“Space and Place in Latin American History”

Historians of Latin America are increasingly turning to questions of space to understand how localities, regions, and territories have been transformed under different circumstances and in different periods of time. This thriving original scholarship has reinterpreted historical events in new and productive ways. New research has recast our understandings of familiar places we once thought immutable and contributed to our knowledge of important historical forces such as imperialism, nation-states, urbanization, capitalism, and subaltern politics.

This workshop provided a dialogue for spatial historians of Latin America who are working on diverse topics and using different methods. Can we find common ground within this rich diversity? In what ways do the concerns of spatial historians of Latin America diverge from or dovetail with the spatial histories of other world regions, and their colonial and postcolonial experience? What are the most promising lines of future research?

Agenda

FRIDAY, May 20, 2011
Location: UC San Diego Campus, The Village West, Meeting Rooms on Fifteen

8:45 am - 9:00 am | Opening Remarks
Alberto Díaz-Cayeros, Associate Professor and Director, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, IR/PS, UC San Diego

9:00 am | Presentation #1
Discussant: Patricia Seed, Professor, History, School of Humanities, UC Irvine
“Mapping Mesoamerican Colonial Indigenous Economies in the Late Eighteenth Century” [Presentation]
Ricardo Fagoaga Hernández, Visiting pre-doctoral Fellow, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, IR/PS, UC San Diego

10:00 am | Presentation #2
Discussant: Gabriela Soto Laveaga, Associate Professor, Department of History, UC Santa Barbara
“Transatlantic Visions and Regional Designs: Cartography in the Making of an Independent Colombian Republic, 1799-1827” [Presentation]
Lina María del Castillo, Visiting Scholar, Department of History, University of Texas, Austin

11:00 am - 11:15 am | Break

11:15 am | Presentation #3
Discussant: Eric Van Young, Department of History, UC San Diego
“Narrating Space and Place: Rio de Janeiro in the Novels of Machado de Assis in Rio de Janeiro”
Zephyr Frank, Associate Professor of Latin American History, Stanford University

12:15 pm - 1:15 pm | Lunch Break
1:15 pm | Presentation #4

Discussant: Exequiel Ezcurra, Director of UC-Mexus at the UC Riverside

“Mapping Mesoamerican Colonial Indigenous Economies in the Late Eighteenth Century” [Presentation]
Matt Vitz, Visiting post-doctoral Fellow, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, IR/PS, UC San Diego

2:15 pm | Presentation #5

Discussant: Mikael Wolfe, Assistant Professor, Department of History, UCLA

“Global Trade, Contracts and Poverty Alleviation in Indigenous Communities: Cochineal in Mexico” [Presentation]
Alberto Díaz Cayeros, Associate Professor; Director, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, IR/PS, UC San Diego

3:15 pm - 3:30 pm | Break

3:30 pm | Presentation #7

Discussant: Chuck Walker, Professor, Director of the Hemispheric Institute on the Americas, UC Davis

“Geography into History: Mobility, Place, Region and Scale in Los Altos de Guatemala” [Presentation]
Aaron Pollack, Professor, Instituto Mora, Mexico City

4:30 pm | Closing Remarks

Alberto Díaz Cayeros, Associate Professor; Director, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies
Mapping Mesoamerican Colonial Indigenous Economies in the Late Eighteenth Century

Ricardo A. Fagoaga H.
“Lack of Proportion”

“Territorial Constriction”

“Exaggerated”

“Ridiculous Things”
Table 1. Rankings of all the political jurisdictions or alcaldías mayores of New Spain according to the manuscript “Yndize comprehensivo...” of 1770

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>1st Class</th>
<th>1st-2nd Class</th>
<th>2nd Class</th>
<th>2nd-3rd Class</th>
<th>3rd Class</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OAXACA</td>
<td>13 jur</td>
<td>47349/17.31%</td>
<td>7 jur</td>
<td>19365/7.08%</td>
<td>4 jur</td>
<td>27593/10.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEXICO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 jur</td>
<td>5087/1.86%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUEBLA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 jur</td>
<td>11120/4.06%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN LUIS POTOSI</td>
<td>2 jur</td>
<td>12077/4.41%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUANAJUATO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 jur</td>
<td>122591/44.81%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICHOACAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 jur</td>
<td>2386/0.87%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERACRUZ</td>
<td>30 jur</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 jur</td>
<td>1167/0.41%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2. Ranks and tributes (pesos) of some intendancies of New Spain, 1784

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intendancy</th>
<th>1st Class</th>
<th>2nd Class</th>
<th>3rd Class</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>México</td>
<td>88, 270 (29.68%)</td>
<td>149, 170 (50.16%)</td>
<td>59, 937 (20.16%)</td>
<td>297, 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puebla</td>
<td>70, 859 (44.03%)</td>
<td>72, 534 (45.04%)</td>
<td>17, 073 (26.22%)</td>
<td>161, 029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michoacán</td>
<td>20, 266 (31.12%)</td>
<td>27, 776 (42.66%)</td>
<td>6, 915 (12.48%)</td>
<td>65, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaxaca</td>
<td>128, 928 (83.07%)</td>
<td>19, 363 (12.48%)</td>
<td>6, 915 (4.69%)</td>
<td>155, 206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excerpt from Restrepo letter to Santander, July 5, 1820:

“Although I write on the history of New Granada, this is still just a mere essay ... The map of La Rochette I think needs many reforms. Please collect as many maps as you possibly can from the different Provinces. At the moment that there may be some rest, perhaps two or three young engineers may work on the map. That way, when we publish the history, we may publish a better map of Colombia, reforming that of La Rochette at all the points necessary.”

