

In August of 1826, Juan de los Santos, the mayor of the indigenous villages San Pedro and San Pablo Cuaco in Puebla, Mexico wrote an outraged letter to the authorities of the nearby city of Atlixco. He indignantly protested the way the manager at the nearby Hacienda Acocotla was treating the people of his village. The manager, it seems, had come into the village and rounded up the wives and mothers of men who had contracted to work the harvest at Acocotla. Acocotla's manager had taken the women back to the Hacienda where, we are told, he imprisoned them in a jail. When asked by the authorities, the manager admitted that he had indeed done what the Mayor accused him of, but, he continued, it was the only way he could ensure that the men showed up to work. The authorities ultimately supported the manager's actions, and the women of San Pedro and San Pablo Cuaco remained imprisoned for the duration of that season's harvest (AMA 1826). **(SLIDE TWO—MAP)**

This dispute between the mayor and hacienda manager was a symptom of a problem that had plagued the Valley of Atlixco since the first attempts at the establishment of Mexican Independence in September of 1810. The problem, quite simply, was how to structure labor relations in the nascent state. During the colonial period, indigenous communities had been granted extensive protections, but the end of rule by Spain brought with it the end of restrictions placed by the Crown on the exploitation of indigenous labor. While seeking to create a new, modern, and profitable nation, Mexicans needed to address the chronic labor problems that had plagued the colony, a challenge compounded by the Valley's general civil unrest (Kanter 2008; Meyer 1973; Newman 2008; Newman 2011; Newman n.d.; Nickel 1987; Reina 1980; Romano Soriano 2005; Tutino 1986; Tutino 2008; Van Young 1988; Wasserman 2000). Without control of labor, Mexicans would not be able to define a modern and stable state.

In 1826, Acocotla's manager used incarceration to deal with the problem of labor organization. It was a strategy that Acocotla's owners and managers would use for at least the next

fifteen years. We read again about it in 1839, when Acocotla's owner writes to the local authorities to confirm permission for the presence of a prison on his property. He explains that he is not using it in any way that would conflict with the government's rights and duties, but simply to ensure the presence of his workers during the harvest. He justifies his tactics by arguing, "everyone is doing it." Indeed, it seems that everybody was. The authorities wrote back, granting easy permission for the prison providing that the hacienda owner followed "the latest in science and sanitation" (AMA 1839).

Ultimately, incarceration doesn't seem to have offered a solution. Archaeological research at the Hacienda San Miguel Acocotla suggests that the hacienda's proprietors shifted labor management strategies during the second half of the 19th century with the creation and construction of new worker housing. Patterns in the archaeological record and collected oral histories tell us that these constructions also transformed the experience of labor for the Hacienda's indigenous workers, as well as, most significantly, their homelives and family structure. Surprisingly, while the extreme forms of coercion seen during the first half of the nineteenth century seem to have only resulted in increased passive resistance on the part of the Hacienda's workers, the research presented here suggests that transformation of family labor that came with the construction of worker housing seems to have pushed rural Mexico's indigenous workers to violent revolution.

(SLIDE THREE—HAROLD AT CHAPEL) To develop a more complete picture of central Mexico's 19th century labor dynamics than is generally available in traditional documentary sources, Dr. Harold Juli and I set out on a program of archaeological, ethnoarchaeological, and historical research in 2004. The data garnered during the subsequent eight years of research include more than eighty-seven thousand artifacts, more than a thousand pages of transcribed interviews, and hundreds of pages of transcriptions of historical records from local, state, national, and private

archives. Together, these data allow us to understand a bit about the day-to-day experiences of workers at the Hacienda San Miguel Acocotla.

When Dr. Juli toured me around the ruins of the Hacienda Acocotla in the summer of 2004, I had no idea that a prison had stood on its grounds. Were it not for the few letters later found in the local archives, no evidence for this extreme coercion would exist now. Indeed, when I first arrived at the Hacienda on that cool June morning eight years ago, I found myself looking not at worker's prisons, but at worker's homes, a space called the *calpanería*. **(SLIDE FOUR—CALPANERÍA WITH VOLCANO)** Today, the *calpanería*'s thirty-seven small adobe rooms flank the grand archway that is the entrance to Acocotla's main house. During the summer of 2005 and the winter of 2007, I excavated a number of the rooms as well as the field in front (Juli, et al. 2006; Newman and Juli 2008). I found that the *calpanería* we see here had been built during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, though historical records tell us that entire families were living year round at the Hacienda by 1842 (Newman 2008; Newman and Juli 2008). We know, also thanks to semi-regular censuses, that the number of people inhabiting the worker's housing fluctuated, ranging as low as 34 people to as many as 121 (Newman 2008).

