

QUANTIFYING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

The Ministry Reports and Gazettes of Ecuador as Quantitative Sources*

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INTRODUCTION: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOURCES AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATION

Increasingly, historians of and in the Latin American countries are turning to quantitative data and analysis. TePaske (1972, 1975), Smith (1973), and McGreevey (1972, 1974) comment on work that has been and is being done and on problems inherent in quantification. The problems that students face as quantifiers of the past may be summarized under the rubrics: (1) sources, (2) methodology, (3) training, and (4) financing. It is with the first of these that this article is concerned, especially with sources for quantifying the nineteenth century after independence, a period neglected almost as much as the seventeenth century used to be, at least insofar as the smaller countries are concerned, except for their politics and personages.

Specifically, the ministry reports and gazettes of Ecuador, from the years 1830 through 1900, are examined here as quantitative sources. Ministry reports and gazettes were selected because these serials contain statistical runs on population, the national budget, imports and exports, the military, crime, the clergy, and education, among other categories. Ecuador was chosen to exemplify the variety and extent of quantitative and quantifiable sources available on a smaller country. And the years 1830 through 1900 (or the nineteenth century, for want of a better term) were selected because they form a period in the statistical history of Ecuador. There are no ministry reports prior to 1830, when Ecuador became a sovereign state; in fact, the first report dates from 1831 (EC-E-1831).¹ The first official gazette (*Gaceta de Quito*), on the other hand, began to be published in

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1829. The year 1830, therefore, marks the beginning in Ecuador of what has been called "the protostatistical-republican period," as 1901 does "the period of systematic gathering of data" (the Dirección General de Estadística y Registro Civil having then been established).²

Although the ministry reports of the twentieth century are neither discussed nor listed here, it must be stressed that they also contain important materials on the nineteenth century. To wit, the 1910 *Boletín de Estadística* of the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública is a quantitative study on public education between 1830 and 1850 by the head of the ministry's statistical office, Antonio Alomía Llorí, who opens with a note on the history of the gathering of statistics in Ecuador. The 1941 *Informe del señor Ministro de Hacienda* includes the most complete bibliography of Ecuadorian newspapers in print (Ojeda 1941). And the *Boletín del Ministerio del Tesoro* publishes quantitative analyses of monetary depreciation and the national budget from 1830 through 1945 (Azanza 1945, 1946). For a first effort to list the nineteenth and twentieth century statistical serials of Ecuador see Hamerly (1974), and for a guide to United States and Canadian library holdings of official Ecuadorian serials, including ministry reports and gazettes see Mesa (1973). It should also be noted that scholars will not be able to see most of the nineteenth-century ministry reports in North America or, for that matter, anywhere outside of Ecuador. Even there, early publications are difficult to locate, only a single copy being known in some instances. The Library of Congress does possess an almost complete collection of the multititled *Registro Oficial* from 1838 onward, of which only the years 1843 through 1849 are available on microfilm. On the other hand, apparently the only library in the world to have a run of the equally official, albeit local, *Registro Municipal* of Guayaquil is that city's Biblioteca Municipal.³

Until 1884, there were only three ministries in Ecuador: the Ministerio de Guerra y Marina (the Ministerio de Defensa Nacional after 1935); the Ministerio de Hacienda (the Ministerio del Tesoro between 1944 and 1964, and the Ministerio de Finanzas since then); and the Ministerio del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores (separated in 1897, and the former retitled Ministerio de Gobierno in 1930). Several years earlier, the Ministerio del Interior was fractionalized into the Ministerio del Interior, the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública (1884), and the Ministerio de Obras Públicas (1892). But at first there existed only one ministry, the Ministerio de Estado, created by General Juan José Flores, the first and third president of Ecuador (1830–34 and 1839–45), on 31 May 1830 (*PRAN*:1, p. 2), and sanctioned later that year by the first National Convention.

The lawmakers of 1830 subdivided the Ministerio de Estado into two subsecretariats, Gobierno Interior y Exterior and Hacienda, and entrusted military and naval matters to the Jefe del Estado Mayor General. At the same time, they charged the Ministerio de Estado and the Jefe del Estado Mayor General with the presentation "al Congreso en los primeros días de sus sesiones, memorias documentadas del estado de los negocios públicos en los diferentes ramos de su administración" (Noboa 1898–1903:1, p. 116). The minister of state presented a published *Exposición* to the first Congress on 12 November 1831 (EC-E-1831). The commander in chief presented *memorias* to the Congresses of 1831

and 1833, and a "Lijera esposición" to the second National Convention of 1835, of which only the 1833 *Memoria* seems to have been printed (EC-EM-1833).⁴ Be that as it may, although the names and numbers of the ministries varied, the practice of presenting and usually publishing *exposiciones*, *memorias*, or *informes* to Congress and sometimes the National Conventions continued.

