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PEASANT RESPONSE TO THE MARKET AND THE LAND QUESTION IN 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY BOLIVIA

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ABSTRACT

Peasant Response to the Market and the Land Question
in 18th- and 19th-Century Bolivia

This study analyzes the reasons why the free Indian communities of Bolivia were able to maintain their lands and population intact during a period of major penetration of market forces in the 19th century. In recent studies of rural Andean history, it has become evident that the free Indian communities survived well into the modern period and that the hacienda system which fell to agrarian reform in 1953 dates only from the 1880s. Most commentators have assumed that government dependence upon an Indian tribute tax guaranteed the integrity of the communities until that tax became unimportant. But this study suggests that the Indians were not passive, but adapted positively to market incentives and thus finally forced the government to use extra-market forces to destroy their ability to respond to the market so that their lands could be seized and their persons subjected to hacienda labor. Attention is directed toward stratification within the free communities and to the role it played in enabling the Indians to survive.

PEASANT RESPONSE TO THE MARKET AND THE LAND QUESTION IN 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY BOLIVIA

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In the past decade, virtually our entire perception of Latin American rural society has been revised. The traditional picture viewed the hacienda as a dominant institution at least as far back as the founding of the liberal republican governments in the 19th century. In turn, the hacienda was seen primarily as a non-market-responsive, semi-subsistence institution designed to control servile labor. Finally, the free communities that remained were deemed to be even more isolated from the market and basically outside the western sector. From this rather widely accepted historical model, social scientists developed a dual-society model which was used to either explain or condone the process of development in most Latin American societies which had a major peasant sector.

Recently, however, detailed quantitative studies of Indian censuses, hacienda records, and rural market traditions have begun to challenge the idea of a passive and raped peasantry underlying this traditional model. This challenge has come about in the context of an overall reinterpretation of colonial social systems in the Andes led by John Murra and his students of the peasant response to Spanish conquest in the 15th and 16th centuries. In studies of the earlier period, it was discovered that the Indian communities had complex multi-ecological relationships among their members which, despite all attempts by the Spanish authorities to terminate, continued well into the late colonial period.

For their part, scholars studying the 19th-century have been equally impressed by the survival of the Indian communities as seen in the records of republican taxing agencies. In the works of Sánchez-Albornoz, Rivera, and Grieshaber, and in some of my own previous studies, it became evident that despite the early republican decrees abolishing Indian community ownership over their lands, such land-owning communities in fact continued to exist uninterrupted throughout the early republican years and survived well into the late 19th century.[1] Nor was this pattern unique to Bolivia, but could also be seen in Peru and Mexico as well.

In the case of Bolivia specifically, the long-term economic stagnation of republican society meant that the discriminatory head tax on Indians (or tributo) became the single most important source of government revenue after 1825, which helps to explain long-term government reluctance to challenge the economic viability of the free communities. That same stagnation explains the lack of expansion of the hacienda system, for the haciendas were in fact quite market-responsive and could not expand unless there was a corresponding expansion in the national economy.

But the factors of government dependence on Indian taxes and lack of a market for hacienda products still are not sufficient to explain the persistence of the free communities' dominant landownership of rural Bolivia until the 1880s. Rather, it will be argued that positive free-community response to the national market was a fundamental factor in allowing the free communities to survive. From the experience of the free communities in the 19th century, it will be seen that despite their primary orientation toward exchange market mechanisms, the peasants in the free communities were market-responsive in order to protect their landholdings. In fact, they were so successful in responding to market incentives and in generating savings in cash that only the use of force could finally destroy their control over their lands. Thus, despite major growth in the national market, which both encouraged hacienda expansion and lessened government dependence on tribute and associated Indian-generated revenues, the free communities were able to compete with the haciendas as market-oriented producers. Moreover, from the 1880s on, when the government forced Indians to own their lands as individuals, free-community governments were still able to successfully maintain traditional ayllu ownership for some time despite the total lack of legal recognition. Thus only the use of violence and fraud after the 1880s finally ended the peasants' ability to compete in the national market and to protect their lands.

To analyze this problem I have selected the region of Bolivia known as the department of La Paz, in the highland and eastern escarpment valleys of northern Bolivia just south of Lake Titicaca. Encompassing some 138,000 square kilometers, the six highland and valley provinces which make up the core of the department[2] are the traditional home of the major pre-conquest Aymara kingdoms, and throughout the colonial period and into the 19th century constituted the most densely settled Amerindian peasant region in the Andes.[3] This is also the zone which contains the effective capital of the republic, the city of La Paz, and in turn was the major rail and commercial center of the new republic of Bolivia in the 19th century. In fact, from the late 18th century, the city of La Paz emerged as the primary city of the southern highlands, and it remains to this day Bolivia's principal metropolis. It was also the commercial and administrative center for the most densely populated and largest peasant region in Bolivia, the fastest-growing urban center in 19th-century Bolivia, and therefore the urban center most responsive to changes in the export sector of the economy. The department of La Paz thus provides an important case study for testing hypotheses about the peasant response to market conditions in the Andean region.

Unfortunately for this study, details of the 19th-century national market are as yet unavailable. Thus direct evidence of changing prices for peasant- and hacienda-produced foodstuffs and other crops is simply not available. Because of the lack of such evidence, it is necessary to use more scattered and indirect evidence for examining the problem of markets and peasant response. One excellent alternative source for such a study is the size and distribution of the rural labor force as measured in the special Indian censuses of the 18th and 19th centuries.

To analyze the Indian census data, it is essential to describe their origins and their definitions. The padron de indios--or revisita, as these censuses were called--go back to the 16th century. Justifying a special head tax on Indians as a repayment for christianization and education, and for use of their lands, the Crown demanded an annual income from all male heads of households in the Indian peasant communities. At first collected in kind and given to a representative of the Crown in the person of a Spanish encomendero, most tribute tax by the end of the 16th century was collected directly for the Crown and was paid in specie.

