

The 1896 census of Trinidad (Bolivian Amazon). The impact of the Republican life among Mojo native society*

por

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The article aims to show the continuities and changes in the internal organization of the Mojo native society from the Bolivian Amazon at the end of the nineteenth century. The analysis of the cross-reference census data with cadastral, taxpayers registers and land property applications allows to enquire into the impact that liberal policies entailed among them. This study asserts that far from being a homogeneous group, whose incorporation into the Republican society entailed the same vicissitudes, a great social, occupational and patrimonial heterogeneity was hiding under the term “indigenous”.

KEY WORDS: *Bolivian Amazon; Census; Indigenous peoples; Mojo society; Interethnic Relations.*

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Since 1842 the populations from the Llanos de Mojos in the Bolivian lowlands are under the jurisdiction of the department of Beni. Its creation was

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due to the interest of central power to promote the domain, colonization and—ultimately— inclusion of the Amazon territory into the Republic.² It was the largest region and the least populated throughout the country. Its population was almost entirely indigenous. Part of it belonged to different ethnic affiliations scattered into the woods, which refused any contact with the Bolivian society. The other affiliations were different ethno-linguistic groups who had been reduced to the Christian civility by the Society of Jesus during the colonial period and distributed in several urban centres, known as missions of Mojos. Precisely, the new department was organised around these centres and, particularly, of its residents.

During the reduction process, there was a reworking of the native organization systems which merged with European ones and what has been called “mission culture”³ was constituted. This mission culture was characterized by the Catholic cult and Catholic practice, stockbreeding, urban plan, maintenance of part of the socio-political order and native languages, and the adoption of European clothing, writing and professions. The neophytes were trained in new production practices and handicrafts. However, its practice was determined by the role played in the core of the indigenous society which under the Jesuit rule, this one had been reorganised into two functional categories: *pueblo* and *familia*. The first one constituted those engaged in subsistence, construction and transportation tasks. The second comprised the natives skilled in arts and handicrafts, those who helped in liturgical celebrations and the political elite who led the communal government (through *cabildo*) and mediated between the priests and the rest of the population.⁴ This category included the natives who benefited from the European instruction and technology and resulted in the establishment of a hierarchical social structure.⁵

Even though the reduction system imposed in Llanos de Mojos meant altering the elements that characterised the ethnic affiliations of the region, it did not involve the total homogeneity of the population.⁶ Throughout the Jesuit century, there was a process of ethno-genesis in every mission whereby the natives identified themselves as Cayubaba, Canichana, Mobima, Itonama, Maropa, Baure and Mojo.⁷ The latter were reduced among others in the mission of Trinidad where—as happened in the rest of the villages— its members

² Groff Greever, 1987.

³ Block, 1997.

⁴ *Ibidem*: 145-151.

⁵ Cortés, 2005: 91.

⁶ Lehm, Lijerón and Vare, 1990: 2.

⁷ Lehm, 2000: 10, 158, 247.

were identified according to the name of their origin ethnic affiliations, known as *parcialidades*.⁸ Those belonging to Trinidad were *apereono*, *moyoniono*, *cojocureono*, *chuchiacono*, *siyabocono*, *achubocono* and *japimuono*. On its part, *familia* members were distributed in craft affiliations (*oficios*), referring to the nature of their work: musicians, sacristans, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, tailors, painters, basket weavers, bricklayers, potters and cowboys.⁹ Some authors suggest the mission space system would also have organized according to this *parcialidades* by distributing the population inside the urban centre.¹⁰

This social and economic organization persisted after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767. Reforms implemented by Governor Lázaro de Ribera (1785-1792)¹¹ favoured the inclusion of natives in the economic activities of its white-mestizo neighbours and reaffirmed the hierarchical dimension of indigenous society which, at the time of creation of the department of Beni, had been consolidated.

Nevertheless, the liberal policies implemented by the Bolivian state during the nineteenth century had a significant impact among these peoples. The arrival of large white-mestizo population, the allocation of large land lots and the increase of rubber exploitation¹² caused the gradual dismantling of the native socio-economic organization and the loss of their central place in the society of the Llanos.¹³ The changes in the regional economic machinery originated new social and labour relationships among white-mestizo, erected—many of them—into masters, and indigenous people, turned into the sole workforce of the region. Furthermore, the political role of the natives was modified. In first place, their decision-making bodies were co-opted; second-

⁸ According to Cortés (2005: 10, 25, 64), Jesuits found a multitude of small affiliations or groups, each with a different name taken of their protective deities. Many of them coincide with the names in which these groups were divided since the colonial times.

⁹ Saito (2007; 2015) argues that these categories were related to groups who shared same lineage and had accepted be reduced in missions, being identified by their own name, on one hand; and, on the other hand, individuals captured and taken to the missions to be trained as domestics in order to help the priests. Such capabilities favoured them to gain relevance within their community and, since late eighteenth century, be treated as “nobility” for the Spanish authorities. Thus, in his opinion, did not exist a social hierarchical system under the Jesuit rule.

¹⁰ *Proyecto de Preservación del...*, 1980. Van Valen, 2013: 15, 48-52.

¹¹ Studies of Spanish government in the province of Mojos in late colonial times and early Republican period are Moreno, 1973 [1888]: 11-89, 320-56. Chávez Suárez, 2015 [1944]: 263-378. Block, 1997: 181-210.

¹² Roca, 2001. Gamarra, 2007. Guiteras Mombiola, 2012. Córdoba, 2015.

¹³ Cortés, 1989: 39-40.

ly, the cabildantes were relegated from their mediation duties; and third, traditional moral leaders lost relevance in the bosom of the native society, while some members of the cabildo approached to entrepreneurs and state authorities, as well as, to their economic interests.¹⁴

This situation was very significant in Trinidad, the capital of the department. Here, to the aforementioned facts during the 1890s would be added, first of all, “the effect of the withdrawal of a part of [Mojo natives] to the western area of the Mamoré and Sécure [rivers]”¹⁵ and “the others for being on travel and working in their fields”;¹⁶ in second place, “the lack of houses to accommodate indigenous families”¹⁷ due to a great flood that destroyed many buildings, and the purchase of urban plots of indigenous families by white-mestizo individuals. This phenomenon began in the decade of 1860s but, as Zulema Lehm showed, it was aggravated in the second half of the 1890s.¹⁸ And, third, an aggressive epidemic of smallpox occurred in 1896 which —according to the authorities— “[it] truly decimated the scarce indigenous population of Trinidad”.¹⁹ Such decrease was reflected in a census of the city made the same year.²⁰ The census only took into account the inhabitants of the urban centre and excluded the surroundings, also populated. Despite being incomplete, the data show a pronounced decline of indigenous people in the city: only 512 individuals were recorded in 1896, keeping in mind that 3.592 were registered in the city and the surrounding area in 1874. The increase of the non-indigenous population was more significant. In 1844

¹⁴ *Ibidem*: 42-43. Lehm, Lijerón and Vare, 1990: 10, 44-45. Block, 1997: 235-236. Van Valen, 2013: 28-88.

¹⁵ Many Mojo natives left Trinidad to settle in south-west forests of Beni to face the economic and labour demands to which natives had been subdued since the creation of the department. The non-indigenous society interpreted this migration as an uprising. The harsh repression of the supposed main leaders of the movement, prompted to remain away from the Republican society to most of the survivors. Over time, this movement became to be known as ‘Guayocheria’. Some works related to this issue are Lehm, 1999 and Van Valen, 2013.

¹⁶ *Prefecto del Beni al Ministro del Interior*, June 17 1894, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, Sucre (Bolivia), Ministerio del Interior, Prefectura del Beni (ABNB, MI/PB), vol. 285, n.º 49.

¹⁷ *Idem*.

¹⁸ Lehm, 1987: 205-210.

¹⁹ *Presidente del Concejo de la Municipalidad del Beni al Ministro del Interior*, January 28-May 14 1896, ABNB, Ministerio del Interior, Concejo de la Municipalidad del Beni, vol. 293, n.º 87.

