

COLONIAL ECONOMY
TRADE, INDUSTRY, AND LABOR
IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
MEXICO CITY

Basic to a knowledge of a people's history is an appreciation of its daily life. Such an understanding should include all phases of normal living which might influence the actions and thinking of the locality, city, nation, or race under consideration. From the lightheartedly and thoughtlessly accepted refrain of the streets to the plodding prose of the every day job, all activities and contacts help to mould the thoughts and reactions of men, and to place the indelibly characteristic stamp of the epoch upon the pages of history. Closest to most people of all the problems and influences which shape their lives are those which are concerned with making a living.

Colonial Hispanic America had its life and customs which were of primary importance in shaping its destiny. As a typical place and a typical period for the study of these underlying and primary factors, few choices could be better than Mexico City in the seventeenth century. The capital of New Spain had a well developed political, social, and economic life, and the seventeenth century was a period of comparative constancy in the development of the city.

In a study of the economic phase of life in colonial Mexico City, it should be born in mind that almost three generations had passed since the founding of the city by

the conquistadores. The period of conquest and the rebuilding and the reorganization of the city was over. Society had become adjusted to the new changes, and, at least by the first quarter of the century, almost all of the significant economic institutions had been formulated. Markets and market regulations, guilds and labor relations, customs and economic patterns had been established and defined. A state approaching a "normal life" had been developed; so for a century, until the reforms of the Bourbons, Mexico City typified the height of the old Spanish colonial regime, and worked itself deeper and deeper into its own special groove.

The size and complexity of Mexico City during the period was indicated by its consumption of certain basic foodstuffs. According to an estimate made in the middle of the century, 170,000 sheep, 12,000 cattle, 30,000 swine, 220,000 fanegas of maize, and 180,000 fanegas of flour were sold each year.¹ In the case of meat, these estimates could be only conjectural at best, for about one-half of that consumed in the capital was sold outside of the government *carnicerías*, that is to say, meat markets. Fruit, vegetables, fish, and fowl were consumed in large amounts as well. Such a market required a very well developed economic system.

Currency was plentiful and of sufficient denominations, for the most part, to facilitate commerce. There was, however, a lamentable lack of small fractional coins with which to make minor purchases, and it was necessary to use such substitutes as cocoa beans. Gold was minted in sixteen, eight, four, and two pesos pieces. Silver was formed into pesos, half-pesos, quarter-pesos, reales,

¹ AGUSTÍN DE VETANCURT, *Teatro mexicano*, (2v., México, 1698), II, 229; a fanega equalled 1.6 bushels. As an indication of the size of the city, in *México y sus contornos*, MS., (Bancroft Library), it was estimated that Mexico City during the period had 120,000 homes, containing from 4-10 inhabitants each.

and half-reales. A real was one-eighth part of a peso.² In Mexico City, 16,000 pesos were struck off a day at the end of the seventeenth century.³ Besides this basic coinage, there were a number of gold pesos of different values called pesos of *oro común*, *minas*, and other such terms to designate certain finenesses.

Almost every article of commerce in colonial Mexico City was carefully supervised as to price, weight, and often, amount and quality. According to law, in each city a judge and a regidor, named by the city council, were to hold hearings on the price of articles, and to fix a scale which was to be adhered to by all traders. Cost was kept in mind in order that a moderate profit might be made. Especially were foodstuffs watched.⁴ Rulings by the officials in charge of the numerous trades and industries went even so far as to insist that salt should be bought by taverns, bakeries, and large producers only through the regular channels, so that the supply might more equitably be distributed.⁵ A fairness both to the consuming public and to business was the goal toward which the laws were aimed.⁶

Constant alertness was necessary to carry out such a laudable program. It was the common practice of the

² GIOVANNI F. GEMELLI CARERI, *A voyage round the world*, in A. CHURCHILL, *A collection of voyages and travels*, (London, 1752. First edition, *Giro del mondo*, 6v., Naples, 1700), IV, 479.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 479.

⁴ *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, (Madrid, 1680; 2d ed., 4v., Madrid, 1756), II, book iv, title ix, 98 r.

⁵ Mexico (City) Ayuntamiento, *Actas de cabildo del ayuntamiento constitucional de México*, (v. XIII-XXXIII, México, 1898-1910), XXIII, 117. This problem of keeping trade from being diverted for speculation or other purposes was a grave concern of the administration. See especially A. Brambila y Arriaga, *Tumultos de México*, MS., (Bancroft Library).

⁶ JUAN DE MONTEMAYOR Y CÓRDOVA DE CUENCA, ed., *Sumarios de las cédulas, órdenes, y provisiones reales, que se han despachado por su magestad, para la Nueva-España, y otras partes*, (México, 1678), iii, 4r.

richer merchants to attempt, if possible, to obtain a monopoly of some article. The most dangerous to corner was grain, for a bumper crop might upset all calculations, and also, if the move should be successful, the people's ire might rise with prices to a point where either official action or mob violence might ensue.⁷ By buying through third parties at attractive prices, success, especially if a few government officials proved friendly, was possible.⁸ Profits then were quick and large.

For controlling merchandising in general, an organization was fostered among the merchants called the *consulado*. It performed many of the services for the merchants that the guilds did for industry. Established in 1603, the official name of the *consulado* was *Universidad de los Mercaderes* (Corporation of the Merchants).⁹ The patron saint was Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. A chapel, seal, and tribunal were boasted by the *consulado*, and the voting membership chose electors each year to name men to the offices of prior, consul, and deputies. To hold these jobs, the candidate was required to be married, a resident, honorable, of good character, and to have at least a for-

⁷ JOSÉ M. L. MORA, *México y sus revoluciones*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, (19v. in 17, México, 1853-1857), 2d ser., III, 106-107.

⁸ Not all the speculators were found among the rich and the powerful. Petty operators were always sources of official annoyance. In 1619 it was ordered that no one was to buy quantities of fruit, eggs, and similar products in the outskirts of the city. Mestizos, mulattoes, and Negroes who did so were to receive two hundred lashes and two years in the galleys. Alguaciles who did the same thing under pretense of acting under superior orders were to be fined forty pesos and to lose their positions. MONTEMAYOR, *Sumarios*, iii, 6r.