By forcing the Indians in the communities to pay their tribute (tributo) tax in cash, the Crown was of course also forcing them into the market to obtain cash for their tax purposes. Thus from the mid-16th century on, the Indian communities were either forced to sell their products in the urban and Spanish markets for cash, and/or sell their labor on the Spanish-controlled labor markets. Since the kurakas, or Indian nobility, and the jilakatas, or village leaders, were made responsible by the Crown for the collection of the tribute as well as the organization of any forced draft labor required by the government or private individuals (e.g., the mita, or forced labor for the mines), the entire tribute system reinforced self-government and the independent rule of the free communities. While the head tax was made to correspond to the number of landowning heads of households in the community, the tax was in fact collected only from the leaders of the community as a corporate body.

Because of the 16th- and 17th-century demographic crisis, the number of Indians declined after 1650; thus the tax base was constantly shrinking. Since the Crown initially charged the tax on a fixed basis, it was soon forced by peasant opposition to make the tax more responsive to the actual number of heads of household who were present in any given year. Thus, early on, systematic censuses were collected, so that by the latter part of the 18th century, especially after the reform of the census in 1786, the padrones became complete modern-style censuses of all persons living in the community.

Before analyzing the structure of these censuses in detail, some further reflections on the changing impact of the tribute are worth noting. At first the Crown charged the tribute tax only on landholding heads of households in the communities. But the relative delay in adjustment of the tax burden on the declining population put tremendous pressure on the landholding Indian peasants, and by the early 17th century many peasants were attempting to escape these onerous obligations of both taxation and forced mine or other labor. Many Indians fled to the distant lowland frontiers, and some escaped into the cities, there to form a new intermediate social class of persons known as cholos or mestizos. But the majority of peasants remained in the regions they knew and continued their traditional work roles. They did this either by leaving their home communities and residing in the communities of other Indians as landless laborers, or they went to work for the Spaniards who were organizing private agricultural estates on the empty lands left by the Indians. The first group of landless migrant peasants in the free communities were given the name of foreigners (forasteros) or added persons (agregados), while those living on the estates of the Spaniards were known by the traditional pre-Columbian term of yanaconas, or Indians with no ayllu or kin

and land ties. In both cases, in fact, access to land was the primary form of payment for work rendered (for the originario or the hacendado), with the forasteros of course having far more security of tenure and rights than the yanaconas.

Initially, the Crown made no effort to expand its taxation to these new groups of peasants, on the grounds that the tax was essentially a payment for land ownership. But so important had both of these landless groups of peasants become by the 18th century, and so reduced were the landowning, or original, members of the communities (originarios), that the Crown decided to expand the tax to all Indian peasants no matter what their land status. Thus in 1734 the Crown decreed that all Indians were now to pay an annual tribute tax. Nevertheless, the different wealth of landowning versus landless peasants was recognized and the Crown decreed that yanaconas and forasteros were only to pay a flat 5 pesos (or 8 reales) per annum for their tribute. This immediately relieved the pressure on the originarios in the communities, but added a new tax burden on the community itself.[4]

Although no concrete data exist on what occurred in the communities after 1734, it can be inferred from later evidence that the role of the forastero was changed by this decree. More and more, they appear as fixed to their new community, almost as much as the originarios. Soon there occur in the colonial and republican documents distinctions between forasteros with some access to lands and forasteros with no access whatsoever, or even referred to as later arrivals. As for the yanaconas, it would seem that the Spanish hacendados were forced to pay their tax themselves in order to make work on the haciendas more attractive.

From 1734, then, there occur censuses every five years or so which distinguish Indians by their access to land and their residence on haciendas or in free communities. Moreover, from the beginning, the Crown had charged a differential rate among Indian originarios on the basis of the quality and productivity of their lands. In fact, the province of La Paz had the highest tribute rates of any region in South America, principally for the extraordinarily rich lands of the coca-growing valleys of the eastern Andean cordillera known as the Yungas.[5]

Thus the censuses give not only the standard age and sex breakdowns, but an index of community wealth, landownership, and peasant residence. Moreover, because of the crisis of the national economy after 1825, the Bolivian government in 1831 decided to maintain the colonial tribute despite Bolívar's decrees to the contrary, because of the crucial economic importance this tribute would play in terms of government income. Whereas the tribute in the region of Bolivia had been an important but only secondary source of income after mining and commerce in the colonial period, it now became the largest and the most overwhelmingly important source of government revenues in the republic of Bolivia until the late 1850s.

Table 1

Relative Importance of Tribute Income in Total Government Revenues in 19th-Century Bolivia (in pesos)

Year	Tribute Income	Tribute as % of Total Gov't. Income
1831	716,543	43%
1832	600,453	34
1833	650,208	39
1835	677,694	39
1836	685,695	43
1838	759,695	53
1839	745,287	36
1841	670,115	31
1843	756,740	40
1844	766,939	32
1846	864,239	36
1847	877,904	35
1848	655,635	27
1849	637,474	28
1852	664,156	28
1853	572,222	24
1854	498,438	20
1862	699,636	26
1863	790,057	35
1867	531,946	17
1868	459,994	13
1869	381,805	8
1871	424,723	14
1880	764,152	23

SOURCE: Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz, Indios y tributos en Alto Peru (Lima, 1978), p. 198.

The cause for this importance of tribute income is not hard to find. The wars of independence has been long and destructive. International trade had been upset for Bolivia even prior to the war, and, finally, most of the mines were flooded and could only be reopened at enormous expense. With little national capital and no foreign capital available, Bolivian silver production continued its long decline, reaching an extraordinarily low point in the 1820s and 1830s. Thus the Bolivian government under Santa Cruz in 1831 decided to reinstitute the colonial tribute and continue with the revisitas, or censuses, on the colonial style. By this

opposition. Several white legislators even wrote pamphlets protesting the land laws and demanding justice for the Indians. With the overthrow of Melgarejo in January of 1870, the land confiscations were revoked.[8]

It quickly became apparent, however, that general elite opinion did not disagree with Melgarejo and his land ideas--only with his timing and execution. Access to Indian lands under the Melgarejo decrees had really been limited to people with political influence. Moreover, the boom in the mining sector was still absorbing most of the available capital within the republic. Thus it was not until the maturation of the silver industry in the late 1870s that enough capital was finally made available for alternative investments. Concurrently, the growth in the urban centers now created enough of a national market and enough capital for the elite to begin to invest seriously in rural lands. By the late 1870s, such investment began in earnest and enough pressure finally built up among the elite that the government repented the abolition of the Melgarejo decree and in 1874 issued a new and definitive decree abolishing corporate ownership in land and forcing all Indians to purchase their lands.