²⁰ The census has remained unknown until the date and is located in the private library of the family Vázquez (BV) in La Paz (Bolivia). I found it during my research campaign conducted between May and August 2013 with the support of the Institut Français d’Études Andines (IFEA).

there were only 5 *forasteros* (non-indigenous inhabitants) with properties in Trinidad, this number increased to approximately 560 individuals in the 1870s. This population was divided into 569 whites and 191 mestizos in 1896.²¹

Nevertheless, the importance of the census does not lie in these numbers, but in the information it provides on the impact that the mentioned events entailed among the indigenous people living in Trinidad, particularly into their social and labour organization. The analysis of the census information allows to enquire into how the indigenous population living in the city were perceived through a representation in which racial criteria was intertwined with class distinctions. In addition, the cross-reference of the census data with the information recorded in registers of inhabitants and taxpayers —called *padrones*— conducted in the nineteenth century, cadastres and statistical land and properties registers produced between 1880 and 1910,²² and applications for property on rural and urban lots allows the approach to the internal organization of the Mojo native society shortly before the beginning of the twentieth century. This article aims to show that —far from being a homogeneous ethnic, political and economic group whose incorporation into the Republican society entailed the usually negative same vicissitudes—, a great social, occupational and patrimonial heterogeneity was hiding under the term “indigenous”. Therefore, the next section offers a brief approach to the most significant highlights from the census to address the impact of Republican life into the indigenous people of the city in the following sections. Consequently, in first place, an emerging segment of workers will need to be characterised: the domestic employees. In second place, the socio-economic changes —internal order, profession, property, social mobility— within the Mojo native society resulted from the implementation of liberal measures and development of new economic activities in the region will be observed. And third, the presentation of dissimilar strategies of the Mojo and Baure native elite in their coexistence with white-mestizo power groups, through the absence or presence of ‘inter-racial’ marriages.

²¹ See respectively *Relación nominal de propietarios forasteros y naturales que hay en este cantón*, February 23 1844, Archivo Histórico de La Paz, Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz (ALP, SGL), box 3, doc. 38; *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad*, April 6 1867, ABNB, Tribunal Nacional de Cuentas, Revisitas (TNC-Rv), Cercado 5; *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad capital de la provincia Cercado*, December 20 1874, TNC-Rv, Cercado, Magdalena y Sécura 6. It should be noted that a few years later, in 1900, there were 842 whites, 1,436 mestizos and 1,765 indigenous in the whole area of Trinidad, including the surroundings. See *Bolivia en 1900...*, 2012 [1904]: 173.

²² Although these data had a tax purpose, both types of documents provide important elements to characterize the overall trends in population. See Grishaber, 1995: 177-179, 184.

1. A BRIEF CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CENSUS

Censuses were a government instrument for Latin American states from the end of the nineteenth century. These statistical documents constituted a form of representation of the social order and allowed to know and define the population, which was encoded through defined, uniform and homogeneous criteria.²³ Until the general census of 1900, there were only five approximations based on numerical estimations in Bolivia; this was the most complete one,²⁴ and also the first to use statistics and recommendations of European congresses.²⁵ Earlier, in November 1896, a census of population of Trinidad was conducted in the department of Beni. What motivated its elaboration is unknown. The sources checked do not present any reference to it.²⁶ But it can be inferred that the census responded to the interest of the city council to know and characterise the people who resisted the last epidemic, since the fact of being or not vaccinated was stated in the required data.²⁷

The information provided by the census shows that their data was registered the same day (November 8 1896) in different districts of the city²⁸ and the commissioners were actually relevant local actors.²⁹ Both elements coin-

²³ Giraudo, 2008: 92-93. Barragán, 2009: 214.

²⁴ Some studies that address the 1900 census are Grishaber, 1985: 45-63 and the collected works in *Bolivia en 1900...*, 2012 [1904]: 295-373.

²⁵ Loza, 2012: 335.

²⁶ There are references to the calculations made in 1845 and 1854 among the documents relating to Beni. See *Prefecto del Beni al Ministro del Interior*, July 16 1843, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 96, n.º 48; June 19 1854, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 150, n.º 20.

²⁷ It is known that there was a vaccinator in Trinidad and according to the sources the smallpox vaccine was always the most requested to the government. See *Prefecto del Beni al Ministro del Interior*, January 4 1854, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 150, n.º 20; June 6 1857, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 159, n.º 37; November 18 1859, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 167, n.º 39. On the contrary, Loza (2012: 343) states that vaccines against smallpox did not exist on those times in Bolivia, reason whereby that data was not included in this kind of statistics throughout the nineteenth century.

²⁸ The census was carried out in districts two, three, four and five, missing, at least, the first one. The lack of city planes of those times makes difficult to know if the census is complete. The crossing of its data (blocks known as *manzanas* and name and number of the streets) with descriptive texts and a plane from the 1930s —collected in Pinto and Lijerón, 2011: 109-112, 176— allows to infer the extension of the urban area of Trinidad —12 blocks, but not complete— at the end of the nineteenth century. Based on this, it can be inferred that first district was an institutional area located to the south-southeast of the main square and occupied by the church and the parish house, the government house —at least shortly before the creation of Beni, also seat of the *cabildo*— and various public offices. See figures 1, 6 and 8 in the following pages. *Proyecto de Preservación del...*, 1980: 13-19, 27.

²⁹ Barberí, 1895. Araúz, 1897. Ortiz Taborga, 1898.

cide with the general census of Bolivia of 1900 whose main managers knew the progresses of statistical science and the international agreements of census data and figures standardisation. One of these processes was set on the Conference of St. Petersburg (1872) where the categories and operational definitions that should be taken in a uniform manner were discussed and established: to hold the census in one day, to write down the location of the individuals according to the place where they were found the census day, and the uniformity of categories.³⁰ It is noteworthy that the first authority of Beni in 1895 was Manuel Vicente Ballivián who the following year became director of the *Oficina Nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica*, which promoted the aforementioned census of population in 1900.³¹ Thus, it is conceivable that the census of Trinidad—as well as the categories used—might be the one suggested by Ballivián to the city councillors who would have conducted it when the former had already left the department.

Indeed, with the exception of vaccination, both censuses (1896 and 1900) recorded the full name of each person found in the house, marital status, approximate age, place of residence and origin, profession exercised, level of instruction, professed religion, possible physical and mental defects,³² and race; distinguishing among white, mestizo, indigenous and black. Clearly, both censuses were conceived from the perspective of theories of racial hierarchy of society developed in order to understand the physical variation and conduct of human groups.³³ In mid-nineteenth century, the *Bosquejo estadístico de Bolivia* distinguished among African, aboriginal and white/Spanish races.³⁴ Indigenous people were identified by their tax status. This identification distinguished them from the rest of the population, not subject to this payment. Mestizos did not participate in this classification. Considered as castes under the Spanish government, they were assimilated to the whites during much of the nineteenth century. “Mestizo race” as a separate category would only appear in the last decades of that century.³⁵

³⁰ Loza, 2012: 337.

³¹ Limpías Saucedo, 2005 [1942]: 276. Mendieta, 2012: 307-308.

³² Being mute, blind, myopic, one-eyed, one-armed, lame or disabled —‘defects’ recorded in the census of Trinidad— were “signs that impeded the work of the people” (Loza, 2012: 343) and participate in the economic progress of the country, core idea around which political leaders of the 1880s were organised. This information could also reflect interest in population’s health. Although, in general showed the will for the betterment of the race, which was common in many countries. Giraud, 2008: 93.

³³ Wade, 2000; 2008.

³⁴ Dalence, 2013 [1851].

³⁵ Barragán, 2009: 216-225.

The crossing of racial categories with the rest of information recorded in the census provides a significant representation of the ‘reality’ of the Mojo society settled in the urban area of Trinidad, whose particularities will be addressed in the following sections.

2. INDIGENOUS IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE

The information registered in the professional category reveals there was a large number of indigenous —211 to be exact— who carried out domestic services for third parties.³⁶ All of them were recorded after the 64 families they worked for and whose head of household, both men and women, were described as “white”. Men were engaged in trade and law, professions that opened up doors to bureaucratic and political positions and gave a higher status to the family. Others lived from their income, being defined “owners”. This same category was assigned to many widows and married women. This fact suggests that they were the ones administrating the family heritage while males practised liberal professions and commercial activities.³⁷ The record of these activities shows the economic power of these families and —therefore— what allowed them to hire servants. Additionally, their homes were located in the *manzanas* around the main square, whose closeness increased the status of its residents (figure 1).

