Corruption, the Reforms of Francisco de Toledo and the Backlash of Indio Social Changes in Sixteenth & Seventeenth Spanish Peru

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Corruption, the Reforms of Francisco de Toledo, and the Backlash of Indio Social Changes in Sixteenth & Seventeenth Spanish Perú

By

Jeffrey Benson

A closer look at the colonial practices of the Spaniards in Perú and the increase of political power through the reforms of Francisco de Toledo and how that indirectly influenced social changes within the Indio caste system.
Prior to the reforms of Francisco de Toledo, political and economic corruption was already in motion. After Toledo’s reforms were instituted, as the evidence will show, royal officials, clergy, entrepreneurs and even kurakas\(^1\) did what they could to take advantage of the system and profit. Amidst the expanding colonial society, an unexpected social backlash developed amongst the Indios. To a great degree these social changes can be attributed to Francisco de Toledo’s reforms, which enlarged the overall number of royal and local officials, who desired to manipulate the system and enrich themselves. Toledo’s reforms permitted a larger majority of Spaniards to exploit the Indios’ productivity, increase their revenues and appease the crown. To some degree, both indirectly and directly, the reforms encouraged the Indios to assimilate, adapt, change or hide in order to escape the obligations of the Indio caste system.

In 1569 Francisco de Toledo was dispatched from Spain by King Phillip II to assume the position of Viceroy of Spanish Peru. Toledo was expected to install political reforms that would further subordinate the natives especially in the Andes, provide adequate workers for the mines, and increase the overall revenue for royal treasury. Although Toledo legislated several reforms his three most influential were: 1) congregating the indigenous peoples into large strategic towns, 2) imposing a regularized system of taxation, and 3) establishing a regimen of forced labor to support the silver mines of Peru and Alto Peru (Bolivia).\(^2\) The reforms were

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\(^1\) Local native chieftain  
readily accepted by the local officials not because they wished to improve the status of the Spanish crown; rather it gave them a chance to further corrupt and reap the benefits.

Before Toledo’s reforms were enacted it was common for the Crown, royal and local officials to sell office positions or participate in patronage. Historian Jeffrey Cole comments, “the sale of government offices to the highest bidders (another component of the wartime revenue program) and thus often to wealthy Peruvian notables, meant short-term financial gains for the crown at the expense of the Indian communities.” The financial gains for the Crown were deemed necessary to fund Spain against international conflicts in Europe.

Catherine Julien and Karen Spalding each make note of the international pressures that helped form colonial politics. Julien writes, “With the Turk advancing in the Mediterranean and Protestant heresy gaining strength inside Spanish-held territory in Europe, Philip listened to men who had fought his father’s wars, or who had at least come of age during a time when Spanish armies were earning their reputation.” Spalding adds, “…Philip noted…’because you must keep in mind the fact that our needs are great, particularly in these times in which we receive so many affronts from the king of France, and if we do the Indians native to said provinces the great favor of not alienating them perpetually from our royal crown, it is only just that they do us a service according to their capacities.’”

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4 Catherine Julien “Francisco de Toledo and His Campaign against the Incas” Colonial Latin American Review Vol. 16, No. 2 (December, 2007) 265.
Military opposition from powerful European nations hindered the crown of Spain to take somewhat desperate measures by selling positions not only to professional and capable candidates, but to various participants, whether qualified or not, who could purchase the office. Spalding continues, "In other words, political jurisdiction over the native Andean population was to be put up for auction, and the members of Andean society quickly understood the principle and responded as Philip had specified."  

While the financial gains for the Crown might have been necessary, the distribution of land and governing authority in most cases meant a transition from royal to colonial power. Kenneth Andrien further criticizes this process by arguing, "As a result the sales contributed to a steady decline in royal control over these officials, whose family, business, and political ties to elites in the viceroyalty proved stronger than their allegiance to the crown."  

Andrien argues that treasury officials assumed more than one office and expanded their control by incorporating family members and business partners. He states, "Since holding more than one government office was not unknown, some treasury officials in Lima obtained several additional offices for themselves and their families."  

Andrien adds that royal and local officials extended their political ties to prominent members of society that were outside the family. "Treasury officials," he writes, "were also eager to augment their wealth and power by expanding ties to important local citizens." Thus, it must be taken into consideration that

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6 Spalding, 149.
7 Kenneth J. Andrien Crisis and Decline: The Viceroyalty of Peru in the Seventeenth Century (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1985) 104.
9 Ibid, 119.
when Toledo introduced his reforms he was trusting that the royal and local officials, who had purchased their offices and created a monopoly, would at some length, cooperate.

Two things to consider about the local officials were their capability to perform and their integrity. A.M. Fuentes writes about the inefficiency of tribute collection of the yanaconas by the corregidores at the Potosi. He writes,

“In the secular government I referred to your majesty about the sustenance and origin of these people, the very moderate tax they pay in some regions, how the corregidores and Royal Officials collect it, the value of yanacona tribute of Potosi, and the silver which is consigned to the foot soldiers of government. The reset is of the Royal Treasury but of little importance owing to the poor collection, which you should rectify.”

Toward the end of his commentary Fuentes identifies one of the key issues with royal or local official and that is their inefficiency to perform or carry out the duties of their office. Andrien concurs, “At this juncture, however, crucial financial decisions in Lima were entrusted to officials who often proved inefficient, corrupt, and strongly tied to local partisan interests hostile to new tax levies.” In addition, Andrien notes the inability of the Royal Crown to impede inappropriate activity of the treasury officials, “The influx of less-competent auditors and the tolerance of absentee officials made it impossible for the Madrid government to maintain adequate checks on the activities of the royal treasury during these vital years.”

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10 A.M. Fuentes Memoria de Los Virreyes que han gobernado el Perú Durante el Tiempo del Coloniaje Español Los Archivos de San Marcos (Librería Central de Felipe Bailly, Lima, 1859) 137. “En el Gobierno temporal referí á V. E. la subsistencia y origen de esta gente, y la tasa que paga es muy moderada en algunas partes, toca su cobranza á Corregidores y Oficiales Reales: el valor de tributes de yanaconas de Potosi, y la plata está consignada para la guardia de á plé que tiene el Gobierno; lo demas es Hacienda Real pero de poca consideracion, todo respecto de la mala cobranza, en que será conveniente ponga V. E. la mano.”