But the rulers of 1874 had profited by the experience of the previous decade. The new decree dealt only with the supposedly "unworked" lands of the ayllu and permitted their sale and alienation, giving the impression that the worked plots belonged to the Indians inalienably. The language of the decree also spoke of "ex-vinculation," meaning the end of communal property and an assumption of individual ownership, implying as well that both discriminatory taxation and labor obligations, along with their separate government, were being removed from the Indians so that they could participate as co-equal citizens without discriminatory treatment. Finally, the enabling decrees were not issued until 1880, thus permitting time for adjustment.

The result of this more cautious approach was that Indian response was initially confused and quite legalistic. Thus, no Indian mass movements took place initially, and only in the next decade did the tempo of guerras de casta intensify as the Indians began to realize the fraudulent nature of the law. In 1895 and 1896, rebellion spread throughout the highlands, affecting most of the altiplano provinces of La Paz. Then, in 1899, a major peasant army was organized by the Aymara kurakas in alliance with the Liberals in the federal revolution of that year, with the Indians demanding an end to the sale of their lands. The result, in fact, was a temporary halt to the sales in 1900-1901. But the Liberals quickly rejected this compromise, and not only were sales intensified, but the leaders of the Indian forces were executed by the government.[9]

Thus, despite violent protest and the supposedly "liberal" nature of the law, the post-1880 period in fact saw a fundamental attack on the free-community lands. Allowing sale of "unused" lands permitted the alienation of core lands of the corporate ayllu, and it took little effort to challenge the land titles of the remaining comunarios. Moreover, in contrast to the limited number of interested persons, largely speculators, in the 1860s confiscations, in the 1880s there now existed an active class of entrepreneurs ready to take an active role in agricultural production. A new class of wealthy urban elite had now been created in the urban centers, especially La Paz, who wanted to invest in rural lands. Denied access to

the increasingly industrialized and monopolized mining sector, which now relied mainly on foreign capital, they found altiplano haciendas an ideal outlet for their new wealth.[10] In 1881, Augustín Aspiazu, the Bolivian director of the 1880 cadastral survey (which replaced the tithes with a land tax for whites and cholos), claimed that the value and production of puna, or highland, haciendas had doubled between 1860 and 1880. The reasons for this growth, he argued, were to be found in the increase in national population and the incredible "security for capital employed in this type of investment." Buying a highland estate, one did not have to add any investments in animals, buildings, or machinery, since the work for usufruct land arrangements on traditional haciendas guaranteed that the peones (or pongos-colonos) supplied all of the basic necessities, including the seed and farm implements. Moreover, he noted, urban demand was so strong for highland food products that prices continued to rise and demand seemed inelastic. For this reason, the director continued, banks were delighted to lend money on land titles to puna estates and there was no problem in mortgaging these estates to a high percentage of their value.[11] Given these conditions, the incentive to reduce the initial cost factor even further by using government troops to seize lands from "rebellious" Indians was an irresistible temptation that led to a massive assault on Indian landownership.

The resulting process of purchase or theft of title from a few Indian originarios and then ejection of the entire community which in practice still worked as a corporate entity was one practiced everywhere as inroads were made against all communities. The process was crude, fraudulent, and filled with bloodshed, and took some 30 years to accomplish. It was carried out in the face of many Indian rebellions and with liberal use of the army as a police force to enforce the change in landownership. The results of this campaign can be seen in the basic statistics in Table 2.

Table 2

Communities and Haciendas in the Department of La Paz, 1846 and 1941

Region	1846 Communities	1846 Haciendas	1941 Communities	1941 Haciendas
Puna	716	500	161	3,193
Medio Valle	106	795	63	4,538
Valle	14	28	22	101
Yungas	43	302	36	675
TOTAL	879	1,625	282	8,507

SOURCE: Daniele Demelas, Nationalisme sans nation? La Bolivie aux xix-xx siecles (Paris, 1980), p. 163. She bases her statistics and geographic divisions on Dalence and the data in La Paz en su IV Centenrario, vol. 1.

This, in bare outline, is the history of the process of rural land ownership in Bolivia in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. In a schematic way, it outlines the history from the perspective of the elite. But it is evident that the role of the peasant was not a passive one in this period and that violence was fundamental to the whole process.

What was occurring among the peasantry during this crucial period? As noted before, the 16th- and 17th-century reforms had created a multi-class system in the rural areas. From all types of records, it is clear that the communities entered the market and obtained cash either for their products or from their members who sold their labor. Each community had its own caja, or treasury, which contained such income. Sufficient surplus was generated beyond the needs of royal taxation so that the Crown used this surplus caja income to provide mortgage funds (or censos) to Spaniards wishing to invest in rural lands or improve their haciendas. These funds were invested at interest, and while defaulting on Indian community loans was not uncommon, enough judicial evidence exists to show that income was reasonably guaranteed for the communities.

Equally, evidence exists that government officials were also able to extract considerable cash from the Indians in the colonial period. Thus in lieu of reasonable salaries, the Crown permitted its rural officials, the corregidores, to sell Indians imported merchandise as well as mules at high cost and in a required fashion. It has been estimated that some 563,000 pesos were generated in the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata from this source alone, of which 36 percent--the largest share--came from La Paz. Equally, the region of La Paz had been the largest single contributor of tribute income when it was part of the viceroyalty of Peru prior to 1776.[12] Thus, in these three ways alone, rather large sums of money were extracted from the free communities, clearly indicating that they in turn had the ability to generate such sums from the market.

A less direct indication of this ability was the unusual activity which occurred within the rural communities of the altiplano when the external pressures extracting this surplus were reduced. Thus in the century-long crises in silver mining from 1650-1750, the revisitas noted a decline in the number of haciendas, many listing themselves with no yanaconas whatsoever. This was clearly the result of the rather precipitous collapse of the urban markets and the decline in urban population during the depression, which in turn forced a stagnation if not withdrawal of the hacienda in the rural areas. During this same period, the free communities were investing heavily in community churches throughout the highlands of the province of La Paz. This in fact was the most extraordinary period of major and very expensive church construction in rural Bolivia, and the Indian and cholo artisans employed even produced their own unique and original mestizo art style employing many pre-conquest and rural Indian motifs.

