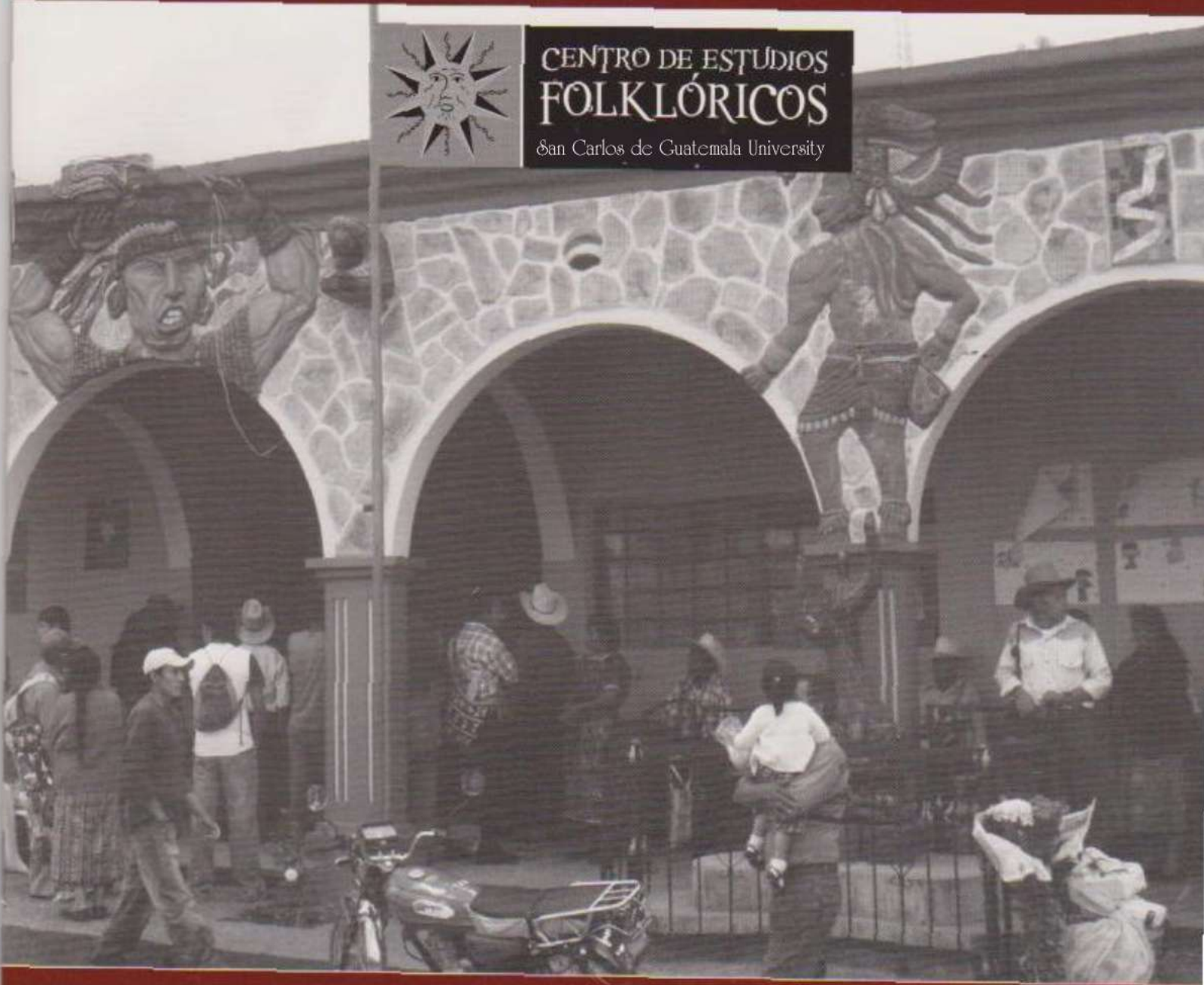


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Microhistory of San Martín Jilotepeque

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Year: 2013 No. 214

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Municipality of the department of Chimaltenango

XIII-XIX centuries

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Introduction

This work was done with the purpose of highlighting the historical development of one of the populations of Kaqchikel origin, as part of a broader study, which exalts the values of the entire department and, gradually, of the entire Republic to make it available to teachers and students of the community. It is the result of several researches on San Martín Jilotepeque, with abundant information obtained in the *Archivo General de Centroamérica* (General Archive of Central America) and covers from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. Thanks to the archaeological and ethnohistorical information, it was determined that the kaqchikel population inhabited the area of Joyabaj, currently the department of Quiché, later inhabited Iximché and, finally, Chuwa Nima'ab'äj (erroneously known as *Mixco Viejo* for a long time). The area dominated by the inhabitants was more extensive than the current one, since it included part of the current department of Sacatepéquez and Guatemala. Regarding the founding of the town, during the Spanish domination, the documents and accounts of the chroniclers of the time indicate that it took place after the issuance of the New Laws. It is also important to mention that San Martín Jilotepeque was a non-encomienda town. From the information gathered, there is an abundance of conflicts over land, and this problem increased in the eighteenth century, when the population had increased considerably. At the time, land remeasurements were carried out, with which the Spanish Crown found usurped royal lands and sold them by means of composition to the same usurpers. In this process it is important to mention that both the "Spaniards" and the "indigenous people" were subject to this law, so that both groups of inhabitants' lands were remeasured. During the Spanish control, the people had 192 caballería (land measurement in Latin America which is 111.82 acres approximately) in addition to those granted by the

Spanish Crown as common land; two farms for raising cattle and more than 18 sugarcane mills for processing sugar cane. Another of the town's important activities was the raising of cattle, and some of the owners of estates or farms became suppliers of meat for consumption in the towns of the central valley of Guatemala. There was also evidence of smallpox epidemics, one in 1807 and the other in 1814, both of which unfortunately killed many of the inhabitants, mostly indigenous people. With the annexation of Guatemala to México, between 1822 and 1823, the tribute and the "community" payment were eliminated, which exempted the towns of the central valley of Guatemala from these economic burdens. But in 1826, the order was given that in the communities, due to the lack of resources, community funds were to be re-established. The last thing documented was the transfer of the community cemetery. In the near future it is hoped to be able to complete the history of San Martín Jilotepeque during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Current location

San Martín Jilotepeque is currently bordered to the north by Joyabaj (Quiché) and Granados (Baja Verapaz), to the east by San Juan Sacatepéquez and Chimaltenango and Comalapa, to the west by Comalapa and San José Poaquil. The departmental capital of San Martín Jilotepeque is located on a plain, on the west side of the Frio river and east of the Cucuyá river. The elevation of the monument, according to the *Instituto Geográfico Nacional* (National Geographic Institute), in the park is 1,785.55 meters above sea level, latitude 14° 46' 48", longitude 90° 47' 35".

History in the Pre-Hispanic Period

The main sources for knowledge of the pre-Hispanic history of present-day San Martín Jilotepeque and its origins are the *Titulo de Jilotepeque* and *Anales de los*

According to the *Título de Jilotepeque*, the ancestors of the current population of San Martín Jilotepeque were subject to the rulers k'iche' in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has been identified that these settlers called themselves Chajomás and their first leaders were: Balam Quitzé, Corojóm, Ajmac and Tepepul. The name Chajomá translates as "pine resin" or "ocote" (Montezuma pine) and is designated a territory geographically located in the Joyabaj; both places belong to the K'iche' domain. On the other hand, Kaqchikel writings refer to the Chajomás as Akajal Winak "people of bees or beehives" in addition to clarifying that they came from "Tulán" (great city), in the same way as other Kaqchikel peoples. Therefore, the ancestors of the current population of San Martín Jilotepeque called themselves Chajomás and the kaqchikel people called them Akajales, after the name of a parcel of the Chajomás². A parcel was a territory under the military, political, and religious leadership of a member of an aristocratic family. This leader had responsibilities of aid, protection, defense, advice, and representation of his subjects before higher authorities³.

