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La ciudad y el campo en la historia de México. Memoria de la VII Reunión de Historiadores Mexicanos y Norteamericanos. Papers presented at the VII Conference of Mexican and the United States Historians

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México

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas

1992

466 + XII p.

ISBN 968-36-2347-6

Formato: PDF

Publicado en línea: 30 de noviembre de 2023

Disponible en:
http://www.historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/publicadigital/libros/276-01/ciudad-campo.html

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Migration to Late Colonial Mexico City: Reasons and Patterns

In colonial Mexico, much as in the national period, internal migration contributed greatly to the growth of cities.There was a constant but variable flow of persons from the countryside and small towns into the major cities. Nonetheless, to date we know rather little about the character of the participants and the process.[1] Until recently we have lacked the detailed reconstruction of individual family lives and the analysis of aggregate data which are necessary for reliable statements about migration of this sort. This study offers an overview of movement to Mexico City in the late colonial period according to the occupation and social and ethnic classification of the participants in an effort to lay out the salient patterns and steps in the larger phenomenon.

Relatively little is known, overall, about the pace and character of population growth in Mexico City during the colonial period. However, government censuses and estimates of informed observers, when combined with an appreciation of larger social and economic developments, can provide a broad understanding of the city's population trends from about 1750 into the national period. Richard Boyer and Keith Davies have collected such population figures in their useful book.[2] The city was enormous; easily the largest city in the Americas around 1800, it dwarfed other cities in the colony, being roughly twice as large as Puebla and three times as large as Guanajuato according to the 1793 census. The capital grew notably between 1750 and 1840.[3] In 1742 the city was estimated to have 98,000 people, while the 1790 census placed the figure at almost 113,000 inhabitants. A decade later, Humboldt estimated the population at 137,000, and in 1805 the city's Consulado stated the population to be about 130,000. The Hidalgo and Morelos revolts, of course, precipitated massive migration to the capital, but only for short periods. The well known 1811 census placed the population at almost 169,000, but already by 1813 estimates reduced the figure to well under 150,000, perhaps as low as 130,000. Epidemics that swept the capital in that year and the pacification of some regions helped to lower the number of inhabitants. But by the early 1820s, the city's population was well over 150,000 again, reaching 200,000 by the late 1830s. Famine in the countryside periodically swelled the city's population for at least a year or two until conditions improved, for municipal grain warehouses and the hope of at least occasional employment or charity drew many of the afflicted into the capital.

But famine, disaster, and warfare were by no means the sole or even primary forces impelling people to migrate to Mexico City in the late colonial period, though they certainly caused temporary increases of some magnitude. Most permanent migrants to the capital were attracted by the distinctive, sometimes unique, qualities of this metropolis. The major arguments in this paper are twofold: that Mexico City possessed special characteristics generally not shared by the important provincial centers, and that many persons moved to the city because of the economic and sometimes social opportunities

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[1]An important compilation of writings on this issue is David J. Robinson, ed., *Migration in Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge, 1989).

[2]Richard E. Boyer & Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization* in 19th-Century Latin America: Statistics and Sources (Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 41-44.

[3]Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708-1810)* (Mexico City, 1969), p. 171.

that it afforded to those in their occupation or social position, not because of deteriorating conditions in the countryside.

Though in sum comprising only a few individuals in each generation, provincial families that had made a large fortune almost invariably migrated from their home base to the capital no later than the second generation after making their wealth. This was due to the unrivaled social and economic preeminence of Mexico City. It contained nearly all of the wealthy, established families of the colony, perhaps a hundred or so in number, which typically intermarried and sometimes entered into joint business ventures.[4] They often held business interests not just in the capital but scattered throughout the colony. These enterprises were diversified but run in a complementary fashion whenever possible and might even be organized into a vertically integrated operation. As the financial and business center of the colony and its primary market and consuming entity, Mexico City provided these family concerns with advantages not to be found elsewhere in the society. The capital's importance as the primary civil and ecclesiastical administrative and judicial center of the colony was yet another attraction, not so much for the bureaucratic positions available, since few offspring of elite families entered the government, the Church, or the legal.profession, but for the opportunity to socialize with and even co-opt important officials. Finally, the social and cultural world of the capital was unmatched by that of any provincial city in Mexico, nor probably by that of any other colonial capital in the Spanish empire. As a result of these combined factors, any family in the provinces that gained enormous wealth through mining, commerce, or commercial agriculture felt strongly impelled to move its residence and center of business operations to Mexico City, even though the source of its wealth, such as a mine or a complex of estates, would not be transferred or necessarily transformed.

