

Introduction

Historical Querétaro:  
Interpretation of  
a Colonial City

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## HISTORICAL QUERÉTARO: INTERPRETATION OF A COLONIAL CITY

Karl W. Butzer  
University of Texas at Austin

Querétaro is one of the most rapidly growing metropolitan areas of Mexico. The estimated population in 1985 was about 400,000, compared with 67,700 in the 1960 census. This recent growth hides the fact that Querétaro's population and economy were virtually stagnant from the 1790s through the early 1940s, and that from 1810 to the 1880s, the city was in a patent state of decay. Several of its architectural landmarks were demolished to make way for streets after 1858. Considerable restoration, the embellishment of plazas and parks, paved and lighted side-streets, and a public system of drinking water and sewage temporarily reversed this trend 1884-1919, after which Querétaro atrophied once again. The modern expansion of the city, with its ring of highways and expanded, axial streets, was planned in 1964 and has allowed organic growth, while preserving much of the integrity of the historical city core.

In the iconography of contemporary Mexico, Querétaro occupies a special place. The revolt of 1810 was conceived in the homes of its (Querétaro's) criollo elite. The conservative forces supporting Emperor Maximilian were besieged and finally defeated here in 1867, after which Maximilian was executed on the Cerro de las Campanas. Venustiano Carranza drafted the Constitution of 1917 in this city, and it was debated and approved in the Teatro de la República. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) was founded here in 1929. A more painful memory is that the 1848 treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was reluctantly approved here, in what was the provisional capital.

But Querétaro also represents an essentially intact Colonial city, on a scale rarely matched in Latin America. A number of key downtown streets have been closed to vehicular traffic, several blocks have been restored to their original appearance of about 1800, and painstaking restoration of key public buildings continues apace. Modern Querétaro is proud of its past, both Colonial and Revolutionary, and it is a city well worth a discriminating visit, if not closer study.

The Advantages of Location. Querétaro is located at the eastern end of the Bajío, an irregularly-shaped depression that stretches 250 km westward to the shores of Lake Chapala (Fig. 1). The



fertile black soils and ample waters of the Bajío explain why this great, verdant plain became the breadbasket of late Colonial Mexico. Querétaro itself received the discharge of a modest river, complemented by the flow of several large springs issuing from between lava flows intersected by the canyon east of the city. The fault escarpments around the eastern Bajío raise lava uplands from the edge of the cultivated land, providing rough pasture for the great herds of sheep that brought Querétaro fame and employment as the center of the Colonial wool industry. Finally, the camino real leading northwest from Mexico City to the silver mines of Guanajuato and Zacatecas diverges at Querétaro, situated at the apex of communications to the Bajío and the Mesa del Norte.

At an elevation of 1820 m, and in the rainshadow of the Sierra Gorda, Querétaro has a subtropical semiarid climate (BShw), with monthly mean temperatures oscillating between 50 F (January) and 72 F (May). Given the coordinates of 20 26'N and 100 23'W, most of the 520 mm average precipitation comes as summer rains, between late May and early October. Irrigation is therefore essential for winter crops or spring plantings. Placement next to the floodplain of the Río Querétaro met this basic requirement, with water for the acequia madre and the <sup>^</sup>later aqueduct provided by impoundments upstream that culminated in an elaborate diversion dam. The planned Spanish city was laid out on a low rock platform linking the two hills of Querétaro--Santa Cruz (1853 m) to the east and Las Campanas (1842 m) to the west (Fig. 2). Rising about 3m above the floodplain, this site was free from inundation, yet not too high to receive its initial water supply from the acequia madre.

The location also was ideal because the old trunk road from San Juan del Río and Mexico City crossed the high, lava saddlepoint southeast of Querétaro to descend into the Bajío directly in front of the Cerro de Santa Cruz. Here the road divided, branches following either side of the hill, to converge on the plaza mayor (now Plaza de la Independencia). Two blocks further west, in front of the mother church of San Francisco, the north road to San Miguel Allende followed modern Benito Juárez, to cross the bridge over the Río Querétaro, while the west road to Celaya followed Avenida Madero, then Rocha, to exit via Pino Suarez, north of the Holiday Inn. Until the highway bypass was built after 1965, the plaza of San Francisco (now Jardín Obregon) functioned as the gateway to northern and western Mexico (Fig. 2).

Several Spatial Components in Early Querétaro. The Avenida Corregidora, a new axial, north-south street, was opened up after 1965, and divides the city into two distinct parts. To the east, the topography is hilly and the street plan irregular. To the

