits. It is therefore no coincidence that *congregación* in highland Guatemala was contemporaneous with attempts by the crown to compile accurate lists of the number of Indians who could be expected to serve as suppliers of tribute. This routine procedure of assessing the tribute-paying capacity of Indian towns and villages resulted in the drafting of a levy known as the *tasación de tributos*.

The *tasación de tributos* recorded the number of Indians in any given settlement from whom tribute could legally be exacted. Such people were designated *indios tributarios*, Indian tributaries. Although classification of the term changed throughout the colonial period, a *tributario* was generally a married Indian male between eighteen and fifty years of age, together with his wife and children. A full *tributario* was therefore a family head, and represented one domestic or household unit. Widows, widowers, and unmarried adult males and females were defined as half-tributaries. Exemption from paying tribute, a status referred to as *reservado*, was granted to Indian leaders and their eldest sons, to children, to the aged, to the sick and infirm, and to those involved in some way with the work of the church. A *tasación* usually stipulated the amount of tribute that each tributary or half-tributary was responsible for furnishing.<sup>[27]</sup>

Depending on whether a town was assigned to an *encomendero* or held by the crown, Indian tribute accrued either principally to a private individual or wholly to the royal treasury. The operation of *encomienda* represented a decentralization of the tribute exaction and therefore conflicted with the desire of the crown to monopolize all such relations with the Indians. It was because of the commitment of the crown towards establishing a centralized economic order under absolute state control that a policy purposely stifling the *encomienda* was ardently pursued.

Like all "congregated" native peoples in Guatemala, the Indians of the Cuchumatán highlands were required under Spanish colonial law to pay tribute to their foreign masters. Tribute was payable twice each year, on the *tercio de San Juan* (June 24) and on the *tercio de Navidad* (December 25).<sup>[28]</sup> It was generally collected at the local level by *caciques* and *principales* who were responsible either to *encomenderos* or *corregidores* for the provision of the correct amount. Failure on the part of Indian rulers to collect the necessary quotas often resulted in their being thrown into jail.<sup>[29]</sup> Once collected, tribute, if paid in kind, was usually sold off at public auction. Monetary proceeds were then delivered to the appropriate recipients, either in the colonies or the mother country.<sup>[30]</sup>

The earliest complete *tasaciones de tributos* for the Indian settlements of the Cuchumatanes date to the third quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>[31]</sup> At this time the majority of towns and villages in the region were still held in private *encomienda*. The total cash from the standard levy known as the *servicio del tostón* amounted to a little over 2,000 pesos annually. Other payments were made with commodities such as beans, chickens, corn, cotton cloth, and palm or reed mats (*petates*). In 1768, a century later, tribute continued to be paid at least partly in kind, despite persistent demands by the crown that all payments be made in cash.<sup>[32]</sup> By 1788, when all Indian tribute was theoretically channeled through the imperial political hierarchy to the king's coffers in Spain, the entire Cuchumatán *tasación* brought in roughly 8,000 pesos per year and comprised approximately one-twelfth of the total Guatemalan tribute exaction.<sup>[33]</sup>

The semi-annual furnishing of tribute must have been accepted by the vast majority of the Indian population as part of their servile lot, as both an individual and collective burden which had to be met, not questioned. This was certainly the view held by Spanish officialdom, and indeed was the seldom-disputed basis upon which colonial rule was predicated: to the Spaniards tribute was regarded quite simply as "a just token of the vassalage owed by Natives to the Sovereign".<sup>[34]</sup> Certain disastrous events, however, periodically prevented or retarded the payment of tribute, including chronic sickness and pestilence,<sup>[35]</sup> the ravages of drought,<sup>[36]</sup> earthquake,<sup>[37]</sup> and fire;<sup>[38]</sup> and crop destruction from locust invasion.<sup>[39]</sup> Among

such calamities the recurring outbreak of disease must be ranked of the greatest consequence, judging by the fairly profuse archival documentation in which numerous Cuchumatán communities requested either a pardon or a reprieve, on the grounds of disease-related poverty, from their tributary obligations. The following plea by the *alcaldes* and *regidores* of Santa Eulalia in the wake of horrendous mortality associated with an epidemic of typhus in the early nineteenth century may be considered representative:

*Señor Alcalde Mayor:* We, the *alcaldes* and *principales* of the town of Santa Eulalia, implore you to look on us as your sons. All is lost in our town. There are some who are homeless and others without food, it now being years since the fields were attended to. Many are consequently without corn to eat and to live by. There are some who have not yet returned to their town and are [seeking refuge from the epidemic] in the [towns of the] coast, in Jacaltenango, and in Soloma. *Señor Alcalde*, we are still frightened, because the people of the town continue to die. Before God this is the truth and no lie. Help us, *Señor Alcalde*, by requesting the President that he pardon us from paying tribute. There is no corn at all in the town.<sup>[40]</sup>

Appeals such as this one, even when accompanied by letters from priests sympathetic to the desperate plight of their parish charges, rarely elicited more than characteristic indifference from authorities whose primary concern was that the stipulated levy of tribute must somehow be met.<sup>[41]</sup>

### Repartimiento

The term *repartimiento*, meaning allocation, distribution, or partition, refers loosely to an official allotment of Indians (often hired out as wage workers) whose labour was used to further any number of Spanish ends. Like the *encomienda*, the formal legal history of the *repartimiento* is one of considerable complexity and variability, but the essential principle behind the operation of the institution remained constant and clearly defined: Spanish exploitation of the native capacity to work in a variety of contexts, whether on farms or in mines, as domestic help or in community service.<sup>[42]</sup>

Information pertaining to *repartimiento* in the Cuchumatán highlands is scarce. Apart from the usual problems of document survival, this deficiency may, to some degree, reflect the spatial discrimination inherent in the functioning of *repartimiento*. Generally, the closer an Indian town or village was to a major Spanish settlement the more likely it was that the native inhabitants would be subjected to draft labour.<sup>[43]</sup> In this respect it is possible that certain communities in the more remote parts of the Cuchumatanes were less exploited during the colonial period than other more accessible communities in highland Guatemala. By the same token, however, distance and isolation from the moderating control of responsible crown officials in the capital city of Santiago may have prompted brutal and ruthless excesses on the part of recipients of Indian work parties in outlying areas such as the Cuchumatanes.<sup>[44]</sup>

The right to personal service (*servicio personal*) was initially an integral part of the *encomienda* system, and it is in this specific context that allotments of Indian work parties in the region are first documented. In a lawsuit against Pedro de Alvarado in 1537, the *encomendero* of Huehuetenango, Juan de Espinar, stated that his *encomienda* included, in addition to 250 slaves, the labour of 200 to 300

*indios de servicio*. All were put to work in Espinar's mines in nearby Chiantla (Fig. 3), from which the *encomendero* derived a handsome yearly income of more than 8,000 pesos. Espinar also had Indians who worked his land and who tended his swine.<sup>[45]</sup>

The Indians of Sacapulas, also as part of their *encomienda* stipulation, were required to provide their *encomenderos*, Cristóbal Salvatierra and the younger son of Juan Páez, with four *fanegas* (roughly 450 pounds) of salt each month. Prior to the reforms of President Cerrato in 1549, Indians were required to haul salt from Sacapulas almost one hundred kilometres over difficult terrain south to Santiago de Guatemala. Personal service was eventually replaced at Sacapulas by an annual levy of fourteen *xiquipiles* of cacao.<sup>[46]</sup> Because the closest source of this product was the cacao groves of Suchitepéquez in the *tierra caliente* far to the south, payment necessitated a migration equally as demanding as the one from Sacapulas to Santiago.<sup>[47]</sup>

Even after the Cerrato reforms, the labour component of *encomienda*, although greatly reduced, did not entirely disappear. The towns of Aguacatán, Jacaltenango, Soloma, and Uspantán continued at mid-sixteenth century to provide their *encomenderos* with *indios de servicio* who tended swine and flocks of sheep.<sup>[48]</sup>