⁹ The movement for the *consulado* was begun officially by a cedula of 1592. Two years later an order was issued directing that rules for the merchants be drawn up. By 1597 temporary arrangements had been made, and by 1603 the organization was successfully launched. Finally, in 1604 the king affixed his signature ending the last legal step. *Ordenanzas del consulado de la universidad de los mercaderes de esta Nueva España, confirmadas por el rey nuestro señor*, (México, 1772?).

tune of 20,000 ducats. Other positions, such as the *alguacil*, that is, *constable*, porter, receiver, lawyer, counselor, and proctor were named by the consul. Prices were set in *juntas* at the proposal of the prior.¹⁰

Most of the trade centered around the stalls in the market of the Plaza Mayor. The number of these shops, or *cajones* as they were called, was very great. En 1686 there were said to have been 323 in the plaza.¹¹ During the century this number never varied far from that figure. The amount was so great even in 1600 that they had become a serious obstruction to traffic; so the city council had to order the shops to be placed in rows because coaches were kept from entering the plaza in many streets.¹²

By far the most beneficial and fundamental of all of the regulated markets, as far as the masses of the people were concerned, were the grain and the meat markets. The former, or *alhóndiga* as it was called, rendered perhaps the greatest service of all. In an era when scarcity, not abundance, was the great problem to be faced, the consuming public needed all possible protection. It was thought that, if left alone, certain of the more rapacious monopolists would soon raise the cost of the fundamental necessities to a point where it would become impossible for any but the well-to-do and the rich to live comfortably or to be sure, at all.

During the bad crop seasons of the 1580's, it was realized that some means had to be found to supply the public with sufficient quantities of grain at a reasonable price to fill the normal needs. Viceroy Enriquez suggested to his successor that an *alhóndiga* ought to become a permanent

¹⁰ *Recopilación*, IV, book ix, title xlvi, 133v-141v.

¹¹ ANTONIO DE ROBLES, *Diario de algunas cosas notables que han sucedido en esta Nueva España*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 1st ser., II, 445.

¹² *Actas de cabildo*, XIV, 165.

part of the administration.¹³ In 1583 the idea had been acted upon by the Spanish crown, with the result that the necessary laws and regulations were formulated. A place was established where farmers could bring their grain for sale, and people could obtain supplies.

Over the alhóndiga was to be an official called the alcaide. He was to be heavily bonded, see that accounts were kept, and was to live at the alhóndiga. While he could not engage in the trade himself, still under his supervision all grain was to be sold, and nowhere else could the traffic be carried on. Everyone bringing grain to the alhóndiga had to swear that he was selling his own product, and not something which he had bought to be sold for profit. Also, farmers were not allowed to store their product there for more than twenty days, and if at the end of that time they still had something left, they were forced to sell at whatever price the residue would bring. In case a farmer happened also to be a baker, he had to declare how much grain he had, and also how much he had harvested, as well as how much he had used. In this way bakers could not avoid the rulings by using farming as a means to obtain an undue supply of grain. Then too, bakers were not to buy until after high mass, and then only in amounts sufficient for one or two days' operations. Finally, any arms brought to the alhóndiga were to be confiscated, and officials were always to be present.¹⁴

From time to time additional regulations were added as the necessity arose. In 1609 an attempt was made to put the collection and distribution of grain upon a more efficient basis. In the first place, no one was allowed to store his maize with that of the government without for-

¹³ Enriquez to Coruña, in *Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores*, (México, 1867), 247.

¹⁴ *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, II, book iv, title xiv, 107r-108v.

feiting it. The officials were supposed to be present when the maize was received. There were two books of record—one for receipts and another for distribution. In that for receipts, the date of each load of grain was recorded together with a statement as to whether it was destined for alms or not, and if so, under what conditions. The farmer or tributary Indian received a copy. In the other book was recorded each day the amount of grain sold, and what sum of money had resulted from the activities. Both accounts were signed by the receiving officials.

All money taken in was placed in a chest. Two different locks and keys were necessary to open the chest, and one key was in the possession of each of the two officials responsible. Thus both had to be present whenever the strong box was opened. Each day the money received was locked away in this manner, and the amount was recorded over the signature of the officials in a book kept in the chest for that purpose. No one was to receive more than one fanega of maize at one purchase. From the government store, first the poor received distribution, and later the hospitals and monasteries.¹⁵

Sales by private individuals were just as carefully regulated. At exactly nine o'clock in the morning, the warden of the alhóndiga distributed the measures to the waiting vendors. Also, anyone who came later was to receive measures as well. For this the alcaide, or warden, took no payment. Sales continued freely although not exceeding, in price, the maximum set. If after the first part of the day all of the supply had not been sold, the *diputado*, who was another one of the supervising officials, was to decree that further trading was to be limited in price by the maximum during the hours just preceding, or else, in case it happened to be lower, at the opening price for the second part of the day. No store of maize or

¹⁵ *Actas de cabildo*, XVII, 321-322.

barley was to be kept back in order to raise the price.¹⁶ In this way it was hoped to eliminate many of the abuses of speculators in raising the cost of grain.

Conditions at the alhóndiga were not always of the best. It was reported in 1619 that water from the surrounding houses drained through the patio of the market. In fact, repairs were constantly asked for by the alcaides throughout the period. Also, there was no storehouse in which to place the flour and grain during the rainy season, which of course, caused a loss of the product and a rotting of the sacks. Consequently, the farmers were slow to bring any large amounts to the alhóndiga, with the result that a scarcity was felt.

It was suggested further in 1619 that since a new alcaide was about to be appointed, that he be forbidden to rope off any section of the corridor for the purpose of engaging in games of horsemanship, or for other similar employment. Also, he should keep the patio clean so that it would be easy at all time to unload flour and grain. Furthermore, it was asked that the alcaide be instructed to live an upright life, allowing neither games nor other unseemly entertainment in the alhóndiga or in his quarters, nor should he keep in his company any woman of questionable reputation. Finally, certain repairs and improvements were suggested, such as enlarging the patio and boarding up the holes in the main gate, for animals were entering at night and were tearing up the grain sacks. The city took all the points under advisement, promising to correct the evils, and appointed a committee to investigate the advisability of the repairs and changes.¹⁷ Minor things, such as the checking and replacement of faulty scales, were often brought to the attention of the city council.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXI, 154-155.

¹⁷ *Actas de cabildo*, XXII, 221-223; XXIII, 226.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XX, 234; XXIII, 120.

The provisioning of the public granary and market was effected largely from the valley of Mexico. There were three harvest periods: that of June called *riego*, that is *irrigated*; that of October called *temporal*, *rainy season*; and that of early spring, sowed on the mountain sides, was termed *aventura*, that is, *hazardous*. These were for wheat. Maize was planted from March to May, bringing in its harvest during the summer.¹⁹ All crops and tribute for fourteen leagues around Mexico City were designed for the *alhóndiga*.²⁰ In time of famine, however, maize and wheat were sometimes brought from much greater distances.