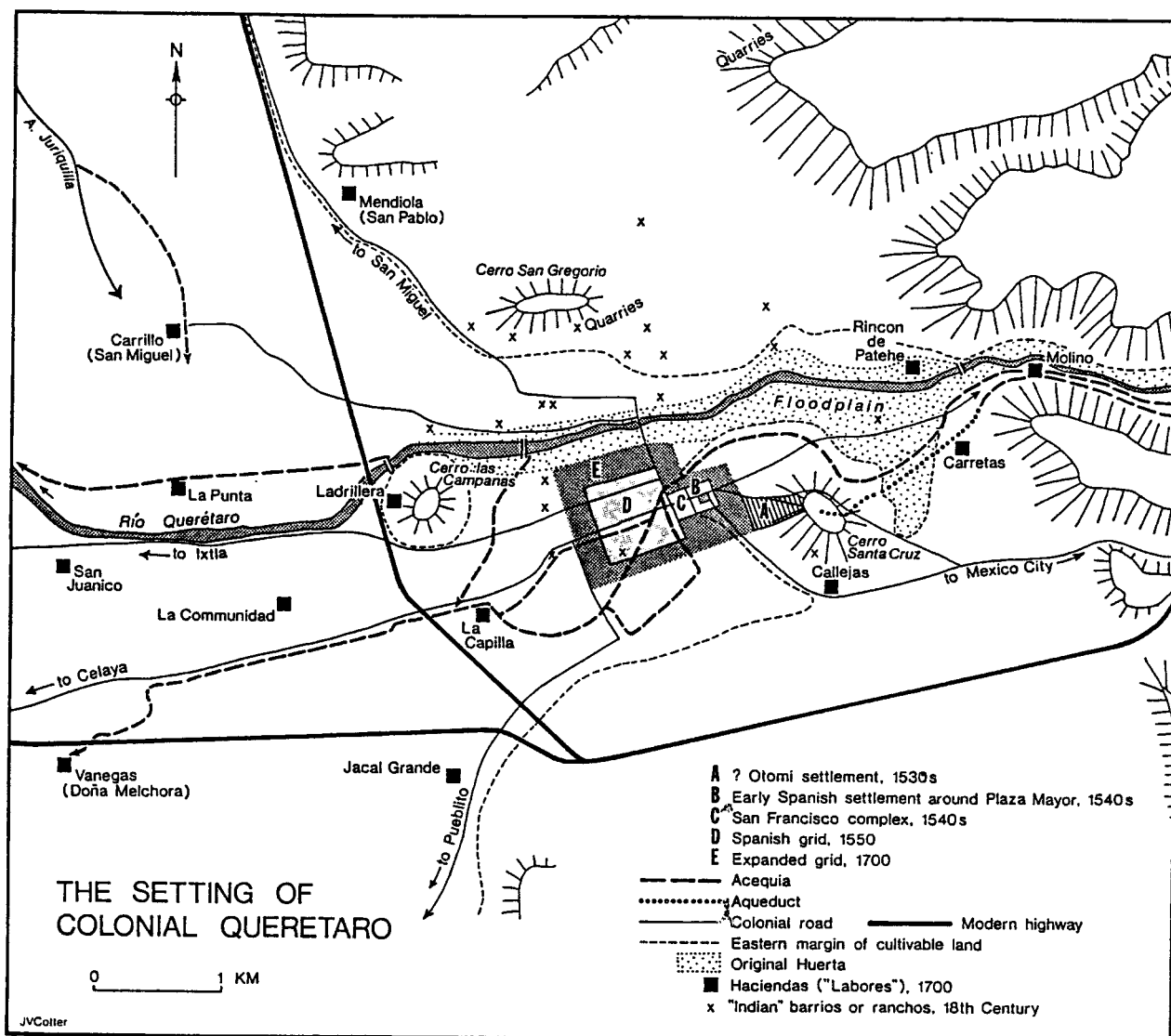


Figure 2. The Setting of Colonial Querétaro and Its Expansion to About A.D. 1700

west, the city is flat, and the streets form a fairly regular grid. The oldest part of the irregular section is the diagonal axis between San Francisco and Santa Cruz, which includes the administrative center of the Colonial city. This suggests that the grid was laid out after the town had already begun to develop.

The problem arises because Querétaro was founded by an Otomí cacique, Cohni (Conín), known as Fernando de Tapia after his conversion. Information on Tapia's early activities is based on several threads or oral tradition, some of which are contradictory. The basic facts are as follows:

(1) Somewhat before 1538, Tapia settled a group of Otomí at Andamaxei (later, La Cañada or Villa del Marqués), in the midst of Chichimec country, near the springs in the canyon upstream of Querétaro.

(2) In 1538, Hernan Pérez de Bocanegra became encomendero of Acámbaro and by 1542 he had acquired extensive grazing and farm lands around Apaseo, 30 km west of Querétaro. During this period he visited Tapia at La Cañada.

(3) Not long thereafter a friar baptized Tapia, under the sponsorship of Pérez de Bocanegra. Subsequently, Tapia built an acequia out onto the floodplain at Querétaro, partitioning farm plots to allocate to Otomí settlers.

(4) In 1550 the royal road to the silver mines was built through the area, requiring considerable litigation in regard to control of Spanish livestock, provisioning of the mule trains, and building of overnight inns for travellers.

(5) The town grid for Querétaro was laid out by Juan Sánchez de Alanis in the precise form of a "chessboard;" Alanis was awarded land grants in Querétaro 1551-52, probably within a short time after he had laid out the town.

(6) A stone church and monastery dedicated to San Francisco existed in 1567, but the date of founding is unknown. Like the plaza mayor, both lie outside of Alanis' grid.

This framework suggests that the grid was laid out in 1550 or 1551, at a time when San Francisco already existed, as did an older nucleus around the plaza mayor, stretching up to the Cerro Santa Cruz. That hill is fundamental to a legendary battle, real or symbolic, that led to the first settlement of Querétaro, perhaps in 1531. It is possible that during the 1530s the Otomí already had a

village on the slope of Santa Cruz, an area of non-elite housing on pictorial maps of 1712, 1778, and 1792. It is fairly certain that Spanish settlement around the modern Plaza de Independencia began in the 1540s.

Identification of Alanís' grid can be based on two premises: (a) it had to lie directly west of Benito Juárez, abutting the original walled compound of San Francisco, and (b) it was approximately square, and regular. The latter precludes Av. Mariano Escobedo, on the floodplain margins, which is shown as crooked on early maps. All the major buildings constructed west of San Francisco during the Colonial era lie between Av. Morelos in the north, Av. Arteaga in the south, and Av. Ezequiel Montes in the west, a sector of almost undiluted elite housing in 1792 (Fig. 3). This demarcates a rough square of 650 by 670 m, with an area of 43.6 ha, representing almost exactly one caballería, a standard Spanish land unit. As the city grew, the original grid of Alanís was simply expanded until growth stopped in the 1780s.

Founding a Community. In 1578 Querétaro was assigned an alcalde mayor, a district administrator sent out from Mexico City, usually for two-year terms. Although thereby endowed with a municipal government, Querétaro was little more than a primitive frontier town. The relación geográfica submitted by the alcalde and notary public in 1582 gives a Spanish population of over 50 vecinos (resident households), and many more Otomí families. The latter lived in humble, single-story, thatched houses, occasionally built of adobe brick. As in other settlements of the Bajío and New Galicia, the Spanish settlers had accommodated themselves to adobe brick structures.

The settlers were of no more than modest means. Among the 72 Spanish vecinos identified on a tax document of 1586, 9 were paupers and 45 had a net worth of under 1000 pesos, at a time when 500 pesos could purchase a simple house and a caballería of irrigable land or a sheep estancia (780 ha). Some 25 others had estates of 1000-8000 pesos, and the richest man was worth 25,000 pesos. This was Rodrigo de Larrea, who had cattle and sheep estancias in both Querétaro and San Juan del Río. But even his wealth was modest by the standards of successful miners in Zacatecas, and 45 years later the finest house in Querétaro sold for 2 million.

