

Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience.

By CHRISTOPHER H. LUTZ. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. Plates. Maps. Tables. Figure. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xx, 346 pp. Paper, \$16.95.

Lutz's study is an important contribution to the history of several colonial subfields: race and ethnicity; quantification; urban history, especially in the neglected seventeenth century; and colonial Central America. Concise, beautifully illustrated, and persuasive, *Santiago de Guatemala* is a distinguished work.

Lutz's thesis is that in Santiago's peripheral barrios intermarriage, miscegenation, and "passing" were crucial in creating the *casta* group that from the seventeenth century onward overwhelmed indigenous residents. Indians protested and Spaniards legislated (at cross-purposes as usual), but both failed to halt the demographic juggernaut. Thus, colonial Santiago became a multiracial society in which the more enterprising and lighter-skinned nonelites could move up the social ladder. Though not yet "homogeneous," the capital forged a new social morphology that had at least the potential for an integrated community.

As readers of the *Latin American Population History Bulletin* know, historians who "count" have not enjoyed a friendly press. We have been accused of oversimplification and of being "impersonal and boring." Lutz's book is a good answer to these charges. The heart of his sources are the marriage and baptismal records for Santiago's four colonial parishes. Lutz pioneered the use of these valuable archives in his 1976 dissertation. Now, in the 1990s, he deftly combines careful quantitative analysis with slices of family history in a readable and humane fashion. Marriage choice is a topic with perennial appeal. Colonial scholars, graduate students, and undergraduates will benefit from different aspects of Lutz's fine study.

Chapters 1 and 2 present the Indian and Spanish "republics" in mid-sixteenth-century Santiago de Guatemala (1541–73), republics that were formally similar throughout the empire but bore a distinct stamp in each city. Unlike other towns, the capital held a mix of K'iche', Kaqchikel, and other Guatemalan groups, as well as even Tlaxcalteca and Mexico. The indigenous population here included tribute payers (after 1563) and *naborías*, Indians not living in a designated barrio or town and who paid a different type of tribute. Increasingly, the size of the latter group was swelled by Indians fleeing village obligations elsewhere. The emphasis that Lutz places on the migrant influence is timely. His list of the origins and duties of the various barrios of the city and valley of Panchoy settlements succinctly captures the working life of these communities.

Chapter 3, "The Fall of the Two Republics," analyzes the two complementary trends that produced the all-important *castas*. First, between the 1550s and the 1580s disease repeatedly decimated the urban Indian populations. Second, as a result of the process of miscegenation and hispanicization, many of those who survived the epidemics ceased to be classified as tribute-paying Indians. When the indigenous population did recover in the seventeenth century, the overall growth was in the towns of the

valley, not in the capital. Tables 2 and 3 depict the dramatic change in numbers. Lutz's ample explanatory footnotes trace the shift in other ways, such as the evolving meanings of *laborío* and *ladino*.

In Chapter 4, "Casta Origins and Growth," for the case of Santiago, Lutz solves the problem that bedevils many historians working on the middle colonial period (1580–1750). How do we trace changes in each socioracial group when censuses are lacking? Tables 6 and 9 combine the marriage records from the 1590s to the 1760s with the baptismal records from the 1640s to the 1760s to estimate the size of the *gente ordinaria* (all urban groups except Indian tributaries) and Spaniards in four different decades. Lutz uses two plausible multipliers to reach his totals: the expected number of marriages per thousand and the ratio between legitimate and illegitimate births. (Although records of the baptisms and marriages of Indian tributaries are lacking because they were kept in separate chapels, data is available on *naborías*, who are included in the *gente ordinaria*). His calculations show a large mixed-race population unevenly distributed in the city. Castas became most numerous in San Sebastián, Los Remedios, and Candelaria, while in the central parish of Sagrario there was a more prolonged segmentation.