As an influence upon the price of grain, the *alhóndiga* served a wholesome purpose by keeping the price down. Usually sales of the public stock were made on Saturday, except in times of emergency. While prices, in spite of all regulations, might range relatively high during most of the week, when the government grain was placed on the market, there was often a sharp decline.²¹ Sometimes quite a different result would come about when there was an overabundance through heavy crops. Then the *alhóndiga* might become entirely empty of public supply, for with prices well below the minimum which the government strove to maintain, the tributes were taken instead in specie.²² Furthermore, if grain were accepted, there was danger of loss to the state, because no one would buy at the figure set for the public sales, and therefore there was danger of the grain spoiling.²³

The importance as well as the result of the *alhóndiga* can be shown by the rise and fall in the price of maize. Usually the figure ranged within a point or two of a

¹⁹ GEMELLI CARERI, *Voyage*, in CHURCHILL, *Voyages*, IV, 481.

²⁰ *Actas de cabildo*, XIV, 84; XXIII, 115-116.

²¹ *Actas de cabildo*, XVI, 395.

²² *Ibid.*, XXI, 59.

²³ *Ibid.*, XIX, 310.

normal level of ten reales a fanega, although in times of plenty the price might drop considerably. Then almost invariably, the government would relax its restrictions and allow its supply to dwindle into nothingness. Soon would come bad crops again, and there would be neither a smoothly functioning alhóndiga, nor an ample supply of government grain. Consequently, market crises would occur which caused the poor of the city no little suffering, and the viceregal administration no little uneasiness.

At the beginning of the century, maize brought the rather high price of eighteen reales. Later in the year of 1600, the government took a hand, and succeeded in forcing the price down at twelve reales. This marked the beginning of the government's direct participation as a trader in the market. By the next year there was a sufficient supply of maize so that the price in the open market was ten reales, or two reales under the official figure at which the administration sold its supply; consequently, the government was forced to reduce to the same price.

Ten reales was maintained rather easily for the next few years until 1607, when a bad crop year forced the government to buy quite heavily, and resell at a loss, in order to keep the price of maize down to the official figure. This same condition was repeated in 1609. However, by the next year, good crops had forced the market price down to eight and nine reales, which again made the official price too high. This continued until 1618, by which time the government had ceased its operations to stabilize prices as an active trader in the market, and never again, except in times of emergency, did the administration engage extensively in buying and selling maize, but rather maintained a supervising capacity over the market through the regulations of the alhóndiga. In 1618 the price of maize had risen to twelve reales, and by 1620,

which was reported to have been a bad year, the price was up to twenty reales.²⁴

In the next period, ending with the riot of 1624, maize rose to a new high for the century. At first, with the arrival of a new viceroy, the Marqués de Gelves, the government was able to obtain a reduction, first to eighteen reales and then to fourteen reales. After that the administration, advised that there was a sufficient supply of maize in the market, withdrew once more from active participation, and the price immediately rose to forty and, at times, even to fifty reales. The new high prices helped to bring on the riot of 1624, which was a veritable revolution in size and intensity.²⁵

For the next two generations there were three times when the price of maize rose to high levels, but for the most part, it remained at ten reales or less. For a number of years the price of maize averaged from eight to nine reales a fanega, but by 1641, a great drought was felt in the country, and the price of maize rose to twenty reales.²⁶ By the next year, the viceroy, Palafox, took a strong hand in the matter, and through the alhóndiga, the market price was once more forced down.²⁷ After that there was another period of normal prices until the year 1661, when a severe winter again forced the price of maize up, this

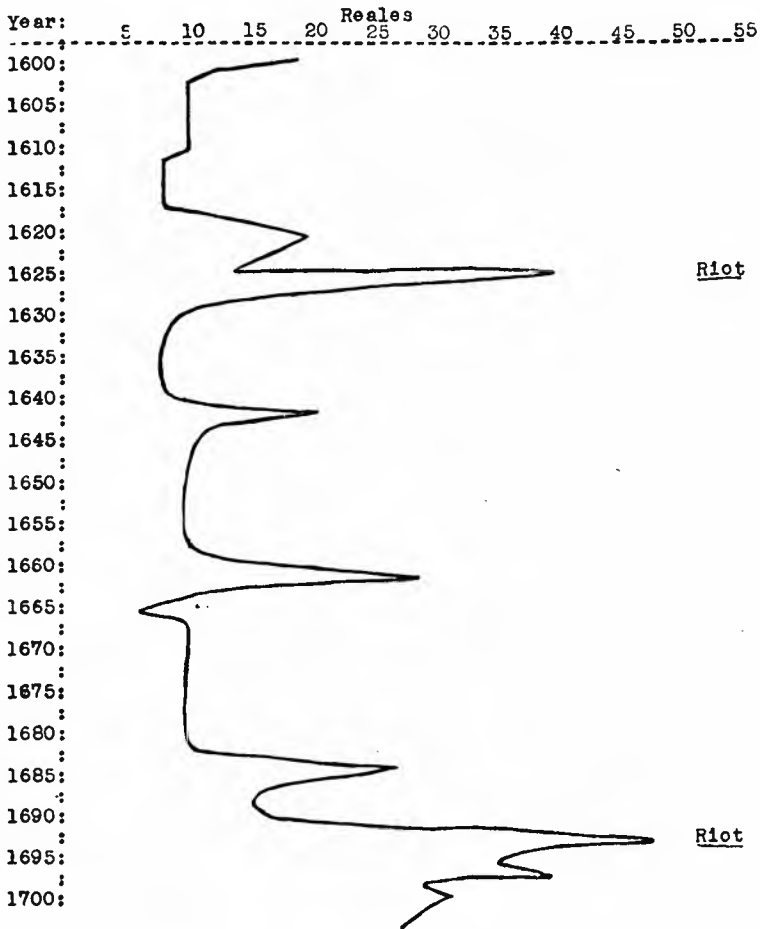
²⁴ *Actas de cabildo*, XIV, 53, 223-224, 286-287; XVI, 223; XVII, 305-306, 523-524; XIX, 310; XXI, 59-60, 294.

²⁵ *Sedición en la ciudad*, MS., (Bancroft Library); B. de Urrutia, *Relación [primera, segunda]*, MS., (Bancroft Library); *Memorial de lo sucedido en la Ciudad de Méjico*, MS., (Bancroft Library); *Documentos históricos pertenecientes al reinado de Felipe IV*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 2nd series, III, 58; *Relación del estado en que el Marqués de Gelves halló los reynos de la Nueva España*, (Madrid, 1628), 1r-9r; MORA, *México y sus revoluciones*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 2nd series, III, 106; T. GAGE, *A new survey of the West-Indies*, (London, 1648), 136-137.

