

Chapter 5

How Spanish diversified

5.1 Occupational activities and social networks

This chapter aims at describing the different occupational activities and social networks derived from the presence of Spanish speakers in Mesoamerica, particularly those that are relevant to the diffusion and diversification of Spanish in the vast region. Mining, agriculture, construction, textiles, and services were the main loci of activities of Spanish and non-Spanish speakers during the 16th century, activities that in combination were sufficiently motivating to build a new society. Mining sites nurtured the immediate productive activity of the area, where Spanish explorers founded cities or sites, which became the centripetal centers generating other pursuits such as trade of mining equipment and retail sales among those working in or around the sites; mining sites attracted Spanish speakers, Afro-Hispanic workers, and missions and missionaries to take care of religious needs. If precious metals had not been found, Spanish explorers would have abandoned the area, or the area had not been infused with mercantile, cultural and educational enterprises, which developed rapidly via labor. Investments in the mining sector acted as the propeller of a series of economic activities that made the miners the most important members of the new national bourgeoisie.

It is proposed that labor practices fostered language contact between Spanish and non-Spanish speakers. In the beginning, labor was dependent on the *encomienda* tributary system, which was normally securing a cheap and massive supply of Indians. In theory, the *encomienda* system was beneficial for the indigenous since the Spanish grantee was required to protect the Indians living in his land. At this stage, language contact must have been basic given the disproportionate quantitative gap between Spanish speakers and Indians. Spanish speakers had control over the indigenous population, which were required to pay tribute from their own lands, and in addition, were involved in personal services. Then labor was controlled by the draft or *repartimiento*, which required distribution of laborers, goods, and services. After the draft was found too harsh, Spanish entrepreneurs opened small plants known as *obrajes* or *obrages* (cotton or woolen mills) where individuals were sequestered for long periods. Labor brought individuals of Spanish and non-Spanish descent in contact in different domains. When everything else in agriculture failed, the movement for the hacienda made a niche for the indigenous peoples who were freer to move around, and the process of Hispanization rendered productive results. The New Laws mandated the reduction of the *encomiendas* and the return of the Indians to the

crown. This reform was enhanced by the ideal of free work and the intention to eliminate involuntary work (Zavala 1984). Between 1521 and 1576 there were plenty of workers but they diminished significantly at the end of the century due to the shrinking of the indigenous population triggering at the same time a reduction of the economy. In order to augment the direct revenues of the hacienda, the mining sector became the focus of the renovated economy (Assadourian 1989).

Other activities contributing to diversification are closely interrelated: religion, education and literary projects advanced by the introduction of the printing press in New Spain. In the early stage, religion per se did not have a major impact on Spanish diffusion because the missions resorted to both Latin and indigenous languages to promote Christianity, but when the zealous advocacy for the latter came to an end, Spanish had a more influential role in and around religious activities. Religion is bound to formal education of the Spanish-speaking elites who were exposed to Latin for classroom assignments and many other focused tasks. Spanish was used for everything else until instructors of Latin became unavailable. Formal education of the Spanish-speaking elites is a major factor contributing to the cultivation, preservation and further development of Spanish in miscellaneous domains.

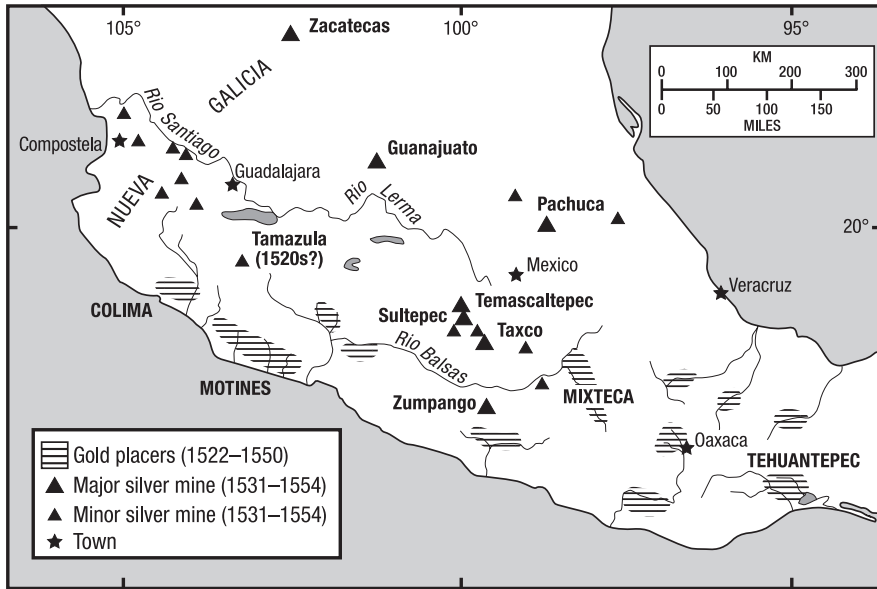
5.2 Mining and metallurgy

The development of the mining sector in New Spain was defined by the discovery of mining resources in the arid regions of the North (with scarce indigenous populations), an event that triggered a process of territorial expansion of the mining frontier which was almost simultaneous with an agrarian frontier. Silver became the economic axis of the colony. At this stage both the private and the public sector supported various means to protect the new frontier, the technological innovations, and the migration of indigenous workers towards the northern mining sites. By the mid-16th century, Spanish officials were inclined to enforce the New Laws, an act that would prevent the delivery of Indians to *encomenderos*. Although there were strategies to enforce mandatory labor in some areas, in New Spain mining was exempt from forced labor (Assadourian 1989: 428-432).

In the western region of Mexico (especially among the Tarascans), metallurgy and metal working developed later than in the Andean highlands. These activities were based on copper and its alloys, although most metal objects were considered to be sacred, to be used for ornamentation in religious ceremonies, and to enhance the sociopolitical status of select groups. Spaniards began exploitation of precious metals in New Spain immediately after the conquest of the Aztec and Tarascan states, first by looting native gold and silver artifacts followed by

mining of gold and silver ores. The artifacts were obtained from palaces, temples, graves and other sacred places, where the Aztec and Tarascan nobility had collected them for generations. The surfaces of such artifacts resembled pure silver or gold and were not used as symbols of wealth but by the native priests in ritual and status functions (West 1997a: 45-46 and 1997b: 58).

Map 5.1 shows the location of the major Spanish mining activities to about the mid-16th century. Silver mining on a commercial scale began in the early 1530's. The Tamazula area was quickly claimed by Cortés as his own and as a main source of silver (West 1997b:59). "During the early 1530's natives of Tamazula and neighboring towns continued to supply small amounts of low-grade silver as tribute to *encomenderos*" (West 1997b: 60). Simultaneously royal officials in Mexico requested the presence of experts in ore reduction because Spanish settlers were not knowledgeable of metallurgy. Once the mines were opened, numerous high officials were eager to purchase them and registered claims in the hope of quick returns. Hernán Cortés owned all or parts of twenty mines in Sultepec (or Zultepec). From the 1530's through the 1540's, the main labor force in the mines of Sultepec, Taxco and neighboring *asientos de minas* (mining sites) consisted of numerous Indian slaves captured in the just wars, many of whom were distributed among the high ranking officers (65). Cortés owned several hundred, used mainly in gold placers. Despite the abolition promulgated by the New Laws slavery persisted until 1550, and after the mid-century blacks from Africa and native freemen gradually replaced native slaves in the mines; by 1569, over 800 black slaves worked in the Taxco mines (66). Indians living in villages under an *encomienda* in the vicinity of the mines also contributed with significant source of labor for the early silver industry. *Encomenderos* were allowed to commute tribute of their subjects, who performed lighter tasks such as cutting wood, building huts, or carrying food and other necessities (66-67). The discovery of silver deposits in Sultepec and Taxco in the early 1530's soon led to a rush of potential Spanish miners of many social classes seeking quick wealth, but also of merchants and traders interested in a lucrative market for food, clothing, and mining equipment. Many of the miners from Mexico City were *encomenderos* controlling Indian villages near Toluca or in Cuernavaca. "As an *encomendero*, Hernán Cortés exacted tribute of food and cloth from his villages in both areas in order to supply slaves in his mines in Sultepec and Taxco, and to sell to other miners" (West 1997b: 68).