Several distinctions were made, at least on paper, between labour coerced from the Indians as *servicio personal* (which received no remuneration) and that allegedly rendered voluntarily (and which should have been paid for) as *repartimiento*. While, as Sherman points out, "the simultaneous operation of these two forms of forced labour invites confusion",<sup>[49]</sup> far less ambiguous is the fact that whereas the *repartimiento* in New Spain, except in relation to mining and public works, was legally abolished in 1632,<sup>[50]</sup> the institution in Guatemala remained fully operational for the remainder of the colonial period (and indeed even resurfaced under various guises a number of times during the national period).<sup>[51]</sup> Indians in the Cuchumatanes, for example, were frequently called upon to "contribute freely" towards the maintenance of roads and trails, and as late as 1770 were being forced to serve as human carriers, of wheat and flour, by the notorious Juan Bácaro, an *alcalde mayor* of Huehuetenango whose ruthless excesses prompted Archbishop Cortés y Larraz to describe him as "of atrocious reputation in the whole of the province of Guatemala".<sup>[52]</sup>

Similarly, there were repeated requests for *repartimientos* of Indians to serve as shepherds on Cuchumatán sheep farms and to work in the silver and lead mines north of Chiantla.<sup>[53]</sup> And on at least three occasions, during the Lacandón *entradas* of 1685 and 1695, and in the expedition to quell the Tzeltal uprising in Chiapas in 1712, Cuchumatán Indians served as guides, pack bearers, and auxiliaries for the Spanish military forces.<sup>[54]</sup>

Although the impact of legislation such as the reforms initiated by Cerrato and Valverde should not be overrated—the crown was seldom, if ever, resolute in matters concerning the well-being of the Indians—nonetheless by the early seventeenth century the more blatant forms of human exploitation in Guatemala had diminished considerably. By this time, however, most Spaniards who depended for a livelihood on Indian labour had developed a more subtle but equally pernicious system of coercion: debt peonage. In peonage, a condition of indebtedness tied a worker, and often his offspring, to an employer whose primary objective was to hold on to labour by maintaining, through loans representing an advance on wages, the state of indebtedness and who insisted that it be repaid only through work, which was exactly what the employer wanted.<sup>[55]</sup> This arrangement was a character-

istically seventeenth-century phenomenon devised to maximize Spanish control of a native work force drastically depleted because of its vulnerability to diseases introduced by the Europeans. Indian labourers, so numerous during the first fifty years after conquest, were by the early seventeenth century a scarce and valuable resource worthy of protection. Debt peonage offered such "protection".

In the Cuchumatanes, peonage was most notably prevalent on the large *haciendas* of the lofty plateau, or *páramo*, known as the Altos de Chiantla, where various elements of physical geography combined to produce some of the finest pastureland in all of Central America, even if the environment (cold, windswept, bleak, and isolated) was as inclement to man as it was ideal for the raising of livestock, especially sheep (Fig. 4). A document relating to the Altos de Chiantla and dated 1689 mentions that "it has always been the custom to pay Indians who voluntarily work as shepherds twelve reales and four handouts of corn each month".<sup>[56]</sup> When one of the largest properties, Hacienda Chancol, was sold in 1749, the purchase included, in addition to land and livestock, a debt of 270 pesos owed by Indian workers who were considered an integral part of the transaction and whose labour was thus secured by the new owner, Manuel Francisco de Fuenlabrada.<sup>[57]</sup> After Fuenlabrada's death, Chancol, and an adjoining *hacienda* called El Rosario, were purchased by Francisco Ignacio de Barrutia, a resident of Santiago de Guatemala who set out, by aggressive and systematic buying, to incorporate the greater part of the Altos de Chiantla into one vast property known as Hacienda Moscoso. By the end of the eighteenth century Barrutia's holdings amounted to an impressive 500 *caballerias* (52,500 acres) containing excellent cropland, rich grazing, plentiful water, fine stands of timber, and producing high quality grain, cheese, and livestock.<sup>[58]</sup> Living permanently on Hacienda Moscoso were numerous Indian families who had been there "from time immemorial voluntarily tending more than 20,000 head of sheep".<sup>[59]</sup> When an attempt was made by the Indian *alcaldes* of a nearby community to convince the Spanish authorities that the families resident on Barrutia's property should be resettled in their native birthplace in order to help meet the tribute assessment, the *hacendado* protested bitterly, stating that the families concerned lived where they did through choice and that, receiving payment for their services both in land and wages, they therefore had sufficient means "not only to support themselves and their next-of-kin but also to honour punctually their tributary obligations".<sup>[60]</sup> The fact that the Indian families involved in the dispute remained tied to the *hacendado* Barrutia rather than return to their home town may actually have been for them the less taxing of the two realities for, as Woodrow Borah has suggested, if a native "was bound to an employer, he was at least reserved for the service of that employer and protected to a considerable measure from the extortions to which he had been subject as a member of the Indian community".<sup>[61]</sup>