Accepting a theme in the dependency literature, it might be suggested that the decline of direct exploitation from the center permitted the rural periphery to save more of the income it generated and invest it in projects which it deemed important. While the Indian communities must have also suffered from a decline in the urban markets, the continued vitality of the exchange markets and their increasing importance may have

compensated them sufficiently to guarantee the funds necessary to undertake this costly church construction.

But what was occurring in the period of national economic growth in the 19th century which permitted the peasants to continue to respond to the market as hacienda pressures increased and demands on their resources escalated? How did the internal organization of the ayllus change so that the communities survived? To answer these questions in even the most preliminary way, it is essential to analyze the changing roles of the various peasant groups in 18th- and 19th-century Bolivia as seen from the perspective of the revisitas of the department of La Paz from 1786 to 1877.[13]

A detailed analysis of these censuses shows that the Indian peasant population subject to taxation was increasing throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, despite the pestilence and famines of the first decade of the 19th century and the virulent epidemic of 1856, male Indian tributary-age population in all categories was growing throughout this period. While it would be useful to compare age and sex ratios and total populations, it turns out that we are limited in the analysis only to the male tributarios. Only from 1786 until the censuses of the 1830s do government officials systematically record women and children. Though numbers are still given for women and children after that date, these categories are systematically under-recorded in all regions. Thus, while the tributario population continues to increase, the nontributary population begins to decline in the censuses of the 1850s through the last censuses of the late 1870s. Checking sex ratios and women and child ratios in this period, it is obvious that women and children were simply not properly recorded as in the earlier period. This inaccuracy in the post-1830s censuses renders useless all attempts to estimate population growth or decline using only the total population figures, and thus, for example, vitiates some of Greishaber's recent interpretations of mid-19th-century Indian population history.

Thus the following tables are limited to the male tributary population alone: those males holding land and/or were heads of households and were between the ages of 18 and 50. As is evident in Table 3, the fastest-growing segment of the rural population throughout the 90-year period were forasteros living on ayllus. Defined as such by their limited access to land, the forastero population in the major highland and valley regions experienced very rapid rates of growth in excess of the total tributary population.

Table 3

The Tributary Population of the Department of La Paz
Broken Down by Land Categories, 1786-1877

Land Category	1780s (%)	1830s (%)	1850s (%)	1870s (%)
Originarios	10,259 (26)	11,599 (20)	12,941 (19)	13,123 (19)
Forasteros	13,105 (33)	25,805 (44)	31,108 (46)	33,441 (48)
Yanaconas	16,300 (41)	21,277 (36)	23,305 (35)	22,899 (33)
TOTALS	39,664 (100)	58,681 (100)	67,354 (100)	69,463 (100)

SOURCES: The colonial censuses were found in Sala XIII of the Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires) and the 19th-century censuses were housed in the Archivo de La Paz (Universidad Mayor de San Andres) and the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (Sucre). The provinces treated were Chulumani, Larecaja, Pacajes, Omasuyos, Sicasica, and the region of the city of La Paz called the Cercado. All of these provinces were reorganized in the 19th century, and I have regrouped all towns according to the 1786 definitions. (See Map 1 in appendix.) Thus the new 19th-century provinces of Inquisivi and Muñecas were regrouped again with their original provinces, Pacajes and Larecaja respectively. Also I eliminated several Yungas pueblos which were alternately given and taken away from La Paz department. Many of these end up tied to the newly enlarged Cercado district in the 1840s. Thus in the following tables the colonial Cercado figures are not used for comparative purposes. Finally, all of these reorganizations and eliminations designed to make a geographically consistent unit mean that my total figures will be somewhat under the official government figures published for this period in 1901 (see appendix table 2); also my exclusion of "pueblo" Indians and the use of different revisitas (see n. 13) will mean that my total tributario figures will not agree exactly with those of Grieshaber (see appendix tables 4-6).

Though forasteros were only third in importance in the late colonial period, by 1877 they made up just under half of the region's total tributario population, and were now the most important of the tributary groups. Though both the originario and yanacona populations also grew at this time, their rates of increase were not as rapid. This growth meant that during the entire period of expansion of the national export sector, the ayllu population grew even faster than the hacienda population. Given the fact that ayllus themselves remained stable or even declined somewhat in numbers, this meant that in most regions the actual size of the population on the ayllus was increasing greatly during the entire century until 1880.

Table 4

Average Number of Male Tributarios (18-50 years of age) per Ayllu in the Department of La Paz, 1786-1877
(Originarios & Forasteros)

Province	1780s	1830s	1850s	1870s
Pacajes	64	91	116	118
Omasuyos	56	83	106	114
Sicasica	52	99	105	n.a.
Larecaja	38	52	51	n.a.
Chulumani	52	56	61	44
Cercado	...	...	65	45
Department	52 (451)[a]	...	97 (456)	...

Notes: [a]Number of Ayllus. Given that the total number of ayllus is currently unavailable for a complete listing of the 1830s and 1870s period, the Departmental totals have not been calculated. Nor are such total units obtainable from the survey done by Grieshaber.

SOURCE: Same as table 3. The Larecaja total for 1838 is combined with the earliest extant revisita for Muñecas, which is 1848.

The one exception to this overall pattern is the unique coca-growing region of the eastern cordillera valleys known as the Yungas or Chulumani. This was a region with a long history of powerful haciendas and wealthy but reduced ayllus. Much of this region in fact was virgin territory until well into the late colonial period.[14] In the 19th century, Chulumani was especially severely hit by the decline in mining production because of the key market for coca consumption in the mines. This, plus the tight land situation and the relentless pressure of the local haciendas, created a unique situation in the Yungas valley regions. On its ayllus, average population fluctuated in a random way, and by the end of this period, the average size of the ayllu and the relative importance of the originario had not changed significantly. Nor was there to be any significant change either in the size of the hacienda--a common experience, as we will see--but also in the actual number of yanacona tributaries.

