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REVIEW DRAFT

THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND IN PERU: THE HACIENDA VICOS CASE

by

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Comparative Studies of Cultural Change

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Ithaca, New York

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That land is very highly valued by Peruvians is an oft-repeated generalization. That land ownership confers high social status upon dominant group landowners has also often been asserted.<sup>1/</sup> The observation has frequently been made that the Peruvian nation historically encompassed "relatively unintegrated plural" Indian and Mestizo agrarian societies that now are going through the changes consequent upon industrialization and agricultural commercialization.<sup>2/</sup> Quechua and Aymara speaking serfs and peasants compose the Indian part of the plural society. Whatever tribal peoples survive in Peru inhabit the eastern jungle lowlands and speak other languages. The Spanish-speaking artisans and professional men and women may in areas of contact between the subordinate and superordinate populations in fact be bilingual.

The present paper<sup>3/</sup> attempts to outline, at least, data concerning one case history of the continuous struggle for land in Peru over a period of more than three centuries, as a demonstration of the utility of the ethnohistorical approach to the scientific problem of adequately supporting generalizations about large

scale social systems. The case to be discussed is that of Vicos, site since 1951<sup>4/</sup> of the Cornell Peru Project in Indian integration program prototyping.<sup>5/</sup>

The ethnic history of Hacienda Vicos as an identifiable legal entity began in the year 1594. One Fernando de Colonia purchased the property from the Viceroy for 300 pesos 9 reales.<sup>6/</sup> There is evidence, however, that Colonia held possession of Vicos for some time prior to 1594. When Saint Toribio paid an episcopal visit to the town of Carhuaz in 1593, he noted that its jurisdiction included eleven privately owned estancias, two of them belonging to Fernando Colonia. The latter ran cattle and sheep on one, probably Vicos, with fifteen married Indians, and ran sheep only on the other with six married Indians.<sup>7/</sup>

Colonia bequeathed Vicos to his three sons, who were minors when he drew up his will in 1600. His widow, Catalina, obtained judicial permission to sell the estate in 1607, while the sons were still minors. Alonzo de Avila purchased Vicos. He willed the property to St. Andrew's Hospital in Lima. Avila died in 1611, and the hospital assumed title to Vicos in that year.<sup>8/</sup> The hacienda remained the property of St. Andrew's Hospital until the Public Charity Society of

Lima<sup>9/</sup> was created in 1824.<sup>10/</sup> Established to support and operate charitable institutions in the capital, this organization absorbed the endowment of St. Andrew's Hospital, including Hacienda Vicos, which it continued to hold until 1928.

Late in 1927, President Augusto B. Leguía<sup>11/</sup> decreed the purchase of Vicos by the government for S/. 90,000, in order to distribute the lands to the Indian serfs free of cost later on. After the Chamber of Deputies approved the enabling legislation early in 1928, the board of the Society decided to seek to exchange Vicos and another property for land near Lima that the Public Charity Society wanted to acquire in order to establish a cemetery.<sup>12/</sup> Law number 6082 authorizing the sale was passed on 29 February and signed by the President on 3 March 1928.<sup>13/</sup> The President then on 15 November authorized the property exchange sought by the Society.<sup>14/</sup>

In 1933, the Peruvian parliament passed a law conveying Hacienda Vicos to the Public Charity Society of Huaraz, a provincial city that is the capital of Ancash Department, and thirty-five kilometers by road from Vicos. The bill was sponsored by a Deputy and a Senator from Huaraz.

In 1962, the Public Charity Society of Huaraz, under prodding from the central government, agreed to sell the Vicos property directly to its Indian serfs for S/. 2,000,000 paid by them, plus an additional sum from the central government destined for the construction of a new regional hospital. The Indians, who have operated an economically profitable community farm enterprise since 1957,<sup>15/</sup> made a down payment of one-fourth the purchase price, and are now engaged in paying off their mortgage.

#### External Struggle

The struggle for land by the non-Indian population outside Vicos has been fierce. Seventy-three per cent of the surviving Indian communities officially recognized are currently involved in territorial boundary disputes.<sup>16/</sup> From 1824, Peru based its national Indian policy on forced integration of Indians as individual land owners who could sell and otherwise alienate their property,<sup>17/</sup> with consequent despoilation of Indian lands.<sup>18/</sup> That policy changed in 1919 when a constitutional provision was inserted in the basic document promulgated in that year, which recognized the

legal existence of Indian communities,<sup>19/</sup> and led to the establishment of a governmental agency charged with responsibility for Indian affairs, including the registration of surviving Indian communities.<sup>20/</sup>

