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## I. *Introduction*

When Don Quixote de la Mancha and Sancho Panza set out on their adventures, the Knight-errant left behind a house and a niece, while his squire deserted his wife and children. In Cervantes' novel, Don Quixote returned to his birth place after his epic journey; in this way he was representative of a nobleman [*hidalgo*]. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain it was usually wealthy men who returned home to inherit family properties, while most poor men stayed away from their birth places and found other locations to settle down. Golden Age Spanish literature reflects this; it abounds in examples of roving property-less individuals. Alonso, the protagonist of *El Donado Hablador* by Alcalá Yanes, was a servant, who worked for many *amos* [masters] in many places; he never returned to his home in Andalusia.<sup>(1)</sup> Both Lazarillo de Tormes and Don Pablos, who personified members of the lower strata in *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* and *El Buscón* respectively, left their hometowns when they were small and never returned there.<sup>(2)</sup> It was not just that they did not return home, they never mentioned their hometown; the novels suggest that neither Lazarillo nor Don Pablos held a sense of belonging to their birth places.

Such figures in Golden Age fiction indicate an important dimension of early modern Spanish society: many property-less individuals left their birth places and traveled itinerantly within the Iberian Peninsula. There is considerable documentation of this social phenomenon. One example of this is the testimony Juan de Castro gave to the Inquisition. In 1588, when the Inquisitors of Toledo arrested the twenty five year-old De Castro on suspicion of blasphemy, they ordered him to relate his life. He answered;

"I was born in Hidalguillo, and was brought up there until the age of four. My sister took me to Medina de Rioseco where I stayed for two or three years. From there I went to Valladolid where I stayed with a furrier during four years. Then I went to Madrid, and served in the princess' kitchen washing the dishes and sweeping floors. Since then, I have always worked as a servant and cook in many people's houses. As a kitchen hand I went to Barcelona with the archbishop of Seville..."<sup>(3)</sup>

Juan de Castro, as well as many other men in sixteenth-century Spain, moved from one place to another changing jobs and employers. Some men returned to their birth places, but more frequently others like De Castro did not. They continued roving around or settled in new places.



This article on migration discussed here is based on two areas of study. Firstly, through a review of the secondary literature, I examine a number of important historiographical questions. The analysis of these questions provides an overview of the valuable research on migration which this article draws on. Furthermore, it signals an important dimension of migration that has not been addressed by historians until now, which is that the majority of migrants did not return to their birth places. Building on this historiographical study, the second dimension of this article is an exploration of the complex social phenomenon of migration through analysis of a new body of evidence drawn from my extensive archival research on *Procesos de Fe* [Trials of Faith]. Through examination of this evidence, it is demonstrated that “non-return migration” was a common practice amongst the men and women of the lower strata.

## II. *Historiography on migration in early modern Spain*

Until the 1990's the literature on migration had presented a seemingly paradoxical view; an established understanding of village communities as isolated and closed was supplemented by a description of cities as centers for migration. Before discussing the new direction that migration studies have taken, a brief historiographical review of this contrasting view is necessary, as its legacy is still apparent with regard to discussion of village communities.

Accounts of lower strata community's dynamics as sedentary and enclosed have been informed by the assumption that people were tied to their homelands. Evidence, such as the legal measures local authorities imposed on new settlers, has led many historians to reinforce the myth of “immobile villages”.<sup>(4)</sup> Historical demographers and specialists in family history have also contributed toward the strengthening of this view of “immobile villages” by presenting statistical data of marriage patterns from parish records which showed that villagers, unlike city dwellers, tended to contract marriages with fellow countrymen and women.<sup>(5)</sup> Research on the lives of artisans has provided additional arguments in support of the myth of a sedentary lower strata. On the basis that local guilds' ordinances favored locals and restricted the admission of outsiders, it has been argued that outsiders were often denied entry to the labor market.<sup>(6)</sup> Finally, although highly problematic and hard to demonstrate, some researchers based their argument that Spanish lower strata was sedentary on a myth that early modern Spanish inhabitants held strong sense of belonging to their birthplace.<sup>(7)</sup>

In the past thirty years, this established historical account of Early Modern villages has been gradually challenged, though not completely replaced, by analysis of new evidence that has revealed a highly mobile population.<sup>(8)</sup> There have been two fundamental tendencies to this historiographical shift: new research on local history and broader studies of migration patterns. A brief review of their key features is valuable to gauge the impact of these developments in the field of migration studies.

Scholars working on local history projects have carried out meticulous analysis of bap-



tism, marriage and burial registers, hospitals' in-patient registers, and *vecindad* [citizenship] petitions. They have demonstrated the frequent geographical movement of a significantly larger proportion of communities than had been previously known about. Important insights into migrants' profiles have been provided by this research, and it has also identified factors that motivated and caused people to migrate to certain places in sixteenth-century Spain. An example of local history research, which has opened new avenues of investigation on migration, is the study of Madrid's history: in particular, the analysis of the growth in demand for a workforce in the city after the court's establishment there in 1561. Historical demographers working on Madrid have identified this event as the key reason for the immigration of numerous artisans, peasants and servants, as well as paupers, to Madrid. The scale of this immigration is apparent in the calculation of Madrid's population growth. The city had less than 20,000 inhabitants in 1561; it grew to between 65,000 and 90,000 inhabitants by 1600.<sup>(9)</sup> As well as measuring the population increase, the historical research on Madrid provides important information on immigrants' geographical origins and occupations.<sup>(10)</sup> Another important example of recent local history research on migration is the seminal publication *Migraciones internas y medium-distance en la Península Ibérica*. Compiled together this research reveals the complexity of the question of migration. Many local issues are addressed such as: the high proportion of French immigrants in Catalonia; the high proportion of men emigrating from Galicia to other regions in Spain; and the fairs, such as the one in Medina del Campo [Old Castile] that drew merchants and artisans from all over Spain.<sup>(11)</sup>

A key feature of these studies is their description of in and out-migration. In other words, they have examined sixteenth-century Spanish villages, towns and cities as both host communities and hometowns of migrants. Based on a micro-historical model or methodology, such as that employed in family reconstitution projects, these types of research have focused on the place rather than the migrants; as a consequence, the phenomenon of population movement has remained unstudied. However, the second historiographical tendency, the study of migration patterns of ordinary villagers, has begun to add detail to the broad picture of migration patterns with documentation of individuals' migrations to and from village communities.

The work of historians such as Antonio Eiras Roel and David Vassberg has been fundamental in the development of this second tendency.<sup>(12)</sup> The specific focus of their work has been patterns of migration amongst the lower social strata. Eiras has documented a number of migration patterns in early modern Spain, including: workers who followed the patterns of seasonal or temporary work, such as harvesting; manufacturing craftsmen; transporters and peddlers; as well as examples of long-term migration, inter-regional migration, and international migration. Vassberg's work complements that of Eiras, and offers a deeper understanding of these complex phenomena. In addition to exploring the patterns of migration examined by Eiras, Vassberg has discussed the continuous contact that Castilian villages had with the outside world.



An important aspect of Vassberg's work is that it shows that geographical movement affected not only the lives of urban dwellers, but also those of Castilian villagers in many ways. In this way he countered the established understanding of village communities as closed and isolated. One of the key pieces of evidence used in Vassberg's migration studies to demonstrate the frequency of migration has been analysis of marriage registers in parish archives, which have revealed that the degree of mixed marriages [marriage contracted between locals and outsiders] exceeded one-third of all marriages in many villages and towns.<sup>(13)</sup> Not only has this been an important finding that has changed our understanding of migration, but it has also provided a new understanding of the marriage market in early modern Spanish villages. Vassberg's research has also examined the range of contacts that communities had with outsiders by studying the experience of adolescent servants and apprentices. From an early age, in some cases as young as eight, many ordinary people left their birth places to serve in households or to learn skill as apprentices.<sup>(14)</sup> Vassberg's analysis of the recruitment of the King's troop offers another example of villagers' contact with the wider world. The troop, which recruited eight or nine thousand Spanish men annually and more during the times of crisis in Philip II's reign, was a significant factor that contributed to the geographical movement of lower strata males.<sup>(15)</sup> Environmental factors and demographic crises, such as epidemics, also caused migration.<sup>(16)</sup> Further support for Vassberg's arguments is offered by the 1572 report written by the townsmen of Soguellamos [near Toledo] on the epidemics suffered by their community in 1556 and 1557 for Philip II. They recounted that "the misfortune was so extreme and the ill health the epidemics occasioned caused the people to leave the town..."<sup>(17)</sup>

The combination of these two historiographical tendencies is significant; their findings have not only profoundly challenged the notion of sedentary village communities, but they have demonstrated the diversity and range of population movement in early modern Spain. However, their limitations need to be acknowledged. They offer only a fragmentary account of migration.<sup>(18)</sup> The full extent of migration during the lifetimes of members of Spain's lower social strata remains largely untold, which is mainly due to the fact that researchers have used sources such as marriage registers, censuses (*padrones de vecindad*), reports related to tax collecting, law suits, writings by *arbitristas* (writers of treatises on economic and fiscal reform), and ordinances, which give only partial information of migrants' journeys. In the course of this article it is argued that in the majority of cases, these sources only document what was in fact one of a series of migrations during an individual's lifetime.

Following both the social focus of Roel and Vassberg and their efforts to develop new methodological approaches to the study of migration, this article provides analysis and description of the key historiographical issue of individuals' migrations in the course of their lifetime. Through an analysis of a new archive of sources for migration studies, this article supplements the shortcomings of the evidence relied on until now. I explore four concrete issues. I begin the study of individuals' migration throughout the course of their



lifetime by examining data to consider the number of members of the lower strata who left their birth place. Then, by following the footsteps of migrants, mostly men, aged between fifteen and seventy, a study is made of the number of places these migrants resided in. Thirdly, I analyze the possible reasons for migrants' return to and residence in their native towns and villages; this is identified as "return migration". Finally, a contrast to this latter issue is explored by focusing on "non-return migration" and examining the experiences of migrants who migrated to and settled down in new places. In the final section, I analyze contemporaneous language to consider the social dynamics that structured sixteenth-century Spanish communities regarding inclusion of new members to them.

### III. *Leaving home*

There are two aims of this section: firstly, the introduction and analysis of a new corpus of evidence on migration, and secondly, drawing on this evidence, a critical examination of the number of members of the lower strata who left their birth place. The arguments of Vassberg, Roel and others are given further support through this analysis, which demonstrates statistically for the first time how widespread migration was amongst the lower strata.