Merchants throughout the colony, whether independent or affiliated with a large merchant house, aspired to base themselves in Mexico City. Most who eventually did so were employees in major commercial firms of the capital who had been stationed in a branch operation in the provinces, sometimes for a number of years. Having demonstrated their business aptitude and developed a network of contacts during this often extended apprenticeship, these employees --some peninsulars, some creoles, but almost always sons, nephews, or cousins of the director-- were now invited back to the headquarters in Mexico City to assume supervisory positions. Here they needed to prove their capacity again and at a higher level, but with greater resources and the potential for many helpful contacts in and out of the business world. The most successful among them would ultimately take over merchant houses, while others would remain high-level managers or establish a large retail store in the city affiliated with a wholesale firm.

Sometimes these men had wed while in the provinces, and in such cases they might endeavor to transfer the family's business to the capital with them.[5] Typically the enterprise itself, whether mine, shop, estate, or processing plant, could not match the scale of operations of major businesses in Mexico City and hence was likely to fail unless upgraded in some form. But this is exactly what was pursued. The new businessman in the city would manage his wife's family holdings while simultaneously supervising some or all of the business of the wholesale house. Later, if the effort was successful, this property would be combined with the estate of an established family of Mexico City, through marriage, sale, or business agreement, and this person and his spouse's family would attain permanent affiliation with one of the eminent families in the colony.

Understandably, it was more difficult for a merchant not already connected to a Mexico City wholesale firm to make a successful move from the provinces to the capital, but such attempts were regularly made and did sometimes work out. Here again, the merchant

[4]John E. Kicza, "The Great Families of Mexico: Elite Maintenance and Business Practices in Late Colonial Mexico City," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62 (1982), pp. 429-457.

[5] John E. Kieza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs*: *Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque,1983), pp. 80-81.

moving to the capital was often already married into a prominent provincial family and used their accumulated resources as well as his own in the effort to establish himself. Thus this family and not just the lone individual would merge into metropolitan society.

The career of Bruno Pastor Morales exemplifies this pattern. Born in Spain, he migrated to Valladolid, Michoacán as a youth, quickly establishing himself in commerce first as a *cajero* in a store and then as the owner of a business with heavy interest in commodity trading. He married into a landed family of the province and took over management of its business affairs. He then moved himself and his family to Mexico City, where he once again prospered in provincial trading, still with considerable emphasis on commodity exchange. Eventually he was held in such high regard among the city's merchants that he was elevated to captain of the commercial regiment of the militia. Later in life, after the death of his wife, he resolved to become a priest. But even then he continued to operate rural estates and to deal in commodities, managing his store in the capital in the name of his three children, whom he had designated as its owners.[6]

Members of two professional groups --lawyers and priests-- flocked to Mexico City in great numbers, initially to gain their education and also to obtain attractive employment in their fields. The allure of the capital to these men perhaps equalled that extended to merchants. Mexico City contained the most prestigious *colegios* in the colony and was the site of the sole university until Guadalajara received a university in 1791. The colonial and ecclesiastical governmental hierarchies situated there offered both lucrative employment and patronage. As the largest urban entity and business center of the society Mexico City offered many employment possibilities outside of the bureaucracies. Very cosmopolitan in character and the locus of high culture and scholarship in the colony, the capital appealed to those interested in artistic and scholarly pursuits.

My continuing research into the career patterns of lawyers and clerics in late colonial Mexico, and particularly in Mexico City, reveals the attraction of the capital to members of these professions. In 1760 a Colegio de Abogados was created in the Audiencia of Mexico. Any lawyer who wished to practice within its jurisdiction had to belong and was subject to close scrutiny upon applying. Some membership lists from the late colonial and early independence periods exist. They reveal that in 1804, 80.2 percent of the 258 member lawyers resided in Mexico City; for 1812, the figure is 62 percent of the 305 members, while in 1824, 76.1 percent of the 318 members lived in the capital. Yet other lawyers resided in towns and villages in close proximity to Mexico City, such as Tacuba, Coyoacán, and Xochimilco.