### Summary and conclusion

That the Spanish conquest of the Cuchumatán highlands ushered in an era of radical social and cultural change for the native population of the region is indisputable. To maintain, however, that, from their arrival in 1525 until their departure after the independence of Guatemala in 1821, the Spanish presence resulted in the enslavement of the Indian peoples of the Cuchumatanes would be simplistic and misleading. Over the first quarter-century of Spanish rule in Guatemala, chattel slavery was certainly the miserable fate that awaited any Indian

unfortunate enough to be captured alive during military confrontation. Such luckless individuals, branded as *esclavos de guerra* (slaves of war), are recorded by Fuentes y Guzmán as having been rounded up in the Cuchumatán region after the battles of conquest lasting from 1525 to 1530.<sup>[62]</sup> Thereafter few references to outright enslavement of Indians in the Cuchumatanes exist. A different matter entirely, of course, is the fate of Indians pressed into yielding labour to Spaniards under circumstances which could be equally as miserable.

Through the operation of the *encomienda*, the *tasación de tributos*, and the *repartimiento*, a considerable and continual burden was placed on the Indians by their Spanish masters. These devices, and others such as the *derrama*, the *reparto de efectos*, and the *salutación*,<sup>[63]</sup> kept the native population in a condition of servility throughout the colonial period. The lot of the Indian commoner in pre-Conquest times was certainly one of onerous subjugation, but in all probability life under Spanish rule was significantly more burdensome. In support of such a view Benjamin Keen asserts that "Spanish demands for labour and tribute were immeasurably greater than before the Conquest, simply, aside from other reasons, because pre-Conquest tribute demands were limited by the capacity of the native ruling classes to consume the fruits of tribute and labour, whereas the Spanish demands, aimed at the accumulation of wealth in monetary form, were quite unlimited".<sup>[64]</sup>

*Encomienda*, tribute, and *repartimiento* were key elements in the Spanish exploitation of the Indian peoples of the Cuchumatán highlands. Imposition of the *encomienda* system required specific towns to furnish privileged individuals with labour and tribute. *Encomenderos* put Indians to work at various tasks: labouring in mines; hauling loads from one region to another; tilling fields; and tending flocks. Some of these tasks introduced the Indians to things they had never seen or known before: horses, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, and the cultivation of wheat, the Spanish staple so different from the native corn. Twice yearly, Indian towns paid commodity tribute either to private *encomenderos* or to the crown. Even in times of dire hardship—following a drought or an earthquake, after an invasion of locusts or an outbreak of disease—Indian towns received little sympathy or concession from officials intent on collecting tribute.<sup>[65]</sup> Some years may have been so grim that entering into debt peonage with a Spanish landholder represented a lesser evil than remaining a tributary of the crown in an Indian village.<sup>[66]</sup> It is within such dismal circumstances that Indians in the Cuchumatán highlands eked out their worldly existence, compelled to do so by masters unflinching in their belief that, having saved pagan souls by bringing them tidings of the Christian God, not *here* but *hereafter* was all that should concern them.<sup>[67]</sup>

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## Notes

- [1] William L. Sherman, *Forced native labor in sixteenth-century Central America* (Lincoln 1979). Territorially, the Audiencia de los Confines would today comprise the Mexican state of Chiapas; the now fully autonomous Belize, formerly British Honduras; and the independent Central American republics of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.
- [2] Linda A. Newson, in her review of Sherman's book in the *Journal of Latin American Studies*

