

## **Appendix: Historical background and Spanish Archival Sources in the eighteenth-century.**

### **A. Regional variation within a relatively backward economy**

In Europe, the period between the 16th and 18th centuries witnessed a widening gap—as measured by real wages—between a group of leading regions (England and Holland) and another group of regions with small or zero growth rates. This phenomenon is known as *small divergence* (Allen 2001), and the outcome in this case was an increase in across-country inequality (Milanovic 2005). For Spain, the outcome of this particular small divergence between the 16th and 18th centuries was to fall clearly behind the European leaders (Álvarez-Nogal and Prados de la Escosura 2007, 2013).

Even though the economic evolution of Modern Spain can be described in general terms as a process of relative retardation, the 18th century featured positive changes in Spanish demographic growth, moderate economic expansion, administrative (colonial) reform, and geopolitical relevance. Yet one must bear in mind the series of shadows and light that characterized this period. The vacant throne of the Spanish monarchy triggered the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), which pitted France against England, the Netherlands, and Austria. This war coincided with the beginning of British global hegemony and the arrival in Spain of the French Bourbons. When the conflict finally ended, Phillip V (1700–1746) set out to emulate France—with mixed results—by advocating economic unification and political centralization. Although the diverse coinage circulating in the different territories were withdrawn and replaced with a single currency (following the system in place in Castile), fiscal union was not achieved. The *Nueva Planta* decrees abolished the remaining *fueros* (local privileges and laws) of the Crown of Aragon (encompassing Aragon itself as well as Catalonia and Valencia) because they had mostly supported the Habsburg candidate, Archduke Charles, during the War of the Spanish Succession. At the same time, a single tax was imposed in those territories in the form of a quota levied on rural and urban properties and on the profits deriving from trade, industry, and labor (Ferrer i Alós 2002: 29–32). In contrast, the fiscal prerogatives and exemptions of the Basque Country and Navarre were preserved because the inhabitants of those regions had supported the Bourbons. In Castile,

the fiscal reform advocated by the Marquis de Ensenada (and inspired by the Crown of Aragon's reform) was not implemented.

In an effort to stimulate industry and finance high internal transportation costs, the Bourbon mercantilist system opted for increasing duties on foreign imports and eliminating the monopoly of Seville and Cadiz in trade with the Latin American colonies. This last measure was immensely beneficial to the merchant navy and to manufacturing industries in Catalonia (paper and cotton), Valencia (silk, linen fabrics, and tiles) and the Basque Country (iron and steel). In the interior, meanwhile, official policy was to support manufacturing (e.g., the textile products of Guadalajara) with subsidies to compete with the luxury goods that were being imported from abroad. For their part, industries that produced essential goods were dominated by the guilds—institutions that monopolized nearly all industrial activity in the cities (exception for Catalonia) and of which the Bourbon politicians were highly critical.

From an economic viewpoint, Herr (1989) points out that “one could draw a geographical line that separated the North and East—where industry was thriving and the farmers were well-off—from the Centre and South, where industry was backward and the farmers and day labourers in the countryside were exploited by the rural oligarchy.” According to the 1797 census, however, 22% of those employed in agriculture were landowners and there were notable exceptions to groupings based on an imaginary line that extended from the northeast (Salamanca) to the southeast (Albacete). For instance, landowners accounted for some 50% of the total in the north (Aragon, Navarre, Biscayan, and Galicia) even as the corresponding figure varied between only 3% and 7% in Andalusia.

