

The Social Impact of the Porfiriato in Northern Mexico. Migration and Occupational Data from Durango*

Patricia Fernández de Castro

Resumen

La historiografía debate sobre la naturaleza, agraria o no, del movimiento revolucionario mexicano en el Norte y su relación con la conformación del Estado posrevolucionario. Partiendo de la base historiográfica que ofrecen las más recientes investigaciones sobre comunidades específicas, y usando como indicadores la migración, y otros datos demográficos, este trabajo intentará hacer una caracterización regional de los efectos sociales del desarrollo del capitalismo comercial en el campo en Durango y sus vínculos con los estallidos revolucionarios en 1919.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the regional variations of the social effects of the development of commercial capitalism in the countryside of Northern Mexico from the mid 1890's to 1910 and on this basis elaborate hypotheses regarding the Porfirian economic processes, their social impact and their bearing to the outbreak of revolution in 1910 in Northern Mexico. The force and persistence of popular mobilization in the Northern states of Chihuahua and Durango in many ways shaped the postrevolutionary Mexican State, whose transition from corporatist populism to a yet unclear something else we are currently witnessing. Yet crucial aspects of that mobilization and the processes that led to it remain a matter of debate. In particular, the works of Friedrich Katz, John Hart, Alan Knight and John Tutino have posed many questions regarding the

* My many thanks to Marie-Laure Coubès, who has most generously read and commented drafts of this and other census analyses I have prepared and answered innumerable demography questions.

My thanks also to María Jesús Ruiz and Enrique Chin, who with incredible patience and precision compiled table after table of the 1895, 1900 and 1910 population censuses.

social history of the Porfiriato in Northern Mexico and the relationship of the popular mobilization to the reconstituted postrevolutionary Mexican state to which the inquiries of William H. Beezeley, Mark Wasserman, Jane-Dale Lloyd, Ana María Alonso, Daniel Nugent, and William French on Chihuahua, and William Meyers, David Walker, María Vargas Lobsinger, Gloria Cano, Guadalupe Rodríguez and Guadalupe Villa on Durango are responding.¹

In the context of the sluggish economy and slow demographic growth that characterized Northern Mexico during most of the nineteenth century, the different kinds of landholders (hacendados, rancheros, free villages, unchartered communities, tenants, sharecroppers, landless wage workers) found arrangements that, however precarious, allowed them to *more or less* coexist. As the economy began to accelerate and change in the last two decades of the century, the competition for land between these actors stepped up, provoking changes in the structure of land tenure, exacerbating tensions and leading to organizational efforts within communities in the countryside. Thus the unfolding of the Porfirian economic project intensified conflict between and within the different groups of landholders. The involvement of key instances of the State, which increasingly, and unabashedly, favored the interests of large landholders and investors seriously undermined the legitimacy of the State at a politically critical juncture in which the cohesion of the governing elite was fracturing. The deceleration of the economy after

¹ William H. Beezeley, *Insurgent Governor: Abrahám González and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973); Mark Wasserman, "Oligarchy and Foreign Enterprise in Porfirian Chihuahua, Mexico, 1876-1911 (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975), *Capitalists, Caciques and Revolution: the Native Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1854-1911* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984) and *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1910-1929* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990); Jane-Dale Lloyd, *El proceso de modernización capitalista en el Noroeste de Chihuahua, 1880-1910* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1987); Ana María Alonso, "Gender, Ethnicity and the Constitution of Subjects: Accommodation, Resistance and Revolution on the Chihuahua Frontier (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988) and *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Daniel Nugent, "Land, Labor and Politics in a Serrano Society: the Articulation of State and Popular Ideology in Mexico (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988), *Spent Cartridges of Revolution. An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation. Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994); William French, *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals and Class Formation in Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); William Meyers, "Interest Group Conflict and Revolutionary Politics. A Social History of La Comarca Lagunera, Mexico, 1888-1911 (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1980) and *Forge of Progress, Crucible of Revolt. The Origins of the Mexican Revolution in La Comarca Lagunera, 1880-1911* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); David Walker, "Kinship, Business and Politics: the Martínez del Río Family in Mexico: 1824-1865 (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1981) and "Homegrown Revolution: The Hacienda Santa Catalina del Alamo y Anexas and Agrarian Protest in Eastern Durango, Mexico, 1897-1913," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 72:2, 239-273.

1903 and the 1907 crisis, in this context, aggravated already complex grievances, worsening a situation that facilitated building bridges between discontented elites seeking popular support and aggrieved rural poor seeking to redress their problems.

Here I would like to use demographic data extracted from the 1895, 1900 and 1910 censuses in conjunction with information regarding the structure of land tenure and the specific features that defined the local rural economy in the state of Durango to describe the effects of the economic processes of the late nineteenth century--the State-promoted modernization, the thickening linkages of the economy of the Mexican North to the U. S. and central Mexican markets, and its incorporation into the rhythms of the late nineteenth century industrializing economies--on the different regions of the state of Durango.² The most important attempts to use census data to analyze the social effects of the Porfirian economic changes are the works of Frank Tannenbaum, Frank McBride, and Moisés González Navarro.³ These authors drew on census data on population by type of location of residence and occupation to support their argument that during the Porfiriato landholding became increasingly concentrated. In the 1980's François Xavier Guerra criticized their works because, in his view, they contained "errors that make them unusable."⁴ These mistakes, in his view, were fundamentally two: the first, to identify as landless all those who, lacking the recognized social position of an 'agricultor,' were classified as 'peones' in the census. The second was to define ranchos as individual properties and assimilate them to haciendas when, in his estimation, 90% of the ranches listed by the censuses were "settled locations, unchartered human conglomerates, formed by family units that frequently posses[ed] small properties".⁵ Guerra's is an salutary reminder against inattentive readings of McBride, Tannenbaum or González Navarro,

² Mexico. Dirección General de Estadística, *Censo general de la República Mexicana verificado el 20 de octubre de 1895* (Mexico: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1897-1899); *Censo general de la República Mexicana verificado el 28 de octubre de 1900* (Mexico: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1901-1907); *Tercer censo de población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos verificado el 27 de octubre de 1910* (Mexico: Oficina impresora de la Secretaría de Hacienda, Departamento de Fomento, 1918-1920).

³ George McCutchen McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York: American Geographical Society); Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: McMillan: 1929); and Moisés González Navarro, *El Porfiriato. La vida social*, Mexico: Hermes, 1957; *Estadísticas sociales del Porfiriato, 1877-1910* (Mexico: Dirección General de Estadística, 1956); "La tenencia de la tierra en México," *Caravelle. Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien*, 12 (1969), 115-134. See also "La guerra y la paz, o un nuevo refuerzo francés a la derecha mexicana," *Secuencia*, VIII (1987), 56-69.

⁴ François-Xavier Guerra *México: del Antiguo Régimen a la Revolución* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988) II, 473.

⁵ Guerra, II, 475, 483.

but these authors had themselves noted that the usefulness of the census data, and the accuracy of the statistical measurements made after them, was limited on account of the ambiguities of the census terminology and the want of accurate data on the disintegration of Indian communities.⁶

Although my purpose is ultimately to discuss the social implications of the economic processes of the Porfiriato, what I want to do first is to focus on the census data on population by sex, age group, occupation and place of birth of the three Porfirian censuses of 1895, 1900 and 1910 with a more purely demographic lens. I hope to use the census data not as an indicator of social or economic categories but to describe strictly demographic processes of population growth and migration from which I will attempt to characterize the social effects of the Porfiriato. To put this data in a context from which it can be discussed most profitably, the first section of this paper briefly describes the economic structure of the different regions of Durango. The second and third sections present the results of my analysis of the censuses.

The 1895, 1900 and 1910 censuses were the first three modern censuses conducted in Mexico; 1895, indeed, was a trial essay in preparation for 1900. As such, these compilations, while providing a wealth of invaluable data, have certain critical deficiencies. The first is that they do not provide mortality and birth data, which would be crucial in several phases of the analysis, especially to discriminate population losses caused by death from those caused by emigration.⁷ Secondly, the censuses provide us with age and sex data in five year cohorts or age groups that are problematic for two reasons. One is that the definition of the groups changed from 1895 and 1900 to 1910,

⁶ Not only is the census usage uncertain--rancho and hacienda, for example, meant different things in Northern and Southern Mexico, and an hacienda might, as González Roa pointed out, be composed of different ranchos (or localities). Furthermore, "[t]he demographic concept of locality" itself, as González Navarro observes, "is not exactly comparable to that of agrarian property." Likewise, not only do we ignore how the census defined critical terms as 'peon,' 'agricultor,' 'rancho' or 'hacienda,' but there is no necessary correspondence between inhabiting a given type of locality and a person's social category (González Navarro 1957, 209; 1969: 115-119; 1987: 67-68. See also Lloyd).

⁷ According to data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), the mortality rates for Durango were 1.99%, 3.21% and 3.16% in 1895, 1900 and 1910. For the same dates, the national rates were 3.1%, 3.27% and 3.21%. In light of these numbers, the 1895 rate for Durango would appear doubtful, especially because between 1885 and 1992 there was a drought that affected Northern Mexico and Southwestern U. S., and to which newspaper sources attributed great mortality. Unfortunately I have been unable to establish how INEGI arrived at these rates, nor rates disaggregated by age group. Telephone conversation with Lic. David Soto García, director general of Contabilidad Nacional, Estudios Socioeconómicos y Precios, 12-September-1996, and INEGI, Dirección General de Contabilidad Nacional, Estudios Socioeconómicos y Precios *Estadísticas históricas de México*.

when the census began to count AÑOS CUMPLIDOS. This change makes it impossible to compare with complete accuracy the 1900 and 1910 age structures. Secondly, the structure of the age pyramids is such that it strongly suggests a marked preference of the adult population for ages ending in 0. Unlike the años CUMPLIDOS problem, this one can be overcome by forming ten year age groups--which, however, preclude certain comparisons between the 1895 and 1900 pyramids.⁸ A third limitation, which makes the measurement of internal migration flows difficult, lays in the lack of information on the municipio or partido of birth of the Durango-born population. This problem, as which as I will point out later, I partially solved by indirect means.

Finally, there is also a problem with the data on occupation. Demographers and economists divide the population into economically active (EAP) and inactive population (EIP). The former comprises all the persons over a certain age (in Mexico currently twelve years) who are productive, *i. e.*, who are working for a remuneration or are looking for a job and, in this case, if they have recently worked for a minimum period of time that varies from one census to the other. This EAP is therefore in turn divided into occupied and unoccupied economically active population (OEAP and UEAP). The 1895 census has categories for the economically inactive children and youths (*sin ocupación por menor*, and *escolares*), but it does not allow us to separate the adult unoccupied economically active population (those who are part of the workforce but currently unemployed) from the economically inactive adult population (the elderly, the handicapped and others who, like housewives, are not formally productive). It is thus impossible to determine the economically active population (EAP) for 1895; only the *occupied* economically active population (OEAP) can be ascertained. For this reason, in order to present data that can be used for comparison with 1900 and 1910, I have used the OEAP rather than the EAP except when I have worked only 1900 and 1910.

The regional economy of Porfirian Durango

By the late nineteenth century, the state of Durango had developed a diverse regional economic structure that reflected a number of factors--the natural resources of a given region, its accessibility to markets, the availability of capital and its specific

⁸ Even after this correction, the pyramids show more men than women in the last age group, which is highly anomalous, as death rates for men are typically higher than for women.

characteristics, and the historical structure of land tenure among the most important. The data on occupation shows agriculture was, by far, the single most important economic activity in all the partidos of the state, ranging in 1910 from 60% of the occupied economically active population in San Dimas to 88% in Tamazula and Nazas (**Error! Reference source not found.**). In the different regions, however, predominant productions, and the forms in which they were organized, varied, and were associated to a variety of other activities that had developed alongside with agriculture. The distribution of these other occupations reflected the complexity and development of the partido economy, as well as its articulation to the wider economy. The number of domestic and personal servants (*criados y sirvientes*), which as in other parts of Mexico was very high, is also a reflection of the social structure.⁹ Thus in Mapimí, Cuencamé, Santiago Papasquiaro and Durango non-agricultural or mining/metallurgical occupations represent larger percentages of the OEAP, while in the partidos where mining and/or large agricultural and livestock haciendas predominated these percentages tended to be smaller. Persons of unknown occupation (but not classified as without occupation) appeared as a significant group only in San Juan del Guadalupe and Mezquital, two of the least developed partidos.

The partido where commercial agriculture was most developed was Mapimí. In this district, which corresponded to the Durango section of the Comarca Lagunera, highly capitalized cotton production predominated. The production units were large haciendas, that occupied most of the agricultural land of the partido and which were themselves sections of vast colonial haciendas dismembered in the decades after the War of Intervention. In the course of the Porfiriato these haciendas had developed into highly capitalized enterprises that produced for the national, and sometimes for the international, markets. These haciendas depended heavily on immigrant wage labor, to attract which they paid wages higher than those predominant in Northern Mexico. The development of this commercial agriculture of La Laguna was advanced by the construction of railways that facilitated producers' access to their markets. The junction of two of the three main railway lines connecting central Mexico with the U. S. in Torreón, across the state line in Coahuila, in addition, turned the region into a transportation and commercial hub of the

⁹ See Rendón and Salas FALTA CITA.

first magnitude, and fostered the development of a sophisticated commercial, industrial, and urban service economy closely linked to the world economy and parallel to the commercial agricultural economy of the region. In addition to two important smelters, one near the town of Mapimí and another in Torreón, there were in La Laguna several banks, textile mills, flour mills, soap factories, a glycerin mill, and a dynamite factory, a foundry, a brewery and a number of mines. Also, in the early years of the twentieth century a promising rubber industry financed mainly by American and German capital began to develop.¹⁰

To the Southeast of La Laguna, the partido of San Juan del Guadalupe did not develop the same sort of commercial agriculture as Mapimí. The dry, unirrigated lands of haciendas, ranchos and villages produced mostly corn and beans, and harvested *lechuguilla* and *sotol*, native plants from which cording and an alcoholic beverage was produced. The most important economic breakthrough took place in 1903, when the discovery that guayule, a native shrub, contained rubber turned these into valuable lands. Many landholders sold or contracted the rights to the guayule on their properties to investors who hired wage laborers and established collecting stations where the dried out shrub was left to dry and then shipped to mills in Gómez Palacio (partido of Mapimí) and Torreón. The other important source of income in the partido were few mines.