If the ayllu population was expanding rapidly, what was happening on the haciendas? As total population figures revealed, the yanacona population was increasing moderately throughout the period. But given the number of haciendas abandoned--or without workers (sin gente) as the officials eloquently put it--left over from the previous years of depression, the increase of yanaconas could easily be met by filling abandoned estates or adding new ones. Thus average size of haciendas remained remarkably stable in all regions except for Omasuyos.

Table 5

Average Number of Male Tributarios (Yanaconas) per Hacienda in the Department of La Paz, 1786-1877

Province	1780s	1830s	1850s	1870s
Pacajes	17	33	37	33
Omasuyos	29	32	41	41
Sicasica	16	19	19	n.a.
Larecaja	10	14	10	n.a.
Chulumani	15	15	16	17
Cercado	...	...	24	21
Department	17 (976)	...	22 (1073)	...

SOURCE: Same as table 3.

Why Omasuyos, the province along the eastern rim of Lake Titicaca, was exempt from the general pattern is difficult to determine from the limited evidence currently available. The number of its haciendas increased from only 173 units in the 1780s to 196 units in the 1870s, but its yanaconas grew much faster. Interestingly, Omasuyos also had an unusually rapid growth in its forastero population as well.

That the department of La Paz was not unique in this respect can be seen from the scattered evidence from many of the other regions, and from the often alternative estimates and calculations published by government sources, by Sánchez Albornoz, and by Grieshaber (see appendix tables 2-6). In those reports giving the relevant statistical breakdowns, it is clear that the ayllu population throughout the 19th century was increasing at a far more rapid rate than the hacienda yanacona populations, not only in the department of La Paz, but throughout the republic, with the single exception of the Cochabamba valley which was then undergoing a profound transformation of its Indian population into a cholo grouping in all categories (see especially appendix tables 4-6).

How does the exceptional growth of the forastero tributary population in the 19th century help to explain the ability of the Indian communities to survive the increasing pressures of the national market in this period of its rapid growth, most especially after 1850? Working from the analogy of the experience of the ayllus in the 16th and 17th centuries, it could be argued that the increasing pressures on the originarios and their communities created more complex internal stratification among the ayllu members. Whereas in the colonial period it was external governmental taxation and forced labor policies which were most influential, in the 19th century

it was more in the nature of demands from the urban markets, the mines, and the communications infrastructure for labor which were putting tremendous stress on the ayllus. To respond to these incessant demands for labor and to meet the ongoing costs of tribute payments, the communities encouraged the creation of a more marginal class of peasants who had less land and were more mobile in terms of labor recruitment than the originarios. The elders of the community and the wealthier originarios were thus relieved of increasing demands for lands from the growing population and at the same time were able to generate new sources of income for the community.

Tristan Platt, in his study of the province of Chayanta in the northern part of Potosí department, argues that the rapid growth of forasteros was simply the response to demographic pressures on limited land resources. Arguing that there was no increase in available tierras de origen, he believes that many descendants of originarios were forced to accept marginal lands and lesser status as forasteros.[15] But given the extremely low density of Amerindian peasant population, probably some 200,000 persons at most by the 1870s, compared to some 770,000 in the department today, such land pressure could not have been so intense.[16] Even more to the point is the fact that land pressure would have equally affected the yanaconas, in fact even more so. Yet we find that the yanaconas were not increasing as rapidly as the originarios. Between the 1830s and 1870s, the yanaconas grew by just .19 percent per annum, the originarios by .32 percent per annum, and the forasteros by an approximate compound growth rate of .66 percent per annum. Overall total tributary population grew at the rate of only .43 percent.[17] Surely the yanacona increases would have exceeded that of the originarios and been more comparable to that of the forasteros had land pressure been the only factor.[18]

Clearly land maintenance by the wealthy originarios was a factor in the growth of the forasteros. But it obviously was not the only or primary factor. Given the internal stratification in the ayllus and the control of the local government by the originarios, it is obvious that their interests predominated. But the concentration of the new population on the ayllus rather than on the haciendas would suggest that their growth was a much more complex phenomenon and one more closely tied to external market conditions and not simply a reflex of the long-term but relatively mild growth in population which in this period was still well under the contemporary European rates of 1 percent per annum.

It would appear that the pressures in terms of exactions and external demands for labor encouraged the younger members of the ayllu to enter into marginal lands and to become part-time workers outside the community. This in fact was the pattern which existed in the period up to the early 18th century when pressures on the originarios created the class of forasteros in the first place. Again faced by extreme pressures coming from the market sector, the class of forasteros was again on the rapid increase.

The success of this policy is made evident by the surprising results of our analysis of the 18th- and 19th-century revisitas. Despite all of the expansion of population and the tremendous growth of the national market in the second half of the 19th century, the population on the ayllus actually increased more rapidly than the rural population as a whole, and

the size of ayllus continued to grow steadily until 1880. Thus the free communities clearly were able, through the mechanism of the forastero class, to overcome all of the potentially destructive impacts of the rapid expansion of haciendas on the altiplano as a result of the arrival of the new road and railroad construction, the increase of urban markets, and the ever-increasing demand for mine labor which came exclusively from the free communities. This adaptability to a more modern economy was only brought to an end when the government finally forced the breakup of their lands.

But once sales were introduced and alienability of Indian lands was allowed, it became a long and losing battle for the communities successfully to maintain their borders intact and to continue operating as a corporate landowning group. Fraud quickly occurred in the lands closest to the new routes of communication, or with the most arable or irrigated lands, and with the courts refusing to protect community integrity, the decline of the ayllus was inevitable before the onslaught of this second great hacienda age.

REFERENCES

[1]See Nicolas Sánchez-Albornoz, Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú (Lima, 1978); Erwin Grieshaber, "Survival of Indian Communities in Nineteenth-Century Bolivia: A Regional Comparison," Journal of Latin American Studies, 12 (1980); Silvia Rivera, "La expansión del latifundio en el altiplano boliviano: elementos para la caracterización de una oligarquía regional," Avances (La Paz), 2 (1978); and Herbert S. Klein, "The Impact of the Crisis in 19th-Century Mining on Regional Economies: The Example of the Bolivian Yungas, 1786-1838," in David J. Robinson (ed.), Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America (Syracuse, 1979).