With the exception of Madrid and its more than 150,000 inhabitants (c. 1790), Spain's large cities were located near the sea. The populations of Barcelona (Catalonia) and Valencia (Valencia province) rose to 100,000 inhabitants by the end of the 18th century. In the south, the provinces of Andalusia stood out: the city of Cadiz was home to more than 10,000 individuals; Malaga, 50,000; and Seville and Granada, 80,000 each. In contrast, no city in Castile had a population of more than 25,000. Based on the information provided by the Ensenada Cadastre and re-compiled by Matilla Tascón (1947) and on the number of inhabitants in 1752 according to GRUPO 75 (1977: 64), the provinces of the former Crown of Castile with the highest income per capita were Madrid (1,453 *reales*), Seville (641 *reales*),

and Guadalajara (601 *reales*); those with the lowest income per capita were Granada (322 *reales*), Leon-Asturias (278 *reales*), and Galicia (202 *reales*). The average per-capita income in Castile was about 433 *reales*. In this calculation, we have included income generated by the lay sector (and by the Church) from rural properties, urban properties, livestock, ground rent and other forms of rent, and interest on loans as well as all other revenue derived from industrial or commercial activities and personal work.

For this paper we chose, from north to south, three regions; the first one corresponds to the province of Palencia; the second one, in the Centre of Castile, is comprised by Guadalajara City and some small towns close to Madrid; the third one, in the South, incorporates some in the province of Granada; see Figure 1. Palencia, which is situated in the north of Spain, had a population of about 106,440 distributed among the following *comarcas* (areas): El Cerrato Palentino, Tierra de Campos (the city of Palencia belongs to this *comarca*), Saldaña-Valdavia, Boedo and La Ojeda Valley, Aguilar, and Guardo-Cervera. In the second half of the 18th century, the population of the province of Palencia was distributed irregularly; more than two thirds resided in the province's south (Tierra de Campos and El Cerrato Palentino). These areas were characterized by relatively large population centers and more than a hundred neighbors that were nonetheless geographically distant from each other. In southern Palencia, wheat was the main product while wine and vegetables played a secondary role; livestock was pretty much limited to the animals used for agricultural work or by peddlers. According to Larruga (1787/1995), Palencia was the "most industrious province of Castile". In fact, the *comarcas* of Tierra de Campos and El Cerrato Palentino had significant secondary and tertiary sectors. In northern Palencia (Guardo-Cervera and Aguilar), population density was low and the population was concentrated in many small, closely located nuclei. These areas were characterized by livestock activity, linen production, and mule drivers. The industry of low-quality textiles (domestic production) was of signal importance in the valleys of Boedo and La Ojeda. The most populated towns in northern Palencia, according to the Ensenada Cadastre of 1759, were Palencia (9,639 inhabitants) and Paredes de Nava (3,395), both in Tierra de Campos (Marcos Martín 1985: 22; Camarero 1990: 231-49).

This paper analyzes two areas from the center of Castile: Las Vegas, which is close to Madrid City; and Guadalajara City. The Las Vegas economy was predominantly agro-pastoral and

produced mainly cereals, vegetables, oil, wine, linen, silk, and fruit as well as sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs. In this *comarca*, the most heavily populated towns were Colmenar de Oreja (1,279 neighbors) and Chinchón (1,217 neighbors). The city of Guadalajara (5,218 inhabitants) was an important industrial nucleus during the 18th century because the Bourbons established the *Real Fábrica de Paños* (the former Royal Cloth Mills) there in 1719. This state-owned company organized its production around guilds, was situated in a competitive market, and recruited foreign experts (La Force 1964). The company began to decline during the 1790s, the Napoleonic Wars accelerated that process, and the company closed in 1822.

Finally, we studied two areas in Granada: Lecrín Valley in the southwest and Baza in the northeast. Lecrín Valley (2,398 neighbors, some 9,484 inhabitants) was basically an agricultural economy. In fact, many households earned some income apart from that associated with the household head's main job. Some households were engaged in the manufacture and sale of *pleita* (a ring or strip of straw twisted in several branches; sewn *pleita* were used to make mats, hats, pouches, etc.); members of other households were the salesmen, mule drivers, and peddlers who provided a link between the poor villages in these areas and Granada City. The most populated town was Albuñuelas (294 neighbors) and Pinos (260 neighbors). Baza, which exceeds 1,700 km<sup>2</sup>, is the largest area in Granada. There are three main zones in that province: the Sierra of Baza, the Meseta, and the Vega. The Meseta and the Vega are flat plains that surround the city of Baza and are dedicated primarily to agriculture. The Sierra of Baza is a rocky massif with deep valleys and escarpments. According to the Ensenada Cadastre, Baza had a population of around 5,366 neighbors (more than 20,000 inhabitants); its largest towns were Baza (1,610 neighbors) and Las Cuevas (1,302 neighbors).