Most indigenous people registered as “domestics” mainly came from other towns from Beni. The reason to that could be their move to the city in the past or that they were hired in their place of origin, where their employers may have business. Madre de Dios was listed of the origin of several of them. Madre de Dios was a large area in the northwest which surrounded the river of the same name and where, at that time, the exploitation of rubber was taking place.³⁸ Other indigenous people were from department of Santa Cruz, the place where most economic agents who travelled to Beni came from.³⁹ These individuals moved with their family and domestic employees, who

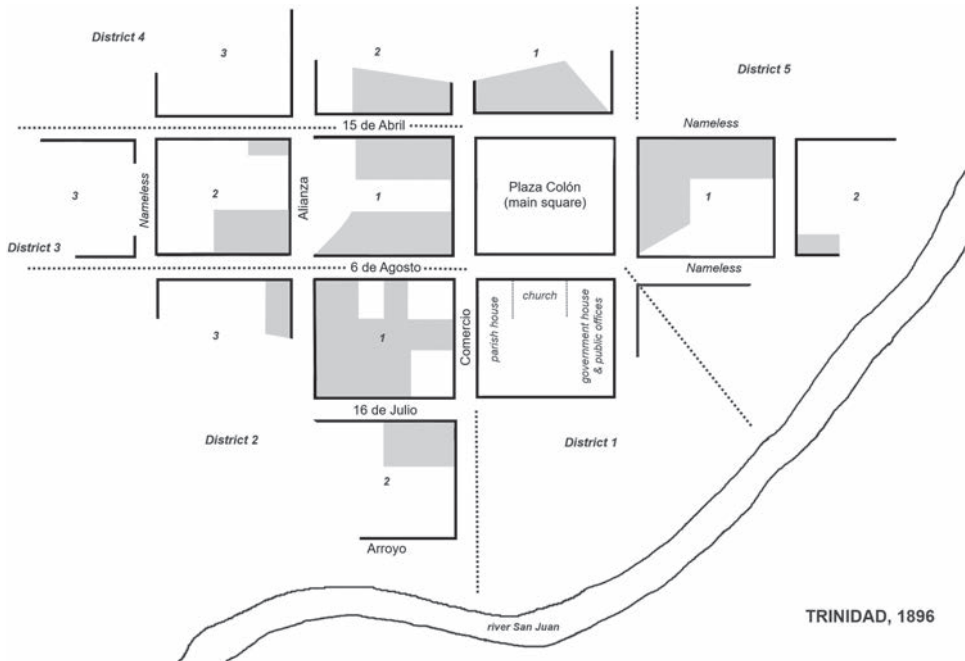
³⁶ This segment of the population was registered as “domestics” or “servants”. It is difficult to interpret whether there were differences between them or if officials used the terms interchangeably. In the absence of more data, here has been taken both terms as synonyms. Indigenous people were not the only domestic labour. There are many others classified as ‘mestizo’ and ‘white’ of whom I will not talk about.

³⁷ Barragán, 2009: 228-230.

³⁸ The term Beni appears as a place of origin for all people in one of the districts. In my opinion, the commissioner in charge of the census wanted to point out that these individuals were from Beni, but not from the capital. Not from the river with the same name and where extractive activities were developed, as one might think by following the previous logic.

³⁹ Roca, 2001.

FIGURE 1. LOCATION OF RESIDENCES WITH INDIGENOUS DOMESTIC EMPLOYEES



Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census and information in Pinto and Lijerón, 2011: 109-112, 176.

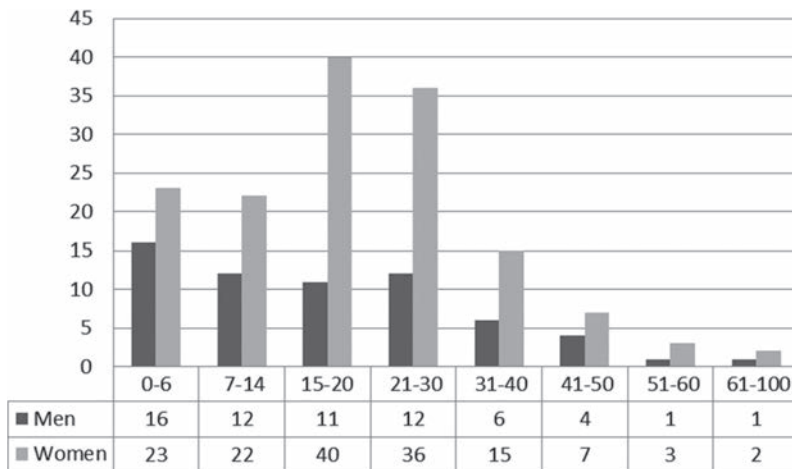
served them in their place of origin. Ultimately, there was a small, but significant number of domestics registered as “naturales from Trinidad”.

Household chores were mainly carried out by women, being the number of men smaller. In both cases, their ages ranged from six to 30 years, with only a few exceeding 45 (figure 2). Additionally, more than half naturales from Trinidad were under 15 years old. We know of several wardship contracts in the 1890 and 1900 decades. Through these contracts, impoverished indigenous families from Trinidad gave their children for a set time or until their age of majority “as domestic workers” to white-mestizo families, who engaged themselves to look after them and provide a profession.⁴⁰ Besides the lower life expectancy, these data would indicate a greater appreciation to young people

⁴⁰ See *Escrituras notariales 1896-1897*, Trinidad, June 12 1897, *Escrituras notariales 1904*, Trinidad, August 15 1904; *Escrituras notariales 1906*, November 28 1906; December 19 1906, Notaría n.º 2 of Trinidad (Bolivia), no catalogue number. These archival sources have not been catalogued.

for those tasks that did not require expertise⁴¹ and/or that at a certain age many of them left their position to pursue other activities. Silvia Arrom indicates that domestic service was considered humiliating work and was usually abandoned as soon as possible. She asserts that when women married and had children preferred to stop working or changed the type of their jobs to ones that allow them to live in separate households with their families.⁴² This allows to uphold that most of domestic employees were unmarried and, therefore, without apparent ties or family duties. This contrasts with the fewer number of married domestic employees. In these cases, a person in the same household who could be suitable of being their partner has rarely been found (figure 3), which suggests that either they served to another family or they were living and working outside the city. Also, none of the servants recorded in 1874 padrón remained in that position twenty years later.⁴³

FIGURE 2. NUMBER OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYEES BY SEX AND AGE



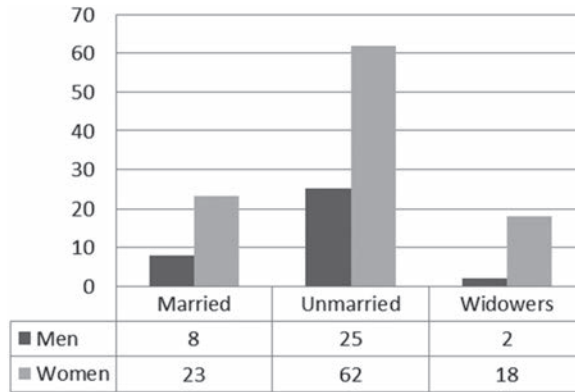
Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census.

⁴¹ It is unclear at what age children began to work. In some cases, they are registered from two and three years old; in others any occupation was assigned until eight and ten years old. According to the guidelines of the census of 1900, no employment of children under 7 years old should be recorded. Although it is possible that this rule was applied in the 1890's, this does not mean that children did not work for their employers. *Bolivia en 1900...*, 2012 [1904]: 106.

⁴² Arrom, 1985: 160, 175-180.

⁴³ See *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad capital de la provincia Cercado*, December 20 1874, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Cercado, Magdalena y Sécura 6.

FIGURE 3. MARITAL STATUS OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYEES OVER 15 YEARS OLD



Source: author’s elaboration from 1896 census.

Most indigenous are easily recognizable by having a surname of native origin.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, many “*naturales* from Trinidad” and the younger ones are identified with the same surname as the head of household, either a man or a woman. This phenomenon was due to the already mentioned practice of taking young children to their service and giving them their employer’s surname. Actually, this kind of action was widespread in the Amazon forests, where the capture of “wild” children was usual. They received a Christian name and the surname of their master, and were recruited into the life of the rubber extraction settlements—known as *barracas*—, usually as domestic workforce. Therefore, all indigenous people recorded in the census as *naturales* from Madre de Dios were young boys and girls between six and 14 years old and were named after the head of the household.⁴⁵

Finally, the presence of indigenous women whose occupation was explicitly pointed out should be noted. Alongside the 197 indigenous registered as “domestics”, there were six cooks, three laundresses, two seamstresses and one ironer. These women resided in houses whose owners were classified as

⁴⁴ The surname of some domestic employees was not registered and in its place appears the initial “N”. This symbol could mean ‘unknown’, such as is currently used in statistics. I am grateful to Zulema Lehm for giving me this information.

⁴⁵ Examples of this practice in rubber area in Morrison, Brown and Rose, 1987: 90-136 and Córdoba, 2015: 146, 353-355. It is possible that some of them were the result of an affair between male family members and indigenous maids. Nevertheless, the census data do not allow to establishing these affiliations in a reliable way, requiring the crossing of the census data with baptismal records that I have not done.