[2]I have excluded the lowland frontier province of Caupolican from these and subsequent calculations because it contained only recently missionized lowland Indians who had nothing in common with the core group of Aymara and Quechua peasants. Thus the 138,000 sq. kil. figure includes only the six Andean provinces of Larecaja, Sicasica, Omasuyos, Pacajes, Chulumani, and the Cercado around La Paz, along with their later 19th-century subdivisions (see n. 13).

[3]In the 1803/1807 set of padrones, for example, the Indian population of the Department (Intendencía in the colonial period) of La Paz numbered some 220,000 persons. This meant that La Paz was the most populous Indian district in both Upper and Lower Peru in the late colonial period. See Daniel J. Santamaria, "La propiedad de la tierra y la condición social del indio en el Alto Perú, 1780-1810," Desarrollo Económico (Buenos Aires), 17 (1977), p. 254, and Günter Vollmer, Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Vizekonigreich Peru zu ende der kolonialzeit (Bad Homburg von der Höhe, 1967), p. 265.

[4]Much of the above discussion is based on the ideas presented in Sánchez-Albornoz, Indios y tributo, chs. 1-2.

[5]Jurgen Golter, Repartos y rebeliones. Túpac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economia colonial (Lima, 1980), p. 71.

[6]The ideological underpinnings of the various land decrees of the late 1820s, 1831, 1866, and 1871 are analyzed in Abraham Maldonado, Derecho agrario, historia-doctrina-legislación (La Paz, 1956).

[7]The economic liberalization movement is analyzed in Antonio Mitre, Los patriarcas de la Plata. Estructura socioeconómica de la minería boliviana en el siglo XIX (Lima, 1981).

[8]All of these facts were discussed in great detail in the pamphlet literature of the period. Several of the most important and informative of these from 1871 have been reproduced in a special issue of the La Paz journal Illimani, nos. 8-9 (1976). Also see the excellent documentary collection edited by Honorio Pinto H., Contribución indígena en Bolivia, 1829-1911 (Documentos) (Lima: Colección "Fuentes de Historia Social Americana," 1979).

[9]Ramiro Condaro Morales, Zarate El "Temible" Wilka. Historia de la rebelión indígena de 1899 (La Paz, 1966).

[10]This new elite and its land purchases in Pacajes province are analyzed in Rivera, "La expansión del latifundio."

[11][Augustin Aspiazu], Informe que presenta al Señor Ministro de Hacienda el Director General de Contribuciones Directas del Departamento de La Paz (La Paz, 1881), pp. 16-18.

[12]Herbert S. Klein, "Structure and Profitability of Royal Finance in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1790," Hispanic American Historical Review, 53 (1973), and Golte, Repartos y rebeliones, loc. cit.

[13]All of the colonial revisitas are taken from the padrones collection housed in Buenos Aires in Sala XIII of the Archivo General de la Nación. The 19th-century ones are found in the special revisita collection in Sucre in the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, except for the following, found in the Archivo Histórico de La Paz of the Universidad Mayor de San Andres: Omasuyos (1863); Inquisivi (1855), and Cercado (1852). The calculations were made from the revisitas of the following years:

Province	1780s	1830s	1850s	1870s
Pacajes	1786	1838	1852	1871
Omasuyos	1792	1832	1858	1863
Sicasica	1786	1838	1858	1877
Inquisivi	...	...	1858	1877
Larecaja	1786	1838	1858	n.a.
Muñecas	...	1848	1858	n.a.
Chulumani	1786	1838	1858	1877
Cercado	n.a.	1838	1852	1877

[14]See Herbert S. Klein, "Hacienda and Free Community in Eighteenth Century Alto Peru: A Demographic Study of the Aymara Population of the Districts of Chulumani and Pacajes in 1786," Journal of Latin American Studies, 7:2 (1973), and "The Structure of the Hacendado Class in Late Eighteenth Century Alto Peru: The Intendencia of La Paz," Hispanic American Historical Review, 60:2 (1980).

[15]Tristan Platt, "El estado boliviano y el ayllu andino: tierra y tributo en el norte de Potosí" (Sucre, 1980, mimeo), p. 28.

[16]The rural Indian population of the Department of La Paz in the first formal national census of 1900 listed only some 212,000 rural persons. But a detailed breakdown by province lists a more realistic rural population of 312,000. The Indian population for the department was 315,000. República de Bolivia, Oficina Nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, Censo nacional de la población de la república de Bolivia, 1 septiembre de 1900 (2 vols.; La Paz, 1902-04), II, 41, 129, 132, 138. In the third national census of 1976, the rural population of the department was listed as some 768,000 persons. In the department as a whole, only 24 percent of the 1.3 million persons who spoke a language were monolingual in Spanish. Some 63 percent were either monolingual

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in Aymara (21 percent) or bi- or tri-lingual in that language. República de Bolivia, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Resultados del censo nacional de población y vivienda, 1976 (La Paz, 1978), vol. 2: "Departmento de La Paz," pp. 25, 58.

[17] In Grieshaber's figures, the same general pattern emerges. Total ayllu population in the Department of La Paz grew at the approximate annual average growth rate of .54 percent (.54 percent nationally) in this same period. The hacienda population grew at .05 percent annually (-.10 percent nationally), and the total tributary population at .37 percent (.36 percent nationally).

[18] Interestingly, most of the growth took place between the 1830s and 1850s, and slowed considerably in the last period from the 1850s to the 1870s. Thus total population grew at the approximate compound annual rate of .69 percent in the first period and only .18 percent thereafter. Originarios increased at .55 percent initially and then at only .07 percent thereafter; forasteros reached the very impressive figure of .93 percent per annum to the 1850s and at half that rate afterward (.38 percent). Yanaconas actually declined at -.09 percent in the post-1850s period as against a pre-mid-century positive rate of .45 percent. This slower growth is puzzling to explain, especially in light of the decline in rates for both ayllu and hacienda tributarios. Thus a simple explanation of increasing market pressures is insufficient. It is quite possible that the epidemics of the 1850s did in fact have a very profound impact on growth rates in later decades.