Lutz believes that economic independence from Spaniards fostered more mixed-race marriages, and he reasonably locates this development in the parishes outside the central *traza*. With characteristic nuance, however, he notes that work as servants in Spanish households in the parish of Sagrario, and the interethnic proximity that it occasioned, could also promote exogamous marriage by Indians. Lutz may overstate the number of people descended from Africans since (as he demonstrates) mestizos were probably undercounted.

Chapter 5 demonstrates how the population of mixed-race groups in part increased through intermarriage. Tables 11–17 present indices derived from Charles Tilly's formula for measuring exogamous marriages in the French Vendée. Tilly's formula factors the total number of people marrying at a given time with the specific choice of partner. The result is an index figure. The "expected" number of pairings, for example between black slaves and free blacks, is set at 50. A higher index means that more outmarriages by black slaves with free blacks occurred than we would expect. A lower figure means less outmarriages than expected. Lutz extends Tilly's model over 18 decades and to a much greater number of possible partners. But Lutz's high index figures of 200 or more make one wonder whether the "expected" index should have been pegged at higher than 50 for Santiago. Can Tilly's formula be transplanted from France to Central America? It would be useful to know the upper range of Tilly's indices.

Methodologically, it is significant that the indices present a very different picture than the raw data. For example, in the case of the key group of free mulattos, after the 1680s the highest index was for endogamous pairings, the next highest was for marriage to mulatto slaves, followed by the index of marriage to free blacks. However, in looking simply at marriage partners, endogamy was still the most common pairing, while exogamous unions were most likely to occur with mestizos.

Throughout his study, Lutz puts his parish data in context. Indices of mestizo-Spanish marriages were “lower than expected,” even in the eighteenth century. But, he indicates, this was partly because as mestizos passed into the poor Spanish group and became Spanish (though in a different way) the number of recorded “mestizo” marriages with Spaniards decreased. Lutz recognizes that racial identity was often self-defined. Illegitimacy left many without a known racial history and, therefore, with an opportunity to invent one. Lutz also notes that people of African descent were more likely to retain such a classification because of the hypodescent rule and negative Spanish views of black people.

Chapter 6 further substantiates the displacement of Santiago’s indigenous groups by castas by tracing the success of the latter in controlling illicit trade in wheat, maize, wine and spirits, and other goods. Lutz’s discussion of the persistent presence of mulatta beef peddlers (*castas revendedoras*) is another example of a well-chosen illustration gleaned from judicial or notarial records. Finally, in his conclusion Lutz places Santiago astride a colonial socioracial divide. The capital’s population was 65 percent casta in the second half of the eighteenth century, higher than that of either Puebla or Oaxaca in New Spain but lower than that of the cities east and south of Santiago. Moving the capital again after the earthquake of 1773 from the “conquest peasant” Indian west to the economically dynamic ladino east probably averted the desolation of the former. Lutz’s intriguing observation, which brings the reader full circle back to the broad Guatemalan setting, is a satisfying conclusion to his innovative and enjoyable study.

LOUISA SCHELL HOBERMAN, Austin, Texas

Chiefdoms under Siege: Spain’s Rule and Native Adaptation in the Southern Colombian Andes, 1535–1700. By LUIS F. CALERO. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997. Maps. Tables. Figures. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 233 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.

Luis F. Calero provides a readable book on the biological and physical impact of Spain’s control over the Pastos, Quillacinga, and Abades chiefdoms that existed to the north of Inca domination. In a very useful first chapter on the physical and human environment, Calero points out the essential ecological characteristics of the northern Andes, beginning at Cajamarca and extending to the Venezuelan Paría peninsula. In contrast to the central Andes, local units of production were largely self-sufficient, and state formation in the form of local-level chiefdoms was successful. The primary area examined by Calero was administered through the town of Pasto, established in 1539. It was a well-watered district with relatively good soils, vertical economic resources, and a native population at contact of around 150,000. Various mineral deposits, especially gold, led to rapid settlement. Travel to Popayan to the north or Quito to the south, over broken terrain and often washed-out trails, was difficult, giving some isolation to the region and hence “freedom” from outside control. In fact, Calero argues, the region provides one