The employment possibilities for clerics in the city were just as great. The 1790 census of the city enumerated 640 ordained priests. These included 26 members of the cathedral chapter, 97 curates, vicars, and clerical sacristans, 66 priests and chaplains in the colleges for boys and girls, with perhaps another 50 to 60 serving as instructors in them, and about 30 employed as chaplains in hospitals and houses of charity. Dozens of others were employed as functionaries in the archiepiscopal hierarchy, the Inquisition, and the like. Scores of others made a living from chaplaincy endowments.

Regulations permitted only persons classified as Spaniards to enter these professions, but the capital supplied members to both professions in far greater numbers than its share of the Hispanic population in Mexican society would warrant. My preliminary surveys indicate that perhaps 40 percent of the lawyers and priests in greater Mexico City were natives of it. When it is appreciated that most lawyers and priests came from middle-level professional and commercial families of Mexico City and from established propertied and commercial families from the provinces, the dominance of Mexico City is easier to understand.

[6]Archivo de Notarías del Departamento del Distrito Federal (hereafter cited as AN), José Antonio Burillo, Aug. 26, 1784; Jan. 14, 1792; Jan. 16, 1793; Dec. 30, 1793.

With this information as background, let us turn to the dynamics of migration to Mexico City by lawyers and clerics born in the provinces. All indications are that most of these persons came to the capital initially to attend one of its colegios or perhaps later its university, and then remained in the city for most of their careers. Late colonial Mexico City had eight schools for boys, seven colegios and a seminary. Collectively they educated perhaps 800 young men a year in all grades. My research has not encountered a single native of Mexico City who went elsewhere for his education at either the colegio or university level, but instead a large and continual influx of provincial youths into the capital's schools. Very few priests and lawyers in either the provinces or the capital attended colegios in provincial centers, and those who did went to school in such places as Puebla, Valladolid, Guadalajara, and Guanajuato. Some youths began at colegios in provincial cities but then transferred to one in the capital. Far and away the most prestigious and popular schools in the city were the colegios of Todos Santos and of San Ildefonso and the Seminary. By no means did all students at the Seminary pursue clerical careers, and many lawyers and government officials graduated from it.

Provincial families deliberately sent one or more sons to Mexico City's colegios because of the quality of education they could receive there, the range of contacts and type of reputation they could attain only in the capital, and sometimes with the intention that the child would remain as a professional to give luster to the reputation of the larger family and to represent its interests before the agencies, jurisdictions, and important enterprises there, sometimes as its lead man in anticipation of a move by the large family to the capital.[7] One cannot overstate the advantages available to the student who could demonstrate his abilities and develop a range of contacts with his peers in school, but more importantly with his professors and with the many clerical and judicial authorities with whom he could expect to come into contact. An examination of career patterns among many of these professionals shows clearly that while aptitude mattered, it was only one factor in determining the character and success of a career, the others being the reputation of the individual's family and the sponsorship and patronage that he received from leading members of the capital's professional and governmental hierarchies. And these facts were well appreciated and largely accepted by all involved.

Any family with ambitions that its son become something beyond a provincial lawyer or priest was well advised to situate him in the capital's schools and introduce him to its leading officials as soon as possible. Several businessmen who moved from the provinces to Mexico City during their careers noted in wills and other documents that they relocated their businesses to the capital specifically to send their sons to the colegios there and help establish them in professional careers. A number of families of prominence in late colonial Mexico City gained their initial presence there by such a move or through a member of the family establishing himself in the professions with the larger family eventually following, typically without abandoning its holdings or all of its connections in the provinces.

The careers of two sets of brothers from the provinces who relocated in Mexico City and achieved very successful professional careers illustrate the process of migration and the social and career possibilities it afforded. The brothers Flores Alatorre, from a prominent Aguascalientes family, came as youths to study in Mexico City. Already cousins of the third Conde de Peñasco, their family ties grew even tighter when the Conde married their sister. Once established as important professionals, they openly represented the interests of the Peñasco family. Besides becoming a lawyer, Doctor José Félix joined the Church and made his career in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He served first as the curate of the parish of La Soledad de la Santa Cruz in Mexico City, already an auspicious beginning.. With his legal training, he next became a judge of the Court of Chaplaincies