About half of the European-born men were literate, judging by the fact that 80 of 145 who made depositions or wills 1586-1602 could at least sign their names. No less than four were, or had been, notaries public, requiring legal studies at a university, and one was a bachiller. It would appear that, on the whole, the

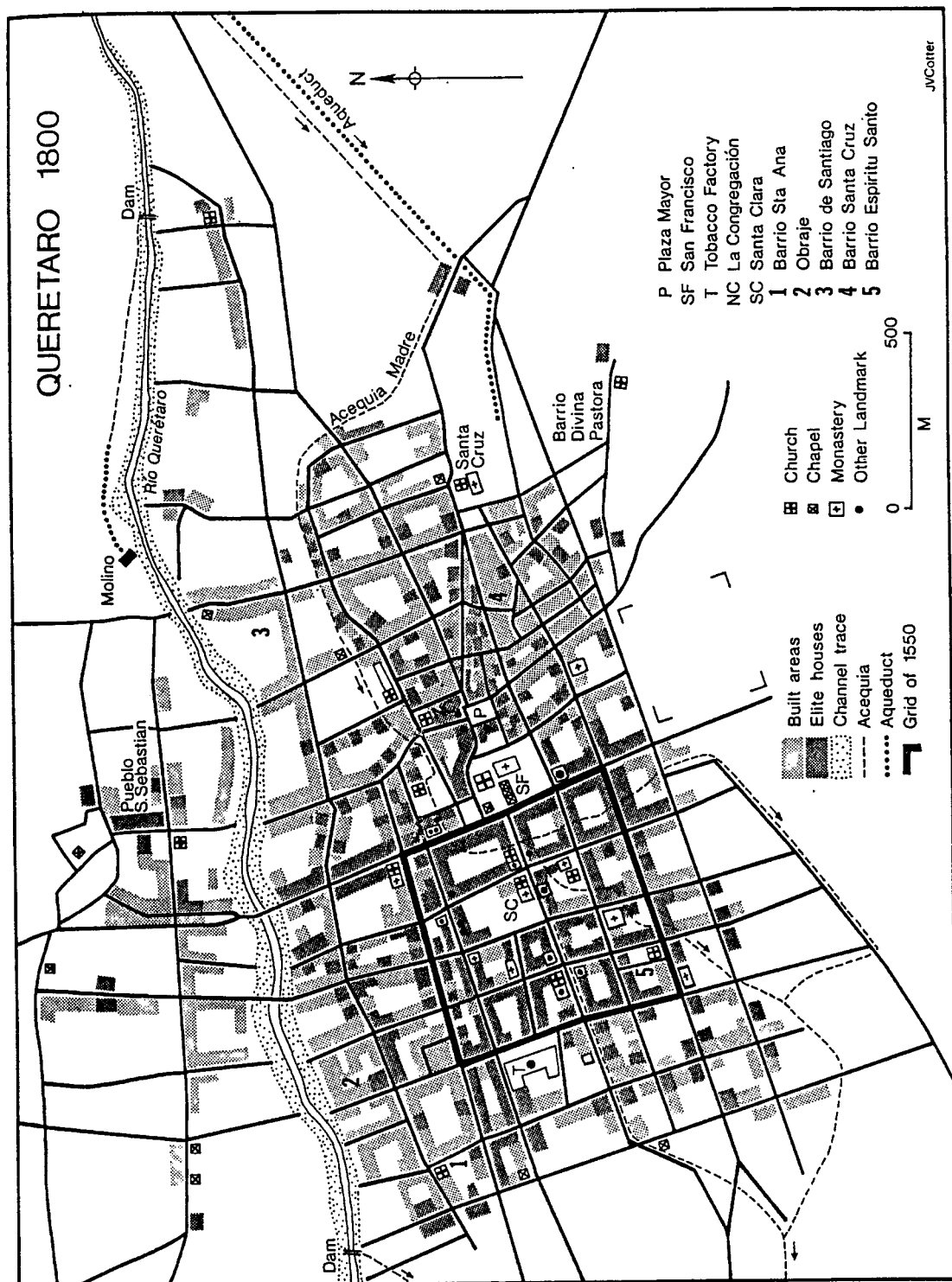


Figure 3. Querétaro as of about 1800, with Elite Residential Areas, Indian Barrios, and Its Several Nuclei. In part, based on city plans of 1760, 1778, 1796, and 1802



settlers were a cut or two above the average of Spanish society. Of 32 male vecinos making last wills 1590-1602, 26 (81%) were born in Castile, 3 in Mexico, and another 3 in Portugal or Italy. Of the Castilians, 14 (54%) came from Sevilla or Extremadura, 5 from Old Castile-León, and only 3 from Santander and the Basque country. This pattern is more representative of the settlers of Central Mexico than it is of those in New Galicia. Most of the vecinos wives were born in Mexico, and at least a few were indias.

In 1582 Spanish farming activities concentrated on hard wheat (rubión) and maize (for commercial or tax use). By 1639, Querétaro produced over 30,000 fanegas (16.6 liters each) of wheat, some 45,000 bushels. But special attention was given to orchard crops, which apparently did better here in the north than elsewhere in Mexico. Grapes of Sevillian stock were sufficient in 1582 to sell to Mexico City for table use, figs were utilized to make a kind of wine, and pomegranates and cling-peaches were also very successful. Of further importance were quince, various citrus fruits, and apples. Pears did less well, and cherries were not well suited to the frosts of the region. Sugar cane and artichokes were added to the crop inventory by 1639.

Stockraising was at least as important as farming, with 200,000 sheep, 100,000 cattle, and 10,000 horses claimed for Querétaro and San Juan del Río in 1582. The abundance of sheep is confirmed by the following tallies for stock transactions in Querétaro 1590-1606: 26,200 carneros (meat sheep), 43,150 corderos (wool sheep), and 31,750 breeding ewes, a total of 101,000 head. Tapia, the city founder, in 1571 already endowed a new hospital for "Indians and poor Spaniards" with a herd of 9000 sheep.