11 Andrien Crisis and Decline, 121.
12 Ibid, 122.
Colonial treasury officials failed to audit or collect numerous accounts within Lima, but also in other regions such as Oruro, Cuzco and Arequipa. Of the tribunal accounts the crown received, many had been falsified by withholding accurate census. Andrien claims, "Too often these Crown officials falsified their census and tax rolls to undercount the number of tributaries in the towns in order to embezzle money collected from those not legally listed on the tax ledgers."\(^\text{13}\)

Toledo’s reforms for collecting tribute clarified that tributarios\(^\text{14}\) from the ages of 18 to 50 were to be subjected to the tribute system. Often though, those numbers would be tampered with in order to exclude a portion of tributarios so that the corregidores could make a profit.

In some cases royal authorities were sent out to directly observe a census count in order to ensure accuracy. To combat the presence of a royal official the local officials would simple extend that age limit in order to continue to make a profit. Andrien writes, "Another related ploy involved forcing the Andeans to pay taxes for those who had died or left the reducciones, as well as the aged and others legally exempt from taxes."\(^\text{15}\) Historian Noble David Cook testifies to that statement adding, "The large number of 18-year-old males results from a desire to maximize the number of tributaries. It is likely that 15-, 16-, and 17-year-old boys were placed in this category."\(^\text{16}\)

Peter Flindell Klaren states the purpose of the corregidor, "the corregidores served as local political and economic agents of the state who effectively took control of the countryside

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\(^{14}\) Indios who official held and cultivated native property/land.

\(^{15}\) Andrien Andean Worlds, 57-58.

\(^{16}\) Noble David Cook Demographic Collapse Indian Peru, 1520-1620 (Cambridge University Press, 1981) 220.
away from the independent-minded encomenderos." The Royal Crown had used the corregidores to try and reduce the power of the encomenderos and revert that power back to the Crown. Unfortunately, what occurred was a transition of power from the encomenderos to the corregidores.

Once the corregidores assumed this role they were quick to take advantage of the disposition. Steve J. Stern addresses the transition of power and effects it produced, "In rural society, then, Toledo’s reorganization created imposing networks of authority, formal and informal, in which the corregidores stood at the center, armed with the police powers of the colonial state." With the authority and protection corregidores began to take advantage of the system. Stern continues, "The "police powers" were real enough, for corregidores and other officials jailed and whipped people, and impounded their belonging, under the guise of enforcing laws and punishing criminals." Andrien adds, "The corregidores also withheld tribute monies belonging to the crown in order to finance their own local business ventures."

In addition to intimidating royal opposition and embezzling tribute, the corregidores also took advantage of the indios’ service. Andrien comments, "Spanish officials also required Andeans to serve as mitayos in textile mills, on coca farms, and on public works projects, despite specific imperial and local laws forbidding the practices." Any opposition against the corregidores was quickly extinguished by the corregidores and their supporters. "When

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18 Steve J. Stern Peru’s Indian People & the Challenge of Spanish Conquest (Madison, Wisconsin; University of Wisconsin Press, 1982) 96.
19 Stern, 96.
21 Andrien, Andean Worlds, 98.
kurakas attempted to protest or take the local magistrates to court," states Andrien, "the corregidores and their allies among the parish priest usually conspired to intimidate, abuse, jail, or even replace the ethnic leader with a more pliable candidate." What’s interesting to note is that the corregidores, though positioned with great authority, relied on other officials such as the priest, militia, and the audiencia in order to secure their power.

Other officials that helped secure the corregidores power included the clergy and at times the kurakas as well. James Lockhart comments, “While some areas are known to have had the same doctrinero for ten years, many priests took a position as doctrinero only as a stopgap, to support themselves until something better appeared.” Lockhart later continues, “During the early years of the conquest there was to be seen in Peru a breed of priest-entrepreneurs who enriched themselves in that atmosphere of fantastic wealth, then quickly returned to Spain.” Roberto recorded the following:

It is not strange when the archbishop Mogrovejo arrived from the Inquisitional Count of Granada, where jurisdictional powers were clearly delineated a long time ago, that experiencing such intense disputes violence, favoritism, and greed, particularly exasperating in Lima, he opted to distance himself from the capital as much as possible (and) take the gospel and the comfort of his words to the Indians of neighboring regions. His relationships with other authorities, to apply the justice according to his conscience, without bending or accepting changes. This was the cause of unending conflict.

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23 A doctrinero was a local priest usually assigned to Christianize the native of a given encomendiero. However, his religious involvement was usually sporadic.
25 Lockhart, 55.
26 Roberto Levilier Organizacion de la Iglesia y Ordenes Religioso Los Archivos de San Marcos (Biblioteca del Congreso Argentina, Madrid, 1919) LXV. "no es extraño, pues, que al llegar del tribunal de la inquisición de granada, donde la jurisdicción de los poderes se encontraba desde tiempos remotos claramente deslindada, al medio intenso de querellas, violencias, favoritismos y codicias, especialmente exasperado en Lima, optara por alejarse de la capital todo lo posible, llevar el evangelio y el consuelo de su palabra a los indios de las comarcas..."
Levillier records indicate that the Catholic Church was very well aware of the lure of treasures and entrepreneurial opportunities in Spanish Peru for priests and that a number of priests had been led astray by greed rather than properly evangelizing the indios and spreading the Catholic faith as they had been trained to do.

The lure of riches, though, did not solely attract Spaniards, but also kurakas. Historian Ann Zulawski comments, “Moreover, kurakas were often in a position to attempt to take advantage of the new economic system for personal gain.”27 There lacks sufficient evidence that all kurakas took advantage of the Toledan system, however; Andrien offers one specific example that permits historians to identify the vast amount of wealth that a kuraka could acquire. He writes, “The fabulously wealthy and powerful Diego Caqui, kuraka of Tacna... when Diego Caqui died in 1588, his will specified that the kuraka owned an estate worth 260,000 pesos, including a coastal vineyard with forty thousand plants and three ships engaged in coastal trading.”28 The example offered by Andrien demonstrates the potential for kurakas to take advantage of Toledo’s reforms. Andrien does go to clarify that Diego Caqui used his wealth to promote festivals and distribute gifts among the indios, however; that cannot be said of all the kurakas that took advantage of Toledo’s reforms and of their kinsmen.