“white” and lived with other individuals registered as servants, from what it is inferred that they also were domestic employees.⁴⁶ These women were around their thirties, quite old if compared with the rest of the domestic employees. In the case of men, only two were distinguished, being registered as farmer. The presence of these occupations in the census shows the existence of internal hierarchies within the domestic sphere. The status differences among the servants came from the knowledge, abilities and skills which they deployed in the fulfilment of the household chores and the full-time commitment that these activities required.

3. ARTISANAL JOBS AND THE HIERARHICAL DIMENSION OF NATIVE SOCIETY

The growing presence of white-mestizo population favoured the increase in numbers of indigenous people engaged in domestic jobs. Nevertheless, the main occupations of native population of Trinidad were artisanal activities, followed by skilled professions and agricultural tasks. Geographical and climatic characteristics of the Llanos de Mojos favoured a regional economy based on these productions since the Jesuit period. Actually, the main industry of the province was the textile manufacturing: ponchos, tablecloths, bed sheet and hammocks. Although this production lost importance to the State Treasury since the mid-nineteenth century, it continued being carried out in small-scale by natives.⁴⁷

Not all those who were engaged in artisan jobs lived in the same conditions and neither occupied the same socio-economic and labour position. This was due, firstly, to the organization of the native society which was divided into two categories: those who did productive activities (*pueblo*) and artisans, musicians,

⁴⁶ I have taken into consideration those who, under “indigenous” category and specific profession, were registered living with other people engaged in domestic service. In cases in which the latter were not present, I have taken as a reference the head of household to determine if their socio-economic situation allowed them to have domestic employees: profession, bond of filial, paternal or fraternal nature with other economic agents, and possession of cattle and crops, besides their residence in Trinidad. See *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad capital de la provincia Cercado*, December 20 1874, TNC-Rv, Cercado, Magdalena y Séure 6; *Catastro de Ganado. Provincia de Mojos*, n.d., ABNB, Catastro (Ctro), Beni 2c 1901-1902; *Solicitud del lote de tierra Pijiquije*. May 8 1843-October 4 1917, ABNB, Instituto Nacional de Colonización (IC), file 819.9; *Solicitud del lote de tierra Antofagasta*, January 6 1912, ABNB, IC, file 866.21; *Solicitud del lote de tierra Fortaleza*, July 6 1904, ABNB, IC, file 870.6; *Solicitud del lote de tierra Junín*, October 24 1905, ABNB, IC, file 870.13.

⁴⁷ Block, 1997: 196-198, 222-224.

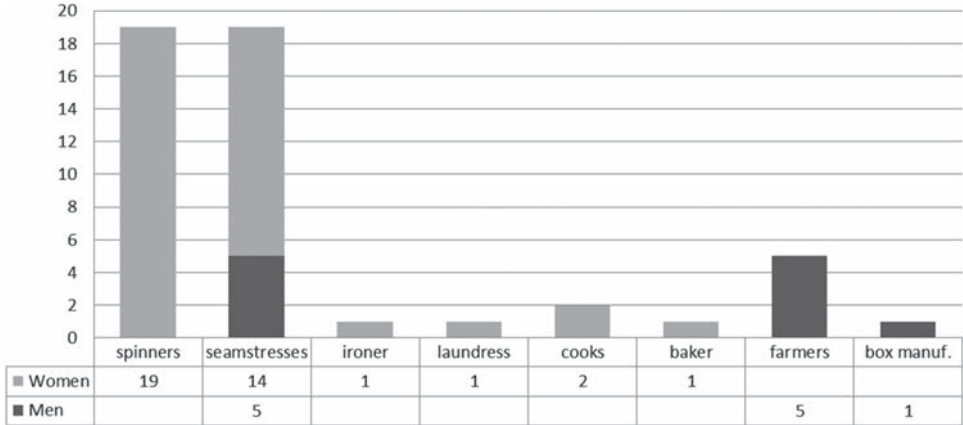
assistants of the church and the native elite (*familia*). They possessed certain prestige among the community and higher number of resources —crops and cattle— to which most members of the native society could access. And secondly, to the capability displayed by each of them to keep the possession of the land they had acquired through of August 6 1842 decree. This rule extended citizenship and its concomitant freedom, equality and property rights to all residents of the Llanos. Rooms in the city, suitable for cultivation lands and livestock were distributed among them. However, the property titles issued by this rule just protected the occupation and work in such places. Hence, many indigenous people requested —and obtained— public deeds which gave them the definitive and legal ownership of their plots. This phenomenon was on the rise until mid-1880s. Since then, many indigenous sold their properties due the white-mestizo pressure over the resources of the department. Only some few native families kept and even increased their properties.⁴⁸

3.1. *Textile artisans and impoverished whites*

The census records a relevant number of Mojo natives engaged to spinning and sewing. The first profession was exercised exclusively by women, while the second one was made by either men or women. By contrast, farming was a male activity. Jobs as ironer, laundress, cook and baker were fewer and entirely feminine (figure 4). All of them lived together with 15 families integrated by individuals listed “white” and, lesser number, “mestizo”. White-mestizo women worked in textile activities such sewing and weaving; white-mestizo men’s crafts were more diverse: farmers, tailors or bricklayers (figure 5). This data suggests they were impoverished people who in order to subsist have resolved to share residence and job with members of the indigenous society. Their houses were located in *manzanas* away from the city centre. This gives an account of their lower socio-economic level and the minor prestige compared to the rest of the white-mestizo inhabitants (figure 6). These impoverished whites could have been affected by the flood and the epidemic of the latest decade, which would have forced them to seek alternatives. Some of them were families or married couples, whose members worked in manual activities. Unmarried women and widows —with or without children— engaged in sewing or spinning. It allows us to infer that these women opted for the cohabitation with indigenous individuals after the death of their father or husband, and the consequent decrease of their incomes and the difficulty of maintain themselves.

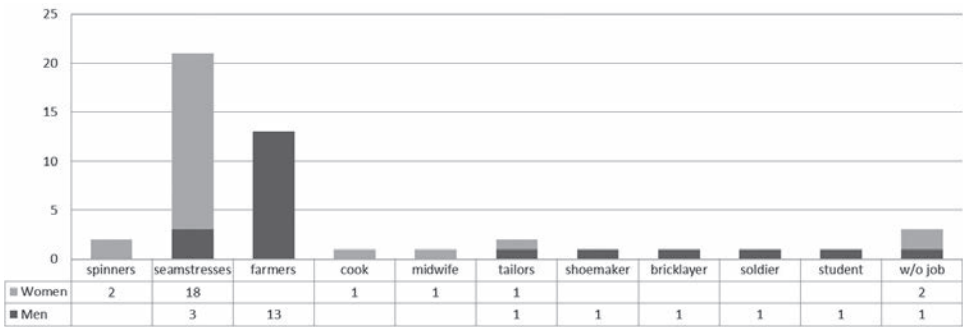
⁴⁸ Guiteras Mombiola, 2012: 163-190.

FIGURE 4. OCCUPATIONS OF INDIGENOUS WHO SHARE HOUSE WITH WHITE-MESTIZOS



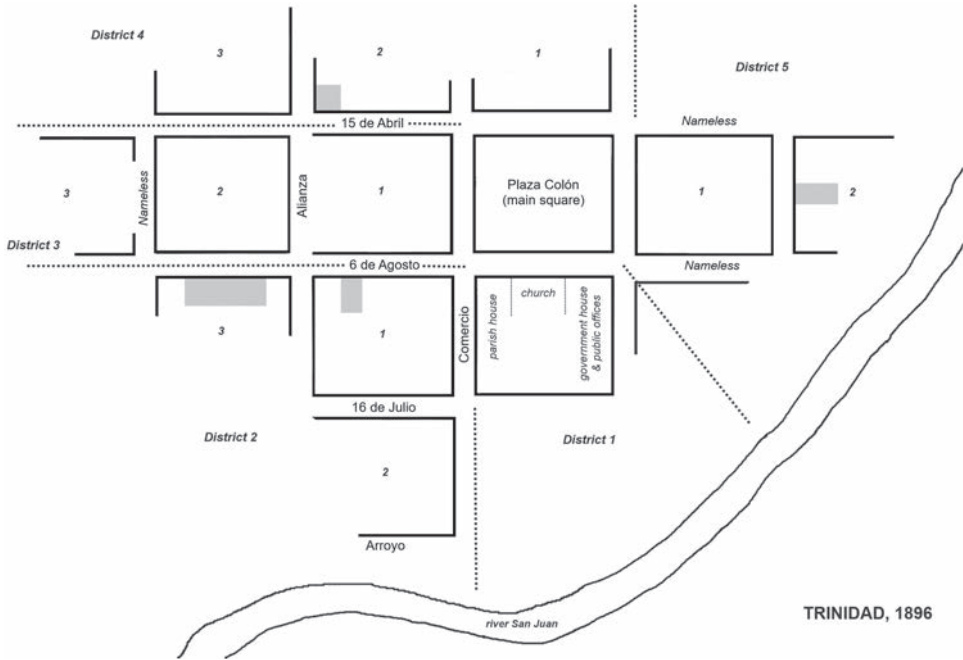
Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census.