The first Congress provisionally separated the two subsecretariats on 8 November 1831, creating in fact the Ministerio del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores and the Ministerio de Hacienda and suppressing the Ministerio de Estado (*PRAN*: 1, p. 175). In 1835, the second National Convention made both permanent and institutionalized the Jefatura del Estado Mayor General as the Ministerio de Guerra y Marina (Noboa 1898–1903:1, p. 150). The ministries of Hacienda and of Interior y Relaciones Exteriores presented their first *Memorias* to the Congress of 1833 (EC-H-1833, EC-IRE-1833), and the Ministerio de Guerra y Marina its first to the Congress of 1837 (EC-GM-1837). Strictly speaking, it was the ministers, and not the ministries, who presented these reports. But to a large extent (at least the documentary appendixes and supplementary reports thereto), they were prepared by the staff of and subordinates to the latter.

The number of ministries remained at three until 16 May 1884, when the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, formerly an office within the Ministerio del Interior, was added.⁵ Suppressed sixteen months later, the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública was reestablished in 1888, apparently abolished again in 1892, and toyed with during the remainder of the century, especially during the first administration of Eloy Alfaro (1895–1901). And, it would seem, the legislation of the Liberals being somewhat contradictory, that the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública (Educación Pública since 1930) was definitively resurrected on 17 October 1901. In any event, separate reports on the state of education are known to have been presented to the Congresses of 1885, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1898, 1899, and 1900, to the President in 1893 (published in EC-IP-1894), and to the National Convention of 1896–97.

The fifth ministry to be created was that of Obras Públicas on 6 August 1892. It too led an ephemeral existence at first. Insofar as the period of interest is concerned, the Ministerio de Obras Públicas appears to have existed as a separate entity between 1892 and 1894, possibly in 1895, and again between 1897 and 1898. In between, its functions (like those of the on-and-off Ministerio de Instrucción Pública) were reassumed by the Ministerio del Interior. Understandably, it would seem that the minister of Obras Públicas presented only two reports to Congress (EC-OP-1894, EC-OP-1898).

The sixth and final ministry to be created in the nineteenth century was that of Relaciones Exteriores y Justicia, which offices were separated from Interior on 29 May 1897. Legally, they were a single ministry, but the joint minister made a practice of issuing separate reports for each, at least through 1916, in reflection of the fact that Relaciones Exteriores and Justicia were separate entities for all practical purposes, and as such we may consider them. But it is with the *Exposiciones*, *Memorias*, and *Informes* of the ministries of Guerra y Marina, Hacienda, and Interior, and to a lesser extent of Instrucción Pública and the gazettes, that this article is primarily concerned.

Before taking up the ministry reports and gazettes as quantitative sources, a few words are in order as to their necessary complement, the national and ministerial archives. Presently there are four national archives: the Archivo Nacional de Historia in Quito (ANH/Q); the Archivo Histórico de Riobamba; the Archivo Nacional de Historia, Sección del Azuay (ANH/SA); and the Archivo Histórico del Guayas in Guayaquil. Only the first need concern us here. There does not yet exist a guide to or inventory of the postindependence holdings of the ANH/Q, but there is an excellent guide to its colonial holdings (Freile-Granizo 1974), which does provide the researcher with an introduction to the overall organization of the ANH/Q and whose author is willing to fill in particulars to interested parties.⁶ Above and beyond the potential quantitative and quantifiable data to be found in the presidential papers, the Supreme Court and Superior Court of Quito records, and the capital's notary files (all of which record groups are now in the ANH/Q), this repository also houses the *expedientes* and *libros* of the Ministerio del Interior through 1920.

Upon being transferred from the Archivo del Ministerio de Gobierno in 1976, the *expedientes* and *libros* of the former Ministerio del Interior were inventoried. It is necessary to turn to what is now called the Gobierno *fondo* in the ANH/Q in order to fill in the gaps in coverage in the Interior reports and also for supplementary data. On the one hand, the ministers of Interior depended upon the governors as well as other subordinates, who in turn delegated cantonal, municipal, and parish authorities, to compile and remit most of the information on which they based their reports. But the reports of the governors and other high-ranking subordinates were not usually published in the Interior reports prior to the 1870s and not always thereafter, and hence must be ferreted out from the Gobierno *fondo*. On the other hand, subordinates sometimes furnished the ministers with much more extensive data than could possibly be published, such as the raw returns of the 1871 quasi-national census. These, as well as enumerator books from other years, may also be seen in this *fondo*.⁷

It is less rewarding and more frustrating, however, to work with the extant papers of the former ministries of Hacienda and Guerra y Marina. The Hacienda records are divided among the ANH/Q, which has the interministerial correspondence; the Archivo del Ministerio de Finanzas; and the Dirección de Historia y Geografía Militar del Estado Mayor Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas, which has monopolized almost everything of interest. Very little is left in the Archivo del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, access to which is almost impossible to obtain.