- 12 (May 1980) 192–4, states: “In my mind the book raises many questions about temporal and spatial variations in the operation of the different systems of forced labour within Central America . . . and the extent to which those variations may be explained in terms of the evolution of the colonial and regional economies or related to the decline in the Indian population, and to what extent Central America differed from other parts of Spanish America”. An excellent synopsis of the different ways in which Imperial Spain exacted labour from Amerindian populations, and the marked regional variations which emerged, may be found in Juan A. Villamarin and Judith E. Villamarin, *Indian labor in mainland colonial Spanish America* (Newark 1975), especially 49–147.
- [3] W. George Lovell, Population change in the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala *Bulletin of the Society of Latin American Studies* 33 (April 1981) 13–21 and The historical demography of the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala, 1500–1821, in David J. Robinson (Ed.) *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder 1981) 196–203
- [4] Lovell, Population change, *op. cit.* 21–36
- [5] *Ibid.* 36–9
- [6] *VIII Censo de Población: Cifras Definitivas* (Guatemala 1975) 16–18
- [7] The word *encomienda* is derived from the Spanish verb *encomendar*, which means “to entrust”. *Encomiendas* were *not* grants of land but rather titles to the right to receive tribute. The title to an *encomienda* carried with it certain obligations, among which was the instruction in the Catholic faith of the Indians held in *encomienda*. The standard work in English on the institution is that by Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The encomienda in New Spain: the beginnings of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966). Other important contributions to *encomienda* literature include: Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid 1935) and *De encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América española* (Mexico 1940); Robert S. Chamberlain, Castilian backgrounds of the repartimiento-encomienda, *Contributions to American anthropology and history*, Series 5, 25 (Washington, D.C. 1939) 23–66; F. A. Kirkpatrick, Repartimiento-encomienda *Hispanic American Historical Review* 21 (1939) 372–9; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York 1966) 48–67; James Lockhart, Encomienda and hacienda: The evolution of the great estate in the Spanish Indies *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (1969) 411–29. A splendid analysis of *encomienda* in a regional context is contained in Charles Gibson’s seminal work, *The Aztecs under Spanish rule: a history of the Indians of the valley of Mexico 1519–1810* (Stanford 1964) 58–81 and 413–34. A recent study with an explicitly Guatemalan focus is Salvador Rodríguez Becerra *Encomienda y conquista: los inicios de la colonización en Guatemala* (Sevilla 1977)
- [8] The six towns were Todos Santos Cuchumatán, Sacapulas, Soloma, Jacaltenango, Aguacatán, and Huehuetenango. Todos Santos was held, in part, by the younger sons of Marcos Ruíz. Ruíz participated in the conquest of Mexico under the leadership of Hernán Cortés and in the conquest of Guatemala under Pedro de Alvarado; see Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI): Patronato 82-1-4. All of Aguacatán and half of Sacapulas were held by the younger son of Juan Páez. Páez, like Ruíz, was a veteran of campaigns in both Mexico and Guatemala; see AGI: Patronato 68–2–3. Jacaltenango was held by the younger son of Gonzalo de Ovalle. Ovalle was a prominent figure in the conquest of Guatemala, furnishing, at his own expense, men, weapons, and horses for the *entrada* of 1524. He later served as the *alcalde mayor* of Chiapas under the rapacious Francisco de Montejo; see AGI: Patronato 75–2–5 and Peter Gerhard *The southeast frontier of New Spain* (Princeton 1979) 152–3. Soloma was held jointly by Diego de Alvarado and Juan de Castrogui, the former being one of the many *hijos naturales* of the *conquistador* Pedro de Alvarado. Diego claimed that the *encomienda* of Soloma came to him by virtue of lawful inheritance from his father. This suggests, therefore, that Pedro de Alvarado had himself, between 1524 and 1541, held the *encomienda* of Soloma as part of his impressive private estate; see AGI: Justicia 280–4
- [9] Sherman, *op. cit.* 388. Huehuetenango was the most prestigious and lucrative *encomienda* in the entire Cuchumatán region. Rumoured to be a hosier by trade, Espinar fought with distinction in the conquests of Mexico and Guatemala, his feats in the latter campaign gaining him such a highly prized *encomienda*
- [10] Archivo General de Centroamérica (hereafter AGCA): A1. 39, legajo (hereafter leg.) 1751, folios 78 vuelta (hereafter v.), 81v., 192v., and 211
- [11] AGCA, A3.16. leg. 2808, expediente (exp.) 40648