²⁶ *Actas de cabildo*, XXXII, 228.

²⁷ L. GONZÁLEZ OBREGÓN, *D. Guillén de Lampart* (Paris and Mexico, 1908), 273-303.

time to twenty-nine reales.²⁸ From 1662 to 1684 prices were again normal, with the price of maize falling at one time to as low as six reales.²⁹ In 1684 and 1685 another drought was suffered, which brought the price up to twenty seven reales. By prompt governmental action, this



Price of maize in the seventeenth century

²⁸ G. M. DE GUIJO, *Diario de sucesos notables, 1648-1664*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 1st series, I, 472, 482.

²⁹ Mancera to Veraguas, in *Instrucciones*, 266-267.

was reduced to twenty reales, and for a while after that, normal prices were again approached.³⁰

By 1691 another major market crisis was reached. Continued rains and a blight ruined crops. As a consequence, maize rapidly rose from twenty to twenty-four reales, and by the next year ranged from forty to forty-eight reales, from which point it was kept from going any higher because of governmental intervention.³¹ The scarcity continued through another bloody riot in 1692 until the new crops brought relief. Four years later the price advanced again to forty reales, but the good crops which followed brought the price down again.³² Two years later, 1698, there was another period of scarcity, when the price of maize rose to thirty-two reales, and after that the century ended with the price of maize once more on the decline.³³

Second only to the gratin market were the *carnicerías*, as the public controlled meat markets were called. The basis for the regulations of the *carnicerías* was not the same as that for the *alhóndiga*, for the *carnicerías* were in the hands of a private individual, who was therefore given a large monopoly of the trade. His prices, however, were determined by a vote of the city council, and he was required to supply the demand of the city, and to give good and honest service. Thus, close governmental control was possible without actual governmental participation. At first there were but three *carnicerías* open:

³⁰ ROBLES, *Diario*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 1st series, II, 436.

³¹ C. DE SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA, *Alboroto y motín de México*, MS. (Bancroft Library), 52v-53r; 55v; there is a printed edition by I. A. LEONARD, *Relación de Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (México, 1932).

³² ROBLES, *Diario* in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 1st series, III, 197, 203.

³³ GEMELLI CARERI, *Voyage*, in CHURCHILL, *Voyages*, IV, 492, see also accompanying graph.

Carnicería Mayor, Santa Catalina, and Vera Cruz.³⁴ Later those of Santa Inés, Alcaicería, San Martín, and San Juan were opened.³⁵

The basis for the meat trade was the pastoral industry. This was in a fair way to descend into chaos before the opening of the seventeenth century, and before strict governmental regulations could be applied. Soon after the conquest, cattle began to fill the ranges until they became so numerous that they were valued at little more than the labor of killing and transporting them. As a consequence, a large and flourishing trade in hides sprang up with Europe, and prospered so greatly that for a time cattle were killed only for their hides. The meat was left to spoil. Soon the industry became so widespread that it threatened to annihilate the herds, and bring distress to New Spain. Laws were then promulgated to the effect that no one was to kill beef without a permit from the viceroy.³⁶ With that came a stabilization of the cattle industry, and a swift rise in prices of beef from about twenty pounds for a real to around eight pounds for a real. The threat of a dearth in meat was, however, averted, and by 1673 the herds were again sufficiently numerous.³⁷ Such was the reason for the rapid price changes at the beginning of the century, as well as the unflinching supply of meat for the period, except for a short time around 1605.³⁸

Because of the difficulties attendant upon the shortage in 1605 and 1606, the need of reform was thrown into a glaring light. It was found that the service was inef-

³⁴ *Actas de cabildo*, XIX, 310.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 133.

³⁶ J. F. DE MONTEMAYOR Y CÓRDOVA DE CUENCA, ed., *Sumarios de las cédulas, órdenes, y provisiones reales, que se han despachado por su magestad* (México, 1678), iii, 40v.

³⁷ Mancera to Veraguas, in *Instrucciones*, 267.

³⁸ *Actas de cabildo*, XVI, 54.

ficient in its organization, and meat was not being sold in quantities small enough for the poor. Also, it was discovered that the servants of the great, such as the viceroy, members of the Inquisition, and oidores of the audiencia, were getting preference over other people. In order to check such abuses as these, and many others as well, two inspectors were named for each *carnicería*, instead of one as formerly was the case. Also, the inspectors were given three months to serve, rather than the usual one month, for in this way the officials were able to become better acquainted with the situation.³⁹ With these regulations and rules looking for honest weight and better service, the *carnicerías* were made to function smoothly for the public welfare.

An account of the meat trade for the opening months of 1611 was given preparatory to asking for permission to raise prices. The report listed cost and sale prices. For 1,207 head of cattle, 8,449 pesos were paid—a cost of seven pesos each. Sheep had been bought at ten and one-half reales each, or 7,286 animals for 9,582 pesos and seven reales, which made a total of 18,021 pesos and seven reales. Sales, however, in spite of including many items other than just flesh, were not so successful. The beef brought 6,076 pesos, while the tongues and viscera of the cattle brought 94 pesos more. The hides sold for 2,414 pesos. The sheep were disposed of at 8,379 and one real for the meat, 166 pesos and six reales for viscera, fifty pesos for skins, and 450 pesos for the wool, of which 200 arrobas were sold for eighteen reales an arropa.⁴⁰ This brought the total up to 17,629 pesos and seven reales, or just 392 pesos less than cost. When this was added to administration expenses, the total was held to be a loss of 2,670 pesos for the year up to April 28, 1611.⁴¹ To be sure, the car-

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 63, 67, 265.

⁴⁰ An arropa equalled approximately twenty-five pounds.

⁴¹ *Actas de cabildo*, XVIII, 124-125.

nicerías seldom operated at a loss, but these figures presented an interesting index as to the development of the industry.