The Toledo reforms did not stabilize the colony any better than the previous system. In fact, the reforms extended the possibilities of corruption and diminished the balance of vecinas, y en sus relaciones con las demás autoridades, aplicar los preceptos de justicia de acuerdo con su conciencia, sin doblegarse ni aceptar avenimientos. Y ello fue causa de conflictos sin fin.

authority. Andrien writes, “No clear lines of authority separated their powers and responsibilities, and each supervised the actions of the other [the king, his advisory councils, the viceroy, the audiencia, the tribunal of accounts, the treasury officials, and the various tax farmers].”29 The extension of the government along with the creation of new positions allowed more Spaniards to purchase an office seat, whether qualified or not, and abuse the system to make a profit. The source of productivity that would work the mine, cultivate the land, support private investment, and sustain Toledo’s reforms was the indios. The vitality of the Indios was not only the foundation for the colonial economy but for political corruption as well. In order to maintain a steady flow of Indian support the Spanish had to congregate the Indians into larger more accessible settlements. Therefore, in order to better tax, manage and exploit the Indians, Toledo authorized their congregations into reducciones.

Robert H. Jackson writes, “In the colonial period the government created and managed corporate indigenous communities that functioned as a type of reservation to separate the indigenous from the nonindigenous populations.”30 The reservations that Jackson alludes to were the reducciones or small Spanish-like town settlements. Prior to the establishment of reducciones Zulawski notes, “[the indios] were relatively inaccessible for the Spaniard’s purposes: evangelization, collecting tribute, and mobilizing labor.”31 By placing the indios into reducciones the Spaniards increased their control and authority over them. Enrique Tandeter states, “The concentration of the population facilitated both evangelization and the collection

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29 Andrien, Crisis and Decline, 100.
31 Ann Zulawski They Eat From Their Labor: Work and Social Change in Colonial Bolivia (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 47.
of tribute."\(^{32}\) Klaren confirms, "The purpose of such a massive, forced resettlement was to establish direct state control and facilitate the Church’s Christianization of the native population, while enhancing the collection of the tribute tax and the allocation of labor."\(^{33}\) In addition, to the overall purpose of the reducciones as indicated by Tandeter and Klaren, Ann M. Wightman described that, "Indians would be relocated in proximity to the mining zones, particularly Potosí and Guancavelica, and in the agricultural valleys of the sierra."\(^{34}\) Thus, the reducciones were not just a method used to tax, manage and exploit indios productivity; it was a method of geographical location to ensure that the local and royal officials could use the indios to the maximum advantage. This method is precisely what the reforms permitted and in so doing equipped, mainly local officials, with the opportunity to increase their wealth.

Once the indios had been relocated from their native hilltop dwellings to valley reservations they were put to work and taxed. The type of work the indios were forced to do varied to some extent, but if it was not working in the mines, it was agricultural or domestic work. The produce of the work would in turn be taken by Spanish officials as payment for the tribute. Often after paying the tribute indios were left with very little and in some cases they could not work enough to pay the tribute. Establishing the tribute and the mita\(^{35}\) was a devious plan by the Spaniards, who tried to understand Inca history and use it for their advantage. John V. Murra notes a 1559 meeting, in which settlers were asked to discover the history of the indios. Murra records the instructions of a royal official to several members of his staff, "Ninth:

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\(^{33}\) Klaren, 60.
\(^{35}\) Temporary service for the betterment of the kingdom.
you will inquire if in olden times there were corporal services and in what form so that if these had prevailed, one would understand in all fairness what they could and should pay.\textsuperscript{36} The instructions were fulfilled, however; once the history was known the Spanish didn’t exactly follow the Inca mita. William H. Prescott wrote about the history of the Inca mita before the arrival of the Spanish:

The people were not allowed to be employed on works pernicious to their health, nor to pine – a sad contrast to their subsequent destiny – under the imposition of tasks too heavy for their powers. They were never made the victims of public or private extortion; and a benevolent forecast watched carefully over their necessities, and for their sustenance in health. The government of the Incas, however arbitrary in form, was in its spirit truly patriarchal.\textsuperscript{37}

Prescott’s account of the Inca mita system might be embellished, but if it did, indeed, resemble something similar to his testament than historians can distinguish a radical difference between the Inca mita and the Spanish mita.

Cole records a description of the mines by Father Jose de Acosta, an observer of a Spanish mita in 1590s:

They labor in these mines in perpetual darkness, not knowing day from night. And since the sun never penetrates to these places, they are not only always dark but very cold, and the air is very thick and alien to the nature of men; so that those who enter for the first time set as sick as at sea – which happened to me in one of these mines, where I felt a pain at the heart and a churning in the stomach. They [apiris] always carry candles to light their way, and they divide their labor in such a way that some work by day the rest by night, and others work by night and rest by day. The ore is generally hard as flint, and they break it up with iron bars. They carry the ore on their backs up ladders made of three


cords of twisted rawhide joined by pieces of wood that serve as rungs, so that one man may climb up and another down at the same time. These ladders are twenty meters long, and at the top and bottom of each is a wooden platform where the men may rest, because there are so many ladders to climb. Each man usually carries on his back a load of twenty-five kilograms of silver ore tied in a cloth, knapsack fashion; thus they ascend, three at a time. The one who goes first carries a candle tied to his thumb; thus, holding on with both hands, they climb that great distance, often more than 300 meters—a fearful thing, the mere thought of which inspires dread.38

This very vivid description of the reality that the Spanish mitayos39 had to endure during their services contrasts the to the Inca mita as described by Prescott. Cook provides similar descriptions of the mita pertaining to the Huancavelica mine. Cook writes, “Cave-ins, floods, and falls...daily threats. Intermediate health hazards...poor diet, inadequate ventilation...sharp temperature differences...Pneumonia and other bronchial and respiratory tract infections were not at all uncommon. Indians inhaled the dust, which contained...mercury vapors, arsenic, arsenic anhydride, and cinnabar.”40 For the few indios that did survive their turn at the mita, when they return to their homeland, often they found that their land had been occupied by another party. Wightman explains, “Indians who did return to their home communities often found that their lands had been seized by Spaniards, taken by neighbors, or occupied by migrants from other communities.”41 This unfortunate turn of events is not surprising in that the percentage of survivors was fewer than 15%.42 It is likely that the Spaniards or neighboring indios did not expect the return of the majority of the mitayos.