In the fifteenth century the ruler of the Chajomas was Lajuj Noj, which in Kaqchikel means "nine temples," in the Nahuatl language he was known as Ichalcan Chicuncuagat, "place of cotton, seven snakes." It should be remembered that at that time the Nahuatl language was the diplomatic language of the entire region. Lajuj Noj was also known as Zunu, "brave." This ruler resided in Och'al C'abawil, from where he ruled and directed the towns of his domain: Xepacay, Paján, Chijolóm and Xeinup. Although the names are not known today, it can be deduced from their meaning that they were in warm land: "under the palm," "place of the reeds," "in the head," and "under the ceiba," respectively.

According to the *Anales de los Kaqchikeles*, around the year 1450, vassals rebelled against Lajuj Noj. When he resided in the settlement of Och'al, and attempted to kill him, but with the assistance of Kaqchikel allies, the rebellion was crushed and the ruler was unharmed. However, as a result of this mutiny, Lajuj Noj decided to abandon the settlement and settled in Zakic'ajol Nimcakapec. The word *Zakic'ajol* can be related, in

Kaqchikel language, to the colors black and white or to a T'zutuujil deity. *Nimcakapec* means "the great red cave," which is mentioned in the *Título de Jilotepeque* as *Chuapec*. This place is now known by the erroneous name of Mixco Viejo, in the department of Chimaltenango, although with no linguistic, cultural or political relationship with the population of Mixco in the department of Guatemala⁴. In July 2013, the Ministry of Culture and Sports changed the name of the Mixco Viejo archaeological site to Chuwa Nima'ab'äj, in front of the large stone⁵.

According to the *Anales* account, the Chajomás and the Kaqchikel shared the space of the city of Iximché, the center of Kaqchikel political power, in the present-day department of Chimaltenango. Both groups grew in political and military power, so they tried to dominate each other and engaged in combat. The Kaqchikel attacked Lajuj Noj, in the place called Panaj, but it was a failed attempt, later Lajuj Noj was challenged to fight with the lords of Iximché, on this occasion both Lajuj Noj and his armed force were defeated by the Kaqchikel and the latter invaded the Chajomás villages and killed many of its inhabitants. The few who managed to survive the tragedy were expelled from their places of habitation and concentrated in a place called Xerajapit, whose current geographic location is unknown.

They managed to recover and became an expansionist political entity that controlled six towns or parcels. In the *Título de Jilotepeque* the name Jolom Balam, "head of the jaguar," is mentioned as one of the towns. In the early years of the sixteenth century, the people under the control of the Chajomás rebelled against the Kaqchikeles of Iximché. The leader of the rebellion was a warrior named Achi K'alel⁶.

The border between the Kaqchikel and the Chajomás was in Comalapa and Chimaltenango. To protect these limits, the Kaqchikeles always maintained a barracks in Chimaltenango, being the name of this town Pocob that means "shield, defense" and that gave origin to the Náhuatl word Chimaltenango. For their part, the Chajomas also had established fortresses on the western border of their territory and the only free place they had to trade products with the Kaqchikeles was a

² Carmack 1979: 133-40.

³ Hill 2001: 46-48.

⁴ Carmack 1979: 141.

⁵ <http://www.guatemala.gob.gt/index.php/2011-08-04-18-06-26/item/4738-ministerio-de-cultura-restituye-nombre-original-de-sitio-sagrado-de-mixco-viejo>

⁶ Carmack 1979: 142.

market, called "*tianguesillo*" in Nahuatl, which was near the actual town of Chimaltenango. It is probable that between the Kaqchikel of Iximché and the Chajomás there were agreements for war against common enemies, as happened at the time of the Spanish Conquest⁷.

The Conquest

The process of Spanish domination began in 1524 and was consolidated in 1527. It is estimated that it culminated around 1530. The Chajomás allied with the Kaqchikeles in the fight against the Spanish in 1526. As mentioned in the same writings, the main battle occurred in a place called *Ucubil*, whose exact location is not known, but it is believed to have been near the present towns of San Juan and San Pedro Sacatepéquez. Their defeat could have had different causes, it could have been because although it was a confederation of peoples, they were still weak, it could have been due to the betrayal of the macehual who joined the Spaniards and, above all, as a result of the deaths caused by the epidemics that decimated the population. When they were defeated, the Kaqchikel took refuge in Jilotepeque Viejo. It is also possible that they submitted to the Spaniards along with the Kaqchikel⁸. Spanish domination was already effective in 1530.

Foundation of San Martín Jilotepeque

For the construction of the history of San Martín Jilotepeque during the Spanish domination, the sources are more abundant and are found in documents stored in the General Archive of Central America.

Regarding the founding of the town, the exact date on which the indigenous people were reduced is not known. The Spaniards called reduction the establishment of the population in a limited place, of a European urban type, which they called *pueblo*, to avoid the dispersed settlement pattern used by the indigenous people to take care of the cultivated fields. The reductions had been ordered since 1538 at the request of Bishop Francisco Marroquín and were approved by *Reales Cédulas* in 1541 and 1544. One of the official who carried out the layout of the towns

was the judge Juan Rogel, who relied on friar translators⁹.

The chronicler of the late seventeenth century, Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán, referring to the town of San Martín Jilotepeque, wrote that, like other towns in the valley of Guatemala, it was one of the first "villages of reduced Indians", as recorded in Book 1° folio 130 of the Cabildo of Guatemala. At first, it was administered by the parish priest of the city of Santiago de Guatemala and it was in 1543 when Bishop Francisco Marroquín entrusted its administration to the Dominicans. Around 1800, Domingo Juarros affirmed that the town had been founded exactly in 1545¹⁰. For the above reasons, it is difficult to give an exact date for the founding of the town. Most likely, San Martín Jilotepeque was part of the reductions that took place after the impositions of the New Laws of 1542 and applied in 1549, in the same way that other towns in the central valley of Guatemala were reduced.

Each town was administered by an indigenous town council. At the same time, each town had its own lands, called *ejidos*, communal lands or common lands, which were used for hunting and to extract wood that was used as fuel for cooking, there were also lands for livestock distribution and, most of them, for agricultural use, from which income was obtained for the payment of tributes¹¹.

The administration of justice was in charge of the mayors or *alcaldes* (a word that means judge) and indigenous governors, who were responsible for the order and peace of the towns. The mayors had other functions such as supervising community crops, collecting tributes or taxes, taking the indigenous people to hear mass on Sundays and others¹². The indigenous mayors were under the authority of a Spanish authority. In the case of San Martín Jilotepeque, the indigenous mayor depended on the mayor of Chimaltenango.

Another important position in the towns was that of indigenous governors. They were established thanks to the New Laws of the sixteenth century and, in that period, the position was occupied by the descendants

⁷ Carmack 1979: 142.

⁸ Carmack 1979: 143.

⁹ Luján 1994: 133-134.

¹⁰ Gall 1972: 420-421.

¹¹ Solórzano 2009: 21

¹² AGCA A1.11.31 E. 15246 L. 2142 F. 12.v.-13.

of the pre-Hispanic nobility. They were in charge of order and the fulfillment of the obligations of the population. The governors were proclaimed by the indigenous people of the "common", that is to say in a form of open town council. The elected had to have the approval of the priest and, therefore, have good references in conduct, customs and, above all, be "God-fearing." The title was issued by the *Real Audiencia*, the period to exercise the position was of one year and the main functions were the following: administration of justice to the indigenous people and the punishment to those that did not fulfill the established laws; to maintain the peace and quiet in the town, and to avoid the drunkenness; to collect the tributes (this was one of the most important functions of the position); to supervise the crops; to watch that the population had hens, clothes, religious images and rosaries, and that the individuals assigned to public works attended; to watch that they lived in separate houses, which is, that there were no "cohabitation" (couples without having been married by the Catholic Church); to punish the indigenous people who committed crimes, and others¹³.

After the new laws came into effect in 1542, the indigenous people were legally freed from slavery, but the population was subject to the payment of "tributes" (taxes). This payment was made in two parts and was called "San Juan and Christmas", since it was made on June 24 and December 24. The amount was four *reales* for each male indigenous or tributary¹⁴. In addition, they were also subject of a new *encomienda* and a new repartition.