The corpus of evidence for this analysis is based on my examination of the records of sixteenth-century inquisitorial Trials of Faith held in Toledo, today stored in Madrid's Archivo Histórico Nacional. My analysis is based on the study of 1012 trials of secondary or minor offences that took place between 1501 and 1600 in Toledo. The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1480 by Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand to eradicate Judaizers from their Kingdoms. By the 1530's almost all tribunals had changed their main targets from heresy to the secondary offences, such as bigamy, blasphemy and simple fornication, commonly perpetrated by the old Christians [*crístianos viejos*].<sup>(19)</sup> Spanish inquisitorial trials consisted of various stages: a denunciation [*denuncia*]; a decision by local tribunals to pursue respective cases [*votos*]; the recompilation of information [*testificación*]; a decision by local tribunals to continue trials [*votos en sumaria*]; accusation [*acusación*]; hearings [*audiencias*]; the accused's defence [*defensas*]; votes of sentence by local tribunals [*votos en definitiva*]; and finally the sentence itself [*sentencia*].<sup>(20)</sup>

In 1561 various changes resulted from the *Instrucciones* given by the former General Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés, and among them, a new requirement for trials was introduced.<sup>(21)</sup> In the post *Instrucciones* trials, the accused, as part of the first hearing, had to provide a *discurso de la vida*, which was essentially a brief autobiography. For example, in 1568, Luis Sánchez, a string-maker, related his life story as follows:

"I was born in Zamora [Old Castile] and brought up in Braganza and Lisbon [Portugal]. At around seventeen years old I left Braganza and went to Medina del Campo [Old Castile] where I stayed a day and half. From there I went to Madrid for three or four



years. Since then I have been in Madrid and Valladolid..."<sup>(22)</sup>

The length of these autobiographies varied; some people like Sánchez recounted their life story in only a few lines, while others described it in more detail. Despite these differences there is a common factor to all the *discursos de la vida*, which is that people mainly talked about their experiences of journeys. Thus, a study of *discursos de la vida* enables people's geographical movements to be traced over the course of their life and also to identify patterns of migration; it established one of the methodological criteria the research conducted in the inquisitorial archive. A comprehensive study of all the 354 existing trials for secondary offences, which took place between 1560 and 1600 and have *discursos de la vida*, has been completed.<sup>(23)</sup>

Prior to undertaking an analysis of individuals' migrations from their birth places, it is necessary to give an overview of the type of people represented in the evidence examined, as well as the types of offence they were accused of. With regard to the social status of people examined here, the majority were members of the lower social strata. The Inquisitorial records provide information on the accused's families; such as their place of residence and profession, which has enabled the identification of how these people earned their living. Only a small minority, 9 individuals, had family properties. 2 claimed that they lived on their family possessions,<sup>(24)</sup> while the fathers of 5 others still lived on their family property. In the case of the remaining 2, Pedro de Monroy and the Franciscan Friar Alonso de Peralta, it may be argued that they belonged to property owning families; the former was a knight of the Order of Calatrava and the father of the latter was a member of the Order of Santiago. Entry to both of these Military Orders was excluded to the lower social strata.<sup>(25)</sup>

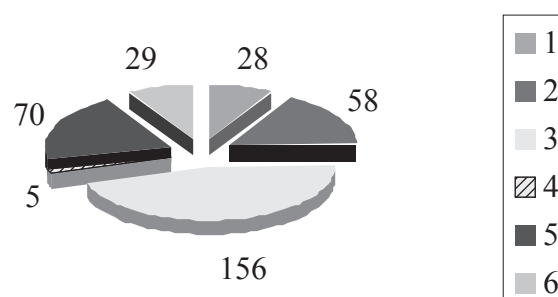
Excluding this small group of wealthy individuals the great majority of the remaining 346 may be identified as members of the lower strata.<sup>(26)</sup> Of these, there were 83 manufacturing craftsmen,<sup>(27)</sup> 66 farmer-peasants, 44 servants, 21 manual workers, such as day laborers [*jornaleros*], 5 shepherds, 4 barbers, 6 vendors [*tratantes*], 3 vagrants and 3 who declared that they were out of work, 2 transporters, 5 others including a miller, a soldier, a gambler, an actor and a fencer. 42 individuals did not specify their occupation. A small minority, 38, raise an important question regarding the problem of social classifications in the early modern period. Of this minority, there were 17 lawyers, students and *alguaciles* [baillifs] and 21 clerics. On the one hand, they may be identified as belonging to the emergence of a middle class in Spanish society. However, on the other hand, their backgrounds may be identified as lower strata since their parents were artisans or farmer-peasants. For example a university graduate Melchor de los Reyes was the son of a dyer and grandson to a carpenter.<sup>(28)</sup> Unless found any data which indicates a possibility of property owning of their own or of their family, I have classified these individuals, who dedicated in professions above mentioned, as members of the lower strata. Nonetheless, it should be noted that several exceptions might emerge with a discovery of new documents.





Table I shows an overview of the types of offences these 346 lower strata individuals were accused of. As can be seen there were 28 accused of bigamy [8%], 58 of blasphemy [16%], 156 of simple fornication [45%], 70 of scandalous words [20%] and 34 of sorcery and other offences [9%]. The majority of individuals, studied here, were accused of offences which did not necessarily imply the need of migration lends weight to their use as evidence for the extent of migration among the ordinary lower strata. The only offence which had a slight implication of migration was bigamy, which occupied no more than 8% of the whole and its low number is significant for the validity of this research. Furthermore, although the historiography has pointed out that bigamy was an offence whose perpetrators had to migrate for its practice,<sup>(29)</sup> it is important to point out that the practice of bigamy by no means always required its perpetrators to migrate: female bigamists were usually non-migrants.<sup>(30)</sup> Therefore, the individuals who were accused at the Inquisition for secondary offences were not necessarily people who had extra or special motives to migrate in addition to the ones ordinary people usually had when they made decisions to migrate.

Table I. Number of the accused who gave *discursos de la vida*



1. bigamy 2. blasphemy 3. simple fornication 4. sorcery  
5. scandalous words 6. others

Having established the value of this evidence for a discussion of migration, it is necessary to comment on the identification of these offenders as representative of the lower strata. These cases of secondary offences, such as blasphemy, simple fornication, scandalous words and bigamy, were not idiosyncratic. Rather, behaviour of these offenders was common among the lower strata. In a brief summary of two types of secondary offence, a defence is made for the use of Inquisitorial sources as evidence of lower strata behaviour.

Blasphemy was a charge brought against someone who said that they did not believe in God, or that they renounced God, his Mother and the saints, or they perhaps had questioned an article of faith or doctrine, such as the Mary's virginity or the Assumption.<sup>(31)</sup> The Spanish Holy Office took the issue seriously and regarded that only heretics cursed God, Our Lady and the saints. Nonetheless, as researchers on the Spanish Inquisition agree, it was common among all Spaniards to heap curses on different members of



the divine hierarchy in rage and frustration when people encountered unfortunate or desperate situations.<sup>(32)</sup> An example of such blasphemy is the case of Bartolomé de Acurio, aged seventy. One day when he was arguing with his wife, in anger he renounced God, Saint Mary and the saints.<sup>(33)</sup> The only difference between De Acurio and the great majority of Spaniards who cursed and swore against God was that De Acurio was unlucky enough to be arrested by the Inquisition. It is likely that numerous cases of blasphemy went unreported to the Inquisition and thus remain unknown to historians.

Simple fornication is another secondary offence which shows that suspects' behaviour was not an exception, but in fact normal. Simple fornication, which has been defined as "carnal intercourse by mutual consent between two people outside marriage free of any relationship", never fell under Inquisitorial jurisdiction until the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>(34)</sup> It was in 1559 when the first trials on simple fornication appeared and these increased after the instructions decreed in *cartas acordadas* by the *Suprema*, or central Inquisitorial court, in 1573 and 1574; these *cartas* ordered local tribunals to include simple fornication under their jurisdiction.<sup>(35)</sup> Inquisitors saw a possible influence of Lutherans on people who believed and asserted that having sex under mutual consent between single man and woman was not a sin, and thus they regarded that such mentality was heretical. Yet, evidence suggests that ordinary people did not view the act as a mortal sin and that it was common among members of the lower strata; some had sex as *novios* before contracting marriage and others with prostitutes. The existence of some brothels, which were legally run by municipal governments, had been a permanent fixture in some communities since the medieval period; evidence such as this indicates that simple fornication was an accepted practice. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that it was never strongly approved of. It was customary for those that practised it to find excuses for their behaviour. Historians have noted the following evasive arguments used by men: "it was not a sin to have sexual intercourse with prostitutes if you pay them" and "it was not a sin to have carnal intercourse with a woman if you know that you are going to marry her".<sup>(36)</sup> In general it is important to note that the accused in these trials were ordinary people, but unfortunate enough to be caught. Concerning the question of their identification as ordinary it should be acknowledged that the selection of secondary offences only, and not major offences such as Judaizers and Protestants, has been made to avoid exceptional individuals.

In the corpus of evidence under analysis, 346 men and women, who as has been argued may be identified as belonging to the lower social strata, gave an account of their life. 279 of them (80.6 %) may be termed migrants as they had declared that they had left their birth places to live elsewhere; this high number indicates that migration was a very common phenomenon in Spain.<sup>(37)</sup> Furthermore, it is significant that out of 67 people, who declared that they had never changed their residence since birth, 35 had experience of visiting other places; they added in their testimonies that they sometimes had traveled for business or family reasons. For example, Alonso Rodriguez, a dyer aged thirty-six, never lived anywhere else but his birthplace, Toledo. However, he had trav-



elled to several places, and even as far as Valencia, 381 kilometres to the west.<sup>(38)</sup> The evidence examined provides a high figure of 314 (90.7%) people who declared that they had had experience of either leaving their birth places to live elsewhere, or traveling to other places. This is a clear indication of the extent of geographical mobility amongst the sixteenth-century Spanish lower strata.

For the purposes of this section, I analyze 220 cases which stated their age at leaving home.<sup>(39)</sup> Most people left their hometowns before adulthood, which was the case for 188 out of the 220 migrants who stated at what age they had left their hometowns (85%). Of this number, 59 had done so before the age of nine, accompanying their parents or relatives when they themselves had migrated. A typical case of the migration of a whole family unit was that of Pedro García Valero, a cobbler. His family abandoned Villafranca, his birth place, soon after he was born in around 1535 for Acebuchal, where they remained for twenty years.<sup>(40)</sup>

A second group of migrants, who left their birth places during late childhood or adolescence, consisted of those who began their working life as an apprentice or a domestic servant. The documents examined reveal that 129 individuals, aged between 9 and 18, left their birth places, which supports the established fact that many early modern Spanish children and teenagers left their parents' houses to work in domestic service or to start an apprenticeship.<sup>(41)</sup> Parents living in small towns and villages, where job offers were limited, often had to send their children away to other towns and villages. When parents could find employers in nearby towns, it was likely that they chose those places to send their children. Evidence from the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo provides valuable information on the labour market in Toledo and the surrounding area, and supplements the accounts of migration recorded in the *discursos de la vida*. For example, my study of a selection, from the thousands of cases, of life-cycle service contracts and apprenticeship indentures in the archive document children migrating from outlying villages in Montes de Toledo to the city of Toledo. A characteristic example is Pedro Cordero, *vecino de* Sonseca, a village twenty-eight kilometers from Toledo. He sent his daughters, María, aged ten and Marta, fourteen, to work in domestic service in the house of Melchor Díaz, a draper in the city of Toledo for the period of eleven and six years respectively.<sup>(42)</sup>

Although it is certain that many children from small villages and towns were absorbed into the labour market of nearby larger urban centres, it is important to note that on occasions parents sent their sons and daughters to places much further away from home. Juan Francés, born and raised in a small village called Villa del Grado [Huesca], left his parents' house at the age of eight. Instead of going to Monzón, a town thirty kilometers away from Villa del Grado, he went to Alcañiz, approximately 200 kilometres away. There he worked in the house of the stonemason master Pedro. Francés made very little mention of what he had done in master Pedro's house, but it is most likely that he was a live-in servant who carried out domestic chores.<sup>(43)</sup> The distance



traveled by Juan Francés was not an exception. Alonso López from Lugo [Galicia] aged fourteen, embarked on a journey of 350 kilometres to Valladolid to work as a tanner.<sup>(44)</sup> As is discussed below, in many cases these youthful departures were the first stage of a series of journeys. Life-cycle servants frequently moved to a new place after finishing their initial period of service,<sup>(45)</sup> or even before finishing the contracted period of service. Similarly, it was not uncommon for apprentices to abandon their masters even before completing their apprenticeship and move on to new places.