Map 1

The Provinces of the Department of La Paz in 1786

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Map 2

Major Indian Provinces in 19th Century Bolivia

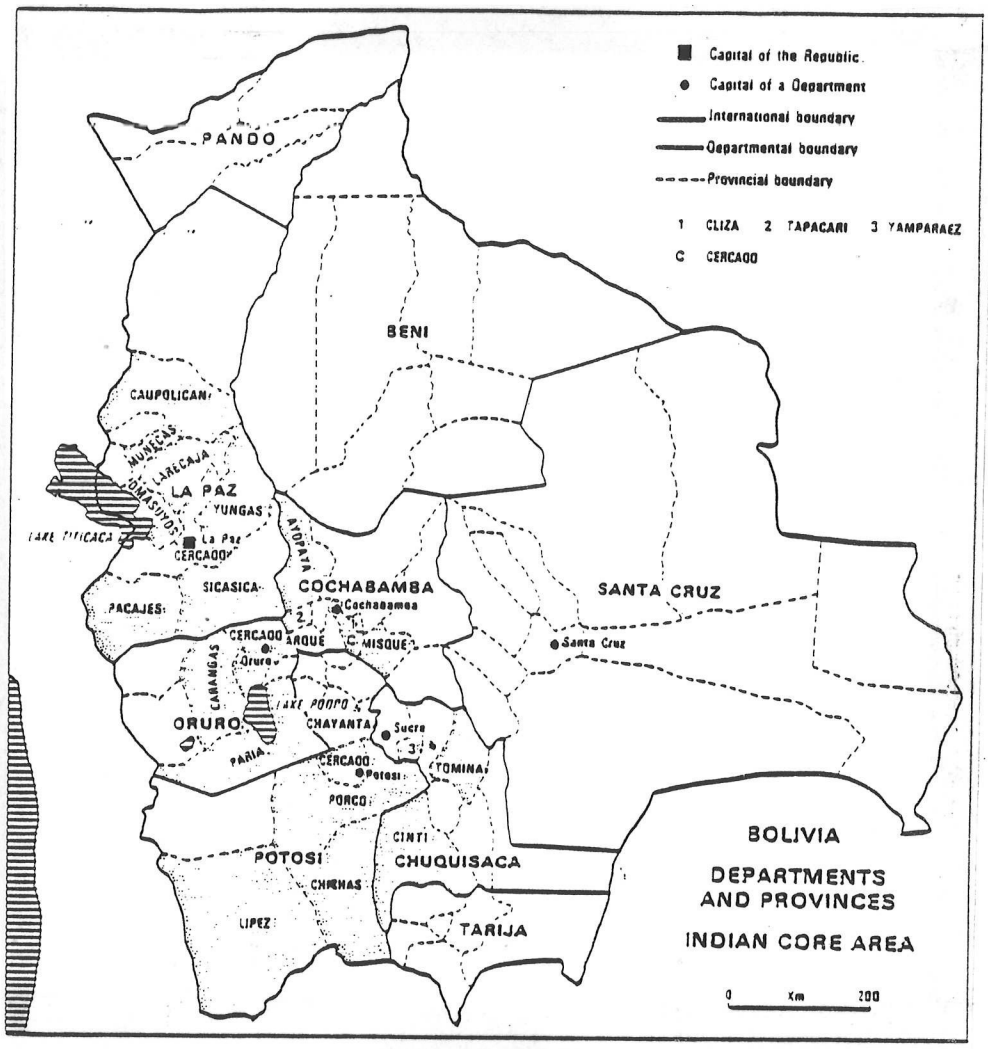

Table 1

Silver Production in Bolivia, 1550-1909
(Output per decade in marks of silver)

Decade	Average Annual Production	Maximum Year Output	Minimum Year Output
1550-59	278,055	379,244	207,776
1560-69	241,348	284,443	216,516
1570-79	278,093	613,344	114,878
1580-89	750,073	865,185	668,517
1590-99	803,272	887,448	723,591
1600-09	762,391	844,153	624,666
1610-19	666,082	746,947	620,477
1620-29	590,900	646,543	536,473
1630-39	598,287	793,596	530,674
1640-49	520,859	619,543	463,799
1650-59	461,437	523,604	424,745
1660-69	362,425	398,459	321,889
1670-79	343,478	380,434	289,216
1680-89	370,646	409,328	326,904
1690-99	290,526	375,459	236,935
1700-09	198,404	226,186	178,087
1710-19	152,696	198,682	114,310
1720-29	145,555	200,693	119,576
1730-39	140,186 e*	169,707	82,811
1740-49	92,119 e	111,947	81,081
1750-59	123,864 e	126,957	115,373
1760-69	142,114	158,883	117,323
1770-79	170,381	242,067	150,746
1780-89	378,170	416,676	335,848
1790-99	385,283	404,025	369,371
1800-09	297,472	371,416	194,535
1810-19	208,032	338,034	67,347
1820-29	156,110	177,727	132,433
1830-39	188,319	228,154	169,035
1840-49	191,923	256,064	142,029
1850-59	201,482	224,313	189,573
1860-69	344,435 e	391,304	312,174
1870-79	955,629 e	1,150,770	391,304
1880-89	1,111,568 e	1,660,804	597,686
1890-99	1,655,762	2,630,907	1,202,927
1900-09	799,791	1,288,452	385,522

Notes: e signifies estimated production figures. All production figures after 1859 have been converted from kilograms to marks at the conversion rate of 230 grams = 1 mark. With production data currently

(continued)

APPENDICES

Table 1
Notes (continued)

unavailable for the years 1734-1755, I used the tax figures given in Sierra. A multiplier of .52 was used to convert the pesos corrientes to marks of silver. This figure came from the ratio found between Sierra's tax figures and Rück's production figures in the period 1756-1760. The number .52 was the highest in a range that began at .43.