Map 5.1: Spanish Mining Activity in New Spain, 1522–1554. Source: West (1997b: 58)

In general, the lifestyle, diet and varied activities at the mining sites were accommodated to the Spanish speakers' taste and needs and to the advantage of the Mexico City merchants who were selling luxury foods for Spaniards (e.g. olive oil, wine, vinegar), mining tools (e.g. iron picks, crowbars, sledge hammers, and bellows) equipped with copper or bronze nozzles (68). The newer activities attracted not only merchants and traders but also thieves, vagabonds, and other drifters loitering around in Taxco. The reaction in Mexico City was to issue special ordinances to control commerce in the mining centers. Commercial transactions dealing with the sale of food and equipment were permitted only outside a radius of four leagues from the mining town. These ordinances reflect the hectic manner of life in the early mining communities. Between 1534 and 1548, the increasing cost of mining activities led to financial difficulties. In spite of this, the more affluent miners (Hernán Cortés, Juan de Burgos, and others) continued to produce substantial amounts of silver. The abolition of personal services in *encomiendas* caused a shortage of labor resulting from the policy of freeing Indian slaves, who were being paid in money for agricultural products. In 1555, the short-lived difficulties ended with the introduction of the amalgamation process perfected by leading miners (West 1997b: 68-69).

As early as 1530, vast silver deposits were found at Zumpango, Sultepec, Taxco, and Tlalpujahua in central Mexico, within 150 kilometers of the capital.

The silver wealth was made known by the mid-1540's, when the Spanish exploration reached the first ore deposits of the northern plateau at Zacatecas and from there to other northern discoveries at Santa Barbara in 1567 and San Luis Potosi in 1592. At the border between central Mexico and the arid north, silver ores were found at Guanajuato ca. 1550, a site made public about two centuries later; eventually it became the model of the empire, outstripping any other silver centers of New Spain or South America by a wide margin. The amalgamation of silver ores was a refining process that radically transformed production in the Spanish-speaking New World. Known in the Old World since Roman times, amalgamation had been used on a small scale in the recovery of gold and silver filings. Mercury was found in the remains of the first New World Spanish town in Santo Domingo, from where gold may have been extracted from alluvial sand or rock amalgamation. The Romans were familiar with the amalgamating properties of mercury but their application on an industrial scale was a Mexican innovation of the mid-1550's. This is perhaps Latin America's most significant technological advancement (Bakewell 1997a: 175-177).

Mercury was first used in New Spain to draw silver from its ores on an industrial scale, and by the 1550's the abundant ores smelted for a profit were not available, while large quantities of lower grade ore were brought up from increasing depths causing yields to drop as their cost rose. The miners resorted to amalgamation with its capacity to refine great volumes of poor ores in an effective manner. By 1555 there were over 120 refiners spreading in the following years to nearly all Mexican silver centers. Crushing ore into a fine powder was part of the amalgamation process, and when the mercury was added it could come into close contact with as much of the mineral as possible. In the Andes the amalgamation plant was known as *ingenio* and as *hacienda de minas* in New Spain. This business required a mill and its own paraphernalia, living quarters for workers and supervisors, and even enough space for a small chapel. The large investment needed in the processing of metals turned into an almost exclusive activity of Spaniards. In New Spain, where the native rule of the silver production was limited to laboring, the technical innovations did not have a positive impact on the indigenous (Bakewell 1997a: 179).

Investors were able to exploit the mines as long as they paid taxes at the rate of *un quinto* ('one-fifth') of the metal produced, but the Spanish law stipulated that subsoil rights remained with the Crown. Tax reductions were granted from the mid-century onward in order to stimulate mining. Spanish-American silver output from its start until 1600-1610 was at 375-400 million pesos. After 1550 the Andean region of Potosi and the northern Mexican mines produced at an annual rate of 2.3%. Ore quality began to fall in the 17th century whereas the cost of extraction rose with the increasing depths of the mines. While the South Amer-

ican sites at Potosi were still the largest silver production in the New World, in Mexico it continued to rise until the 1620's before dropping slightly for about 40 years. As compared to silver production gold output was growing slowly. The total amount of gold gathered by the Spanish in New Granada, New Spain and Peru from 1521 to 1610 has been estimated at more than 48 million pesos, representing about 12 % of the projected c.400-million silver extracted in the Spanish-speaking New World to 1610. When amalgamation became the normal method of refining silver ores, mercury was distributed through the royal treasury system and sold at fixed prices, a method ensuring supply, partly to force silver miners to pay the royalty due on silver because the treasury office would not sell mercury until the fifth or the tenth they owed on previous refineries had been paid. By the end of the 16th century, silver mining was the most significant activity in Spanish America. The entire colony counted on 372 active *haciendas de minas* in which 399 animal-driven stamp mills and 205 powered by water were installed (see Table 5.1). It was clear that the value of silver mined was superior to gold. If the enticement of gold was the initial motive driving Spain and Spaniards to the new continent, it was the actual exploitation of silver that kept them there (Bakewell 1997a: 180-181).

Amalgamation was widely adopted in the 1570's because it required the processing of great volumes of low-grade ore, thus the manual labor for smelting was provided by the skilled Indians working under Spanish management. There is no evidence, however, that mining was responsible for mass deaths among the native populations. Its effect was not as substantial as the destructive effects of epidemics. Indians were not forced to work involuntarily but became wage laborers. The arrangements for draft labor or *repartimiento* set up in the 16th century continued to send Indians to mining centers for most of colonial times. In the smelting industry, labor disputes were reported over the high prices for African slaves, a situation that caused miners to constantly complain to the Crown, and to apply for tax reductions and lower costs of slave labor. In order to placate the agitated miners, thousands of Indians held on deceptive pretexts were released to the mining sites where they were supposed to work at day's pay on the rotating system. These conditions were aggravated due to the predisposition of indigenous workers to lead poisoning from smelter smoke. In order to reduce mortality, African slaves were introduced under stipulations requiring rigorous training. While rich deposits were hard to find, as predicted by employers, the enforcement of the New Laws of 1542 was having detrimental effects. This crisis was aggravated by the demands of the Spanish kings, who required more bullion shipment each year (Probert 1997: 102). Despite the difficulties, the New World's Spanish-speaking region became the world's leading supplier of silver. From the middle of the 16th century to the end of the colonial era, it produced

about 100,000 tons of silver, a substantial part of which was exported to Europe causing inflation during the second half of the 16th century and the early 17th century (Garner 1997: 225).

5.2.1 Mining centers and ethnic groups

New Spain was dominant in silver production with the central mines of Pachuca and Taxco yielding two-thirds of the total in the 1590's. The northern plateau flourished in the early decades of the 17th century with the great boom at Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi and Parral. The twelve largest refining centers of Mexico in 1597 by numbers of *haciendas de minas* appear in Table 5.1 (Bakewell 1997c: 188-189). The labor force employed in the mining industry can be divided in slaves most likely African blacks, *naborías* (free Indian laborers) hired for a wage by miners, and *repartimiento* Indians (drafted into tasks of general public utility). To experts in the colonial mining industry, this is a very small labor work force since there were fewer than 10,000 workers in the whole of the silver industry producing two-thirds of the of New Spain's exports to Europe. At the end of the 16th century, free-wage workers comprised 70 % of all laborers (Bakewell 1997c: 184-185).