Of the 220 cases under examination, 33 remained in their birth places until they became adults. An explanation for some of these cases is that unlike parents from small towns and villages, those who lived in big cities such as Madrid, Seville, and Toledo often found apprenticeships or initial jobs for their offspring within their home cities. For instance, Andrés de Zamora, a cap-maker and *vecino de* Toledo, “bound over” Catalina, his ten year-old daughter as a domestic servant for a stipulated period of four years to Baltasar Pacheco in Toledo.<sup>(46)</sup> Another example is Juan de Torres, a hosier born in Madrid. Although documents do not give us precise information of the place where Torres did his apprenticeship to become a hosier, it is likely that his father apprenticed him to a master in Madrid. At the age of twenty, when he left Madrid for Barcelona, he was already able to make a living as a hosier.<sup>(47)</sup> Even the family of Jerónimo González, from the small town of Alva de Tormes, managed to apprentice him to a tailor in their hometown, as González himself recounted:

“I was born in Alva de Tormes where I grew up in my parents’ house until I became twenty-five years-old. There in Alva de Tormes I dedicated myself to learning to read and write, and also to tailoring. From there I went to Ciudad Rodrigo because there I had a brother, whose name was Francisco González, and was also a tailor. From Ciudad Rodrigo, I went to Placencia. In these places I think I spent four years and I was working as a tailor...”<sup>(48)</sup>

Farmer-peasants [*labradores*] also tended to remain in their birth places until adulthood. Out of 33 people who left their birth places after the age of nineteen, 12 were farmer-peasants. An illustrative example is, Alonso Díaz, born in Quintanilla around 1562. He stayed in his hometown working as a farmer-peasant [*labrador*] until the age of twenty, when he left Quintanilla for Carpio to serve for Nicolás López, another *labrador*.<sup>(49)</sup> The fact that *labradores* tended to stay in their native places until adulthood is not a novelty to our knowledge. Historians have distinguished landowning farmers from non-proprietors and pointed out that landholding farmers were less likely than proletarians to migrate from the time they were young. Historian Leslie Page Moch has explained this tendency in her book, *Moving Europeans* that young people of landowning families tended to work in the land of their family and avoided to work as a farmer servant in someone else’s lands.<sup>(50)</sup> It is likely that Spanish *labradores* remained in the land of their parents if they had any until they became adults. Yet, the fact that some *labradores* owned a piece of land did not always stop them from migrating elsewhere. Moch also



pointed out that there are examples of landholders abandoning the lands of their family.<sup>(51)</sup> With respect to 12 *labradores* out of 33 migrants who left their native places after the age of eighteen, it is unknown whether landholding influenced the age at leaving native places, since *discurso* provides no information on their landownership. However, if we take into account the fact that landownership was not necessarily equivalent to wealth, that some tenant *labradores* who worked on rich soil made more gains than *labradores* who owned less fertile lands,<sup>(52)</sup> it is probable that not only landowners but also non-proprietors stayed with their parents in their native places until they became adults.

The evidence examined so far clearly demonstrates that in the period under discussion, it was the norm for members of the lower social strata to leave their hometowns, either in childhood, in adolescence or after they came of age. Very few people stayed in their hometowns throughout their lifetimes. Of the 346 men and women examined, only 28 (8%) declared that they had never left their hometowns.

#### IV. *Migration Trajectories*

As has been discussed, the research of Vassberg and Roel offers a framework to examine the departure of the lower strata from their birth places. However, as was stated earlier, their research concentrates on specific moments of migrants' lives or locations for in and out-migration. The aim of this section is to provide a new perspective on migration by looking at migrants' trajectories over the course of their lives. It traces the movements of members of the lower strata over the course of their lifetimes. Trajectories of migration from place to place are plotted through an analysis of *discursos de la vida*. In the course of this mapping process, the value of the historical model introduced by Vassberg and others is demonstrated. Moreover, through an analysis of this new body of evidence, members of the lower strata are shown to be more mobile than has been understood until now.

The study of *discursos* overcomes the limitation of sources employed by researchers to study migration. For example, marriage registers provide a valuable source of evidence for the study of migration. The statistic that in some small villages one third of marriages were contracted between locals and outsiders demonstrated a more geographically mobile population of the period than had been understood till then. Nonetheless, the same statistic also suggested that the remaining two-thirds of marriages are evidence of a sedentary population.<sup>(53)</sup> Because marriage registers do not provide information on the residence of married couples after and before the wedding, as source of evidence to study geographical movement they are limited. The study of the *discursos de la vida* opens a wider context to interpret this evidence: it provides information which demonstrates that the remaining two-thirds of married couples (contracted between locals) did not necessary remain as residents in their hometowns after their weddings. Analysis of *discursos* reveals that it was very common among the members of the Spanish lower strata to migrate elsewhere after taking a spouse. Juan Jiménez related in his *discurso* that he married a fellow villager in their birthplace, Santa Cruz.



He then left her behind there to go and serve friars in Guadalupe.<sup>(54)</sup> In addition, the following example indicates that migrants would also return to their hometowns to marry after a number of years of migration. Alonso de Oltiveros, a woolen cloth weaver aged fifty-eight born in El Moral, was one of majority who married his fellow country woman in his birthplace. However, marrying his fellow country woman did not mean that he never left his native place. His *discurso* reveals that he had migrated in the years before he contracted marriage. He left home at the age of four, when he moved to his maternal grandparents' house in Ciudad Real. He stayed there until he was about twenty or twenty-two years old. Then, he returned to El Moral, married a fellow country woman, and obtained *vecindad* [citizenship] of the place.<sup>(55)</sup>

Prior to examining this evidence, it is important to comment on its limitations. The *discursos de la vida* are by no means complete descriptions of migrants' journeys. Migrants provided in their *discursos* information on the places they visited and lived until they were brought to the Inquisition, but they did not necessarily provide all the data regarding their travels. Concerning this issue, a key factor was the relationship between a person's employment and residence. The description of places lived in is usually accompanied by a statement of the migrants' employment status in that place. It may be inferred that migrants visited places where they failed to find work and hence made no mention of in their *discursos*. Thus the information obtained from *discursos* most likely underestimates the number of places visited and lived.

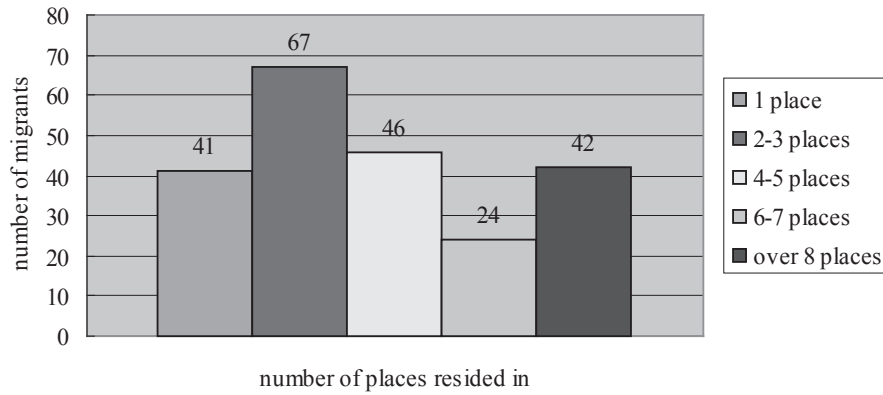
However, it is not the intention of this research to predict higher numbers that the data provides. Indeed the relationship of employment to residence is a fundamental criteria for the analysis of this data. In a few cases no mention of work is made. In these examples it may be assumed that only a short period of time was spent in a place, due to migrants' lack of work to support themselves. For the purpose of this analysis these places have been excluded when calculating the number of places migrants resided in. It is important to note that it is very likely that although the majority of *discursos* made no mention of these fleeting stays in cities and towns, they too underwent these experiences in their search for work. In addition to the more gradual process of migration based on employment and residence, there would have been an additional more transient movement of people.

Continuing the focus on the 220 migrants who gave their age at first migrating, Table II offers an overview of the number of places they travelled to prior to their encounter with the Inquisition. The average number of places migrants resided in was 4.4, which clearly demonstrates that migrants, after their initial departure, moved around before settling down in a place.<sup>(56)</sup>

To substantiate the claim that migration to a number of places before settling down was the norm, Table III examines the ages of the 41 migrants recorded as residing in



Table II. Number of places resided in by migrants



their first destination: 27 of these (65.9%) were younger than thirty, while migrants over age fifty who had more time to travel around counted only 3 out of 41. This fact insinuates that 27 migrants (65.9%) who were younger than thirty stayed in their first destination due to the lack of time they had; if these people had been caught at the Inquisition at the later stage of their life, it is very likely that they would have moved on to another place or more. Further support for this is provided by Table IV, which examines the relationship between the number of places resided in and the ages, at leaving home, of migrants under the age of thirty. The breakdown of migrants' ages offered by table IV reveals that 12 (44.4%) out of the aforementioned 27 migrants had departed from their birth places after the age of nineteen, which explains their limited experience of migration. Following the evidence in table II, it may be concluded that these young migrants would have gone on to migrate again in their thirties or forties if they had not been arrested by the Inquisition. In fact, Table V indicates the probability of this: 47 out of 54 migrants between the age of thirty-one and forty had resided in more than two places. The second largest group of migrants in this age bracket had resided in 4 to 5 places, and the third largest in more than 8.

Table III. Number and ages of migrants who resided in their first destination

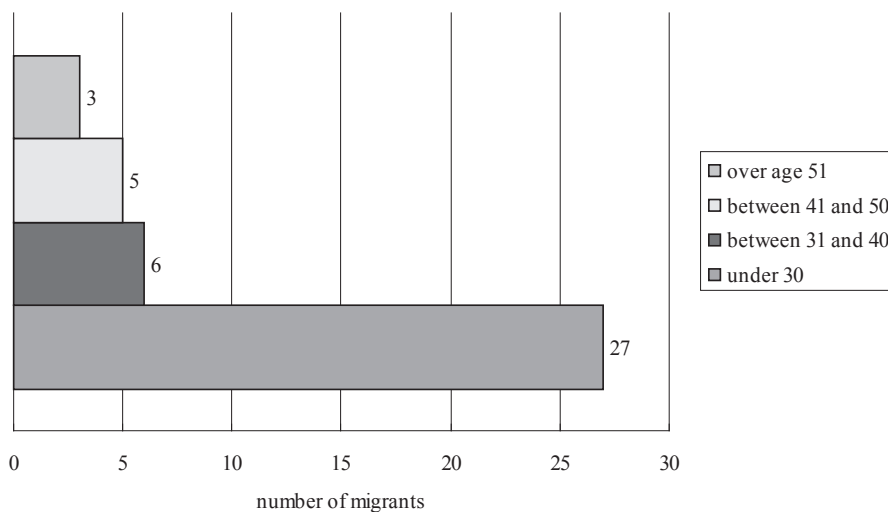


Table IV. Relationship between the number of places resided in and the age at leaving home among 27 migrants under age 30

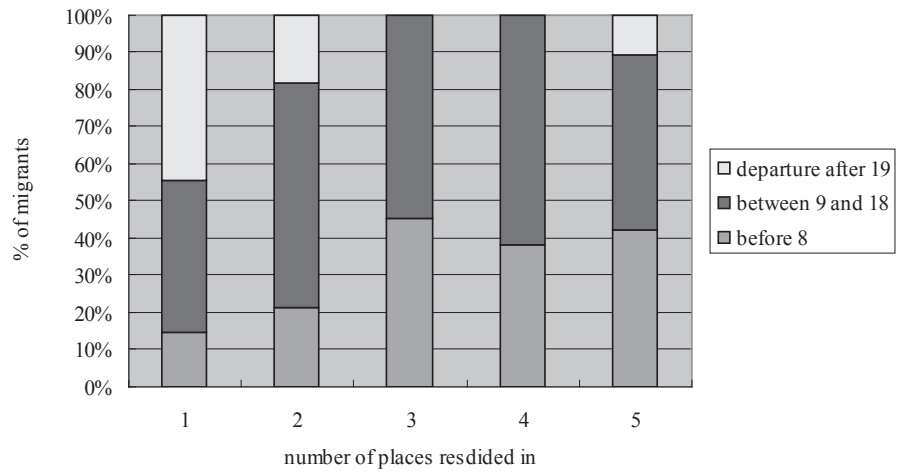
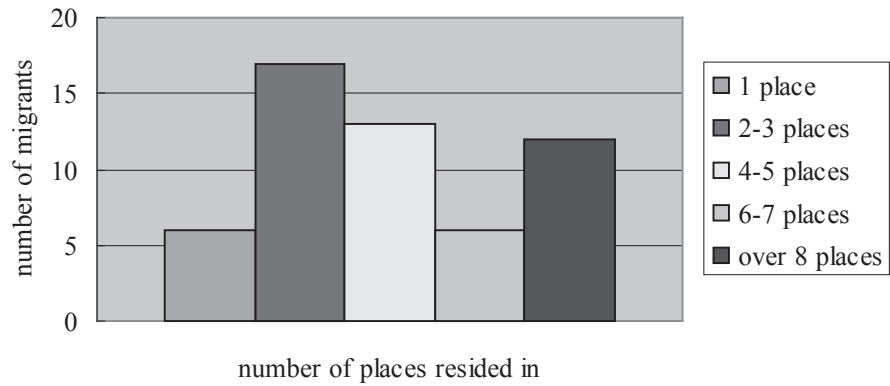