The partidos of the Valleys, Cuencamé, Nazas, San Juan del Río, Nombre de Dios and Durango were dominated by haciendas that combined livestock raising with irrigated and dry-farmland crops. Haciendas worked their land directly and through sharecroppers. For their direct production, they depended on a two-tier core permanent workers, some of whom were paid relatively high salaries for specialized work, while most earned small daily *jornales*. Sharecroppers, and their workers (who were also obligated to perform seasonal work for the hacienda) often came from the surrounding free villages and ranchos. These at the same time constituted a pool of reserve labor and competed with the haciendas for the agrarian resources of the region. Although some hacendados, notably in Cuencamé and Nazas, made significant investments in irrigation and other technological and organizational innovations, the magnitude of these investments and the links to the national and international markets were weaker than those of La Laguna's

¹⁰ See especially Meyers, *Forge of Progress*.

haciendas. Nevertheless, in Cuencamé, which was the partido best located relative to the railroad, the establishment of one of the American Smelter and Refining Company's largest custom smelters generated numerous new jobs and, along with the development of commercial hacienda agriculture, drove the economic growth of the partido. The other partido in this region in which a more diversified economy developed was Durango, by reason of its being *el partido de la capital*, where government and other service and commercial sectors concentrated.¹¹

West of these partidos lay Indé, El Oro, Santiago Papasquiaro, Tamazula and San Dimas. Mining was central to the productive structure of these partidos alongside with livestock haciendas (in the case of Indé), small scale ranching, and (in the case of Santiago Papasquiaro) commerce. Mining boomed in Western Durango during the earlier part of the Porfiriato, when technological change, the availability of (mostly foreign) capital and the existence of an international demand made it possible to profitably extract massive tonnages of low grade ores not only for the silver and gold they contained, but also (and increasingly) for lead, copper, iron, zinc and other industrial ores. Numerous investors, some local but many outsiders, bought up mines. Some represented large mining or metal enterprises, but many were smaller undertakings. Timberlands were another important field of investment. The population of these partidos often combined mining with small-scale farming and ranching, mule-packing, coal-making, timber cutting and other activities. Many of these ventures failed in the early 1900's, especially after the 1905 monetary reform and the fall, in 1907, of the world prices of metals. Although a few larger, better capitalized ventures were able to withstand the crisis and even took advantage of the crisis to purchase new properties, many the small and medium companies failed, laying-off many workers.

Finally, Mezquital, a small, unexplored indigenous partido bordering with Nayarit and Zacatecas was probably the state's least developed.

In another work I have shown these economic changes generated an intense competition for the control of land and other agrarian resources and that, as a result, at the end of the Porfirian period agrarian conflict was widespread in the state, although its characteristics

¹¹ For Cuencamé, see Walker, "Homegrown." For other partidos, see especially Irineo Paz, *Album de la paz y el progreso* (Mexico: n. e., 1910).

varied from one region to the other. Starting from a regionally differentiated structure of land tenure and agricultural production, the conflicts of the Porfiriato confronted different social groups. In the partidos of the Valleys and the Laguna, conflicts involved villages and haciendas, while in Western Durango villages and ranchos confronted timber and mining companies as well as speculators. In addition, in this part of the state the availability of large extensions of legally untitled land, and the greater dispersion of property created opportunities for some rancheros to appropriate lands until then held by communities; in this manner, affluent local rancheros became important actors in agrarian conflicts in this region.¹² The rest of this paper will try to obtain, from a demographic analysis of census data, a more detailed description of the effects of the Porfirian development in the different regions of the state.

¹² See Chicago paper.

Table 1

Eight Principal Occupations, 1910,
By Partido

Occupation/Partido	N. de D.	S.J.R.	Nazas	Dgo.	Map.	Cuen.	El O.	Indé	Tam.	S.P.	S. D.	S.J.G.	Mezq.
Agricultura	86.52	85.27	87.88	71.20	68.13	68.40	85.14	82.28	88.00	72.51	60.82	82.24	73.94
Minería y Metalurgia	0.80	4.21	0.93	1.13	7.55	16.39	8.58	5.98	3.64	5.33	18.25	5.78	0.00
Comerciantes	1.52	1.60	1.72	3.35	5.08	2.59	0.89	2.07	1.18	3.61	2.22	2.75	0.58
Criados	0.88	1.03	1.62	4.62	2.79	1.13	0.67	1.01	0.69		3.17	1.40	5.03
Obreros Industriales	1.14				1.78	1.20					1.33		
Empleados Particulares				2.26	2.48	1.10	1.00	1.28	0.48	0.80	1.21	0.79	
Carpinteros	1.21	0.88	1.31	1.54	1.39	1.21	0.64	1.22	0.67	1.49	1.21	0.96	
Albañiles	0.77	0.56					0.54		1.39	0.74			
Zapateros		0.62		1.16									
Jarcieros			0.93										0.70
Sastres		0.50	0.66										
Costureros				1.32					0.30				4.28
Herreros	0.67												
Empleado Gobierno								0.67					
Tejedor								0.73					
Lana/Algodón													
Mecánicos					1.15		0.63			0.90			
Tortilleras						0.86							
Dulceros										0.77			
Arrieros											2.32		
Músicos			0.66									0.60	
Molenderos													5.25
Profesión Desconocida												0.50	4.33
Total	93.51	94.67	95.71	86.58	90.35	92.88	98.09	95.25	96.35	86.15	90.53	95.09	94.11

Source: 1910 Census

Patterns of Growth

The first thing that the census data revealed was that, relative to its own history and to the rest of the country, the state of Durango grew at exceedingly fast rates during the Porfiriato (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1

Annual Rate of Growth, State of Durango, 1826-1910
(Percentage)

Period	1826-1877	1877-1895	1895-1900	1900-1910
Rate of Growth	0.5	2.4	4.8	2.7

Sources: Viviane Brachet de Márquez, *La población de los estados mexicanos en el siglo XIX, 1824-1895* (Mexico: INAH, 1976) and my calculations from 1895, 1900, 1910 censuses.

Table 2

Annual Rates of Growth, Durango, Coahuila and Mexico
(Percentage)

	1826-1877	1877-1895	1895-1910	1895-1900	1900-1910
Durango	0.5	2.4	3.4	4.8	2.7
Coahuila	0.6*	4.7**	2.8	4.3	2.0
México	0.3	1.7***	1.2	1.5	1.1

* 1830-1877.

** The highest state rate of growth in the country.

*** 1875-1895.

Sources: Manuel Plana, "L'andamento demografico di una regione nel nord del Messico nel secolo XIX: Il caso de La Laguna durante el Porfiriato," *Lingua, Letteratura, Civiltà*, 2 (1979-1980), 227-265; Brachet, *La población*; INEGI, *Estadísticas históricas de México*, and my calculations from the 1895, 1900 and 1910 censuses.

The distribution of the population by region, following Pastor Rouaix's traditional division of the state into Quebradas, Sierra, Valleys and Arid Region¹³ shows that from 1895 to 1910 the weight of the population of the latter region (which comprised most importantly the modern agriculture Laguna partido of Mapimí) increased at the expense

¹³ From West to East, the Quebradas (canyons) encompassed the partidos of Tamazula (municipios of Copalquín, Topia, Canelas, Siánori and Tamazula) and San Dimas (municipios of Villa Corona and San Dimas). The Sierra was divided into two partidos, Santiago Papasquiario (municipios of Guanaceví, Tepehuanes, Santiago Papasquiario, Victoria and Otáez) and Mezquital (municipios of Mezquital and Huazamota), plus the municipio of Pueblo Nuevo of the partido of Durango. The Valleys included the partidos of El Oro (municipios of San Bernardo and Santa María del Oro), Indé (municipios of Indé, Villa Hidalgo and Villa Ocampo), San Juan del Río (municipios of El Rodeo, Coneto, San Juan del Río and Pánuco de Coronado), Nombre de Dios (municipios of Poanas, Nombre de Dios and Súchil) and the municipios of Canatlán and Durango of the partido of Durango as well as the municipio of Peñón Blanco of the partido of Cuencamé. Finally, the partidos of Nazas (municipios of San Luis del Cordero, San Pedro del Gallo and Nazas), Cuencamé (municipios of Cuencamé and Santa Clara), San Juan de Guadalupe (municipios of San Juan de Guadalupe and San Bartolo), and Mapimí (municipios of Mapimí, Lerdo and Gómez Palacio) formed the Arid region. Pastor Rouaix, *Geografía del estado de Durango* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos del la Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, 1929) 2.

of other regions, especially of the hacienda agriculture region of the Valleys (see Map 1 and Figure 1).

The population pyramids by region showed that, while in Western Durango (the Sierra and the Quebradas) demographic growth did not impact the distribution of the population by age group and sex, in the Valleys and in the Arid Region, an economically key age group (20-30 years of age) grew at what appears as faster rates than other groups (see Figure 2 and Table 4).

Table 3
Annual rates of growth by regions, 1895-1910
(percentages)

Period	Valleys	Arid	Sierra	Quebradas
1895-1900	3.37	6.18	6.66	4.88
1900-1910	2.20	3.54	2.42	2.53

Source: My calculations from 1895, 1900, 1910 censuses.

Individual partido growth rates in Table 4 give us a first glimpse at the diversity of the impact of the Porfirian economic processes, especially the effects of the 1903 discovery of guayule, the 1907 crisis and the differential resilience of agricultural and livestock hacienda and mining regions, on one hand, and highly capitalized metallurgic industries and cotton plantations on the other. The growth rates of a first group of partidos slowed down from the first period (1895-1900) to the second (1900-1910). This was true of the four partidos in which large haciendas predominated as well as in most of the partidos where mining and or livestock were the principal activities, including Santiago Papasquiaro and Tamazula, the two largest partidos of Western Durango, Indé, which was also important for its livestock haciendas, and Mezquital, a relatively small, mostly indigenous partido that, at the end of the Porfiriato, remained greatly unexplored.

A second group of three partidos sustained, despite the slowdown, relatively high rates of growth (2.3%-2.8%): San Juan del Guadalupe, where the guayule boom had its strongest impact, and mining districts of San Dimas and El Oro. Finally, the two partidos where the process of economic modernization was most advanced, Mapimí and Cuencamé, continued to present exceedingly high rates of growth although in the case of Mapimí the 4% annual growth rate represented a significant drop from 8% per year.

Table 4
Annual Rates of Growth by Partido, 1895-1910
(Percentages)

Partido	RG 1895-1900	RG 1900-1910
STATE	4.8%	2.7%
Mapimí	8.1%	4.1%
Cuencamé	4.0%	4.0%
Nazas	6.1%	0.9%
Durango	4.0%	2.9%
SJR	3.1%	0.7%
N/D	2.2%	1.1%
El Oro	1.0%	2.8%
Indé	5.6%	2.3%
S. Pap.	6.8%	2.7%
Tamazula	5.8%	2.6%
S. Dimas	1.2%	2.3%
SJG	1.2%	2.5%
Mezquital	6.1%	1.2%

Source: My calculations from 1895, 1900, 1910 censuses.

Adding an analysis of the evolution of the age pyramids of the partidos to the redistribution of the population that resulted of these rates of growth already gives us a first view of the regional differences in the impact of the late nineteenth century economic processes. In the region where modern commercial capitalism had made deepest inroads both in industry and agriculture, formed by the partidos of Mapimí and Cuencamé we see the traces of fifteen years of sustained and vigorous growth. From 1895 to 1910 the weight of the population of these two partidos relative to the state population increased by 5% (4% and 1%, respectively). In the first subperiod (1895-1900) growth affected all age groups, but especially the population up to 30 years of age; in Mapimí growth was also more evident among males than females, suggesting flows of immigrant workers attracted by the partido's supply of jobs and high wages. The pyramids of the second second period show that in the first decade of the century again all age groups grew, with growth more significant in the first four (0-40). In Mapimí the age groups that grew most were the first, the third and the second, and in Cuencamé the first, second and fourth. The simultaneous expansion of the groups that include young children and young adults suggest immigration flows.

In the second region, formed by the partidos dominated by large livestock and agricultural haciendas whose level of capitalization was somewhat below that of Mapimí

and Cuencamé's, there are indications of decline, although the evidence pictures partidos of high growth in the second period (Nazas and Durango) that may have attracted immigrants and partidos (San Juan del Río and Nombre de Dios) where growth occurred mostly among children and women, and where there may have been an outflow of men. All these partidos lost weight in the state total (Nombre de Dios, 2%; San Juan del Río, 2%; Nazas, 1% and Durango, 1%).

In Nombre de Dios and in San Juan del Río, the 1895-1900 growth was especially significant among children and women, which might be indicative of an outflow of men. In Nazas and Durango, which presented high rates of growth in this first sub period, growth was concentrated in the first three or four age groups, as in Cuencamé or Mapimí; in Nazas, however, it was especially evident in the 0-10 group. In the second subperiod, the pyramids of Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Río and Nazas suggest the young adult population was emigrating to other locations. The pyramids of Nombre de Dios and Nazas show growth strongly localized in the first group; in Nazas, all other groups presented decrements or, at best, minuscule increases. In San Juan del Río, females >10-20 and males 0-20 presented decrements. The most important groups presenting increases were females 0-10 and males >20-30; females >20-50 and >60 and males >30-50 and >60 also increased. However, despite growing, males >20-30 were fewer than women of the same age, which suggests either males were emigrating or, more unlikely, women were immigrating. The partido of Durango, unlike the rest in the region, presented increments in all age groups in this subperiod, especially in the first and third groups.

The 1900-1910 data clearly reflects the effects of the 1907 crisis throughout the third region, constituted by the partidos in which mining represented an important element of the economy, in some cases along with large livestock haciendas--El Oro, Indé, Tamazula, Santiago Papasquiario and San Dimas. However, it also suggests that despite the crisis, these partidos were able to sustain some growth, which may be ascribable to immigration as well as to births. The first subperiod, on the other hand, is not homogeneous; with indications of booms in Indé and San Dimas, which at this point we cannot ascribe with certainty to mining or to livestock raising, that did not spread to the

rest of the region. The weight of these partidos in the total remained unchanged from 1895 to 1910 despite the fluctuations in their rates of growth. The pyramids show that in El Oro, which reported a lower rate of growth in 1895-1900 than in 1900-1910, what little growth there was concentrated mainly among males between 10-20 and women between 0-30, which suggests an outflow of young adult males. In the same period all age groups, especially the younger ones, grew in Indé. The comparison of the 1900 and 1910 pyramids, on the other hand, shows that in El Oro all age groups reported growth, especially the first and the third. In Indé, almost all groups grew, except for the second (>10-20), which reported a decrement. The first group appears notably enlarged, while the third group also presented an important increment. As in Cuencamé and Mapimí, these patterns suggest at the end of the Porfiriato young adults were immigrating into these partidos.

Despite the drop in their growth rates in the 1900-1910 period, the two largest partidos, Santiago Papasquiari and Tamazula, increased relative to the state, by 1%--as much as Cuencamé--between 1895 and 1910. The percentage the population of San Dimas represented of the state total remained constant, like El Oro's and Indé's. All age groups reported growth in both periods in Tamazula and Santiago Papasquiari. The San Dimas pyramids show a more irregular pattern. The 1895 figure suggests an inflow of young male adults (or high mortality or emigration rates for young adult women), while the low rates of growth between that date and 1900 are reflected in small increases in the population over 10 years of age and even decreases among both men and women in the economically critical third group and among women in the fifth group. The 1910 pyramid, on the other hand, reflects increments in all age groups, especially the first two.

Finally, there are two partidos that show developments that differ from their geographic region's. The data suggest very little dynamism in the first subperiod in San Juan del Guadalupe, which is located in the same geographic region as Cuencamé or Mapimí, and improvement in the second subperiod. Over the last fifteen years of the Porfiriato the partido population lost importance relative to the state (1%), and growth between 1895 and 1900 was concentrated especially among males and especially in the 10-20 age group. Females 0-10, 21-30 and 41-50 presented decrements suggesting high female

death rates or emigration, or male immigration. In contrast, the comparison of the 1900 and 1910 pyramids shows all age groups grew, especially the first and the second, which would indicate births and perhaps a slowdown in the flow of emigrants determined the increased rate of growth.