Stockraising was very extensive, and cattle were pastured with little or no control on the Indian frontier, while sheep in 1582 were already regularly driven 250-400 km westward to Lake Chapala and beyond Ameca during the dry and cold winter months, to thrive on those perennial pastures before returning after the rainy season began around Querétaro. This westward transhumance cycle, involving 200,000 sheep, persisted until the 1620s or later, but in 1597-98 sheepmen from Querétaro began acquiring vast lands for winter pasture (agostadero) around Rioverde (San Luis Potosí) (Fig. 1), up to 130,000 ha in size. More locally, several sheepmen owned a dozen or two sitios de ganado menor (sheep grazing grants of 780 ha each) by the early 1600s, and in mid-century Querétaro boasted a million head of sheep. The early importance of transhumance can be deduced from 26 boys or young men of Spanish origin out tending the mobile herds in 1586. The documents verify not only the presence

of Spanish-born shepherds, but also of African or mulatto shepherds and vaqueros.

But the more prominent citizens were as much businessmen as stockraisers. From an early date, large herds were driven to Mexico City to provide meat for that city, and in 1598 one owner alone shipped over 6000 carneros. Some entrepreneurs began to buy lambs and calves in quantity to raise them for the market. Raw wool was sent to the looms of Texcoco, and a class of vigorous middlemen soon took over the interurban trade. The first wool looming workshop (obraje) in Querétaro was licensed in the 1580s. By 1640, six such factories were in operation and the city had become the regional center of the wool industry, buying up raw wool from a large area.

Based on tabulations from notarial records between 1586 and 1600, the Spanish population more than doubled, through a continuing influx of new settlers, primarily from Spain. This immigration to a booming colonial town continued until about 1640, when the number of vecinos is estimated at between 320 and 400, in addition to about 2600 Indians. The original founding families were swamped by new arrivals, judging by the surnames of the 57 hacendados in 1716, only 35% of which are found among those documented before 1600. For surnames of 56 haciendados of 1801-19, this ratio was further reduced to 29%. In effect, the Spanish population element of Querétaro was overwhelmingly derived from Old World immigrants settling between the 1570s and 1640s. Subsequent newcomers--dominated by people from adjacent districts of New Spain, together with a steady trickle of Biscayans and Gallegos--were too few, relative to the resident population, to change the community significantly.

There is another side to early Querétaro, the role of the Otomí. The city began as an Indian town. Fernando de Tapia (died 1571) had acquired the bulk of the adjacent lands and was described as a completely acculturated Hispanic in his later years. His children owned several large estates west and southwest of the city, and his only son, Diego, became the consummate entrepreneur, wheeling and dealing in land, livestock, and mines as far north as San Luis Potosí. He, and his sisters as well as other cacique families, were an integral and respected part of the Querétaro elite during the formative decades. The Otomí had their own autonomous government, analogous to that of a Castilian cabildo, with a governor and other officials. In formal terms, Querétaro was the local center of a dual society.

Although the Otomí had been weakened in demographic terms by the smallpox epidemic of 1520, they soon settled actively in the Querétaro area. Later, in the 1550s, despite the bubonic plague of the mid-1540s, they displayed considerable military strength and were able to expand their colonization efforts. But the plague struck again in 1576, followed by destruction of 11 of 16 of their pueblos by the Chichimecs in the early 1580s. Outwardly, it appeared to be a static picture of traditional Indian agriculture on the irrigated huertas around the town, with cultivation of maize, frijoles, various chile peppers, garden sage, avocados, and tomatos. But even with some in-migration the number of Otomí was stable or declining, while that of Spaniards was increasing. By 1610 there is evidence of Spaniards buying up Indian farms, although during the 1660s the Indians still clung tenaciously to their rights to half of the irrigation waters (media tanda). By 1716 the Otomí only held two estates around Querétaro, the hacienda Ladrillera and the communal labores of La Comunidad. By 1791 these, too, had been lost. Even in La Cañada, where the population remained over 90% Indian, the Otomí had been reduced to dependency.

The Depression of the 1600s. The early decades of the 17th century represented a boom era. As the Chichimec menace receded in the late 1580s, Spanish settlement accelerated. The silver mines of Guanajuato and Zacatecas, which energized the economy, continued to increase their production. Entrepreneurs in Querétaro made fortunes in business, and at least five wool obrajes were in operation by 1626. More and more Spaniards moved into masonry houses, some of which evidently were ostentatious.

But in 1634-35 the insolvency of the royal government in Madrid led to demands for payment on letters of credit to the mine operators, while the supply of Spanish mercury, essential to the silver amalgamation process, dwindled to a trickle. Although institutions in Mexico City gradually refinanced the mining industry, production in Guanajuato remained depressed until 1715, with a brief respite during the Sombrerete boom of 1681-94.

The stagnant economy was pervasive. From 1637 to about 1670 the Santa Clara convent only generated just enough income from its many properties to maintain its religious community. Agricultural production and livestock in the Bajío fluctuated around a low level until 1690, after which both production and population began to increase. Religious and public building in Querétaro stopped in 1634 and only resumed in a modest way 20 years later (Table 1), with new endowments first evident in 1675. There was indeed a real depression, lasting for 40 or 50 years.

Economic revival began during the last decades of the century, judging by a resumption of building activity in Querétaro (Table 1, Fig. 4). Exactly when demographic growth began to accelerate in the late 1600s cannot be determined for the jurisdiction of Querétaro, but the population expanded from perhaps 10,000 in the 1640s to 26,700 in 1743, and 51,300 in 1778. The city itself grew from about 4000 to over 20,000 between 1640 and 1778. A pictorial map of 1712-14 shows that Querétaro had already expanded to approximately the limits of the 18th and 19th century grid; it also suggests that most of the city consisted of substantial, two-story houses, except for the peripheries and the Barrio Santa Cruz. The contrast is dramatic in regard to a stretch of ca. 1640, which shows the city as consisting of one-story house blocks that suggest adobe brick structures.

Querétaro, designated as "Third City" of New Spain in 1671, had evidently entered its century of maximum prosperity.

The Eighteenth-Century Economy. Querétaro in the 1700s was dominated by a mix of textile magnates, merchants, hacendados, and religious institutions. The boundaries between these spheres were open; wool manufacturers commonly engaged in commerce of agricultural enterprises, while merchants acquired haciendas. The episcopal see and the orders or individual monasteries invested in agriculture or by financing obrajes, construction, or real estate, while most of the participants invested in mining to some degree. Fortunes were rapidly made and rapidly lost, with almost no continuity of hacienda ownership between 1716 and 1791, and few obraje owners remaining in business more than seven years.