[7]This statement is based on the assertions made by candidates for admission to the Colegio de Abogados in their applications, and by their fathers in wills and other such documents in notarial and judicial archives.

and Pious Works of the Archbishopric, while simultaneously serving as a *catedrático* of canon law at the university. After a term as vicar-general of the Archbishopric, he was elevated to the cathedral chapter. His brother, Licenciado Juan José, started his legal career as lawyer for the poor for the Audiencia of Mexico and advanced rapidly up the ladder in the legal profession. Along the way he was elected rector of the College of Lawyers. In the last years of the colonial period he was designated an oidor, first in Guadalajara and then in Mexico City. After independence, he became a minister of the Mexican Supreme Court.[8]

From a wealthy landed family of Puebla, Licenciado Francisco Ignacio and Doctor Luis Gonzaga González Maldonado both pursued successful judicial careers, the former across the globe serving the crown and the latter locally in Mexico City. Both were educated in the colegios and the university of Mexico City. Francisco Ignacio served with distinction as an oidor of Manila, a royal prosecutor in Guadalajara, oidor of New Spain, royal prosecutor for the Casa de Contratación in Spain, and finally back again as an oidor in Mexico City, where he died in 1800. Doctor Luis Gonzaga remained in the capital after completing his education and obtained the post of attorney for the parcialidad of San Juan Tenochtitlán, one of the two Indian districts in Mexico City; he also held a chair in the university. During this period he was very active in the pulque trade, producing the intoxicant on his estate and leasing *pulquerías* in which to sell it. He later acquired the office of *regidor perpetuo* of the city, then renounced it in his old age to become a cleric. There was at least one other González Maldonado brother, José Mariano, who managed the family's landed interests back in Puebla and never moved to the capital.[9]

The employment possibilities in the capital for lawyers and clerics were multiple. The membership lists of the College of Lawyers show that about a third of all lawyers residing in Mexico City were regularly employed in the colonial or municipal administrations. An additional 15 percent or so of lawyers were also clerics, and these almost invariably were situated as curates in or near the capital or employed in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[10] Yet other priests and lawyers serviced the many institutions and organizations of the capital, while others represented their families in the city, as their legal and business representatives or as chaplains.

A word should be said about another occupational group: the colonial bureaucrats in Mexico City. They numbered several hundred, most of whom were creoles, and among these many were from greater Mexico City. At the highest ranks of the judicial and fiscal hierarchy far more peninsulars could be found, but whether creole or peninsular by birth, a royal official employed in Mexico City typically remained there his entire career and adulthood. Even the high judicial and fiscal officers would only leave the capital if they were promoted to Spain, and only a minority of them were, normally after extended tenure in Mexico City. These officials were comparable in most aspects to lawyers and priests: some were wealthier and held more prestigious posts than others, but overall they were respected and lived comfortable lives.[11]

Still other types of professionals were attracted to Mexico City. All of the physicians that I have identified in Mexico City after 1760 were creoles, and all had received their medical education at the university in that city. Once graduated, they sought affiliation

[8]AN, Juan Manuel Pozo, Oct. 16, 1791, and Jan. 12, 1799; *Gazeta de México* (hereafter cited as GN), Feb. 26, 1793; *Diario de México* (hereafter cited as DM), Dec. 6, 1805, and Aug. 1, 1813; Félix Osores, *Noticias bibliográficas de alumnos distinguidos del Colegio de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Ildefonso de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1908), vol. 1, pp. 234, 236-237.

[9]AN, José María de Torija, July 23, 1784; Burillo, Sept. 28, 1784; GM, Jan. 30, 1787, and April 23, 1800; Osores, *Noticias*, vol. 1, p. 284.

[10]Biblioteca Nacional, "Lista de los abogados que se hallan matriculados en el Ilustre y Real Colegio de México," 1804, 1812 and 1824.

[11]Linda J. Arnold, "Bureacracy and Bureaucrats in Mexico City: 1742-1835" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1982), Chapter 4, *passim*; John E. Kicza, "Business and Society in Late Colonial Mexico City" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), Chapter 9, *passim*.

with one of the sixteen hospitals in the city and a place on the medical faculty of the university, posts which carried both status and an assured income. Only the least prestigious physicians had private practices, and they can be found advertising their services in the city's newspaper. Just as with lawyers and doctors, the capital attracted prospective physicians through its highly esteemed colegios and university, and its many institutions and organizations provided a substantial income and a good reputation to those who belonged. Finally, even those without such affiliations found the large population and active business life of the city a source of sufficient business to maintain themselves.[12] The social and cultural advantages of the city need not be enumerated again.