## B. Data of wealth (Probate Inventories) and income (Ensenada Cadastre)

(i)

A *probate inventory* is a comprehensive list of all the goods owned by a deceased individual at the time of death, and it was usually elaborated by a notary or judicial authority within a few days of that time. In this research, we have collected 194 probate inventories from 43 cities, towns, and villages in 11 GUs. In the list that follows, the geographic units are (arranged alphabetically and) italicized: *Aguilar*, 17 probate inventories (3 from Aguilar and 3 each from Bascones de Valdavia, Cordovilla, Corvio, Foldada, Matamorisca, Orbo, Quintanilla de las Torres, Respenda, Revilla de Santullán, San Martín de Perapertú, Valle Espinoso, and Villabellaco); *Baza*, 16 PIs (6 from Baza City and 10 from Cúllar Baza); *Boedo and Ojeda Valleys*, 10 PIs (6 from Prádanos de Ojeda and 4 from Villabermudo); *Cerrato*, 12 PIs (8 from Cevico de la Torre, 3 from Hontoria de Cerrato, and 1 from Soto de Cerrato); *Cervera*, 21 PIs (1 each from Barcenilla, Campo, and Celada, 2 from Cervera, 1 each from Estalaya, Herrerueta, Lores, and Muda, 2 from Resoba, 3 from Rueda, 1 each from San Cebrián de Muda and San Martín de los Herreros, 3 from Triollo, and 2 from Verdeña); *Guadalajara City*, 12 probate inventories; *Las Vegas*, 37 PIs (12 from Carabaña, 2 from Colmenar de Oreja, 5 from Orusco, and 18 from Valdaracete); *Lecrín Valley*, 13 PIs (all from Padul); *Palencia City*, 24 probate inventories; *Tierra de Campos*, 32 PIs (16 each from Paredes de Nava and Villarramiel).

Although there is some variability in the structure, format, and style of these inventories, one can characterize reasonably well the structure of a typical Castilian post-mortem inventory from the middle of the 18th century until about mid-19th century; thereafter, the rich descriptions previously given in such inventories progressively disappeared. Those descriptions of durable and semi-durable goods (personal clothing, property, and household objects, inter alia) became less necessary over time as the total value of these goods came to be a smaller percentage of the total inventoried assets (Nicolini and Ramos-Palencia 2010: 153–55).

Probate inventories are associated with wills and they were not a legal requirement for the general population. Although the drawing up of inventories was motivated by the wish to

ensure the bequest of assets to heirs, most deaths did not entail the drafting of an inventory. In fact, the only cases in which probate inventories were mandatory were if (i) there were under-age children and (ii) the inheritance was accepted by heirs on the basis of “benefit of the inventory” (*beneficio de inventario*) (i.e., accepting the inheritance and its debts, but with the obligation of paying debts only with the assets of the inventory). Furthermore, heirs could demand the elaboration of a probate inventory if there were disputes among them.

But inventories were expensive: in addition to the notarized deed, quite high already, heirs had to calculate the costs of court sub-divisions and even additional court cases due to disagreements among the heirs, heard by magistrates, judges and notaries. The high cost of inventories was common in Europe: Pardailhé-Galabrun (1988: 30) points out that in 1780, the cost of making an inventory was between 30 and 40 *livres*, which was equivalent to 20 days’ wages. The positive side of this judicial protection (for heirs and for economic historians) was that it reduced the concealment of assets (Yun-Casalilla 1999: 33).