Table V. Number of places resided in by migrants aged between 31 and 40



Though it is difficult to sort out the total distance travelled by every migrant since some of the places they referred to cannot be identified neither on modern maps nor on contemporary ones, a glance at the total distance travelled by some migrants, in addition to the number of the places they resided in discussed above, helps to grasp the dimension of ordinary people's migration during the period under examination. Historians on early modern Spanish migration have pointed out that geographical movement in the countryside was usually "local movement". They discussed that people chose to migrate to the nearest town or city.<sup>(57)</sup> Historians on other European regions made similar points. For example, historian Leslie Page Moch discussed that many English men and women between 1660 and 1730 left their parish of birth, but relatively few men and women left their home country.<sup>(58)</sup> My research demonstrates that this was not necessarily the case in sixteenth-century Spain: the distance travelled by migrants tended to be longer than just inter-parish migration. The great majority of migrants travelled hundreds and thousands of kilometres. By the time the aforementioned Juan Francés, who travelled 200 kilometres from his parents' house to the place where his first employer lived at the age of eight, was brought to the Inquisition, he had travelled the total dis-





tance of 849 kilometres.<sup>(59)</sup> Gabriel de Avril, a textile artisan, had travelled the total distance of 904 kilometres by the age of twenty-one. When it came to Luís Gutiérrez, a book seller, the total distance travelled until he was brought to the Inquisition at the age of forty reached 2,000 kilometres.<sup>(60)</sup> Examples of migrants who travelled distances over 500 kilometres exceed by far the ones who travelled less.<sup>(61)</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that it is very likely that the sum total of distance underestimates the reality since migrants did not always declare all the places they had been to.

To develop a clearer understanding of the complexity of these migration trajectories, a distinction may be drawn between two types of migrant; those that returned to their birth place and those that did not. Analysis of these two types of migrant is the task of the following two sections.

#### V. *Migration motives: return migration*

Studies of migration to and from the Indies have revealed that the majority of migrants did not return to Spain. In particular, Ida Altman's examination of migrants from Extremadura in the New World has shown that less than 20% of migrants returned to Spain either to stay for good, or to visit.<sup>(62)</sup> Altman contrasted this fact to a description, based on limited evidence of migration patterns within the Iberian Peninsula; she claimed that for migrants within the Iberian Peninsula return migration was the norm.<sup>(63)</sup> The research carried out for this study offers a very different picture of migration with regard to the Iberian Peninsula.

Closer examination of the archive of *discursos de la vida* shows that few migrants returned home. As discussed in earlier section, out of 346 members of Spanish lower strata who provided *discursos*, 279 were migrants. Drawing on the accounts of these 279 migrants, their *discursos* demonstrate that only 74 (26.5%) went back to their hometowns, either to stay for good, as "returnees", or simply as "visitors".<sup>(64)</sup> An example of a returnee is Juan Martín de Lucas, a cloth weaver native of El Moral. He first left home at the age of four, when he moved to his aunt's house in Manzanares [300 kilometers northwest]. He stayed there for four years and then went back to his father's house in El Moral. When his father died, he started to work as a domestic servant for his uncle and several neighbors in El Moral, where he also learned the skill of weaving. When he reached eighteen again he departed, but this time to Baeza and Ecija [Andalusia, 360 kilometers west], where he worked as cloth weaver. After spending a year in Andalusia, he returned once more to El Moral. On this occasion it appears he decided to settle there and he married a fellow villager, and became *vecino* of the place.<sup>(65)</sup> The case of Pedro López offers an example of a visitor who returned home only to emigrate again. Aged fifty-nine, López declared that he was born and raised in his parents' house in Mora. At the age of twelve or thirteen his parents sent him to serve a magistrate [*oidor*] in the Chancillería of Valladolid [310 kilometers northwest]. López remained in his service for ten years after which time he returned to Mora. He stayed there a year and a half and then went to Alcazar de Consuegra, a village 30 kilometers from Mora,



where he lived for six or seven years. He at first worked there as an apprentice to a hosier, and then as a journeyman [*oficial*] of the same profession. Aged about thirty he went to Toledo [65 kilometers from Consuegra], where he married and settled. He worked in Toledo for about ten years, most likely as a hosier, and then for twenty-seven years he was employed as a gatekeeper of Toledo's *Bisagra*. As would be expected of a long term resident he became a *vecino* of Toledo, not of Mora; López never returned to his birth place after his second departure.<sup>(66)</sup>

Regarding the small number of return-migrants from the New World to Spain, the danger and expenses that the distance between Spain and its colony entailed for migrants provide an obvious explanation for this fact. Ida Altman argued in her study, *Emigrants and Society*, that a decision of return-migration from the Indies depended upon a range of factors, such as "family background and social and economic status, position within the family, timing of arrival in the Indies... connections and opportunities found there, and ...individual capabilities and even personalities"<sup>(67)</sup> It is important to distinguish migration to the Indies from that within the Iberian Peninsula; the last few factors would have had less significance in the Peninsula. As the distances separating migrants within the Peninsula from their home towns was not necessarily such a barrier for them, it may be argued that other factors also intervened and prevented their return. This study develops three key sociological explanations for the limited quantity of return migration within the Iberian Peninsula. The first two explanations follow Altman's analysis of migration to the Indies: the importance of migrants' ownership of property in their hometowns and the claims of inheritance of family property. Based on my analysis of *discursos*, I then study the significance of the presence of kinsmen in migrants' hometowns.

Regarding the issue of property ownership in migrants' hometowns, the limitations of the *discursos de la vida* is apparent, as they make no reference to their property ownership. However, the importance of property of any type as a motive for returning home has been demonstrated by historians studying geographical movement between Spain and the New World. It has been pointed out that it was likely that men of better social standing returned to Spain.<sup>(68)</sup> A similar perspective on this issue was given by David Jacoby in his comparative work on the migration of wealthy merchants and less-to-do artisans in the Mediterranean region during the medieval period. His study revealed that merchants who left their hometowns on business, whether for a short or long period, maintained property and contacts in their hometowns; this is a clear case of pre-meditated return migration. In contrast, Jacoby argued that when craftsmen changed their residence, they completely re-established themselves and their family unit in the new places chosen, which illustrates the principal of non-return migration. Furthermore, he has shown that while merchants married their sons and daughters to their fellow countrymen and women back home, it was common for craftsmen to marry their children into the local community.<sup>(69)</sup>

Not having property back home may have encouraged migrants to leave. The possibil-



ity of inheriting, the second motive under discussion, may have motivated migrants to return home. Based on her study of the poor in eighteenth-century France, Olwen Hutton argues that “a great deal [of return migration] depended upon what one was leaving behind the smallest parcel of land, or the prospect of inheriting such, was sufficient to ensure the return of the migrant.”<sup>(70)</sup> The same may be said for the poor in sixteenth-century Spain. Although none of the 74 migrants who returned home declared that they did so to inherit family property, the *discursos de la vida* provide a case of return-migration motivated by family inheritance, which is Beltran de Valencia’s *discurso*. Although he never received any inheritance, he recounted that his uncle Guillén had been left property by a relative. Uncle Guillén traveled from Taranto in the Kingdom of Naples to Valencia to take up this inheritance.<sup>(71)</sup>

The following analysis reveals that an important element which influenced migrants’ decision to return home was the existence of their kinsmen in hometown. It is demonstrated that migrants would be likely to return to their birth places when more than two or three of relatives remained in their hometowns.

On the subject of the study of migrants’ kinsmen, it is important to refer to how migrants maintained contact with their families and native places. The question of inheritance is closely linked to migrant’s knowledge of their family’s wellbeing. The aforementioned Beltran de Valencia, whose uncle in Taranto had informed himself of the death of his kinsman in Valencia, is an indication of the efficiency of communications over large distances. It is clear that leaving one’s home did not necessarily mean a complete loss of contact with one’s family. Migrants often obtained news of their fellow countrymen on the road and in new places where they settled down. There were the inns and taverns where fellow countrymen could gather and newly arrived migrants could provide them with the latest news from their hometowns. Following example clearly demonstrate this circulation of news among migrants. When a man from Portugal stopped by at the inn where Alvaro De Gama was staying, “Alvaro de Gama de Silva asked him for news from Portugal, and the said Portuguese told him that his cousin, the Marquis Don Alvaro de Gama had come from the Indies powerfully...”<sup>(72)</sup> In this way, news of one’s homeland, especially the news of marriages and deaths, usually spread rapidly between migrants. Although limited, evidence suggests that having family members whose employment involved frequent returns to their native places, such as muleteers, was an important factor. Juan López Serrano, a shearer and *vecino* in Almagro, had never returned to his native place in twenty-six years, yet he had a detailed knowledge of almost all his relatives. His extensive information about his relatives was probably due to his brother, who was a muleteer.<sup>(73)</sup>

The Inquisition archive offers a valuable body of evidence to study migrants’ knowledge of their families. As part of the Inquisition’s first hearing, suspects were asked to identify themselves, and in a number of cases Inquisitors asked for genealogical information. In these cases, which may be found throughout the sixteenth-century, suspects



recounted the places of residence and professions of their parents, grand-parents, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, and finally their spouses and children. 73 of 74 migrants, who returned to their birth place either to stay for good or to visit, provided information about their family members. Closer study of these genealogies reveals the places of residence of migrants' relatives, and thus enables the identification of whether migrants' kinsmen still lived in their hometowns, or had also changed their place of residence. From this analysis, a common characteristic is noted between returnees and visitors. 64 out of the 74 returnees and visitors had at least one of their parents and other kinsmen living in their birth places (82%). As for the 27 returnees, it is significant that all except one had more than a couple of kinsmen still living in their native places.<sup>(74)</sup> 38 out of 47 visitors declared that they had several relatives residing in their hometown. Two examples illustrate this point. It appears that the family of the cloth-weaver and returnee, Juan Martín de Lucas, was well established in El Moral, his native village; most of his relatives had *vecindad* there, including his parents, four out of five maternal aunts and uncles and his two brothers. Among his living relatives, only one paternal aunt, who was married to a man from Membrilla did not live in El Moral.<sup>(75)</sup> Another example of this concentration of relatives in one place is provided by the case of Pedro del Olmo, a returnee peasant-farmer, who was born in Almodóvar del Campo. Del Olmo's kinfolk were all living in Almodóvar del Campo as *vecinos*.<sup>(76)</sup>

The fact that 82% of the return migrants had at least more than two relatives still residing in their hometowns is significant. When compared this statistical data of return migrants' relatives to that of non-return migrants' kinsmen, it becomes more significant. Unlike the concentrations of kinsmen in migrants' birth places among returnees and visitors, it was by no means common among non-return migrants. Out of 205 non-return migrants, only 31 stated that more than two of their family members lived in their hometowns (15%).<sup>(77)</sup>

Usually, non-return migrants' kinfolk had also migrated elsewhere. Following examples illustrate that migration was a tendency these 205 non-return migrants shared with their relatives. Juan de Castro, a migrant cook, left his native village of Hidalguillo at the age of four with his sister and since then never returned home. De Castro was not the only one who no longer lived in Hidalguillo. According to his testimony, his parents had died, his brother lived in Villarén and his sister with whom he migrated also lived elsewhere. He also mentioned that he had never known his grandparents. He also declared that he had never met his aunts and uncles and in fact did not know whether he had any.<sup>(78)</sup> The same picture emerges from the evidence of Alonso Rebellón, a migrant carder born in San Cosme de Nete in Galicia; none of his kinsmen lived in his native village. His parents had died and, although, his grandparents were residents in the village during their lifetime he had never met them. Nor did he know whether his only aunt, whose name he vaguely remembered, was dead or alive. Finally, to conclude this account of his lack of family ties, he stated that his only brother had left for the Indies and he had never heard from him.<sup>(79)</sup> On the basis of this analysis, it is apparent that the



existence of family members in hometowns was a significant motive for return migration.