38 Cole, 24.
39 Indios that were eligible and sent to the mitas.
40 Cook, 205-206.
41 Wightman, 51.
42 An exact number of survivors is not available to historians. A number of historians have pinned the percentage of survivors around 8 or 9%. However, because some historians suggests that the number might be as high as 15% I choose to represent the highest possible number of survivors so as not to exaggerate the evidence.
When Toledo inaugurated his reforms he specified who had to serve at the mita, who was exempt, who paid higher tributes and who was taxed less. To accomplish this he created a caste system within the indios. There were these groups, the originarios also commonly referred to as tributarios, the yanaconas and the fosasteros. Those identified as originarios were permitted to maintain the land of their native settlement within the zone of reducciones. They had to pay the highest tribute and provide workforce for the mita. Yanaconas, were usually Spanish servants who gave up their native settlements and migrated to another settlement within that given region. Jackson states, “The Spanish classified another group as yanaconas, tributaries who had no link to a community and served Spaniards in different capacities, generally in a servile status.”

They forfeited their rights to land from their native settlement. They did pay a lower tribute and were for a time exempt from the mita. Later on the yanaconas would take on two distinctions yanaconas del rey and yanaconas de españoles. Yanaconas de españoles could provide proof of employment with Spaniards, thus, acknowledging their right to be exempt from the mita. Unfortunately for yanaconas del rey exemption was not extended to them in that they practiced to a degree personal autonomy by not working directly for a Spaniard even though they were still subjected to the tribute. Wightman writes, “All other yanaconas [yanaconas del rey] were taxed, subjected to mita duty, and resettled into standard reducciones, with those in colonial cities assigned to urban parishes.”

To simply migrate away from their native land did not exempt indios from the mita, they had to offer their services to the Spaniards and take up employment. Finally, the forasteros, which Jackson explains, “Large numbers of community members from the altiplano

43 Jackson, 29.
44 Wightman, 18.
migrated to Cochabamba in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the colonial
government classified the migrants as forasteros who did not enjoy rights to community lands
but still had to pay tribute."45

Toledo’s reforms clarified who was exempt and who wasn’t, but he was unable to
supervise local officials, so he was helpless to fully supervise his reforms. Most Indians didn’t
want to participate in the mita. So great was their distaste for the mita that they desired by
whatever means to escape the mita service. Cole comments, “Rather, the Indians responded to
the worsening situation in the mines by using every available means to evade the mita.”46

However, were a huge mass of the work force to change their civil status, then the local officials
would suffer. To avoid such cases the local officials simply ignored Toledo’s specifications.
Tandeter states, “In the area subject to the mita, the census showed a pronounced population
decline of 45 percent since the Toledo inspection.”47 On the following graph Cook
demonstrates the total number of tributaries and mitayos in several regions encircled around
the mitas.

In all but one region there is a constant decline in tributarios and mitayos up to 1630.
Ann Zulawski provides an additional graph with the total number of mitayos in the year 1573
and 1683. She, like Cook, also observed several regions revolving around the mitas. Of the
seventeen regions provided in the graph, by Zulawski, only three of those regions increased in
the overall number of mitayos while the remaining regions had significant declines.

45 Jackson, 27.
46 Cole, 26.
47 Tandeter, 30
Eleven regions had a 39 percent or higher population decline of mitayos, the highest being 64 percent in the region of Paria.

The following graph provided by Jeffrey Cole, demonstrates that the silver mining production at Potosí saw no real significant decline up to 1630. In fact the overall silver mining production prior to the reforms by Toledo does not reappear until the end of the seventeenth century, indicating that the reforms allowed Spaniards to increase their profit from the mines for over a century before reverting back to the original quota and overall production of the mitas. How then is the mine at Potosí and the overall production of silver increasing or remaining at a high level of productivity if there are less originarios, mitayos and yanaconas del rey? Again, the reforms of Toledo were not exercised completely. Historians Jeffrey Cole and Enrique Tandeter testify to corrupt local officials. Cole says, “Many of the Indians who came to
### Table 3.2: Variation in Originario Population and Tributary Population in Sixteen Provinces of Upper Peru, 1573–1683

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province Studied by Sánchez-Albornoz</th>
<th>1573</th>
<th>1683</th>
<th>% of Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trujillo</td>
<td>1,863</td>
<td>1,224</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tarma</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamparales</td>
<td>3,723</td>
<td>4,543</td>
<td>+21</td>
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<td>Chayanta</td>
<td>3,758</td>
<td>4,440</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarina</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>+21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector</td>
<td>3,445</td>
<td>3,842</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochabamba</td>
<td>3,130</td>
<td>1,774</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mixque</td>
<td>1,308</td>
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<td>Carangue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paria</td>
<td>7,771</td>
<td>2,779</td>
<td>-64</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province Studied by Vachuelo</th>
<th>1573</th>
<th>1683</th>
<th>% of Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paucarales</td>
<td>9,282</td>
<td>3,647</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chocumoa</td>
<td>17,963</td>
<td>7,259</td>
<td>-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collagoy</td>
<td>2,233</td>
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<td>+39</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potosí</td>
<td>5,495</td>
<td>2,528</td>
<td>-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiznagore</td>
<td>8,869</td>
<td>3,432</td>
<td>-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumaná</td>
<td>8,069</td>
<td>2,208</td>
<td>-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>90,318</td>
<td>53,416</td>
<td>-41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Figure

The Royal State of Silver Mining in Peru, 1556–1700 (expressed in thousands of pesos aurronditos). The 1692 data represent one-fifth of official silver production.


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Zulawski They Eat from Their Labor: Work and Social Change in Colonial Bolivia. 72.
Potosi were yanaconas – artisans, former Inca retainers, and others who were not affiliated with an ayllu – men who had been displaced by the conquest."⁵¹ Tandeter adds, “Even more surprising is the fact that more than half of the forasteros of Oruro were not exempt from the mita either.”⁵² Perhaps surprising, nonetheless it was common practice, especially if the Spaniards wished to maintain and increase mining productivity.