The name of San Martín Jilotepeque

The name San Martín Jilotepeque The auxiliaries of the Castilian troops spoke the Nahuatl language, which is why most of the conquered towns were given Nahuatl names. Chajomá was translated as Sacatepéquez, burned hill, in allusion to the fact that the fire was lit with resin and Montezuma pine. However, in the case of Jilotepeque, author Robert Carmack mentions: "*By an accident of history, the inhabitants of Jilotepeque lost their identification with the Chajomás or Sacatepéquez, and the place become known as the town of the hill of corn.*"¹⁵ Like all the towns founded at the time, it was named after a Catholic saint, San Martín de Tours¹⁶, bishop of the city of Tours, in France. Before becoming a clergyman, he was a soldier, and when he met a

beggar who was almost frozen to death, he felt pity and shared his cloak with him. This garment became a relic and gave rise to the name chapel to designate a small temple. He was one of the first venerated saints who did not die in martyrdom. It is likely that the foundation of the town occurred on November 11, feast day of the saint.

The town in the seventeenth century

The Irish friar Tomás Gage (in a book he published years later), in his trip from Mexico to Guatemala in 1625, mentioned San Martín Jilotepeque, on the way from San Andrés Sajcabajá: "*almost all the way was steep and rough until we arrived about two miles from the town, to which we arrived at noon. This town is cold because it is high up, but still pleasant, the countryside all the way to Guatemala, here in all the nearby towns there is very excellent wheat. The honey of this town is the best in the country; but above all it supplies Guatemala with quails, partridges and hares, it is the first town that we entered belonging to the city and jurisdiction of Guatemala*"¹⁷.

Fuentes y Guzmán, between 1690 and 1700, reported that San Martín Jilotepeque was more than ten leagues from the city of Santiago de Guatemala, that its language was Kaqchikel and that it had 497 tributaries. Tributaries were the males subject to the tribute that was imposed with the New Laws when the indigenous population was legally freed from slavery. It consisted of a mandatory payment per individual made in June and December. To calculate the tribute, males were counted and the total payment of the people was stipulated. This caused many problems when the population decreased due to epidemics.

According to Fuentes y Guzmán, one of the defects of the town was that "the vicariate and annexation" did not have data that indicated the number of parishioners, nor information that indicated the number of inhabitants of the place, which is why it is clarified in the book that Fuentes y Guzmán, was based on what he saw in the town. The vicarage was the head office of the friar in charge of the church and the annexation included the population that did not reside within the town limits.

The author himself was fond of describing the temples in the villages. About San Martín Jilotepeque he wrote: "*This place of San Martín Jilotepeque has*

17 Gall,

13 AGCA A1.24 E. 10228 L. 1584 F. 3

14 AGCA A3.40 E. 38023 L. 2585 F. 1.

15 Carmack, 1,979: 139

16 Gall 1,972:420.

a very good parish church, with good altarpiece decorations, ornaments and bells and a good of the doctrinero [friar in charge of the doctrine], its neighbors are given to the culture of the fields, in which they achieve good harvests of corns and wheat, so that its territory is very suitable and very watered and benefited from copious rivers, and in the Pixcayá many eels and trouts, of which the native Indians could take much advantage leading them to Goathemala... They benefit from their flour in large and good mills that are in that extensive valley, in the hands of Spaniards, who for their excellence and good dispatch seek them from very remote parts of the mountains"¹⁸.

Land disputes

Throughout the colonial period, land conflicts were common, and the town of San Martín Jilotepeque was no exception. These disputes took place between indigenous communities, private landowners, and between private landowners and indigenous communities. Thanks to these disputes, some information about the history of the villages is known.

In San Martín Jilotepeque there was litigation from 1643 to 1680. The problem originates because the indigenous people of the village of Xenacoj did not have land. For this reason, two individuals from Xenacoj asked the principals (authorities) of San Martín Jilotepeque to lease them a piece of land. The problem arose when the two natives of Xenacoj tried to take over the land in 1641, which caused discomfort among the natives of San Martín Jilotepeque. It was not until 1643 that the *Real Audiencia* heard of the problem, but when their demands were not met, the inhabitants of San Martín Jilotepeque entered the land by force in 1645. In 1649 the natives of Xenacoj sold the piece of land to a Spaniard for a value of 300 pesos, without being owners. It was not until 1681 when the indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque recovered the land¹⁹. At that time the peso was the Spanish currency, and was divided into 8 *reales*.

Another litigation took place in 1642, Martín Delo was the supposed owner of a piece of land that was three leagues from the town of San Martín Jilotepeque, the problem occurred because some indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque had a house on that land. The indigenous people, in their defense in court, mentioned that the land was theirs

and that since time immemorial they had planted corn and vegetables. The court's resolution was to evict the indigenous people from the place²⁰.

A third documented case was that of Andrés Risso, who occupied a piece of land located "a league and a half" from the center of the town. Risso raised cattle that caused damage to the crops of the inhabitants of San Martín Jilotepeque. In 1686, in the face of the protest of the indigenous authorities of the town, the Audiencia determined that the land indeed belonged to the indigenous people, so Risso had to pay for the damage and the piece of land was awarded to the town²¹.

Exoneration from the payment of tribute

In the colonial period, within the indigenous peoples, some people of noble origin were exonerated from the payment of tribute, who generally fulfilled some function in the churches.

For such reason, the indigenous people who worked in the churches, upon learning of these benefits, asked to be exempted from the tax burden. In this case they were considered "reserved"²². In San Martín Jilotepeque it was "the custom of said town that those reserved for *tequios* and *mandamiento* should be occupied in the works of the church."²³ The payment of taxes in cash or product was known as *tequio*, and payment in labor was known as *mandamiento*.

An example is the case of Miguel González, neighbor of San Martín Jilotepeque, who requested, on February 17, 1672, exoneration from the payment of tribute because he held the position of fiscal of doctrine in the town's church. He also requested the exoneration of the payment of his children²⁴.

The town in the eighteenth century

A specific character

Among the characters of the town, the indigenous governors stood out. In 1723, for example, the governor was Juan Coh²⁵.

The confraternity

20 A1.80 E. 52684 L. 5990 F. 23-29

21 AGCA A1.80 E. 52684 L. 5990 F. 55-61

22 Hill (2,001: 53)

23 A1.11-2 E. 48525 L. 5775 F. 16.

24 AGCA A1.24 E. 10208 L. 1564 F. 158.

25 AGCA A1.24 E. 10228 L. 1584 F. 3

18 Gall (1,972:420.)

19 Hill 2001: 70 - 71

As for the confraternities, it is known that, in 1730, there was a confraternity dedicated to the "Señora Santa Rosa" (a Dominican saint canonized in 1671), probably established around 1710. Spanish, ladino, and indigenous people participated in this organization. In this confraternity, as stated in the account of Manuel De La Trinidad, money loans were made to individuals, with the respective charging of interest, with the aim of obtaining funds for the town's religious celebrations²⁶.

Land disputes

In the eighteenth century there was a farm called Trapiche San Francisco, owned by Presbyter Joseph Armas Conejo. In 1718, the Spaniard asked the authorities to evict some indigenous people who were settled on his land. After verifying the property, the eviction of the natives was ordered²⁷.

Another case occurred in 1771. The heiress of the land and sugar mill Señor San Francisco, Lorenza Arriaza widow of Herrera, mortgaged said land in favor of Rosa Cuellar, for 400 pesos, committing to pay them with *panela* (raw cane sugar)²⁸. Complying with the orders, the engineer Luis Diez de Navarro drew up two blueprints²⁹. The first was based on the measurement made by Juan del Bosque in 1749. In the second, he calculated the land at 31 *caballerías* and 25 square *cuerdas*. According to the information that was studied, the land had not been paid for in the royal funds, since Lorenza Arriaza did not have documents that accredited its ownership. After verifying this situation, the authorities decided to value the land and sell it to the same lady who had usurped it. This problem had been dragging on since 1749 and up to 1772 had not yet been concluded. Another of the parties affected by this conflict were the indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque, since the calculation included lands belonging to the town, which led to a protest in 1773. The town did not have documents to protect the land, called Chijocom, with an extension between 14 and 15 *caballerías*. In 1785 the case had not yet been concluded, and its final resolution was not found in the General Archive of Central America.