The Relaciones Exteriores, Educación Pública, and Obras Públicas archives, on the other hand, are open to qualified researchers. The Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores has most, if not all, of its records from 1830 onward; those on education prior to the creation of that ministry in 1884 are in the Gobierno *fondo* of the ANH/Q, however, as are also those on public works for most of the nineteenth century. Another repository to which scholars would be well advised to turn is the Archivo y Biblioteca de la Función Legislativa (ABFL/Q). In the first place, the ABFL/Q possesses extensive runs of ministerial correspondence and unpublished reports not readily and sometimes not at all

available. Second, the ABFL/Q is well organized, completely inventoried,⁸ and more or less intact.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REPORTS

The ministry reports and gazettes contain more than enough statistics to begin to write the demographic, economic, and social history of postindependence Ecuador. The nineteenth-century reports include retrospective as well as coeval data. Usually the ministry reports contain information from and on the preceding year or two, depending upon the length of the interval between sessions of Congress, and sometimes retrospective data on the preceding five, ten, or fifteen years as the century advanced and presidents, ministers, congressmen, governors, and other functionaries evinced a concern for more complete coverage. Nonetheless, there are gaps in coverage in the ministry reports, especially during the interregnums between caudillos and/or constitutionally elected presidents. Some of the gaps, however, may be filled in by consulting the gazettes (see table 1), but in many instances it is necessary to turn to the national and ministerial archives. The ministry reports and gazettes display two other shortcomings—missing tables and typographical errors. Printers sometimes omitted tables altogether from the reports on the contention that there was not enough time to include them before Congress convened. Statistics, especially monthly items, were often used as fillers in the gazettes. Hence it is not uncommon to find data missing for some months. And typesetters were careless. Gross errors are usually easy to detect but not always possible to correct.

Perhaps the most interesting of the reports are those of the Ministerio del Interior. The Interior reports comment upon and quantify, sometimes at length, the state and movement of the population; the composition, distribution, and income of the secular clergy and religious orders; hospitals, cemeteries, police, manumission, roads and bridges; criminal cases tried and civil suits heard; and public and private education at the primary, secondary, and university levels. The Interior reports also comment upon administrative changes, charitable institutes, economic developments (especially attempts to industrialize), the Galapagos, municipal activities, natural disasters, public morality, and so forth. Finally, but hardly least, the informes of the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s usually published, in appendixes, the even more detailed reports of the governors to the ministers. Some of the governor's reports from earlier years were published separately (e.g., *Informes de los gobernadores . . .*, 1857–58), but it is not known to what extent this was practiced. Others may be seen in the gazettes and newspapers (as for example Gómez 1860). It is impossible to comment upon all the data to be found in the Interior reports, or for that matter in those of the ministries of Hacienda, Guerra y Marina, or Instrucción Pública, to say naught of the gazettes. Therefore I have selected examples of interest to me.

TABLE 1 *The Nineteenth-Century Gazettes of Ecuador.*

Title	Dates of Publication		Place
	From	To	
<i>Gaceta de Quito</i>	1829 (3.I)*	1830 (VII)*	Quito
<i>Gaceta del Gobierno del Ecuador</i>	1830	1836	Quito
<i>Gaceta del Ecuador</i>	1837	1845 (18.V)	Quito
<i>El Seis de Marzo</i>	1845 (12.III)*	1850 (26.XII)*	Guayaquil
<i>El 21 de Junio</i>	1845 (13.VII)	1846 (23.II)	Quito
<i>El Nacional</i>	1846 (16.III)	1852 (24.II)*	Quito
<i>El Seis de Marzo</i>	1851 (5.VIII)	1853 (12.V)	Guayaquil
	1853 (11.VI)	1858 (14.XII)	Quito
<i>El Nacional</i>	1859 (V)	1876 (16.XII)	Quito
<i>El Ocho de Setiembre</i>	1876 (21.IX)*	1877 (8.I)	Guayaquil
	1877 (6.I)	1877 (11.VIII)	Quito
	1877 (13.IX)	1877 (20.XII)	Guayaquil
	1878 (4.II)	1878 (5.VI)	Ambato
	1878 (26.VI)	1882 (23.XII)	Quito
<i>El Nacional</i>	1883 (27.I)	1888 (5.IX)	Quito
<i>Diario Oficial</i>	1888 (7. IX)	1891 (29.XII)	Quito
<i>Periódico Oficial</i>	1892 (15.I)	1892 (2.VII)	Quito
<i>Diario Oficial</i>	1892 (9.VII)	1895 (14.VIII)	Quito
<i>Registro Oficial</i>	1895 (1.VII)	1896 (28.I)	Guayaquil
	1896 (7.II)	Ongoing	Quito

*Unverified dates. NB: This table does not include the ephemeral gazettes published at one time or another in Guayaquil and Cuenca by splinter governments.