The hallmark of Querétaro's prosperity was its wool and cotton industries and the market advantages that this provided. In 1716 there were 11 factory-operated obrajes, all owned by persons meriting the honorific title "don," together with 18 household operations (trapiches), two of which belonged to "dons" and four to Indians. In 1801 there were 19 obrajes in operation, each with 6 to 20 looms (telares), and employing a total of 6000 men and women. The trapiches, which then represented a total of 1000 looms, employed an additional 3000 or 4000 people. Unlike the obrajes, which produced wool textiles, the trapiches were switching from wool blankets and shawls to cotton products by the end of the century. The trapiches undercut the obrajes with lower prices and competed with them for wool, a competition that contributed to the high rate of bankruptcies and made textile employment quite uncertain. When cloth-cutting and other secondary operations are included, the textile industry accounted for some 10,000 workers, perhaps half of them women. Looms were by no means limited to the

city. Several adjacent haciendas were converted into obrajes, with cloth (pañós) produced at Carretas, Patehé, and at two new haciendas on the foot of Cerro San Gregorio (see Fig. 2).

About 1780 the audiencia of Mexico opened the Real Fábrica de Tabaco, the national cigar factory, in Querétaro; in 1803 this sprawling complex employed some 1100 men and 1900 women. Tanneries and leather production had always played a role in this town; together with metal workers and printers, these crafts accounted for another 323 men in 1791. The agricultural sector, with 47 hacendados, 102 administrators, and 1,035 farmers or day-laborers, remained a sizeable part of the periurban economy, but was no longer dominant. By comparison, merchants, traders, vendors, and suppliers totalled 535 men.

Allowing for incomplete data and a temporal shift in the available figures, very roughly 10% of the city's workforce was employed in agriculture, 80% in industry and craft production, and 10% in commerce and "services." Querétaro had become a proto-industrial city, with persistent roots in the rural sector, and a strong commercial sector. Despite the specialization on textiles, diversification of the economy was increasing. Even so, the sales tax yields (alcabala) of 1792 show that Querétaro was in fifth, rather than third place in the Mexican economy. Guanajuato's mine production put it ahead, but the commercial and proto-industrial base of both Guadalajara and Puebla also was stonger.

Race and Residence. The most detailed population data are for 1778. Within the city there were 20,139 people, of whom 33% were classified as Spaniards, 29% as Indians, 22% as Mestizos, and 16% as other Castas. In the north-bank parish of San Sebastian (which included the small, distant pueblo Santa Rosa) there were 7198 inhabitants, of whom 74% were Indian, 13% Castas, 9% Mestizos, and 5% Spaniards. This combined population of 27,337 may have grown to about 35,000 by the early 1800s, but there is no case for 40,000, let alone 50,000 inhabitants by 1810.

A feature of the residential pattern is that within the urban grid, excluding obraje dormitories, 63% of the Indians were located in the peripheral barrios of Santa Ana, Santa Cruz, and Espiritu Santo. But segregation was on socioeconomic, rather than racial lines. The displacement of Indians to the peripheries was a gradual one. Until 1594 San Francisco had served as an Indian parish, but at that date a separate, smaller church (the Hermanos del Cordon) was constructed for Indians, within the atrio of San Francisco. Not long after 1603, an auxiliary visita, San

Sebastian, was founded for the growing Indian population on the north bank; in 1720 it became a separate parish. The construction of numerous "Indian" chapels in the early 1700s hints at a major Indian exodus to north-bank ranchos or peri-urban barrios. By the end of the 18th century, almost half of the Indians living in and immediately around Querétaro resided outside of the city grid; about a third appear to have been textile workers (84% of the obraje labor) and perhaps a half sustained themselves by farming.

While the number of "Spaniards" increased 18% 1778-91, people of "mixed blood" decreased by 11%. The famine and epidemic of 1785-86 had hit the poorer Mestizos and Castas harder than the Spanish, but the decline of Mestizos by almost 20% also suggests a shift in classification, as "Spaniards" began to freely intermarry with Mestizos. Morenos, very dark persons of partial African ancestry, almost disappeared (from 820 to 20); "Mulattos" decreased by 9% but Castizos, a heterogeneous genetic mix, increased more than fivefold. This supports the evidence of the marriage registers that people of partial African ancestry had begun to fuse with the poorest class of Mestizos.

Querétaro at the end of the 18th century was a city with great social inequity. Fully 67% of the people were not part of the urban, Spanish mainstream, relegated to underpaid manual labor and poor barrios or peripheral ranchos. Some 12% of the population lived as quasi-prisoners inside obrajes, located mainly on the river bank in the Santa Ana barrio. Crime was rampant on the streets after dark, even in the elite sectors. The Spanish community was also polarized between the ostentatious rich and the poor, living amid Indians and other groups in the barrios. Employment opportunities fluctuated strongly, according to the price and availability of wool, the market demand for textiles, and the year-to-year oscillations in the numbers of operating obrajes and looms. Life was tenuous for this underclass, however defined or enumerated, and one can speak of a degree of proletarianization.

Public or religious assistance was poorly developed. With 235 priests and friars in the city (1778) only 46 represented secular clergy, and most of these were in administrative work. The mendicant orders were active in teaching or as missionaries, but apparently shunned a service role in the urban community. In the rural sector, only 13 priests served 45,488 people, mainly Indians, a ratio of 1:3500. The 201 nuns in Querétaro mostly came from better families and kept their personal servants; few of them worked among the urban poor. The Church has enriched the city's cultural heritage immensely through its building activity and indirect support

of the arts. But in 18th century Querétaro it performed its spiritual and social mission indifferently.

Architecture, Economy, Society. The architecture represented by the "monumental" building activity in a Colonial city is richly informative. Construction is commonly indicative of economic prosperity, and its stylistic expression reflects both the tastes of the dominant elite and their links to a wider cultural universe.

Figure 4, based on Table 1, synthesizes the frequency of construction activity, as terminated per decade. It indicates a first surge of building, essentially of churches and monasteries, during the early 1600s. The available information suggests that many, if not most of these buildings were modest in size and constructed of adobe brick. After a hiatus in mid-century, building resumed in the 1670s and reached a plateau in the mid-1700s. After a downward turn there was a last peak in the first decade of the 19th century. Thereafter, building activity was rare and episodic. With a variable time lag, the semiquantitative trend of Figure 4 is symptomatic of the local and regional economy.