26 A1.11.2 E. 48531 L. 5776

27 AGCA A1.80 E. 52684 L. 5990 F. 31-36v.

28 AGCA A1.80 E. 52684 L. 5990 F. 94.

29 AGCA A1.80 E. 52684 L. 5990

Dispute between San Martín Jilotepeque and San Juan Comalapa

In 1768, the indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque had to face a lawsuit filed by the town of San Juan Comalapa for a piece of land that had the name of Xenimajuyú. The private judge of the royal right of lands and compositions, Domingo López de Urrelo, determined to make a measurement of the land, so that each of the two communities and towns, according to their documents of possession of the lands, would be granted what corresponded to them³⁰. The delegate for the measurements was Juan Guanino, who identified the boundaries in: *Cambualcol*, *Chipatan*, *Lo de Morales*, *Sajalá hill*, *Chuychum hill*, *Chipichiquej*, *Dos peñas* "Pie de venado", *La Puerta de Don Manuel*, *Cruz de Piedra*, *Zarimá* and *Zaquisiguan*. It was determined that the land had an extension of 15 *caballerías* and three quarters, belonged to San Martín Jilotepeque and had been acquired by composition, but was being used by the inhabitants of Comalapa, due to the need of land for cultivation. As a result, the private judge of the real right of land determined that Comalapa should pay San Martín Jilotepeque 944 pesos $\frac{1}{2}$ *real*, which was made effective. The boundaries were established in: *Quebrada Ruyalcan*, *Chipisquej*, *Chuichun*, *Xepatan* and *Xenimajuyú*.

The process of land remeasurements

The process of land remeasurements in the towns of the central valley of Guatemala was a planned and organized policy of the Spanish crown to generate funds through the composition or sale of "royal" lands. This process began at the end of 1749 and concluded in 1760. In the case of San Martín Jilotepeque, it was from 1749.

This process was called remeasurement of land, by which the authorities measured the land of individuals or indigenous communities for which, having a surplus, they could buy it at a low price, called "moderate composition". The land remeasurement procedure consisted of hearing witnesses to verify the ownership of the land, then the "vistas de ojos" or site visit was carried out and, finally, the land was measured. Through this procedure, the Crown obtained income from the sale of land³¹.

One of the first lands re-measured was that of Pedro Herrera, who was the owner of the land and sugar

30 AGCA A1.1 E. 52991 L. 6014.

31 Solórzano 2009: 46-49

mill Señor San Francisco³², which was located two leagues from the town. It was found that the owner had 29.33 *caballerías* of usurped land, for which he owed the Spanish Crown approximately 283 pesos. The second, known by the name of *Hacienda Vieja* or *Potosí*, located in the limits of the town, was owned by the Presbyter Manuel de La Roca, of which the authorities determined that he had 37 *caballerías* $\frac{1}{3}$ of usurped land, for which he had to pay 55 pesos 4 *reales*, to the royal funds. The third, named "Parruyal Caco or Santa Inés," whose location is not mentioned, owned by Joseph de La Roca, yielded a result of 37 *caballerías* $\frac{1}{4}$ of usurped land, for which he had to pay 120 pesos (240 *tostones*). The fourth remeasured land was the common land of the town of San Martín Jilotepeque, which was also subject to these dispositions. After measuring the land, the person who did it determined that the indigenous people had 122 *caballerías* and 63 *cuerdas* $\frac{1}{3}$ of usurped land, for which they had to pay 244 pesos 6 *reales* to the corresponding funds.

According to the information gathered, it was determined that both the private owners and part of the common land of San Martín Jilotepeque were used for planting sugar cane. The documents consulted do not indicate whether the individuals paid for the usurpation of the land. However, it is known that the town did make the payment. It was stipulated that the land purchased by composition could not be alienated and that, if for any reason the town disappeared or became "extinct" (as happened to many towns of the time due to epidemics, such as Santiago Cotzumalguapa for example), the land would return to the royal patrimony, in other words, since it was royal property, the Crown could sell it again.

Based on the above, it is known that a person could usurp large tracts of land without much control by the Spanish Crown. The land was usufructuated for many years and until, either by remeasurements as happened in 1749 or by litigation with neighbors, the land judges realized that they had usurped land. Added to this were the anomalous business dealing with the person measuring and land adjudicators. This allowed large tracts of land to belong to a single person, from that period, which encouraged what is known today as *latifundium*: "the Spanish divided large tracts of land, more than they were assigned, and the Crown tolerated it, but one hundred and fifty

years later issued the order to legally check the land tenure, and those who had excesses regarding the land they had ceded and/or titled, had to pay the crown the land they had in excess. They had to pay for the excesses by means of 'composition'"³³.

Denunciation of wasteland or royal lands in order to buy them

There was a difference between the remeasurement process carried out by the Spanish Crown to recover the royal lands and later sell them by composition³⁴ and the land measurements, which were made at request of the people interested in buying them. The second method of land acquisition involved a different process. As a first step, the interested party denounced or declared a vacant lot (i.e., one that had no registered owner) before the authorities in charge of land matters, then provided the geographic location and requested that, after corresponding legal procedures, the land be sold to him³⁵. This second method to acquire land was carried out in the land called El Quimal in San Martín Jilotepeque in 1757.

The requestor was Juan Games, who made the request for a piece of land adjacent to his property, arguing that it had no owner and that anyone could enter to extract wood and other things. According to the documents³⁶, the owners of the land were indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque, who used it for the production of sugar cane and production of raw cane sugar, with which they possibly obtained money to pay tributes³⁷. The measurement showed that the land was 7 and a half *caballerías* in size. In the same year, the judge fixed the price at 8 *tostones* per *caballería* for the sale. That year there were no buyers³⁸. However, in 1764, the case was heard again and, on that occasion, Juan Games asked for the measurement of the land and ceded his right to Francisco Méndez, with the sole condition that when this person wanted to sell it,

33 Solórzano 2009: 29

34 Solórzano 2009: 29-41.

35 AGCA A1.80 E. 52691 L. 6011.

36 AGCA A1.80 E. 52961 L. 6011 F. 2.v.

37 Hill 2001: 53.

38 AGCA A1.80 E. 52961 L. 6011 12.v.-14.v.

32 AGCA A1.80 E. 52684 L. 5990 F. 31-36v.

he would sell it to him³⁹.

The district attorney of the *Real Audiencia* determined that the land should be sold to the indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque for a value of 60 tostones each *caballería*. In addition, they had to pay the value of the measure⁴⁰. In 1766, the mayors paid into the royal funds the value of 236 pesos 2 reales for the land El Quimal⁴¹. With this resolution, the *Real Audiencia* concluded the case and achieved two objectives: to provide land to the natives and ensure the payment of tributes, and to generate funds with the sale of the land, which in fact already belonged to San Martín Jilotepeque.