Under these circumstances, it is not easy to determine how many probate inventories were made in Early Modern Spain. López (1985: 31-33) estimates that in 19th century Asturias (northern Spain), little more than 20% of the population made a will. As García (1988: 80) points out, the percentage of testators over the number of deceased with age to make a will never exceeded 50% in Valladolid (the most important city of Castile and only 50 kilometers far from Palencia) and inventories amounted to approximately 25% of all these wills. If one takes the mortality rates provided by Abarca (2017) and the population figures offered by the Population Census of the Crown of Castile (1752) for the northern cities of Palencia and Burgos - barely 90 kilometres apart - the following data can be obtained: After an exhaustive survey of the notarial information for the period 1753-1760, 24 probate inventories for the city of Palencia were found (Ramos-Palencia 2018), with a mortality rate of 45.7 per thousand and an approximate population of 10,064 inhabitants; meanwhile, for the city of Burgos there are 63 inventories (Sanz de la Higuera 2012), with a mortality rate of 43 per thousand and 9,537 inhabitants. This would mean that, for an eight-year period in the mid-18th century, in Palencia for every 100 people who died - including women and minors - only 0.7 probate inventories are preserved, while in Burgos the figure was almost 2 (1.9).

Although it is suggested that in Spain more inventories have been preserved in rural areas than in urban areas (Sobrado Correa, 2003) these figures vary enormously across regions and do not follow any clear pattern. Thus, for example, in Catalonia, Moreno Claverías (2018: 41) has looked at all of the probate inventories of Vilafranca del Penedés (3, 673 inhabitants c. 1787) and county (Alto Penedés) for the periods 1670-90 and 1770-90, estimating that probate inventories were made in almost 9% of adult deaths. This is a considerable figure, which is not replicated in the Andalusian city of Jerez de la Frontera, as there are only 33 inventories available (González Beltrán 2000-01) for the period 1750-60 for a population of 31,929 inhabitants.

This geographical heterogeneity with regard to the greater or lesser presence of probate inventories also persists when one compares other regions of Europe and the Americas. For instance, Schuurman (1980: 178-181) highlights the profusion of probate inventories in the Netherlands to safeguard the rights of minors: probably there was an inventory for one-third of the deceased who left minors. In Sweden, although the requirement to compile inventories for deceased relatives was introduced in the general Civil Code of 1734, this was not generally put into practice for all social groups until the beginning of the 19th century. Lindgren (2002: 816-818) estimates that the probate inventories of the estates of deceased adults in Sweden increased from 10% around 1770 to over 40% in the 1830s. In England, Overton et al. (2004) focused their research in a sample upon 8,000 probate inventories from the counties of Kent and Cornwall between 1600 and 1750 while Clark (2010) points out that, around 1700, for the English counties of Essex, Kent, Buckinghamshire, and Suffolk only 1 probate inventory was carried out for every 5 men who died and made a will. Finally, in the American British Colonies, Jones (1972: 115-116; 1977) calculated that, around 1774, almost 33% of owners of wealth in New England left probate inventories; the figure rising to 70% in the Middle Colonies.

(ii)

The Ensenada Cadastre (EC) is a census that was undertaken in the middle of the 18th century with the purpose of improving the Spanish monarchy's fiscal organization (Ruiz Torres 2008: 280-85). The aim of the Marquis of La Ensenada (Secretary of the Treasury

from 1743 to 1754) was to establish a single tax (*única contribución*)—universal and also proportional to taxpayer income—that would replace other taxes collected from the provinces (*rentas provinciales*). The *alcabala* (sales tax), *cientos* (hundreds), and *millones* (millions) were prominent indirect taxes that had a regressive effect on income distribution within the economy (Comín and Yun-Casalilla 2015). The proposed tax reform included direct taxation, recovery of income previously transferred, curtailment of tax exemptions (especially those granted to ecclesiastical institutions), and development of a simplified tax system. The Ensenada's own downfall was due to British pressure on the Spanish Court in 1754 because of his French sympathies during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). These events greatly reduced political support for his tax reform, which was never implemented although it did generate a large amount of detailed information about the Spanish economy in that period. The Cadastre, which covered the former Crown of Castile, was carried out between 1749 and 1759 (approximately).

