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P. GRANVILLE EDGE O. B. E.

## Early population records in Spain

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R. UNIVERSITÀ — ISTITUTO DI STATISTICA



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P. GRANVILLE EDGE O. B. E.

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One of the greatest obstacles to the diffusion of knowledge is that associated with language ; it is a mournful thought that, for this reason alone, so many of us are condemned to remain completely ignorant of the works of foreign masters, while to those of us possessed of but an imperfect knowledge of the language of a foreign country, any inquiry which involves extended reference to works in the original tongue proves a somewhat arduous and dispiriting undertaking ; under such circumstances a study of the remote history of Spain, with a view to discovering evidences of the numbers and state of her population at different periods of time is, in some respects, a somewhat irksome task.

Yet such an inquiry holds out promise of interest ; the considerable and magnificent ruins which are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land appear to suggest that in Roman times Spain might have been a densely populated country (1) ; these monuments are, in themselves, by no means sufficient to support the theories and statements relating to the prodigious numbers of people the country was supposed to maintain in those far-off days, for, it will be remembered, the prevailing belief was that under Roman rule the country (including Portugal) contained not less than 40 millions of people — a population which, if true, would have meant an average density of approximately 2,000 persons per square mile. Such statements may owe their origin to early references to the populousness of certain principal cities ; there is no justification, however, for adopting

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(1) LIVY comments upon the numerous castles existing in the Spain of his day (Book 22, Chap. 19). The name *Castile* appears to have been adopted about the 10th century.

the view that such data (where they exist) may be applied indiscriminately to all towns for the purpose of estimating the population of the country as a whole (1). Many such statements too, are based upon the vague generalisations of early historians, who, while devoting considerable attention to describing kings and courts, intrigues and war-like enterprises, have little to say of the people at large.

And yet, exaggerated statements, or references to the ancient population of Spain have, from time to time, persuaded individuals (no less than in other countries) to engage in curious and elaborate calculations with a view to determining the probable numbers of the people in remote ages. One such worker, OSORIO Y REDIN (2), a Spanish author who wrote towards the end of the 17th century, devoted some attention to calculating the ancient population of Spain; it may be not without interest to consider his methods, for they illustrate the slender hypotheses sometimes underlying the estimates of early workers.

Adopting the data resulting from the trigonometrical survey completed by PEDRO ESQUIVEL, a task undertaken at the command of Philip II, during the second half of the 16th century, OSORIO Y REDIN estimated that the whole country contained some 150 millions of *fanegas* of land (3) capable of cultivation.

Assuming that approximately one-half of this cultivable area would be under tillage each year, and sown in certain proportions with wheat, rye, barley, and oats, and that each of these crops would produce a certain average yield, he next calculated what proportion of the total crops would be required for the support of cattle, etc., and the quantity remaining for human consumption. Having reached, to his own satisfaction, the latter item in terms of *fanegas* of

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(1) "The pretended amount of population has been generally in the ratio of the distance of the period taken, and, of course, of the difficulty of refutation. A few random remarks of ancient writers have proved the basis for the wildest hypotheses, raising the estimates to the total of what the soil, under the highest possible cultivation, would be capable of supporting". *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*. W. H. PRESCOTT. Vol. II. London, 1851. Footnote, p. 598.

(2) ALVAREZ OSORIO Y REDIN. *Discurso*. Pubd, 1687, Reprinted Madrid 1745.

(3) A *fanega* of land . . . Approximately 1.6 acres (*Nuevo Diccionario Cuyas*). This measure appears to have varied between province and province LABORDE quotes figures varying between 1,250-4,089 feet for the *fanega* of land.

corn (1) he proceeded to the conclusion of his argument, *viz.* each *fanega* of corn should provide 16 lbs. of flour for bread-making — the average daily consumption of bread per person would be 1 ½ lbs. — and therefore, the available produce was sufficient to have provided for 78 millions of people ; this figure he seems to have assumed to have represented the population of Spain in Roman times.

Now such curious essays into the realm of population estimation may be of passing interest, yet their practical value is negligible, and in fact, of no more importance than are conjectural estimates based upon the vague accounts of historians who, in their turn, have had to rely upon the scanty and often doubtful records of contemporary writers in remote times.

Yet, and perhaps contrary to general belief, there exists in Spain a very considerable literature dealing directly or indirectly with the early population of that country — indeed, the records from the Middle Ages down to the time when census taking was definitely established, are comparatively numerous. We have no records of the state of the English population in pre-Norman times ; it is known, however, that following the Moorish conquest in the opening years of the 8th century, the *Vali Amheser* sent to the Caliph of Damascus in the year 721 A. D. a detailed account of Spain, containing in addition to other information an account of the population, while forty years later (761 A. D.) *Alhakem*, Caliph of Córdoba, compiled a nominal roll, or tax list, or carried out an actual census (*enpadronamiento*) of his subjects (2).

Although the Moorish invasion introduced several centuries of constant and sanguinary warfare, it is difficult to believe that the Moors, having so immediately followed up their conquest by the institution of population inquiries, would have failed to maintain such records in the territories under their dominion (3) ; further research

(1) A *fanega* of corn . . . Between 122-125 lbs. LABORDE's figures show this measure varied from 124-173 lbs. *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne*. ALEX DE LABORDE, Paris 1809.

(2) DON JOSÉ MERA . . . *Estadística*, Madrid, 1919, and BENITO CARQUEJA . . . *O Povo Portuguez*. Chap. II, Oporto 1916.