However, the importance of kinsmen's existence should not be overrated and emphasis must be maintained on the economic imperative underpinning decisions to migrate and settle. Further scrutiny of the inquisitorial records reveals whether or not migrants' kinsmen worked in the same profession as their migrant relations. From this information it may be argued that kinsmen played an important role in providing employment opportunities for return migrants. The absence of the support network provided by kinfolk may be proposed as a distinguishing feature between returnees and visitors.

Study of the genealogies combined with the *discursos de la vida* provides a limited, but nonetheless valuable basis to explore this issue. It should be added that this question would benefit from further archival research. All 27 returnees provided information on their kinsmen's profession. Of this number, 18 (66%) indicated that they had relatives who worked in the same profession. The aforementioned cloth weaver Juan Martín de Lucas provides an example of a returnee who probably found work through kinsmen. He had three uncles who worked as cloth weavers in his hometown, El Moral.<sup>(80)</sup> Pedro del Olmo, the returnee farmer-peasant had three brothers also working as farmer-peasants.<sup>(81)</sup>

In contrast to returnees, visitors rarely had relatives who worked in the same professions as them. For example, none of the visitor Antón de Taragona's relatives was engaged in the trade of head-dress making. Of the 46 genealogies that provide information of the professions of visitors' relatives, only 4 declared that they had relatives engaged in the same employment as themselves (8%). An example of these exceptions is Juan de Mendiola, whose relatives were all goldsmiths. The carder Andres de Peñaver also had 7 brothers and sisters who were either carders or carders' wives.<sup>(82)</sup> It may be argued that the relatives could no longer afford to share their work with the migrant family member.

On the basis of the evidence explored in this section it may be argued that any one or a combination of the factors discussed, property ownership, the prospect of inheritance, the existence of family members and the job opportunities these kinsmen could offer, would have influenced migrants when making their decision to come home, as well as influencing their decision to remain or depart again.

## VI. *Migration motives: non-return migration*

The evidence shows that out of 279 migrants, 205, more than 73%, declared that they had never returned to their hometowns, but had either continued traveling from place to place or settled in new places. Moreover, as has been discussed, 47 out of 74 men who did return to their birth places did so only as visitors. Therefore, out of 279 migrants,



249 (89.2%) did not settle down in their birth places. Thus, on the basis of this evidence, it may be argued that members of the sixteenth-century Spanish lower strata usually left their birth places and lived elsewhere instead of settling down in the place where they were born. The question of why people did not return to their birth places is more complex. In addition to the factor discussed in previous section [absence of relatives in migrants' hometowns], three fundamental factors may be identified: legal restrictions, the prospects of job opportunities and the new relationships that migrants established in the new communities.

As discussed in the previous section, the comparison of the kinsmen's residence between return migrants and non-return migrants indicated that the existence of relatives in migrants' hometowns motivated their return home, and the absence of relatives in non-return migrants' hometowns discouraged their return home. Not only could the absence of migrants' family members in their hometowns be a significant factor in non-return migration, but in certain cases the presence of family members could also effectively be a cause of this form of migration; in some cases family members were obliged to enforce legal restrictions. As was examined in section IV, most of those who left their hometowns in their childhood to work in the handicrafts industry and domestic service did not return to their hometowns afterwards. One of the reasons for this may well have been legal restrictions which prevented them from returning. A frequent occurrence in sixteenth-century Spain was that many apprentices abandoned their masters without finishing their contracted period of apprenticeship. Runaway apprentices could not return to their hometowns, because if found there, or within five leagues of the place where they worked, their fathers or guardians [*tutores*] had to personally return them to their master.<sup>(83)</sup> Thus, those who broke the indenture of their apprenticeship usually neither returned home, nor stayed in the place of their apprenticeship.

Even when journeyman and master status was legally attained, it was common that journeymen and masters lived away from their hometowns. On the basis that they had to leave their hometowns to find a master to be apprenticed to, the prospects of finding work in their native villages may well have been limited. Therefore, instead of returning home, some stayed in the place of their first employers and found jobs there, while others left for new destinations. The study of guild *ordenanzas* reveals legal prohibitions on non-members of local guilds working within their jurisdiction, which aimed to protect local workers. While there is some evidence of the enforcement of these measures, when considering their social impact these legal codes need to be read with caution. In terms of the historiography of artisans, this area of research has established a view of guilds as closed and authoritative bodies. However, in reality guild authority was not necessarily always adhered to, and furthermore it was in fact very common for artisans to change employers and places to live, and in turn for host communities to accept outsiders and their labour contribution. Hence, it may be argued that once an apprenticeship was completed, artisans, whether journeymen or masters, were to a considerable extent free from legal restrictions with regard to their migration in search of work.



An illustrative example of the tendency of artisans to search for work in a number of places, seemingly not subject to the guild *ordenanzas*, is the case of Juan Francés, discussed earlier in section III. He traveled 200 kilometers from his hometown to go to Alcañiz to work as a live-in servant in the house of master Pedro, a stonemason. After two or three years in Alcañiz, at the age of ten or eleven he departed for Bujalaroz, which is sixty kilometers away near Zaragoza, to learn the trade of masonry there. He worked, in Bujalaroz, as an apprentice for six or seven years, under the supervision of the masters Joan and Antonio.<sup>(84)</sup> Finishing his apprenticeship, Juan went to Barbastro, ninety kilometers away, to work with a different stonemason. After two years in Barbastro he traveled 124 kilometers to Zaragoza, where he worked with another stonemason for three years. The final piece of information on his trajectory recounts that he left for El Escorial, 375 kilometers to the north-west, where he found work as a stonemason with various masters of the profession.<sup>(85)</sup> It is conceivable that he was employed in the construction of the Monastery of San Lorenzo, then being built.

The discussion of legal restrictions highlights how the search for employment was an overarching concern, which broke family ties and encouraged guilds and communities to overlook their protectionist laws. Once more it should be stated that the search for employment was the most significant motive for non-return migration. Many migrants did not return home and instead, some stayed in the place of their first employers and found jobs there, while others left for new destinations in search of jobs, as has been illustrated in the previous example and is shown in the Table I.

Patterns of migration, similar to artisans, may be noted in the case of servants. Unlike runaway apprentices, there was no legal impediment preventing life-cycle servants returning home, yet, as well as licit artisans, they did not have much prospect of supporting themselves in their native places. Thus, instead of returning home, they moved from place to place when necessary. People who worked as servants rarely stayed with their initial employers. 38 out of 43 servants who provided a *discurso de la vida*, declared that they had worked for two employers or more.<sup>(86)</sup> When they switched jobs, they usually found their new employment in new places, but rarely their native place. Out of the 38 servants who had worked for more than two employers, 36 found their new employer in a new location.<sup>(87)</sup>

Other groups who migrated in search of work were *labradores*, day-labourers [*journaleros*] and shepherds. On the whole they also did not return home once they had migrated. It is interesting to note that there were legal and fiscal measures to encourage this type of labourer and, in certain specific cases, more specialised artisans to follow this pattern of migration.<sup>(88)</sup> Sixteenth-century Spanish villages and towns often sought to attract migrants to settle and work in their communities with financial attractions, such as tax exemption for the first 5, and in some cases, even 10 years. As a result, peasant-farmers were continuously on the lookout for such appeals for new settlers. It is likely that Diego Sanchez, a *labrador* and native of Berlanga [Valencia], was one of them. In 1560, aged 40 he testified that he had “lived” in Granada, Albacete, Villaninas



and Puebla de Montalvan.<sup>(89)</sup> Day-labourers, who depended mainly on the seasonal olive, grain or grape harvests, were also continuously on the move. A typical case of such day-labourers is given in the *discurso de la vida* of Pero Muñoz, who declared that he harvested grapes in 4 different places: San Clemente, Ocaña, Mascaraque and Moray.<sup>(90)</sup>

Migrants changed places to live in search of jobs. Meanwhile, some of them started new relationships, on occasions even marriages, in new places, and such new relationships discouraged them to return home.<sup>(91)</sup> Some of these migrants were married men who had left their wives in their hometowns. Binding new ties, either by marriage or by *amancebamiento*, often deterred these migrant husbands from returning home for two reasons. In the first place, as well as the existence of apprenticeship drop-outs' family members impeded them of their returning home, the existence of migrant husbands' abandoned wives became an obstacle for unfaithful husbands to return home. Accompanied by his new woman, heading back to the place where his first wife awaited was by no means a choice. In the second place, when a new job and a new wife in a new place which provided a migrant husband with a more stable life than the one he had in his hometown, it was likely that he chose to stay and never returned.

In the section on migration trajectories it was shown that the search for work was fundamental to a migrant's choice of residence. The next two sections illustrated this in different ways. The discussion of return migration demonstrated that family connections provided an important element for returnees to find work in their hometowns. In contrast the non-return migrants, without this family support, offer a different perspective on the search for work and residence. As has been shown, the family itself could be an impediment to returning home. However, what is more relevant is the range of employment possibilities across the peninsula, and this offers a more significant explanation for why the number of non-return migrants was so high. Furthermore, it is important to highlight a point raised by Vassberg, and demonstrated above that once migrants had left their birth places, it was unlikely that they could establish themselves in their first destinations, and as a result, many kept on changing their residence.<sup>(92)</sup> The cases of non-return migrants examined have supported this point. Thus, summarising the key points raised in the last four sections, the labour market was fundamental to the most common migration phenomenon, non-return migration, but what is more, it encouraged migrants to travel to a number of places in the search for employment and the means to establish themselves in a given place.

#### VII. *Mi pueblo*

The conclusions reached in the course of this article are highly significant for studies on migration. As has been discussed, my research demonstrates the validity of the work of Vassberg and other scholars, and what is more, it signals how the phenomenon of migration is more complex and widespread than has been considered until now. Furthermore, my analysis of the *discursos de la vida* and genealogies found in inquisitorial trial records, accompanied by notarial documents, indicate that a wealth of archival material





remains to be examined on this issue. To provide an additional insight into these findings, this concluding section examines the contemporaneous language and concepts of migration. Analysis of these factors provides a foundation for thinking about the social dynamics that structured communities; the inclusion of new members to them. In this way, a more complex picture of migration is developed in which issues that have emerged from this archival study are further contextualised.