The greatest difficulty experienced by the carnicerías was the large amount of unlicensed trade in meat which went on elsewhere. It was a practice to bring cattle and sheep to the city slaughterhouse, or *rastro* as it was called; or even to the outskirts of the city, and then to sell the animals alive in order to avoid the tax for slaughter. Also, it was customary for petty merchants to bring in meat displayed on wooden racks on the backs of horses. Such meat was sold by the piece, not by the weight.⁴² Much of the business was diverted also by the two meat shops which were allowed to run despite governmental regulations. These were found in the palace of the archbishop and in the palace of the Marqués del Valle.⁴³

Considered and treated as separate from the carnicerías, but also worthy of notice were the pork dealers. Their importance lay in the fact that they supplied the city with lard. According to law, the pork dealers had to come to the plaza to sell their wares and then were required to observe the price limit fixed by the government. The practice arose, however, of selling the lard in the private homes of the merchants for a very high price, and not bringing it to market where the magistrates could see that the law was enforced.⁴⁴

Among the other public markets worthy of note was the *Baratillo*, or thieves' market. This market during its checkered career occupied many places in the city, but in the seventeenth century it was located in the main plaza itself. There, goods which had been stolen and carefully

⁴² *Actas de cabildo*, XVII, 475-476; XIX, 257.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXII, 151-152.

⁴⁴ *Actas de cabildo*, XIV, 133-134.

disguised were sold at bargain prices, in spite of regulations contrary to such practices.⁴⁵

For the purpose of buying and selling negro slaves there was a specially designated market place. Such traffic was considered an unpleasant but necessary part of the city's economic life. One of the most objectional features to the people of Mexico City was the fact that the newly arrived slaves might bring infectious diseases with them, and for that reason there usually was some agitation for the removal of the slave market from the city.⁴⁶ At one time, one of the city dumps was cleaned up as a location for the slave market, and canopies ordered in order to protect the human merchandise and the dealers from the effects of the sun and rain.⁴⁷ It was under such circumstances that the slave auctioneer plied his trade in the capital of New Spain.

As was to be expected, of course, Mexico City had its horse and mule market, for the horse was one of the greatest passions of the colonial Mexican. Nevertheless, the problems concerned with horse trading were highly complicated, with many a suggestion of the type of practices which have placed a special meaning on the phrase "horse trading." For the purposes of better control, the business was given over to the usual government monopolist, who, as in the case of a certain Juan Franco in 1621, was likely to have his difficulties. Juan Franco paid 950 pesos for a two-year control of the market. However, as soon as the enterprise got well under way, two important personages, who lived in the neighborhood chosen by Juan Franco as the center for his business, ordered him to move on with his noisy and noisome undertaking, or to be prepared to meet the pressure and unpleasantness which could

⁴⁵ Linares to Valero, in *Instrucciones*, 306.

⁴⁶ A. BRAMBILA Y ARRIAGA, *Relación en favor del Marqués de Gelves*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 2nd series, III, 258.

⁴⁷ *Actas de cabildo*, XXI, 184.

be brought to bear against him. Juan Franco moved. Next time, he chose a neglected dumping ground, which he had cleaned up for his trading site. Again an unneighborly neighbor who was very important threatened him if he remained at his new place of business. Consequently, Juan Franco, by then almost bankrupt, turned in desperation to the city council for relief from his tormentors. He was rewarded. The city council ordered that a portion of the Plaza Mayor near the cathedral be set aside for the horse and mule market, so that it could have a permanent location, and also so that some of the unsavory practices might be curbed.⁴⁸

In addition to those already mentioned, there were a number of other markets and market places. The fish market with its strong odors caused many complaints.⁴⁹ Also some of the schools and religious institutions had their own markets, which were important sources of revenue for those establishments.⁵⁰ Furthermore, there were several purely Indian markets which, together with the Plaza Mayor, the Plaza del Volador, and similar locations, made the city a busy trading center.

Difficulties in controlling trade in the city were illustrated in a case which involved the taverns. In 1619 the innkeepers complained to the viceroy about their treatment by the city. They claimed that the regulating official was in the habit of visiting them very often, sometimes two or three times a week, without any complaints having been filed against them. Since it was the custom of the official to come with his staff, the result was that the fees and the petty stealing on the part of the magistrate's retinue, cost eight, ten, and sometimes more pesos a week. Furthermore, although the taverns might sell

⁴⁸ *Actas de cabildo*, XXIV, 97-98.

⁴⁹ A. BRAMBILA Y ARRIAGA, *Relación*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 2nd series, III, 258.

⁵⁰ *Reales cédulas*, MS., (Bancroft Library), I, 116v-116r.

wood, charcoal, candles, and many other things, they were forbidden to sell fruit. It was pointed out that since fruit was often completely gone in the plaza between ten and eleven in the morning, many of the poor, who did not always have money so early in the day, were forced to forego the benefits of the food—and of course incidentally the taverns lost the possible profits. Hence, it was requested that permission be given to sell fruit in the taverns. Prices could be fixed each month, by placing the list over the door of one of the shops in the Plaza del Volador.⁵¹ The viceroy sent the petitions to the city council for decision.

Later the council reported back. As for the illegal visits of the official, such a complaint was without justification. In the first place, the taverns were at fault, for they sold ham, bread, candles, and other goods in the list of those permitted without observing the prices set by the government. They also perpetrated frauds in weights and quantities. Surprise and night visits were necessary to check the evil, for the shop keepers were in the habit of having spies watch for the judges in order that illegal practices could be safely hidden. Furthermore, no money had been taken except in fines.⁵²

On the whole, however, the viceroy sided with the innkeepers. Permission was given to sell almost all of the articles which had been mentioned in the petition. Maize, wood, charcoal, candles, ham, bread, sugar, honey, green and dried fruit, cacao, wine, vinegar, olive oil, olives, cheese, vegetables, fish, lard, and pork were included in the list. The only requirements were that the proprietors refrain from buying supplies until after twelve o'clock noon, or selling before one o'clock, and that the regulations as to price, quantity, and quality be obeyed. Prices were fixed for green fruit each morning, and for olives,

⁵¹ *Actas de cabildo*, XXII, 228-230.

⁵² *Actas de cabildo*, XXIII, 22-23.

dried fruit, fish, lard, cheese, sugar, and other such items each month. Bread prices were determined every three months. Regulations for the taverns were posted each Monday in an accustomed place in the Plaza del Volador. Moderate profits were guaranteed. All Spaniards and others who brought fruit in for sale were restricted in their operations to the Plaza del Volador or to the Plaza Mayor. Also, they were required to show written testimony that the purchases had been within ten leagues of the city. Indians, however, could sell anywhere they pleased without paying any heed to the numerous regulations, as long as they were acting in good faith and not for some enterprising Spaniard.⁵³

Most of the petty trading in the city was done by the natives. This type of business was quite extensive. Fruit, vegetables, flowers, and cooked foods were brought to the squares in the city to be sold by the Indians. An interesting example of one such trader was a certain Indian spinster called Clara María. She lived in the outskirts of the city, near the aqueduct and towards Chapultepec. Each day she took her fruit and other articles of trade to the plaza, where she was relatively successful in her selling operations.