Table 5.1: Refining centers: regions and *haciendas de minas*

Refining centers in 1597	Regions	Haciendas
Pachuca	New Spain	82
Taxco	New Spain	81
Zacatecas + Pánuco	Zacatecas	65
Guanajuato	New Spain	46
Sultepec	New Spain	40
Zacualpan	New Spain	26
Cuautla	New Spain	26
Fresnillo + San Demetrio	Zacatecas	25
Tlalpujahua	New Spain	19
Sombrerete	Zacatecas	18
Temascaltepec	New Spain	17
San Martín	Zacatecas	15

Source: Bakewell (1997c: 189)

A mining district consisting of a settlement of medium size and the mines dependent upon it was however sufficient to attract population of diverse ethnicity, reli-

gious leaders in charge of missions, and miscellaneous activities such as agriculture, trade, road and building construction, to name a few. The most significant piece of information at this point refers to the Spanish-speaking people working in the mining centers. Reports from the last quarter of the 16th century focus on the number of Spaniards living in the silver mines in the *Audiencias* of Mexico, Guadalajara and Zacatecas. The totals of Spanish-speaking males amounts to 16,637; of these 1,912 were working in the silver mining districts with a total of workers ranging from 16,000 to 18,000 (Zavala 1987: 301-302). This report is complemented with the information appearing in Table 5.2, pointing out the distribution by ethnic groups (Zavala 1987). This information is useful to make inferences about the diffusion of Spanish and the agents of diffusion.

Table 5.2: Labor force in mining sites (1597)

District	Total Slaves	%	Total Free Indians	%	Total Draft Indians	%	Total Labor Force
New Spain	892	14.6	3,582	58.8	1,619	26.6	6,093
Zacatecas	200	9.3	1,956	90.7	0	0	2,156
Guadalajara	110	16.4	559	83.6	0	0	669
Guadiana	61	27.1	164	72.9	0	0	225
TOTALS	1,263	13.8	6,261	68.5	1,619	17.7	9,143

In addition, Table 5.3 shows the different ethnic groups working in smaller mining centers. Spaniards made up a small but active minority playing a key role through the end of the colonial period. Slaves in this industry were normally of African descent; their number contrasts with Indians in *encomienda* and free laborers, who were a majority. This distribution reveals two faces of language contact. Contact must have been limited to interactions between a few Spanish speakers and the rest, but must have been continuous because mining centers were functional and dynamic. The growth of the Spanish-speaking population depended on the effectiveness of the mining industry to the extent that some towns were large enough to be considered *ciudades de españoles* (Spanish cities), as opposed to the *pueblos de indios* (Indian towns) populated by Indians (Tanck de Estrada 2005). The former were multilingual at the beginning and later became mostly Spanish-speaking while the latter were either monolingual or bilingual in indigenous languages and gradually added the Spanish language to their linguistic repertoire. Mining centers stimulated the establishment of private schools for Spanish speakers, missions, and religious and cultural activities. The dichotomy

between Spanish cities and Indian towns is derived from the observed pattern of settlements in urban centers and rural areas.

Table 5.3: Mining districts and workers. Guerrero, Mexico and Michoacan: 1579-1582

Districts	Mines	Spaniards	Slaves	Encomienda Indians	<i>Naborías</i>
Tlalpujahua	5	20	50	200	----
Temascaltepec	30	50	250	100	150
Sultepec	10	50	50	250	----
Taxco	30	150	600	200	----
Zacualpan	5	50	150	----	2,300
Espíritu Santo	1	2	----	50	150
TOTALS	81	322	1,100	800	2,600

Source: Zavala (1987: 300)

Despite the fact that they were small for modern standards, the cities populated by Spanish speakers were opposed to the Indian towns in terms of their cultural components. All of them were founded by Spanish speakers in the 16th century and continually recreated the Spanish-like institutions that defined them through the end of the colony. An example of urban development is New Spain, which illustrates the functions of Spanish cities, de facto administrative centers acting as models of orthogonal structures that simultaneously built a network of control of its own territory at all the right angles. In the beginning these urban centers were exclusive to Spaniards. Cities founded before 1545 (Antequera or Oaxaca City in Oaxaca, Valladolid, presently Morelia in Michoacan, and Puebla de los Angeles in Puebla) support the configuration of the urban theory that had conceived cities for Spaniards, although they were mixed societies since in the marginal neighborhoods indigenous workers lived and were gradually integrated to the urbanized environs. These small cities were actually the largest centers of the period and formed a network of contacts and connections that were effectively superposed over the bay work of Mesoamerican peoples (López Guzmán 2005). Mining sites and Spanish cities built their own infrastructure over similar material and human components.

5.2.2 Taxco

Tin deposits were found in Taxco or Tasco (presently in the state of Guerrero) in 1524. The fluctuations of the mining population are reflected in the tributary data. There were 4,570 native tributaries in 1570, decreasing to 4,050 in 1581, and to 1,012 in 1643. In 1688 there were 765 tributaries while the 1743 census logged in 1,047 Indian families. Exploitation of silver ores started in the early 1530's. The mines which were in full production in 1552 attracted a considerable number of Spaniards, castes and Indians. Toward 1570 there were 100 Spanish *vecinos* ('house or lot owners'), 900 Indian miners, and 700 black slaves living at the various *reales de minas* ('mining districts'). In 1743, about 260 non-Indian families are reported; by 1794, when the mines were again in a state of decline, there were 892 free black and mulatto tributaries (Gerhard 1993: 252-253).

5.2.3 Pachuca

The mines of Pachuca (presently the capital of the state of Hidalgo) opened in 1531. Silver deposits were discovered early in 1552. Franciscans and Augustinians founded a mission at San Pedro Tezontepec ca.1554, and additional secular parishes were established at the mines of Asunción Pachuca ca.1560. Other parishes followed: in 1569 there were only 70 married Spaniards, 48 unmarried Spaniards, and 6,233 Indian families. In 1597 Pachuca was the largest mining center in New Spain with more than 1,600 laborers; by 1643 there were only 136 tributaries in seven Indian communities. On a reduced scale much of the labor was carried out by black slaves. The bonanza of the late 17th century caused a great influx of people, with about 12,000 mestizos and Indians while the census of 1791 registered 2,755 Spaniards, 3,821 mestizos and 3,039 mulattoes (Gerhard 1993: 210-211).

5.2.4 Sultepec

In Sultepec or Zultepec (in the southwest corner of the state of Mexico) deposits of silver were discovered before 1532. Sultepec and Temascaltepec were combined under a single magistrate. In 1569 there were 211 Spaniards (probably *vecinos*) and 692 blacks. The mining zone in general is referred to in colonial documents as Provincia de la Plata. During the mining slump of the 17th century some miners left while others acquired cattle and sugar haciendas. In 1743 there were 695 families of Spaniards, 404 of mestizos and 206 of mulattoes. The number of slaves is not recorded while the census of 1801 shows 386 black and mulatto tributaries

in the jurisdiction. The various *reales de minas* moved about as the old deposits were exhausted and new ones were discovered ca.1580 in San Andres, Los Rios and Real Viejo. By 1743 the Temazcaltepec miners were dispersed in three settlements within half a league of other reales (Gerhard 1993: 267-269).