DEMOGRAPHY

The literature on the historical demography of Ecuador is scant, for a preliminary guide to which see Hamerly (1974). Only Bromley and the author are engaged in population research; Bromley has yet to make available most of her findings (see her 1972 and 1973 papers), and I will be many years in tabulating and analyzing the thousands of sources so far encountered.⁹ Hence the discussion that follows on the population data to be found in the Interior reports is not complete and hardly definitive. Also, lack of space precludes discussing the comparable data in the gazettes, allusions to which will have to suffice.

One of the basic concerns of the Ministerio del Interior was the acquisition of accurate information on the state and movement of the population. Almost from the beginning, the ministers pressured the governors to furnish them annually with summary sheets as to the size and characteristics of the populations of the provinces, and with bills of mortality. The summary sheets were supposed to be based on population counts, in some instances were, and invariably appear as "Censo de la población de. . . ." Some governors complied with the request for summary sheets and bills of mortality as early as 1833;

however, the ministers did not begin to include these data in their reports until 1839, and not all of the summary sheets were published in the Interior reports, even after 1839. It is only at the level of provinces that we may begin to determine how reliable and hence useful these data are. Ultimately this problem will have to be resolved at the level of cantons and municipalities, perhaps even parishes, for in the towns it was the municipal authorities and in the countryside the *jefes políticos* (*corregidores* until 1845) who furnished the governors with the required information. And both of these groups almost always turned to the parish officials (*pedáneos*) and priests for these data. It must also be remembered that we are dealing with a "preindustrial society," whose demographic, economic, and social structures were predominantly local, regional, and in part, but only incidentally, national.

The total population figures for the years 1838, 1840, 1846, 1849, 1853–56, and 1886, in which all the governors submitted summary sheets, bring us to grips with some of the other problems inherent in the "censos de población." Several of the total as well as the subtotal population sizes are discrepant. It is difficult to know which result or set of results should be preferred. The 1840 and 1846 figures were derived from population counts, as were possibly those of 1838, and certainly those of 1842. As a matter of fact, it would seem that Ecuador realized true national censuses in 1840 and again in 1846 in the premodern sense (that is to say, within the same year), and came close to doing so also in 1842.¹⁰ The 1842 attempt and the 1846 censuses are especially interesting because they include data on the "racial" composition of the population, which kind of information does not appear to be available for Ecuador as a whole at any other time in the nineteenth century.

Apparently the next significant attempt to count the population at large came in the 1860s, in compliance with the law of 11 April 1861.¹¹ Although the population of Ecuador as a whole may not have been counted in any given year during that decade, it is likely that censuses were undertaken in most, if not all, of the cantons at least once between 1861 and 1867. In several instances, it is known that their populations were counted twice, and possibly thrice. Many of the enumerators' books have survived.¹² These books are nominative lists that specify the approximate age, civil state, occupation, and degree of literacy of those listed. Whether realized in or extant for all territorial units, the returns of the 1860s together with those of 1871 will probably provide the most complete demographic portrait of Ecuador possible between the late eighteenth century *padrones* and the first modern national census of 1950.

The ministers, however, chided governors for having turned in poor data,¹³ and hence one wonders if all of the latter actually used the census returns in preparing their returns. In fact Quito was so disappointed with the census result of the 1860s, that the government ordered a new national census to be undertaken in 1871. A nation-wide population count appears to have been realized, or at least almost; and, as in the case of the attempts of the 1860s, there are extant enumerators books.¹⁴ Whether this means that the 1871 through 1877 subtotals reflect the census of 1871 or later censuses is impossible to know at this stage, but it is likely in view of the detailed summary sheets that appear in the

Interior and appended governors' reports. It should also be noted that the gazettes from the 1860s and 1870s, especially *El Nacional* (2d ser., 1859–76), are richer in population data than their predecessors and successors.

The figures from the remainder of the century seem to have been estimates for the most part. The 1886 total and/or subtotals, however, may reflect the national census ordered to have been undertaken by the executive decree of 5 January 1885. The population of Ecuador at large, nonetheless, does not seem to have been counted then, nor were there any further global attempts made prior to 1950, to the best of my knowledge.