Eventually the canny Clara María, by careful thrift, acquired considerable wealth for one of her position, and was able to build a few small houses. Since her home was along one of the popular routes for afternoon strolls, one day some priests, who happened by, stopped in to see her, and suggested that she found a small convent so as to have a church in the neighborhood. Doña Clara, as she became known, was favorably impressed by the persuasive padres, and did turn over one of her buildings for the use of some friars. After that Doña Clara became quite the great lady, keeping the church in repair and providing it with the

⁵³ *Actas de cabildo*, XXIII, 29; J. F. DE MONTEMAYOR Y CORDOVA DE CUENCA, ed., *Sumarios*, iii, 3v.-5v.

necessary equipment, such as altar clothes and other similar items.

For ten years Doña Clara prospered, then one day she fell in love with and married a mulatto. Her husband promptly, and with apparent ease, exhausted Doña Clara's small fortune, leaving, upon his death, the erstwhile market girl destitute and starving. Doña Clara's monastery, however, proved to be a good investment, for the brothers cared for her in her old age, and when she died, they gave her a funeral befitting one of the nobility.⁵⁴

Many other Indians gained a livelihood by one type or another of trading. Some hunted ducks on the lake. Others gathered grass for horses. Others collected flies, ants, and worms to be sold as birdfeed to the rich, while still others made a brownish salt from the saline Lake Texcoco.⁵⁵ These and many other occupations, such as making silk floss for the great silk merchants, were followed by the natives.⁵⁶ There was even a record of an Indian selling a street to a Spaniard! However, since the complaint was entered by a third party, in all probability the Indian was only a tool.⁵⁷

Supplying the trader with many of his wares, the industries of seventeenth century Mexico City showed a very high development. The busy shops of the artisans filled most of the streets adjoining the Plaza Mayor, and fairly hummed with activity. Guilds, or *gremios* as they were called, formed the backbone of the industrial organization. They not only afforded a living for the skilled labor, but gave employment to many of the lower, un-

⁵⁴ F. DE PAREJA, *Crónica de la provincia de la visitación de Ntra. Sra. de la Merced*, (2v., México, 1882-1883). I, 453-458.

⁵⁵ *Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, LVII, 178-179; see also *Actas de cabildo*. XVI, 45-46.

⁵⁶ *Actas de cabildo*, XXI, 222.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX, 322-333.

skilled classes. "The guilds of the artisans take in very many people, and excepting the masters, the rest, which include almost all of the workers, are from the different racial mixtures," remarked one of the viceroys in speaking of the general economic life.⁵⁸ Even the Indians found a place in the system.⁵⁹

If a trade were considered important to the community and sufficiently difficult to learn so as to require some training, it could, upon the petition of its members, be formed into a guild. An example of the starting of one of these associations occurred early in the seventeenth century when the needle makers petitioned for a guild. However, since there were only three masters of the art of needle making in the City of Mexico, it was decided to give them temporary rules for awhile, and in the meantime, to refer their case to a committee.⁶⁰

Fifteen sections were included in the regulations for the needle makers. These ranged from the procedure of examination to the prices for the various needles. First it was stated that there should be an examiner and inspector who should be a master. He was chosen at the beginning of each year by the masters who owned their own shops. However, until there should be at least eight masters, the inspector was to be chosen by the government regulator of elections. No one was to practice the trade without examination, and any master who came from elsewhere than Mexico City had to get a license from the town council. Indians, mestizos, negroes and mulattoes were not to engage in the trade or to be allowed to take

⁵⁸ Mancera to Veraguas, in *Instrucciones*, 259; see also J. DE TORQUEMADA, *Primera [segunda, tercera] parte de veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana, con . . . otras cosas marauillosas de la mesma tierra*, (3v., Madrid, 1723), I. 302.

⁵⁹ *Relación breve y verdadera*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, LVII, 106.

⁶⁰ *Actas de cabildo*, XX, 36-37.

the examination, which was both oral and practical. The fee was six pesos paid to the examining officials.

As for the masters, each was allowed only one shop apiece. All products had to be of excellent quality, made from the best steel. No more needles were to be imported from Castile, and only licensed masters could sell needles. In order to see that all of the provisions were carefully carried out, the inspector was to visit three times a year, in company with a magistrate and deputies, all of the places of business. Further regulations were that in case a master who was married should die, his widow was to be allowed to continue the business for four years, or until she remarried. Prices were set at so many needles a real. Eight sewing needles, six tailor needles, four surgeon needles, four silk workers' needles, four cobblers' needles, or four muleteers' needles were given for a real.⁶¹ In this way was launched, in the manner usual to affairs of its kind, one of the many guilds of Mexico City.⁶²

From time to time the regulations for a guild became antiquated. This was the case of the silk and velvet weavers, or *arte mayor*, as the trade was called. The masters of this guild asked that they be allowed to raise the examining fee. Since the time when the silk and velvet workers had been organized, their officers and celebrations had so increased that the ten pesos fee was not considered enough. In fact, since the three examiners, the public notary, and the majordomo got only one-third of the ten pesos, for two-thirds were allotted to the general fund, it was pointed out that the officials got less than a peso each for the two-day ordeal. Consequently, a forty pesos fee was asked, and granted by the city. All of this, as was the custom of the period, was published

⁶¹ *Actas de cabildo*, XX, 310-311.

⁶² For brief summaries of the ordenances of other gremios see J. F. DEL BARRIO LORENZOT, ed., *El trabajo en México durante la época colonial. Ordenanzas de gremios de la Nueva España*, (México, 1920).

through the streets by the town criers, shouting out the new conditions, and explaining the penalties for not being examined.⁶³

School teachers had their guild as well. They had their masters, examiners, and inspectors. Likewise they attempted to keep their ordinances in step with changing conditions. Their aims were to use precept and example to obtain the best development of the children. This was to be done by having the teachers scientific in attitude, wholesome in living, pacific in actions, and married. Unmarried men were not even to be examined for admittance to the profession, for it was thought that a woman was needed to care for the children's health and happiness. Furthermore, masters were to exhibit only their own work, for it seemed that the nefarious practice had arisen of buying the proper quality of specimens for exhibit, and relying upon hired teachers in the class room, while the master himself did not know so much as how to write. The parents in the meantime were of the opinion that their children were getting the best of instruction.⁶⁴

At times the power of the guilds was a danger to the public, and yet at other times it was not sufficient to protect the members themselves. The bakers, for example, quite often bought so heavily in the grain market, that a shortage was felt in the city. Prohibitions upon having more than two days' supply in stock at one time was avoided by storing the grain with the millers, and having it ground into flour as was needed.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the tradesmen had to submit often to losses from officials in order to keep in favor with the members of the government. Sometimes bills of many thousand pesos were incurred by high officials and no action could be taken un-

⁶³ *Actas de cabildo*, XXI, 203, 218.