In focusing on the migration patterns of members of the lower strata, it is apparent that their attitudes to their native places differed from members of the property owning sections of society; property-less people often formed strong bonds to the places they migrated to while property-owning people maintained sense of belonging to their birth places. Bearing this in mind, Don Quixote's squire, Sancho Panza clearly appears as an exceptional member of the lower strata. It may be argued that Sancho Panza's joyous declaration to his *pueblo*, "Open your eyes, beloved home of mine [*mi pueblo*], and behold your son Sancho Panza come back again", which perhaps marks a step towards more modern notions of *mi patria*, is an expression of upper strata ideas.<sup>(93)</sup> Needless to say, Cervantes was not writing social realism and his text may be read as a source for attitudes to migration of the upper strata. Considering the construction of Sancho Panza's character, with his faltering attempts to imitate his master, it would not seem fanciful to suggest that Cervantes made him express ideas above his social position.

An understanding of the ties that the upper strata held to their native places is found in other parts of Cervantes' text. For example, Cervantes depicted fidelity to one's land and lineage in the episode of "the captured" in *Don Quixote*. The magistrate Juan Perez de Biesma, the captured's brother, related how his younger brother went to Peru and made his fortune there. According to the magistrate, his younger brother, in addition to returning all the money his father had given him before he left for the Indies, continued to send money to his father, living in his native village in Las Montañas de León, even though he was a man of property and had no need to be provided for.<sup>(94)</sup> Cervantes' description is indicative of upper strata loyal attitudes to their native places. Such allegiances could be expressed in a number of forms; noble families actively promoted their close ties with their feudal estates by constructing convents and hospitals within their territories, participating in local festivals, as well as providing for the local poor.

In terms of the argument developed in this article that the search for employment was a fundamental concern for the lower strata, it may be argued that they did not necessarily maintain strong ties to the place where they were born, but to their adoptive places. Although evidence for lower strata attitudes is problematic, they may be detected in a number of different sources. In literary representations, for example, of the lower strata may be considered. They are portrayed as lacking a sense of belonging to their birthplaces. Lazarillo de Tormes, throughout the seven chapters of his life, never looked back with nostalgia on the days he lived in his native village.<sup>(95)</sup> Neither did El Buscón once recall his hometown.<sup>(96)</sup> In this context it is worth noting that we do not



even know whether Sancho Panza was a native to his *pueblo*. All Cervantes tells his readers is that he went back to his house where his wife and children awaited.

Following these literary texts, it may be argued that instead of maintaining an exclusive sense of belonging to their native places, members of the lower strata demonstrated a sense of belonging to the places they chose to settle in. An original perspective on lower strata migrants' contrasting attitudes to their birth places and adoptive places is discerned in a close reading of the *discursos de la vida*. In particular the use of verbs of movement, especially the verbs "return" and "go", is examined and provides valuable insights into migrants' attitudes. A clear sense of the usage and definition of these terms requires careful scrutiny. In some cases it is apparent that "returning" to a place meant going to a place once visited in the past, as is demonstrated in the case of Xaime Manobel, who employed the verb "return" not only when he referred to his native or adoptive places, but also to all places he had once visited. He related:

"I was born in the said village of Sarinena in my parents' house where...I stayed until the age of fifteen or seventeen, from there I went to Huescar...from there I went to Valencia...then I *returned to* Huescar...afterwards I went to live in the village of Sarinena...from there I went to...Zaragoza...from there I went to the Capital de Huescar...from there I *returned to*...Sarinena...from there I went to Catalonia...then I came back to Sarinena and from there I *returned to* Zaragoza...[my italics]"<sup>(97)</sup>

However, other *discursos de la vida* indicate that migrants distinguished "return" from "go", and used the verb "return" when they referred to the place with which they identified a sense of belonging. This is apparent in cases of return migrants. Two distinct tendencies in the use of the verb "return" may be noted that correspond with the individual migration patterns of return and non-return migrants.

In section two, three historiographical views on migration were discussed. The first of these, which argued for Spanish Villages as immobile and isolated, may also be identified with a related historiographical convention, which is the concept of inhabitants' loyal allegiance to their birthplaces as *mi patria*.<sup>(98)</sup> As was indicated in the analysis of the Cervantes characters, the notion of an emotional and ideological attachment to a native place was an upper strata attitude. A demonstration of how the lower strata would shift their allegiance to places where they took up residence and found work is indicated in the use of the verb "return" in the *discursos de la vida*. Following the arguments of "*mi patria*" historians, it would be expected that migrants would use the verb "return" to refer to their birth places. An example of this is Francisco Tornamira, a returnee who seems to have considered his native place as his *pueblo*. He distinguished between where he "went to" and where he "returned to". He recounted that "he was born in Tudela...from Tudela he *went* to Logroño...from there he *returned* to Tudela...from there he *went* to San Sebastian...from there he *went* to Verara, from there he *returned* to Tudela and then to Zaragoza, and from there to Tudela and then to Madrid, and from



Madrid he *returned* to Tudela, ...[my italics]"<sup>(99)</sup> It is clear that he exclusively used "return" when referring to Tudela, his native place.

However, in the case of non-return migrants the use of the verb "return" indicates their shift of loyalty and sense of belonging to a new place. For example, a non-return migrant Luis Gutiérrez, aged forty, was born in Cuenca and raised in Huete until the age of seven or eight. At the time of his trial before the Inquisition he was a resident of Toledo. In his *discurso* he referred to Toledo, not Cuenca, whenever he employed the verb "return".<sup>(100)</sup> It may be concluded from this use of the verb "return" that Toledo, his adoptive city, was the place he felt he belonged to and thus returned to.

Non-return migrants' application of the verb "return" to identify a sense of belonging to a new place, is also noted in the *discursos* of migrants who visited their birth places, but did not settle there. They did not use the verb "return" when describing their journeys back home, but employed it to refer to journeys to their adoptive places. Pedro Chamorro, born in villa de Trijeque, left his hometown when he was eleven or twelve. Although he visited Trijeque, he never lived there again. As an adolescent he went to Alcalá de Henares, forty kilometers south-west of Trijeque, where he spent eight years. At the age of twenty, he left Alcalá de Henares for Salamanca. After three or four years, "he *returned* to Alcalá de Henares [my italics]". But when he finally went back to Trijeque, his native village, he declared that "he *came* to the villa de Trijeque [my italic]".<sup>(101)</sup> The *discurso* of Juan Baptista further illustrates this. Like Chamorro, Baptista visited his birth place, but he never stated that he returned to his birth place. Instead, whenever he referred to his visits, he stated that; "I went to Daimiel (his native village)".<sup>(102)</sup> For Baptista, the place he returned and belonged to was no longer Daimiel, but Toledo, where he had settled. Thus, this analysis further demonstrates that a migrant's native place was not always the one to which he or she returned or held a sense of belonging to.

Through this survey of migrants' language in the *discursos de la vida*, it has been shown that the lower strata formed new ties to adoptive places and communities and did not necessarily maintain a lifelong identification with their birthplaces. The contrast to the upper strata attitudes, as well as those of the *mi patria* historians, is clear. Although a parallel may be drawn between the attitudes of return migrants and the upper strata, it is important to remember firstly, that they are a minority and secondly, that they remained in their birth places because they could sustain themselves there. It may thus be argued that the non-return migrants, who left their native places in search of work, are more representative of the lower strata. To conclude this survey, an additional group of sources needs to be considered.

The attitudes of non-return migrants are clearly depicted in a Golden Age Castilian proverbs compiled by Maestro Gonzalo Correas [1571-1631] such as; "for the good man distant lands are his *patria* [*Al buen varón, tierras ajenas su patria le son*]"<sup>(103)</sup> Similar



proverbs which express sense of belonging toward adoptive places abound. The following are some comparable examples, although their precise date is unknown; “you are not from where you were born, but where you graze your flock. [*No eres de donde naces, sino de donde paces.*]”<sup>(104)</sup>; “where one finds well-being, there you find your *patria* [*Allí está la patria, donde uno bien se encuentra; Donde se está bien, allí está la patria*]”<sup>(105)</sup>; or “the place you find well being, make it your *patria*. [*La tierra en que te vaya bien, por tu patria la ten.*]”<sup>(106)</sup> While the value of these texts as historical sources is problematic, nonetheless, as further evidence of lower strata attitudes to migration to new communities, they are significant.

It may be argued that the language of migrants and these proverbs signal the dual nature of migration: migrants’ abandonment of their native places and their integration into new communities. Their labour contribution would have been the first stage of migrants’ integration, which would have accompanied their fulfillment of the social practices and obligations required to obtain *vecindad*. With regard to the historical research on *vecindad*, further scrutiny of the *discursos de la vida* would be valuable, as many refer to migrants’ identities as *vecinos* in their adoptive places, such as in the case of Pedro López, a native of Mora, who later on became a *vecino* of Toledo.<sup>(107)</sup>

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- (1) Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez y Rivera, *Alonso, mozo de muchos amos o El donado hablador* (Madrid: Promoción y Ediciones, 1980)
- (2) *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1993); Francisco de Quevedo, *El Buscón* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1990)
- (3) Archivo Histórico Nacional Inquisición, legajo 33, expediente 30 (hereafter AHN INQ, leg. exp.)
- (4) For example, some local *concejos* [municipal government] required non-native would-be *vecinos* to give provisions and/or money to other *vecinos*, while natives were partially exempt from such duties. See for example the compilation of local ordinances in the region of Cantabria in Pérez Bustamante and Baró Pazos (eds.), *El Gobierno y la administración de los pueblos de Cantabria* (Santander: Institución Cultural de Cantabria, 1988) p. 331. “Ordenanzas del Concejo de Tudes. 1591. Capítulo 5. Sobre admisión de vecinos”
- (5) Margarita Ortega, “El periodo Barroco (1565–1700)” in E. Garrido (ed.), *Historia de las Mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 1997), p. 270.
- (6) For example, even if an immigrant had passed the examination to become a licensed journeyman or master elsewhere, guild regulations required that all would-be workers had to retake the local guild exam.
- (7) Carlos Gómez-Centurión, “Los horizontes geográficos de los españoles” in J. N. Alcalá-Zamora (ed.), *La vida cotidiana en la España de Velázquez* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1989), pp. 29–30.
- (8) See for example articles in Antonio Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey Castelao (eds.), *Migraciones internas y medium-distance en la Península Ibérica, 1500–1900* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1994)
- (9) María F. Carbajo Isla, *La Población de la Villa de Madrid. Desde finales del siglo XVI hasta mediados del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1987), pp. 115–125; -, “La población de la villa de Madrid desde finales del siglo XVI hasta mediados del siglo XIX.” in *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica*, vol. II-3, 1984, p. 6; Alfredo Alvar Ezquerria, *El Nacimiento de una Capital Europea. Madrid entre 1561 y 1606* (Madrid: Turner Libros.



Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989), pp. 17–63; -, *Demografía y Sociedad en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1996); David Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy, (1560–1850)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 23; Juan Luís de Reyes León, “Evolución de la Población” in V. Pinto Crespo and S. Madrazo Madrazo (eds.), *Madrid. Atlas histórico de la ciudad. siglos IX–XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Caja de Madrid y Lunwerg Editores, 1995), pp. 140–45; Jerónimo López-Salazar Pérez, *Estructuras agrarias y sociedad rural en la Mancha (ss.XVI–XVII)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1986), pp. 90–99; As a consequence of the migrations absorbed into Madrid, bountiful villages became depopulated and some were even abandoned [*despoblados*]. Biblioteca Nacional de España mss.11317 (32) *La villa de Madrid sobre la mundança de la corte...*, 1600.