Sale of raw cane sugar

In the seventeenth century, one of the main activities in San Martín Jilotepeque was the production of sugarcane and the production of raw cane sugar⁴². However, the mayor of Chimaltenango had determined that raw cane sugar should not be sold to the indigenous people. For this reason, in 1759, a group of farm owners requested the revocation of the order: "*Juan Antonio Rodríguez Pardo on behalf of the neighboring farm owners of the town of San Martín Jilotepeque and by virtue of the power of attorney that I duly present before your highness for the recourse that is most appropriate in law, I appear and say that said my parties among the principal goods that they enjoy in that jurisdiction are their cane plantations from whose fruits all territory is supplied, and with their products they pay the censos [mortgage-type loans], and other charges affected to said goods.*" The farm owners were concerned because the indigenous people were the main consumers and traders of raw cane sugar, without whose work and consumption it was impossible for them to sell, transport, and market the product. It is likely that this commercialization exceeded the limits of the town, which was a fundamental pillar to the development of its agricultural enterprises. The prohibition, according to the mayor, was due to the fact that the indigenous people made intoxicating drinks, such as "*chicha*," which caused harm to the population. The argument of the landowners was presented in these terms: "*Without sufficient reason for the mayor to prevent the use of raw cane sugar in beverages, alleging that it results in drunkenness and the damage that can be caused because raw cane*

sugar is not intended for the aforementioned purpose, however, they abuse it as they can do with any other material; also, prohibiting its use would cause further damage: firstly, this does not stop drunkenness, since they make infinite drinks of other fruits, which intoxicates them with greater violence, and causes notable damage to the body, making them sick, dulling them, and killing them with great ease."⁴³

They explained that raw cane sugar had other uses, such as the production of medicines, candy boxes and was the sweetener of the majority of the population. They also made it clear that prohibiting its sale would ruin their farms⁴⁴. There were between 15 and 20 owners who had control over the production, processing, and marketing of the product. This also entailed the ownership of large tracts of land. It is probable that some pressure had been exerted by the landowners, since "*His Majesty's district attorney says.... the native Indians could not be prohibited from drinking beverages made of raw cane sugar.*"⁴⁵

A lawsuit against the priest

In 1761, the indigenous authorities filed a complaint and lawsuit against the town's Catholic priest, Joseph de La Fuente. The priest was accused of mistreatment and obstruction of justice⁴⁶. The indigenous authorities expressed their discontent and discomfort, and mentioned that they could no longer bear the humiliations and outrages to which they were subjected. Within the information it was noted that San Martín Jilotepeque was a town of passage and that the indigenous people gave "assistance" to travelers passing through the place. Unfortunately, the documents deposited in the General Archive of Central America do not indicate how the case concluded, but seven years after the denunciation, Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz still found him to be the town's priest.

Cattle farms

The indigenous community of San Martín Jilotepeque also raised cattle, the income from which was used to pay tribute and defray the expenses of the annual festivities in honor of their saints. "*A widely used alternative was to create a community enterprise that would generate income. This second method involved raising some kind of newly introduced livestock,*

39 Ibid. 15.v-17.

40 Ibid. 37.v-41.

41 Ibid. 47.

42 A.I.14.4 E. 31967 L. 4067 F. 3.

43 Ibid. F. 3.v.

44 Ibid. F. 4.

45 Ibid. F. 10-11.

46 AGCA A.I.11.31 E. 15246 L. 2142 F. 1.

especially cattle."⁴⁷ In 1766 the town had two cattle farms and requested that they not be charged a "tithe", since the funds were used for their expenses in the confraternities⁴⁸. The result was positive, since they were not charged the tithe⁴⁹.

Visit of Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz

Archbishop Cortés y Larraz made an ecclesiastical visit to Guatemala between 1768 and 1770. A visitation was a trip through the diocese that each bishop was to make in the diocese as part of his religious function, to administer the sacrament of confirmation, and to evaluate the performance of the priests or pastors (for "cure of souls"). In the West Indies, the jurisdictions of the indigenous population were called *curatos*. It included an administrative review of the Catholic priests; the geographic location; some social characteristics of the population and the approximate number of inhabitants of each town. Regarding San Martín Jilotepeque, the archbishop noted that San Martín Jilotepeque curato did not have annexes, that is, other churches in nearby towns under its charge. There were four estates: Santo Domingo, La Merced, San Isidro Herrera, owned by Mr. Tomás Márquez. There were also five mills: De Márquez, De Piscayá, De Recinos, De Santa Bárbara and De Estrada; and *pajuides*, as will be seen later. According to the prelate's description, the land and road were difficult to access, full of very steep cliffs, with violent slopes, full of rocks and "landslides". On the grounds of the Nuestra Señora de La Merced farm, there were fields planted with corn and beans, as well as five mills⁵⁰.

The parish was administered by the priest Joseph Antonio Alvarez de La Fuente, 60 years old and 15 years of administering the parish of San Martín Jilotepeque. According to Cortés y Larraz, he was a very distrustful man, so much so that he did not want to give him information about the number of tributary parishioners: "To find out about what was said, even though it was nothing, it took a lot of work and many reasons due to the extravagance of this priest, and since in the end very little can be found out about the families and people, either from what I have experienced in the visit, or from the opinion that some who have been in the town have formed, I believe that there are about 1200 families, with 5000

people in the town."⁵¹

The archbishop said that the *pajuides* were places of settlement where some indigenous people who fled from the towns took refuge, outside the Spanish laws and tributes, and where some ladinos also resided. There was no count of the members of inhabitants of these *pajuides*.

Public chaos

In 1791, the town judge, Manuel Josef Rosal, sent information to the mayor of Chimaltenango regarding a "mutiny". It was not really an uprising. In the narration, Rosal stated⁵²: "the justice of San Jacinto has arrived to this [town] to give me help, but I consider them to have arrived late. The people are becoming more insolent every day, for during the nights of the festivities, or on their eve, they organize clandestine meetings and binge drinking. As happened the night before last, I tried to catch them, but finding not enough authorities in the town council, other than two bailiffs, I decided to ride on horseback and follow them. However, due to the many ravines in the town, they managed to jump into the mountains, the mills, and the Urran valley. Most of them are boys, some as young as fourteen or sixteen, who live in freedom. Others, who have neither mother nor father, lead a libertine life in which they do not distinguish between night and day. The native Indians, as they see them as ladinos, do not complain about them, fearful that they will do to them what they did to López."

Although the objectives were not political, they were influenced by the social and economic conditions at the time. Rosal continued in the same letter⁵³: "although I am moved by the zeal to avoid them I find myself with the helplessness that I cannot avail myself of the ladinos because they are all relatives and they cover up very well with each other... this needs an exemplary spanking to those who form these gangs and meetings because from them result drunkenness, and from them follow other consequences such as death among first cousins." In what the informant wrote, it is clear that he felt unable to do anything about the criminal acts carried out by mestizos, called "*ladinos*," who took refuge in the homes of their relatives or friends. Finally, he emphasized that exemplary punishment was needed. The report continued⁵⁴: "these carry thieves as they

47 Hill 2001: 53.

48 AGCA A1.11-2 E. 44861 L. 5324 F. 1.

49 AGCA A1.24.20 E. 39797 L. 4655 F. 1.

50 Cortés y Larraz 1,958: 74-75.

51 Cortés y Larraz 1,958: 75.

52 AGCA A1.213 E. 3314 L. 163.

53 AGCA A1.213 E. 3314 L. 163.

54 AGCA A1.213 E. 3314 L. 163.

know the sidewalks, entrances and exits. There is no way the ladinos and native Indians would want to stop giving lodging to outsiders."

In response to Rosal's letter, the mayor of Chimaltenango wrote to the *Real Audiencia*. The mayor's proposal was to congregate in villages all those who lived in the pajuides, considered a den of delinquents due to the ease of construction of the houses. In his opinion:⁵⁵ *"what these castes of people would have to move is a straw hut that did not cost ten or twelve reales in total, the grinding stone, their sleeping mat, the mattress protector, and bed sheets if they have them. The women their nagua (white fabric undershirt), and mat with some old dishes that would be better in the fire."*

Exemption from tributes

Among the petitions made by the indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque in 1794, it is noteworthy that they asked for an exoneration of tributes for the year 1793, since in that year there was a crisis in agricultural production, specifically in the planting of corn. The consequences of this crisis were a shortage of corn in the town, even for consumption. To corroborate if it was true, the same year the *Real Audiencia* asked for the report of the town priest, who was Fray Manuel Joseph Paniagua, who ratified the information of the natives and mentioned that the shortage was at a general level⁵⁶.

The curacy in 1800

The capital's priest Domingo Juarros, approximately in 1800, reported that San Martín Jilotepeque was still the head of the curacy within the Chimaltenango district. The town had one church, six confraternities, two farms, and 4,851 parishioners. The predominant language was Kaqchikel, it was 15 leagues from Guatemala City, the climate was temperate, its agricultural production was sugar cane, so there were many sugar mills. As for the number of Spaniards and mulattos, he mentioned that there were a "competent" number and more than 4,000 indigenous people⁵⁷.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1806, San Martín Jilotepeque appeared in the State of the Curates of the Archbishopric of Guatemala, made by the Real Tribunal y Contaduría de Cuentas, with a number of 1,089 tributaries, although the total

number of inhabitants is not mentioned⁵⁸.