⁶⁴ *Actas de cabildo*, XXI, 281-282.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 81; XXIII, 145.

til the debtor's death, for besides the danger of bringing down on the tradesman's head the ire of the powerful, there was no magistrate before whom it was possible to get justice. One baker put in a claim for 9,000 pesos on the estate of one of the members of the *audiencia*—a great governing body second only to the viceroy as a power in Mexico City.⁶⁶

Constant vigilance was necessary on the part of the trade organizations. Not only were there cases of fraud and unfair practices within the membership, but more frequently unauthorized persons might absorb some of the business illegally. The makers of wine containers complained in 1614 that a number of "unauthorized and incompetent" people had entered the business.⁶⁷

Sometimes, as was to be expected, complaints were made with little foundation other than a desire to maintain a complete monopoly. The silk guild attempted to bring the production of floss silk under its control. However, such a move affected the rich merchants; so the attempt was checked. The large dealers had been letting much of their silk for floss out to the Indians and the poor to be finished. Since there was no question of weaving or spinning, but only one of straightening out the strands, the cumbersome system of guild examination and supervision seemed unnecessary.⁶⁸

In case an artisan was a newcomer to Mexico City, he had to obtain a license from the city council to open a shop. The letter of examination from a city in Spain or elsewhere was sufficient. Often the letter was said to be lost, as in the case of a cobbler in 1621. He pointed out that he was a poor man—which was the way most such petitions began—and asked for a temporary license until

⁶⁶ *Relación en favor del Marqués de Gelves*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 2nd series, III, 220.

⁶⁷ *Actas de cabildo*, XIX, 274.

⁶⁸ *Actas de cabildo*, XXI, 221.

he could obtain a copy from Spain. He was granted a six months' license.⁶⁹ Some would claim to be too poor to be examined, and would ask for permission to practice their trade until such time as they could afford to pay the necessary fees and buy enough material. Such licenses ranged from confectioners to school teachers, including dyers, tailors, carpenters, chandlers, blacksmiths, saddlemakers, swordsmiths, hatters, and many other trades.⁷⁰

There were many people who came neither under the classification of merchants or artisans. These depended upon wages for their livelihood. Trade and industry employed a large number in the lesser capacities, while personal service accounted for another considerable group.⁷¹ The usual remuneration given for this type of work was thought sufficient for the laborers' needs, at least by the viceroy Montesclaros in his report to the king in 1607. The viceroy stated that the pay was such that, if the Indians, who were the most numerous of the laborers, were to save their money, they could, by working part of the year, manage to exist in idleness for the rest of the time. However, because of the Indian's manner of living, if such wages were not paid, he would often go hungry, and also not be able to pay his tribute, concluded the viceroy.⁷²

Indicative of the customary scale was that paid by the government. There were two types of labor used. One was forced, and consequently obtained at a low figure, and the other was free, contracted for each day. This last could command a higher price for its services because

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 102.

⁷⁰ Almost any number of citations to these petitions are found in the *Actas de cabildo*. They appear in the records of practically every meeting.

⁷¹ M. CAMACHO VILLAVICENCIO, *Dictamen de conciencia*, MS., (Bancroft Library), 5 v.

⁷² Montesclaros to Philip III, in *Instrucciones*, 256.

of competitive bidding from private enterprise. Public works occupied most of the wage-earning employees of the government. The forced labor came from *repartimientos*, or assessments on each district for a certain number of men to be used in a given undertaking. For example, in 1600 it was ordered that twenty-four Indians be assigned each week to street cleaning. Twelve were to be taken from Mexico City, and the rest from two of the outlying towns—six from Tacuba and six from Tacubaya. The legal rate of pay and good treatment were to be given to the workers.⁷³ Usually going along with the *repartimiento* of men was an assessment of materials as well.⁷⁴

Because of the day by day nature of the labor relationship, one of the difficulties was in obtaining sufficient men each time for the job. This, in fact, was the most trying part of the Spanish overseer's activities. Between four and five o'clock in the morning the overseer would have to search through the Indian quarter to find enough workers for the day's needs. In 1606 the overseers asked for a raise in pay because of the arduous quality of the positions. They were getting five pesos a week. Those who had to hire Indians were then given seven pesos, while those with the simpler task of seeing that the Indians from the *repartimientos* arrived, were advanced to six pesos.⁷⁵ This was a reasonably good salary for the period.

Labor wages were of course much lower than those of the supervisors. In 1617 the Indians assigned by *repartimiento* to the Alameda were paid nine reales a week.⁷⁶ In cleaning away some refuse near the fountain in the Plaza Mayor in 1614, the first day twenty-one Indians and three native constables were employed at two reales

⁷³ *Actas de cabildo*, XIV, 122-123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 222-223; XX, 82.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 388-389.

⁷⁶ *Actas de cabildo*, XXI, 207.

each. These, however, were contract labor, and consequently were more expensive. For the subsequent days, wages paid to the workers were two and one-half reales, while the three constables' price remained fixed. As a comparison, the large baskets used to carry off the refuse cost, when new, five reales each.⁷⁷

An attempt to retrench in expenses in 1618 gave a glimpse of salary rates for officials. The solicitor general was getting 330 pesos a year, and it was suggested that that be cut to 220 pesos. Fifty pesos was the rate of pay for the warden of the Alameda, but since he had certain other concessions, it was suggested that his pay be stopped. A treasury porter was given 300 pesos a year, and the warden of the alhóndiga was allotted 330 pesos a year; however, since the latter had his living quarters furnished and obtained "certain other advantages," it was suggested that his salary be placed at 200 pesos.⁷⁸ In the same manner, a porter less than a decade previously had asked for a raise to 300 pesos a year and a stable for his horse. He was granted 280 pesos, and the request for a place to keep his horse was referred to a committee.⁷⁹ Other similar salaries were paid by such organizations as the consulado. The prior and the two consuls were given 500 pesos each a year while the treasurer received 200 pesos.⁸⁰

Paid more or less according to the time spent on public business, were a number of professional men. A bonesetter was given 300 pesos a year, an interpreter, seventy, a barber and surgeon, fifty, and lawyers, 166.⁸¹ While such

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX, 272, 294.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 178. In the printed edition, this record is out of place, for according to date and the names of presiding officials, it belongs in volume twenty-two.