If oral history is to be believed, the *calpanería*'s little rooms were nicer than anything anyone in the neighboring villages had (Newman 2008; Newman n.d.). Archaeological research shows us that each room measured three meters by three meters. **(SLIDE FIVE—RECONSTRUCTIONS OF ROOMS)** Each room had one doorway and no windows. The walls were made of adobe and plastered white. Some rooms had plastered floors, and all had roofs made of red pan tiles. In each room, as if deliberately placed by the architect, a fire burned on the floor in the northwest corner. The fire would have warmed the space, and perhaps people would have cooked a bit of food over it, though our research located a communal kitchen nearby. Though nicer than the other housing options available, the *calpanería*, with its exact, severe, cookie-cutter design, replaced the prison cell.

The hacienda owner had created rigidly identical housing that ensured his employees were present and ready to work every morning.

Families who moved into the Hacienda Acocotla's calpanería had a number of advantages. According to oral histories collected in the descendant community, they were guaranteed full employment for all members of their family old enough to work. The Hacienda's resident workers may have enjoyed a higher social status than their village-dwelling neighbors thanks to the neat adobe and plaster rooms they were assigned, associated with the rest of the Hacienda's main house. Archaeological evidence suggests the material benefits may have extended beyond simple architectural structures. Inhabitants of the calpanería also had access to elite goods seemingly unavailable to either their ancestors or their neighbors in nearby villages. For example, though utilitarian ceramic vessels for the preparation and storage of food were made out of locally produced redwares, tablewares found in the calpanería and its associated midden were made out of the traditionally more "elite" majolicas (Newman n.d.). Prior to the 19th century, majolica production had been severely regulated and constrained (Lister and Lister 1984). Prices for majolicas were high, and access to these wares was restricted to the elite classes (Fournier-Garcia 1997). Similar contexts from the colonial period show many fewer fragments of this elite ware than the seven percent of the more than 82,000 artifacts recovered during excavations at Acocotla (Charlton 1986).

(SLIDE SIX MAJOLICA) With the establishment of independence in the early years of the 19th century, regulation for the production of these wares disappeared (Deagan 1987). The majolicas found at the Hacienda Acocotla were not the well-made elite wares of an earlier century but were in fact poorly executed "seconds." Some of the vessels were produced by inexperienced potters who seem to have been uncertain about how to throw a pot and were unsteady with a paintbrush. Other fragments showed mistakes in production, the most commonly identified of which were pots that had stuck together during firing. It seems likely that these pots were made by

untrained potters and sold at prices lower than those of the more “professional” majolicas. But even as seconds, their presence at Acocotla is important.

(SLIDE SEVEN CERAMICS GRAPH) Using minimum vessel countsⁱ, I compared the relative abundance of ceramics in private and public areas of the Hacienda. With the exception of Room 11 (which had a significantly smaller number of artifacts than the rest of the rooms), the relative abundance of majolicas and common redwares was matched in all areas.ⁱⁱ This even distribution of goods suggests that the majolicas were provided by the hacienda owner or manager. Though the versions of this tableware found in the calpanería would have been the cheaper version of those that appeared on the hacienda owner’s supper table, inhabitants of the calpanería were still given access to “elite” goods that inhabitants in surrounding villages would have had less, or possibly no, access to. By extending access to such goods to the inhabitants of the calpanería, the owners and managers of the Hacienda San Miguel Acocotla solidified class divisions and their associated material trappings.

(SLIDE EIGHT—DIAGRAM OF HACIENDA) With these material advantages, one might wonder what would cause Acocotla’s workers to join the forces of the famed Mexican revolutionary, Emiliano Zapata during the early years of the twentieth century. The construction of the calpanería and the expansion of access to material goods seems to have been part of a larger redesign of the Hacienda’s buildings, as well as a reorganization of the hacienda’s workforce—a reorganization that would ultimately undermine the family structure and homelives of the Hacienda’s workers. Archaeologists working on historic period sites in the New World have identified architectural designs during the late 18th and 19th centuries which are driven by the need to create and control a subservient population (Beaudry 1989; Chapman 1991; Delle 2009; Delle 1999; Epperson 1990; Jamieson 2000; Johnson 1996; Joseph 1993; Leone 1984; Leone 1995; Meyers 2012; Meyers and Carlson 2002; Miller 1988; Mrozowski 1991; Mrozowski, et al. 1996; Pogue 2002;