5.2.5 Puebla

The city of Puebla (presently the capital of the state of Puebla) was established with the founding of a Spanish settlement in 1531. There were monasteries of mendicant orders and other parishes. The jurisdiction had 3,760 tributaries in 1588 decreasing to 3,275 in 1600, to 2,622 in 1626, and 4,387 in 1696. In 1746 there were 3,200 Indian families. Puebla de los Ángeles was organized to accommodate Spaniards who had arrived in Mexico after the Conquest, but too late to participate in the *encomienda* system. In 1531 Puebla had 50 vecinos and 81 in 1534. The total population in 1681 was 14,500 Indians, 19,170 Spaniards, and 34,095 persons of mixed blood. Within the city, the total population in 1681 was over 63,000 persons; 88,000 in 1740, and 70,000 in 1800 (Gerhard 1993: 221-223). According to Tanck de Estrada (2005: 267-268), it was considered a *ciudad de españoles* (city of Spaniards or Spanish speakers). In 1790 it had a population of 81,046.

5.2.6 Queretaro

Queretaro (presently the capital of the state of Queretaro) was considered to form part of the *encomienda* of Xilotepec, which had a magistrate by the late 1540s. It became a Franciscan mission by 1567. In 1582 there were only 50 Spanish-speaking families; they increased to 200 in 1605; to 1000 in 1662 and 1,430 by 1743. In this year there were also 2,236 families of mestizos, mulattoes and blacks, many of them living on haciendas (Gerhard 1993: 224-225). With a population of 35,000 people it was also considered a *ciudad de españoles* in 1790 (Tanck de Estrada 2005: 267-8)

5.2.7 San Luis Potosi

San Luis Potosí (presently the capital of the state of San Luis Potosi) was settled as *real de minas* and had its first contact with Spanish speakers in 1542. Sedentary Indians (e.g., Tlaxcalans, Otomis, Tarascans) immigrated from the south to work in mines and haciendas and gradually replaced the nomadic Chichimecs,

although the latter continued to raid Spanish settlements into the 18th century. With the establishment of Franciscan missions and the opening of Guadalcázar mines, the eastern and northern parts of the jurisdiction came under Spanish control in 1616-17. Franciscan monasteries opened in 1591 followed by secular parishes. Beginning in the 1590s, Spaniards, mestizos, mulattoes and blacks formed a large proportion of the total in mining camps and haciendas but the population fell off during the mining depression of the mid-1600s and recovered toward the end of that century. In 1743-44 the census reported 4,560 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes. In 1800 there were 4,817 free black and mulatto tributaries. The city of San Luis Potosí was founded in 1592; the mines at Cerro de San Pedro discovered in 1592, and those of Guadalcázar in 1615 (Gerhard 1993: 234-235). In 1803 with a population of 12,000 it was considered a *ciudad de españoles* (Tanck de Estrada 2005: 267-8).

5.2.8 Guanajuato

Founded in 1553-54, Guanajuato (presently the capital of the state of Guanajuato) was also a *real de minas*. By 1570 it was reported to have 600 Spanish miners in two camps. Silver production fell drastically in the 17th century, and with it, the Spanish population. Only 85 vecinos are reported in 1639 and 150 in 1649. Despite high rates of mortality from starvation and disease in 1785-86, the 1791 census registered 39,529 Indians. Over 5,000 families of Spaniards and castes lived in the *reales* of Santa Fe, Santa Ana and Marfil. The total non-Indian population of Guanajuato-Marfil-Santa Ana in 1791 was 43,198 (Gerhard 1993: 121-23). With a population of 32,098 in 1790 it was considered a *ciudad de españoles* (Tanck de Estrada 2005: 267-268).

5.2.9 Zacatecas

Zacatecas (presently the capital of the state of Zacatecas) was founded by Juan de Tolosa, Diego de Ibarra, Temiño de Bañuelos and Cristóbal de Oñate in 1548. Oñate was an *encomendero* from New Biscay who had worked in New Spain as assistant of Rodrigo de Albornoz (the king's secretary). The rise of Zacatecas meant a shift in economic balance in New Galicia from west to east. Religious orders established houses over the 60 years following the foundation, starting with the Franciscans who never left during the colonial period. By 1569 the townspeople had settled in the city and had established a monastery and a church. The Franciscans noted the continued wealth of the mines and the lack of ministers

to care for the host of Spaniards, Indians and blacks, and as a result they built a mission in 1572 or later; this elevated Zacatecas to the rank of *cabecera* (municipal head). Augustinians, Jesuits, Dominicans and regular orders established themselves between 1590 and 1609. At this time, it had a permanent population of 1,500 Spaniards, 300 Indians, in addition to blacks and mestizos, all of whom managed to survive in surroundings useless for cultivation. For this reason a flow of goods from the south was continuously arriving via different roads. The mine owners invested in the construction of their *haciendas de minas* and attracted all kinds of traders in every direction. More silver was extracted in Zacatecas than in all other mines in New Spain, and both Zacatecas and New Spain were sustained by the Zacatecas mines. Maize was one of the most important foodstuffs imported into Zacatecas. In Jerez, people were growing maize for the mines of Sombrerete and Fresnillo. Spaniards preference for wheat stimulated the import of wheat over maize. The competition of the two grains suggests there were changes in the size of the Indian vs. mestizo labor force or otherwise periods of depression in the local mining sites, which had to reduce the number of Indians working for them. In times of mining prosperity, the number of Spaniards increased considerably while that of Indians and mestizo workers, who were the maize eaters, was multiplied. In sum, Zacatecas became a focal point for the whole to the north. It was the richest city in New Galicia, New Biscay and New Leon (Bakewell 1971: passim). With a population of 25,495 in 1790 it was considered a *ciudad de españoles* (Tanck de Estrada 2005: 267-8).

5.3 Forms of labor and language contact

As compared to the total population, the quantity of Spanish-speaking Europeans was always a minuscule minority. Quantity was not as important as the empowerment of the first-generation of Spanish-speaking Mexicans who, in a few decades, became aristocrats by means of importation, (re)creation and construction of some of the most significant institutions already existent in Spain. Wage labor appears to have been the most significant activity conducive to diffusion of Spanish, directly or indirectly, from Spanish speakers to speakers of indigenous languages, who had no other option but to work in newer activities related to the (re)construction of a very complex society, where the process of socialization and the building of social networks resulted in stronger ties among Spanish speakers and the loosening of ties among the indigenous, who were already devastated by the losses of the conquest period. Close-knit ties among Spanish speakers consolidated their position in New Spain with all the economic and political advantages derived from being in relative control of the means of local production. Their mere

presence in the mining sites, towns and small cities seemed to have been more than sufficient to spread Spanish and to foster language contact. In contrast, the disempowering conditions of the indigenous peoples facilitated loose-knit ties that in the end fostered language and culture shift, at least partially.

Drastic changes to the rules of labor had a dual effect on language maintenance. On the one hand, the different forms of labor kept large groups of Indian together working under one cacique. On the other, the same Indian groups were disenfranchised and uprooted. According to Gibson (1964: 220-221), in Aztec society workers performed communal tasks with minimal individual assignments because they were accustomed to providing their own sustenance to both local and distant service without pay, a source of satisfaction, though some occupations were monotonous or degrading in European eyes. Indians' disposition to work on a voluntary basis made them vulnerable to demands for labor, because in Europe unskilled mass labor was equivalent to coercion or enslavement. Indian peoples lost the feeling of joyous participation in work for it was moved from the social, moral, and spiritual categories into the economic or physical spheres of interaction. After the enactment of the New Laws, Spaniards did not need any mass enslavement insofar as their expeditions introduced Indian captives from outside the Valley, who were sold in the capital in the early years. *Encomienda* more than slavery controlled native forms of mass labor but both systems were selling or hiring employees for various services. In Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, the first Spanish tribute exaction demanded services to the viceroy (construction, repair and filling of canals) and other tasks contributing to the maintenance of the capital, which caused the decentralization of natives' organization while Spanish recipients of Indian labor profited from the authority of each community's *tlatoani*.