(3) Speaking of the Spanish Arabs PRESCOTT says " It would appear from a census instituted at Cordova at the close of the 10th century, that there were at that time in it 600 temples and 200,000 dwelling-houses " etc., (*Ferdinand and Isabella*. Chap. VIII, p. 301, vol. 1). I have no information relating to this enumeration.

might conceivably result in bringing to light many records of value and interest. A modern writer (1) states that *Pope Gregory VII* writing to *Alfonso VI* of Castile in 1081, announced that his subjects numbered *más de un millón de hombres*, a figure which may have been calculated from the information supplied by the Pope's Legates with a view to the assessment of Papal taxes such as *Peter's Pence*. The next reference we are able to quote does not appear until the 12th century, when in 1139, *Alfonso VII* of Castile caused the "mozárabes" (i. e. Christians under the sovereignty of a Moorish King) to be enumerated, and a tax-list prepared for the purpose of determining doubtful points touching the distribution of lands. Some two centuries later, the records of the Parliament or Assembly of Alcalá (*Cortes de Alcalá*) for the year 1348, make mention of census rolls, tax lists, and records of herds, etc., relating to various towns in the area; three years later, the Parliament of Valladolid, convened by *Pedro I* in 1351, authorised the preparation of a register of certain towns (*Becerro de las Behetrías*) (2) for the purpose of recording particulars of the lordships of the royal sheep-walks (*Señoríos de las Merindades*) (3) of Castile, of Crown and private rights, and of various estates within the territory.

These references, confessedly meagre since they cover some six centuries of time, *do* suggest that enumerations of one kind or another were far from unknown during the earliest ages of Spanish history. However, until some enterprising investigator succeeds in bringing to light further documentary evidence of conditions in those far-off days, it becomes necessary to focus attention on less remote periods and, by reference to official and authentic records, endeavour to dis-

(1) R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *La España del Cid*, Madrid, 1929, Vol. 1, p. 101. PIDAL assumes "hombres" to refer to adult males, and on this assumption estimates the total population to amount to 3 millions for an area (the whole north-west of the Peninsula down to the line of the Tagus) which now contains 9 millions. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. A. K. JAMESON, of the Department of Spanish, University of London, King's College, London.

(2) *Becerro de las Behetrías*, i. e. Register of the rights of the Crown and of other overlords in the Behetrías which were townships and communal bodies possessing the right of choosing their overlords.

(3) *Merindad*. An area under the jurisdiction of a Merino, who, though he may originally have had something to do with the collection of grazing tolls from the shepherds, had, before the 14th century, become an ordinary royal executive official. Hence, *Merindad* connotes simply one kind of territorial division.

cover what evidence exists that can throw light on the state of the population in Spain at times dating from the Middle Ages to the 19th century when, in common with other European countries, Spain adopted the principle of census-taking at decennial intervals.

It is a matter of general knowledge that in the *Archives of Simancas*, the rich national repository of the records of the earlier history of Spain, are preserved numerous documents of value relating to the condition or state of the people at different periods, and it is to that collection the investigator would naturally turn to pursue his inquiries. Unfortunately, the keenest scientific interest in such literature is insufficient in itself to bridge the difficulties of accessibility — conditions of time, of cost, the language problem, or even the geographical situation of Simancas — impose obstacles which few of us are able to surmount. On the other hand, there have always been in all civilized countries, interested researchers whose devoted labours have been the means of placing at the disposal of the world at large, information which, but for their endeavours, either would have remained unknown, or would have become available at much later ages. So far as Spain is concerned, the works of ESTRADA (1), BERNÁLDEZ (2), MARIANA (3), CAPMANY (4) and other authors equally famous, are justly regarded as the classics of Spanish history.

But, as often happens, while the literary or scientific enterprises of a favoured few receive the applause of their countrymen or of nations, other men, whose labours are no less important, and whose contributions not less vital to the spread of knowledge, are passed by unnoticed: the present paper is concerned with one of these lesser known workers, TOMÁS GONZÁLES, a dignitary of the Cathedral of Plasencia (5) at the beginning of the 19th century, for his contributions

(1) JUAN ANTONIO DE ESTRADA. *Población General de España*. 3 vols, Madrid, 1747.

(2) ANDRÉS BERNÁLDEZ. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos D. FERNANDO Y DOÑA ISABEL*. This work was published early in the 16th century. The edition consulted by the present writer was published at Seville 1870.

(3) JUAN DE MARIANA. *Historia General de España*. Originally appeared in Latin, the first Spanish edition being published between 1601-1623. Edition consulted for the present paper published Madrid, 1848.

(4) ANTONIO DE CAPMANY Y MONTPALAU. *Cuestiones críticas sobre varios puntos de historia económica, política, y militar*. Madrid, 1807.

(5) TOMÁS GONZÁLES, *Maestrescuela de la Iglesia Catedral de Plasencia*. The *Maestrescuela* originally had the task of teaching theology in the Cathedral seminarios, but by Gonzalez's time the post had become purely honorary.



to our knowledge of the earlier population data of Spain, seem worthy of some comment.