The most outstanding feature of the Ensenada Cadastre is that for the first time the income of all social estates, including the Nobility and the Church, are calculated. The only ones excluded were the Royal Places near the city of Madrid (Aranjuez, El Pardo, San Fernando, La Granja de San Ildefonso, San Lorenzo del Escorial, the Royal Palace in Madrid) and those foreigners who did not have a fixed abode in Spain (for example, official consuls and officers of companies located in Cadiz). Apart from this, although church buildings were not described (churches, shrines, monastery buildings, orchards and cemeteries) nor the royal arsenals and arms factories (for strategic and economic reasons), the rents and income from work of all those people associated with religious buildings or that worked in the arsenals are included.

The Memorials (*Memoriales*) included the individual statements of all heads of families. Based on this information, the *Única Contribución* Officers, after a check carried out by the expert consultants, compiled all of the information in the two types of official books –Family Registers/Books of the Head of Household and Real Estate Books– that have come down to us. While the Books of the Head of Household (*Libros de Cabeza de Familia*) record the personal details. In other words, the full names of the family head, his profession (and sometimes of the rest of the family), age (quite often the age of the spouse and the rest of the family do not appear), number of people in the family economy, including children (with



special attention to male children over 18 years), siblings, servants, journeymen and apprentices and the title (Mr/Mrs) taken by each person.

The Real Estate Books –also called *Libros de lo Real, Mayores de lo Raíz, de lo Raíz, Maestros, de Bienes*- record the annual income from urban and rural properties (houses and buildings), mortgage and/or property interest collectible and payable, heads of livestock and the personal income (daily wages and/or benefits derived from their profession) of the family head. Generally, once the labour and non-labour income from all the local family heads are collected in the EC records, the income obtained by “outsiders” (*Forasteros*) in that locality appears. So, if a noble or merchant received income from places other than the place of residence, his income will be underestimated. Nicolini and Ramos-Palencia (2016) show that this under-reporting does not generate sizeable impact on the estimation of inequality.

However, there was much more information that might appear in the Memorials which was not recorded in the official books. In fact, the Memorials might include the wages received by other male members of the family unit and by domestic servants. Although much less frequently, the family head also detailed the remuneration for women’s work (wife and daughters). This means that, if the household head was male and if his wife and/or children had positive labour income, the numbers reported in *Libros de Hacienda* underestimate household income. On rare occasions the wages of the household’s women (spouse and daughters), sons, and servants are registered in the book Memorials; this is the case in Villarramiel. In this town, in the households in which the head was a man, female labour participation was inversely related to the rest of the household’s income and, hence, income inequality was lower when female incomes were taken into account. More details on the impact of female incomes on inequality can be found in Nicolini and Ramos-Palencia (2016). Once the income declaration was complete, the household head signed his declaration, or a third person was asked to sign on his behalf if he did not know how to write.

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## PRIMARY SOURCES

Probate Inventories (section Protocolos Notariales)

Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (years: 1753-1765)

Books: 29874, 29590, 29591, 29907, 29908 and 32550

Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada (years: 1753-1760)

Books: 1097, 1127, 1117, 1118, 1119 and 1178.

Archivo Histórico Provincial de Guadalajara (years: 1754-1761)

Books: 919, 920, 921, 922, 930, 931, 932, 996, 996, 998 and 1002.

Archivo Histórico Provincial de Palencia (years: 1753-1768)

Books: 97, 98, 99, 379, 433, 434, 435, 642, 643, 675, 1000, 2656, 2733, 3731, 3732, 3793, 3795, 6277, 6278, 6962, 6964, 7814, 7816, 7817, 10617, 10618, 10619, 10834, 11383 and 11384.

Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid (years: 1755-1766)

(microfilms) MC 007268, MC 007270 and MC7271

Servicio de Reproducción de Documentos de Archivos Estatales (SRDAE), Madrid. Catastro de Ensenada.

Section (<http://pares.mcu.es/Catastro/>), Respuestas Particulares (Private Answers) from provinces of Granada, microfilms no. 0001-0071; Guadalajara, microfilms no. 0001-0154; Madrid, microfilms no. 0001-0031; Palencia, microfilms no. 0001-0170; and Toledo, microfilms no. 0001-0332.