The rates of growth and pyramids of Mezquital, like San Juan del Guadalupe's in the Arid region, separate it from the other partidos of its geographic region, and suggest a partido of limited dynamism. Like San Juan del Guadalupe, from 1895 to 1910 this partido decreased relative to the state population (1%). In the 1895-1900 period all age groups grew, especially the first three (0-30 years of age), while in the next ten years growth was concentrated in the population under 10 and, to a lesser extent, in the population over 30; males >10-20 and females >10-30 decreased.

Migratory Flows

Migratory flows can be used as indicators of the operation of 'push' and 'pull' factors in the economy or in the political situation that prompted people to move into or out of a given location or section. Thus, assuming mobility hindered only by economic limitations, heavy emigration flows can be seen as reflecting situations in which, by rural peoples' perceptions, material conditions, autonomy and/or security have deteriorated or are worse than in other locations, while immigration flows can be read as indicating conditions in which, one or several of those standards improves *relative* to conditions in the place of origin.¹⁴

Unfortunately for us, even in the best of circumstances (with enough time or research assistants to compile the data for all the states of Mexico) the censuses can only provide us with a partial (but I believe still very revealing) picture of the migratory flows of the late Porfiriato. First, we have no data on migration to the U. S., quite probably the most important point of migration beyond the Mexican borders. Furthermore, because the census give us only state of birth, we cannot calculate internal migration flows. Finally, to identify the flow of Durango natives to other states of Mexico it would be necessary to compile the tables of origin of all the states of the Republic, a task for which I do not

¹⁴ See Tutino for a discussion of the concepts of economic autonomy and security.

have the necessary resources. Despite all these shortcomings, the data can still give us an enlightening glimpse of migratory flows within the state.

Table 5 shows the percentage out-of-state immigrants relative to the total Mexican population. In this table I have grouped together, first, the partidos in which immigrants from other states in Mexico increased from 1895 to 1900 and decreased in the course of the next decade (two of the agricultural partidos of the Valleys, San Juan del Río, Nazas, the mining/livestock partido of Indé, and the two large mining partidos of the state, Tamazula and Santiago Papasquiario). Next comes El Oro, the only partido in which out-of-state immigrants continuously decreased relative to the total national population.

In the next two groups of partidos immigrants rose between 1900 and 1910. In the first, (San Dimas and San Juan del Guadalupe) this increase followed a fall in 1895-1900, while in the second (including two agricultural partidos of the Valleys, Durango and Nombre de Dios, the two most modernized partidos, Cuencamé and Mapimí, and the small, indigenous partido of Mezquital).

On the other hand, if we look at the average percentage immigrants represented of of the partido Mexican population, in San Juan del Río, Nazas, Mezquital and El Oro immigrants represented 5% or less; in Santiago Papasquiario, Tamazula, San Dimas, Durango, and Indé they represented between 5% and 10%, and in Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Guadalupe, Cuencamé and Mapimí they represented between 11% and 30%. However, if we look at 1910 only, it is clear two of the agricultural partidos--San Juan del Río and Nazas-- and (except for San Dimas) the mining partidos had become significantly less attractive to migrants, who by that date represented less than 5% of the partido population born in Mexico. In contrast, Nombre de Dios, San Juan de Guadalupe, Cuencamé and Mapimí attracted large numbers of immigrants, who represented between 13% and 33% (!) of the total Mexican born population.

Table 5

Out-of-State Immigrants as a Percentage of the Total Mexican Population,
By Partido, 1895-1900*

Partido	1895	1900	1910	Average
S.J.R.	1.15	3.21	0.65	1.67
Nazas	2.76	3.24	2.51	2.84
S. Pap.	5.49	6.59	3.67	5.25
Tamazula	5.85	9.77	2.32	5.98
Indé	6.92	14.25	3.44	8.2
El Oro	4.79	3.96	2.09	3.61
S. Dimas	8.88	5.52	6.42	6.94
S.J. G.	25.00	11.34	13.48	16.61
Mezquital	1.75	3.33	3.96	3.01
Durango	5.80	8.12	8.89	7.6
N. de Dios	9.20	11.37	13.31	11.29
Cuencamé	14.92	16.11	19.80	16.94
Mapimí	22.29	33.02	33.78	29.7

* Does not include foreigners.

Source: 1895, 1900 and 1910 Censuses.

Table 6 shows that the rates of growth of the state born population dropped so radically from 1895-1900 to 1900-1910 and were so low in 1910 (in absolute terms and compared to the state rate) in Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Río and Nazas--three of the four hacienda agriculture partidos--so as to suggest this population was emigrating from the partido. Thus the censuses suggest a badly deteriorating situation in San Juan del Río and Nazas, as not only were out-of-state immigrants leaving, but native Durangans too. The rates of growth of the out-of-state Mexican immigrant population of these partidos, on the other hand, indicate that the 1895-1900 immigration flow had slackened by 1910 in Nombre de Dios and reversed in Nazas and San Juan del Río (significantly in this latter case). The rates of growth of Durango, the fourth partido in this region, suggest there was little in-state immigration in 1910 and out-of-state immigration had slowed down, thus confirming the picture of little dynamism we had drawn from the rates of growth and age pyramids.

In Cuencamé and Mapimí the 1900-1910 rates of growth of the state natives diminished only moderately and remained well above the state rate for the same period; the in-state immigrants continued to compensate whatever local emigration there was. The rates of growth of the out-of state population fell--dramatically in the case of Mapimí--but at the same time remained above the state and the state native rates of growth, indicating the

economy of these partidos continued to attract numerous immigrants from other parts of Mexico, albeit in somewhat diminished numbers. In San Juan del Guadalupe, on the other hand, the same comparison shows that while the rate of growth of the state born population fell from one period to the other (to a little below the state rate), the rate of growth of the out-of-state Mexican immigrants sped up from a negative rate to a rate above the natives and above the state. Thus it would appear San Juan del Guadalupe, which before 1900 was expelling out-of-state immigrants became notably attractive to them in 1900-1910, probably due to the guayule boom that began in 1903 while, at the same time, it became only marginally attractive to Durango natives, perhaps because they had access to better alternatives, like migrating to Cuencamé or Mapimí.

El Oro and Indé presented contrasting patterns in 1895-1900, with both state and out-of-state emigrating from the former and immigrating into the latter. In 1900-1910, the out-of-state population was emigrating out of these partidos, most likely as a result of the 1907 crisis; their lower 1900-1910 rate of growth in Indé reflects their larger presence there in 1900. The state born population, on the other hand, was not as badly hit. Its rates of growth, which were comparable, were above the state rate--although in Indé it represents a drop and in El Oro an increase relative to the previous period--indicating these partidos were more attractive to this population. Likewise, in Santiago Papasquiaro and Tamazula the state-born population's 1900-1910 rates of growth fell from the previous period to a point similar to Indé's and El Oro's, while out-of-state immigrants rates of growth plunged from very high positive to negative values. San Dimas presents a pattern in some ways similar to El Oro, inasmuch as the rates of growth of both state and out-of-state populations improved--more so the latter than the former, which remained slightly below the state rate. Finally, in Mezquital the high rates of growth of both state-born and out-of-state population in 1895-1900 suggest the partido was remarkably attractive to both kinds of migrants; the drop of both rates in 1900-1910 suggests not only diminished attraction, but that (contrary to other Western partidos) the state-born population was emigrating from the partido, while it retained some power to attract out-of-state population.

Overall, this data suggests in the partidos of Cuencamé and Mapimí continued, though by 1910 decelerating, economic growth associated to the cotton agriculture, smelters and other industry, and mines, generated material conditions were more attractive to large sections of the population. In other partidos, like San Juan del Guadalupe and Nombre de Dios and Mezquital geographic location along the border with the economically depressed state of Zacatecas helps explain the relatively high percentage of out-of-state immigrants even in periods in which there was no significant economic expansion.¹⁵ In the case of San Juan del Guadalupe, as I pointed out above, the guayule boom after 1903 further increased the attraction the partido held for immigrants. In contrast, in San Dimas, which was farther removed from Zacatecas, out-of-state immigrants were much fewer in 1895-1900 and they increased in the next decade, probably due to a mining bonanza. The constant increase and the increasing percentage immigrants represented of the Mexican population in Durango, the *partido de la capital*, is harder to explain, as there is no reason to suppose the hacienda economy of this partido was more prosperous than in other parts of the state. It might reflect, at least partially, the attraction of urban jobs. Finally, immigrants decreased over time and presented the smallest percentages relative to the total national population in the two of the other agricultural partidos--San Juan del Río and Nazas--and all the mining and/or livestock partidos of Western Durango (except, as has been noted, San Dimas), suggesting generally poor, and deteriorating, material conditions.

¹⁵ Zacatecas was the birth state of most migrants.

Table 6

Rates of Growth of Mexican Born Immigrants and Durango Natives,
1895-1900 and 1900-1910*

(Percentages)

N. de Dios	R. of G. 1895-1900	R. of G. 1900-1910
Dgo. Natives	1.75%	0.89%
Mex. Imm.	6.66%	2.74%
Total	2.24%	1.12%
S.J.R.		
Dgo. Natives	2.67%	0.95%
Mex. Imm.	26.49%	-14.07%
Total	3.11%	0.69%
Nazas		
Dgo. Natives	5.98%	1.03%
Mex. Imm.	9.50%	-1.58%
Total	6.08%	0.95%
Durango		
Dgo. Natives	3.46%	2.85%
Mex. Imm.	11.11%	3.88%
Total	3.98%	2.94%
Mapimí		
Dgo. Natives	4.78%	4.04%
Mex. Imm.	16.82%	4.37%
Total	7.96%	4.15%
Cuencamé		
Dgo. Natives	4.42%	3.19%
Mex. Imm.	6.30%	5.82%
Total	4.71%	3.66%
S.J. G.		
Dgo. Natives	4.61%	2.20%
Mex. Imm.	-13.64%	4.23%
Total	1.16%	2.45%
El Oro		
Dgo. Natives	1.15%	3.03%
Mex. Imm.	-2.79%	-3.50%
Total	0.97%	2.83%
Indé		
Dgo. Natives	3.86%	3.54%
Mex. Imm.	21.99%	-11.23%
Total	5.58%	2.32%
Tamazula		
Dgo. Natives	4.90%	3.40%
Mex. Imm.	17.16%	-11.13%
Total	5.79%	2.59%
S. Pap.		
Dgo. Natives	6.43%	3.02%
Mex. Imm.	10.75%	-3.18%
Total	6.69%	2.70%

S. Dimas		
Dgo. Natives	1.93%	2.19%
Mex. Imm.	-7.99%	3.86%
Total	1.19%	2.29%
Mezquital		
Dgo. Natives	5.74%	1.14%
Mex. Imm.	20.55%	2.98%
Total	6.09%	1.21%

* Does not include the population of unknown origin or foreigners.
Source: 1895, 1900, 1910 Census

A comparison of the evolution of the evolution of the individual age groups from 1900 to 1910 is even more revealing.¹⁶ By superimposing the two pyramids with a lag of one age group (or, what is the same, by subtracting the population of each 1900 age group from the next age group in 1910) we can obtain a rough description of the migration flows by determining the balance of immigration, emigration and deaths by age groups. First however, two reservations must be made. On the one hand, because the age data does not discriminate by place of origin, this exercise gives us a picture of the migration flows (minus foreigners, whom I did not include in the calculations) that does not differentiate between out-of-state and state-born population. On the other hand, because beyond the first age group (0-10) growth occurs only through immigration, any gains in the size of any one group relative to itself can safely be attributed to an inflow of migrants--no births occur in any other group. Losses, on the other hand, cannot be as definitely explained, as they can be the result if either deaths or emigration, and as we have no data on death rates it is impossible to ponder our numbers.

¹⁶ This exercise cannot be done for 1895-1900 because it would require using 5 year cohorts and, as explained earlier, that distribution of the population strongly suggests a marked preference for ages ending in 0.

Table 7

Population Change by Age Group and Partido,
1900-1910

Age in 1910	1900			1910			Difference		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
N. de Dios									
0 a 10	0	0	0	4874	4546	9420	4874	4546	9420
11 a 20	3764	3703	7467	2607	2761	5368	-1157	-942	-2099
21 a 30	2617	2821	5438	2258	2565	4823	-359	-256	-615
31 a 40	2095	2418	4513	1723	1705	3428	-372	-713	-1085
41 a 50	1643	1611	3254	1312	1164	2476	-331	-447	-778
51-60	1052	1104	2156	930	809	1739	-122	-295	-417
Total	12710	12970	25680	14493	14235	28728	1783	1265	3048
S.J.R.									
0 a 10	0	0	0	4582	4698	9280	4582	4698	9280
11 a 20	4710	4329	9039	2895	2908	5803	-1815	-1421	-3236
21 a 30	3051	3358	6409	2855	2988	5843	-196	-370	-566
31 a 40	2335	2780	5115	2036	1955	3991	-299	-825	-1124
41 a 50	1894	1681	3575	1517	1365	2882	-377	-316	-693
51-60	1246	1156	2402	1000	950	1950	-246	-206	-452
Total	14912	14771	29683	15914	15825	31739	1002	1054	2056
Nazas									
0 a 10	0	0	0	2503	2514	5017	2503	2514	5017
11 a 20	2149	2023	4172	1540	1616	3156	-609	-407	-1016
21 a 30	1409	1591	3000	1141	1393	2534	-268	-198	-466
31 a 40	1244	1288	2532	908	911	1819	-336	-377	-713
41 a 50	835	796	1631	679	559	1238	-156	-237	-393
51-60	531	513	1044	426	352	778	-105	-161	-266
Total	6920	6873	13793	7536	7623	15159	616	750	1366
Durango									
0 a 10	0	0	0	14248	13834	28082	14248	13834	28082
11 a 20	9606	9499	19105	9957	10098	20055	351	599	950
21 a 30	7863	8217	16080	9149	9716	18865	1286	1499	2785
31 a 40	6754	7561	14315	6329	6219	12548	-425	-1342	-1767
41 a 50	4831	4826	9657	4143	4036	8179	-688	-790	-1478
51-60	3204	3208	6412	2772	2548	5320	-432	-660	-1092
Total	35842	36689	72531	48690	48213	96903	12848	11524	24372