Between the years 1815-1828, GONZÁLEZ was engaged in examining and co-ordinating various memoranda preserved in the *Royal Archives of Simancas*, and in the course of this work, came across many official documents of first-rate importance having reference to the population and its distribution in the provinces and territorial divisions of the country at various periods of time. In the Introduction to the published results of his investigations (1) he remarks that, though his researches were more particularly devoted to 16th century records, they were not limited to that period of Spanish opulence and splendour, but included such information available relating to various periods preceding and following that age. He adds that his studies were designed to present authentic data by means of which the movement of the population might be followed at different epochs, and further, to dispose of the fiction so prevalent among both national and foreign writers that the Spanish government in earlier times had studiously failed to be interested in the state or distribution of the population within her peninsula boundaries. Bearing in mind that the documents he quotes are faithfully transcribed copies of original records *copiado fielmente* and presented in the language of the original documents ("*literalmente trasladados*") it may be assumed they are worthy of study; the notes which follow, are, in the main, a brief account of GONZÁLEZ's work, presented however, in chronological sequence, and not in the order in which the records appear in his original work.

The earliest record has reference to the numbers and distribution of households in the City and territory of *Baeza* (in the Province of Jaen) during the year 1407, and provides for each of the 10 parishes in the area, the numbers of households supplying knights, horse and foot, armed men, the aged, sick, unserviceable, and the clergy — a total of 1785 households. It should be stated at this stage that the majority of early population estimates in Spain are based upon the assumption that, on the average, each household comprised 5 persons; this method would give a probable population of *Baeza* in 1407 of 8,925 persons (2).

(1) *Censo de Población en el Siglo XVI con varios apéndices, etc.* TOMÁS GONZÁLEZ. Madrid en la Imprenta Real. Madrid, 1829.

(2) Throughout the work various comparative figures of the populations of different Provinces, towns, etc., are added. GONZÁLEZ remarks that these

The next record of interest is a copy of the original *Repartimiento* (1) of 1474, relating to Jewish assemblies or synagogues (*Aljamas de Judíos*) in the territories of the Crown of Castile, and of the monies then payable by members of the Jewish persuasion. From this document it appears that the Jews contributed some 450,000 *maravedís* (2) to the exchequer; a footnote adds that, on the assumption that each head of a household contributed 50 *maravedís*, there were at that time 9,000 Jewish families, and these, on the usual basis of calculation would amount to 45,000 souls.

Of the two remaining official documents containing data relating to the 15th century, the first presents the results of a census which was carried out in 1482 (3), in the territories of the Crown of Castile presumably under the direction of one ALONSO DE QUINTANILLA, who describes himself as the chief computor or accountant (*Contador mayor*); according to this enumeration there were then 1,500,000 households in all the provinces and districts (not counting Granada (4)),

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were taken from the tax registers (*encabezamiento de alcabalas*), rolls of military service, etc., but that, in view of the many exemptions due to privilege, to changes in territorial boundaries, or for other reasons, comparisons are by no means accurate.

(1) *Repartimiento*, the distribution or allotment of taxation. The total amount of tax to be raised was first decided upon and then the *Repartimiento* was made fixing the quota payable by each territorial division. At the time of the Spanish Conquests in America it was a term applied to an important institution providing for the division or allotment of persons or land, sometimes actual possession of land and at other times, the income from its produce. The holder of a *Repartimiento* was entitled to receive profits from the labours of the people living on the territory, actual service, or payment in lieu of service.

(2) *Maravedí*. According to BANCROFT, *History of Spanish America* 1882, the value of the *maravedí* towards the end of the 15th century would have been about  $\frac{1}{4}d$ . On the other hand, RICHMAN, *The Spanish Conquerors* 1919, considers it to have been worth about  $2\frac{1}{2}d$ .

(3) PRESCOTT, referring to this census (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, Vol. II, Chap. 26, p. 598, footnote) says "From a curious document in the Archives of Simancas, consisting of a report made to the Spanish sovereigns by their accountant-general, Quintanilla, in 1492, it would appear that the population of the kingdom of Castile, exclusive of Granada, was then estimated at 1,500,000 *vecinos* or house-holders (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist. Apend. No. 12). This, allowing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to a family would make the whole population 6,750,000".

The original record copied by GONZÁLES states the operation was carried out in 1482.

(4) *Granada* when subdued in 1492 had approximately 70,000 houses; this would mean an additional population of about 350,000 persons.

or a total population of 7,500,000 persons. The second record is a copy of a official statement of the houses and places in the Kingdom of Aragon in the year 1595, these details being taken from the original registers of the Court of Tarazona. Eleven closely printed pages are devoted to the presentation of the numbers of houses in each of the towns in the 10 districts comprising the Kingdom ; special distinction is made of towns whose populations were composed of Moors (*Moriscos*) and of towns where the people were of mixed type (*Mezclados*) through inter-marriage, and not of pure Spanish descent. This enumeration announces 53,238 houses, or, on the basis of 5 persons per house, a total population of 266,190 souls.

If the researches of GONZÁLEZ were exhaustive and complete (1), they would seem to suggest that 15th century records of population were by no means numerous — yet this is scarcely surprising. Throughout the Middle Ages, and indeed until late in the 15th century, Spain was broken up into independent and often hostile states — Granada in the hands of the Mohammedans, the throne of Castile occupied by one Prince, that of Aragon by another — having no federated head, until the crowns of Aragon and Castile became united under Ferdinand and Isabella towards the end of the 15th century ; the disturbed history of this period probably made frequent population inquiries matters of extreme difficulty or even impossibility.

Then came the century that introduced the most brilliant epoch in Spanish history, and at this stage one is led to wonder whether our researcher did, in fact, examine with sufficient care all the official literature relating to the period, or confined his attention solely to the transcription of hitherto unrecorded documents. The following reasons prompt these observations. It is common knowledge that throughout history, the Spanish laws against heretics were probably harsher than those of any other country. The Moors, and particularly the Jews, were the objects of marked attention ; they were faced with the alternative of either denying their faith or expulsion from the country, so that Spain might no longer be “ polluted by the presence of unbelievers ”. In these circumstances it is more than likely that strict regulations for the registration of these peoples would have been enforced — Ferdinand and Isabella reigned from

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(1) PRESCOTT mentions the results of a survey made between the years 1477-79 containing particulars of the population of the period, preserved at Simancas. (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, p. 255, Vol. I). I have not seen this.