In theory, mitayos were to work for one year then be paid and return home not having to serve again for about another seven years. Zulawski notes, “Each worker was to remain for a year in Potosi and be paid for his labor. After his turn in the villa imperial, he could return to his village and theoretically was not to serve again for about seven years.”⁵³ Unfortunately, the decline of originarios and mass migration away from the mita regions caused the seven years away from the mita to become three years. Tandeter comments, “...Viceroy Toledo had determined that each village would send to Potosi each year a fixed number of Indian men between the ages of eighteen and fifty, selected from a list of villages located in sixteen provinces centered in the Altiplano, but reaching to the east and north, to the dividing line between Collao and Cusco.”⁵⁴

Overall the outlined area by Toledo is rather large yet there was a lack of official mitayos. Some pressure befell on the local officials, they wanted to make revenue and expand their wealth, but the lack of mitayos hindered that goal. However, the bulk of the pressure fell upon the kurakas and the poor mitayos. The Kurakas were in charge of supplying the local

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⁵⁰ Cole, 16.
⁵¹ Cole, 3.
⁵² Tandeter, 29.
⁵³ Zulawski They Eat From Their Labor, 48.
⁵⁴ Tandeter, 25.
officials with a yearly quota of mitayos and if they were unable to accomplish this task then they and their family would lose their social status, be imprisoned and in some cases sent to the mines. Wightman further captures the intense amount of pressure bestowed upon a kuraka, "As a parish priest explained in 1689, 'there is no Indian who wants to be kuraka, because of the problems to be faced in the fulfillment of the different obligations; and the corregidores and their assistants force the richest Indian to take this office, to serve as kuraka of these ayllus, even though he may not be an originario of the town.'"\textsuperscript{55}

Aside from the abused kurakas, were the originarios, who were chosen to serve in mines. This unfortunate event was not entirely because of the physical conditions, but also due to the economic conditions. Andrien explains, "Since wages were low (and employers deducted

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 26.
\textsuperscript{56} Wightman, 89.
all tribute payments from a worker’s earning), many workers fell into debt.\(^{57}\) The mita was such a cultural shock filled with despair, cruelty, death, and economic hardship. Even though the mitayos were working around the clock they couldn’t work fast enough to earn a sufficient amount in order to stay out of debt. Kurakas dreaded having to meet the mita quota and originarios would rather change their civil status and give up their land then go to the mita. Even then, a change in identity seldom stopped the corruption that plagued those regions and Spaniards that took advantage of the indios in as many ways as possible. As bad as the mita was for the indios it was only half of the problem.

In addition to the mita, indios were required to pay a tribute to the royal crown and local officials. Each civil status group within the indios caste system had to pay tribute with the exception of the kurakas. Andrien states, “Kurakas were exempt, but members of the community clan structure (tributarios) paid the largest sums. Those outside the ayllu or kin structure (yanaconas) and recent migrants (forasteros) paid lesser amounts.”\(^{58}\) After the collection of the tributes the kurakas would transfer the goods over to the corregidores who would then deposit the sum to various offices. Andrien discusses the collection process, “The village kurakakuna actually collected the assessments and sent the proceeds to the chief town in the repartimiento, where the Corregidor and his lieutenants registered the amounts. The Corregidor then used the funds to pay his own salary; that of the parish priests, and any other administrative expenses.”\(^{59}\) Stern notes about the variations in repartimiento incomes based on Toledo’s visita. He says “Taken as a whole, the twenty-three core repartimientos produced

\(^{57}\) Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 86.

\(^{58}\) Ibid, 51.

a total annual tribute of 86,127 pesos ensayados. Of these, 37,553 pesos were distributed to administrative “costs” (the majority being priests’ salaries), leaving a net regional tribute of 48,574 pesos for distribution to favored pensioners.⁶⁰ Even though this might have been a lot of money once it was dispersed amongst several local officials it became considerable less, thus, they sought alternative options to extract even more money.

As mentioned earlier the corregidores tried to swindle the system by using various tactics such as underestimating the population, including indios that were outside of the age limit, or submit the census with the correct number yet inform the indios that the number is much higher. In 1597 Indians of Maras, Cuzco pleaded for a recount. “As their Corregidor reported,” writes Wightman, “they claim that they are too heavily burdened and that they supply many more tributario laborers than the legal one-seventh assessment; therefore they ask a reduction in their obligations.”⁶¹ At times records were falsified in order to submit a census with fewer inhabitants. The Corregidor could then reap the benefits from the surplus of tribute. This practice was used not just by corregidores, but also by Kurakas that wanted to ease their burden of collecting tribute. Wightman states, “The Toledo reforms, however, were particularly vulnerable to manipulation because the per-capita basis for tribute and mita assessments led Indian leaders to underreport their base population.”⁶² Falsifying census records was extremely risky for kurakas because if caught they’d be demoted, forced to pay a tribute and handed over to public works. In addition, for indios that were not properly recorded in the census, their houses would be demolished, they would be taken out by force,

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⁶⁰ Stern, 82.
⁶¹ Wightman, 18.
⁶² Wightman, 23.
fined and handed over to public works. Toledo pronounced, “a year or years before the clerk corregidor and have paid them to each one year in the presence of the magistrate, failing that, if so do not do so, justice will demolish the home rancherias that we had, and I take out the such Indians by force, and more than two hundred dollars applied to the chamber and public and denounced by thirds.”

The tribute put a great deal of pressure on the indios, especially if there was a drought or a poor farming season. Any attempt by the indios to evade the tribute usually intensified the damage. While many indios changed their civil status they still had to pay a hefty tribute and there was no guarantee that they wouldn’t have to work at the mitas. Had the tribute, the mita service and the conditions in which the Spaniards were to communicate and treat the indios been as Toledo had outlined, perhaps the indios would have willing served the Spaniards with limited civil status change. However, as demonstrated the corruption by the local officials, royal officials, the church, and especially the corregidores, caused an unexpected backlash of social identity change amongst the indios. Cultural changes were often forced upon the indios, however; the social changes that occurred in response to the corruption were never the intentions of Toledo, the corregidores or any other official.

The cultural changes forced upon the indios had taken place from the time of the conquest and continued well into the reforms of Toledo. “Spaniards introduced familiar foods

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63 Levillier, 125. “...por año o años ante el corregidor y escribano y les hubiere pagado á fin de cada un año en presencia del mismo corregidor, so pena que si así no lo hicieren, la justicia les derribe las rancherias que en su casa tuvieren, y les saquen los tales indios por fuerza, y mas de dos cientos pesos aplicados para la cámara y obras públicas y denunciador, por tercias partes.”
and products,” states Andrien, “including a wide array of European animals and crops -- horses, pigs, cattle, sheep, wheat, barley, and grapes.” The clash of the two cultures resulted in the submission of Inca culture. Andrien notes, “When these two economic cultures conflicted, the more powerful Europeans usually managed to force changes in the subordinate Andean system.” The new cultural system also laid a foundation for a new economic system of trade and the value of goods over labor. Susan Ramirez argues that, “Native people were also exposed to different measures of wealth and means of acquiring power.” Focus on raw and finished goods as a means of payments was in contrast with the cultural Inca norm. Stern states, “Traditionally, Andean ayllus had given their authorities a tribute in labor only, rather than in finished products, on fields or herds set aside for ethnic chiefs, local cults, state shrines, and Inca rulers.”