For the early Spanish construction labors in Mexico City, the drafts were subdivided by barrios and by specializations. Those in charge of supervising labor such as *encomenderos*, ecclesiastics, and employers of all sorts had to rely on *tamemes* (Indian carriers) for the provision of goods and for transport. New working conditions based on wages altered the relationship between employers and workers during the mid-16th century and were regulated by royal orders, which banned the use of *tamemes*. By mid-century tribute was considerably reduced causing a shortage of Indian laborers during the critical period that followed the plague of 1545-1548. Orders of the late 1540's also prohibited unrecompensed labor, which was replaced by rationed, rotational labor, presumably in the public interest of a larger employer class; this scheme however did not fulfill the royal demands for moderate work conditions and all procedures were scrutinized for the first time. The principles of compulsion and rotation had precedents in both pre-conquest and early colonial labor antedating 1549. After the draft was separated from

encomienda, the two systems competed for labor services. The major advantage of the former lied in the perceived convenience of public benefit (e.g. in floods, urban construction or agriculture), the perfect excuse to convoke a huge labor force of thousands of Indian workers repairing for months major damages due to floods. In times of crisis, urban labor was forbidden in order to massively recruit agricultural workers (Gibson 1964: 222-224).

As the Spanish-speaking population was growing, agricultural drafts for the cultivation of wheat plantations were deemed necessary. The draft was responsible for the administration of the Indian workers and their distribution to administrators who were assisted by various employees, including interpreters. Indians were supplied from the towns in weekly shifts at fixed quotas and delivered to those Spanish employers who had properties in the same jurisdiction. The Indian governments of the towns were provided with records listing the names, sujeto affiliations and *tequitlatos* (town officers or tax collectors) of all laborers. Every Monday morning the Indians from the selected towns assembled at a given distribution point from where they were dispatched by the community officials and taken to the draft center by local *alguaciles* (constables). Inside a corral the *juez repartidor* (distributing agent) turned in the assigned workers according to the amount of wheat each had under cultivation. With this procedure, no single individual was held liable to the draft more often than three or four times annually. When the demand for urban construction was high, Indians were drafted from nearby towns such as Chalco, Xochimilco, Texcoco, Tacuba, and other jurisdictions to work in public spots, monasteries, the Cathedral, the streets, or the city's water supply. At times thousands of laborers were leased to private local employers and to the local government, a practice more or less intermediate between labor and tribute. From the earliest days of the colony, designated towns had to bring to the city daily canoe loads of eatables and materials for the royal officials and other citizens. Other Indian towns (e.g. Coyoacan, Tacuba, Tenayuca, Culhuacan, Coyotepec, Tacubaya) were affected by demands for services. Until the end of the century, when another plague hit the Indian population in 1576, there was a good supply of laborers. As in tribute, Indian communities abandoned tradition and their governments and were held responsible for the supply of quotas. When Indians workers were in high demand, the competition between Spaniards for the former led to aggressive strategies such as the sequestering of laborers in less than human conditions (Gibson 1964: 226, 231). This organization of labor had a dual effect: it maintained workers of the same group together for a long time and likewise exposed them to indirect language contact with Spanish speakers. At the same time, it acted as a conduit of incomplete Spanish acquisition and/or Hispanization.

As a result of the epidemics of 1545-48 and 1576-81 which caused a shrinking supply of able workers, employers had no other option but to make adjustments in hiring. In agriculture there were more laborers for private hire (*gañanes*). By the late 1580's in the wheat farms of the Valley, the *gañanes* were working for hacienda owners from Teoloyuca, Tepoztlan, Huehuetoca, and Coyotepec but they were not considered reliable for extra community tasks. By the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the agricultural employers were making large strides in the direction of full *gañán* labor; however, when they were needed in *repartimiento*, they had to serve other employers (Gibson 1964: 247-248). The hiring of *gañanes* for other than private labor was the cause of debate and concern because at times the Spanish business owners and *hacendados* (landowners) would harass them to leave their houses to work for them. Authorities had to intervene to prevent abuse, and at times they were successful because these workers were excluded from massive compulsory labor (Zavala 1987: 186-187, 236, 239-240). For all the abovementioned reasons, these laborers had more frequent and more direct interaction with their Spanish-speaking employers. In sum, all the strategies of forced, wage or voluntary labor along the different domains of interaction were conducive to socialization via Spanish and acquisition of Spanish whether it occurred face-to-face with Spanish-speaking supervisors, or indirectly with speakers of Spanish as a second or additional language, that is, co-workers.

5.3.1 Losing the ties to the land

Regardless of the notorious rigors of the hacienda, this system did not imprison the workers and offered positive advantages to Indian workers. Labor hired in the 1530's and shortly after was recompensed at different rates according to skills. Agricultural labor, labor services for *corregidores* (chief magistrates), and those working in *obrajes* (workshops for cotton and wool) received a monthly salary. Commuters received extra benefits, such as food and additional pay for travel but maize-producing haciendas raised a supply for their own workers. In all these occupations however it was common to incur in debt. Indian laborers might be forced to accept money payable in work, or they might be required to purchase with a loan the equipment to be used in the *obraje*. Debt peonage affected fewer than half the workers on haciendas. The hacienda offered solutions to economic conditions not to be found elsewhere and to those who had lost their lands (largely to haciendas) and provided a dwelling and a means of acceptable livelihood. In the Valley of Mexico, Indian labor for Spanish employers became progressively less severe (Gibson 1964: 243-245). The presence of wage laborers in this period suggests that the Indians played a more active role in the formation

of the hacienda system of production that is generally acknowledged. Together with textile manufacturing and mining, the hacienda adds variety to the colonial systems of production, which after *encomienda* and *repartimiento* depended on various incentives. Wage laborers resided on the units of production; some were described as servants who were coming from mixed-blood groups and were Hispanicized (Melville 1994). Daily and face-to-face interaction with Spanish speakers might have contributed to Spanish language (re)acquisition in an environment that appeared to be less alienating than the *encomienda* and the draft.

In contrast to the flexible conditions that favored different Indian laborers, the epidemics of the mid-and late 16th century contributed to major losses in Indian communities, weakened by a newer compact society of Spanish speakers who had sufficient resources to make transitions in an advantageous legal manner. The loss of native land augmented the disadvantages of the indigenous populations, a major event that might have had the net effect of accelerating language shift. The shortcomings are explained by Gibson (1964: 281-282), for the native survivors had to readjust themselves to new patterns of coexistence once the land was sold and converted into genuine money. Such alterations only benefited Spaniards who acquired new tracts of land via direct land alienation. In the face of Indian's protest against land usurpation, some of the Nahuatl-speaking towns were surrounded by Spanish properties, and eventually the greater part of the land passed from Indian control to Spanish-speaking owners. In the 1530's, laws required that all Indian land sales be made voluntarily and be transacted before Spanish judges. The vice-regal government promoted the use of vacated lands and ordered offending individuals to pay for damages. In spite of the attempts to protect the Indians from incursions of cattle owners, regulations against dispossession were difficult to enforce. At first, the Mexico City Council (controlled by Spanish speakers) ordered the revocation of grants and the abandonment of herding areas that interfered with Indian properties. Lands without Indian inhabitants were up for grabs thus available to Spanish intrusion without injury. Actual transfers were accomplished by sales, forced scales or formal grants executed by Indian officials. These transactions benefited Spanish landowners, and in the end Indian lands in the communities of the city's environs were taken for the Spanish-speaking population, the Indian occupants being compensated with lands elsewhere. Once the lands were unoccupied, they were registered as abandoned.