FIGURE 5. OCCUPATIONS OF WHITE-MESTIZOS WHO SHARE HOUSE WITH INDIGENOUS



Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census.

FIGURE 6. LOCATION OF RESIDENCES OF INDIGENOUS WHO SHARE HOUSE WITH WHITE-MESTIZOS



Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census and information in Pinto and Lijerón, 2011: 109-112, 176.

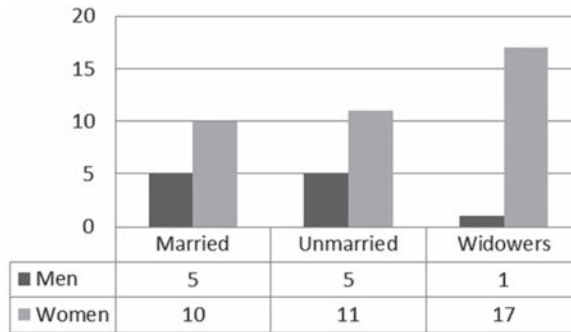
Of the 49 indigenous who shared a home with these impoverished whites almost all were from the department of Beni. Most were born in the capital⁴⁹ and their ages ranged between 20 and 50 years old, being, thus, all adults. The majority of them were widows, followed by unmarried and married women (figure 7). According to the data of the census, these marriages⁵⁰ could have

⁴⁹ Civil servants were little scrupulous filling the census form. All the indigenous in this situation were recorded as *naturales* of Beni, except for a couple. The crossing of their names, surnames and ages with those registered in the *padrón* of 1874 allows the recognition of the Mojo origin of a significant number of them. The indigenous from Santa Cruz were insignificant.

⁵⁰ Considering as feasible a marriage between persons of different sex, registered as married, who appear one after the other, and relatively close in age. However, this last item cannot be taken restrictively, since *padrones* of population between 1840 and 1870 show spouses whose ages were highly uneven. See *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad*, October 20

been held to indigenous who lived in the same house, although in some cases the partner —generally male— was elsewhere. Furthermore, if one considers the superior number of women (38) in relation to the scarce number of men (11), it is clear that the census reflects the impact of the regional economy.

FIGURE 7. MARITAL STATUS OF INDIGENOUS WHO SHARE HOUSE WITH WHITE-MESTIZOS



Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census.

As it is known, modification and reintroduction of regulations of recruitment of workers and the rubber boom aggravated the abuse on the native workforce, particularly male. Many indigenous —them in particular— belonging to ethnic parcialidades or pueblo were hired to sail the Amazonian rivers, extract rubber, collect wild cattle or lead livestock herds to the baracas. These activities kept these workers far away from their homes for a long time. Many of them did not return because they perished while working —due to shipwrecks, attacks from “savages” indigenous, diseases— or got into debt for huge amounts with their employers, who forced them to extend their contracts almost indefinitely.⁵¹ It is not a surprise that, during the 1890s, the government of the department took several actions at local and regional level to counteract the deceptive and fraudulent practices of

1848, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Mojos 9; *Repartimiento de la capital Trinidad*, November 10 1858, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Beni 2; *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad*, April 6 1867, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Cercado 5; *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad capital de la provincia Cercado*, December 20 1874, TNC-Rv, Cercado, Magdalena y Sécure 6.

⁵¹ Vallvé, 2010: 337-349, 378-439. Gamarra, 2007: 49-59, 224-344. Van Valen, 2013: 28-88.

recruitment which emerged before the increasingly pressing demand of workforce by entrepreneurs.⁵²

Generally, in every home all indigenous people were registered under those perceived as “white”.⁵³ Such order of annotation shows the prevailing imaginary on those times by which white population was prioritized, as they were thought to be superior to other ‘races’ considered inferior and degenerate. It may also show some possession rights on the house they shared. Two decades earlier, several of the individuals recorded as non-indigenous had a residence in the city,⁵⁴ while Mojo natives with whom they cohabited came from different families, with no blood ties or common ancestry among them.

3.2. *Indigenous owners*

Indigenous people who lived independently were beneficial owners or possessed with legal property titles the houses by them occupied. This statement is demonstrated by the crossing of census data with padrones, cadastres and applications of land property conducted on previous years. It should be recalled that the decree of August 6 1842 protected the right of occupation of the urban plots which had been distributed among the native population of the province of Mojos. This rule allowed them and their descendants the use and enjoyment of land and urban lots as long as they did not abandon them. But, under no circumstances, the decree gave a definitive public deed. Paying attention to the padrones of the nineteenth century, it is possible to affirm indigenous ownership. Indeed, the presence in those documents of at least one of the individuals recorded in 1896—as well as of their ancestors—⁵⁵ allows to asseverate that all of them had rights over the urban plots where they lived (figure 8). Moreover, cadastres and appli-

⁵² See *Copiadore de Oficios*, July 7-18 1895, October 15 1895, May 19 1896, Archivo Casa de la Cultura del Beni, Trinidad (Bolivia), (ACCB), no catalogue number. These archival sources have not yet been catalogued.

⁵³ There is a single case in which indigenous people appear at the top of the list.

⁵⁴ It has not been possible to identify the residence of most “white-mestizo” population due to the large time shift between the *padrón* of 1874 and the census of 1896. These are the sole sources with a systematic record of the inhabitants of Trinidad to which I have had access up to date.

⁵⁵ See *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad*, October 20 1848, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Mojos 9; *Repartimiento de la capital Trinidad*, November 10 1858, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Beni 2; *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad*, April 6 1867, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Cercado 5; *Repartimiento del cantón Trinidad capital de la provincia Cercado*, December 20 1874, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Cercado, Magdalena y Sécura 6. There are very few people who have not been identified. Firstly, some of them came from towns whose padrones I have not revised; secondly, there were

cations of land dated between 1844 and 1894 show, on one hand, the distribution and possession of plants —cocoa, sugar cane, cotton— and livestock, as well as the obtaining of public deeds by some Mojo natives. And, on the other hand, the legitimation on the possession of houses occupied by certain families who acquired its corresponding definitive public deeds.⁵⁶

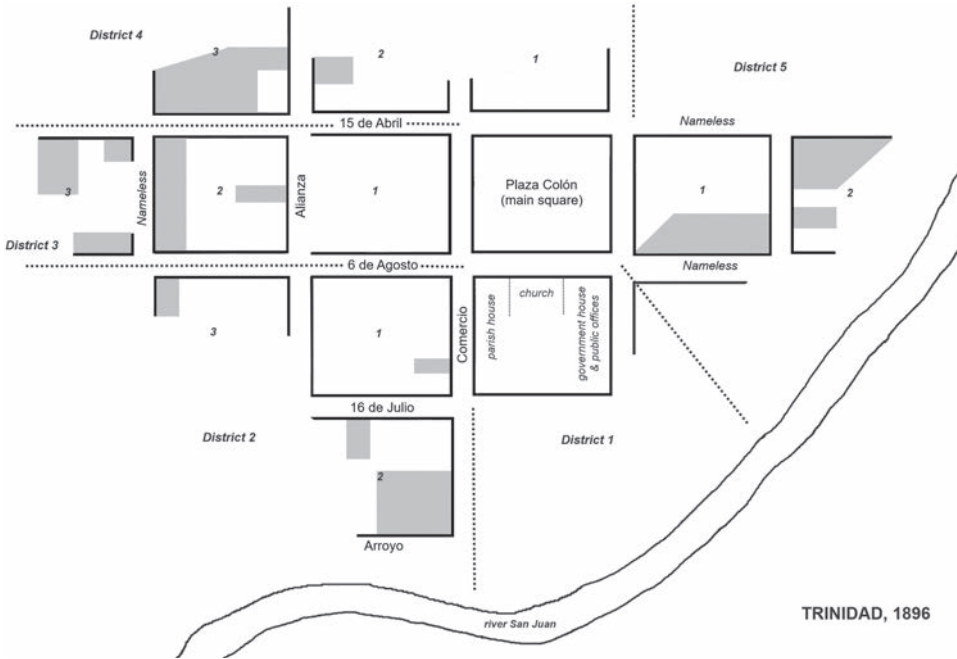
All members of these 47 households were registered as “indigenous”⁵⁷. They were mainly family units composed by members of different generations, the number of individuals reaching 241 (202 adults, 39 children). These families included the head of household —with or without spouses, since on many occasions were widows—, their children and their partners. In some cases, the main family lived together with other married people, widowers and/or unmarried people whose relationship with the main family has not been established. Most of these families had a public deed of their houses, other occupied them under the decree of 1842 and many of them owned lands with crops and, in lesser degree, livestock (figure 9 - columns a & b). All these elements show both the preservation of their homes along the time and their economic capac-

individuals sharing name and surname; and thirdly, their age was lower than the period of time between the two sources.