Requirements of Executive Decree
Gaceta de Colombia, Bogotá, No. 112, Dec., 7, 1823.

• an exact map of the province and its cantons
• information on latitude and longitude measurements
• the province’s approximate length and width in leagues
• information on navigable rivers
• the direction of mountain ranges
• available ports
• principle products traded
• suggestions on how to enhance prosperity
• a census separating slaves from free men
“Colombia Prima or South America”
... digested & constructed by the late eminent and learned Geographer, Luis Stanislas d'Arcy de la Rochette

London : 1807
William Faden, Publisher

Map in 8 folios glued in pairs: print and watercolor. Scale: 1:3200000, 242,4 x 167,2 cm
Available at Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: http://purl.pt/865
The “various intelligent people” who helped with Restrepo’s atlas

• **Man in charge of hiring:**
  – Francisco Antonio Zea

• **Cartographer/Military Engineer:**
  – Jose Maria Lanz, Mexican-born military engineer
  – Agustín Laperriére to care for instruments

• **Experts in Humboldtian earth science:**
  – Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz, originally from Arequipa, Peru
  – Frenchman Jean Baptiste Boussingault

• **Zea hired several more for related endeavors:**
  – Naturalist, physician and illustrator, Francois Roulin
  – Zoologist and taxidermist, Justin Goudot
  – Physician and entomologist, Jacques Bourdon
Territorial Division Law
Passed June 25, 1824

Created 12 Departments:
• Zulia
• Venezuela
• Orinoco
• Ismo (Panama)
• Magdalena
• Cauca
• Cundinamarca
• Boyaca
• Ecuador
• Apure
• Guayaquil
• Asuay

Each Department divided into Provinces

Each Province into Cantons

Each Canton into Parishes
From Manuel Ancizar, *Peregrinacion de Alpha*

“In the midst of the hills, which continue to rise for short, successive concourses to the paramo of Escobal, is Boavita, with its small, thatched, and reduced village. Half a league beyond is Uvita. Both towns are heads of district and were founded in competition with each other. We have been told that one extensive parish was severed in half in order to punish a priest, whose greed focused his eyes on terrestrial wealth.”
The Creation of an Urban-Ecological Space: A History of Environmental Ideas in Mexico City

Matthew Vitz
Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies

Smog over Mexico City, 2000

The Texcoco Lakebed, 2006

Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest
Luis Covarrubias, *La gran Tenochtitlan en 1519*

José María Velasco, *The Valley of Mexico, 1877*

Constructing the Great Drainage Canal, ca. 1890

Miguel Ángel de Quevedo, ca. 1930
Quevedo (center) with Pres. Álvaro Obregón (third from left), supervising reforestation efforts in the Valley of Mexico, 1924

Pres. Miguel Alemán visits the Texcoco Reclamation Project, 1948

Héctor García, Tlaloc, 1960

Lake Nabor Carrillo, Project Texcoco, 2007
Vegetation project, Project Texcoco, 2007

Tree Nursery, Project Texcoco, 2007

Xochimilco Ecological Park, 2011

Alberto Kalach and Teodoro González de León,
A New Plan for Lake Texcoco: A Return to the City of Lakes
Global trade, contracts and poverty alleviation in indigenous communities: Cochineal in Mexico

Alberto Diaz-Cayeros (UCSD)
Saumitra Jha (Stanford GSB)

May 20, 2011

Trade and poverty

Indigenous populations living in regions endowed with natural resources
Openness to trade leads to stunted development
Replicability of human capital, intellectual property and natural resources
This paper: sustained gains from world trade for indigenous communities were generated from:
1. contractual incentives
2. high risk economic activity
3. costly verifiability (climate vs. effort)

Cochineal production in Mexico

Grana cochinilla fina: the “perfect red” coveted by kings and cardinals
Highly prized commodity in world trade. The second export product of the New Spain
Extremely fragile to environmental conditions: “natural enemies” and narrow range of ecologies where it could grow
Requires great skill and care to cultivate: Complex contractual environment
* Residual claims in the hands of cultivators
* Ethnically based specialization in marginal land
* Risk sharing through financial intermediation (repartimiento)
* Labor intensive (women) in small plots
Prehispanic origins

Trade and poverty
Cochineal production in Mexico

Tribute paying registered since Aztec times

Highly prized commodity in world markets

Attracted attention of naturalists
Cochineal is difficult to grow

- Cut and burn trees in the slopes of the mountain
- Plant cactus (Opuntia)
- Clean trees two times a year for three years
- April or May ready to "seed" the leaves
- Keep the mothers for 20 days in caves or huts
- By August or September females are fertilized
- Before they give birth move nests (Paxtle) to trees
- In four months get first harvest
- Migration to highlands if rain