1479 to 1516, yet, for the whole of this reign, GONZÁLES quotes no document exclusively devoted to records of Moors, to the numbers of Jews, their proportion to the total population, or to the numbers expelled under the terms of the Edict signed by the sovereigns at Granada on the 30th of March 1492 (1)

Indeed, no population record of any kind is again mentioned until 1534, when there appears a statement of Cities, Towns, and Places, in the Province of Salamanca, the results of an inquiry carried out at the command of the Emperor, Carlos V. by LUÍS VÁZQUEZ whose official appointment would perhaps most closely correspond with what, in these days, we should term the " Paymaster General " (e. g. *Contador del Sueldo*), and LUÍS FRANCO, a Royal Actuary (*Escribano Real*). This account gives the numbers of tax-paying citizens (*vecinos pecheros*) or householders in each area of the Province — a total of 52,420 householders, or by applying the usual multiplying factor (of 5), a population of 262,100 persons. For the year 1553 there was compiled a statement of the numbers of hearth-

(1) In this connection PRESCOTT remarks :— " The whole number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella is variously computed from 160,000 to 800,000 ; a discrepancy sufficiently indicating the paucity of authentic data " (*Ferdinand and Isabella* vol. 1, Chap. 27, p. 518). As PRESCOTT omits to mention the sources of his information, the following observations are not without interest :—

" Así salieron de España hasta ochocientas mil Judíos según el testimonio de MARIANA ". (*Historia Crítica de la Inquisición de España*. DON JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE. Madrid, 1822, Tome 2, Chap. VII, Art. 1, para. 7).

But though LLORENTE quotes MARIANA as his authority, the latter appears to lay claim to no original information, he, in his turn relying upon what *Most authors say*, " El número de los Judíos que salieron de Castilla y Aragón no se sabe ; los más autores dicen que fueron hasta en número de ciento y setenta mil casas, y no falta quien diga que llegaron a ochocientas mil almas " (*Historia General de España*. Tome 2, Book 26, Chap. 1). Another contemporary writer, whose statements are regarded as dependable, says there were about 30,000 Jewish families (or 150,000 souls) in Castile, and 160,000 Jews in Aragón :— " En Castilla treinta mil familias de Judíos " and " En Aragón y sus reinos seis mil casados en que había más de ciento y sesenta mil ánimas ", (*Historia de los Reyes Católicos D. Fernando y Doña Isabel*. Tome 1, Chap. 110, Seville Edition, 1870) ANDRÉS BERNÁLDEZ. I am told by MR JAMESON (see Footnote p. 3). that R. ALTAMIRA *Historia de España*, Barcelona 1913 (generally considered the most authoritative modern history), vol. II, p. 422, says, that a modern Jewish writer has calculated the numbers as 165,000 expelled, 50,000 baptised, and 20,000 died. The reference is to an article on the expulsion of the Jews in the *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, vol. XVIII.

taxes (*número de fogages*) paid throughout the old Principality of Cataluña (presumably comprising the present-day provinces of Gerona, Barcelona, Lérida, and Tarragona) — in the aggregate, 65,394 hearths, while in the same year tax-lists were also prepared in the Kingdoms of Navarra and Valencia, and in the Basque Provinces. On the basis of such records as these, estimates of the probable populations of different Spanish territories might be attempted; such essays however, need to be approached with caution, for these returns fail to discover the numbers of privileged persons exempted from payment of various taxes (1), of those who evaded payment, or of those absent for other reasons during the tax enumeration.

This brief account has now reached the period during which Philip II occupied the Spanish throne (1556-1598); in this reign several inquiries, more or less complete were carried out.

The first of these, relating to the *Merindad* (Royal Sheepwalk) (2) of Allende Ebro and to the Province of Alava, provides the names and populations of towns and areas in those territories in the year 1557; there is not, however, any indication of the methods whereby these data were obtained. Between 1581 and 1589, the Archbishops, Bishops and other clergy prepared returns of the numbers of Moors in diocesan territories in the Kingdom of Castile. Unfortunately, no sort of uniformity seems to have been observed in presenting the results of these inquiries, for the data are tabulated in a variety of ways, one area giving the males and females (separately) under and over 10 years of age; another fixes the age-bar at 12 years,

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(1) Privileges of nobility. "The higher nobility of *ricos hombres*, were exempted from general taxation; and the occasional attempt to infringe on this privilege in reasons of great public emergency was uniformly repelled by this jealous body". PRESCOTT. *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. I, p. 25, see also MARIANA *Hist. Gen. de España* Tome I, p. 644, Tome II, 176.

The practice of exempting certain privileged individuals or classes from particular impositions was common to all countries. Discussing the hearth taxes (*feux*) of France, even so late as the 14th century, AVENEL says:— "Les feux réellement existant dans les provinces se divisaient au point de vue administratif, en trois catégories, (i) les *nobles* qui étaient exempts, (ii) les *solvables* qui payaient, (iii) les *misérables* qui ne pouvaient payer". *Histoire Economique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Denrées, et de tous les Prix en Général depuis l'an 1200 jusqu'en l'an 1800*. GEORGES VICOMTE D'AVENEL, Tome III, p. 429, Paris, 1898.