Surgeons were still differentiated from medical doctors in their training and social standing in this era. Many did base themselves permanently in Mexico City, but they came to the city through different avenues than physicians, and few received their training in the medical facilities of the capital. Whereas the physicians encountered were creoles, most of the surgeons were peninsulars, generally trained at surgical colleges while still in Spain and coming to Mexico as naval or army surgeons. Once in Mexico, they often passed at least a few years in a port town or sometimes a provincial center before coming to the capital. Here again, the most capable and fortunate obtained permanent positions at one of the capital's hospitals, and might even become members of the surgical training faculty there, but they did not receive salaries comparable to physicians. Whereas the physicians of Mexico City could mingle easily with other professionals, surgeons were considered the social equals of artisans and small shopkeepers, and some of the locally born surgeons were considered to be of mixed blood. While the son of a physician might enter the university and become a cleric or a lawyer, a surgeon's son was more likely to become a craftsman or shopkeeper.[13]

Yet other professional groups existed in Mexico City, many of whose members migrated there because of the career possibilities. The ecclesiastical and lay institutions of the city and its many wealthy families provided patronage to a community of architects, sculptors, and artists. Most in the late colonial period were born in Mexico, but a substantial minority were peninsular in origin. Except for a few artists and architects who were trained in Spain and then dispatched to Mexico to teach at the Academy of San Carlos or to realize a specific project, the artistic community was trained in Mexico City. Youths from anywhere in the colony who contemplated a career in art typically entered an academy in the capital or apprenticed themselves with one of the masters there.[14]

A similar pattern is noticeable among performing artists. The city supported perhaps 50 actors, singers, dancers, and musicians annually in just its major theater, the Real Coliseo. Youths migrated to the capital to be trained in a specific performing art, most them staying on, since only Mexico City offered many employment possibilities to persons with such skills. There was an additional immigration of seasoned performers from throughout the empire and from Spain itself to perform in the city's theater sometimes just for a season under contract, sometimes for their entire career. Leading artists could demand high salaries and living and performing conditions tailored to their desires. The lead singer, dancer, actor, and actress of the Real Coliseo commanded annual salaries of between 3,000 and 4,000 pesos, when shopkeepers, craftsmen, and low-level professionals might expect annual incomes of 300 to 500 pesos.[15] In 1808 the head of the Coliseo informed the Viceroy that he could not persuade Antonia Rodríguez, a valued actress from Havana, to come up to Mexico City from Veracruz to perform for that season. Viceroy Iturrigaray ordered an element of his lancers to go to Veracruz to get her, but she

[12]Kicza, "Business and Society," pp. 418-424.
[13]*Ibid*, pp. 424-427.
[14]*Ibid*, pp. 430-433.
[15]Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter cited as AGN), *Historia*, vol. 473, fols. 28-30; DM, March 18, 1806; March 28, 1807; April 14, 1816.

wrote the Viceroy a letter procrastinating and claiming that the 4,000 pesos she was promised for the season was too little.[16]

A small but interesting group in late colonial Mexico City were the 50 to 100 non-Spanish Europeans who lived there in any given year. These foreign immigrants were invariably Catholics, though a few had converted while still in Europe, and generally came from parts of Europe that either were under the rule of the Spanish king or traditionally had maintained close ties to Spain. But though Catholic, quite Hispanized, and anxious to be accepted into colonial society, these immigrants were always viewed as distinctive outsiders by the Hispanic elements of Mexico City, were considered suitable only for certain specialized occupations, and experienced limited social horizons. But this is not to say that these Europeans constituted a self-conscious community. They had little to do with each other in business, did not live intentionally with or near each other, and did not join the same social or fraternal organizations. Overall, few of the foreigners were related, while shared national origins seemingly played no important role in their lives.