There is not space to summarize in this article the wealth of known cases of struggles for land of the Indian free communities. This phenomenon is relatively well known, compared to knowledge of what happened to hacienda properties during the republican and colonial periods.<sup>21/</sup> It would be safe to say that among Peruvian intellectuals, the general belief holds that most Peruvian haciendas were formed by cheap legal or by extra-legal acquisition of Indian community lands,<sup>22/</sup> and records already analyzed do show that numerous small holdings have resulted from partitioning once communal lands.<sup>23/</sup>

The Vicos case is instructive, therefore, because it shows how several modern towns, estates, and Indigenous Communities were carved out of a manor, rather than from Indian community lands. The town of Marcará, which is a district capital, the officially recognized Indigenous Communities of Shumay and Recuayhuanca,<sup>24/</sup> the haciendas of Quinranca, Huapra, Pachín, La Florida, and Copa, the hamlet of Tuyu and a belt of small farms

around Marcará and Shumay, besides the remnant of Vicos, are in whole or in part located within the original Vicos purchase area.

The dismemberment of Hacienda Vicos commenced, apparently, within a few years of its original purchase from the crown. The process began within the very family of the original purchaser, Fernando de Colonia, an Indian cacique.

When that gentleman drew up his will in 1600, he bequeathed Vicos to his three legitimate sons, then minors. He noted that the inhabitants of the estate and its cattle were in charge of his illegitimate son, named Francisco de Colonia, who was to be responsible for turning over the property to the legitimate sons. He also noted that another illegitimate son named Fernando de Colonia resided with his father in Lima in 1600.<sup>25/</sup>

One can infer that Fernando de Colonia the elder had lived in the intermontane valley where Vicos is located for a number of years during the middle and latter 1500's, and that he had somehow established his political control over the small Indian population remaining in the Marcará River Valley, and over the land the other Indians occupied, establishing an economically

successful cattle ranch there. Colonia may well have been hereditary chieftain of the population he controlled. During this period, Colonia certainly lived with Indian women who bore him sons. One, Francisco, was old enough by 1600 and trusted enough by his father, to be left in charge of the management of the estate when his father moved to Lima. He was probably illegitimate only in the eyes of the Spanish authorities.

Colonia later married, possibly as a consequence of the episcopal visit in 1593, and legalized his possession of Hacienda Vicos by purchasing the land from the crown in 1594. With his wife, Colonia then seems to have moved to Lima with his three legitimate sons born before 1600, and his illegitimate son Fernando.

This Fernando initiated the first territorial aggression of record against Hacienda Vicos. He seems to have returned to Vicos, possibly expelled from the urban household of the original Fernando's legitimate wife after his father's death. He laid claim to estancias called Quicay and Vilcabamba, and in 1639 became involved in litigation over these lands and Acotanta. This is probably an area near modern Marcará

known as Acopampa. Fernando Colonia the younger mustered witnesses who testified that he had inherited these lands from his father, despite the clear favoritism shown the legitimate sons in the elder Colonia's 1600 will.<sup>26/</sup> Evidently he made good his claim, because as late as the latter part of the past century, officials of the Public Charity Society of Lima regarded the Colonia family as usurpers of Vicos lands.<sup>27/</sup> Indian serfs, now freemen, at Vicos still bear the name Colonia.

During the period that Martín Quijano leased Hacienda Vicos from St. Andrew's Hospital (after 1680, but prior to 1705) he went to court against one Sebastian García for usurping the area known as Socayacu from Vicos, and an order seems to have been issued that the serfs were not to be disturbed in their possession.<sup>28/</sup> This area lies between the modern Hacienda Copa and Vicos, so that the legal action instituted by Quijano suggests that the Copa area originally included in the Vicos purchase had already been lost during the 17th century.

The original title papers defined the boundary of the Vicos purchase as running east from the Santa River to Pariahuanca Canyon south of the valley in

which today's much reduced Vicos lies, and including Aco. The north boundary followed the Lucuma River upstream from the Santa River to the glaciated peaks.<sup>29/</sup>

The next territorial aggression against Vicos appears to have occurred toward the middle of the century. A church endowment dedicated to St. Nicolas was formed in 1741 of the Shiqui Pampa area comprising two modern towns -- Shumay and Marcará -- and two estates -- Tuyu and La Florida. In 1749, however, the Marcará area was split between the Colonia family (from the main irrigation ditch take-out on the Santa River to Asiaq' Urán), and José Valentín Pomero (from the take-out to Copa). Later, lands here became considerably fractionated by successive sales.<sup>30/</sup>