At least ten of the Interior reports from 1843 through 1863 also include global and/or multiprovincial bills of mortality.¹⁵ And still other bills of mortality may be seen in the appended governors' reports of the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, and in the gazettes. The bills of mortality appear under the somewhat misleading title "Estado del número de nacimientos, matrimonios y muertos . . ." or a comparable heading. In fact the bills of mortality do not state the number of births, marriages, and deaths per year in the nation as a whole or in any given province, but rather of baptisms, weddings, and burials as originally reported by parish priests and missionaries (*doctrineros*). Insofar as can be determined, the bills of mortality are accurate. Still it should be noted that not all priests turned in the required information, and that some ministers and governors did not bother to indicate how complete the derived *estados* were. Furthermore, although it would appear that the baptism and wedding figures may be utilized to compute crude birth and church-celebrated marriage rates on the right order of magnitude, more often than not the burial figures yield unacceptably low death rates. Apparently many urban poor, especially infants and children, were not buried in the church because of high fees, and in the countryside there was a shortage of priests, particularly on the coast, to mention only two of the factors involved. Hence many deaths went unrecorded.

From the preceding discussion, it should be clear that there are two basic groups or series of demographic data in the Interior reports, the appended and separately published gubernatorial reports, and the gazettes: (1) "censos de población" or summary sheets, some of which are summaries of population counts; and (2) bills of mortality, most of which were derived from parish registers.¹⁶ A substantial file of information on the size, characteristics, and movement of the population from the late 1830s onward may be built up from these two groups, more than enough to undertake preliminary studies on the demographic history of Ecuador and/or its component provinces and cantons during the nineteenth century, and also, of course, the early twentieth. More detailed studies may be realized utilizing the raw census data and parish registers.¹⁷

ECONOMY

The Ministerio de Hacienda reports contain even more quantitative data than those of the Ministerio del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores. Independently from the statistics in the gazettes, it is possible to compile data matrices on virtually

every aspect of the public sector of the economy, on exports and imports, on the patterns of trade with other countries, and on internal commerce. More specifically, the reports of the ministers of Hacienda to Congress and to some extent also the gazettes published detailed tables on: the national budget, including projected as well as real income and expenditures, at the national and provincial, sometimes even cantonal level; customs receipts, Indian tribute until its definitive abolition in 1857, sales tax, the tithes (which may be used to compute minimum agricultural output figures), and the other sources of regular and extraordinary income; salaries of public employees; military expenditures; the national debt, external and internal; the issuance of bonds, the mining of coins, and the printing of paper money; transactions of the government with banks such as the Banco del Ecuador and the Banco de Quito; public works and state contracts; the alienation of public lands; the circulation of mails; exports from and imports by the ports of Esmeraldas, Bahía de Caráquez, Manta, Guayaquil, Puerto Bolívar, and Santa Rosa; ship arrivals and departures; and coastal and riverine traffic, to mention only major categories and some of their specific aspects. No one, however, has yet culled all of the nineteenth-century Hacienda reports in order to compile data matrices or time series on any of the above mentioned aspects of the economy.¹⁸ Nor do there appear to be any quantitative studies based in whole or in part on these reports on one or more of the political periods into which it has been customary to divide the nineteenth century.

In order to illustrate the wealth of economic data to be found in the Hacienda reports and the gazettes, and some of the limitations of these materials, I have elaborated a sample time series from both data sets on cacao exports from Guayaquil during the nineteenth century (see table 2). Cacao was selected because it was the primary export of Ecuador, the principal purveyor of cacao on the world market from the 1830s through the 1920s.¹⁹ Similarly Guayaquil was and still is the primary port of Ecuador.²⁰

Table 2 is an incomplete sample because the only pre-1843 Hacienda report available at the time of compilation was EC-H-1837 and because I have not seen all gazettes prior to 1838. Judging by EC-IRE-1835 (which includes the Hacienda report from that year), EC-H-1837, EC-H-1843, and the gazettes from 1838 through 1845, however, it is probable that the unconsulted Hacienda reports and gazettes do not contain export/import data. Nor do all of those thereafter, which raises the first problem, discontinuity in coverage. Neither the Hacienda reports nor the gazettes include statistics on the external sector for every year. In fact the gazettes on the whole contain relatively little commercial data, as exemplified by the fact that I was able to fill in only one missing year (1843) by turning to this source group. The Hacienda informes from 1896–97 through 1900 do not contain any information on exports or imports either.

In the case of cacao, it is easy enough to fill in the missing years from other published sources. This is not true, however, for most other commodities. Nor do those Hacienda reports that include information on exports necessarily also include figures on imports. Given the division of the extant Hacienda papers between three depositories, the disordered state of these materials, and the lack of ready access to two of the three archives in question, the only feasible way to

TABLE 2 Cacao Exports from Guayaquil: 1843–1900.