- (10) Jean-Claude Larquié, “Les familles madrilènes à l’époque moderne (aspects démographiques)” in S. Madrazo and V. Pinto (eds.), *Madrid en la época moderna: Espacio, sociedad y cultura* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, Casa de Velázquez, 1991), pp. 159–76.
- (11) Jordi Nadal and Emili Giralt, *Immigració i redreç Els francesos a la Catalunya dels segles xvi i xvii* (Barcelona: Eumo Editorial, 2000), pp. 87–254; Ofelia Rey Castelao and Francisco Pérez Rodríguez, “Movimientos migratorios en el municipio de A Cañiza, siglos XVII al XIX” in A. Eiras Roel (ed.), *Aportaciones al estudio de la emigración gallega. un enfoque comarcal* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1992), pp. 33–44; Ofelia Rey Castelao, “Migraciones internas y medium-distance en Galicia, siglos XVI–XIX” in *Migraciones internas y medium-distance en la Península Ibérica...*, pp. 85–130; Alberto Marcos Martín, *Auge y declive de un núcleo mercantil y financiero de Castilla la Vieja. Evolución demográfica de Medina del Campo durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1978), pp. 261–96.
- (12) Antonio Eiras Roel, “Migraciones internas y medium-distance en España en la Edad Moderna” in *Migraciones internas y medium-distance en la Península Ibérica...*, pp. 37–84; David E. Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castille: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- (13) See Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, pp. 98–102. For percentages of out-marriages, see Alfredo Floristán Imizcoz, *La Meridad de Estella en la Edad Moderna: los hombres y la tierra* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1982), pp. 146–50; Ramón Lanza García, *Población y Familia campesina en el Antiguo Régimen. Liébana, siglos XVI–XIX* (Santander: Ediciones Librería Estudio, 1988), pp. 53–56, 159–60; Miguel Rodríguez Cancho, “Migraciones Internas en la Extremadura Moderna” in *Migraciones internas y medium-distance en la Península Ibérica...*, pp. 334–35.
- (14) Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, pp. 48–66.
- (15) Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, pp. 110–14.
- (16) Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, pp. 165–68.
- (17) Carmelo Viñas y Mey, *Relaciones histórico-geográfico-estadísticas de los pueblos de España. hechas por iniciativa de Felipe II. Reino de Toledo (tercera parte)* (Madrid: CSIC, 1963), p. 474.
- (18) Alberto Marcos Martín pointed out the same criticism with respect to the limits of marriage and hospital registers as a source of information, though he did not provide new evidence to overcome the said limits. Marcos Martín, *Auge y Declive...*, pp. 271–72; Demographer Massimo Livi Bacci commented on the method and scope of historical demography. He claimed that macro and micro approaches should be “conceptually reconciled”, instead of employing only one of the approaches. See Massimo Livi Bacci, “New Dimensions for Historical Demography” in H. Étienne (ed.), *Historiens et Populations* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia, 1991), pp. 11–23.
- (19) Jean-Pierre Dedieu, “Les quatre temps de l’Inquisition” in B. Bennassar (ed.), *L’Inquisition espagnole. XVe–XIXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1979), p. 25.
- (20) Jean-Pierre Dedieu, “The Archives of the Holy Office of Toledo as a Source for Historical



Anthropology” in G. Henningsen and J. Tedeschi (eds.), *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe* (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), pp. 158-89.

- (21) José Luis González Novalín, “La Inquisición Española” in R. García-Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1980), p. 138.
- (22) AHN INQ, leg.75, exp. 2
- (23) AHN INQ, leg. 23, leg. 24, leg. 25, leg. 26, leg. 27, leg. 28, leg. 29, leg. 30, leg. 32, leg. 33, leg. 34, leg. 35, leg. 36, leg. 37, leg. 38, leg. 39, leg. 40, leg. 41, leg. 42, leg. 43, leg. 44, leg. 45, leg. 46, leg. 47, leg. 48, leg. 69, leg. 70, leg. 71, leg. 72, leg. 73, leg. 74, leg. 75, leg. 76, leg. 77, leg. 78, leg. 79, leg. 80, leg. 81, leg. 82, leg. 83, leg. 84, leg. 85, leg. 86, leg. 87, leg. 88, leg. 89, leg. 90, leg. 121, leg. 122, leg. 123, leg. 124, leg. 125, leg. 126, leg. 127, leg. 128, leg. 129, leg. 204, leg. 205, leg. 206, leg. 207, leg. 208, leg. 209, leg. 210, leg. 211, leg. 212, leg. 213, leg. 214, leg. 215, leg. 216, leg. 217, leg. 218, leg. 219, leg. 220
- (24) AHN INQ, leg. 204, exp. 46; AHN INQ, leg.41, exp. 8
- (25) AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 36; AHN INQ, leg. 221, exp. 5; AHN INQ, leg. 209, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 74 exp. 9; AHN INQ, leg. 206, exp. 23; AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 11; AHN INQ, leg. 217, exp. 10
- (26) Of these 346 individuals, 323 were men and 23 were women.
- (27) cobblers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, engravers, stonemasons, sword-makers, weavers, bricklayers, shearer, plasterers, tanners, hosiers, carders, blacksmith, basket-makers, drapers, silversmiths, silk-spinners, dyers, head-dress makers, etc.
- (28) AHN INQ, leg. 219, exp. 11; A student at the University of Alcalá de Henares, Pero Gutiérrez’s father and his uncles were also peasant-farmers. See AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 29
- (29) Jean Pierre Dedieu, “Le Modèl Sexuel: La Défense du Mariage Chrétien” in *L’Inquisition Espagnole*, p. 322; Jaime Contreras, *Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Galicia 1560-1700 Poder, Sociedad y Cultura* (Madrid: Akal Editor. 1982), p. 648.
- (30) Ana Hernández, a *vecina* of Villa de Lillo married three times in her life. First, she married to a neighboring farmer and had two children. After her husband died, she became a widow and remarried another neighboring farmer and had a daughter with him. But their marriage did not last long, not because her second husband died but because he disappeared. Tired of waiting for him to come back, Ana remarried a third time in the Villa de Lillo. AHN INQ, leg. 26, exp. 1
- (31) A typical phrase of blasphemy was “I renounce God and the mother who gave birth to him.”
- (32) Juan Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Castilla-la Mancha* (Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 1986), pp. 133-35; Jaime Contreras, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición...*; Jean-Pierre Dedieu, “Le modèle religieux: Les disciplines du langage et de l’action” in *L’Inquisition espagnole*, pp. 241-68; García Carcel, *Herejía y sociedad...*, pp. 343-44; Stephen Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valeacia, 1478-1834* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 296-98.
- (33) AHN INQ, leg. 31, exp. 1
- (34) Dedieu, “Le modèle sexuel”, pp. 326-27.
- (35) Ricardo García Carcel and Doris Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición. Historia Crítica* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2000), pp. 297-98; Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society...*, p. 299.
- (36) AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 31; Dedieu, “Le modèle sexuel”, pp. 326-35; Perry, *Gender and Disorder...*, chapter 7; Contreras, *El Santo Oficio...*, pp. 627-43.
- (37) In his study of migration in pre-industrial England, Malcolm Kitch also used biographical details recorded in court depositions to find out about the frequency of leaving home. Yet, according to him, these records did not give full descriptions of witnesses’ geographical mobility. “unfortunately they under-state the amount of movement. Witnesses sometimes omitted some of the moves they had made and even occasionally gave an incorrect birth place. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Sussex and Buckinghamshire only 17 and 9 per cent respectively of the witnesses deposed that they had moved more than



twice, probably too low a figure, especially for Buckinghamshire." Malcolm Kitch, "Population movement and migration in pre-industrial rural England", in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 73.

- (38) AHN INQ, leg. 208, exp. 29; See similar examples in AHN INQ, leg. 38, exp. 19, AHN INQ, leg. 39, exp. 20, AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 36, AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 37, AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 38, AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 6. AHN INQ, leg. 204, exp. 46, AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 30, AHN INQ, leg. 206, exp. 28, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 33, AHN INQ, leg. 209, exp. 2, AHN INQ, leg. 209, exp. 6
- (39) 59 out of 279 migrants did not give information on the age at leaving home.
- (40) AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 12; See similar cases in AHN INQ, leg. 37, exp. 25, AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 24, AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 36
- (41) Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, pp. 86-94.
- (42) Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo, Protocolos Notariales (hereafter AHPT P) 1738. Similar cases abound. Pedro Hernández, a laborer and *vecino* of Villa de Guadamur, sent his fifteen years-old daughter, María to Juan Vargas' house in Toledo, 18 kilometres away from Guadamur, to do domestic service. AHPT, P. 1647; Ana de PASTRIANA, Martin Diaz's widow, *vecina* of Villa de Mora, bound over Isabel, her sixteen years-old daughter to Toledo, 33 kilometres away from home to do domestic service for Francisco Rodríguez. AHPT, P. 1647
- (43) AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 30
- (44) AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 24
- (45) David-Sven Reher, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain: Cuenca, 1550-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 296; Vassberg, *Village and the Outside World...*, p. 95.
- (46) AHPT, P. 1738. See other examples of the same sort. Diego Hernández, *labrador* and *vecino de* Toledo, sent his seven year-old daughter Escolástica to do domestic service in Toledo for Garcia Logroño, a cap-maker. AHPT, P. 1738; Catalina Rodríguez, Alonso Campos' wife, *vecino de* Toledo, also sent her thirteen year-old son Juan, to Gabriel Serrano in Toledo. AHPT, P. 1738.
- (47) AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 4
- (48) AHN INQ, leg. 76, exp. 13
- (49) AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 1; see also other cases of *labradores* who stayed in their hometowns until they came of age in AHN INQ, leg. 36, exp. 21; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 28; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 33.
- (50) Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 37.
- (51) Moch, *Moving Europeans...*, pp. 37-38. Two examples she provided from historiography are from studies of Natalie Zemon Davis and Alan Macfarlane. Martin Guerre's family migrated in family unit to the village of Artigat in French Navarre despite the fact that they owned a good portion of land in Spanish Navarre. Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Alan Macfarlane's study demonstrated that the village of Lupton in seventeenth century lost half of the families after two generations: half of the landowning families abandoned their original location. Alan Macfarlane, "The Myth of the Peasantry: Family and Economy in a Northern Parish" in R. M. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 333-50.
- (52) David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castille* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 120-50.
- (53) Lanza García, *Población y familia campesina en el Antiguo Régimen...*, pp. 52-67.
- (54) AHN INQ, leg. 204, exp. 47
- (55) AHN INQ, exp. 43, exp. 5
- (56) See also Satoko Nakajima, "Advenedizos en Santiago de Compostela en el siglo XVII. Un



estudio sobre el registro de bautismo en la parroquia de Corticela” in *Ad Limina. Revista de Investigación del Camino de Santiago y las peregrinaciones*, vol. II, 2012, pp. 149-63.