The small-scale building boom of the early 1600s mirrored the initial surge of economic activity ca. 1590-1635 and the religious fervor of a rapidly growing and optimistic urban community. Major building after 1675 was supported by large private endowments and began to include expensive private dwellings. The biggest patron of the era 1675-1700 was a priest and scholar, whose father (a first-generation settler) had made a fortune in sheep raising and wool-loomng. Two other patrons of the 18th century were newcomers who devoted wealth gained elsewhere to the embellishment of Querétaro, namely the Marqués de Villar who built the aqueduct and a convent, and the governor who financed the Corregidora palace. Endowments from 1780 to 1810 tended to be derived from fortunes made in a previous generation. The overall picture suggests that economic growth slowed perceptibly after the 1780 or so, but that optimism prevailed until the outbreak of the wars of independence.

Stylistically, the buildings of the 1600s are mainly quite conservative. Facades, the most obvious element of style, include some subdued, Early Baroque decoration, but maintain fairly simple lines, generally rendered in the classicistic format of the Renaissance. Even the more explicitly Baroque Congregación church and the expansion of San Francisco are restrained in comparison with contemporary architectural experiments by Churriguera and his disciples in Spain. This changes rapidly after 1700, and by the 1720s Querétaro's architecture enters the High Baroque, with its twisted columns and ornamental volutes. But there is little of the

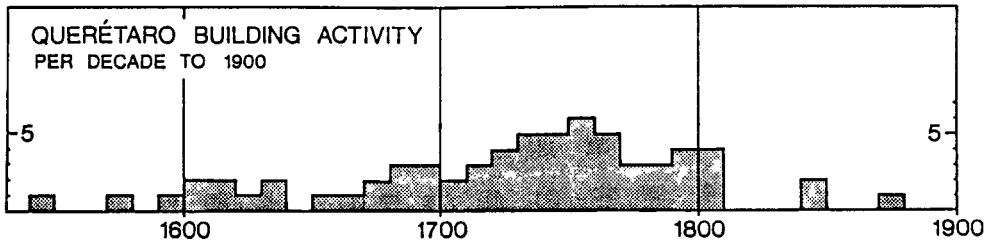


Figure 4. The Tempo of Building Activity in Querétaro, see text and Table 1

## COLONIAL ERA DEVELOPMENT: NORTH-CENTRAL MEXICO

ECONOMY	COUNTRY	TOWN	PERIPHERY Mexico City, Mining Centers
PROTO-INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION  (1720s)	Intensified farming, Marginalization of stockraising, Expansion of haciendas with mining capital, at cost of Indian small holders	Regional administration, industrialization and economic diversification, Reinvestment of mining profits in building activity, Urban proletariats	<p>Textiles Leather Goods Mutton / Beef</p> <p>Luxury imports</p>
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION  (1600s)	Sheep transhumance and intensified agriculture, Competition between haciendas and Indian pueblos	Economic specialization ( textiles ), Regional market exchange, Incipient sociocultural segregation	<p>Wheat, Maize Mutton / Beef ( Textiles )</p> <p>Imports Indian labor</p>
FRONTIER EXPLOITATION  (1540s)	Extensive cattle raising, Sheep transhumance, Supplementary irrigation farming, Limited competition for land, Indigenous resistance	Local administration, Local market exchange, Peripheral reinvestment ( mining )	<p>Raw wool, Hides</p> <p>Finished goods Imports Spanish and Indian settlers</p>

Figure 5. Colonial Development in North-Central Mexico, as Modeled from Querétaro. See text and Haciendas, Irrigation, and Livestock Field Trip



excessive ornamentation elsewhere typical of the late, Mexican Baroque, at least not on the outside. It was only within churches and convents, in a more private sphere, that the architects of Querétaro felt free to lavish their attention on decorative detail. The picturesque applications of colored tiles common in Puebla and parts of Mexico City are rare in Querétaro. Floral decor also is uncommon, and the Indian elements and general taste expressed in the Carmen church of San Luis Potosí or the cathedral of Zacatecas are conspicuous by their absence.

Querétaro was patently a conservative city, and its elite preferred more sober and quintessentially Spanish forms. The abrupt switch to an austere Neo-Classicism, in the "Greek Revival" tradition, comes in 1765-70, the earliest adoption of that new European taste in the New World. One suspects that the Ultra-baroque ostentation of the Casa Ecala did not find widespread approval, and that the elite was well disposed to return to the drastically simplified designs concurrently gaining popularity in Europe.

The built environment of Colonial Querétaro is unlike that of other cities in north-central Mexico. Its buildings are eminently urbane and conservative, at least in the context of the era. By comparison, San Miguel Allende and Guanajuato have a more rustic charm, with flashes of architectural exuberance. The impression obtains that the Querétaro elite disdained the excesses of the Baroque, except in more private surroundings. In any event, the city projects a sophisticated and more restrained image.

Town and Country. What were the relationships between Querétaro and its agricultural base or with its subordinate settlement hierarchy? The second part of this question must be answered first, because the spatial and vertical arrangement of rural settlements in Colonial Mexico was substantially different from that of Spain or Anglo-America.

In part, this difference resulted from the legal duality of society. In Colonial Mexico, the majority of Indians lived in nominally autonomous communities (Repúblicas de Indios), with their own mayor-magistrate and council. This applied both to the Indian population resident in bicultural cities and to the inhabitants of almost exclusively Indian pueblos. The latter controlled a larger number of outlying settlements without municipal institutions that were mainly called ranchos (a term also used in some areas for small land grants awarded by Spanish municipalities, as opposed to the audiencia). Most ranchos were Indian or mixed-caste communities, scattered in the countryside and commonly located on lands

belonging to Spanish hacendados. Normally the workforce for an hacienda resided in one or more such ranchos, within a distance of a kilometer or two. The Indian population was, then, typically distributed in a three-tiered settlement, although in some places several pueblos were dependencies of an intermediate-order cabecera, to create an additional level.

Spanish settlement in Mexico also diverged from common practice in Spain, where there were several hierarchical levels, variably applicable in terms of size, function, and privilege. In early Colonial Mexico, settlers preferred to aggregate in a few places that soon acquired municipal status and some measure of urbanism. Beyond that, there only were the individual farms, that gradually evolved into more complex estates called haciendas. By the 1700s haciendas emerged as settlements in their own right, housing up to a dozen or more families of "Spaniards" and Castas, with an administrador or mayordomo (or both) responsible for management; the owner resided in the nearby city or even in the capital, and in addition there might be a number of small farms leased to non-Indian tenants.