(2) See Footnote p. 3.

another at 18, and so on. The results declare the existence of 46,275 families or 231,376 persons.

A statement relating to a much more limited inquiry states that, in the year 1571 there were 119,761 inhabitants within the territories of *Calatrava*, *Santiago*, and *Alcántara* — these being three of the then four Military Orders (*Ordenes Militares*) of Spain (1).

In 1587 also, returns relating to the populations of the various dioceses were prepared by the Archbishops, Bishops, and other clergy and forwarded to one Francisco González de Heredia, Secretary of the Royal Patronage of the Church (*Secretario del Real Patronato de la Iglesia*). These records, in which the relevant information is tabulated by parishes in the different dioceses, declared the population therein to comprise 6,631,929 souls. Another statement giving the numbers of nobles resident in 17 Provinces and in the Kingdom of Granada in the year 1590 occurs in the registers of the Treasury of the Excise (*Contaduría de Millones*) for that year (2). In 1594 a much more complete survey was undertaken for the purpose of determining the assessment and distribution of a special tax (*Donativo de Millones*) and the results of this inquiry are now regarded as the most complete and accurate statement preserved of the population

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(1) Originally eleven orders, *viz.* Aragón 2., Catalonia 3., Navarra 2., and Castile 4. The members of all Orders were originally intended for service against the Moors; after the conquest of Granada in 1492 these obligations lapsed. That of Calatrava was established in 1158, Santiago, taking its name from the shrine of St. James (San Jago) in 1105, and Alcántara, an offshoot of Calatrava in 1219, CONDE expresses the opinion that the Military Orders of Spain and of other countries were directly descended from the *Rabitos* or Moslemah Knights; the rules of both institutions are very similar, e. g. "Parece verosímil que de estos rabitos procedieron así en España, como entre los cristianos de oriente, las Ordenes Militares tan célebres por su valor, y por sus distinguidos servicios prestados a la cristiandad, el instituto de unos y otros era muy semejantes", JOSÉ ANTONIO CONDE. *Historia de la Dominación de los Arabes en España* Footnote, Chap. CXVII, p. 619, Madrid, 1820.

For further information touching the Military Orders of Spain see also, *Hist. Gen. de España*. MARIANA. Chaps. 2, 5, and 8.

*Población General de España*. ESTRADA, Tome 1, p. 300, Tome 2, p. 315.

*Ferdinand and Isabella*. PRESCOTT, Bk. 1, Chap. 6, pp. 242-249.

It is interesting to note that the King of Spain invested his second son, the Infante Don Jaime, with the dignity of Comendador Mayor of Castile in the Order of the knights of Calatrava, on March 10th, 1931.

(2) A footnote adds that data are insufficient for the estimation of the numbers of *Hidalgos* in the remaining Provinces.

of the kingdom at the end of the 16th century. Particulars of 40 Provinces (1) and of their sub-divisions are available in great detail, referring to each Region (*Tierra*), Territory assigned to a Royal Prince (*Infantazgo*), Archiepiscopal territory (*Mesa Arzobispal*), area of the jurisdiction of a Royal Sheep-Walk (*Merindad*) (2), County or Earldom (*Condado*), district (*Partido*), municipal Council (*Concejo*), rural Council (*Quadrilla*), group of townships (*Sesmo*), or place paying ancient pasturage fees (*Roda*). The inquiry was unique in the sense, on this occasion there were no class exemptions. In his *Advertencia Preliminar*, GONZÁLEZ states that the absence of such exemptions on this occasion was due to the fact that the tax was a special and extraordinary one known as "*Donativo*" to which exemptions from ordinary taxation did not apply. The inquiry was conducted with special care and the 1,338,617 tax-paying citizens (*vecinos pecheros*) recorded (3) were considered dependable.

However, a corrected statement of these figures gives the numbers of tax-payers as 1,340,320, which would mean a population of 6,701,600 persons, and furthermore, it would appear that certain areas were omitted from the records e. g. Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, Alava, Navarra, Aragón, Valencià, and Cataluña; the adjustment necessary for these non-enumerated divisions would result in an approximate estimate of 8,206,791 person in the country at that time. How reliable these figures are it is by no means easy to say, for another estimate based on the records of the 1594 enumeration gives the following results:—

1,340,320 households × 5 . . . . .	6,701,600 persons
Basque Provinces (omitted) . . . . .	208,157 »
Nobles of Asturias (omitted) . . . . .	225,000 »
Clergy (omitted) . . . . .	169,300 »
Total in 1594 . . . . .	<u>7,304,057</u> » (4)

There exists among the Spanish Archives belonging to this period, a statement of the population of the City of Madrid in the year

(1) Owing to changes in boundaries data are scarcely comparable with those of later times.

(2) See Footnote p. 3.

(3) By the usual method of estimation (1,338,617 × 5) would mean a total population of 6,693,085 souls.

(4) Such variations are by no means peculiar to Spanish estimates relating to the same century. Cf. the estimates of GREGORY KING, CHALMERS, and others in England; MESSANCE, NECKER, VAUBAN, in France, etc.

1597, compiled from the original registers of the Easter Offering (*Cumplimiento Pasqual*) for that year, and giving for each of the eleven parishes of the city, the numbers of houses, families, and communicants, the totals being :—

Houses . . . . .	7,016
Families . . . . .	11,857
Communicants . . . . .	45,422

A footnote adds that estimating 5 persons per family, the population would then amount to 59,285 souls (1).