- [12] AGCA: A1, leg. 1752, folio 17v. For an account of the seventeenth-century economic depression, see Murdo J. MacLeod *Spanish Central America: a socioeconomic history 1520–1720* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973) 231, 310–29.
- [13] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 2890, 42579, 42580, 42581, and 42587
- [14] AGI: Audiencia de Guatemala (hereafter AG) 128; AGCA A3, leg. 2863, exp. 41698; Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán *Recordación Florida* (Madrid 1972) 47–48, 349; Sherman, *op. cit.* 92
- [15] AGCA: A3, leg. 2863, exp. 41698 and A3.16, leg. 2798, exp. 40470. For a discussion of Pimental's landholdings around Huehuetenango and of the general Cuchumatán situation, see W. George Lovell, Landholding in Spanish Central America: patterns of ownership and activity in the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala 1563–1821 *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (in press)
- [16] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 2808, exp. 40633
- [17] AGI: AG 966
- [18] Lovell, Population change, *op. cit.* 21–36
- [19] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 1601, exp. 26391
- [20] AGCA: A1, leg. 1752, folio 17v.
- [21] AGCA: A3, leg. 2863, exp. 41698
- [22] Gibson, *Spain in America, op. cit.* 118 writes: “Historians once took the position that *hacienda* developed directly from the declining *encomienda*. The two histories are now regarded as distinct”
- [23] Lockhart, *op. cit.* 416
- [24] MacLeod, *op. cit.* 293
- [25] AGCA: A1, leg. 1752, folio 17v.
- [26] For a discussion of *congregación* in the Cuchumatanes, see W. George Lovell, Settlement change in Spanish America: the dynamics of *congregación* in the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala 1541–1821 *The Canadian Geographer* (in press)
- [27] Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in population history 1* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971) 17–25
- [28] See, for example, AGCA: A3.16, leg. 246, exp. 4912
- [29] Fuentes y Guzmán, *op. cit.* 18, records that failure to collect the appropriate amount of tribute in the Ixil country at the end of the seventeenth century resulted in the imprisonment of six Indian *alcaldes*
- [30] MacLeod, *op. cit.* 131
- [31] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 1601, exp. 26391
- [32] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 501, exp. 10261 and 10263
- [33] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 246, exp. 4912. According to Miles Wortman, Government revenue and economic trends in Central America *Hispanic American Historical Review* (May 1975) 277, the total government revenue from the Indian tribute of Guatemala in the early nineteenth century “averaged almost 100,000 pesos annually”. Indian tribute was one of the four major sources of Crown income in Central America, the other three being revenue from government monopolies such as tobacco, liquor, and playing cards; taxes on trade and commerce; and the state's share of the church tithe
- [34] These words come from the *Libro mayor de la Contaduría General de Tributos del Cargo de su Contador Don Juan José de Leuro*, cited in Mark Van Aken, The lingering death of Indian tribute in Ecuador *Hispanic American Historical Review* 61 (August 1981) 431
- [35] Lovell, Population change, *op. cit.* 31–6; *idem*, Historical demography, *op. cit.* 207–11
- [36] See, for example, AGCA: A1.1, leg. 6111, exp. 56055, which concerns the low water level of the Río Negro at Sacapulas and the resultant inability of the townspeople to land a catch of fish. The tribute requirement for this item was consequently not met
- [37] See, for example, AGCA: A3.16, leg. 2901, exp. 43258, which concerns the general impoverishment of the Indian community of Chiantla following a severe earthquake
- [38] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 2899, exp. 43061 and 43062
- [39] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 2899, exp. 43064
- [40] AGCA: A3.16, leg. 249, exp. 5036
- [41] Lovell, Population change, *op. cit.*, 31–6; *idem*, Historical demography, *op. cit.* 207–11
- [42] As with *encomienda*, much of our present understanding of *repartimiento* comes from the research of Lesley Byrd Simpson. His *Studies in the administration of the Indians in New Spain*, *Ibero-Americana* 13 (Berkeley 1938) is an important contribution. Gibson, *Spain in*

*America*, *op. cit.* 143–7, contains a general review of the institution. Sherman, *op. cit.* 191–207, studies the operation of *repartimiento* in a specifically Central American context, as does MacLeod, *op. cit.* 207–9 and 295–6