Although function<sup>4</sup> and origins of haciendas are discussed further in the guide to the "Haciendas, Irrigation, Livestock" Field Trip, haciendas resembled hamlets or villages in terms of population and economic function, but they (a) lacked community organization or institutional means of "participation," and (b) were hierarchically equivalent to pueblos, as parallel, Spanish structures, according to the principle of a dual society. The haciendas and pueblos were economically linked, directly as well as indirectly through the ranchos, which in practice were dependent on both. In the case of very large municipal domains, a sufficient number of Spanish settlers might aggregate in or near Indian pueblos to warrant a new parish; such Spanish congregaciones eventually became separate municipalities. Thus the Spanish and Casta population within an administrative district was organized in a two- or three-tiered settlement hierarchy, to which must be added two or more levels of higher, provincial and national organization.

The city of Querétaro during the 1700s directly administered upward of 65 haciendas and four pueblos (San Sebastian with Santa Rosa, La Cañada, El Pueblito, and Huimilpan), while indirectly administering the subordinate municipality of San Juan del Río and its various dependencies. By then, the legal autonomy of a second, Indian governor in Querétaro was a dead letter, but Indian councils continued to function in the pueblos. In 1825, Querétaro became a state of the Mexican Union, with three municipalities that now included Cadereyta.

The padrón of 1791 gives the non-Indian population of the immediate jurisdiction of Querétaro as 19,587, of which 14,847 (76%) lived in the (south-bank) city. This is the highest urban:rural ratio anywhere in the Bajío (compare 66% for San Miguel, 44% for Guanajuato, 31% for San Juan del Río, and 27% for Celaya). The picture changes somewhat when the Indian population is included, as it was in the census of 1778. At that time 67% of the non-Indian population was urban, compared with 39% of the total population; probably about 60% of the overall population was employed in agriculture (estimating 15% agricultural employment in the city and 50% in San Sebastian). By any criteria, the Querétaro of the late Colonial era represented a remarkably high level of both urbanization and industrialization. Comparison of the 1778 and 1791 censuses, even allowing for systematic differences, indicates that urbanization was continuing. The non-Indian population of urban Querétaro grew by 4% in 13 years, while the corresponding rural figures declined 14%. In the case of the Indian component, the urban population declined 20.5% while the rural counterpart increased by 3.5%. This suggests that the severe demographic losses precipitated by the famine and epidemic of 1785-86 among urban Indians had not yet been overcome. Overall, it appears that the total urban population 1778-91 declined 3%, the district population 7%.

The economic and demographic structure of the eastern Bajío was fundamentally transformed between the late 1500s and the last decades of the 18th century (Figure 5). In the 1580s, Querétaro was little more than a farm-to-market center on a frontier where stockraising was at least as productive as farming. Raw wool and hides as well as meat-on-the-hoof were shipped out in return for finished goods and imports of all kinds.

Only a generation later, stockraising was being displaced to the rougher uplands, where the Hacienda Jurica retained a separate mayordomo de la reata (for "roping," i.e., stockraising) as late as 1725. The fertile bottomlands were converted to grain production, and around 1630 some 137 estates in the eastern Bajío had an average yield of 1150 bushels of maize and 720 of wheat; for 78 estates north of San Miguel, representative of the rougher periphery where sheepraising remained important, the figures are 680 bushels of maize and only 15 of wheat. In effect, intensified Spanish farming was still limited to the Bajío floor, and the area between Celaya and Querétaro was able to produce large quantities of both maize and wheat to sell to the mining centers and Mexico City. But Querétaro, by virtue of its dual ecology of bottomland and upland, continued to control large flocks of sheep, dependent on winter pastures far to the north. This direct control of a

large segment of the raw wool market, aided by the favorable location of the city as a hub of trunk roads, certainly assisted the steady growth of Querétaro as a textile city, even though its woolens still supplied a primarily regional market. Indian settlers continued to be attracted to the eastern Bajío, probably compensating for the slow, continuing decline of Indian populations experienced elsewhere. From the 1640s to 1743, the overall growth of Querétaro and its jurisdiction certainly exceeded 1.0% per year, implying a substantial increase of productivity.

By the early 1700s, the city of Querétaro was a major economic force within New Spain. Agriculture replaced sheepraising as the primary activity on even the upland haciendas, and wool had to be purchased from other districts. Small and large-scale irrigation works appeared all over the countryside, to allow early season planting of maize, with springtime irrigation, and above all to expand the production of wheat. By the late 1700s, the wheat harvest of the eastern Bajío had increased to almost three times the volume of maize, suggesting a "hispanization" of agricultural strategies. As in Spain, irrigation, however elaborate, could not prevent major, weather-related harvest failures; unlike in Spain, these periodically created famines on a scale to provoke epidemic disease and demographic curtailment. In the case of Querétaro, district population growth 1743-78 reached 1.8% per year, but the traumatic crisis of 1785-86 was followed by an uncharacteristically slow recovery and apparently by demographic stabilization. Despite the availability of capital, Querétaro may have been reaching the limits of reasonable growth, given the technology of the period.

During the last decades of the Colonial era, Querétaro's wealth was primarily derived from its industries. The amenities of the city were so attractive that the 43 hacendados who controlled most of its land all lived in the city, rather than in the capital. But this prosperity was fragile. Mexican wool was derived primarily from unimproved breeds, and it was poorly cleaned of thorns and debris prior to shearing. The product was coarse and rough, and the labor-intensive hand looms were competitive only behind the tariff barriers of the Spanish economic system.

The End of an Era. The revolutionary proclamation of Hidalgo at Dolores, on September 16, 1810, had been planned in elite circles of Querétaro and San Miguel as a means to replace Spanish administration with some form of "home rule," administered by the criollo establishment. The conspirators badly misjudged the social situation, immediately losing control to the campesinos, faced with increasing work demands for declining real wages, and to the urban poor. Hidalgo was promptly defeated and executed, but the

Guanajuato mines were closed and flooded, and some rebels took to guerrilla operations and banditry that dragged on for years. Rural estates ceased to function because of the insecurity and mindless violence, filling Querétaro with thousands of refugees. A Spanish army of occupation took complete control of the existing institutions, extorting whatever it could as it chased the elusive revolutionary bands.