It will have been seen that population inquiries were far from unknown or unregarded during the reign of Philip II. But there is another piece of statistical investigation associated with this reign, and though TOMÁS GONZÁLEZ makes no mention of it in the work we have been quoting, it may be of interest to refer to it at this stage.

With a view to obtaining complete information relating to his territories, Philip II commanded the learned PEDRO ESQUIVEL to examine and survey all areas, rivers, valleys, and mountains, both large and small, and to determine their exact size and situation. In addition, the king planned a gigantic undertaking which, had, it been completed, would have proved by far the greatest and most perfect piece of statistical work every attempted by any country up to that time. By royal command, each locality throughout his peninsula dominions was required to furnish complete and circumstantial particulars, in accordance with a questionnaire and instructions circulated by local officials. The inquiry demanded information relating to :—

The name of each locality, together with the origin of that name.

Number of houses, families, and persons in each.

Quality and condition of the soil.

Rivers, valleys etc., and their situation.

Churches, convents, miracles, relics etc.

Holidays, pilgrimages, markets, and fairs.

Fortresses, castles, ancient monuments, illustrious persons, etc.

And all other items of note or interest appertaining to the locality, but not mentioned in the instructions officially circulated, etc.

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(1) The actual record incorrectly states 57,285.



This comprehensive task, begun in the year 1574 under the direction of *Ambrosio de Morales*, secured after rather more than 7 years of laborious effort, some 636 reports relating to upwards of 13,000 towns in Spain. These records, in 8 volumes, are preserved in the library of the *Escorial* under the title of *Descriptions of the towns of Spain, compiled by order of the All-Wise King, Philip II.* (*Descripciones de los pueblos de España hecha por orden del prudentísimo rey D. Felipe II*); this compilation is rather suggestive of the Statistical Account of Scotland undertaken by Sir JOHN SINCLAIR over two centuries later (1).

The story now approaches the opening years of another century, and it may be advisable to pause at this stage and consider what influences and motives combined to produce the accelerated activity which had its reflection in the numerous taxation, population, and other inquiries, which seem to have characterised the 16th century of Spanish history: it would appear that these manifestations must be ascribed in part to both internal and external national causes.

During this period there had developed among the Spanish nation, a profound military ardour and patriotic zeal which were at once the admiration and terror of the rest of the then civilized world; money, arms, and men, were essential to the nation which was engaged in the compulsory conversion of heretics, in numerous war-like enterprises in different parts of Europe, and had also, by conquest, become possessed of vast territories in Central America, Chili, and Peru; these gigantic undertakings would demand comparatively frequent national stock-takings of revenue and people, to ensure the continuation and successful prosecution of such endeavours. The second cause may not unjustly be attributed to extended observation and adoption of methods followed in other countries — especially arising from knowledge gained by conquests in the New World.

It will be remembered that the campaigns of Pizarro and Cortes not only released vast stores of wealth and treasure which found their way to Spain, but further produced the realisation that the countries they had conquered, far from being the homes of primitive peoples, were the seat of highly developed civilizations; Mexico and Peru had, in fact, reached an advanced stage of cultivation which, by contrast, was the more remarkable when considered in relation to the ignorance which characterised so many peoples of western Euro-

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(1) This enquiry commenced in 1791.

pean States ; among other institutions which excited the surprise and admiration of the Spanish conquerors were the well-established and efficiently organised systems devoted to the collection and compilation of data relating to the revenue, the numbers of people, and to the records of births and deaths — systems so efficient, as scarcely to have any counterpart in the administrative machinery of any European government of that age (1). It is hardly believable that the Spanish authorities, once made aware of the advantages accruing from such systems which enabled the wealth or other details of a nation to be measured with precision, would not have adopted somewhat similar methods in Spain. Is it unreasonable to suppose that all, or some of these reasons, had their effect in leading the central authorities to engage in more frequent fiscal and population inquiries throughout the Spanish peninsula.

17th century records now claim our attention, but before discussion of these, the earliest of which make brief reference to the expulsion of the Moors in 1609, it may be well to comment in the briefest possible manner on the attitude of the Spanish authorities towards that race, and observe the events which contributed to, and finally resulted in, the expulsion of these people from the country.

Following the conquest of the last remaining Mohammedan stronghold (that of Granada in 1492) the Spaniards turned their attention to the compulsory conversion of the conquered people to Christianity (2) ; repressive measures were introduced, and enforced

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(1) Writing in 1554, the Spanish historian SARMIENTO makes the following observations :— “ Cada provincia, en fin del año, mandava asentár, en los quipos por el cuento de sus nudos todos los hombres que habían muerto en ella en aquel año, y por el consiguiente los que habían nacido, y por principio del año que entrava, venían con los quipos al Cuzco ”. In other words, Provincial annual returns of births and deaths were made to the capital city, Cuzco.

Calculations were made by the *Quipos*, a kind of primitive calculating machine, composed of knotted strings.