Early documents referred to some sort of small structure on the bank of the Santa River at the lower edge of the original Vicos purchase simply as Tambo,<sup>31/</sup> a Quechua term for "inn" or "warehouse." Not until 1815 was the population there recognized as a small hamlet under the jurisdiction of Carhuaz, and called Marcará. In 1821 it was made a caserío and in 1845 a town.<sup>32/</sup>

During the next century there is no written record of territorial losses by Vicos that we have yet

found, but the number of small holdings east of Marcara toward contemporary Vicos, and the Pachín, Huapra, and Quinranca haciendas evidently were carved out of the Vicos purchase during this period, along with the Indigenous Community of Recuayhuanca. In 1780, the administrator of Vicos was involved in an anti-taxation movement led by the leasor, former Corregidor Pedro Pablo Pomar.<sup>33/</sup>

The record of territorial aggression begins again in the middle of the past century, with relatively full documentation. In 1853, Ambrosio Alegre, a resident of Caraz<sup>34/</sup> and owner of two haciendas, Canyabamba and Santa Catalina,<sup>35/</sup> rented Hacienda Vicos from the Public Charity Society of Lima for a period of nine years at an annual rental of 700 pesos.<sup>36/</sup> His lease contained a clause giving him the right of preference in leasing the hacienda at the expiration of the nine years.

While Alegre's lease was in force, a presidential decree issued on 19 February 1856 required that all properties belonging to public institutions such as the Public Charity Society of Lima be auctioned off to the highest bidder when leased.<sup>37/</sup>

By the time Alegre's lease expired, further territorial aggression against the southeastern boundaries

of Vicos appears to have been already underway, or in preparation.

In the middle of June of 1862, a foreign merchant in the provincial city of Huaraz, Alois Schreiber, owner of Hacienda Collón which adjoined Vicos on the southeast,<sup>38/</sup> executed a special power of attorney to a resident of Lima to represent him at the public auction of the Vicos lease.<sup>39/</sup> Schreiber was at the time still sufficiently new to the area that the notary certified that he understood the Spanish language. Bidders on leases of this class had to provide proof of their financial capacity, and Schreiber offered as bondsmen Sand and Company of Lima, and Mrs. Julia Wadlington, daughter of an English immigrant, George Wadlington. She owned "valuable" houses located on one corner of the main square of Huaraz.<sup>40/</sup> This combination of non-Spanish names indicates that this may have been a case of immigrant business acumen besting the native Peruvian. A number of Irish and English adventurers who fought on the winning side of the wars of independence settled in Peru. In 1841, for example, one-quarter of the storekeepers in Huaraz were foreigners.<sup>41/</sup>

Schreiber's agent, Faustino Meza, carried out his orders well. When the public auction was held on 14 July, another postulant started the bidding at the thousand peso minimum set by the board of the Public Charity Society, but Meza carried it on up to 1,210 pesos. His was the highest bid offered.<sup>42/</sup>

Once the bidding ended, with Schreiber the apparent new leasor, Alegre invoked his preferential renewal clause, and requested a renewed lease at the high bid figure,<sup>43/</sup> even though he had previously protested that the Society's published thousand peso minimum was unjustly high.<sup>44/</sup> From his action, it may be confidently inferred that he had profited far more from the stock raising activity at Vicos and the use of Vicos serfs on his other two haciendas<sup>45/</sup> than he had wanted the Society board to realize.

Schreiber's agent sought to invalidate the preferential renewal provision by invoking the civil code.<sup>46/</sup> The officers of the Society referred the dispute to a member of the Supreme Court who held that the preferential renewal clause was not in conflict with the law, so that Alegre was entitled to renew his lease for the new ten-year period at the high bid annual rental of 1,210 pesos.<sup>47/</sup> The Society then

leased Vicos to Alegre once again.<sup>48/</sup> When Schreiber's agent bid 1,210 pesos annual rent for Hacienda Vicos, he forced Alegre to pay seventy-three per cent more each year to lease Vicos from 1862 to 1872 than Alegre had paid in 1853-1862, whereas the Society had proposed only a forty-three per cent increase.