Age in 1910	1900			1910			Difference		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Mapimí									
0 a 10	0	0	0	13777	13283	27060	13777	13283	27060
11 a 20	8387	7813	16200	9389	9307	18696	1002	1494	2496
21 a 30	6960	6925	13885	9740	9653	19393	2780	2728	5508
31 a 40	6761	6444	13205	6346	5938	12284	-415	-506	-921
41 a 50	4672	3883	8555	4170	3458	7628	-502	-425	-927
51-60	2937	2422	5359	2637	2127	4764	-300	-295	-595
Total	32457	29525	61982	47901	45140	93041	15444	15615	31059
Cuencamé									
0 a 10	0	0	0	6463	6290	12753	6463	6290	12753
11 a 20	4119	3792	7911	4092	3734	7826	-27	-58	-85
21 a 30	3220	3132	6352	3946	3906	7852	726	774	1500
31 a 40	2584	2703	5287	2854	2517	5371	270	-186	84
41 a 50	1986	1846	3832	1889	1560	3449	-97	-286	-383
51-60	1264	1178	2442	1123	1029	2152	-141	-149	-290
Total	14743	13927	28670	21342	19857	41199	6599	5930	12529
S.J.G.									
0 a 10	0	0	0	2294	2150	4444	2294	2150	4444
11 a 20	1625	1503	3128	1428	1405	2833	-197	-98	-295
21 a 30	1264	1220	2484	1204	1186	2390	-60	-34	-94
31 a 40	964	1014	1978	887	841	1728	-77	-173	-250
41 a 50	735	717	1452	681	580	1261	-54	-137	-191
51-60	520	447	967	437	369	806	-83	-78	-161
Total	5711	5380	11091	7329	6807	14136	1618	1427	3045
El Oro									
0 a 10	0	0	0	3786	3619	7405	3786	3619	7405
11 a 20	2710	2621	5331	1981	1953	3934	-729	-668	-1397
21 a 30	1807	1841	3648	2036	2125	4161	229	284	513
31 a 40	1314	1486	2800	1277	1285	2562	-37	-201	-238
41 a 50	982	904	1886	920	883	1803	-62	-21	-83
51-60	666	617	1283	625	501	1126	-41	-116	-157
Total	8348	8134	16482	11055	10702	21757	2707	2568	5275
Indé									
0 a 10	0	0	0	3704	3590	7294	3704	3590	7294
11 a 20	2851	2666	5517	2051	2058	4109	-800	-608	-1408
21 a 30	1854	2027	3881	2132	2085	4217	278	58	336
31 a 40	1519	1567	3086	1274	1315	2589	-245	-252	-497
41 a 50	1138	1026	2164	1042	931	1973	-96	-95	-191
51-60	751	629	1380	636	549	1185	-115	-80	-195
Total	9037	8674	17711	11308	10969	22277	2271	2295	4566

Age in 1910	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Tamazula									
0 a 10	0	0	0	6602	6163	12765	6602	6163	12765
11 a 20	5059	4876	9935	4603	4689	9292	-456	-187	-643
21 a 30	3491	3562	7053	3695	3754	7449	204	192	396
31 a 40	3053	2895	5948	2489	2369	4858	-564	-526	-1090
41 a 50	2021	1873	3894	1719	1544	3263	-302	-329	-631
51-60	1301	1061	2362	1221	882	2103	-80	-179	-259
Total	16602	15449	32051	21217	20100	41317	4615	4651	9266
S. Papasq.									
0 a 10	0	0	0	9520	9185	18705	9520	9185	18705
11 a 20	7038	6549	13587	6276	6225	12501	-762	-324	-1086
21 a 30	4879	5027	9906	5039	5273	10312	160	246	406
31 a 40	4444	4348	8792	3680	3430	7110	-764	-918	-1682
41-50	2888	2491	5379	2373	2096	4469	-515	-395	-910
51-60	1724	1521	3425	1558	1206	2764	-166	-315	-481
Total	23025	21555	44580	29619	28327	57946	6594	6772	13366
S. Dimas									
0 a 10	0	0	0	1355	1195	2550	1355	1195	2550
11 a 20	1071	970	2041	1018	951	1969	-53	-19	-72
21 a 30	753	743	1496	872	747	1619	119	4	123
31 a 40	714	607	1321	531	464	995	-183	-143	-326
41 a 50	502	410	912	374	363	737	-128	-47	-175
51-60	294	221	515	209	190	399	-85	-31	-116
Total	3593	3213	6806	4513	4034	8547	920	821	1741
Mezquital									
0 a 10	0	0	0	1730	1554	3284	1730	1554	3284
11 a 20	1557	1293	2850	1074	1081	2155	-483	-212	-695
21 a 30	1184	1100	2284	973	964	1937	-211	-136	-347
31 a 40	951	983	1934	684	637	1321	-267	-346	-613
41 a 50	518	469	987	405	352	757	-113	-117	-230
51-60	316	260	576	271	239	510	-45	-21	-66
Total	4900	4347	9247	5406	5020	10426	506	673	1179

Source: 1895, 1900 and 1910 Censuses.

Table 7 shows that in 1910, as the Porfiriato was coming to a close, unless there was extraordinary mortality, adults of all ages were emigrating in large numbers out of three of the four hacienda agriculture partidos. This is especially remarkable in Nombre de Dios, because we have seen the partido attracted out-of-state immigrants throughout the entire period, and thus reinforces the inference of a deteriorating situation for the rural

poor. The working age (21-50 years old) population loss in these partidos ranged between 7.5% and 10.4% of the total population. Similarly, and despite the immigration of out-of-state population, the immigration-(emigration+deaths) balance was negative in San Juan del Guadalupe. Working age adults were also leaving, but in much smaller numbers (4.8%) relative to the partido population. In contrast, there was a flow of young working age adults into Durango, Mapimí and Cuencamé--younger in Durango and Mapimí than in Cuencamé. At the same time, older working age adults were emigrating (this flow was strongest in Durango and smallest in Cuencamé). The in and out flows of working age adults nearly cancelled each other out in Durango, where the balance represented 0.5% of the total population. In Mapimí, where the in-flow was greatest in absolute terms--but younger than in Cuencamé--the population gain through immigration added to 4% of the total, while in Cuencamé it represented 3%.

All the partidos of Western Durango, except for Mezquital, reported a population gain through immigration in the population aged 20-30. This gain, which represented between 0.7% and 2.% of the total population, was however offset by losses in the next two groups so that, save El Oro, which came out barely even, they all lost working age inhabitants. There were significant differences, though: the loss in Indé amounted to 1.6% of the population; in Tamazula, Santiago Papasquiaro and San Dimas it ranged between 3.2% and 4.4%, and in Mezquital, where it was greatest, it represented 11.4%.

These patterns of working age population loss and gain, their percentages and the observation that except for Mapimí in all partidos the population gain through births accounted for all or more than the total population gain suggest that the deceleration of the rates of growth in 1900-1910 was linked to a deterioration of living conditions that affected the whole state but was particularly severe in the agricultural and livestock hacienda partidos. Seen in this light, the numbers in Tables 9 and 10, which show the population reporting agricultural, mining and other occupations, are puzzling. Why was the agricultural OEAP increasing in the agriculturally oriented partidos in 1910 if people were emigrating from them and the economic situation in the countryside was deteriorating? What had happened to make it decrease so generally in 1895-1900? Could the boom and crisis in mining account for this? Why, to return, if only briefly, to

the Guerra- González Navarro debate, were non-peons increasing so rapidly? How important was their increase? Do the numbers reflect changes in the socioeconomic structure of the partidos, conceptual changes in the censuses or errors in the data?

Table 8 shows that, except for Mezquital, the EIP grew faster in 1900-1910 than the population in general and than the EAP, suggesting that sectors of the population were leaving the productive system. This is consistent with the picture of a deteriorating economy I have inferred from the age data. Simultaneously, however, the *occupied* EAP was also growing--faster than the population and than the EAP itself!

Table 8

Occupied Economically Active Population, Economically Active Population, and Economically Inactive Population, 1900-1910
Rates of Growth

Partido/Year	1900-1910
Nombre de Dios	
OEAP	2.20%
EAP	0.65%
EIP	1.36%
Population	1.13%
San Juan del Río	
OEAP	2.45%
EAP	0.31%
EIP	0.85%
Population	0.67%
Nazas	
OEAP	1.19%
EAP	0.48%
EIP	1.18%
Population	0.95%
Durango	
OEAP	2.26%
EAP	1.07%
EIP	4.10%
Population	2.94%
Mapimí	
OEAP	4.71%
EAP	3.68%
EIP	4.44%
Population	4.15%
Cuencamé	
OEAP	4.57%
EAP	3.37%
EIP	3.88%

Population	3.69%
San Juan de Guadalupe	
OEAP	1.84%
EAP	1.49%
EIP	3.00%
Population	2.46%
El Oro	
OEAP	3.44%
EAP	2.04%
EIP	3.21%
Population	2.82%
Indé	
OEAP	2.58%
EAP	1.82%
EIP	2.56%
Population	2.32%
Tamazula	
OEAP	4.15%
EAP	1.95%
EIP	2.90%
Population	2.57%
Santiago Papasquiaro	
OEAP	6.14%
EAP	2.43%
EIP	2.78%
Population	2.66%
San Dimas	
OEAP	5.46%
EAP	2.16%
EIP	2.39%
Population	2.30%
Mezquital	
OEAP	2.58%
EAP	2.10%
EIP	0.66%
Population	1.21%

Source: 1900 and 1910 Census

In almost all the partidos growth of the OEAP was due to the growth of the agriculturally occupied population, as mining and other occupations decreased from 1900-1910, reversing their trends of 1895-1900, and sometimes dropping below their 1895 levels (See Table 9). Indeed, at the beginning of the period, agriculture represented over 81% of the OEAP¹⁷ in three of the four great hacienda partidos (Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Río and Nazas), in El Oro and Indé, where great livestock haciendas and mining were the main economic activities, and in Tamazula and Mezquital. Five years later, other

¹⁷ See discussion of the census occupational data above, page 6.

occupations and mining had increased their weight, and agriculture had dropped to 72%-74% of the OEAP. The only exception was Mezquital, where the drop was small.

Mining, which in 1895 accounted for 1.1%-3.6% of the OEAP in Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Río and Nazas, 5% in Tamazula, and a negligible 0.4% in Mezquital, increased by 3% or more in all partidos except Mezquital and Nazas. Other occupations presented comparable increases, except in Nombre de Dios, where they rose by a full 10% in 1895-1900.

In Mapimí, Cuencamé, Santiago Papasquiaro, and San Juan del Guadalupe, agricultural occupations accounted for 71%-75% of the OEAP in 1895. By 1900, this percentage had diminished notably, to 58%-64% in all partidos except San Juan del Guadalupe, where it remained within the 1895 range. This reflects the increasing complexity of the economies of the first three partidos, which were important commercial, transportation and industrial hubs. Mining represented about 11% of the OEAP in Cuencamé and Santiago Papasquiaro, 6% in San Juan del Guadalupe and only 3% in Mapimí, where commercial agriculture, commerce, industry and personal and domestic services generated numerous jobs. By 1900 the expansion of mining occupations, which accompanied the fall in agricultural jobs was observable here, much as in the hacienda partidos. Other occupations, which accounted for between 18% and 22% of the OEAP, rose in Mapimí and Santiago Papasquiaro by 6%-7%, 2% in Cuencamé, and remained unchanged in San Juan del Guadalupe.

In Durango and San Dimas the 1895-1900 distribution of occupations reflected, in one case, the fact that it was the *partido de la capital*, and in the other, the limited agricultural potential of the partido and what appears as an extraordinary mining boom. Thus, in Durango agriculture accounted for only 52% of the OEAP in 1895 and 42% in 1910, and mining, for 2% and 3%. Conversely, other occupations rose by 10% in 1895-1900, to 55% of the OEAP. In San Dimas, on the other hand, agriculture represented 63% of the OEAP in 1895 and 44% in 1900, while mining jumped from 7% to 30%. In contrast to other partidos, in San Dimas other occupations diminished from 1895 to 1900 30% to 26%, a decrease that may be ascribable to the availability of well-paid mining jobs.

In most cases, agriculture more than recovered its position in 1910, at the expense of mining and other occupations. In Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Río, Nazas, El Oro, Indé, Tamazula and San Juan del Guadalupe--in all of which there is evidence of important emigration flows--it rose to 82%-88% of the OEAP, with gains between 8%-15% over its 1900 levels. Mining in contrast, dropped in all partidos except El Oro, where it presented a small (but under the conditions of generalized decline, remarkable) increase. In some cases, such as Tamazula, where it fell by 6%, the drop was notable. The evolution of other occupations, which presented decrements ranging from 5% to 14%, dropping in all cases save one below their 1895 levels, is evidence of the strong link between a thriving primary sector and the generation of new jobs as the demand for a diversity of services developed.¹⁸

In Mapimí and Santiago Papasquiario, the agricultural OEAP also rose by 7% and 14%, to reach 68% and 78% of the OEAP. The AOEAP gain in Cuencamé was one of the smallest in the state, only 4%, and it appears associated to a small increase in the MOEAP. This contrasts with Mapimí and Santiago Papasquiario, where the MOEAP fell by 3% and 10%. In Cuencamé and Mapimí other occupations decreased by 5%-4%; in Santiago Papasquiario, they presented a smaller decrement (1%).

The AOEAP of the partido of Durango presented one of the most marked rises, of nearly 30%. Its small MOEAP, on the other hand, dropped to well under its 1895 level while other occupations dropped precipitously from 55% to 28% of the OEAP.

San Dimas continued to present one of the smallest AOEAP's of the state, and one of the largest MOEAP's; both, however, followed the general movement, the former increasing and the latter decreasing. Other occupations continued to fall in this partido, to 21% (down from 30% in 1895).

Contrary to the general trend, in Mezquital the AOEAP continued to fall from 1900 to 1910, from 86% to 74%, while the MOEAP, negligible in the first two censuses, totally disappeared. This was the only partido where other occupations rose, by a full 13%, to 26% of the OEAP. In contrast with the rest of the state, this increase is associated to a

¹⁸ The exception was El Oro, where the small decrease (2%) occurred associated to an uninterrupted increase in the MOEAP.

limited diversification and development of the economy. In 1910 molenderas, personal and domestic servants, persons of unknown occupation (not classified among the unoccupied) and seamstresses comprised nearly 19% of its OEAP.

Table 9

Population Reporting Agricultural, Mining and Other Occupations as a percentage of the OEAP,
By Partido,
1895-1900

Nombre de Dios	1895	1900	1910
Peón de campo	79.39	64.52	78.35
Non peon AOEAP	2.90	3.71	8.16
AOEAP	82.29	68.22	86.52
MOEAP	2.34	5.22	0.80
Other OEAP	15.37	26.55	12.69
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
San Juan del Río			
Peón de campo	82.39	66.87	69.91
Non peon AOEAP	1.85	4.33	30.40
AOEAP	84.24	71.20	85.27
MOEAP	1.14	9.44	4.61
Other OEAP	14.63	19.36	12.89
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Nazas			
Peón de campo	76.32	72.75	48.89
Non peon AOEAP	4.87	4.14	38.99
AOEAP	81.19	76.89	87.88
MOEAP	1.88	2.85	0.93
Other OEAP	16.93	20.26	11.19
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Durango			
Peón de campo	49.92	38.72	64.35
Non peon AOEAP	1.81	2.80	6.85
AOEAP	51.74	41.51	71.20
MOEAP	2.23	3.07	1.13
Other OEAP	46.03	55.42	27.68
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mapimí			
Peón de campo	71.67	57.45	62.88
Non peon AOEAP	2.52	3.31	5.26
AOEAP	74.19	60.76	68.13
MOEAP	3.42	10.73	7.55
Other OEAP	22.39	28.51	24.32
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Cuencamé			
Peón de campo	70.93	60.98	62.55
Non peon AOEAP	0.66	3.56	5.85
AOEAP	71.59	64.54	68.40
MOEAP	10.70	15.56	16.39

Other OEAP	17.70	19.90	15.21
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
S.J.G.			
Peón de campo	73.25	70.70	73.27
Non peon AOEAP	1.53	1.95	8.97
AOEAP	74.78	72.65	82.24
MOEAP	6.34	9.18	5.78
Other OEAP	18.88	18.16	11.99
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
El Oro			
Peón de campo	78.45	71.43	74.19
Non peon AOEAP	2.08	5.28	10.95
AOEAP	80.54	76.70	85.14
MOEAP	3.65	8.03	8.58
Other OEAP	15.81	15.27	8.74
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Indé			
Peón de campo	79.10	72.03	69.92
Non peon AOEAP	3.26	2.64	12.36
AOEAP	82.36	74.67	82.28
MOEAP	3.01	8.97	5.98
Other OEAP	14.62	16.36	11.73
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Tamazula			
Peón de campo	80.98	68.75	80.34
Non peon AOEAP	0.36	3.88	7.67
AOEAP	80.98	72.63	88.01
MOEAP	5.71	9.61	3.64
Other OEAP	13.32	17.76	8.35
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
Santiago Papasquiaro			
Peón de campo	70.15	55.68	60.55
Non peon AOEAP	0.80	2.65	11.96
AOEAP	70.95	58.33	72.51
MOEAP	11.54	16.80	5.33
Other OEAP	17.51	24.87	
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00
San Dimas			
Peón de campo	61.61	38.52	57.30
Non peon AOEAP	1.02	5.40	3.52
AOEAP	62.63	43.92	60.83
MOEAP	6.85	29.66	18.25
Other OEAP	30.52	26.42	20.92
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00

Mezquital

Peón de campo	87.21	84.11	60.55
Non peon AOEAP	1.22	2.50	13.38
AOEAP	88.44	86.61	73.94
MOEAP	0.39	0.16	0.00
Other OEAP	11.17	13.24	26.06
OEAP	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 1895, 1900, 1910 Census .