(2) The Catholic sovereigns issued a proclamation in 1499, commanding all Moors to become Christians or to depart the country. “ En año 1499 dieron orden los reyes católicos, para que los Moros se hiciesen cristianos : y así en Granada fué la mezquita mayor consagrada en iglesia catedral, y en ella y su comarca se bautizaron más de cincuenta mil personas ”. MARIANA. *Hist. Gen. de España*. Footnote. Chap. 5. This account speaks of the conversion of “ more than 50,000 persons ” ; another contemporary writer says “ more than 70,000 ” e. g. “ Los dichos Arzobispos y, la clerecía de Granada, convir-

with such persistence and severity that, by the middle of the 16th-century it was believed the desired object of ensuring that no Mohammedan remained within the boundaries of the peninsula had been attained (1). Yet there continued the suspicion that the conversions of the *Moriscoes* or "New Christians" as they were termed (2) were not altogether genuine and sincere, and further measures were introduced designed to completely obliterate any remaining tendencies which this unfortunate people might have endeavoured to retain of native habits of life or religion; under the terms of the Edict of Philip II issued in 1566, *Moriscoes* were prohibited under severe penalties, from the use of language, books, ceremonies, clothing, or other signs of the customs or culture of their fathers. The studied severity of these and similar injunctions had the effect of goading the unhappy people into open rebellion in 1568, but, though disturbed conditions persisted for some 3 years, the might and power of Spain triumphed, the Moors were subdued, and little or nothing further is heard of them during the remaining years that Philip II occupied the throne (3).

On the accession of Philip III (1598-1621) further crusades against the Moors were directed by the ecclesiastical authorities who

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tieron la ciudad y bautisaron más de setenta mil personas grandes e chicas en Granada y su comarca". BERNÁLDEZ. *Hist. de los Reyes Católicos* concluding paragraph of Chap. 159.

(1) "L'année 1526 vit donc, disparaître dans toutes les parties de l'Espagne les signes extérieurs de l'Islamisme". *Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*. M. DE CIRCOURT, vol. 2, Paris, 1846.

(2) "From this time (i. e. following the compulsory conversion of the Moors) the name of Moors, which had gradually superseded the primitive one of Spanish Arabs, gave way to the title of *Moriscos*, by which this unfortunate people continued to be known through the remainder of their protracted existence in the Peninsula". *Ferdinand and Isabella*, PRESCOTT, vol. II, p. 138. They were also contemptuously termed *Tornazidos*, i. e. turncoats or deserters. For further information see *Condición de los Moriscos en España*, JANER. Madrid, 1857. A contemporary writer says there were in Granada, at the end of the 14th century "sixty thousand households" e. g. "Afirmar que había en tiempo del rey Bulhagiz en Granada, sesenta mil casas". *Los famosos Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. GERÓNIMO ZURITA. Book 20, Chap. 42, Edition Madrid, 1853.

(3) During this period numerous Moorish families and persons, either fled the country or were expelled therefrom. GONZÁLEZ remarks that by 1579 the revenue of Granada had diminished by over 17 millions of *maravedís*. according to his calculations upwards of 150,000 Moors must have left that kingdom during the period of insurrection.

firmly believed that the failure of such national enterprises as the Armada were indisputable evidence of the displeasure of the Almighty, that heretics and unbelievers should remain at large and undisturbed within the Kingdom. A movement led by the Archbishop of Valencia, and supported by the powerful Don Bernardo de Rosias y Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo, begged the king to consent to the complete expulsion of the wretched remnants of the once magnificent Moorish nation. The decision was taken, and in 1609 the unfortunate victims of this inquisition were driven out of the country. Of the actual numbers concerned in this tremendous exodus, estimates and statements vary between wide limits. Nor are GONZÁLEZ's references particularly helpful, for the records he quotes are surprisingly meagre. One, obviously incomplete, mentions the numbers of households in the Kingdom of Aragon and Valencia; the registers of embarkation he quotes, provide the following particulars:—

Port of Málaga . . . . .	12,912	
Port of Cartagena . . . . .	23,879	
Port of Sanlucar . . . . .	18,566	
The Kingdom of Valencia . . . . .	37,077	
Burgos . . . . .	6,985	
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Total . . . . .	99,419	
To these must be added 6 % for those who were allowed to remain in Spain . . . . .	5,964	(In the record this is wrongly stated) 5,694
Embarkation, Alicante . . . . .	12,275	
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Grand Total. . . . .	117,658	Wrongly stated <hr/> <hr/> 117,388

A more complete statement gives the names of towns and places in the Western and Eastern areas of the Kingdom of Valencia in 1609 together with the numbers of houses in each occupied by "Old Christians" (*Cristianos viejos*) and "New Christians" (*Cristianos nuevos*) (1)... a total of 97,372 households. None of these statements or records is satisfying; the numbers of Moors expelled at the

(1) The terms "New Christians", "Half Christians", "Part Christians" were applied to baptized Jews or Moors, and to relations of connections of these. See LABORDE *Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne* Vol. 1, Intro, LXXXVIII.

time enormously exceed any figures GONZÁLEZ places before us (1). It is scarcely conceivable that the two or three scanty statements quoted may be held to represent the whole of the documentary evidence preserved at *Simancas* relating to this most important episode in Spanish history. GONZÁLEZ might have settled for all time, by the presentation of copies of authentic and official papers, the conflicting estimates and statements claimed by various writers to represent the numbers of Moors expelled from Spain in the years 1609-1610.