⁵⁶ See *Solicitud del lote de tierra Isla Sejijere*, May 12 1886, ABNB, IC, file 861.1; *Solicitud de propiedad sobre la tierra de Antonio y Juan Yujo*, October 15 1872, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1872, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de propiedad sobre la tierra de Manuel Vicitación Noe*, October 6 1885, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1885, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Mateo Nosa*, July 19 1894, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Petrona Yubanure*, July 24 1894, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Agustina Ichu*, August 9 1894, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Petrona Guira*, August 24 1894, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Matias Fuentes*, August 25 1894, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Pabla Muiva*, August 28 1894, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de lote urbano de Trinidad Moye*, March 30 1895, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Solicitud de propiedad sobre la tierra de Pedro Semo*, December 2 1895, ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1894-1895, no catalogue number; *Relación nominal de propietarios forasteros y naturales que hay en este cantón*, February 23 1844, ALP, SGL, box 3, doc. 38; *Catastro de la capital Trinidad*, April 20 1881, ALP, SGL, box 3, doc. 62; *Lista nominal de propietarios de la sección A*, n.d., ALP, SGL, box 3, doc. 73; *Razón de chocolatales distribuidos entre los indígenas*, August 16 1848, BV, no catalogue number; *Razón del ganado distribuido entre los naturales*, November 13 1849, BV, no catalogue number.

⁵⁷ There is only a case in which, among the residents, a non-indigenous was recorded: an adult male and two kids identified as “mestizos” who lived in the same house. It is feasible to think that they could be the partner and children of the indigenous woman next to them in the record. She was recorded as unmarried hence they could be in a common-law marriage.

FIGURE 8. LOCATION OF RESIDENCES OWNED BY INDIGENOUS



Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census and information in Pinto & Lijerón, 2011: 109-112, 176.

ity.⁵⁸ It is noteworthy that those who obtained public deeds had to buy the land rights from the Bolivian state, as well as holders of livestock had to pay taxes. Therefore, indigenous people who could afford such outlays —by themselves or by actions of their ancestors— enjoyed higher economic and social status than the rest of common Mojo natives. In 1883 was enacted a specific law for the indigenous people of Beni. This rule declared them ‘absolute owners of the land’ they occupied. The legal title of this land could be obtained for free. The November 24 1883 law favoured an increase of the requests for land.

⁵⁸ In the same way, the sources show many widows who, after the death of their husbands and fathers, obtained the public deed of the houses they occupied: Trinidad Moye, widow of Bartolomé Yujo; Agustina Ichu, widow of Antonio Noe; Pabla Muiva, widow of Angel Mariano Noco; Petrona Yubanure, widow of Dionisio Notu; Pabla Semo, daughter of Juan Francisco Semo. In other cases they inherited their home ownership from their husbands or fathers: Seferina Noe, widow of Manuel J. Muiba; Ignacia Maleca, widow of Manuel Noe; Maria M. Temo, widow of Luis Antonio Moye; Patrocina Cayuba, widow of Gavino Temo; Viviana Ichu, widow of Asencio Semo; Juana Notu, daughter of Dionisio Notu.

Nevertheless, the approval of the November 13 1886 law limited the access to ownership to the indigenous people of the department, significantly reducing the amount of land to which they could freely access, and facilitating the purchase of land to white-mestizo population.⁵⁹

To a lesser degree, there were married couples who shared their homes with widows and unmarried indigenous with no apparent bond or relationship between them. The latter had no access to land owning (figure 9 - columns c & d). The lack of means and resources could have motivated them to occupy jointly houses owned by third parties. Actually, only one or at most two residents of each house had an identifiable household in the previous years. It should be remembered that in those decades many Mojo natives sold their homes —many times, for amounts below of its real price— to white-mestizo individuals settled in the city⁶⁰ and, therefore, they had to find a new place to live. It is feasible to think that some of them chose to stay with other indigenous people which would explain at least one of the reasons that led to this kind of cohabitation. Finally, there are some families whose members came from nearby towns, so they do not appear in the previous padrones and, according to our current knowledge, they did not possess agricultural resources (figure 9 - column e).

FIGURE 9. TYPE OF OWNERSHIP AND NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS HOUSEHOLD



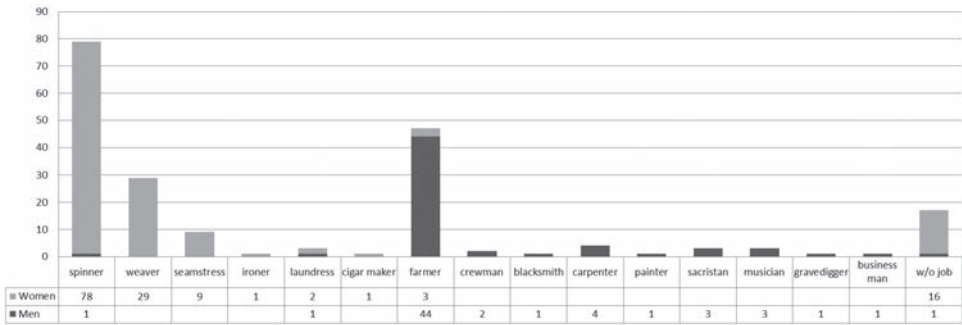
Source: author's elaboration from 1896 census.

⁵⁹ Law of November 24 1883 in: República de Bolivia, 1884: 285-286 and Law of November 13 1886 in: www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-18861113-1.xhtml.

⁶⁰ Lehm, 1987: 208-211. Lehm, Lijeron and Vare, 1990: 16-17.

Differences among members of the Mojo native society of Trinidad were not only reflected in the census by dissimilar access to land ownership. They can also be seen in their labour activities (figure 10). Almost all of the female population was engaged in textile work. Spinning was by far their main occupation, followed by weaving; in comparison with them, sewing was a craft scarcely exercised. The census also shows the existence of two laundresses, an ironer and a cigar maker. On the other hand, men worked in most varied professions: farming was the main occupation recorded among men and, to a lesser extent, handicrafts, liturgical activities and commercial professions.

FIGURE 10. INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OCCUPATIONS



Source: author’s elaboration from 1896 census.

Despite being numerically less relevant, the presence of these last crafts and activities reveals the persistence of the hierarchical dimension of native society, inherited from the Jesuits and consolidated during the Spanish Government. Indeed, many of those carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, sacristans, and musicians belonged to the *familia*.

Data crossing of the census with the padrones conducted since the 1840s allows to follow the genealogy of a significant number of indigenous inhabitants of Trinidad in 1896. This is possible because the tax documents were organised in the department of Beni according to which *parcialidades* belonged each taxpayer. Name and surname, age, marital status and tax bracket were precisely registered for all members of each family. Until 1858, population was recorded in a specific order: first, the *parcialidades de oficio*, followed by ethnic *parcialidades* and, finally, the name of the ranches located in the city surroundings. This order changed around the 1860s when population was divided by

manzanas, whose names had a liberal-patriotic nature.⁶¹ And it would be diluted at the end of the nineteenth century with the emerging a new urban plan. Then, the official servants created district areas, gave name to the streets, and started to distinguish the *manzanas* not anymore by name, but for numbers.

Most carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, sacristans, and musicians in 1896 belonged —both them and their parents— to the *parcialidades de oficio*. Also, their parents and grandparents had served the church doing different tasks and, to a lesser extent, positions in local and/or communal government. These indigenous people who, despite being registered in the census as farmers, were landowners and had performed or, in the near future, would occupy relevant positions in the *cabildo* (table 1) should be added to the above individuals. It is not a coincidence that the greater part of Mojo natives who were engaged in those professions had still access to land and lived independently with their family members, and that they and their ancestors had close family ties. The table below discloses the traces of the hierarchical dimension of the indigenous society, as well as the changes it suffered in the last decades. Indeed, the inheritance of the profession and the belonging to the *parcialidad* by father's side was diluted. In several cases their professions did not match with the *parcialidades* which they belonged to and, in the particular case of Andrés Cayuba, his job as sacristan was clearly related to the *parcialidad* of his mother's side. Thus, the exercise of the same profession and the belonging of the *parcialidad* associated to this activity would have been blurred. The most specialised jobs were left in hands of individuals who became the new native political elite.⁶² The loss of power suffered by *parcialidad* of musicians which once was the most important and to which most *cabildantes* belonged until the last third of the nineteenth century should also be noted.⁶³ These changes

⁶¹ Van Valen, 2013: 49. The *manzanas* were named Junín, Ayacucho, Libertad, *Independencia*, Ingavi, Olañeta, Franklin, Igualdad, Guttemberg, Unión and Jenner. They had no direct correspondence with the *parcialidades* order.