In both 1795 and 1809, when international conflicts impelled the government to carry out surveys of the foreign population of Mexico City, the largest number of foreigners were Italian, 43 percent in 1795 and 58 percent in 1809. In both cases, the second largest group was the French, with 37 percent in 1795 and 28 percent in 1809. A scattering of immigrants originated in such areas as Malta, Switzerland, Flanders, Germany, and Ireland. All these foreigners were male, with the exception of one woman, the German wife of a Flemish machinist who worked for many years in Mexico, usually in the mining industry. These foreigners were usually unmarried when they came to Mexico, journeying typically when they were still young men, many having spent some time in Spain before venturing to the colonies.[17]

Most foreigners in Mexico City came initially as servants or cooks for government or Church officials, or for military or maritime officers who were transferred from Spain to the colony, a much lesser number as commercial representatives of Spanish firms. Those who came as servants often mentioned that they decided to remain in Mexico when their employer moved to another colony or returned to Spain. While a number of such people were already in Mexico City, others were in provincial centers and relocated only later to the capital. Few still pursued employment as servants, though some hired on as cooks in the houses of important personages. Most went into business for themselves, capitalizing on their one quality not shared by creoles or Indians: amiliarity with current European taste and fashion. Some became restauranteurs or tavernkeepers, others went into fashion and design as dressmakers, hairdressers, perfumers, hatmakers, and tailors. A scattering worked as skilled craftsmen in such fields as metalworking and bookbinding, while a few had been recruited in Europe for their specific skills with machinery or in the arts, including a painter, a chorus master, and a dance master.

Once based in Mexico City, European immigrants generally lived out their lives there. A large number married local women, and their children seemed to do well, getting good educations and sometimes employment in the professions and the government. While many of the immigrants made decent and even comfortable livings, none approached having significant wealth. Few held jobs that native-born citizens could compete for, so there was little reason for resentment against them. They enjoyed no power either as individuals or as a group and had no special prestige. Few were ever addressed as "don", even in this late period, when the honorific was far more common than in early colonial times.

Information on the lives and social patterns among the lower classes and the Indians of Mexico City is much scantier than on these other groups. The best information to date on their migration to late colonial Mexico City comes from two articles produced by the

[16]AGN, *Historia*, vol. 468, unpaginated, March 18, 1808.
[17]AGN, *Historia*, vol. 452 (1809) and 503 (1795).

Seminario de Historia Urbana of INAH, one by Alejandra Moreno Toscano and Carlos Aguirre, the other by Jaime Rodríguez Piña, and the excellent unpublished dissertation of Michael Scardaville.[18] The two articles derive their findings from the 1811 census of Mexico City, while Scardaville's dissertation is distilled from the criminal records of the capital. Enrique Florescano's study of maize price trends has noted that eight major food shortages afflicted central Mexico between 1741 and 1811.[19] John Tutino has noted the simultaneous population growth within Indian villages and expansion of Spanish haciendas in the last half of the eighteenth century.[20] These phenomena were the driving forces behind the large migration to Mexico City after 1750. Another contributing factor was the expansion of Mexico City's economy during much of the same period, as the city's commercial, manufacturing, and processing sectors expanded notably. The construction and service jobs provided by population and economic growth lured yet further migrants. Scardaville reasonably estimates that one-half to two-thirds of the city's population growth after the mid-eighteenth century can be attributed to migration.[21] In the 1811 census, 38 percent of the city's population was made up of migrants, though the percentage was artificially elevated because of the ongoing insurrection in the provinces.[22] Scardaville's examination of over 2,500 cases in the criminal records indicates that women made up fully half of the migrants and perhaps a good number more. About half of all migrants in these records were under 30 years of age when they came to Mexico City and an additional 24 percent were betwen 30 and 39 years of age. More than a third of the migrants were single when they moved.[23]

The aforementioned studies of the 1811 census confirm the origins of the migrants indicated in the criminal records. Most came from the Puebla and Jalapa regions to the east, Querétaro and the Bajío to the north, Toluca and Morelia to the west, and Cuernavaca and Cuautla to the south, with an additional influx of Indians from Oaxaca. Those who were professionals, administrators, commercial employees, or artisans typically came from important regional centers located at some distance from Mexico City: Puebla, Jalapa, Morelia and Querétaro, for example. Unskilled laborers generally came from nearby the capital, in the zones east and north of the Valley of Mexico. The remainder were likely to come from the Cuernavaca and Oaxaca jurisdictions to the south.