- (57) José Antonio Salas Auséns, “Migraciones internas y medium-distance en Aragón (1500-1900)” in A. Eiras Roel and O. Rey Castelao (eds.), *Migraciones internas y medium-distance en la Península Ibérica, 1500-1900, Vol. II* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, Consellería de Educación e Ordenación Universitaria, 1994), p. 255.
- (58) Moch, *Moving Europeans...*, p. 31.
- (59) AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 30
- (60) AHN INQ, leg. 37, exp. 25
- (61) Following cases include migrants who travelled more than 500 kilometres. AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 9; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 13; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 16; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 32; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 16; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 21; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 26; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 27; AHN INQ, leg. 70, , exp. 28; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 29; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 31; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 32; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 33; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 5; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 16; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 20; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 22; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 24; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 26; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 41; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 1; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 5; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 12; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 14; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 20; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 24; AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 7; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 14; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 15; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 30
- (62) Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) p. 248.
- (63) Altman, *Emigrants and Society...*, p. 249.
- (64) For definitions of returnees and visitors, see Altman, *Emigrants and Society...*, p. 262.
- (65) AHN INQ, exp. 205, exp. 38; for other cases of returnees, see AHN INQ, leg. 36, exp. 21, AHN INQ, leg. 43, exp. 5, AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 2, AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 34, leg. 70, exp. 44, AHN INQ, leg. 71, exp. 19, AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 1, AHN INQ, leg. 73, exp. 34, AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 9, AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 14, AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 26, AHN INQ, leg. 205, ex. 38, AHN INQ, leg. 206, exp. 37, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 2, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 5, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 7, AHN INQ, leg. 206, exp. 37, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 2, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 5, AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 7, AHN INQ, leg. 209, exp. 12, AHN INQ, leg. 210, exp. 13, AHN INQ, leg. 212, exp. 10, AHN INQ, leg. 219, exp. 3
- (66) AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 20; Another similar case of visitor is the case of Antón de Taragona, an emigrant head-dress maker born and raised in Calatayud. He returned to his birth place several times but always moved on before long. After spending his childhood in Calatayud with his mother and stepbrothers, he left for Barcelona to work, where he stayed for two months and returned to Calatayud via Zaragoza. Two years later, he again left Calatayud but went to Toledo this time, where he stayed for five or six months. Again he returned to Calatayud only to go back to Toledo the following year, where this time he stayed. AHN INQ, leg. 210, exp. 23; See similar cases in following sources. AHN INQ, leg. 31, exp. 38, AHN INQ, leg. 41, exp. 9, AHN INQ, leg. 44, exp. 28, AHN INQ, leg. 46, exp. 49, AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 5, AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 13, AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 16, AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 26, AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 33, AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 22, AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 41; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 3, AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 34, AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 36, AHN INQ, leg. 76, exp. 13; AHN INQ, leg. 77, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 78, exp. 15, AHN INQ, leg. 79, exp. 10, AHN INQ, leg. 81, exp. 8, AHN INQ, leg. 81, exp. 11, AHN INQ, leg. 90, exp. 6; AHN INQ, leg. 128, exp. 14; AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 1, AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 3, AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 5, AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 11, AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 15, AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 20, AHN INQ, exp. 205, exp. 47, AHN INQ, leg. 208, exp. 47, AHN INQ, leg. 209, exp. 6, AHN INQ, leg. 210, exp. 23, AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 1, AHN INQ,





- leg. 211, exp. 4, AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 32, AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 33, AHN INQ, exp. 212, exp. 24, AHN INQ, leg. 214, exp. 13, AHN INQ, leg. 217, exp. 10, AHN INQ, leg. 220, exp. 10, AHN INQ, leg. 220, exp. 12
- (67) Altman, *Emigrants and Society*..., p. 248.
- (68) Altman, *Emigrants and Society*..., p. 248; James Lockhart, "Letters and People to Spain" in F. Chiapelli (ed.), *First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old*, 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 790-91.
- (69) David Jacoby, "The Migration of Merchants and Craftsmen: a Mediterranean Perspective (12th-15th Century)" in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Le Migrazioni in Europa. secc. XIII-XVIII* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1994), pp. 533-60.
- (70) Olwen H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 70.
- (71) AHN INQ, 69, exp. 13
- (72) AHN INQ, leg.30, exp. 4
- (73) AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 32; Isabel Hernández, another non-return migrant, also had a very good knowledge of all her relatives' whereabouts despite ten years of absence from her hometown. She informed herself of her family most possibly thanks to her husband, who was a carter. See AHN INQ, leg. 204, exp. 18
- (74) The only exception is the case of Gerónimo Orizon. AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 5
- (75) AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 38
- (76) AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 2; For similar concentration of returnees' kinships in one place, see AHN INQ, leg. 36, exp. 21, AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 222, exp. 7, AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 38; AHN INQ, leg. 219, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 212, exp. 10; AHN INQ, leg. 220, exp. 12; AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 1; AHN INQ, leg. 90, exp. 6; AHN INQ, leg. 77, exp. 2
- (77) A critical attitude to this evidence must be maintained; it is probable that some non-return migrants' relatives lived in their hometowns unknown to the non-return migrants. Some migrants had no idea of their relatives' whereabouts due to their protracted absence from their hometowns, and so their kinsmen may in fact have still lived there. For example, Antonio Popula, an emigrant tailor in Madrid, had left his hometown at the age of seven or eight, and when he gave his testimony to the inquisition aged fifty he had scarce knowledge about his family. He declared that he had never met his paternal grandparents nor had any memory of them. He continued to say that neither had he had any contact with his maternal grandparents since leaving his birth place as a child. He had never met his uncles and aunts, nor did he have brothers and sisters. The only knowledge he did have about his family was his deceased parents' names. AHN INQ, leg.208, exp.3
- (78) AHN INQ, leg. 33, exp. 30
- (79) AHN INQ, leg. 208, exp. 15
- (80) AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 38
- (81) AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp.2; Ana Sánchez, a returnee esparto worker [an artisan work of preparing fiber from a wiry grass to make paper and cordage] who also did not abandon a new her hometown, had her father and her brother working as espartero in her hometown. AHN INQ, leg. 209, exp. 12; See also AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 33; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 44; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 1; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 14; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 26; AHN INQ, leg. 206, exp. 10; AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 7
- (82) AHN INQ, leg. 41, exp. 9; AHN INQ, leg. 46, exp. 49; AHN INQ, leg. 222, exp. 7; AHN INQ, leg. 25, exp. 5
- (83) See indentures of apprenticeship in AHPT, P. 1738.
- (84) Taking into account that master Pedro in Alcañiz who Juan Francés had served as a living-in servant was a stonemason, it is likely that master Pedro recommended Juan Francés to go to Bujalaroz.



- (85) AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 30
- (86) The five exceptions are Diego de Cabañas, vecino de Talavera, aged 46 who served for Don Juan de Giguera, for 28 years, Diego Duran, aged 18 who served for a Cardenal of Talavera for 6 years, Domingo Herrero, aged 20, who worked for Juan de Salinas for 3 months, Juan Jiménez, aged 46, who served for the monastery of Our Lady in Guadalupe, and Antonio de Villafaña, aged 25, who worked for Juan Pardo for 15 years. AHN INQ, leg.69, exp.20; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 13. AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 4; AHN INQ, leg. 204, exp. 47; AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 16
- (87) Two exceptions are AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 7 and AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 34; David Vassberg pointed out that adolescent servants often did not stay with their initial employers, but changed families with whom they served for, and even moved to different villages several times before adulthood, and in meantime they were on lookout for potential spouses, with whom they would marry far away from their natal villages. Vassberg, *The Villages and the Outside World...*, p. 95.
- (88) Vassberg, *The Villages and the Outside World...*, p. 62.
- (89) AHN INQ, leg. 46, exp. 58
- (90) AHN INQ, leg. 42, exp. 28; See also Vassberg, *The villages and the outside world...*, p. 70.
- (91) Altman discusses the importance of migrants' family connection with the locals in the decision making of staying on the island. Ida Altman, "Towns and the Forging of the Spanish Caribbean" in Kimberly Lynn and Erin Kathleen Rowe (eds.), *The Early Modern Hispanic World: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 23-44.
- (92) Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, pp. 94-7.
- (93) Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, part II, chapter 72. Translation from *Don Quixote of La Mancha*, translated and with an Introduction by Walter Starkie, (New York: The New American Library, 1964), p. 1038; Thomas Shelton translated *mi pueblo* to "my native Country". *The History of the valorous and wittie Knight-errant Don Quixote of La Mancha*, translated by Thomas Shelton (London: Richard Hodgkinsonne, 1652) fols. 269v-270.
- (94) Cervantes, *Don Quixote...*, part I, chap. XLII
- (95) *Lazarillo de Tormes...*
- (96) Quevedo, *El Buscon...*
- (97) AHN INQ, leg. 90, exp. 6; see also AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 212, exp. 24
- (98) Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World...*, p.6; For *Mi Patria* historians, see for example Victor Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón, escrita para darla a conocer al pueblo, recordándole los grandes hechos de sus ascendientes en VIR-TUD, PATRIOTISMO Y ARMAS, y para difundir entre todas las clases del amor al País y la memoria de sus glorias pasadas* Tomo III and IV (Barcelona: Librería de Salvador Manero, 1862), especially pp. 703-82 in tomo III and pp. 167-205 in tomo IV; Manuel Murguía, *Historia de Galicia* (first published in 1866) (A Coruña: V. de Ferrer Hijo, 1901); Pedro Novia de Salcedo, *Defensa histórica, legislativa y económica del señorío de Vizcaya y provincias de Álava y Guipúzcoa, contra las Noticias históricas de las mismas que publicó D. Juan Antonio Llorente, y el informe de la Junta de reformas de abusos de la real hacienda en las tres Provincias Bascongadas* (first published in 1829) (Bilbao: Librería de Delmas é Hijos, 1851); Josep Torras i Bages, *La tradició catalana* (first published in 1892) (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1981), pp. 62-65; Enric Prat de la Riba, *La Nacionalidad catalana* (1906) (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987), p. 29; Rafael Altamira, *Psicología del Pueblo Español* (Barcelona: Antonio López, 1902), p. 40; historian Carlos Gómez-Centurión's definition of a seventeenth-century Spaniard as "before anything, a native of his village, to which people used to call <mi patria>", and discussed that Spaniards' native villages "were the main source of identities for the inhabitants". Carlos Gómez-Centurión, "Los horizontes geográficos de los españoles", pp. 29-30.
- (99) AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 1; See also cases of returnees who used "return" to refer exclusively to hometown in AHN INQ, leg. 30, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 36, exp. 21; AHN INQ,



leg. 43, exp. 5; AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 2; AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 44; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 20; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 22; AHN INQ, leg. 72, exp. 41; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 9; AHN INQ, leg. 74, exp. 14; AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 39; AHN INQ, leg. 207, exp. 2, AHN INQ, leg. 210, exp. 13, AHN 211, leg. 4, AHN INQ, leg. 212, exp. 10, AHN INQ, leg. 220, exp. 12

(100) AHN INQ, leg. 37, exp. 25; For similar cases, see also AHN INQ, leg. 70, exp. 30; AHN INQ, 79, exp. 10; AHN INQ, leg. 123, exp. 22; AHN INQ, leg. 208, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 208, exp. 15; AHN INQ, leg. 211, exp. 9, AHN INQ, leg. 220, exp. 11.

(101) AHN INQ, leg. 69, exp. 34.

(102) AHN INQ, leg. 77, exp. 2; A certain Portuguese man born in Campomayor in Portugal used "return" when referring to his adoptive place, Madrid where he was a *vecino*, and also to Lisbon. AHN INQ, leg. 81, exp. 8; See also AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 3; AHN INQ, leg. 75, exp. 34; AHN INQ, leg. 76, exp. 6; AHN INQ, leg. 78, exp. 15; AHN INQ, leg. 210, exp. 23; AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 3, AHN INQ, leg. 129, exp. 5, AHN INQ, leg. 220, exp. 10

(103) Gonzalo Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales y otras fórmulas comunes de la lengua castellana en que van todos los impresos antes y otra gran copia que juntó el Maestro Gonzalo Correas* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 1992), No. 1554.

(104) Note also a similar proverb which frequently appears in *Don Quixote*. "No con quien naces, sino con quien paces" See chapter 10 and chapter 68 in Second Part.

(105) Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina, *Diccionario Akal del Refranero Latino* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2005), p. 256, p. 288.

(106) <http://www.refranespopulares.com/>

(107) AHN INQ, leg. 205, exp. 20





### Non-return migration in Sixteenth-Century Spain

Satoko NAKAJIMA

This article on migration in Spain in the sixteenth century is based on two areas of study. Firstly, through a review of the secondary literature, I examine a number of historiographical questions. An analysis of these questions provides an overview of the valuable research on migration which this article draws on. Furthermore, it signals an important aspect of migration that has not been addressed by historians until now, which is the fact that the majority of migrants did not return to their birthplaces. Building on this historiographical study, the second part of this article explores the complex social phenomenon of migration through an analysis of a new body of evidence drawn from my extensive archival research on *Procesos de Fe* (Trials of Faith). Through an examination of this evidence, it is demonstrated that “non-return migration” was a common practice amongst men and women of the lower strata in sixteenth-century Spain.



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