Geographically, the Incas inhabited hilltops where they worked family terraces. The forced migration in response to the reforms of Toledo took the Incas from their native habitat dwellings and relocated them to the altiplano valleys where the Spaniards put them to work in a more Europeanized setting. In the reducciones Toledo also authorized the legal passage of priest in order to Christianized the natives. In a letter approved by Toledo he states the following:

... Don Francisco de Toledo (orders and commands) Fr. Santa Cruz and the principle Indian Don Alonso Chiri, chief of Catinte...to enlighten and teach the

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64 Andrien Andean Worlds, 101.
65 Ibid.
67 Stern, 82.
evangelical doctrine of our blessed Catholic faith (to the Manaries Indians) catechizing them and baptizing them, giving them faith and obedience, which they owe to your Majesty King Philip, and to me, in his royal name, notifying them to organize and achieve this I prefer not to send Spaniards with arms to annoy and force them rather (I send) you, Father Santa Cruz, to teach and illuminate them so they learn that which benefits them for the salvation of their souls and protects and defends them. Therefore I charge and order the principle chiefs and Indians of the Manaries (tribe) to receive, treat, and feed you well and give you whatever else you need. They should let you and the mentioned chief come and go freely, as well other chiefs and Indians who are subjects of Your majesty. With Spanish justice help to comply and give all the support possible to Fr. Santa Cruz to achieve my orders (and) collect enough in the region where he lives to teach Christian doctrine while he travels through province of the Manaries with the chief ...

Toledo’s statement clearly shows that one of the Spanish intentions for replacing the indios in reducciones was to Christianize them and teach them of the Catholic faith. Whether their intentions were genuine or not is debatable, but what is noticeable is the official approval to Christianize the indios and change their religious upbringings. One method of assimilating the indios into the Catholic faith was rewarding them with exemption from the mita. Stern argues,

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68 Francisco de Toledo Cartas y Expedientes del Virrey de Lima Vistos en el Consejo. Accessed on the 12th of December 2010 at La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima (BNL). Anos (1530-1572). “Don Francisco de Toledo...poder y comisión al padre Santa Cruz...a don Alonso Chiri cacique de Catinte y a Cáyar principales...les alumbraran y enseñaran la doctrina evangélica de nuestra santa fe católica catequizándolos y baptizándolos prestando ellos la fe y obediencia que deben a Su Magestad del Rey Don Felipe nuestro señor, y a mi en su real nombre, avisándoles que para dar órden e poner esto efecto no les quiero enviar españoles ni gentes con armas que los molesten ni fuerce sino vos el dicho padre Santa Cruz para que los enseñes e alumbres de la manera que vengen en conocimiento de lo que tanto les conviene par la salvación de sus ánimas y su amparo y defensay que así encargo y mando a los dichos caciques principales e indios de los dichos indios mañares os reciban y haga buen tratamiento e os de sus comidas y lo que vivere menester de la tierra e os dejen entrar y slair libremente a vos y al dicho cacique de por vos hagan llanos a los caminos y lo mismo mando a cualesquiera caciques e indios de por subditos de Su Magestad e ayúdele cualquier justicia de españoles que así lo hagen guardar e cumplir e daires todo el favor y ayuda que menester el dicho padre Santa Cruz que de (?) recauda suficiente en la doctrina que residio para enseñar a los natural de la doctrina Cristiana ente tanto que entra y sale de la dicha provincial de los mañares con el dicho cacique...”
"The priest could bestow exemptions from the mita upon his favored lay assistants, and heap abuses upon the troublesome by accusing them of idolatry." Thus, the more assimilated an indio became, culturally, the less he/she was punished, taxed, or forced to work, technically.

Most of the cultural changes, though, geographical, economic, horticultural, and religious were examples of forced change. Indios who changed culturally were not guarantee better treatment, tax relief or mita exemption. As demonstrated earlier many forasteros and yanaconas were still being subjected to mita service even though they had changed their social-economic status. That is why, as some historians have argued, the indios further changed socially in order to ascend beyond the indio caste system by establishing themselves as mestizo status. In order to do this the indios aimed to change every social aspect from indio to Spanish. Jackson argues, "Individuals consciously changed their behavior to be able to move to another and usually higher racial status within the caste system. Indios, for example, could escape tribute obligations and service in labor drafts such as the Andean mita by passing as mestizos..." Methods of change included clothes, language, surname, occupation, activities, architecture, religion, baptism, Catholic marriage, location of home and accumulation of wealth. Jackson continues, "Indios could change their mode of dress, learn to speak Spanish, move to a city or away from their place of birth, take up a profession generally not associated with the indigenous population, and be reclassified as mestizos exempt from the unique legal obligations of the indigenous population." However, once the outward appearance has

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69 Stern, 98.
70 Jackson, 5.
71 Ibid, 6.
changed in an attempt to climb the social ladder, there still remained the legal documentation of identification.

One method of escaping the indio caste by legal documentation was to simple state that you had some Spanish background and were, thus, mestizos. This was such the case for Antonio and Agustín Carrillo who won exemption from the mita based on their claim to Spanish heritage in 1603. Many local officials advised against the judicial conclusion fearing an onslaught of social claims. Stern records, “The audiencia of La Plata ruled in favor of the Carrillos despite the objections of its fiscal, who counseled the tribunal that a ruling in favor of the brothers would open a Pandora’s Box of problems for the mita, for the judicial system would soon be clogged with petitions from Indians claiming some degree of Spanish ancestry.”72 Jackson concurs adding this excerpt, “The Indians change their name, and declare themselves...mestizos and yanaconas, they dress in the Spanish way and...work as artisans or in the convents with the intention of...not complying with their obligations.”73

Claims of Spanish ancestry were usually accompanied with wills, marriage records, baptismal records or testimony from a known Spaniard. Jackson discusses baptisms by stating, “This was particularly the case with parish priests who recorded the racial status of newborn children.”74 If the parents of a newborn child were members of the Catholic Church they could try to claim Spanish ancestry at the baptism or provide a generous bribe to the local priest so that their son or daughter could be classified as a mestizo. In some cases the priest would even baptize infant boys as girls so that they could escape the mita service. Cole writes, “When the

72 Stern, 35.
73 Jackson, 8.
74 Ibid, 29.
Viceroy Principe de Esquilache (1615-21) looked into the cause of an unusually high female birthrate in the obligated provinces, he discovered that boys were being baptized as girls to save them from future mita obligations.” Baptisms were a method that involved the priests and often if the claims were justifiable with, most likely, a generous bribe then the method proved successful. Likewise, marriage in the Catholic Church could help alter an individual’s social status. Jackson writes, “Ascensia Condori most likely...indio or mestizo...derived from a high status family, such as the family of a kuraka. Her marriage to a man classified as español made it possible to negotiate español status for herself as well as her son Manuel who was most likely biologically of mixed ancestry, but was socially accepted as español.” Both methods proved successful and foundationally strong with the aid of the church. Another method that didn’t involve using the church was the testimony of a Spaniard, usually a hacienda owner.