This occupational differentiation, of course, corresponds closely to ethnic distinctions. Most Spaniards and mixed-bloods who migrated to the capital came from provincial centers outside of the Valley of Mexico but still within the confines of central Mexico, while Indians came largely from the greater Valley of Mexico and the heavily Indian provinces from the south.[24] Indications are that many Indians from the more distant areas went first to provincial centers before moving to Mexico City. Very few migrants came to Mexico City from either coast or from the desert North, and certainly not from south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The only people from the Yucatán that I have encountered in late colonial Mexico City were a very few professionals, government functionaries, and commercial agents, all from the Hispanic social sector of that region.

[18]Alejandra Moreno Toscano & Carlos Aguirre, "Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México durante el siglo XIX: Perspectivas de investigación," Seminario de Historia Urbana, INAH, *Cuaderno de Trabajo*, núm. 4 (Mexico City), pp. 1-25; the same authors have published a more refined version of this article as "Migration to Mexico City in the Nineteenth Century: Research Approaches," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 17 (1975), pp. 27-42; Jaime Rodríguez Piña, "Las vecindades en 1811; tipología," Seminario de Historia Urbana, INAH, *Cuaderno de Trabajo*, núm. 11 (Mexico City, 1976), pp. 68-96; Michael E. Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor: Mexico City in the Late Colonial Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977).

[19]Florescano, *Precios del maíz*, Chapter 9, *passim*.

[20]John M. Tutino, "Creole Mexico: Spanish Elites, Haciendas, and Indian Towns, 1750-1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1976), pp. 287-288.

[21]Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor", p. 53.

[22]Moreno Toscano & Aguirre, "Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México," p. 5.

[23]Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor," p. 57.

[24]Moreno Toscano y Aguirre "Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México," p. 6-9; Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor", pp. 57-60.

The effects of this large migration on employment patterns in Mexico City were mixed. It had a negligible impact on the commercial and professional spheres of employment, for few persons in these fields migrated to the capital without a good prospect of employment, and most migrants were uneducated and socially ineligible for these positions. Some expansion of commercial activity certainly resulted from the population growth, but it was probably minimized by the poverty of many migrants, even after they had gained employment. The artisan guilds were sorely hurt by the influx of migrants. Already weakened in the late colonial period by an upsurge in competition and a new government attitude against such restrictive institutions, craft guilds found that they could not control production or prices against the many independent craftsmen now in the city.[25] These often impoverished craftsmen would solicit customers in the streets or in ramshackle huts, or be recruited into unauthorized workshops where capitalists supplied them with tools and raw materials and then marketed the finished goods. A number, certainly, became workers in the large royal tobacco factory on the outskirts of the city, a facility that employed great numbers of both men and women. But many migrants often found employment as street vendors and unskilled service workers. A study of some of the rooming-houses of the city in 1811 reveals the activities of some of these people. They were employed as *cargadores*, *sombrereros*, *pintores*, *carboneros*, *aguadores*, *porteros*, *cocheros*, *herreros*, *alfareros*, and *bordadores*. Occupations filled by migrant women include *costureras*, *lavanderas*, *tortilleras*, and *atoleras*.[26] It is my impression that relatively few recent migrants were taken on as domestic servants. Servants in Mexico City households often remained attached to their employers for many years, were from the city itself, and were frequently married to other servants, lacking as they did certain skills and social and cultural graces, especially as others with these qualities were available. Thousands of these impoverished migrants lived in the streets or in shacks within the city and on its outskirts. Lacking regular employment, a number turned to vice, crime, or begging, and the jails and charitable institutions of the capital were sorely pressed to deal with the great increase in population, especially as more migrants came exactly when famine or insurrection threatened the larger society.

Perhaps what is most notable is that the migration of so many poor to Mexico City did not cause even more strain and disruption than it did. One reason, besides the innovativeness, adaptability, and family resources of these migrants themselves, may have been that the city remained in good times and bad an important commercial, administrative, and manufacturing center, attracting even better-off people from the provinces and creating new jobs and branches of human activity beyond what already existed. In these and other aspects the reasons and patterns of migration to Mexico City in the late colonial period bear a striking resemblance to those of the modern era.

[25]Jorge González Angulo Aguirre, *Artesanado y ciudad a fines del siglo XVIII* (Mexico City, 1983), pp. 103-121, *passim*.
[26]Rodríguez Piña, "Las vecindades en 1811," pp. 91-94.