SOURCES: Peter J. Bakewell, "Registered Silver Production in Potosí, 1550-1735," Jahrbuch fur geschicte von staat, wirtschaft und gesellschaft Lateinamerikas, 12 (1975), table 1, 92-97; Ernesto Rück, Guia general de Bolivia, Primer Año (Sucre, 1865), pp. 170-171 for 1755-1859; [Lamberto de Sierra], 'Manifiesto' de la plata extraida del cerro de Potosí, 1556-1800 (Buenos Aires, 1971), pp. 35-37 for the years 1735-1754; Adolf Soetbeer, Edelmetall-production und werthverhaltniss zwischen gold und silber (Gotha, 1879), pp. 78-79 for 1860-1875; The Mining Industry, Its Statistics, Technology and Trade, vol. I (1892), p. 207 for 1876-1891; ibid., vol. II (1893), p. 333 for 1892-1893; ibid., vol. VII (1898), p. 203 for 1894; República de Bolivia, Oficina Nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, Geografia de la república de Bolivia (La Paz, 1905), pp. 354-55 for 1895-1904; and Walter Gomez, La mineria en el desarrollo económico de Bolivia (La Paz, 1978), pp. 218-220 for 1905-1909.

Table 2

Male Tributary Population in the Provinces of the Department of La Paz, 1852-1877
(all categories combined)

Provinces[a]	1852	1856	1858	1862	1863	1867	1869	1870	1871	1877
Cercado	5,750	...	5,058	...	5,263	4,583	...	...	...	4,986
Pacajes	14,750	...	13,943	...	14,395	14,616	11,920	...	15,348	15,613
Larecaja	4,168	3,952	3,616	...	3,731	3,081	3,450	...	3,718	3,816
Omasuyos	19,066	...	19,358	...	19,843	20,222	...	...	20,307	21,001
Inquisivi	3,317	...	2,553	...	2,955	3,905	...	3,488	3,252	3,467
Yungas	5,714	...	5,731	...	5,444	...	4,226	...	4,794	4,800
Sicasica	9,566	...	9,560	...	10,001	7,546	7,182	...	10,846	11,335
Muñecas	5,579	...	7,788	5,897	...	5,949	...	...	5,736	5,736
TOTAL	67,910		67,607							70,754

Notes: [a]The lowland ex-mission frontier province of Caupolican has been excluded from this and all other tables.

SOURCE: República de Bolivia, Oficina Nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, Boletín (La Paz), vol. I (1901), pp. 515-516.

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Table 3

Indian Tributarios in the Department of La Paz in 1856, by Category of Tributario

Province	Originarios	Forasteros & Agregados	Yanaconas & Uros
Cercado	578	2,377	2,637
Ingavi	2,264	8,466	2,828
Omasuyos	869	9,318	8,862
Larecaja	997	1,151	2,020
Yungas	862	712	4,251
Sicasica	2,380	...	7,309
Inquisivi	471	1,878	968
Muñecas	1,900	2,596	1,742
Total	10,321	26,498	30,617
TOTAL REPUBLIC	27,110	76,847	30,738

SOURCE: Sánchez Albornoz, Indios y tributos, p. 40; citing an official survey of 1856 in manuscript form in the ANB in Sucre. Given the lack of extant revisitas for many of these districts (see above table 2 in the appendix), and the lack of yanaconas in the rest of the republic, its reliability can be questioned.

Table 4

Grieshaber's Calculations of Male Tributary Population, 1838

Provinces & Departments	Total Male Tributarios	Ayllu Tributarios (Orig. & Forastero)	Hacienda Tributarios (Yanaconas)
La Paz Dept.	61,289	38,329	22,308
Cercado	5,801	2,847	2,778
Omasuyos	15,667	8,790	6,877
Pacajes	13,791	11,162	2,417
Yungas	5,968	2,151	3,662
Sicasica (1842)	10,864	7,648	3,216
Larecaja	3,879	1,724	2,046
Muñecas (1826)	5,319	4,007	1,312
Potosí Dept.	30,802	26,441	3,675
Oruro Dept.	14,217	10,448	3,656
Cochabamba Dept.	11,163	6,783	4,284
Chuquisaca Dept.	5,083	3,379	1,517
TOTAL REPUBLIC[a]	124,312	87,103	35,475

Notes: [a]I have excluded from these calculations his category of pueblo tributarios.

SOURCE: Erwin P. Grieshaber, "Survival of Indian Communities in Nineteenth Century Bolivia: A Regional Comparison," Journal of Latin American Studies, vol. 12 (1980), pp. 226-31.

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Table 5

Grieshaber's Calculations of Male Tributary Population in 1858

Departments & Provinces	Total Male Tributarios	Ayllu Tributarios (Orig. & Forastero)	Hacienda Tributarios (Yanaconas)
La Paz Dept.	67,825	44,512	22,704
Cercado	5,486	2,991	2,401
Omasuyos	19,356	11,447	7,909
Pacajes	15,423	12,606	2,498
Yungas (1852)	5,825	2,246	3,464
Sicasica	12,215	8,772	3,443
Larecaja (1863)	3,731	2,089	1,561
Muñecas	5,789	4,361	1,428
Potosí Dept.	31,183	27,573	3,204
Oruro Dept.	17,700	13,345	4,206
Cochabamba Dept.	8,245	5,380	2,821
Chuquisaca Dept.	5,636	4,129	1,284
TOTAL REPUBLIC	133,905	98,189	34,285

SOURCE: Erwin P. Grieshaber, "Survival of Indian Communities in Nineteenth Century Bolivia: A Regional Comparison," Journal of Latin American Studies, vol. 12 (1980), pp. 226-31.

Table 6

Grieshaber's Calculations of Male Tributarios in 1877

Departments & Provinces	Total Male Tributarios	Ayllu Tributarios (Orig. & Forasteros)	Hacienda Tributarios (Yanaconas)
La Paz Dept.	70,821	47,358	22,774
Cercado	4,832	2,784	1,939
Omasuyos	21,129	12,628	8,504
Pacajes	17,326	14,160	2,785
Yungas	4,800	2,019	2,737
Sicasica	13,182	9,290	3,892
Larecaja	3,816	2,087	1,574
Muñecas	5,736	4,390	1,346
Potosi Dept.	36,857	32,391	4,096
Oruro Dept.	20,015	15,410	4,457
Cochabamba Dept.	6,900	4,985	1,843
Chuquisaca Dept.	5,387	4,238	940
TOTAL REPUBLIC	143,357	107,759	34,110

SOURCE: Erwin P. Grieshaber, "Survival of Indian Communities in Nineteenth Century Bolivia: A Regional Comparison," Journal of Latin American Studies, vol. 12 (1980), pp. 226-31.