A hacienda owner who employed indios had to do one of two things when it came time to pay tribute; 1) pay the tribute for the indios or 2) permit the indios to leave for a certain duration of time so that they could earn enough money to pay the tribute. If, however, a indio suddenly changed identity to a mestizo then the hacienda owner would no longer have to burden himself with his/her tribute situation. Jackson notes, “Hacienda owners, for example, conspired to have their workers removed from the tribute rolls. In this way, the hacendados

75 Cole, 34.
76 Jackson, 32.
would not have to contend with paying their workers' tribute, or allow the workers time off to work elsewhere to earn money to cover the tribute payments."

Each method eventually required proper documentation or testimony to which witnesses testified, genealogies were presented, wills handed over, and other documents of identification were shown. Genealogies demonstrated legitimacy if they proved accurate. From the list of ancestry one could provide a will, which was more often than not Europeanized and included various items that portrayed the lifestyle of a Spaniard not an indio. Historians Karen Vieira Powers and Susan E. Ramirez each include wills that were used to justify the social identity of an individual. Vieira presents a case in which an indio is handing over a will in order to prove the family legitimacy of kuraka. She notes,

"Probably the most important development of the trend toward privatization, however, was that the Duchisela family was able to turn both the Spanish land-tenure and judicial systems to one supreme advantage. Its culturally modified use of Western private property rights bolstered by Spanish legal instruments such as titles and last will and testaments, gave the family a kind of power within the community that had an immutable quality, especially with regard to the intrusions of the Spanish regime."

The ability to use the Spanish system against the Spaniards and climb the social ladder was precisely what a number of indios attempted. The aim of the Duchisela family to chieftain status was probably a short term goal whereas the long term goal lay in attracting a mestizo or Spaniard interested in inheriting land and goods that accompanied the position. Vieira adds,

"In the audiencia of Quito, the cacicazgo was, for the most part, a colonial invention, and, as

77 Jackson, 7.
such, its holders were left with the awesome responsibility of "inventing" their legitimacy."\textsuperscript{79}

Thus, indios who had been subjected to decades of Spanish colonial corruption and abuse could try and reinvent their heritage as a method of escape. This 'awesome responsibility,' as referred to by Powers, was most likely practiced by indios who belonged to a higher socio-economic background. The higher status would enable them to purchase items that represented Spanish customs such as clothing, household items and jewelry. Furthermore, indios' families with money could bribe members of the community such as priest, Spaniards or local officials to vouch for legitimacy.

Ramirez, after evaluating several wills of the indios indicates a change in tradition. She states, "Given these etymological clarifications, this sequence of wills shows the uneven and gradual process of acculturation of these three lords\textsuperscript{80} and by extension, the people of northern Peru."\textsuperscript{81} Ramirez goes on to discuss the transformation from Andean culture to more of a Spanish/Europeanized culture. "There is an apparent steady decline," Ramirez states, "in the importance of people and retainers and a growing preoccupation with material possessions, increasing of European origin or design, and with transactions in the expanding money economy."\textsuperscript{82} Wills resembled European lifestyle and this evidence only strengthened an indio's attempt toward social advancement. Genealogies as well helped formulate a near concrete report of social status. However, whatever documents were presented, testimony from various witnesses was, most likely, the most crucial element to solidifying a change in social status.

\textsuperscript{79} Powers, 203.
\textsuperscript{80} The three lords refer to Don Melchior Carorayco, Don Diego Farquep and Don Garcia Pîco Guaman. Each had been a leader under the Inca government and transitioned themselves into prominent positions under the new Spanish government.
\textsuperscript{81} Ramirez, 233.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
In a 1582 manuscript from La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima titled “Limpieza de Sangre,” contains the process by which a witness might have had to justify the social identity of another. In this particular manuscript Dona Juana Fernandez de Ugarte is the person of interest, who is trying to solidify her social class standing and the witness is Martin Hurtado de Aviento. There are several questions the court asks Martin and in the manuscript he provides adequate answers to assure the social identity of Dona Juana. Provided are several of those questions along with Martin’s replies:

Question 1: First to be asked if they know the parents and the Francisco de Yrarrazabal, so the Father and Mother and Grandfather and Parents of Doña Lorenza de Zarate said his wife, so the Father and Mother contained in this memorial and if they know who is the legitimate child of such Parents.  

Response: The first question he said, who knows that Don Francisco de Yrarrazabal, twenty-five years now, what was known in this city, and has news of Doña Lorenza de Zarate said his Wife, because although he has not seen public knows or noticeable thing is his wife, and there were, this witness had known and understood, as a country and try and recruit very familiar with many relatives of the Don Francisco.

Question 5: And who knows if the said Dona Lorenza Zarate woman said Don Francisco de Yrarrazabal is legitimate daughter of these Parents and that she and they and their Grandparents and those from Father and Mother every of them have been and are Christians and clean blood and clean without spot or race or Indian descent, Moors and converts or another sect of newly converted and that

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83 Interrogatorio de Dona Juana Fernandez de Ugarte con el testigo Martin Hurtado de Aviento “Limpieza de Sangre” Accessed on the 12th of December 2011 at La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima (BNL) dated 1582. Some of the words may have been omitted due to water and fire damage. The provided English translation might lack fluidity due to modern day Spanish translation in comparison with the older Spanish idiom. Question: Primeramente sean preguntados si conocen a los Padres y a los del dicho Don Francisco de Yrarrazabal, así de Padre como de Madre y a los Padres y Abuelo de la dicha Doña Lorenza de Zarate su mujer, así de Padre como de Madre, contenidos en este memorial y si saben que es hijo legítimo de los dichos sus Padres.

84 Ibid, A la primera pregunta dijo, que conoce al dicho Don Francisco de Yrarrazabal, de veinte y cinco años a esta parte, qué le conoció en esta ciudad, y tiene noticia de la dicha Doña Lorenza de Zarate su Mujer, porque aunque no la ha visto sabe por cosa muy publica o notoria que es su Mujer, y lo hubiera, este testigo lo hubiera sabido y entendido, por ser una patria e tratar e contratar muy familiarmente con muchos deudos del dicho Don Francisco.
these have been incurred and taken and if it would otherwise have been known rumor or what they know or have heard about.  