When independence finally came in 1821, the criollo establishment assumed the perks of power. But the Bajío had been economically ruined, and there never was adequate capital to revive it or bring the mines back to their pre-revolutionary productivity. Mechanized textile production in Europe and the United States rendered the Mexican wool and cotton industries uncompetitive and obsolete. Population growth stopped, and Querétaro lost over 10,000 of its inhabitants. The city simply survived, as an increasingly dilapidated shell of its former glory. There was a modest revival during the Porfiriato (1877-1910) but only in the 1960s was Querétaro converted from a museum to a living city. It is fortunate indeed that its leading citizens have invested such care and effort to achieve a reasonable balance between preservation and conservation, on the one hand, and function and growth, on the other.

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TABLE 1. BUILDING ACTIVITY IN QUERETARO AS A REFLECTION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH (Abbreviations: EBC - Early Baroque with Classisistic lines; MB - Middle Baroque; HB - High Baroque; UB - Ultrabaroque; ENC - Early Neo-Classic; NC - Neo-Classic; NG - Neo-Gothic. Buildings referred to in the Self-Guided Tour are underlined.)

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1540s	Original Franciscan church/monastery San Francisco (now Cathedral and Regional Museum). Masonry.
1570s	First Hospital, on Cerro Santa Cruz. Adobe brick?
1594	Chapel del Cordon. Masonry (destroyed).

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ca. 1605	Chapel San Sebastian.
1606-07	Original Franciscan convent of Santa Clara. Adobe brick.
1613	Original Franciscan church/monastery of San Antonio. Adobe brick?
1614	Original Carmelite convent. Adobe brick?
1625	Jesuit church and seminary-college (San Ignacio y San Francisco Javier). Masonry?
1631-33	Rebuilding of <u>Santa Clara church</u> in masonry. EBC facade (UB interior).
1634	Franciscan church del Tercer Orden. Masonry (destroyed).

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1654	Franciscan mission compound on Cerro Santa Cruz. Adobe brick?
1669	Primitive Franciscan nunnery at Santa Rosa de Viterbo. Adobe brick.
Mid-1600s	
-1698	Remodelling/expansion <u>San Francisco church/monastery</u> , the latter now the <u>Regional Museum</u> . MB facade (NC interior).
1675-80	"Secular" <u>Church La Congregación</u> (Santuario Guadalupe). MB facade (NC interior).
1683	Completion of Franciscan <u>church/seminary-college Santa Cruz</u> . EBC facade (NC interior).
ca. 1685	Rebuilding of Carmelite church. Chapel of Santiago.
Late	
1600s	<u>Tienda Aguila de Oro</u> . Second Hospital, relocated opposite Santa Clara.
1692-95	Dominican monastery/college Santo Domingo. EBC facade.

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1700	Rebuilding of <u>San Antonio church</u> . MB facade.
ca. 1700	Church <u>Espíritu Santo</u> in southwestern barrio. MB.



- 1712 Calvario church in Santa Cruz barrio. MB.
- 1713 First chapel Santa Ana in northwestern textile barrio.
- 1718 Church San Sebastian at center of north-bank pueblo. MB.
- ca. 1720 Church San Isidro in original huerta. MB.
- 1720-50 Various "Indian" chapels of south bank (San Antonito, Senor del Mesquite). MB.
- Various "Indian" chapels of north bank (San Juan de los Alamos, La Trinidad, La Cruz del Cerrito, San Roque, San Pablo, Santa Catarina, San Gregorio). MB.
- 1721 Capuchin convent (now PRI Headquarters). HB.
- 1726 Church San José de Gracias.
- 1726-35 Aqueduct.
- 1731-36 Augustinian church/monastery San Agustín (now the Museum of Modern Art). HB.
- 1736 Mercedarian hospice La Merced.
- 1736-50 Carmelite convent del Carmen. MB.
- 1737-38 Several fountains to distribute aqueduct water. HB.
- ca. 1740 Chapel San Francisquito (La Divina Pastora). MB.
- Casa del Marqués (de Villar). HB.
- Hosteria de la Marquesa (now bookshop). HB.
- 1740s Rosario chapel of Santo Domingo. HB.
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- ca. 1750 Casa de los Perros. HB.
- Casa de los Gatos. HB.
- Casa de Faldón, north bank. HB.
- 1752 Franciscan convent and girls' colegio Santa Rosa de Viterbo. HB.
- 1755 Rebuilding of Jesuit church/seminary-college (with the "Patio Baroco") San Ignacio. HB.
- 1756 Rebuilding of Carmelite convent/church El Carmen. HB.
- ca. 1760 Casa de Ecala. UB.
- 1760s First Casa of the Conde de Sierra Gorda. HB.
- 1763 Original chapel San Felipe Neri. HB.
- 1765 Rebuilding of church San José de Gracias. HB.
- Rebuilding of the Hospital Real. NC.
- 1765 Franciscan chapel Santa Escala (destroyed).
- 1770 Cabildo (now Government Palace La Corregidora). NC.
- 1770s Second Casa of the Conde de Sierra Gorda.
- Real Fábrica de Tabaco. HB.
- 1775 Remodelling of Jesuit seminary-college (now part of University). NC.
- ca. 1780 Casa Septién (now State Archive). NC.
- to 1784 Rebuilding of interior of Santa Clara. HB.
- 1786 Church La Divina Pastora. HB.
- 1786-1800 Rebuilding of church San Felipe Neri as new cathedral, with attached claustro ("Palacio Confn"). ENC.

ca. 1790 Episcopal Casa de Diezmo. NC.  
 1794 Franciscan chapel Loreto (destroyed).  
 1797 Neptune Fountain. NC

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1800-02 Carmelite convent and church. NC.  
 1790s  
   -1804 Franciscan Tercer Order colegio (now Instituto de Bellas  
   Letras). ENC.  
 1803-06 Teresita convent and girls' colegio. NC.  
 ca. 1805 New bishop's palace (now New Municipal Palace). NC.  
 ca. 1840 Colegio Anaya (now Casa del Presidente Peña). NC.  
 1845-52 Teatro Iturbide (now de la República), built on the site  
 of the Colonial alhóndiga (granary). NC.

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1856-75 Rebuilding of Santa Ana Church. NG.

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