⁶² Many of them descend from Domingo Cayuba who acted as corregidor (government official appointed by Beni's authority), after migratory movement of 1887. In September of the same year he resigned the position for which was proposed to Antonio Yujo, who did not accept. See *Propuesta de tres candidatos para el cargo de corregidor*, September 20 1887, ACCB, no catalogue number. It is worth to note that the result of the repression of that movement was the removal of the main members of the *cabildo* of Trinidad and, therefore, most part of the descendants of the political native elite who had been occupying the power to date. See Cortés, 1989: 34-44. Van Valen, 2013: 105-141.

⁶³ However, it should be noted that this reduction of power in the socio-political sphere is not observed in the socio-economic one. Most women who had public deed on the urban plots occupied were widows or daughters of men belonging to the *parcialidad* of musicians.

TABLE 1. RELATION BETWEEN SKILLED ARTISANS AND THE HIERARCHICAL ORDER OF THE MOJO NATIVE SOCIETY

Name	Profession	Parcialidad	Positions held	Ancestor	Positions held by ancestor	Possessions of ancestor
<i>Mariano Moye</i>	Musician	Musicians				Crops in Jocrene
<i>Antonino Yijo</i>	Farmer	Musicians	Right to vote (1860) Cacique of Trinidad (1886)			Ownership of Pochoero Cattle located in place w/o name
<i>[Luis] Próspero Cayuba</i>	Sacristan	Sacristans		Father: <i>Domingo Cayuba</i>	Intendente of Cabildo (1872) Cacique (1876) Corregidor (1887)	Crops located in Sayoipe, Encarnación
<i>Francisco Cayuba</i>	Carpenter	Carpenters		Uncle: <i>Domingo Cayuba</i>	Intendente of Cabildo (1872) Cacique (1876) Corregidor (1887)	Crops located in Sayoipe, Encarnación
<i>José María Cayuba</i>	Carpenter	Carpenters		Uncle: <i>Domingo Cayuba</i>	Intendente of Cabildo (1872) Cacique (1876) Corregidor (1887)	Crops located in Sayoipe, Encarnación
<i>Manuel José Cayuba</i>	Farmer	Carpenters		Uncle: <i>Domingo Cayuba</i>	Intendente of Cabildo (1872) Cacique (1876) Corregidor (1887)	Crops located in Sayoipe, Encarnación
				Father-in-law: <i>Pedro José Muiba</i>	Sacristan (1867) Assistant to the Church (1874)	Crops located in Macaramui
				Great uncle: <i>Domingo Cayuba</i>	Intendente of Cabildo (1872) Cacique (1876) Corregidor (1887)	Crops located in Sayoipe, Encarnación
<i>Andrés Cayuba</i>	Sacristan	Sacristans (father's side) Sacristans (mother's side)		Father-in-law: <i>Pedro José Muiba</i>	Sacristan (1867) Assistant to the Church (1874)	Crops located in Macaramui

Name	Profession	Parcialidad	Positions held	Ancestor	Positions held by ancestor	Possessions of ancestor
<i>Vicente Semo</i>	Sacristan	Tailors		Father: <i>Francisco Semo</i>	right to vote (1857)	Crops located in Faitiru
<i>Antonio Semo</i>	Musician	Tailors		Great-grandfather: <i>Francisco Semo</i>	right to vote (1857)	Crops located in Faitiru
<i>Pedro J. Muiba</i>	Carpenter	Basket weavers				Crops located in Eifijico & Vahucu
<i>Pedro Semo</i>	Businessman	Weavers	Expert in land procedures (1885) Corregidor (1899)			Crops located in Rosario Ownership of Mumejeje
<i>J. Manuel Semo</i>	Musician	Apereono				
<i>Apolinar Moye</i>	Blacksmith	Siyabocono				Crops located in Macaramui
<i>Benancio Cayuba</i>	Carpenter	ranch Rosario				Crops located in San Juan
<i>[Manuel] Vicitación Noe</i>	Farmer	ranch Carmen	Cacique of Trinidad (twentieth century)	father: <i>Francisco Noe</i>		Ownership of Loma Sequijere, Pochore, Rosario, Triupijij; Crops located in Isla Sejjere & Trinidad

Source: author's elaboration from ABNB, TNC-Rv, Mojos 9; Beni 2; Cercado 5; Cercado, Magdalena & Sécure 6; ABNB, IC, files 128.10; 854.5; ACCB, Registro de Hacienda 1872 & 1885; and *Lista de individuos calificados con derecho al sufragio*, March 29 1857 and March 24-28 1860, ACCB, no catalogue number.

in the socio-economic and labour order of Mojo natives were reflected in the presence of a ‘businessman’. Pedro Semo had acted as expert in procedures of lands claimed by both indigenous and white-mestizo population. As well as he had been considered to be part of the departmental council at a time when indigenous people were no longer involved in it. Furthermore, the ancestors of Manuel Vicitación Noe and he himself were engaged to agricultural work which allowed him to have a significant landownership. He acquired a prominent role in managing relations of Mojo native society with the rest of inhabitants of Trinidad and, in the early twentieth century, he reached the position of cacique, the highest authority of the indigenous government.⁶⁴ All these factors show the appearance on the scene in the communal sphere of new actors who, by economic criteria, displaced the traditional indigenous power groups.

Finally, note that range differences among indigenous people were reflected in their level of education. Indeed, many Mojo natives who had specialised profession could read and write; while the rest of the population, with the exception of a couple of domestic workers, did not.

4. “INTERRACIAL” MARRIAGES

Marriage to individuals classified as “white race” was a phenomenon that not occurred among the Mojo natives of Trinidad. The registers of inhabitants conducted in the past do not show any case that suggests legal unions between them and economic agents arrived to the city. As a capital of the department of Beni, Trinidad gathered a large number of settlers and, thus, it could offer various marriage possibilities to both white-mestizo men and women. Furthermore, it is worth to remember the reluctance shown from early by the Mojo native elite to bond their lineage to the white-mestizo people through marriage.⁶⁵ The few “interracial” unions registered in the census were among indigenous women of non-Mojo ethnic group and “white” men, both coming from other urban centres.⁶⁶ Such unions are easily identified by the place of

⁶⁴ See *Diario de Gestión*, June 22 1906, ACCB, no catalogue number; *La Democracia* “Inserciones” (Trinidad, July 9 1905) and Lehm, Lijerón and Vare, 1990: 16.

⁶⁵ Gibbon, 1993 [1852]: 318-319. This attitude, as Zulema Lehm suggested in personal communication, would have taken place specifically among Mojo elite, and not among common people. That would explain the marriage of a Mojo non-elite woman with a man identified as ‘mestizo’.

⁶⁶ These couples came from Reyes, located in the province of Yacuma on the banks of Beni river, and Baures, located in the province of Iténez in forests stretched near the river of

origin recorded, women's surnames and also by those children with the father's surname. Some of the last were recorded as "indigenous", and as "mestizo", the other ones.⁶⁷ Half of these couples had a significant economic status considering that they could afford domestic service and, at least in two cases, women were registered as traders.

Among them, a woman with a Baure native surname but classified as "white" stands out of the rest. She was mistress of many domestic servants—listed as "indigenous", "mestizo" and, even, "white"—and was married to Pastor Oyola, a rubber and agricultural entrepreneur with businesses in Baures, Magdalena and Trinidad; and well-known to be sympathetic to liberal party.⁶⁸ Who was this woman? She was Rosalía Ojopi, one of the daughters of Maria Manuela Vaca and Hipólito Ojopi. She was a white-mestizo woman from department of Santa Cruz and he was the head of the *cabildo* of Baures until the end of the 1850s, when he began to perform the post of *corregidor*. His role within the *cabildo* gives an account of the preponderance of this person among Baure native society. Significance that can also be observed on the high amount of crops and livestock he possessed, the exercise of his political citizenship with the participation in local and regional elections, and hiring domestic workers at his service, as registered in 1858 *padrón*.⁶⁹ This couple had fourteen children, and neither Rosalía nor any of her siblings have ever identified themselves with their indigenous ancestry; nor, they were perceived as such by their contemporaries. Actually, once Hipólito died, his widow and children were registered as "forasteros without lands" in the padrones, reflecting the fact that they were not considered part of the Baure native society.