5.3.2 Labor and agriculture: indigenous vs. Spanish crops

A major issue of contention in agriculture was the harvesting of maize vis-à-vis the harvesting of wheat, the former being the preferred form of sustenance of the Mesoamerican peoples. During the first decades efforts were made to introduce wheat into the agricultural repertoire of the Indians with the intention, among various officials and priests, of converting them into the main producers of this grain for the European population, but they may have been reluctant to switch from maize to wheat (Assadourian 2006: 295). Cultivating wheat might have been seen as an imposition when Spaniards appropriated the land and applied irrigation mainly to wheat. Following the harvest, maize was stored for the unproductive winter, while its price made the cost of all other products (lard, wheat, beans, and other foodstuffs) fluctuate in both Indian and Spanish markets, a fact also indicative of the Indian population decline (Gibson 1964: 308-311). The 16th century Spanish farms provided Indians with their earliest experience in Spanish cultivation of wheat, but on their own land they preferred maize. Occasionally Indians planted wheat for sale to Spaniards and established mills and ovens for the Spanish bread market. For the most part Indian wheat appeared to be directly associated with Spanish intrusion. The wheat farms marked the beginning of a Spanish institution that was controlling agricultural supply and eventually intruded upon Indian production. After the large-scale wheat production taking place between 1563 and 1602, Spanish enterprises were engaged in maize production on a large scale and impacted Indian maize cultivation. Between harvest and consumption of maize, supplies fell under the control of *encomenderos*, *corregidores*, purchasers of royal tribute maize, and private dealers. Since the mid- and late 16th century Indian maize lands came into Spanish hands, a factor that diverted Indian labor to a variety of new activities (Gibson 1964: 322-323, 326). Information on land unappropriation and cultivation of European vegetables in both the Andean and Mesoamerican regions can be found in Assadourian (2006).

5.3.3 The *obrajes*

Another productive activity was the textile industry, a natural development of the sheepherding industry, which started at small scale in the mid-decades. The workshops for the manufacture of woolen cloth, known as *obrages* or *obrajes*, were introduced by Spanish artisans. Woolen looms worked by Indians under Spanish direction were first established in Texcoco as early as the 1530's or before. It was a branch of labor promoting private employment of Indians who learned to card, spin and weave, while blacks and mulattoes were used as guards.

Work was hard, food and living conditions were deplorable and physical abuse all too common. Indians convicts frequently worked as slaves or were trained for long-term specialization. Such scheme ensured the control of a working force which was cheaper than black slavery. Furthermore, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Indians were offered private contracts normally favoring the employer who forced the contracted employees to work behind locked doors (Gibson 1964: 243-245, 247). *Tlacotines* or Indians originally enslaved in pre-Hispanic societies were hired by the proprietors of the *obrajes*. *Tlacotines* were also employed in bakeries, haciendas, mining sites and other centers where Indians went to work on a voluntary basis. They were in essence free salaried laborers protected to an extent by the legislation of the Crown, which in theory was concerned about labor conditions (Viqueira 1985).

The industry of *obrajes* flourished over a small area in the Central Highlands, the Yucatan peninsula, and the Panuco region. In the early phase of the textile industry cotton was the most important raw material with very successful centers operating in the latter regions, where Indians were paying their tribute in *mantas* (coarse cotton cloth), a product that was distributed in New Spain, Honduras-Higueras and the Antilles (Miño Grijalva 1993: 26-27). Indians were employed in the vegetable gardens, the shops, and even the houses owned by Spaniards where the former learned spinning and weaving (Zavala 1985: 227-228). In addition to the manufacture of cotton, the textile industry added wool and silk; the three products were growing so rapidly that by 1562 New Spain was exporting textiles to Peru (Viqueira and Urquiola 1990: 45).

The industry offered such a good supply of products that artisans from Spain established in New Spain became entrepreneurs and trained their employees in order to guarantee quality control. In Tlaxcala, Cholula and Puebla the shops operated with a small number of *obrajeros* (*obraje* owners). In Puebla, some 40 *obrajes* employed up to 2,500 Indians, some of whom were highly specialized. When the contracts of workers were examined closely it was found that almost three-fourths of the total fall within the type of voluntary work, and the rest were engaged in varied forms of forced labor. The most common situation affecting voluntary work appeared to be partial advance of the salary, which in turn originated debt (Viqueira and Urquiola 1990: 61-63, 132-133, 195).

The evidence derived from the labor conditions aids in making inferences about language contact and language acquisition. As opposed to the draft and *encomienda* labor that generated the hiring, the moving, and the performance of a large mass or masses of Indian laborers, the textile industry was more selective and counted on small groups of workers who were in direct contact with Spanish-speaking employers. The conditions of both voluntary and forced labor were not enviable; the *peonaje* (a system of voluntary service based on indebtedness to

the creditor) was prevalent throughout the colonial period. Like mining, the textile industry became a permanent economic activity, which might have enhanced the opportunities for acquisition or (re)acquisition of Spanish in a milieu that was less alienating than the *encomienda* and the *repartimiento*.

5.4 Formal education

Higher education was available in 1551 via royal decrees; it was open to Spanish speakers and *naturales de la tierra* (indigenous people) and offering classes started in 1553. The offspring of Spaniards *hacendados*, miners, and merchants found in the university the endorsement of their social rank while for all the others it only meant an opportunity for upward mobility. The mission of the university was to divulge Christian orthodoxy and forge both civil and ecclesiastical functionaries. The first class ever taught was Theology whereas the focus of the curriculum was on Liberal Arts of classic tradition offered at the five colleges of medieval origin (Theology, Canonical Law, Civil Law, Medicine and Arts). The university issued Bachelor's, Master's, and doctoral degrees. All classes and lectures on arts, philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric were taught in Latin. Although the studies of Latin classics decreased in popularity, grammar was privileged and adherence to the curriculum was closely supervised. Students who were not reading in Latin were reprimanded. The use of Romance (i.e. Spanish) was allowed in informal events, which were sometimes attended to by the viceroy. Some of the most ostentatious events taking place at the University included the graduation ceremony, councilmen meetings, inauguration of rectors, and the like. The Jesuits continued the tradition of teaching Latin according to Renaissance ideals because it was mandated by the *Ratio Studiorum*, a manual of procedures reconciling the commitment between the medieval tradition and modernity. Latin was mandatory in regular courses and public acts; but in drama and tournaments such recommendation was lenient; Spanish was used instead with exceptions such as the *égloga latina* or *discurso latino* (Gonzalbo 1990: 65-69, 96-97, 109-110).