Response: To the fifth question he said, who knows what is contained in this question because it has been treated and chat for a striking thing to be clean people, Old Christians, Gentlemen. Sons, content on this question, heard or understood without knowing anything to the contrary and also knows that to be the legitimate daughter of Dona Lorenza said parents, who saw her as such in Seville in his mother's house.

Question 6: And who knows if the said Dona Lorenza de Zarate, and said their Parents and Grandparents have been convicted, or penitents by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, have fallen and committed another outrage, what they know and have heard.

Response: in the sixth question he said, that never understood or heard anything contained in this question, if any, this witness know what you think and could not be less.

The play out of the interrogation creates an environment of uncertainty. The questions tend to represent a common procedure, however; the responses are not very clear and direct, but are somewhat witty and taunting in discourse. If the court is to make a decision against

85 Ibid, Y quien si sabe que la dicha Doña Lorenza de Zarate mujer del dicho Don Francisco de Yrrrazabal es hija legítima de los dichos sus Padres y que ella y ellos y los dichos sus Abuelos así de parte de Padre como de Madre todos y cada uno de ellos hayan sido y son Cristianos y los limpios y de limpieza sangre sin raza ni mancha ni descendencia de indios; moros y conversos ni de otra secta de nuevamente convertidos y que por tales han sido habidos y tenidos y si de lo contrario ha habido fama o rumor digan lo que saben o han oído decir.

86 Ibid, A la quinta pregunta dijo, que sabe lo contenido en esta pregunta, porque así lo ha visto tratar y platicar por cosa muy notoria ser gente limpia, Cristianos Viejos, Caballeros; Hijos Dágo , los contenidos en esta pregunta, sin saber oído ni entendido cosa en contrario y también sabe ser hija legítima la dicha Doña Lorenza de los dichos 'Padres, por que como a tal la vio en Sevilla en casa de su Madre

87 Ibid, Y quien si sabe que la dicha Doña Lorenza de Zarate, y los dichos sus Padres y Abuelos hayan sido condenados, o penitenciados por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, hayan caído e incurrido en otra infamia, digan lo que saben, y han oído decir

88 Ibid, A la sexta pregunta dijo, que nunca hSa entendido ni sabido cosa alguna de lo contenido en esta pregunta y si lo hubiera, este testigo le parece lo supiera y no pudiera ser menos.
Dona Juana they must explain their reasoning with evidence, otherwise, the social status of many could be at jeopardy. To approve of the social status of Dona Juana, the court has to clarify that the evidence provided is not falsified and the honest testimony of the witness was absolute. The atmosphere of uncertainty was not to be impeded with one trial. If indios had more success than failure at changing their identity through the Spanish courts then there was no reason to not attempt social change and escape the Spanish colonial corruption.

On the following graphs by Andrien and Ramirez they demonstrate that the decline in indio population is recognizable.

Andrien’s graph displays the indio population at the capital of Lima at thirty thousand in 1580 down to around sixteen thousand in 1630. Part of the decline can be attributed to epidemic outbreaks. However, at this point in history the graph is displaying second and third indio

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89 Andrien, Spaniards, Andeans and the Early Colonial State in Peru, 131.
generations. The offspring that survived their adolescent years would be more likely to adapt biologically and survive yet still there is a constant decline. To this phenomenon rest the intentions of the indios to change their social identity escaping the corrupt Toledan system.

In the following statistics by Ramirez she, like Andrien, supplies population figures, but not of Lima, but for Cajamarca. In the table there is a sharp decline in the first years of Spanish conquest, which can justifiable be accredited to the massive epidemic outbreaks that plagued the first generation indios exposed to the Spanish. In the following years the population regains some strength before becoming a population plateau of 4,000 to 5,000 indios. Ramirez uses this table to demonstrate how resilient the indios were in maintaining their traditional Andean heritage. She says, “This preoccupation with his retainers shows how strong Andean tradition remained over thirty years after first contact in this highland region.” However, if Ramirez claims were true, that the Andean culture was strong enough to hold onto its identity and heritage, then there would eventually be an increase in population. The fact that the population does not increase but stays at a relatively low number suggest that many indios were escaping the caste system, but this transition was probably delayed by the court systems in that particular region. The delayed reclassification would permit local officials to continue to abuse the indios by forcing them to continue to work at the mitas regardless of the civil status with the indio caste system and continue to rob them by means of tribute collection.

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Ramirez, 222.
Prior to the reforms of Francisco de Toledo, political and economic corruption was already a part of Spanish Perú. After Toledo’s reforms were instituted, as the evidence has shown, royal officials, clergy, entrepreneurs and even the kurakas did what they could to take advantage of the system and profit. The overwhelming amount of corruption caused an unexpected social backlash amongst the Indios. An unaccounted number of indios even tried to avoid the census and the political reforms altogether. Mentioned earlier hacienda owners tried to undercount the total number of indios on their property, priest baptized indios under the

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91 Ramirez, 222.
guise of another gender or status, and Ramirez even notes in her figures that, “Readers should consider these figures minimums. Some Natives escaped censusing into the seventeenth century.”\(^9^2\) How many were unaccounted for and how many escape the indio caste system altogether? The figures are unknown, but what is known is that forasteros, yanaconas and originarios were attempted numerous social and cultural methods in order to escape the Toledan system.

To a great degree these social changes can be attributed to Francisco de Toledo’s reforms, which enlarged the overall number of royal and local officials, who desired to manipulate the system and enrich themselves. Toledo’s reforms permitted a larger majority of Spaniards to exploit the Indios productivity, increase their revenues, appease the crown to some degree and indirectly encourage the Indios to assimilate, adapt, change and hide in order to escape the obligations of the Indio caste system. The indios were exhausted physically and economically and they used all sorts of methods to change socially; language, clothes, lifestyle, occupations, food, migration of forastero status, etc. They took great risk to challenge the Spanish court system and justify their Spanish ancestry using wills, genealogy records, baptismal records, marriage records, and testimony from known Spaniards. They risked much in order to liberate themselves from the corrupted reforms of Toledo, the hardships of the indio caste system and from the abusive relationships with the local and royal officials. It was these atrocities that grew with fervor with the Toledo reforms that caused the indios to seek ways of socially changing their identity and become mestizos.

\(^9^2\) Ramirez, 222.
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