*Cuencamé: The 1895 data by sexes reports a total population of 27,770, for a rate of growth of 4.02% in 1895-1900.

**El Oro: The 1895 census reports, both in its employment and sexes tables, a total population of 16, 479.

Except for San Dimas, in all partidos the non-peon sector of the AOEP presented rates of growth faster than those of any other sector of the population, including the peon portion of the AOEAP. In San Juan del Río, Nazas, El Oro, Indé, Tamazula, Santiago Papasquiaro and Mezquital their rapid rate of growth was critical to sustain the levels of growth of both the AOEAP and the OEAP.

Table 10

Rates of Growth of the Population Reporting Agricultural and Mining and Other Occupations, By Partido, 1895-1910

Partido/Year	1895-1900	1900-1910
Nombre de Dios		
Peón de campo	-5.61%	4.21%
Non peon AEEAP	3.36%	10.59%
AOEAP	-5.23%	4.66%
MOEAP	15.55%	-15.30%
Other OEAP	9.76%	-5.08%
OEAP	-1.61%	2.20%
EAP	N.A.	0.65%
EIP	N.A.	1.36%
Population	2.24%	1.13%
San Juan del Río		
Peón de campo	-5.17%	0.45%
Non peon AEEAP	17.17%	24.51%
AOEAP	-4.40%	4.32%
MOEAP	51.02%	-4.64%
Other OEAP	4.57%	-3.99%
OEAP	-1.13%	2.45%
EAP	N.A.	0.31%
EIP	N.A.	0.85%
Population	3.15%	0.67%
Nazas		
Peón de campo	3.06%	-2.75%
Non peon AEEAP	0.69%	26.64%
AOEAP	2.92%	2.55%

MOEAP	13.07%	-9.49%
Other OEAP	7.86%	-4.64%
OEAP	4.05%	1.19%
EAP	N.A.	0.48%
EIP	N.A.	1.18%
Population	6.07%	0.95%
Durango		
Peón de campo	-1.14%	7.59%
Non peon AEEAP	13.48%	11.83%
AOEAP	-0.46%	7.92%
MOEAP	10.84%	-7.48%
Other OEAP	7.95%	-4.60%
OEAP	4.01%	2.26%
EAP	N.A.	1.07%
EIP	N.A.	4.10%
Population	3.95%	2.94%
Mapimí		
Peón de campo	2.74%	5.66%
Non peon AEEAP	13.41%	9.67%
AOEAP	3.18%	5.92%
MOEAP	34.99%	1.09%
Other OEAP	12.70%	3.06%
OEAP	7.38%	4.71%
EAP	N.A.	3.68%
EIP	N.A.	4.44%
Population	8.05%	4.15%
Cuencamé		
Peón de campo	-0.12%	4.84%
Non peon AEEAP	44.25%	9.90%
AOEAP	0.83%	5.18%
MOEAP	10.94%	5.12%
Other OEAP	5.39%	1.79%
OEAP	2.95%	4.57%
EAP	-7.65%	3.37%
EIP	20.31%	3.88%
Population	4.70%	3.69%

San Juan de Guadalupe

Peón de campo	1.42%	2.20%
Non peon AEEAP	7.24%	18.61%
AOEAP	1.55%	3.11%
MOEAP	9.99%	-2.77%
Other OEAP	1.35%	-2.30%
OEAP	2.14%	1.84%
EAP	N.A.	1.49%
EIP	N.A.	3.00%
Population	1.15%	2.46%

El Oro

Peón de campo	-2.52%	3.83%
Non peon AEEAP	19.60%	11.27%
AOEAP	-1.64%	4.52%
MOEAP	16.27%	0.67%
Other OEAP	-1.37%	-2.18%
OEAP	-0.68%	3.44%
EAP	N.A.	2.04%
EIP	N.A.	3.21%
Population	0.98%	2.82%

Indé

Peón de campo	2.82%	2.27%
Non peon AEEAP	0.42%	19.70%
AOEAP	2.73%	3.58%
MOEAP	30.31%	-1.49%
Other OEAP	7.14%	-0.78%
OEAP	4.76%	2.58%
EAP	N.A.	1.82%
EIP	N.A.	2.56%
Population	5.62%	2.32%

Tamazula

Peón de campo	-1.42%	5.78%
Non peon AEEAP	64.01%	11.50%
AOEAP	-0.34%	6.17%
MOEAP	13.03%	-5.48%
Other OEAP	7.90%	-3.43%
OEAP	1.86%	4.15%
EAP	N.A.	1.95%
EIP	N.A.	2.90%
Population	5.78%	2.57%

Santiago Papasquiario

Peón de campo	-5.11%	7.03%
Non peon AEEAP	26.19%	23.42%
AOEAP	-4.44%	8.48%
MOEAP	7.13%	-5.36%
Other OEAP	6.60%	4.92%
OEAP	-0.63%	6.14%
EAP	N.A.	2.43%
EIP	N.A.	2.78%
Population	6.78%	2.66%

San Dimas		
Peón de campo	-15.23%	9.73%
Non peon AEEAP	29.94%	1.05%
AOEAP	-13.26%	8.95%
MOEAP	24.85%	0.46%
Other OEAP	-9.53%	3.03%
OEAP	-6.88%	5.46%
EAP	N.A.	2.16%
EIP	N.A.	2.39%
Population	1.17%	2.30%
Mezquital		
Peón de campo	4.04%	-0.74%
Non peon AEEAP	20.88%	21.33%
AOEAP	4.36%	0.97%
MOEAP	-12.94%	-100.00%
Other OEAP	8.42%	9.77%
OEAP	4.80%	2.58%
EAP	N.A.	2.10%
EIP	N.A.	0.66%
Population	6.08%	1.21%

Non-peons, a group that comprises mostly agricultores, as well as a minuscule number of hacendados and a few other minor categories and is often associated with smallholders, was a numerically small group. For that reason relatively small increments appear as very high growth rates; although this growth, with the increase in the population living in ranchos (which I will not discuss here) serves as one of the foundations of the claim that the agrarian problem in Porfirian Mexico has been overstated, in absolute terms peons were absorbing the largest increases in agricultural occupations. The only exceptions to this were San Juan del Río, Nazas and Mezquital.

Table 11
Population Reporting Agricultural Occupations, OEAP and DEAP By Partido, 1895-1910

Partido/Year	1895	1900	1910	Δ 1895-1900	Δ 1900-1910
Nombre de Dios					
Peón de campo	6245	4680	7066	-1565	2386
Non peon AOEAP	228	269	736	41	467
AOEAP	6473	4949	7802	-1524	2853
OEAP	7866	7254	9018	-612	1764
				0	0
EAP	15587	8462	9024	-7125	562
EIP	7403	17218	19704	9815	2486
Population	22990	25680	28728	2690	3048
				0	0

San Juan del Río

Peón de campo	7036	5396	5641	-1640	245
Non peon AOEAP	158	349	3125	191	2776
AOEAP	7194	5745	8766	-1449	3021
OEAP	8540	8069	10280	-471	2211

0 0

EAP	16871	9988	10299	-6883	311
EIP	8553	19695	21440	11142	1745
Population	25424	29683	31739	4259	2056

0 0

Nazas

Peón de campo	2678	3113	2355	435	-758
Non peon AOEAP	171	177	1878	6	1701
AOEAP	2849	3290	4233	441	943
OEAP	3509	4279	4817	770	538

0 0

EAP	6917	4593	4819	-2324	226
EIP	3356	9200	10340	5844	1140
Population	10273	13793	15159	3520	1366

0 0

Durango

Peón de campo	10943	10332	21465	-611	11133
Non peon AOEAP	397	747	2285	350	1538
AOEAP	11340	11079	23750	-261	12671
OEAP	21919	26687	33358	4768	6671

0 0

EAP	40668	30054	33432	-10614	3378
EIP	19077	42477	63476	23400	20999
Population	59745	72531	96908	12786	24377

0 0

0 0

Mapimí

Peon	11006	12596	21849	1590	9253
Non peon	387	726	1827	339	1101
AOEAP	11393	13322	23676	1929	10354
OEAP	15357	21927	34749	6570	12822

0 0

EAP	29394	24409	35019	-4985	10610
EIA	12690	37573	58022	24883	20449
Population	42084	61982	93041	19898	31059

0 0

Cuencamé

Peón de campo	5705	5671	9094	-34	3423
Non peon AOEAP	53	331	851	278	520
AOEAP	5758	6002	9945	244	3943
OEAP	8043	9300	14539	1257	5239

0 0

EAP	15564	10453	14560	-5111	4107
EIP	7225	18214	26639	10989	8425
Population	22789	28667	41199	5878	12532

0 0

S.J.G.

Peón de campo	2634	2826	3514	192	688
Non peon AOEAP	55	78	430	23	352
AOEAP	2689	2904	3944	215	1040
OEAP	3596	3997	4796	401	799
				0	0
EAP	7050	4145	4805	-2905	660
EIP	3423	6946	9331	3523	2385
Population	10473	11091	14136	618	3045

0 0

0 0

0 0

El Oro

Peón de campo	3954	3480	5069	-474	1589
Non peon AOEAP	105	257	748	152	491
AOEAP	4059	3737	5817	-322	2080
OEAP	5040	4872	6832	-168	1960
				0	0
EAP	10061	5587	6834	-4474	1247
EIP	5628	10884	14923	5256	4039
Population	15689	16471	21757	782	5286

0 0

0 0

Indé

Peón de campo	3467	3984	4989	517	1005
Non peon AOEAP	143	146	882	3	736
AOEAP	3610	4130	5871	520	1741
OEAP	4383	5531	7135	1148	1604
				0	0
EAP	8713	5957	7137	-2756	1180
EIP	4760	11754	15140	6994	3386
Population	13473	17711	22277	4238	4566

0 0

0 0

Tamazula

Peón de campo	6781	6312	11072	-469	4760
Non peon AOEAP	30	356	1057	326	701
AOEAP	6781	6668	12129	-113	5461
OEAP	8374	9181	13782	807	4601
				0	0
EAP	16198	11399	13827	-4799	2428
EIP	8000	20652	27490	12652	6838
Population	24198	32051	41317	7853	9266

0 0

S. Papasquiario

Peón de campo	7873	6056	11951	-1817	5895
Non peon AOEAP	90	288	2361	198	2073
AOEAP	7963	6344	14312	-1619	7968
OEAP	11223	10876	19739	-347	8863
				0	0
EAP	21469	15593	19823	-5876	4230
EIP	10639	28987	38123	18348	9136
Population	32108	44580	57946	12472	13366

0 0

San Dimas				0	0
Peón de campo	1629	713	1805	-916	1092
Non peon AOEAP	27	100	111	73	11
AOEAP	1656	813	1916	-843	1103
OEAP	2644	1851	3150	-793	1299
				0	0
EAP	4529	2555	3163	-1974	608
EIP	1891	4251	5384	2360	1133
Population	6420	6806	8547	386	1741
				0	0
Mezquital				0	0
Peón de campo	2210	2694	2502	484	-192
Non peon AOEAP	31	80	553	49	473
AOEAP	2241	2774	3055	533	281
OEAP	2534	3203	4132	669	929
				0	0
EAP	4694	3382	4165	-1312	783
EIP	2189	5865	6261	3676	396
Population	6883	9247	10426	2364	1179

Source: 1895, 1900, 1910 Census

The rapid increase in the number of non-peons in agriculture, particularly if they are conceptualized as smallholders is problematic in view, first, of the downward trend of all other occupations and of the migration patterns prevalent in the state and second, of what we know of agrarian relations in late Porfirian Durango, as they would seem to imply a sort of Porfirian *reforma agraria*. This growth is particularly inconsistent first, with evidence we have regarding large haciendas attempting to expand their holdings at the expense of other rural landholders and, second, with the demographic indicators that point to a deterioration of the living conditions of the rural majority. Is there a problem with the census data?

There is no mistake in the census in the sense that the entire population is accounted for in the population tables. Except for minor differences in the data on Cuencamé and El Oro, the totals correspond well with the tables on sex, age, place of birth and place of residence. There is, however, an important change in the disoccupied economically active population. In 1895 the EIP included only two categories: *escolares* and *sin ocupación por menor de edad*, and represented about one third of the population in all partidos. All non-working adults, both disoccupied and economically inactive, were absorbed into the disoccupied EAP (*sin ocupación*). In 1900 the EIP expanded to about two thirds of the population with the inclusion of *estudiantes* and, especially, *quehacer de*

la casa.¹⁹ *Sin ocupación* (4% to 30% of the EAP) comprised, it would appear, the adult males claiming no *ocupación*: the disoccupied and the economically inactive--the elderly and the physically or mentally disabled. In 1910 this group is so remarkably small, ranging from 0.04% to 0.79% of the EAP (or 0.01% to 0.32% of the population) so as to suggest either Durango had reached unprecedented levels of occupation or the DEAP had been redefined to comprise only the economically inactive adult males (see Table 12).

What appears to be happening is that in a period of economic recession significant numbers of the disoccupied population who had taken up non-agricultural occupations within the past fifteen years were fleeing to the countryside, possibly to villages and small settlements, much as today they flee to big cities, in search of a minimum economic subsistence. That is, the increase in the two components of the AOEAP reflects, at least in part, the rural sub- and disoccupation. I have not been able to determine how this population was apportioned between peons and non-peons, but I would speculate much of this impoverished, re-ruralized population, whose *ocupación* would be agriculture, might pick up temporary or even stable employment with an hacienda or rancho or have access to village or family rancho or *ranchería* plots and thus be conceptualized as peons.²⁰ Others, whose *ocupación* was agriculture, but who were working for no one and hence could not

¹⁹ Except Durango and Mapimí, where it was smaller.

²⁰ In the records of the Santa Catalina del Alamo hacienda managers use 'peons' to refer not only to landless wage laborers but also to workers who might (if, for example, there were a labor shortage that enhanced their negotiating power) obtain access to land by sharecropping. They did not, however, use the term to designate larger sharecroppers who themselves hired wage laborers or let the land out to smaller growers on a share basis. See Atanasio G. Saravia to Francisco Gómez Palacio, 6-March-1907 and 11-March 1907, Archivo Martínez del Río (hereafter AMR) Santa Catalina, VI/12, where he discusses his problems with the "peones de Santa Bárbara" who refused to provide their labor for the hacienda and how he told them that "having lands on a share basis from the hacienda they are required to work for the wages it pays [...]."