Year ^a	Quintales ^b	Declared Value ^c	Percentage of Total Value of Exports	Source
1843	153,908	950,057	—	<i>Gaceta del Ecuador</i> (21. IV. 1844)
1844	—	—	—	
1845/46	88,333	—	—	EC-H-1846
1846/47	129,409	798,819	53.3	EC-H-1847
1847/48	175,448	649,807	51.7	EC-H-1848
1848	172,069	799,616	49.4	EC-H-1849
1849–				
1850	—	—	—	
1851	79,583	—	—	EC-H-1856
1852	140,098	—	—	EC-H-1856
1852/53	133,298	741,553	47.2	EC-H-1853
1853	136,647	—	—	EC-H-1856
1854	111,221	—	—	EC-H-1856
1855	150,929	—	—	EC-H-1856
1855/56	132,916	984,561	43.7	EC-H-1856
1857	150,022	2,778,173	69.0	EC-H-1858
1858–				
1861	—	—	—	
1862	164,345	1,960,140	73.8	EC-H-1863
1863	—	—	—	
1864	113,512	1,702,682	67.3	EC-H-1865
1865 } 1866 }	342,734	5,141,020	71.9	EC-H-1867
1867–				
1868	—	—	—	
1869	173,130	1,904,430	51.4	EC-H-1871
1870	238,290	2,382,900	44.9	EC-H-1871
1871	182,344	1,823,436	45.4	EC-H-1873
1872	184,185	2,302,318	54.0	EC-H-1873
1873	251,881	3,274,456	56.1	EC-H-1875
1874	252,435	3,029,219	62.5	EC-H-1875
1875	176,207	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1876	224,739	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1877	187,986	2,631,803	75.7	EC-H-1878
1878	102,150	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1879	294,967	6,194,300	—	EC-H-1880
1880	362,411	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1881	216,779	—	—	EC-H-1892a

Table 2 (continued)

Year ^a	Quintales ^b	Declared Value ^c	Percentage of	
			Total Value of Exports	Source
1882	202,000	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1883	166,573	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1884	180,101	3,782,112	63.5	EC-H-1885
1885	227,650	4,029,099	83.4	EC-H-1886
1886	366,862	—	—	EC-H-1887
1887	342,354	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1888	248,585	—	—	EC-H-1892a
1889	267,723	5,620,587	71.1	EC-H-1890
1890	389,388	6,571,331	67.3	EC-H-1892a
1891	217,191	4,232,895	68.2	EC-H-1892a
1892	319,121	7,307,478	70.5	EC-H-1894
1893	402,820	9,765,529	79.5	EC-H-1894
1894– 1900	—	—	—	

^aThe split years are fiscal.

^bI.e., 100 *libras*.

^cPer F.O.B. prices. The unit of currency was the peso until 1884, when it became the *sucre*.

flush out the official data is to turn to the local newspapers,²¹ provincial and municipal archives, or, in this case, to the British and North American consular reports.

A closely related problem is the incompleteness of data. Continuing with the same example, whereas it is possible to compile a complete run of cacao exports from 1830 through 1900 drawing on the Hacienda reports, gazettes, and other official sources, these same sources do not always indicate what was the prevalent F.O.B. price, the total value, or the total value of all exports. Parenthetically, although F.O.B. prices are not given in this table, they are available for almost every year for which declared values are given. Again the only way to fill in the missing data in most instances is to turn to the local newspapers, repositories, and consular reports.

The only other problem that need be raised here is that of validity. At least the data on exports are accurate, since they were taxed so lightly for the most part that exporters apparently declared total amounts of shipments correctly. In 1843, for example, although cacao together with other exports was taxed at 14 percent (10 percent in customs duties and 4 percent in sales tax), the value at which they were taxed was appreciably lower than the F.O.B. price (1 and 1/2 pesos per *carga* as against 5 pesos).²² Differential appraisal for purposes of taxation also seems to have held true for other commodities. The very close agreement between the official and the commercial sources as to the amount of exports also suggests that the export data in the Hacienda reports and gazettes

are reliable. In as much as imports bore the brunt of taxation, importers were no doubt given to the practice of maintaining double registers; and the one that the customs officials saw, whether or not a second or true register was kept, probably understated the amount as well as the value of imports. Also it is impossible to know to what extent contraband vitiates the official statistics. Nonetheless, far more seems to have been smuggled into than out of Ecuador.

Such limitations notwithstanding, the Ministerio de Hacienda reports constitute a major reservoir of heretofore untapped data on many different aspects of the economy, especially commerce, at least from the 1840s through the early 1890s. The gazettes have their uses too, for they publish statements on Treasury receipts and expenditures from 1830 onward, sometimes monthly, other times per quarter, semester, calendar or fiscal year. The gazettes also contain data on mortgages (*censos*), public works, and voluntary and forced contributions.