Potter 1994; Potter and Leone 1992; Singleton 2001; Upton 1983). The design of both public and private spaces was intended to exhibit, maintain and perpetuate discipline. This intention was derived from Baroque theories of power which, in the words of Mark Leone, “attempted to establish stratified social hierarchies by creating environments that proclaimed a natural law dependent on divinely ordained, natural hierarchies” (Leone 1995: 255). We see just such a pattern at Acocotla. **(SLIDE NINE—JUSTIFIED ACCESS DIAGRAM)** This justified access diagram illustrates the architectural complexity of the Hacienda San Miguel Acocotla after its remodeling. Each access level is symbolized by colors which darken as access becomes more restricted. This mid-19th century remodeling created a complex architectural structure with separate, controlled and defined spaces which were dedicated to particular tasks—something which would have increased control over the hacienda’s workers. By creating spaces with highly specific and clearly defined uses, Acocotla’s owner was creating an environment in which the ways individuals moved through the space, used time and completed tasks was carefully controlled.

In addition, the connection between status and architecture is clear. Individuals with the lowest status, namely the workers, were largely restricted to level one access points, though they may have occasionally been allowed into levels two and three to assist with animal care. Mid-level workers, called the caporales, occupied rooms at the third level of access and, thanks to their duties with the animals, would have had access to areas in levels 1-4. These are people who were described in oral histories as being both “higher status” and “more trusted” by our informants. All the workers were allowed into the Patio, at the fourth level, on the very edge of the hacienda owner’s living quarters just once a week in order to accept their payment for the week’s work, an event that would have seemed ceremonious as they were handed their weekly salary and maize rations while the manager made notes of the exchange in his account books.

The manager's office was placed in the space between the "work" areas of the Hacienda and the living areas of the Hacienda owner. Administratively, the manager was the gatekeeper, controlling access to the interior living space of the hacienda owner and his family, and the architectural placement of the manager's office reflects this role. The living spaces of the hacienda owner, called the Patio del Limon, is clearly the most restricted space in the hacienda and simultaneously the most self-sufficient. Once they had passed through the working areas of the Hacienda upon arrival, the hacienda owner and his family could lock themselves in the Patio and live in uninterrupted luxury if they so chose.

(SLIDE TEN—PATIO RECONSTRUCTION) Oral historical descriptions of the Patio del Limon were hard to come by. The few workers allowed into the Patio del Limon would have found themselves in a world wholly different from that occupied by the rest of the inhabitants of the Hacienda Acocotla. The few informants who were able to describe the Patio before its ruin did so with emotion approaching reverence. They described a quiet space filled with lime trees and flowering plants, dominated by an elaborate fountain in the center. The walls surrounding this patio today show the remnants of what must have once been impressive decoration, adding to the experience of those allowed into the space. While we were able to collect two recollections of the patio space, not a single former worker was found who could describe the interiors of the rooms surrounding the Patio, supporting the suggestion that these spaces were even more restricted. As discussed above, the creation of complex architectural space during the late 18th and 19th century is often seen as an attempt to naturalize the social order. The Patio del Limon speaks to this architectural pattern. In creating an area so sumptuously distinct and inaccessible to the majority of the Hacienda's inhabitants, Acocotla's owners confirmed their right to the position of power they held over the lives of their workers.

(SLIDE ELEVEN—MAP FROM COYULA) But what of the calpanaría where the hacienda's workers spent the majority of their time. It too seems to be part of the program of modernization and control seen in the reorganization of the Hacienda's architecture. The calpanaría is a distinctly 19th century architectural form (Charlton 1986; Jones 1978; Konrad 1980; Terán Bonilla 1996; Trautmann 1981). Prior to independence, resident workers were housed on hacienda land, but separate from the hacienda's administrative and residential buildings **(CLICK)**, as seen in this map from the neighboring town of San Jeronimo Coyula (AGN 1754). **(CLICK)** Though these residences would have been under the control of the hacienda owner, workers inhabiting these spaces would have had a reasonable measure of autonomy in arranging their family lives and community organization.

During the 19th century, this pattern of residence changed throughout central Mexico as the calpanaría as it is recognized today was introduced. At Acocotla, archaeological evidence indicates that the calpanaría was constructed during the 1860s and then expanded again later in the century. During this initial construction period, the Hacienda's workers would have been taken out of semi-independent villages and moved into what we might call "company housing." The calpanaría was designed by and for the hacienda owner, not by or for the individuals who would be housed in the space. The new worker housing would have facilitated control, naturalized the social structure, and allowed the hacienda owner to commodify labor across gender lines in ways it had never before been. First, by designing a structure that was open, linear, fronting the road, and flanking to entrance to the Hacienda, the hacienda owner created a space that would encourage the workers to engage in a self-reflexive monitoring of their actions (Foucault 1979; Giddens 1984). Because anybody could pass by the calpanaría at any time and because the hacienda owner or his manager could approach or emerge from the Hacienda at any moment, the workers would have been required to behave always as if they were being watched.