In another example, another of Santa Catalina's managers wrote:

I have flattered the peons that when the time is right they will be given small plots of land so they can sow their corn and those that want to be sharecroppers will work their fields under the conditions in which they did before, that is, those already established by the hacienda in previous years. Antonio Herrán to Francisco Gómez Palacio, 1-May-1907, AMR Santa Catalina, VI/13.

See also Benigno Díaz Couder to Francisco Gómez Palacio, 6-October-1905, AMR Santa Catalina, VI/FALTA DATO and Miguel Soto to Francisco Gómez Palacio, 26-May-1907, AMR Santa Catalina, VI/13.

Table 12

Occupied and Disoccupied EAP as a percentage of the EAP and of the Total Population
By Partido,
1895-1900

Partido/Year	1895			1900			1910		
	% EAP	% Pop.		% EAP	% Pop.		% EAP	% Pop.	
NOMBRE DE DIOS									
Occupied EAP	7866	50.47	34.21	7254	85.72	28.25	9018	99.9	31.39
Unoccupied EAP	7721	49.53	33.58	1208	14.28	4.70	6	0.1	0.02
EAP	15587	100	67.80	8462	100	32.95	9024	100	31.41
EIP	7403		32.20	17218		67.05	19704		68.59
Total population	22990		100	25680		100	28728		100
S. JUAN DEL RIO									
Occupied EAP	8540	50.62	33.59	8069	80.79	27.18	10280	99.81	32.39
Unoccupied EAP	8331	49.38	32.77	1919	19.21	6.46	19	0.18	0.06
EAP	16871	100	66.36	9988	100	33.65	10299	100	32.45
EIP	8553		33.64	19695		66.35	21440		67.55
Total population	25424		100	29683		100	31739		100
NAZAS									
Occupied EAP	3509	50.73	34.16	4279	93.16	31.02	4817	99.95	31.78
Unoccupied EAP	3408	49.27	33.17	314	6.84	2.28	2	0.041	0.01
EAP	6917	100	67.33	4593	100	33.30	4819	100	31.79
EIP	3356		32.67	9200		66.70	10340		68.21
Total population	10273		100	13793		100	15159		100
DURANGO									
Occupied EAP	21919	53.90	36.69	26687	88.80	36.79	33394	99.77	34.46
Unoccupied EAP	18749	46.10	31.38	3367	11.20	4.64	74	0.22	0.08
EAP	40668	100	68.07	30054	100	41.44	33468	100	34.54
EIP	19077		31.93	42477		58.56	63440		65.46
Total Pop.lación	59745		100	72531		100	96908		100
MAPIMI									
Occupied EAP	15357	52.25	36.49	21,927	89.83	25.38	34749	99.22	37.35
Unoccupied EAP	14,037	47.75	33.35	2482	10.17	2.87	270	0.77	0.29
EAP	29394	100.00	69.85	24,409	100.00	28.25	35019	100	37.64
EIP	12690		30.15	37573		43.49	58022		62.36
Total population	42,084		100.00	86391		100.00	93041		100
CUENCAME									
Occupied EAP	8043	51.68	35.29	9300	88.97	32.44	14539	99.85	35.29
Unoccupied EAP	7521	48.32	33.00	1153	11.03	4.02	21	0.14	0.05
EAP	15564	100	68.30	10453	100	36.46	14560	100	35.34
EIP	7225		31.70	18214		63.54	26639		64.66
Total population	22789		100	28667		100	41199		100
S. J.G.									
Occupied EAP	3596	51.01	34.34	3997	96.43	36.04	4796	99.81	33.92
Unoccupied EAP	3454	48.99	32.98	148	3.57	1.33	9	0.18	0.06
EAP	7050	100	67.32	4145	100	37.37	4805	100	33.99
EIP	3423		32.68	6946		62.63	9331		66.00
Total population	10473		100	11091		100	14136		100

EL ORO

Occupied EAP	5040	50.09	32.12	4872	87.20	29.58	6832	99.97	31.40
Unoccupied EAP	5021	49.91	32.00	715	12.80	4.34	2	0.02	0.01
EAP	10061	100	64.13	5587	100	33.92	6834	100	31.41
EIP	5628		35.87	10884		66.08	14923		68.59
Total population	15689		100	16471		100	21757		100

INDE

Occupied EAP	4383	50.30	32.53	5531	92.85	31.23	7135	99.97	32.03
Unoccupied EAP	4330	49.69	32.14	426	7.15	2.41	2	0.02	0.01
EAP	8713	100	64.67	5957	100	33.63	7137	100	32.04
EIP	4760		35.33	11754		66.37	15140		67.96
Total population	13473		100	17711		100	22277		100

TAMAZULA

Occupied EAP	8374	51.70	34.61	9181	80.54	28.64	13782	99.67	33.36
Unoccupied EAP	7824	48.30	32.33	2218	19.46	6.92	45	0.32	0.11
EAP	16198	100	66.94	11399	100	35.57	13827	100	33.47
EIP	8000		33.06	20652		64.43	27490		66.53
Total population	24198		100	32051		100	41317		100

S. PAPASQUIARO

Occupied EAP	11223	52.28	34.95	10876	69.75	24.40	19739	99.57	34.06
Unoccupied EAP	10246	47.72	31.91	4717	30.25	10.58	84	0.42	0.14
EAP	21469	100	66.86	15593	100	34.98	19823	100	34.21
EIP	10639		33.14	28987		65.02	38123		65.79
Total population	32108		100	44580		100	57946		100

SAN DIMAS

Occupied EAP	2644	58.38	41.18	1851	72.45	27.20	3150	99.58	36.86
Unoccupied EAP	1885	41.62	29.36	704	27.55	10.34	13	0.41	0.15
EAP	4529	100	70.55	2555	100	37.54	3163	100	37.01
EIP	1891		29.45	4251		62.46	5384		62.99
Total population	6420		100	6806		100	8547		100

MEZQUITAL

Occupied EAP	2534	53.98	36.82	3203	94.71	34.64	4132	99.20	39.63
Unoccupied EAP	2160	46.02	31.38	179	5.29	1.94	33	0.79	0.32
EAP	4694	100	68.20	3382	100	36.57	4165	100	39.95
EIP	2189		31.80	5865		63.43	6261		60.05
Total population	6883		100	9247		100	10426		100

Source: 1895, 1900, 1910 Census

be thought of as peons, might have been classified in what would be a very heterogeneous group of *agricultores*.

Conclusion

The examination of the census data clearly points to a conceptual change that explains, more plausibly than a sudden increase in the number of smallholders, the growth of the non-peon sector of the population reporting agricultural occupations in Durango. Hard evidence of this would come from documents detailing how the census surveyors

classified the population in 1900 and 1910, which I have so far been unable to unearth. The finding is, however, important in that it provides strong support to Tannenbaum, McBride, González Navarro and other authors who have contended that the problem of landlessness was widespread in Porfirian rural Mexico and was one of the crucial factors behind the outbreak of revolution in 1910.

Together with the evidence on demographic growth and migration patterns, the occupational data drawn from the 1895, 1900 and 1910 censuses indicates in 1910 the people of Durango confronted a marked deterioration of its material conditions that included the loss of many jobs in agricultural as well as in mining and other non-agricultural occupations. Among the partidos most affected were San Juan del Río, Nazas, San Juan del Guadalupe, and, somewhat to a lesser extent, the mining partidos of Western Durango, except San Dimas. While many of the inhabitants of these partidos opted, when the alternative was viable, to emigrate, many of the newly disoccupied, who had transited from agricultural to other activities in the past two decades, fled to the countryside in search of minimum subsistence, much as today they seek economic refuge in large cities. Most likely, they arrived in villages and rancherías rather than haciendas, which were trying to reduce their resident workforce and therefore were probably less inclined to take in the arriving population.²¹ Their presence represented an additional demand for land in a context in which the more powerful and largest landholders were attempting to extend their control over agrarian resources, and thus would tend to exacerbate already turbulent rural relations.

²¹ Evidence from the censuses, which I have not discussed here, also points in this direction.

Annex 1

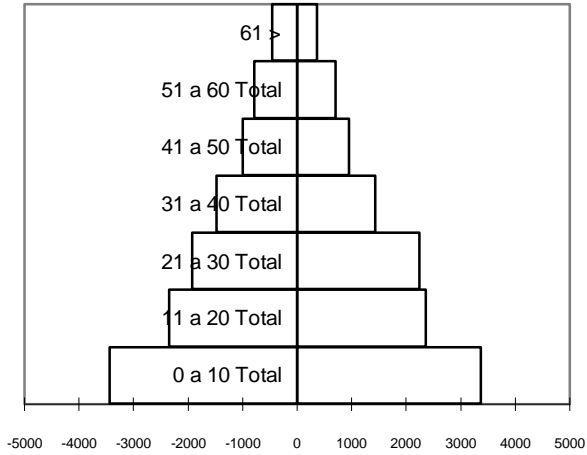
Rates of Growth of Mexican Born Immigrants and Durango Natives,
1895-1900 and 1900-1910*

N. de Dios	1895	1900	1910
Dgo. Natives	20,860	22,746	24,851
Mex. Imm.	2,114	2,918	3,823
Total	22,974	25,664	28,674
S.J.R.			
Dgo. Natives	25,116	28,656	31,497
Mex. Imm.	294	952	209
Total	25,410	29,608	31,706
Nazas			
1895	1900	1910	
Dgo. Natives	9,979	13,339	14,772
Mex. Imm.	284	447	381
Total	10,263	13,786	15,153
Durango			
1895	1900	1910	
Dgo. Natives	55,829	66,191	87,662
Mex. Imm.	3,455	5,852	8,567
Total	59,284	72,043	96,229
Mapimí			
1895	1900	1910	
Dgo. Natives	32,513	41,063	61,015
Mex. Imm.	9,327	20,296	31,131
Total	41,840	61,359	92,146
Cuencamé			
Dgo. Natives	19,300	23,958	32,808
Mex. Imm.	3,389	4,600	8,101
Total	22,689	28,558	40,909
S.J. G.			
Dgo. Natives	7,847	9,829	12,213
Mex. Imm.	2,617	1,257	1,903
Total	10,464	11,086	14,116
El Oro			
Dgo. Natives	14,904	15,779	21,267
Mex. Imm.	750	651	456
Total	15,654	16,430	21,723
Indé			
Dgo. Natives	12,524	15,135	21,442
Mex. Imm.	932	2,518	765
Total	13,456	17,653	22,207
Tamazula			
Dgo. Natives	22,699	28,827	40,286
Mex. Imm.	1,415	3,123	960
Total	24,114	31,950	41,246
S. Pap.			
Dgo. Natives	30,290	41,369	55,713
Mex. Imm.	1,761	2,934	2,123
Total	32,051	44,303	57,836
S. Dimas			
Dgo. Natives	5,816	6,399	7,947
Mex. Imm.	567	374	546
Total	6,383	6,773	8,493
Mezquital			
Dgo. Natives	6,760	8,938	10,011
Mex. Imm.	121	308	413
Total	6,881	9,246	10,424

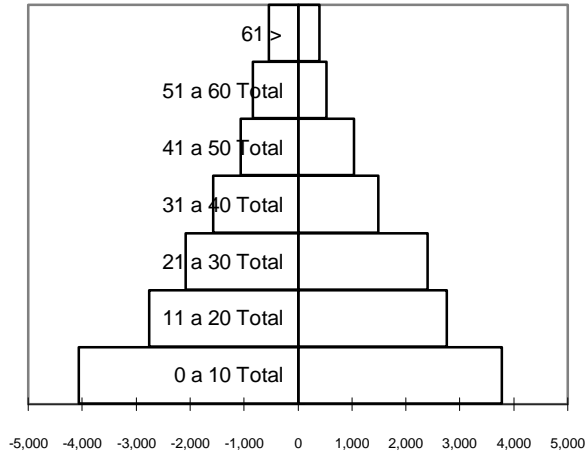
* Does not include the population of unknown origin or foreigners.