SOCIETY

It is also possible to elaborate time series on the social structure and institutions of nineteenth-century Ecuador from the ministry reports and gazettes. Drawing on the Interior and (beginning in 1885) the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública reports, for example, one may quantify the state and movement of public and private education at the primary, secondary, special, and university levels from 1838 forward. Caution should be exercised, however, in interpreting the statistics in the ministry and supplementary governors' informes as authorities sometimes reported only the number of schools and students in attendance in the public systems, and other times on the public and private sectors indiscriminately.²³ Incidentally, censuses of school-age children were also taken, the returns of which may be seen in the Gobierno fondo of the ANH/Q and in the provincial and municipal archives.

Or one may focus on groups. The Interior reports contain considerable data on the number, assignments, and income of the diocesan clergy and the religious. The later nineteenth century Interior reports, moreover, publish not only the governors' reports in appendix but also informes of prelates and provincials. Other groups detailed in the Interior reports are lawyers and slaves. Additional data on slaves, especially the manumission thereof, abound in the gazettes.²⁴ Similarly it is possible to build up a considerable file on landowners from the listings of censos in the gazettes and on merchants from the information in the latter and in the Hacienda reports. Both the ministry reports and the gazettes, on the other hand, are silent on artisans and peasants.

The Jefe del Estado Mayor General and Ministerio de Guerra y Marina reports are as interesting as those of Interior, Hacienda, and Instrucción Pública. In addition to summary statements on the army, the national guard, the police, and the navy, the Jefe del Estado Mayor General and Guerra y Marina reports usually list all officers in active and passive service, their posts, and salaries or pensions. These reports also include data on the military budget and expenditures, more on both of which may be seen in the Hacienda reports and the

gazettes. In addition to the information they obviously contain on the armed forces as institutions, the Jefe del Estado General and Guerra y Marina reports together with the supplementary data in the gazettes lent themselves to prosopographic analysis and hence social history.

CONCLUSION

From the preceding exposition it should be clear that a compendium of data matrices and time series on the demographic, economic, and social history of postindependence Ecuador may be compiled from the ministry reports and gazettes. It is time to stop lamenting the little that we know about the national period and time to begin quantifying it. Furthermore, until we answer the basic questions, it is premature to consider other issues. How many Ecuadorians were there? What was their demographic makeup? How did they make a living? In what ways and to what extent? How did they interact with one another? In part the answers to these and related questions are to be found in the *Memorias*, *Exposiciones*, and *Informes* of the Ministerios del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores, Hacienda, Instrucción Pública, Guerra y Marina, and in the gazettes. It would be naive to contend that the ministry reports and gazettes will provide wholly satisfactory or complete answers, but equally foolish to continue to ignore these and other related published sources, which too often has been the case.

And if we want to make fuller use of the data in the ministry reports and gazettes, we ought to go on to establish the limits of achievement. In other words, the complex interplay between population and environment as mediated but not always ameliorated by culture and customs, the "civilization materielle" as Fernand Braudel aptly calls the threshold of that world lost to us almost two centuries ago, but still very much present in rural Ecuador or for that matter throughout much of Latin America. A world that too few students of the past, national as well as foreign, have understood, imbued with modernism as most of us are from birth, yet a world that we must grasp if we are ever to come to grips with the past. In this respect the reports of and to the ministers and the gazettes are equally critical. Ministers, governors, bishops, and other authorities had to come to terms with that threshold which so often thwarted their plans and upon which many commented perceptively.

NOTES

1. In order to simplify references to these reports, a tripartite code has been adopted. This code consists of: (1) EC for Ecuador; (2) E for Estado, EM for Estado Mayor, GM for Guerra y Marina, H for Hacienda, IP for Instrucción Pública, IRE for Interior y Relaciones Exteriores (I after 1897), J for Justicia, OP for Obras Públicas, RE for Relaciones Exteriores; and (3) the year. The particulars are given in the bibliography. The designate EC may appear redundant inasmuch as this article is limited to Ecuador, but this code was designed for application to ministry reports from other Latin American countries as well.
2. Statistics for the years 1822 through 1830 on the demography, economy, institutions, and society of the then Departments of Quito, Guayaquil, and Azuay may be seen in the reports of the ministers of Colombia and the *Gaceta de Colombia* (1821–31).