Teaching of Latin grammar continued throughout this century, when schools were opened in Oaxaca, Zacatecas and Durango. Even after the Jesuits were expelled their influence was preserved in the many institutions they founded. Moreover, their activities were versatile. The Jesuit preachers delivered hundreds of sermons annually in addition to organizing all kinds of events; they were responsible for the initiation, management and charitable organization of both academic and religious activities. In the late 16th century, the viceroy Luis de Velasco sent his children to study with the Jesuits and he himself attended the academic events; in this way he endorsed the prestige of the Jesuit schools and

consolidated their identification with the new class of native *criollos*. It was reiterated that education was a commodity for the children of well-to-do *criollos* who were functionaries, merchants or artisans. Sometimes Spanish speakers hired their own private tutors. Those who resided in the *zona centro* (center square) represented the social elite and well-to-do families of the New Spanish society. Because they were attracted by the many social, civic and intellectual activities, merchants, miners and landowners lived in the capital city although they had their businesses in distant places. Jesuit educators also turned into writers of poetry in Latin and Spanish; after being teachers for many years they turned into preachers preaching in schools and student residences of the Jesuit province. Religious activities included poetic tournaments and festivals whereby they showed off the stylistic resources, symbolism, and games of intellectual prowess (e.g. Christmas celebrations) (Gonzalbo 1990: 228-229, 234-237, 244-245).

Heavily influenced by Erasmus and the novelties of the Renaissance, the formal education of Spanish speakers was initiated by the Jesuits in 1572. By then, the *criollos* (offspring of Spaniards) were firmly entrenched in the New Spanish society and had become the preferred candidates of the educational mission of the Jesuits, who since the beginning, worked closely with the well-to-do families and adopted the defense of the *criollos* because their emerging culture was taking shape as a colonial baroque Counter-Reformist enterprise. The initial work of the Jesuits in New Spain coincided with the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition (1571). The Jesuits founded elementary schools in almost all the colleges of New Spain. What is known today as elementary education was then known as “first letters” and was offered via religious institutions oriented towards the teaching of Latin. Spanish families with sufficient resources opted for private education for their children while the newcomers of Spanish-speaking descent with relatively adequate preparation assumed the role of teachers of “first letters”. Reading, writing and basic arithmetic were the most important components of the basic curriculum. Those aspiring to a teaching post were required to go through the testing procedures designed by the *Real Consejo de Castilla* and to show *probanzas* (Gonzalbo 1990: 3, 27-38, 136-146, 159-60).

Schools were opened in Patzcuaro (Michoacan) serving 300 pupils—inclusive of Indians, Spaniards, blacks and mulattoes, who were taught the Christian doctrine and reading and writing in Spanish; here Spanish and Indian boys studied together although Latin classes could easily be suspended. At times, extra-curricular activities were bilingual (Tarascan / Spanish). In Valladolid (currently Morelia, Michoacan), the schools were teaching Latin to boys of different ages. The city of Puebla de los Angeles was one of the most active places since the late 16th century while in Guadalajara there were 500 Spanish families. Educators from the different orders extended their activities to towns and small cities

already considered *capitales mineras* (mining capital cities) where Spanish families had been settled or relocated as a result of activities around silver mines. Between 1546 and 1588 schools of first letters were opened in Veracruz (Veracruz), Zacatecas (Zacatecas), Guanajuato (Guanajuato), and Durango (Durango). In sum, during the 16th century, the Jesuits founded a total of 50 elementary schools, colleges, and seminars where boys studied Humanities (Gonzalbo 1990: 169-173, 178-9).

Children of Spanish-speaking families were exposed to the formal study of Latin since 1572. In order to enhance the learning and the use of Latin, the Jesuits encouraged the composition of two types of short plays: the first one was performed for the indigenous and had a Christian theme; it was preferred during religious holidays and used to edify and entertain Spanish speakers living in the vicinity of Mexico City. The second type, known as *festejo* ('feast'), was performed to commemorate social events related to New Spain or to Spain. The short catechizing dramas for the indigenous were staged since 1533 and continued through 1545. Celebrating peninsular topics, the second type was initiated with the *Conquista de Rodas* (1539). The performances in this genre continued through the 16th century showing affection for the viceroys, archbishops, birthdays of the princes, etc. Some of them are titled and dated (1566, 1572 and 1574), although they might have been represented more frequently than the dates can show. The performances were staged at the end of the courses or during the festivities to honor the patron saint. The didactic short plays were also prepared for entertainment and at times the authors inserted farce(s), games and jokes, but the comic scenes were considered profane, and civil authorities eventually suppressed them (Quiñones Melgoza 1982).

Following the procedures of the Spanish universities, the Jesuits in charge of the different schools of the *Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo* represented drama in Latin once or twice a year. In the beginning the compositions and dialogues were partly in Latin and partly in Spanish. The first work in Latin was staged in 1575, and more works were performed through 1583; about three-fourths of them had content in Spanish and one-fourth in Latin. The first one completely in Latin was represented in 1585, and a few more followed through the end of the century. All the compositions were influential in shaping the national drama, although most had an eclectic content. Students enrolled in these colleges did learn Latin with instructors who had been trained in Spain. At the end of the century the dramatic plays were drafted almost always in Latin, which was a component of the pedagogical method (Quiñones Melgoza 1982: xv-xlv).

The education of the surviving Mesoamerican elites in the classics preceded the education of the Spanish speakers. Since the early 1520's basic Latin was taught to children of the Indian elites living in the convents, and what they

learned was sufficient for the roles they had to play in the Catholic liturgy. In almost all the monasteries the friars integrated chapels and choruses of great quality and even trained the Indians in music. Singing in Latin was a preliminary practice to learn formal Latin. In the early decades of the colony several schools were founded with an enriched curriculum. The formality of the schooling established a solid foundation for the education of the indigenous but ended with the century. Samples of Latin documents written by the indigenous students and the indigenous clergy can be found in Osorio Romero (1990: 1-58).

5.4.1 Education for women

Coming from all social strata, the vast majority of women emigrated from Spain after the conquest. Their education was more selective than the education afforded to males but there were some opportunities for three groups: (1) women coming from Spain became educators of Indian, mestizo, and *criollo* children; (2) women who were married and had free time; (3) women who chose to live in the convent. Towards the end of the 16th century, some women of independent means donated their inheritance in order to build the *Convento de San Jerónimo*, where many *criollo* women lived and died. Spanish-speaking women acquired culture according to their social position. They were inclined to study reading, writing, basic mathematics, music, religion and domestic chores in schools for girls, convents and nunneries. Some were even able to pay for lessons of Latin and Spanish. They were exposed to books on all subjects, from the ancient classics to chivalry novels, history and historical novels, in addition to poetry and philosophy. Women found solace in the writing of their biographies or became the chroniclers of the convents in which they lived. Most of them were born in the late 16th century and became actively involved in literary pursuits in the following century (Muriel 1982).

5.5 Additional activities promoting the use of Spanish

Juan Cromberger, the son of printer Jacob Cromberger, secured the rights to publish and sell books and other materials in Mexico. At the initiative of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and Bishop Juan de Zumárraga, the printing press arrived in Mexico from Seville in 1538. In the beginning the cost of production was lower than in Seville and the paper was available on a regular basis. Juan Pablos was the first printer who worked directly for Cromberger, and the first manuscript published in the House of Juan Pablos was the Latin devotional manual known

as the *Escala Espiritual* (ca. 1535 or 1537) by San Juan de Calimaco, translated by Friar Juan de la Magdalena. Until 1554 Juan Pablos was the exclusive printer. Five years later Antonio de Espinosa and his partners traveled to Spain to obtain a printing license, and paved the way for other printers. Because there was sufficient demand for religious manuals, other printers found plenty of business: Antonio Álvarez, Sebastián Gutiérrez, Juan Rodríguez, Pedro Ocharte, Pedro Balli and Antonio Ricardo were engaged in the publication of miscellaneous books in Latin, Spanish and indigenous languages. Until 1554 the preferred typography was gothic, and after that year Roman and cursive types prevailed. Printers catered to the most pressing needs of the pedagogical and ecclesiastic activities, although philosophic and scientific publications were not absent in the collection of published works (García Icazbalceta 1858-1866: ix-xxiii).