Source: Census

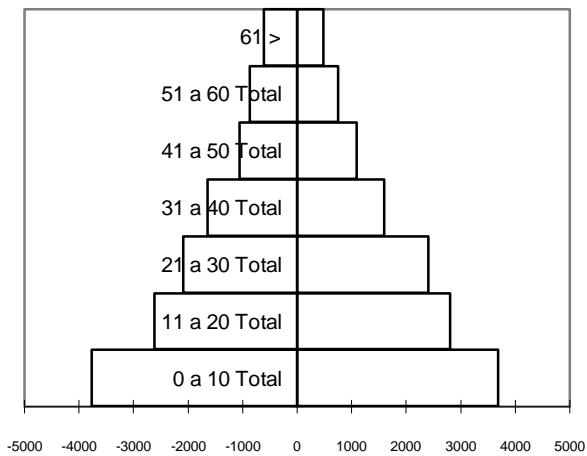
Censo 1895 Nombre de Dios



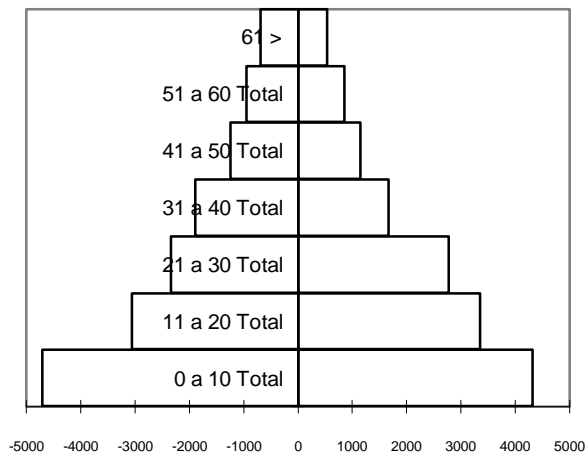
Censo 1895 S. Juan del Río



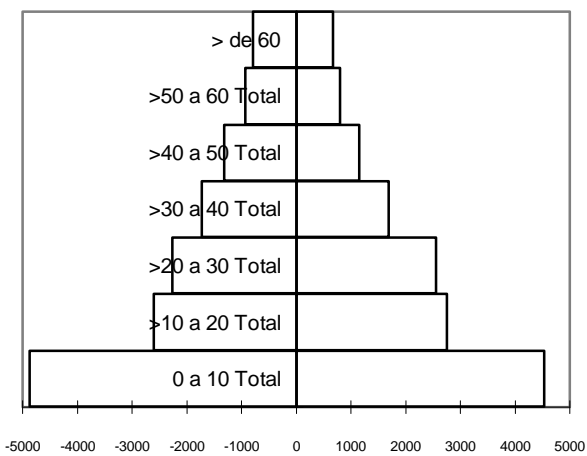
Censo 1900 Nombre de Dios



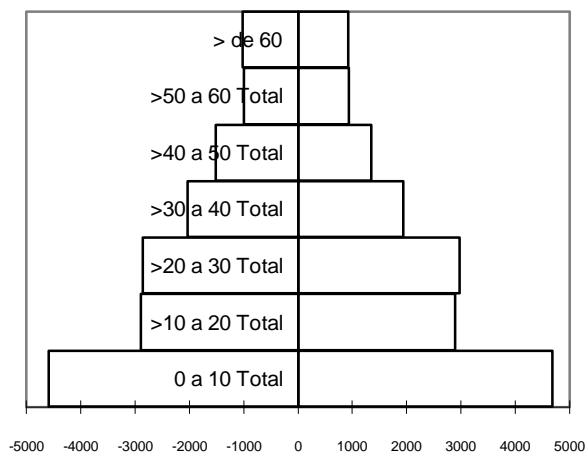
Censo 1900 S. Juan del Río



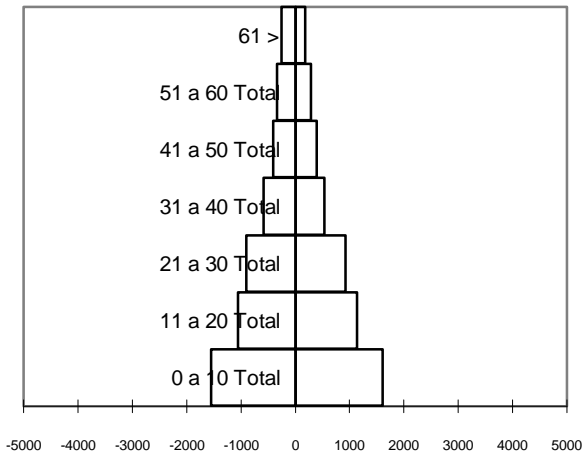
Censo 1910 Nombre de Dios



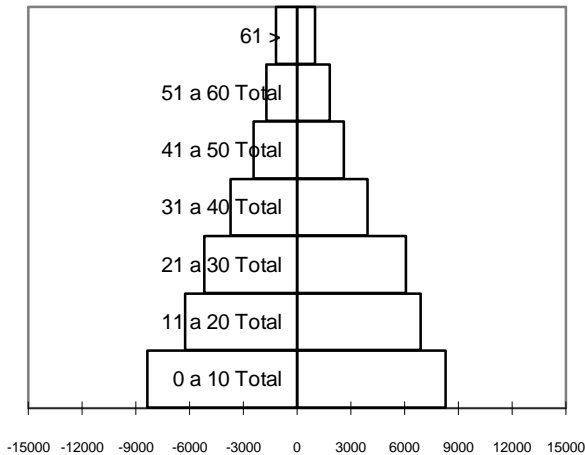
Censo 1910 S. Juan del Río



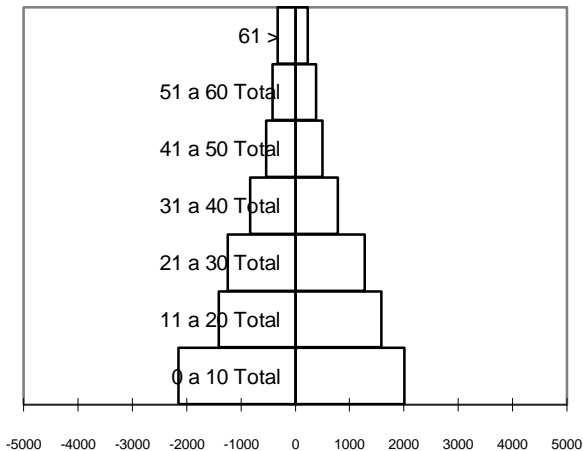
Censo 1895 Nazas



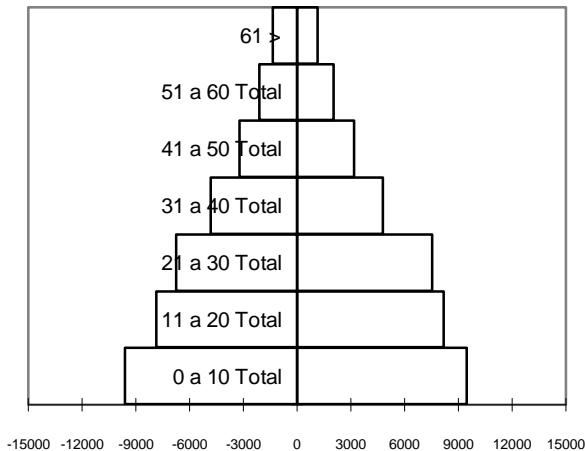
Censo 1895 Durango



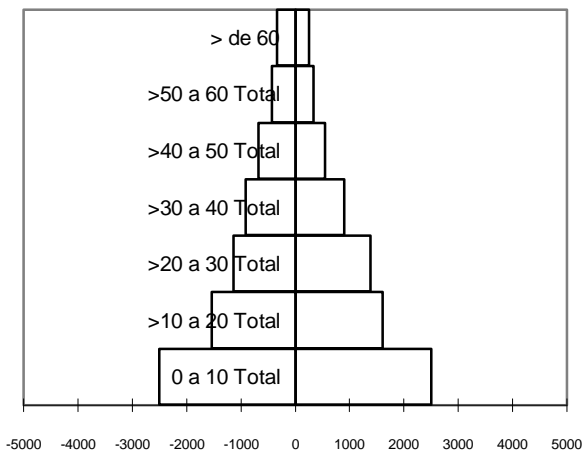
Censo 1900 Nazas



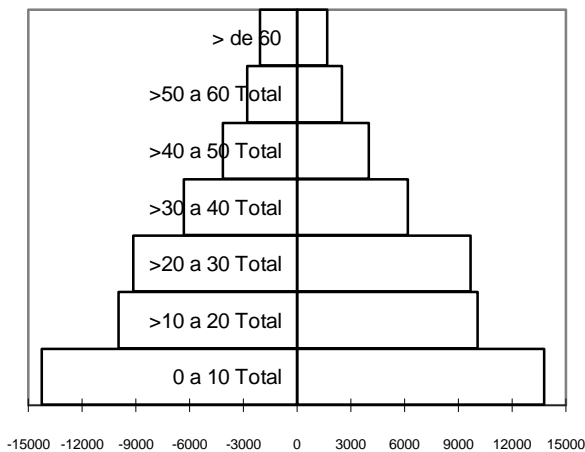
Censo 1900 Durango



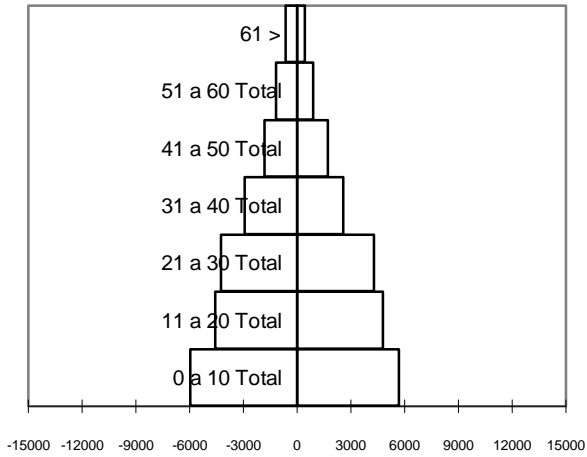
Censo 1910 Nazas



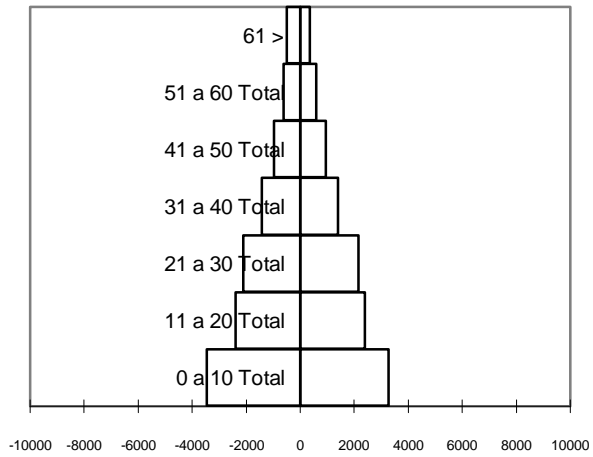
Censo 1910 Durango



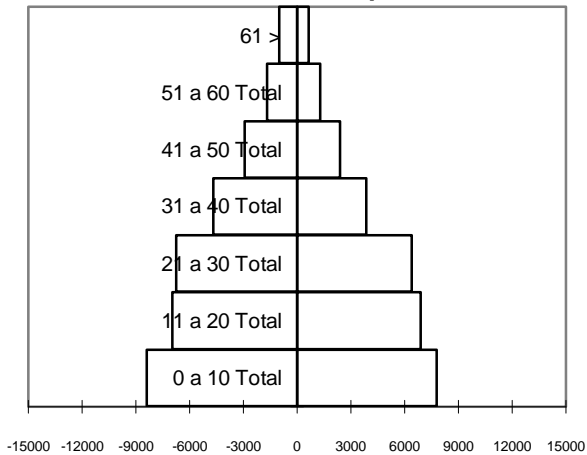
Censo 1895 Mapimí



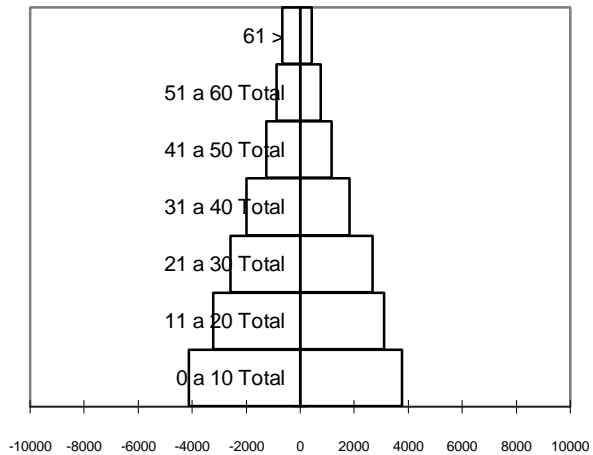
Censo 1895 Cuencamé



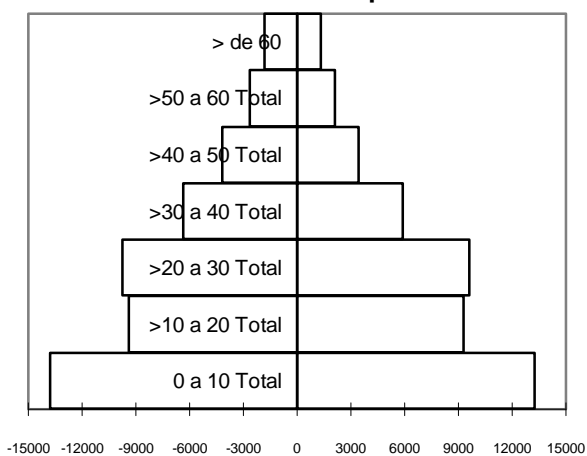
Censo 1900 Mapimí



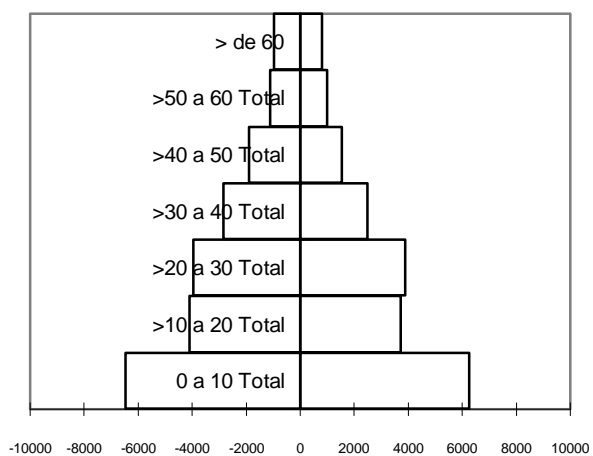
Censo 1900 Cuencamé



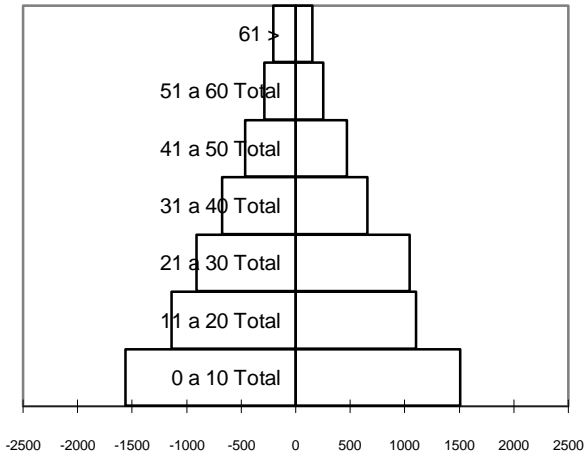
Censo 1910 Mapimí



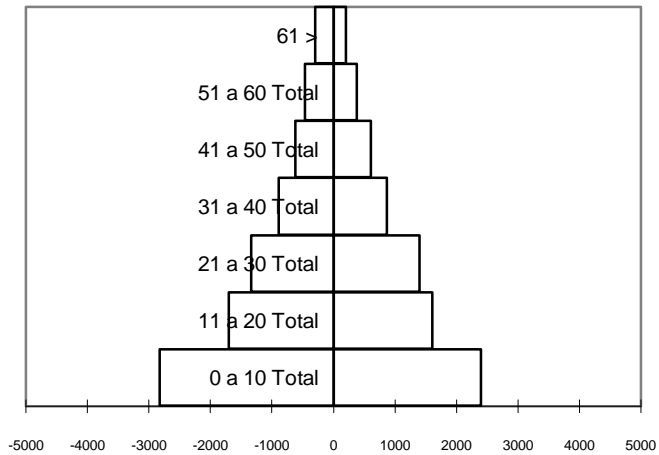
Censo 1910 Cuencamé



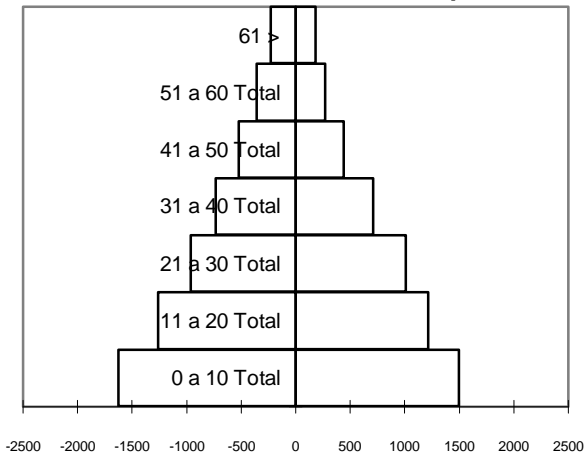
Censo 1895 San Juan de Gpe.