In accordance with the statement by Lockhart for the colonial times, it is possible to infer that this perception might respond to the tendency to visualise the mestizos as whites in the peripheral areas in order to strengthen the

the same name. There is a married couple in which the woman was registered as natural of Beni and whose surname has not been identified, though it does not seem to have Mojo origin.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that the census registers six women and five children as "indigenous" and eight children as "mestizos".

⁶⁸ Guiteras Mombiola, 2012: 136-144. Van Valen, 2013: 62-63, 85-87, 96.

⁶⁹ See *Prefecto del Beni al Ministro del Interior*, January 2 1846, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 11, n.º 37; April 22 1849, ABNB, MI/PB, vol. 130, n.º 25. Ver *Repartimiento del cantón Baures*, December 6 1848, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Mojos 9; *Repartimiento del cantón Baures*, October 31 1858, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Beni 2; *Relación nominal de terrenos cultivados y de pastoreo en Baures*, n.d., BV, no catalogue number; *Cuadro de Distribución de chocolatales en Baures*, November 7 1848, BV, no catalogue number; *Distribución de plantas de caña de azúcar en Baures*, November 16 1848, BV, no catalogue number.

local power and privilege network. This tendency may have been stronger in areas with scarce non-indigenous population and a large number of native people, as Baures, and in a period in which the local society was being formed, as it was the opening of missionary space to the republican life.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the marriage between the cacique Ojopi and a white-*mestizo* woman shows that for the Baure native elite did not exist the will for keep their lineage separated from the ‘white race’, unlike what was happening among Mojo native elite. It rather seems this kind of alliances were part of a strategy to access to greater levels of influence and value to the emerging republican society which would be created with the new authorities and settlers who would arrive to the province of Baures. Actually, other Ojopi’s daughters married with economic agents settled in the city. Same decision was made by daughters of other members of the Baure native elite.⁷¹ These relationships have been favoured by the vicinity and interaction as well as the mutual interest of both societies.⁷² Men who married these indigenous women occupied relevant positions in the local, provincial and departmental government in a short time. In addition, the Ojopi males became important landowners and participated in the government of the province of Iténez.⁷³ Definitely, ancestry of Rosalía Ojopi allowed her to inherit the prestige and social status of her father as a member of the native elite, using it to merge with the new power groups.

5. FINAL WORDS

The information recorded in the census of Trinidad provides a “sort of ethnographic radiograph” of the city shortly before the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ The analysis of its data shows that beneath the racial categories used by the intellectuals and politicians of those times to stratify the Bolivian society was hiding a great heterogeneity that escaped the sealed compartments in which they wanted organise it. This phenomenon mainly responded to the hierarchical dimension that structured the indigenous society in two large

⁷⁰ Lockhart, 1990: 63-108.

⁷¹ See *Repartimiento del cantón Baures*, November 2 1867, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Magdalena 8; *Repartimiento del cantón Baures*, August 20 1874, ABNB, TNC-Rv, Cercado, Magdalena y Sécure 6. Carvalho Urey, 1978: 45-46. Coimbra, 1993 [1946]: 51-52.

⁷² Barragán, 1992: 94.

⁷³ Guiteras Mombiola, 2012: 227-228, 242-243, 246.

⁷⁴ Giraudo, 2008: 93.

categories —*pueblo* and *familia*— which were associated to occupational and patrimonial criteria. However, liberal policies implemented during the nineteenth century pursued the inclusion of the Amazonian territory and its inhabitants to the republican life. As a result, the social organization would have blurred and, in a certain way, reformulated based on economic and social mobility criteria.

Indeed, the creation of the department and the liberal policies had an important impact on the organization of the Mojo society of Trinidad. Firstly, the urban pattern and property were modified. Indigenous people were evicted from the centre of the city, which they had occupied for about two hundred years. That displacement was reflected in the census. In the *manzanas* around the main square was recorded only people described as ‘white’, while the Mojo natives were distributed in farther *manzanas*. It is known that many of them sold their homes at the end of the nineteenth century. Most of them settled in crop areas in the surroundings of Trinidad or nearby hamlets. Others, according to information of the census, moved to live to other urban plots located two or three *manzanas* from the centre. This area was on the city limits, since Trinidad, by then, had not more than 12 *manzanas*.⁷⁵ Land policies forced many Mojo natives to obtain public deeds on their possessions to prevent its occupation by third parties. Those families who had property titles for the house where they lived in 1896, also possessed lots of land with various crops and, even, livestock. Thus, only people who reached a relatively generous economic level kept a residence in the urban area of Trinidad and were able to live there independently with their closest ones. In contrast those who had no land access were doomed to cohabit with indigenous or white-mestizo population with whom they were not related and were dedicated to the same profession.

Secondly, the settlement in the city of the families of the new state officials and economic agents brought with new work space where native population was inserted. On the one hand, the figure of the domestic employee emerged. This job was mainly carried out by indigenous women and girls who left their homes to live and work under the same roof as their employers. The lack of specification about the household chores to which they were exactly dedicated suggests they were not qualified labour and, therefore, they could be easily replaced. On the other hand, livelihoods of the female native population were modified. Few Mojo adult women joined the domestic service of the city, but some of them took profession such as laundress, ironer or cook.

⁷⁵ *Proyecto de Preservación del...*, 1980: 27-31. Lehm, Lijerón and Vare, 1990: 16-18.

Certainly these were tasks they performed at their own homes, but its registration as a profession in a context in which textile work was entirely female is remarkable. Spinning, sewing and weaving were female tasks at least since the late eighteenth century, if one takes into account the illustrations of Lázaro de Ribera and, at mid-nineteenth century, the artworks of Melchor María Mercado.⁷⁶ The emergence of new occupations among women could respond to the demand for such services by new families settled in Trinidad. As in other predominantly rural areas with a limited number of men, it is more likely that these women went house-to-house offering to work, so they would earn enough income to support themselves and their families and join the regional monetary economy.⁷⁷ Such integration is evidenced by the presence of an indigenous individual listed as ‘businessman’. Such activity had been in hands of white-mestizo population until then. Thus, its existence makes visible the possibilities of the social mobility which, according the capabilities and individual interests, implied the liberal measures on labour and economic structure of the Mojo native society of Trinidad.

Most male population was engaged in agricultural and handicraft tasks or liturgical activities. Part of the former came from the ethnic *parcialidades* (*pueblo*, people), while the other professions were performed by men whose ancestry was mostly part of *parcialidades de oficio* (*familia*), while, most indigenous owners of their houses and land lots came from the last one. Nonetheless, thirdly and last, the data of the census show that the bond between this belonging and the indigenous socio-economic and labour order had lost the value and entity which had once enjoyed. The large amount of men working as farmers or in textile activities, contrast with the limited number of artisans and liturgical specialists. Among the first ones there were individuals from both *parcialidades* types and, in many cases, shared their home with others. It is plausible to assert that the *parcialidades* ceased to fulfil hierarchical and organizing function of the native society to reflect the new socio-economic order, more in line to the departmental development. Indeed, few sacristans, musicians and carpenters recorded in the census belonged to the *parcialidades* that originally performed these tasks. The relaxation of the social order inherited from the Jesuits was parallel to the achievement of certain preponderance of individuals from the *pueblo*. They reached this kind of ascendancy by their access to significant economic resources, by being literate and by their ability to be inserted in the public sphere. It can be argued

⁷⁶ Ribera, 1989: 99-100. Mercado, 1991: 128, 152.

⁷⁷ Potthast, 1996: 127-128.

that the inclusion of the Mojo native of Trinidad to the liberal world would have blurred the differences of hereditary status and would have promoted distinctions of economic nature. On the contrary, among the traditional Baure native elite the privileged status of the *familia* remained, but it strengthened merging with the new political power of the province.

Ultimately, the information of the census shows a heterogeneous and complex Mojo—and Baure— native society whose members, according to their abilities and capacity for actions, developed different strategies to adapt themselves to the Republican life throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

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El censo de 1896 de Trinidad (Amazonía boliviana). El impacto de la vida republicana sobre la sociedad indígena mojeña

El artículo indaga en los cambios y continuidades en la organización social interna del pueblo indígena mojeño de la Amazonía boliviana a fines del siglo XIX. El análisis cruzado de datos censales con catastros, padrones y peticiones de tierras permite indagar sobre el impacto de las medidas liberales entre este colectivo. Se afirma que, lejos de ser un grupo homogéneo, cuya incorporación a la sociedad republicana supuso las mismas vicisitudes, bajo el término «indígena» existía una gran heterogeneidad social, laboral y patrimonial.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Amazonía boliviana; censo; indígenas; sociedad mojeña; relaciones interétnicas.*