One of the most active domains contributing to the elevation of language(s) in the public life of New Spain was the University, whose personnel were selected among the local scholars. In 1551, Philip II issued a royal decree, and the university established on January 25, 1553 with the attendance of both the viceroy and the members of the *Audiencia* present at the first class of every course. Faculty members in charge of the new curriculum were known for their merits, and many young and eager students were enrolled to be trained in the Humanities program, which was equivalent to the Salamanca program. Students and faculty were regularly engaged in all sorts of activities and inclined to initiate intense debates on substantial issues. One of them was grammar, also known as language sciences, a subject that attracted talented faculty. The University set the precedent for solid and independent teaching. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar was twice the University's rector and described its mission in México in *Tres diálogos latinos* (1554/1988). Other fields such as Medicine encountered an auspicious environment in New Spain. The physicians trained in Western medicine founded hospitals, pharmacies and a shelter for the disabled. During the 16th century, several medical doctors wrote treatises of medicine and taught at the university (García Icazbalceta 1858-1866: 159-179).

5.6 Spanish literature in Spain and in New Spain

The most significant professional activity contributing to the status and prestige of Spanish was literature, which in New Spain evolved in a different direction. Spanish literature in the metropolis had a good start after Spain was reunited by the marriage of Isabel de Castilla and Fernando de Aragon, the Catholic kings who promoted Castilian as the most common written language (via Nebrija's grammar). Spanish literature had the potential to attract European readers due

to the printing boom of the early 16th century, which made books increasingly available to a wide audience. Readers were interested in chivalric and pastoral novels, narratives that paved the way for the picaresque novel and also for the poetry of the Golden Age. The most popular chivalric novel was *Amadís de Gaula* (1508), but this genre was displaced by the pastoral novel (e.g. *La Galatea* 1585) by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. The most meaningful innovation of the Golden Age was the picaresque novel that focused on the adventures of the mischievous characters working for a deceitful master. The anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) and *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599-1605) established a trend reflecting the realities of Spanish society. In addition, after the expulsion of the Moors and the Counter-Reformation movement, the Catholic zeal inspired a group of authors best known for their mysticism: Fray Luis de León, San Juan de la Cruz, and Santa Teresa de Jesús were searching for a path to God when they were living under duress. Finally, lyric poetry is represented by two major names: Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, who found inspiration in the poets of the Italian Renaissance, a gracious trend derived from Francesco Petrarca. The Spanish poets are known for having adapted the eleven-syllable verse to the Spanish language allowing for greater flexibility, a technique that aids in maintaining a basic rhythm for a longer period of time.

The abovementioned trends contrast with those that unfolded in Mexico. According to historians of Mexican literature, the first professional writers in the Spanish language credited for introducing innovating themes in the 16th century are Hernán Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo. The letters of the former inaugurated a new genre in historical chronicles, while the latter is the author of *La verdadera historia de la conquista de la Nueva España* [The True History of the Conquest of New Spain] (1568). Díaz del Castillo was a soldier and an eyewitness of the conquest of Mexico. His history is a vivid account of the military skirmishes of Cortés and his men, a narrative intended to redeem the actions of the Spanish troops who were instrumental in planning the battles against the Aztecs. Born out of the realities of the New World, the historical chronicle contrasts with the works of the friars who narrated and described in Spanish and / or Nahuatl the civilization of the Aztecs. *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España* (1540-1585/1950/1982) by Bernardino de Sahagún; *Historia general de Indias* (1561) by Bartolomé de las Casas; *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (1542) by Toribio de Benavente; and *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (1597) by Gerónimo de Mendieta, among other monumental volumes, were drafted in the 16th century and published later. The prose of the chronicle is original, controversial, and succeeds in establishing a solid precedent of writing in a genre that differs significantly from the narrative of the 16th century in Spain (i.e. the picaresque novel).

Another genre in Spanish is the poetry ensuing from the various ecclesiastic celebrations in honor of Charles V. The best known was the *Túmulo imperial de la gran ciudad de México* [Imperial Sepulcher of the Great City of Mexico] by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, who in a few years had become the official chronicler of Mexico City. The introduction in prose announces the grandiosity of the topic, the death of the Emperor; it offers not only a minute description of the posthumous ceremonies but of the decorations and structures raised for the occasion. The Doric style catafalque was built on two levels with the funeral urn lying over the first, which was covered with a black cloth and a cushion where the crown rested. The funeral procession was led by the Indian rulers of Mexico City: Tacuba, Texcoco and Tlaxcala. Published in 1560 in the well-established House of Antonio de Espinosa, the versified section glorifies the king of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, who is confronted with Death but is at the same time immortal. Charles V deserved a funeral, lavish and splendid, similar to that of Caesar or Alexander the Great (in García Icazbalceta 1886: 95-121).

Whereas the first generation of Spanish speakers set the precedent for writings in prose, the second generation contributed with the Italian-influenced genre of lyric poetry. The Spanish speakers arriving after 1550 were mostly bureaucrats or royal attendants who knew first-hand the in vogue literary styles circulating in Spain. Poetry was a practice of those with courtly experience who wanted to be à la par with professional poets from Madrid and Seville. Because its repertoire excludes ballads, proverbs and legends, the poetry is known as *poesía culta* (cultured poetry). The authors found inspiration in topics referring to love, lack of love, ingenious games, dreams, and female beauty. The main players were Gutierre de Cetina (born in Seville in 1520) and Juan de la Cueva (born in Seville in 1547) while Francisco de Terrazas was the first poet born (1525) in New Spain. Fernán González de Eslava (born in Toledo ca. 1534) resided in Mexico, where he wrote the *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales y coloquios divinos* [Spiritual and Sacramental Colloquia and Divine Colloquia] appearing early in the next century. The distinguished poets almost never published their works while they were alive, but their poetry was divulged in manuscripts and memorized via recitation (Blanco 1989: 132).

5.7 Conclusions

The economy of New Spain was based on the utilization and efficient management of the indigenous labor, which was cheaper than and less aggravating than slavery. Ensuring an effective workforce for the mining, agricultural, textile activities and services became the priority of the new officials in charge. Though

a good portion of the revenue was delivered to the metropolis, there were periods of sustainable growth that were instrumental in supporting the education, entertainment and cultural endeavors of the local elite. Spanish speakers belonging to the upper crust of the colonial hierarchy had sufficient resources to cultivate their proclivity for the Spanish letters. The economic boom was noticeable in the larger towns and cities where the grand central plazas played a significant role in the commercial, civic, and religious distribution of space, opportunity, and wealth. The printing press was an additional project that promoted publications in indigenous languages, Latin and Spanish. By the end of the 16th century, Spanish was in good standing and ready to be implemented in solid, original, and diversified domains. The literary genres that unfolded were not a mirror image of the peninsular literary trends, since at least the initial prose is quite distinct from the narrative cultivated in Spain. The only genre that was not stimulated or emulated in the New World was the *novella* presumably because the content was susceptible to periodic evaluation on the part of the Inquisition. All in all the activities of the Spanish speakers contributed to the persisting course of action of diversification. The Spanish language positioned itself in newer and permanent domains of interaction (i.e. labor, education, church, monasteries, nunneries, urban commerce, medicine, entertainment, bureaucracy, and literature, among others). Interaction in the different realms of labor counted on Spanish speakers, speakers of other European languages, a good number of speakers of indigenous languages, and not too many speakers of African languages. In most cases, the diffusion of Spanish amongst non-Spanish speaking groups was indirect and not too intense but it must have been continuous. The linguistic niches built in and around the work domain enhanced the stability of Spanish as a common language for multiple forms of communication.