Alexander von Humboldt [1808]
Modern farm: killed

Cochineal was difficult to grow

Modern farm: ground

Cochineal had many natural enemies

Figure: Dibujo de la obtención de la grana o cochinilla1620-04-29 – Antonio de Figueroa

Figure: Dibujo de la obtenci´ on de la grana o cochinilla1620-04-29 – Antonio de Figueroa

Alberto Diaz-Cayeros (UCSD), Saumitra Jha (Stanford GSB)

Cochineal production in Mexico

Alberto Diaz-Cayeros (UCSD), Saumitra Jha (Stanford GSB)

Trade and poverty

Global trade, contracts and poverty alleviation in indigenous co

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Global trade, contracts and poverty alleviation in indigenous co

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Yucatan plantations failed

In 1620 Antonio de Figueroa reports that 3 million plants are growing in Yucatán. Knowledge was transferred from Tlaxcala growers: "they brought the cactus from the fields, and where there were already cactus it is an easy thing to breed it, both the cultivated and the wild, which is even easier." Plantations were an utter failure: Largest successful plantations in Ocotlán in 1800, around 60,000 plants. Humboldt reports cochineal in Yucatan destroyed in 1750s: Indians blame the government wanting to increase price; whites claim Indians destroyed plants to protest traders who set prices.

Complex contractual environment

* **Repartimiento** traditionally understood as an exploitative forced exchange, in which Spanish goods are traded for commodities, robbing Indians of their surplus. Baskes (2000, 2005) reinterprets from New Institutional Economics perspective as:
  * Create a trusted magistrate who extends small loans
  * Standardize transactions into mutually accepted and understood terms
  * Reduce cross-cultural ambiguities and uncertainties

The Bourbon reforms eliminate the institution in 1786, with disastrous consequences to credit markets.

Contractual incentives in high risk activity

* Figure: Schematic depiction of contractual arrangement

Discontinuity over several dimensions

* Geographic Surface (Latitude and Longitude).
* Topographic Surface (Altitude and Slope).
* Climatic Surface (Temperature and Rainfall).
Discontinuity over several dimensions

Discontinuities in Geographical and Climatic Space

We run cross-sectional regressions comparing municipalities that contained Indian pueblos in 1790.

\[ y_i = \beta \text{Cochineal}_i + \sum_{j}^{4} \gamma_j \text{Geog}_j^i + \sum_{j}^{2} \xi_j \text{Clim}_j^i + X_i B + \epsilon_i \]  \hspace{1cm} (1)

Where Geog includes latitude, longitude, altitude and their quadratic or quartic terms
And Clim includes temperature and climate and their quadratic terms

We include initial conditions of pre-Columbian native population:
- Hiker distance to major archeological sites to capture administrative centers and transportation corridors
- Hiker distance to 16 century missions (Franciscan, Dominican and Agustine) as proxy for initial settlement patterns
- Restrict the boundary within 75km, 100km and Oaxaca
Global trade, contracts and poverty alleviation in indigenous cochinado.

The effects of cochinado on the following variables:
1. Poverty (nutritional headcount ratio)
2. Female literacy
3. Indigenous linguistic distinctiveness
4. Inequality (Gini coefficient of wages)
5. Remoteness (Distance to 21st century roads)
6. Governance (traditional institutions)
7. Public goods provision (water, electricity, sewerage)

Sample restricted to municipalities containing 1790 pueblos de indios. Robust standard errors in brackets; * significant at 10% ** significant at 5% *** significant at 1%.
Endogeneity of Roads and Trade

Figure: Roads and cochineal growing

Climatic conditions

Figure: Dendochronology reconstructions of Puebla/Tlaxcala region

Global trade, contracts and poverty alleviation in indigenous communities

Endogeneity of Roads and Trade

Figure: Roads and cochineal growing

Climatic conditions

Figure: Dendochronology reconstructions of Puebla/Tlaxcala region

Global trade, contracts and poverty alleviation in indigenous communities
San Cristóbal Totonicapán
Exogamous baptisms in selected years, 1771-1827

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Marriages with one spouse baptized in another parish</th>
<th>Total No. marriages</th>
<th>% of Marriages with spouse baptized in another parish</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1801</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1817</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>1818</td>
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<td>1819</td>
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<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presentation outline

1. Assume movement
2. The social construction of places through the relationships among them
3. Regionalizing the meanings of “indigenous” and “ladino” in Guatemala
4. The definition of scale in social conflict
Map 2. Regionalization of Guatemala's Western Highlands proposed by Carol Smith

Map 3. The State of Los Altos, 1838-40 and the region of Carrera's revolt, 1837-8

Map 4. The State of Los Altos, 1838-40 and the region of Carrera’s revolt, 1837-38

Map 5. Los Altos and Totonicapán District: Two failed political regions

GEOGRAPHY INTO HISTORY:
Place, region, mobility and scale in Los Altos de Guatemala
Space and Place in Latin American History Conference
Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies
20 May, 2011

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