Further, by creating multiple “levels” of housing for different “classes” of worker, the hacienda owner was reinforcing and naturalizing the social order (Foucault 1979; Giddens 1984; Lefebvre 1991; Leone 1995; Rapoport 1969). The “higher status” and “more trusted” caporales occupied a space that was private and enclosed. Though the area was adjacent to the guard house, the caporales would have enjoyed much more privacy and a greater level of security. While the workers living in the calpanaría had to ask permission to enter the hacienda to collect water from the animal troughs for cooking and other household needs, the caporales had free and easy access to such necessities.

Finally, and most importantly, the hacienda owner was able to design a domestic space that undermined traditional family organization and cultural mores while building an increasingly productive and cost-effective workforce. **(SLIDE TWELVE—LSM COMPOUNDS)**

Arrangement of kitchen space provides a prime example of the ways the hacienda owner was able to achieve these goals. Detailed studies of the domestic compounds in the descendant community found that kitchen areas were of primary importance for women and families and, indeed, this seems to be a pattern that has great antiquity in the region (Healan 1993; Kellogg 1993; Kellogg 1995; Lockhart 1992; Norr 1987; Soustelle 1962). In the descendant community today, kitchens are of such high importance that EVERY FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD **(CLICK)** has her own kitchen-space, regardless of other living arrangements. Even in situations where the entire family is sharing a single bedroom, and even in cases where the mother-in-law is no longer responsible for food production, each woman has her own, dedicated kitchen space without exception. As with many people around the world, the hearth defines the boundaries of the family (King 2008).

During our collection of oral histories, we asked informants about the provisions made for cooking space in the calpanaría. We were given three answers. First, that each family had been allotted two rooms, one for living and one for cooking. Second, that each family had a space in front

of the calpanaría for cooking. Finally, that a single kitchen had been constructed and was staffed by a woman from the nearby village. **(SLIDE THIRTEEN—KITCHEN DRAWING)**

Archaeological investigations revealed that the final of these three answers was correct. During our excavations we found only a single kitchen area constructed in just the way two of our informants had told us it would be. No other kitchen areas were encountered, and excavations inside of the calpanaría rooms indicated that they, too, had not been used for regular cooking activities. Many of our informants told us that women and children had been put to work regularly on the hacienda lands, something that was surprising given that historical documents listed only adult males as paid workers. In addition, one elderly woman told us that her mother had been employed as cook in the calpanaría during the years leading up to the Mexican Revolution.

When archaeological, oral historical and ethnographic data are pieced together, an unexpected picture emerges. Evidently, entire families living in the calpanaría were put to work in the Hacienda fields, regardless of gender or age, and a woman from the nearby community was brought in to cook for entire families. By so-organizing his workforce, the hacienda owner would have increased productivity over the short-term; however, he would also have been attacking family structures that had been in place since the pre-Hispanic period. In *Nahua* culture, a woman's habitus was largely defined by her role as cook and, more specifically, tortilla producer (Bourdieu 1977; Burkhart 1997; Kellogg 1993; Kellogg 1995). The architectural space of her kitchen materially defined her role. When the hacienda owner deconstructed this space and forced her into the cash-economy, he was simultaneously deconstructing a woman's understanding of herself.

(SLIDE FOURTEEN—FINAL) Research at the Hacienda San Miguel Acocotla illuminates the transformative processes of Mexico's 19th century period of modernization and suggests that the impact of these processes on the homelives of the hacienda's indigenous workers ultimately led to worker participation in the Mexican Revolution. By redesigning the Hacienda's

buildings to create a hierarchical space and constructing worker-housing in which production was privileged over family, the hacienda owner created a class dynamic ripe for rebellion. Reorganization instituted by the ruling classes deconstructed the bases of family and individual identities, an unprecedented attack on family and community. Understanding of family and home were laid to waste as women and children were forced out of the kitchen and into wage labor. It was an untenable situation.

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ⁱ Minimum vessel counts were calculated using rim shreds. Ceramic type, vessel form, rim diameter and surface treatment were taken into account.

ⁱⁱ Total number of vessels identified in each area were: Room 11—23, Room 18—44, Room 20—81, Room 21—87, Room 22—62, Midden—612.