⁷⁹ *Actas de cabildo*, XVII, 297.

⁸⁰ J. D. DE LA CALLE, *Memorial, y noticias sacras, y reales del imperio de las Indias Occidentales*, (Madrid, 1646), 53v.

⁸¹ *Actas de cabildo*, XVII, 166; XIX, 278-279; XX, 107; XXIII, 198.

salaries would be almost impossible to compare accurately with full-time employment, still they gave some indication of earnings. Each of those employed had to spend a little time almost every day on city tasks. From this it can be seen that the quarter of a peso paid to day laborers was not so impossibly low as it might at first seem.

Approximating the standard of wages were prices during the century. Even during the closing years when, because of famine conditions, prices were very high, it was reported by a traveler, whose tastes might safely be said far to exceed those of the laborers, that it was possible to exist in Mexico City for one-half a peso a day.⁸² With the scanty fare and low living standards of the Indian and mixed blooded groups in society, two and one-half reales, in all probability, would have been sufficient.

Maize, perhaps the most fundamental commodity as mentioned above, averaged ten reales a fanega, while other articles of consumption sold at comparable levels. Beef, beginning at fourteen pounds for a real, soon raised in price to around six to seven pounds. There it remained during most of the century. Mutton sold from three to four pounds a real.⁸³ Bread was also a basic item. Its price was kept from twenty ounces to sixteen ounces for one-half a real.⁸⁴ Shoes were sold usually for less than a peso, sometimes even as low as three or four reales, depending, of course, upon the cost of leather.⁸⁵ A cuartillo of wine, approximately a gallon, sold for two and one-half reales—the one-half real was a tax to pay for the project for drainage of the valley.⁸⁶ Other prices might be quoted, but these should be sufficient to demonstrate the approximate price level to be found in Mexico City during the

⁸² GEMELLI CARERI, *Voyage*, in CHURCHILL, *Voyages*, IV, 481.

⁸³ *Actas de cabildo*, XIV, 224; XV, 398; XXIII, 26; XXV, 63.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, XX, 283.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 393-394.

⁸⁶ *Actas de cabildo*, XVII, 370.

period. In fact, wages and living costs ran so close together that any unusual change in the balance, due to crop failures or to successful monopolies, resulted in hardship and even unrest.

Two phases of economic life remain to be mentioned further. One is concerned with taxation and the other with charity. Taxes in seventeenth century Mexico City, while heavy, were by no means stifling levies. Many of them would sound very familiar today, such as for example, sales taxes and taxes on liquor, playing cards, cosmetics, and other such luxuries of the times.⁸⁷ The poor, however, through the more common levies, perhaps felt the weight of the collector's hand more than any other class.

For the Indians, the most important tax was that known as the tribute. It was paid by every Indian adult between the ages of twenty to sixty years.⁸⁸ In amount

⁸⁷ For a general description of the fiscal system see JUAN DÍEZ DE LA CALLE, *Memorial, y noticias sacras, y reales del imperio de las Indias Occidentales*, (México, 1646?). A more comprehensive work was done in the next century under viceroy Revilla Gigedo, see F. DE FONSECA and C. DE URRUTIA, *Historia general de real hacienda*, (6v. México, 1845-1853).

⁸⁸ MONTEMAYOR, *Sumarios*, 214 r.-215 r. Difficulties surrounding the collection of the tribute were legion. Miguel Camacho Villavicencio in his *Dictamen de conciencia*, MS., dwells at length on the situation. He points out that many Indians escaped the tribute by claiming to be mestizos, which of course, had the rather terrifying disadvantage of making the tax dodger subject to the Inquisition unless he could prove that he really was an Indian in case of necessity. Consequently, it often happened that when tribute was being collected, many claimed to be mestizos, but when the sales tax and other taxes came due, they became again for convenience, Indians. A somewhat haphazard collection policy was responsible for such tax evasions. When the magistrates made up the census, they depended upon the priests, who in turn relied upon the *padron* or *gobernador* (chieftain). These worthies were prone to give short returns and to pocket the difference in tribute when they collected from the Indians. Furthermore, many Indians had for one reason or another severed their family relations, and these were very difficult to find. The good padre, Joseph de la Barrera, in charge of the Indian sector (*barrio*) known as Santa Maria Redonda, described, in his *Fragmentos borradores*, MS.,

the tribute was set at one peso, of which a chicken might be substituted for one real, and during the first quarter of the century, maize might be given for part of the payment.⁸⁹ Besides the Indians, the Negroes and mulattoes were assessed a tribute as well.⁹⁰ Other taxes, such as the sales tax—from which the Indian alone enjoyed exemption—were felt very keenly by the poor.

Charity was practiced on a very large scale in Mexico City. Monasteries gave out maize and vegetables each week to the poor, as well prepared meals.⁹¹ Hospitals were maintained for the care of the impoverished sick, and it was the custom of great personages, such as the viceroy and the archbishop, to be lavish in the matter of charity. The archbishop was always outstanding in this regard.⁹² Archbishop Aguiar y Serios Gallego was said to have given, in 1698, about 100,000 pesos in charity more than he received in revenue each year. The viceroy had one hundred pesos distributed every Friday at the palace, and twenty fanegas of maize given away every day. Furthermore, it was estimated that about 3,000 pesos a month went out in charity from other sources.⁹³ Even the state offered a

(Bancroft Library), the problem as being especially baffling. He said that the Indians not only masqueraded as mestizos, but would claim enrollment in some parish on the opposite side of the city when pressed for proof of residence. After the riot of 1692 the Indians were removed to the outskirts of the city and much more closely regulated with the result that tributes brought in 19,000 pesos where formerly only 8,000 pesos had been collected. M. Camacho Villavicencio, *Dic-tamen*, MS., 18 r.

⁸⁹ *Recopilación*, II, book vi, title v, 214v.

⁹⁰ *Relación sumaria y puntual del tumulto y sedición que hubo en México a los 15 de enero de 1624*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 2nd series, II, 60.

⁹¹ *Vetancurt, Teatro*, II, 352.

⁹² GEMELLI CARERI, *Voyage* in CHURCHILL, *Voyages*, IV, 512.

⁹³ ROBLES, *Diario*, in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 1st series, III, 86-87.