3. Apparently the *Registro Municipal* was the only local gazette to have been published in Ecuador during the early national period. It contains data at the regional as well as municipal level: Michael T. Hamerly, "El antiguo *Registro Municipal* de Guayaquil (1835?-1861)," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas (RAHG)* 4, no. 7 (junio 1975):64-70a.
4. The two unpublished reports are: A. Martínez Pallares, "Memoria que presenta al segundo Congreso constitucional del Ecuador el Jefe del Estado Mayor General del Estado en 26 de Setiembre de 1832 con veintidos documentos" (Quito, 9.IX.1832), 61 fols., Archivo y Biblioteca de la Función Legislativa, Quito (ABFL/Q), 1832-leg. 4, docs. 1-21; Antonio España, "Lijera esposición que dirige a la Convención del Ecuador en 1835 el Jefe del E. M. Gral sobre los negocios de su cargo relativos a la Guerra y Marina" (Ambato, 22.VI.1835), 9 fols., (ABFL/Q), 1835-leg. 9, doc. 8.
5. It is superfluous to cite most of the laws in question. For collection and page references see: Adolfo Benjamin Serrano, *Indice de un ensayo de recopilación ecuatoriana* (Guayaquil, 1899); and Manuel A. Yépes, *Clave de la legislación ecuatoriana, 1899-1921* (Quito, 1922).
6. See also the section on Ecuador in John J. TePaske et al., *Research Guide to Andean History* (Durham, 1977); Michael T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua Provincia de Guayaquil, 1763-1842* (Guayaquil, 1973), pp. 7-33; José Reig Satorres, "Documentación ecuatoriana sobre derecho indiano," *Universidad* (Guayaquil), 10/11 (dic. 1970):58-89, and "Complemento de documentación ecuatoriana sobre derecho indiano," in III Congreso del Instituto de Historia del Derecho Indiano, Madrid, 17-24 de Enero de 1972, *Actas y estudios* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 1079-94; Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "New Research Opportunities in Ecuador," *LARR* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1973):95-100; and Grecia Vasco de Escudero, *Los archivos quiteños* (Quito, 1977).
7. E.g., ANH/Q, Gobierno: leg. 566, Censo de población de Loja, 1861; leg. 689, Tungurahua, 1861; leg. 839, Los Ríos, 1861; leg. 606, Censo de población en general, 1864; leg. 527, Los Ríos, 1864; leg. 585, León, 1864; leg. 156, Censo de población del Guayas, 1871; leg. 346, Loja, 1871; legs. 492 and 745, 1871; leg. 531, Los Ríos y Manabí, 1871; leg. 706, Imbabura, 1871; leg. 805, Bolívar, 1871, leg. 936, Chimborazo, 1871; and leg. 937, Tungurahua, 1871.
8. ABFL/Q, Inventarios: I, 1830-46; II, 1847-67; III, 1867-94, etc.
9. For preliminary reports on and examples of which see Michael T. Hamerly, "La demografía histórica del distrito de Cuenca: 1778-1838," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* (Quito) 53, no. 116 (julio/dic. 1970):203-29; "Documentos inéditos sobre e impresos raros de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, de Guayaquil," *Cuadernos de Historia y Arqueología* 20, no. 37 (1970):3-56; *Historia social y económica* esp. chaps. 1 and 4; "Relaciones geográficas de la costa: las Estadísticas de parroquias de 1846," *RAHG* 4, no. 8 (dic. 1975), 73-108.
10. To document this assertion would require too lengthy a note.
11. *Colección de leyes y decretos de la Convención Nacional* (Quito, 1862), pp. 2-7. See also the broadsheet of 17.VI.1861 in which President Gabriel García Moreno specified the dates of execution, the information to be compiled, and the format to be observed.
12. In addition to the returns cited in note 7, those for the Province of Azuay from 1865 and 1867 (?) are in the ANH/SA, legs. from those years; and those for the littoral in the Archivo Histórico de la Biblioteca Municipal de Guayaquil, especially in the series "Diversos Funcionarios." The 1861 enumerator books of the Canton of Guayaquil, however, are separately bound.
13. EC-IRE-1863: 4-5; EC-IRE-1865: 11; EC-IRE-1867: 7-8.
14. See note 7. The only provinces in which population counts may not have been realized in 1871 are Esmeraldas and Oriente.
15. EC-IRE-1843, EC-IRE-1846, EC-IRE-1848, EC-IRE-1849, EC-IRE-1853, EC-IRE-1854, EC-IRE-1856, EC-IRE-1857, EC-IRE-1858, and EC-IRE-1863.
16. Some of the bills of mortality in the gazettes were compiled from cemetery and others from hospital records.
17. There is no complete guide to the parish archives of Ecuador, but see: Christian

- Vogel, "Los archivos coloniales del Ecuador," *Revista del Instituto Ecuatoriano de Historia Eclesiástica* 1 (1974):191–227; and Michael T. Hamerly, "Registros parroquiales e Inventarios de Iglesias de la costa," *RAHG* 6, no. 12 (dic. 1977).
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 22. *Gaceta del Ecuador* (14.IV.1844).
 23. Only Antonio Alomía Llori has attempted to quantify the history of education in Ecuador: *Boletín de Estadística* (Quito: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, 1910).
 24. The history of slavery is badly in need of quantification. Too many believe, for example, that slave labor was critical to the economy of the coast from the mid-sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth century, when in fact it would seem to have been important only in the seventeenth century.

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