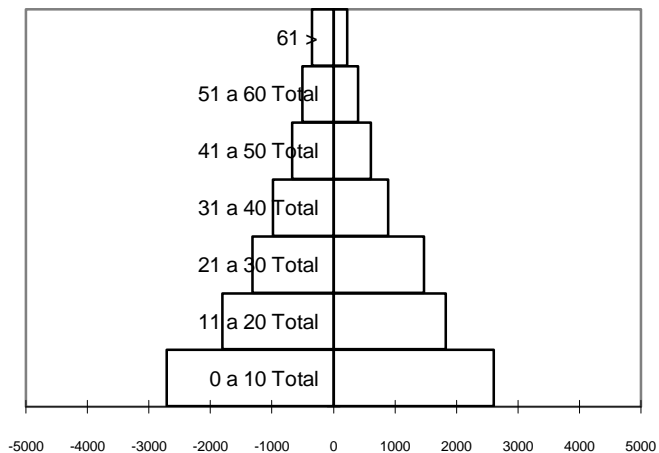
Censo 1895 El Oro



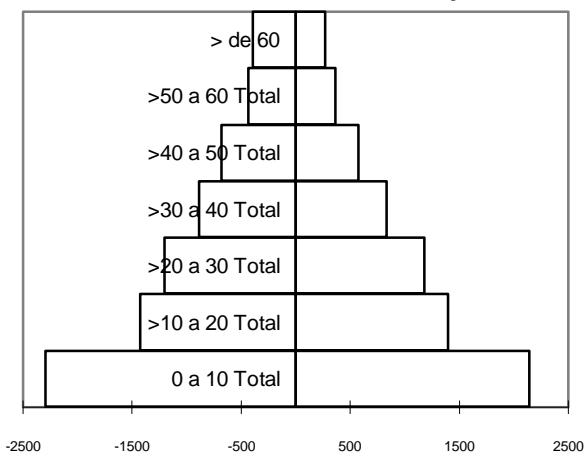
Censo 1900 San Juan de Gpe.



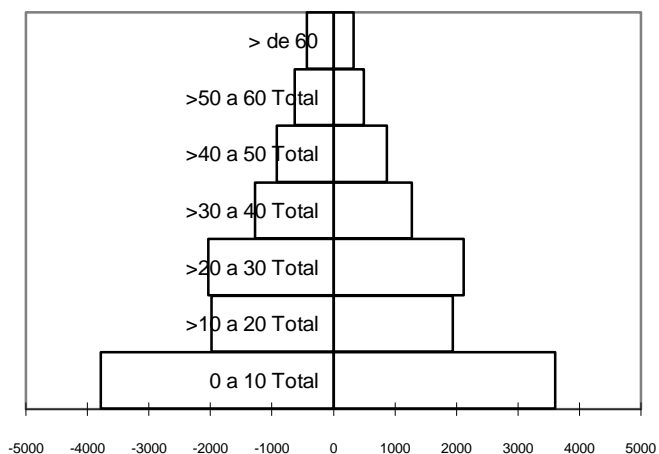
Censo 1900 El Oro



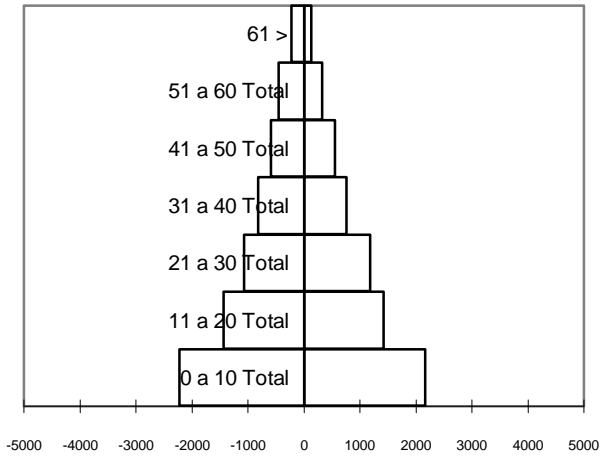
Censo 1910 San Juan de Gpe.



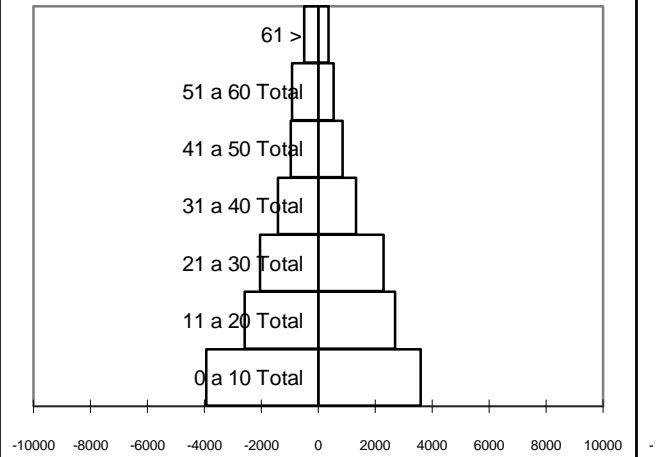
Censo 1910 El Oro



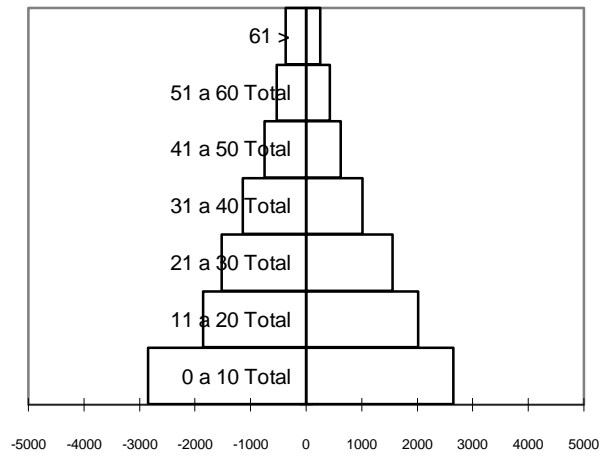
Censo 1895 Indé



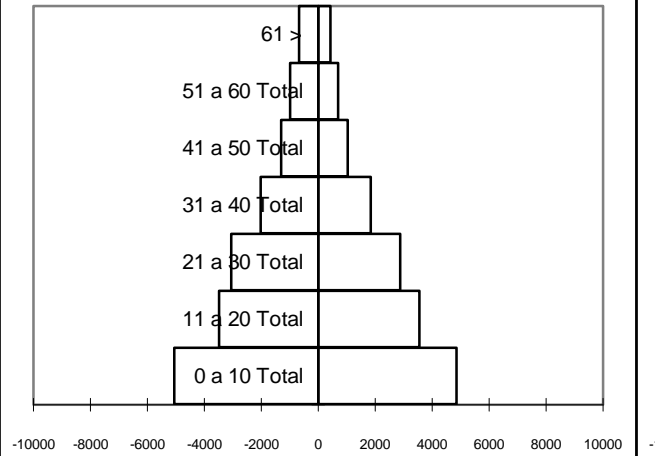
Censo 1895 Tamazula



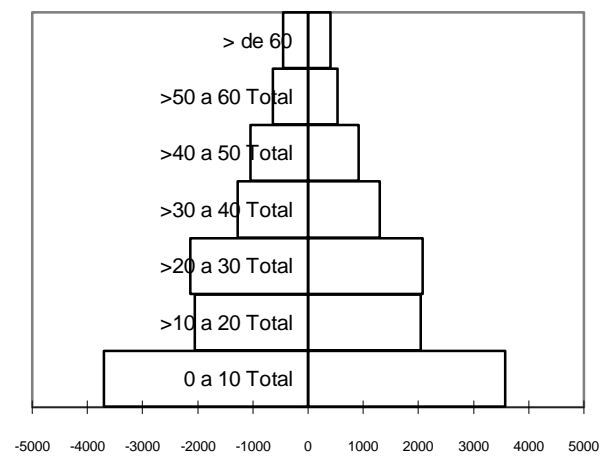
Censo 1900 Indé



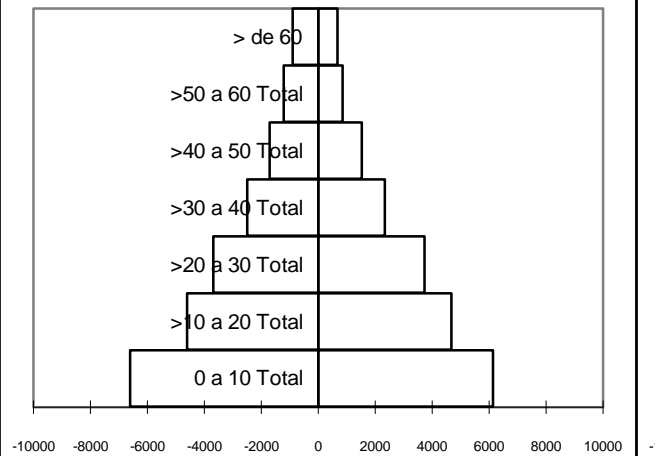
Censo 1900 Tamazula



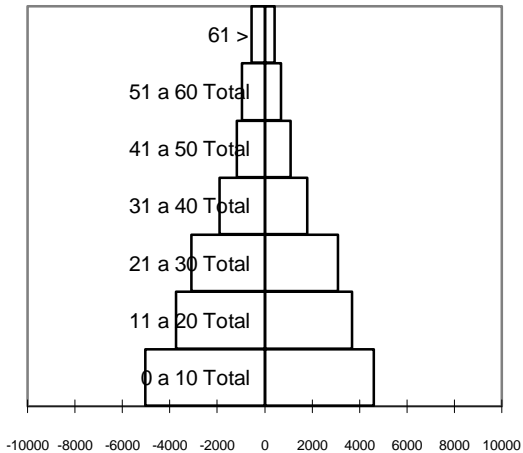
Censo 1910 Indé



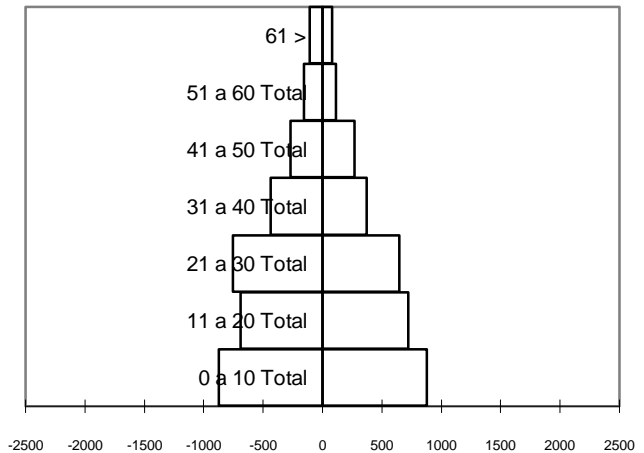
Censo 1910 Tamazula



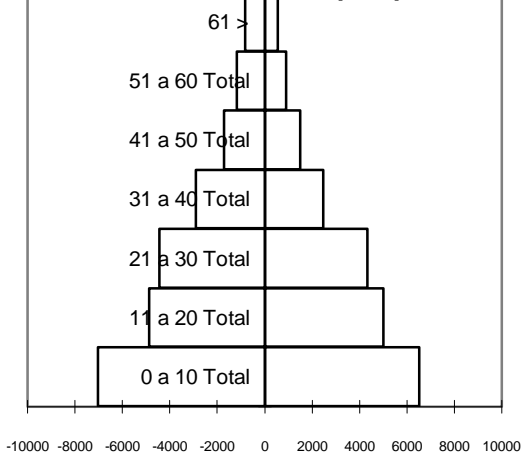
Censo 1895 S. Papasquiario



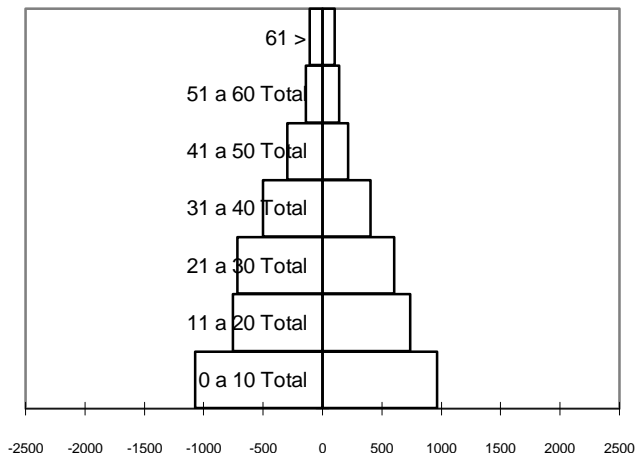
Censo 1895 S. Dimas



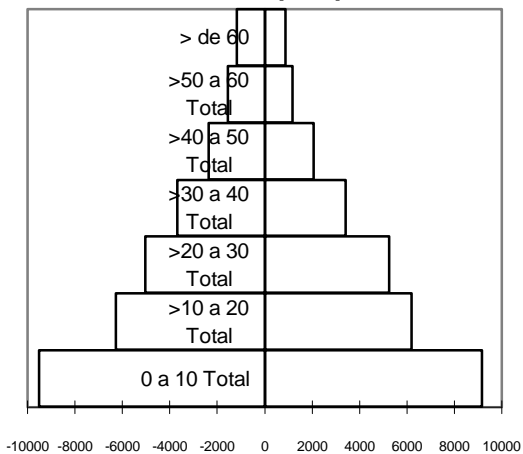
Censos 1900 P. S. Papasquiario



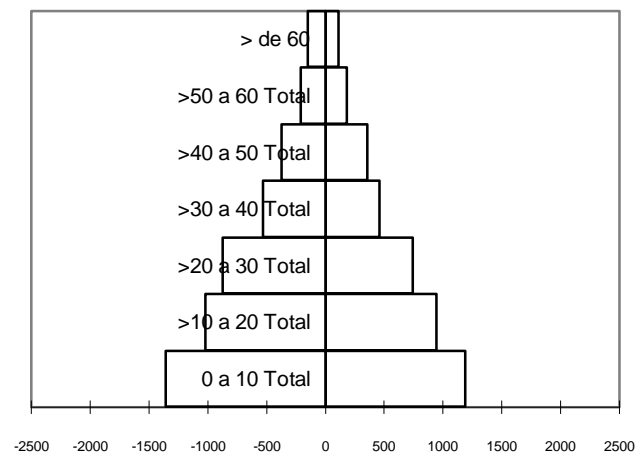
Censo 1900 S. Dimas



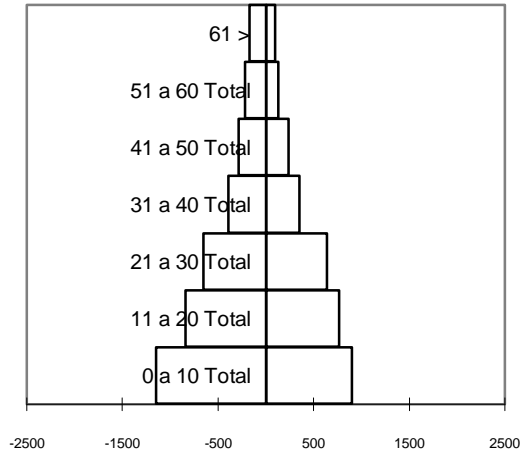
Censo S. Papasquiario



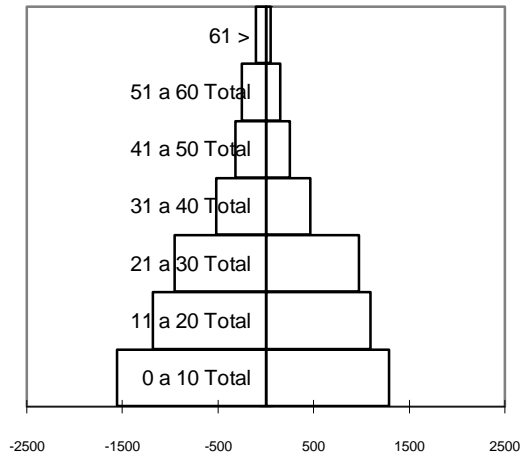
Censo 1910 S. Dimas



Censo 1895 Mezquital



Censo 1900 Mezquital



Censo 1910 Mezquital