Epidemics

Epidemics were the cause of death of a large number of people from the sixteenth century onwards, due to diseases introduced unintentionally by the Spaniards. One of the deadliest was smallpox. In 1796, the Englishman Edward Jenner discovered the smallpox vaccine. In 1803, King Charles IV sent 22 orphans from Spain so that vaccines could be produced throughout the Americas. In Guatemala, the doctor responsible for the vaccination was Narciso Esparragoza Gallardo. In spite of the advances, in 1807 an epidemic occurred in San Martín Jilotepeque⁵⁹. As the means were already available, the vaccination was carried out from March 29 to May 30 and from August 9 to September 15, 1807, with financing from the community, as appears in the text: *"San Martín Xilotepeque, August 1, 1808. We, the governor and justices, deliver to the chief magistrate Mr. Antonio Josef Arrivillaga five hundred and forty-four pesos four reales on account of our community for the year 1807."*⁶⁰ People were also vaccinated throughout the municipality of Chimaltenango. In San Martín Jilotepeque, 112 children under 17 years of age were vaccinated; three children over 18 years of age were vaccinated, for a total of 115, of which only ten were boys.

In 1814 another vaccination was carried out, which lasted 29 days, and the person in charge of carrying out the work was Gerónimo Miranda, who charged 87 pesos for his services. The following year, the commissioner or judge of San Martín, Juan Correa, paid 93 pesos for 31 days of vaccination in the same town. The figures indicate that 5,033 indigenous people were vaccinated and 524 ladinos, as well as the purchase of 16 loads of raw cane sugar to send to the sick in the different towns of that jurisdiction. The disease was present between June 1815 and March 1816, for which the sum of 795 pesos 6 reales was spent on the purchase of meat to feed the sick; also raw cane sugar, butter, salt, corn, bread, flour, barley, jars, earthenware articles, rice, blankets for beds, vinegar, sulfur and for the payment of the employees who took care of the patients⁶¹.

⁵⁸ Gall 1972: 421.

⁵⁹ AGCA A1.73 E. 15328 L. 2147 F. 31.

⁶⁰ AGCA A1 E. 15306 L. 2146 F.2.

⁶¹ ACGCA A1. 73 E. 15336 L. 2148 F. 1-34.

⁵⁵ AGCA A1.213 E. 3314 L. 163.

⁵⁶ AGCA A1 22.22 E. 3282 L. 163 F. 1-2

⁵⁷ Gall 1972:421

Payment of tributes

In 1808 the annual tribute payment was four reales for each tributary, as appears in a document: "in accordance with the superior ruling of November 27, 1806. This chief magistrate should have collected 4144 of the 8288 tributaries that make up the last registration and current distribution, which 21 towns under the jurisdiction of this corregimiento [or mayor's office of Chimaltenango]. Each tributary is obligated to contribute 4 reales annually as a fund for their community."⁶² Apparently, San Martín Jilotepeque did not pay tributes, since it does not appear in the lists of community accounts.

Prior to 1806, the "justices" or indigenous authorities were allowed by the Crown to use money from community funds to pay the salaries of the schoolteacher, the town notary and others. However, after 1806, it was decided to limit the expenses of the community funds.

Another type of tribute was the "*quebrado acrecido de milpas*," which did not have a fixed amount but varied in relation to the price of corn: "*The previous year's account amounted to 4,195 pesos and 2 reales. In response, it was explained that the difference observed by this accountancy is due to the fact that corn does not have the same price every year.*"⁶³ It was in 1806 when the collection of the "*quebrado acrecido*" was eliminated: "*By 3° entry this chief magistrate is charged 112 pesos 1 ½ reales that were delivered to him by the following towns by reason of quebrado acrecido... and being expressly extinguished all contribution by reason of this title.*"⁶⁴ Therefore, it was agreed that all towns that had paid the aforementioned tribute in 1806 should return the money to them. Information from 1809 justified the reason why the indigenous people of San Martín Jilotepeque had not paid the contribution of "*quebrado acrecido de milpas*," as they were building a bridge, which they had started in 1806. According to the same manuscript, what happened was that when the indigenous people went to work in public works, as in this case, they could not attend to their work in the fields, since they could not be in two places at the same time. As it was a valid situation and allowed by law, the authorities made no objections. However, the elimination of this charge caused confusion among the indigenous population, who believed that all tributes or contributions were

eliminated, so that they would no longer have to pay any tax contribution⁶⁵.

In 1812, there were 1,263 taxpayers in San Martín Jilotepeque, for a total of 631 pesos 4 reales. The expenses incurred in that year were deducted from this sum: 166 pesos of the schoolteacher's salary and 25 pesos of the town notary's salary⁶⁶. A year later, changes were made to better control the money paid by the indigenous "justices"⁶⁷. The destination of the tributes was established by the Spanish authorities. Because of the European wars, many resources were used in that continent: "*By the fiscal of this audience as protector of the native Indians of all the towns of the districts of this providence by virtue of his circular initiative, the amount of one hundred thousand pesos were donated from the same community funds to his majesty Mr. Fernando VII on November 16, 808, to support the national armies against the tyrant Napoleon.*"⁶⁸

In 1810, the town was unable to complete the payment, so it owed the Crown 390 pesos 4 reales⁶⁹. The first mayor, Manuel Siquín, explained that the default was due to loans to individuals who used it to buy raw cane sugar and did not cancel the debt. However, the sum borrowed was 57 pesos. The mayor did not mention what had happened to the remaining money. Siquín was imprisoned and his goods were seized while the payment of the difference was being settled. Among those goods was a sugar mill located in the place known as "Chijocom," valued at 60 pesos including the land and crops. When the information was corroborated, the mill was put up for sale and Siquín was released. This process was initiated by the chief magistrate of Chimaltenango, José del Barrio, in 1813, to recover the funds from the collection of tributes in San Martín Jilotepeque for the years 1810, 1811, and 1812. Defaulters had their assets seized, which were sold at auction, and others were given time to raise the money and pay⁷⁰.

The mayors justified the default with: the poverty of the people, diseases, and the death of some indigenous people who appeared in the register of inhabitants as tributaries. This was a serious problem

62 AGCA A1.E. 15306 L.2146 F.59

63 AGCA A1.E. 15306 L.2146 F.59

64 AGCA A1.E. 15306 L.2146 F.9

65 AGCA A1.73 E. 5773 L. 261 F. 1-3.v.

66 AGCA A3.40 E. 38023 L. 2585 F. 1.

67 AGCA A1.73 E. 5773 L. 261 F. 1-3.v.

68 AGCA A1.73 E. 5773 L. 261 F. 1-3.v.

69 AGCA A1.73 E. 15331 L. 2148 F. 1.

70 AGCA A1.73 E. 15322 L. 2147 F.1; AGCA A1. 73 E.7644 L. 371 F.1.

because it took a long time for the authorities of the Audiencia to make a new census. The problem was that they were charged tribute for the deceased: "from death, or absence, hunger, illness and poverty, the native Indians towns are now almost generally excused from paying the annual contribution of three to four reales."⁷¹ To this was added the reluctance to pay tributes: "Regarding the reluctance of the native Indians to pay the contribution, the same Audiencia has issued the appropriate measures so that the judges themselves and through the respective priests make the native Indians understand, with moderation and appropriate expressions, the benefit they get from paying the quota."⁷² In the decision of the Audiencia, it was established that the chief magistrate: "instruct the convenient justification of the dead and absent. And in the case of being certain the absence of individuals for one cause or another, to replace this with those who are not enrolled."⁷³

Provision of drinking water

The work of providing water to the town began in 1806 and continued in 1813, with Juan Antonio Correa being in charge of the work in that year. Work continued on the construction site, such as: trenching, making pipes, bends, water intakes and others, for which bricks, lime, leather for bags, crowbars and others were used. It was necessary to hire the services of master masons, master plumper, blacksmiths and lime bakers⁷⁴. The work remained unfinished until 1816. More than five thousand pesos had been spent that year, money that came from community funds. About the work, it was noted in an official document: "This is a very necessary endeavor, offering infinite public benefits, a work of Roman magnitude in which the native Indians have poured their sweat into it through personal labor and have spent over five thousand pesos from their community funds. I am less surprised by the prolonged silence of these well-off Spanish neighbors over the years than by the fact that, in the past ten years, not a single one has stepped forward to contribute, whether offering their own labor, that of their children, or even a single real, to ensure the completion of this project, which serves both the common good and individual interests.