- [43] MacLeod, *op. cit.* 295
- [44] This point is made also by Gibson, *Spain in America*, *op. cit.* 144
- [45] Sherman, *op. cit.* 71, 92, 289 and 444; and Fuentes y Guzmán, *op. cit.* 47–8
- [46] A *xiquipil* was a basic Indian measure of 8,000 cacao beans. Three *xiquipiles* equalled about as much as a *tameme*, an Indian porter, could carry. It would therefore have taken the labour of five able-bodied men to carry the necessary tribute from Suchitepéquez to Sacapulas, a distance of roughly 100 kilometres. See J. F. Bergmann, The distribution of cacao cultivation in pre-Columbian America *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59 (March 1969) 87–91
- [47] AGI: AG 128
- [48] AGI: AG 128
- [49] Sherman, *op. cit.* 193
- [50] Woodrow Borah, *New Spain's century of depression*, *Ibero-Americana* 35 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951) 39–40
- [51] Stephen Andrew Webre, The social and economic bases of cabildo membership in seventeenth-century Santiago de Guatemala (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Tulane University 1980) 234–40
- [52] AGCA: A1, leg. 1557, exp. 10202; A1.22, leg. 2891, exp. 26645; A1.21.8, leg. 190, exp. 3860; and Adrián Recinos, *Monografía del departamento de Huehuetenango* (Guatemala 1954) 215. Pedro Cortés y Larraz, *Descripción geográfico-moral de la diócesis de goathemala II* (Guatemala 1958) 115–27, contains sharp criticism by the Archbishop of the extortions inflicted upon the Indians by the infamous Juan Bácaro
- [53] AGCA: A3, leg. 2775, exp. 40090; A3.12, leg. 224, exp. 4012; A3.12, leg. 226, exp. 4084; and A3, leg. 224, exp. 4073
- [54] Recinos, *op. cit.* 385–9; AGI: AG 225; and AGCA: A1.12, leg. 6095, exp. 55413 and A1.22, leg. 3024, exp. 29157
- [55] Gibson, *Spain in America*, *op. cit.* 147
- [56] AGCA: A3, leg. 2775, exp. 40090
- [57] Recinos, *op. cit.* 201
- [58] AGCA: A1, leg. 6001, exp. 52831 and Recinos, *op. cit.* 201–2
- [59] AGCA: A1.24, leg. 6096, exp. 55491
- [60] AGCA: A1.24, leg. 6096, exp. 55491
- [61] Borah, *op. cit.* 42
- [62] Fuentes y Guzmán, *op. cit.* 21–2. Sherman, *op. cit.* 15–82, has an excellent discussion of slavery in sixteenth-century Central America
- [63] The *derrama* was a system whereby local officials bought goods cheaply and then sold them to the Indians, whether they wanted them or not, at greatly inflated prices. The reverse of this practice was to purchase goods from Indians at rock-bottom prices and then resell them for a handsome profit. See, MacLeod, *op. cit.* 316. The *reparto de efectos* was a similar device which commonly involved a local official distributing raw cotton among his women charges and compelling them to spin it into thread and then to weave it into *mantas*. This was a form of extortion practised by many of the *alcaldes mayores* of Totonicipán and Huehuetenango, particularly in the more remote communities of the Cuchumatanes. See, MacLeod, *op. cit.* 316; Fuentes y Guzmán, *op. cit.* 35, in relation to Cuilco; Cortés y Larraz, *op. cit.* II 49–50 and 123–4, in relation to Nebaj and Soloma; Recinos, *op. cit.* 214–5, in relation to Santa Eulalia, San Mateo Ixtatán, San Juan Ixcoy, and Aguacatán; and AGCA: A1.14.16, leg. 4064, exp. 31664 (Cuilco); A1.24, leg. 1573, exp. 10217 (Sacapulas); A1.14.25, leg. 190, exp. 3864 (San Juan Ixcoy, San Sebastián Coatán, San Miguel Acatán, and San Pedro Soloma); and A3.12, leg. 2897, exp. 43013 (Soloma). The *salutación* was an illegal tax which Indians were forced to pay priests or officials who passed through their town or village. See, MacLeod, *op. cit.* 315
- [64] B. Keen, quoted from personal correspondence in Sherman, *op. cit.* 456
- [65] AGCA: A1.1, leg. 6111, exp. 56055; A3.16, leg. 2901, exp. 43258; A3.16, leg. 252, exp. 5161; A3.16, leg. 2899, exp. 43064; A3.16, leg. 2899, exp. 43044; A3.16, leg. 249, exp. 5036; and A1.14.7, leg. 386, exp. 8037
- [66] AGCA: A1.24, leg. 6096, exp. 55491

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