The two succeeding records, relating to the year 1614, and the *Province of Guipúzcoa*, seem to have resulted from a judicial inquiry conducted by one *Hernando de Ribera*, and concerned with tax remissions in various towns throughout the Province. These investigations apparently led to the collection and compilation of numerous data relating to towns, hearths, and citizens in the area. ANTONIO DE OLABARRIA, Clerk to the Provincial Council of Guipuzcoa (*Escribano fiel de Junta desta provincia de Guipúzcoa*), must have been responsible for these returns, for he prepared a statement of the numbers of households paying hearth-taxes, and certified to 2,335 of these. In the second of these records, 26 towns were taken, and the numbers of tax-paying citizens and hearths determined, a step which enabled the estimation of the average numbers of tax-payers to hearths. It was found that in this limited inquiry, there were approximately  $5 \frac{1}{2}$  tax-payers to each hearth. This ratio, applied to the 2,335 hearths recorded for the Province as a whole gave a total of 12,842 tax-paying citizens in the provincial area. But, each of these is then held to represent the head of a household of five persons, and therefore, there were estimated to be  $12,842 \times 5$  (64,210) persons in the whole province, *excluding* nobles (2). With the exception of two statements compiled in 1629, concerned with

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(1) LLORENTE says that over two millions of Jews and Moors left Spain e. g. "Con esta emigración, de los muchos Moros de Granada para Africa, y de cristianos para América perdimos entonces dos millones de almas que hoy serían ocho". i. e. "by this emigration of numerous Moors from Granada to Africa and of Christians to América we lost two million souls". *Historia Critica de la Inquisición de España*. JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE. Madrid 1822. Tome II, Chap. VIII, Art. 1, para 7.

P. BORONAT *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901, might throw light on this question ; this is a work to which I have been unable to refer.

(2) According to a census taken in 1787, these numbered no less than 50,502, or 44 per cent of the estimated population of 1614.

the revenues of the Military Orders in Castile, and the numbers of Dioceses in the Kingdom (neither of which provide bases for estimation purposes) we have reached the last of the official documents of the 17th century quoted by GONZÁLES.

This sparsity of information touching conditions during the 17th century while regrettable is scarcely surprising ; it will be remembered the age of Spanish dominance ended with the death of Philip II in 1598, and thereafter decline followed with such amazing rapidity that, by the end of the 17th century Spain was mistress of the world no longer, but stripped of many of her possessions, and virtually a bankrupt nation ; such wide-scale national losses and disasters were sufficient in themselves to turn attention from the collection and compilation of data, to matters which, to the administrators of the time, were of more pressing importance. In these circumstances, it can hardly be expected that the 18th century will reveal evidence of any remarkable statistical activity, and if judgment is based upon the official documents quoted by GONZÁLES for that century, available information is exceptionally meagre.

In 1708 there was prepared a list of hearths from the register of houses in the Señorío (or Lordship) of Vizcaya compiled in 1704 ; the names of 113 towns are recorded as having 11,228 hearths (1) ; in 1768, according to ecclesiastical records the population of Castile was stated to number 6,689,875 souls. It was not, however, until 1787 that an actual census was carried out, when the population then enumerated numbered 10,035,957 persons, while a further census held 10 years later showed an increase to 10,574,940 persons.

The latter census (1797) was the last attempt in Spain at anything approaching a general census before the census taken on May 21st, 1857, since which year census taking at decennial intervals has been followed. Numerous estimates were made in the interim, in 1833, 1846, and 1850 ; the figures are of doubtful accuracy — if for example, the figures of 1850 are accepted, then the results of the census of 1857 show an apparent increase of something like 42 per cent in the course of seven years.

The researches of GONZÁLES brought to light many important,

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(1) Other inquiries (*averiguaciones*) in various dioceses and ecclesiastical districts (*varias iglesias y anteiglesias*) gave the numbers of inhabitants in local areas in Vizcaya for the years 1659, 1616, 1618, and 1625. These returns relate, however, to 55 towns only.

and, so far as we know, hitherto unrecorded documents, thereby providing a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Spanish people of earlier times. It seems clear from his accounts that, until the end of the 15th century, military rolls and tax lists were the principal sources of information ; in the 16th century these were supplemented by the addition of Hearth Tax Returns (1), Ecclesiastical Records (2) and so on, and that such records continued at irregular intervals until the taking of the census of 1787.

But, while we acknowledge the debt due to GONZÁLEZ, one is left with the impression that there remain unmentioned a large number of important documents of official and authentic character — ignored perhaps by reason of the fact that these had already some notice by other workers. The accounts of the population given by such early writers as ZURITA, MARIANA, BERNÁLDEZ, and others are vague and unsatisfactory ; the information they supply, unsupported by references to authentic or official documents, has given rise to the most absurd estimates relating to different periods of time. And yet, there is every reason to believe that dependable Spanish records *do* exist. It is unfortunate, therefore, to find that GONZÁLEZ fails to contribute further and more complete knowledge of the State and numbers of the Spanish people of early times, more exact information of the Jews and Moors, who, until the end of the 16th century constituted the most important industrial and commercial elements of the population of the country ; his one incomplete record relating to the Nobles of Spain is practically valueless having regard to the fact that, in Spain, the nobles were more numerous than in any other country in Europe — the entire populations of some districts were ennobled *en masse* in recognition of their valiant endeavours to repel the Moorish invaders, and it has been stated that in Biscay, Guipúzcoa, Asturias, and Alava, the nobility formed from one-sixth to one-half of the total population of those areas.

These concluding criticisms are not designed to belittle the endeavours and contributions of GONZÁLEZ. On the contrary, his work is worthy of the highest praise, and the omissions referred to arise from causes of which the present-day reader must necessarily remain ignorant. But other workers may taken up the unfinished

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(1) Hearth Taxes were not introduced in England until the reign of Charles II. second half of the 17th century. 1685.

(2) Similar to the Bishops' Surveys of Tudor times.

task, and, by the exercise of sagacity and penetration, laying aside prejudices, partialities, or other biases, by refusing to accept rumours or vague statements, they may discover abundant and dependable information which will enable us to attain a proper appreciation of conditions in far-off times.

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