71 AGCA A1.73 E. 15322 L. 2147 F.1; AGCA A1. 73 E.7644 L. 371

F.1.

72 AGCA A1.73 E. 15322 L. 2147 F.1; AGCA A1. 73 E.7644 L. 371

F.1.

73 AGCA A1.73 E. 15322 L. 2147 F.1; AGCA A1. 73 E.7644 L. 371

F.1.

74 AGCA A1.44 E. 23689 L. 2752 F. 23.v; AGCA A1 E. 15329 L.

2147 F. 22-25.

*Especially seeing the water at the edge of the town where it has remained and will remain until the end of the world as the authorities have locked away the natives' funds, the only means and support [to bring this great work to completion]."*⁷⁵ In 1817, the indigenous authorities paid 576 pesos to complete the work and 400 pesos on behalf of the tributes collected⁷⁶.

Ladino mayors

In the nineteenth century, the indigenous population of the town was 5,000 and the non-indigenous population exceeded 1,000. In 1815, claiming the presence of more than 1,000 Spaniards and ladinos, the mayor of Chimaltenango was asked to create the positions of ordinary mayors. The census showed 209 "Spanish" persons, including men, women, and children. As well as 825 "ladino" people, for a total of 1034 people. In the application document, it was stated the following: "Our community is considerably numerous, since it is composed of more than a thousand people, including Spaniards and Ladinos. Among them there are enough qualified people to carry out the mentioned offices. In addition, we wish to have judges who can resolve our affairs without the necessity of leaving our homes or incurring great expense. If we had them in the same place, they would not only administer justice to us in civil matters, but would also watch over public tranquility. However, we warn that this project might not be well received by the chief magistrates, since, by having mayors, they would lose jurisdiction over the affairs of the territory."⁷⁷ This quote sheds light on the specific interests that were intended to be taken care of, which were those of Spaniards and Ladinos. The town's priest endorsed the request: "According to the priest, the community is sufficiently large, with more than 1,000 ladinos, who would benefit from this measure." However, the chief magistrate of Chimaltenango, José del Barrio, totally rejected the request.

Cattle

To supply meat to the area of Guatemala City, since the sixteenth century, it was necessary to enter a contest to offer the product at a certain price, but since it was the authorities who decided to whom they gave the contract for the sale, several cattle breeders and meat sellers offered the product at different prices, but in the end, the one who offered

75 AGCA A1.44 E. 23689 L. 2752 F. 23.v.

76 AGCA A1.73 E. 15338 L. 2148 F. 1-6.v.

77 AGCA A1.44 Exp. 23689 Leg. 2752 F. 1-21.

the lowest price was the one who had the opportunity to sell it for a period of time ranging between 15 and 30 days⁷⁸.

The farm owners of San Martín Jilotepeque, in addition to sugar cane activities, also raised cattle, so one peso was charged for each slaughtered beef. One of the landowners was José Agustín Gálvez, who was prosecuted for not having paid more than 100 pesos. Gálvez also supplied the central valley of Guatemala: "*It is worth knowing that Gálvez, my constituent, has been a supplier of this product in all those towns and mainly in his community.*"⁷⁹ In addition, other suppliers attested that one cow was slaughtered daily: "*Miguel Ximenez says that in San Martín between twenty-nine and thirty cows are slaughtered monthly. Manuel Tanchez assures that about two cows are killed daily in each village*"⁸⁰, which is why it was one of the regular activities in the area.

In 1818, another supplier was Manuel Gálvez, who dwelled in San Martín Jilotepeque and had the land for raising cattle in the same town. The price at which meat was sold in that year ranged from three pounds for one real to three pounds ten ounces for one real, for "bullock" meat. Other people involved in raising cattle and selling meat were Miguel Jiménez, Juan Matute, Alvino Godoy and Ildefonso Arreola⁸¹.

Cereal production

It is known that there was a shortage of wheat and corn before 1818, because that year the preventive judges of Chimaltenango requested information from the judges of each town. The judge of San Martín Jilotepeque, Juan Antonio Correa, reported that in the town there were 23 ladinos devoted to the crop, one of them was a woman, and there were several "poquiteros," which means people that harvested few quantities. According to his report, 1,962 bushels of corn (almost 2,400 quintals) and 80 bushels of wheat (almost 98 quintals) had been harvested in 1818. Regarding the indigenous population, he reported that there were 36 growers, all male, for a total of 774 bushels (more than 944 quintals). According to the report, that year's harvest was "regular," with no shortages but not abundant. It was noted that because

of the plague called "argeña" (probably from *Erica ciliaris*, a harmful weed) it was not customary to sow much wheat. The price of wheat was 7 pesos per "maquila" (125 pounds, while a bushel was 122 pounds) and that of wheat, 1 peso per bushel⁸².

Reduction in tributes

It is probable that before 1821 a request was made for a reduction in tributes, since the *Real Audiencia* granted it to all the towns in the central valley. This reduction was published in a proclamation and in a document in December of the same year⁸³.

New census including indigenous and ladino people

Also in 1821 the order was given to make a new census, in which the indigenous and ladino inhabitants of the towns would be included. The order was issued by the first constitutional mayor, Juan Antonio Correa⁸⁴. The document for this census consists of 101 pages, with details of the inhabitants, regarding ethnicity, names, gender, occupations, and marital status of the people. The difference between "ladinos" and indigenous people was included, giving them the synonym of "natural Indians"⁸⁵. An indigenous population of 2,557 men and 2,672 women residing in 453 households was recorded. Allegedly they were all farmers, plus a carpenter and a drummer. Eleven people were reported to have escaped. In the Ladino group, a total of 336 men and 432 women were counted in 123 households. The trades of this group included farmer, baker, blacksmith, packsaddle maker, silversmith, carpenter, tailor, weaver, merchant, day laborer, cowherd, swineherd, wool worker, wax worker, and student.

Request for reduction in tributes On December 14, 1821, the authorities presented a request to Gabino Gaínza: "*The natural citizens of the town of San Martín request a reduction of the tribute. They justify it on the loss of their crops as a result of having abandoned them to attend the work of introducing water, and they expose other vexations suffered by their rights in the levying of said taxes.*"⁸⁶ The official did not respond to the request: "*They are not qualified. The causes they allege for the reduction do*

78 AGCA, A3.40 E. 38037 L. 2586 F. 1-17.

79 AGCA A1.73 E. 24333 L. 2781 F. 1-2

80 AGCA, A1.73 E. 24333 L. 2781 F. 1-2.

81 AGCA, A3.40 E. 38037 L. 2586 F. 1-17.

82 AGCA A3 E. 38026 L. 2585 F. 1-2; AGCA A3.40 E. 38039 L. 2586 F. 1-3.

83 AGCA, B.119.1 E. 55495 L. 2500 F. 1-2.

84 AGCA A1.44 E. 23692 L. 2752; A1.44 E. 26497 L. 2883 F. 1.

85 AGCA A1.44 E. 23692 L. 2752 21-101

86 AGCA, A3.40 E. 38045 L. 2586 F. 2

not seem sufficient; but they do seem sufficient to be treated with the greatest consideration and gentleness, so that it is not permitted to flog the women, which is a penalty justly abolished in our system.”

Annexation to Mexico

With the annexation to Mexico, which took place between 1822 and 1823, the abolition of the tribute was achieved: “The decree of the regency of the empire of February 21, 1822 prohibited the contribution that had as an object that with this fund would help them with the serious necessities that they frequently suffer, and that in the name of the community have paid each one of the natives of all the towns of these provinces. The same decree says that the regency will be in charge of giving the convenient providences on buildings, funds and other objects of hospital establishments of natives, it also says that the corresponding order would be given so that in the hospitals the sick native Indians would be admitted like any other citizen.”⁸⁷ The mayors and governors wanted to celebrate these dispositions, for which they asked the authorities for permission to use the community funds for the festivities. The use of the tax on cattle slaughtered for meat consumption was authorized, which consisted of 1 peso per cattle and the expenditure was not to exceed 50 pesos⁸⁸. However, the mayor of Chimaltenango, Ignacio Batres tried to collect a new tribute that same year. Faced with this situation: “The second mayor Francisco Morejón, the councilors Andrés Tun and Manuel Puac, and the principals and calpules of the town of San Martín Jilotepeque and in the name of the entire town council, before your excellency in the best way we appear and inform that our mayor, Mr. Ignacio Batres, in spite of the beneficial reduction that your excellency granted us in the tributes, demands from us one real for each individual tributary. Supreme sir, if said real is owed for justice, why does he not take it from the money to be delivered, as he has done on other occasions? And if it is not just, why does he want to make us tributaries in the collection of taxes? We are the ones who work without receiving a maravedís [1/17 of a peso] and, on the contrary, if there is a lack, we have to cover it ourselves. Is it fair that we should be the ones of labor and he of profit?”⁸⁹ However, the authorities allowed this collection arguing the following: “The real with which each native Indian contributes to the main mayor is part of his salary, not only for the work and responsibility of collecting the contribution known as

tribute, but also for the administration of justice and the other obligations inherent to his position... The main mayor should not take from the amount paid for tribute the real for sustenance. Because of this abuse that was committed in some of the districts, it is prohibited that with absolute separation both contributions are demanded.” In short, the mayors and councilors of San Martín Jilotepeque asked the mayor of Chimaltenango, appointed provincial political head after 1821, what was going to happen with the expenses that they necessarily had to make in the towns? Regarding the payment of the school teacher, payment of a musician, payment of endowment for the priest, etc. In that year, the Town council had accumulated the sum of 410 pesos 1 ¾ reales. However, the resolution of the political head does not appear⁹⁰.

Title of town and municipal seat

The nineteenth century historian, Alejandro Marure, reported that on October 29, 1825, San Martín Jilotepeque was granted the title of town, according to Decree 63 issued by the Constituent Assembly of the State of Guatemala. On November 10 of the same year it passed from the representative council to the head of state and was published by the Assembly on November 11, 1825. It was during this same period that its coat of arms was adopted⁹¹. In the same year, San Martín Jilotepeque was given the category of municipal seat, according to Decree Number 63 of the Constituent Assembly of the State of Guatemala⁹².

Re-establishment of community funds

With the annexation to Mexico, the towns were left without funds to cover their expenses. Therefore, in 1826, the community funds were reestablished through the following announcement: “the assembly of July 1, 1826, sanctioned by the council of August 3 of the same year, will reestablish the community funds in the towns that do not have municipal funds or when these are not sufficient to establish primary schools.”⁹³ In order to carry out the collection, it was necessary to create updated censuses with the number of taxpayers and thus be able to collect efficiently, which is why the following was ordered: “By today's agreement, the president of the state has ordered me to communicate to you that, with the greatest zeal and efficiency, and dedicating all your attention exclusively if necessary, you proceed immediately to

87 AGCA B.5.7 E.1850 L. 68 F. 60

88 AGCA B.119.1 E. 55524 L. 2501 F. 1.

89 AGCA B.119.1 E. 55528 L. 2501 F. 1.

90 AGCA B.119.1 E. 55508 L. 2500 F. 1.

91 Gall 1972: 419.

92 Diccionario Municipal de Guatemala 2,002: 40.

93 AGCA B.119.4 E. 60060 L. 2553 F. 9.

demand the direct contribution in the towns of your department where the censuses have already been drawn up. This due to the fact that the public funds present a very notable deficiency, to the point that they are not sufficient to satisfy the current economic disbursements."⁹⁴

Changes in the political administration

By 1830, the title of justices was no longer registered, but of town municipalities. In addition, the problem of resources for the town was again addressed. *"In the article 5 of the official bulletin includes the decree issued by the supreme government last May 11, by which the creation of the community fund is regulated in those towns where the municipality lacks resources."*⁹⁵ On the other hand, the celebration of a fair in the town was discussed⁹⁶. The lack of resources was constant for the government of the then province of Guatemala, so in 1833, it ordered the collection of contributions for the construction of the "Ystapa" road⁹⁷. The political head of Chimaltenango stated that: *"In order to comply with the order of the head [of state, headquartered in Guatemala City,] I am instructed to send a report on the community funds available in each town, in accordance with the decree of last January 23. I will proceed to issue the corresponding orders and, once I gather the necessary data, I will give full compliance with said order."* In addition, it was indicated that *"the supreme president of the State has agreed to inform you that the sum of the funds of the community that remains in the towns by the decree of January 23 of this year should be cut off on December 31, since due to the danger of a plague he wants to know how much is in the funds of each town"*⁹⁸, for which, the threat of another epidemic was added to the economic necessity, probably due to symptoms in nearby towns.

United with Comalapa

According to the Decree of the Constituent Assembly of August 27, 1836, San Martín Jilotepeque was attached to the Comalapa circuit⁹⁹. Between 1838 and 1871 Guatemala was governed by politicians of the conservative party. This changed after the Liberals took power in 1871.

94 AGCA, B.87.2 E. 29119 L. 1193 F. 1.

95 AGCA, B.87.1 E. 29192 L. 1194.

96 AGCA, B.119.1 E. 55619 L. 2503.

97 AGCA, B.87.2 E. 29218 L. 1195.

98 AGCA B.87.2 E. 29221 L. 1195

99 Gall: 1972:421.

Transfer of the cemetery

During the conservative period, only the relocation of the cemetery stood out. The municipal administrators of the town of San Martín Jilotepeque, in 1846, due to the inadequacy, insecurity, and unsanitary condition of the cemetery that until that year operated in the town, decided to make a request to the corresponding authorities, for the transfer to another suitable place for the burial of the corpses. According to the information sent, the place where the cemetery was located was far from the town, it was difficult to carry the bodies up to bury them, the perimeter walls were destroyed, the terrain was difficult to dig graves and, for this reason, the bodies were buried at a shallow depth. In turn, some animals, such as dogs, dug up the corpses and devoured them. For these reasons, it was of utmost urgency to move the cemetery. The necropolis was established there in 1836, due to the "asiatic cholera" epidemic. Before the epidemic, burials were made in a corner of the plaza¹⁰⁰. The request was sent to the supreme government for final resolution.

School

When the Liberals took power, they established schools as a way to control the population. When the liberals took power, they established schools as a way to control the population. Thus, by the Governmental Agreement of December 23, 1883, it was dictated that the site occupied by the children's school of San Martín Jilotepeque should be expanded, for which an additional piece of land was needed¹⁰¹.

FINAL COMMENT

Liberal governments made numerous changes in the lives of the indigenous populations, and the same occurred throughout the twentieth century. This will be discussed in a forthcoming paper.

Suggested activities

1. Organized in teams, students should dramatize the following periods:
 - a.Pre-Hispanic
 - b.Creation of the town
 - c.Economic activities in the sixteenth century
 - d. Economic activities in the eighteenth century

100 AGCA B. E. 28536 L. 133 F. 1-1.v.

101 Gall: 1972: 421.

2. Share the dramatizations with others.
3. Ask the students to interview an older adult to tell a story related to the town, such as the construction of a drainage system, introduction of water, a neighborhood, etc. Have them present their results in writing on a sheet of paper.
4. Promote the elaboration of albums with old photos of the town and the family of the students, and have them make a speech to highlight the values of San Martín Jilotepeque.

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