In 1863, Schreiber appropriated the lambing pastures of Honco,<sup>49/</sup> according to the Indian serfs of Vicos, who petitioned against Schreiber's being allowed to bid for the Vicos lease on grounds that he was prepared to dismember the estate.<sup>50/</sup> In May of 1864, Alegre billed the Public Charity Society of Lima for expenses he incurred in litigation with Schreiber over the corral and pastures of Honco, which he, too, claimed Schreiber had seized from the Vicos property.<sup>51/</sup>

The leasor of Hacienda Vicos and his attorney appear to have committed a series of errors in bringing suit against Schreiber to recover the Honco area. In the first place, Alegre had suit brought in his own name, rather than that of the Public Charity Society of Lima.<sup>52/</sup> This probably prejudiced the suit from the outset, since the leasor rather than the owner prosecuted it, retaining local counsel, without consulting the Society, so far as the record shows. Al-

though Alegre himself reported to the Society that there were no attorneys with law degrees in the provinces,<sup>53/</sup> he seems to have committed this land ownership litigation entirely to his legal representative in Huaraz, seat of the court with jurisdiction, remaining at his residence in Canaz.<sup>54/</sup>

One picayune consequence of filing suit in the name of an individual rather than the semi-public Society was that all the records of the case had to be written on officially printed paper costing one-fifth of a peso per sheet instead of one-sixth -- the rate to which the partially tax-exempt Society was entitled.<sup>55/</sup>

While Alegre sought reimbursement from the Society for the cost of suing for recovery of the corral and pastures, the Society's lawyer found upon examination of the case records that Alegre had actually filed suit on 22 February 1864 to recover only Honco Corral.<sup>56/</sup>

When the case came to hearing, Schreiber's attorney scored one technical victory over Alegre's representative by presenting eleven witnesses who testified that Honco had belonged to Schreiber's Hacienda de Collón for many years. The code governing litigation permitted only five such witnesses,<sup>57/</sup> but Alegre's

representative apparently knew too little law to forestall the Schreiber move.

Then, Alegre's representative committed what seems to have been a fatal technical error. He failed to present witnesses to testify that Honco belonged to Vicos, and he requested a continuance in order to consult with Alegre in Caraz on challenging the Schreiber witnesses. This was technically inadmissible, and the judge denied it.<sup>58/</sup> He also decided against Alegre.<sup>59/</sup>

When the case was appealed to the Superior Court, that body characterized the rather defective appeal as real chicanery, and confirmed the original verdict.<sup>60/</sup> The technical defects in the case were so great that the Society's attorney gave it up as hopelessly lost, recommending bringing an ordinary civil suit to seek to recover the title to Honco Corral.<sup>61/</sup>

The original Vicos title indicates that Honco Corral was well within the original purchase. After 8 September 1964, when the court found against Alegre, it ceased to be part of Vicos.<sup>62/</sup> The Public Charity Society of Lima blamed Alegre's defective defense for the loss, as well as Schreiber's aggression.<sup>63/</sup> The area remains to this day part of Hacienda Collón.

Honco Pampa is today a heavily grazed high altitude pasture and marsh land at the foot of the glaciated peaks east of Vicos and south of the Quebrada Honda -- a wedge of land between the Quebrada, which still belongs to Vicos, and the Pariahuanca canyon headwaters to the south which apparently formed Vicos' original southern limit. The ruins of a large middle horizon town with multi-storied burial chambers are prominent features on Honco Pampa, where Cornell Peru Project archeologists recently conducted excavations.<sup>64/</sup>

Following the loss of Honco Pampa and the pastures it served, the leasor of Hacienda Vicos applied to the Public Charity Society of Lima for a reduction in the amount of annual rental. Alegre claimed that this territorial loss cut at least in half the natural products obtainable from Vicos.<sup>65/</sup> On the other hand, Alegre sought a concrete reduction of 200 pesos in the annual rental,<sup>66/</sup> so the proportional contribution of Honco Pampa to the leasor's income is probably represented more accurately as sixteen and seven-tenths per cent of the total rather than one-half.

Calculating from the available figures, one may conclude that Schreiber picked up a bargain in Honco Pampa. Alegre<sup>67/</sup> submitted to the Public Charity So-

ciety of Lima a bill for a total of 300 pesos spent on the unsuccessful suit to recover Honco Pampa. When the Society questioned these expenses, Alegre<sup>68/</sup> stoutly maintained that he had paid them out of pocket as an honorable gentleman, and not even claimed such minor items as postage. While one may suspect that Alegre padded his bill somewhat, it does provide a basis for estimating that Schreiber must have spent a somewhat greater amount to win the case. He retained the better attorney, evidently, and he undoubtedly paid and/or bribed eleven witnesses, whereas the plaintiff paid none. Even if Schreiber spent 400 pesos, however, he should have recovered his investment in only two years if the reduction in annual rental that Alegre sought represented the true value of Honco Pampa range production.

By this time, it should be noted, the population of Vicos had increased to 150 families,<sup>69/</sup> or ten times the population at the time of the original purchase. During the same period, the size of the estate had been reduced by perhaps one-half, materially changing the man-to-land relationship.

A few years later, the Public Charity Society of Lima itself entered into litigation against a Señor

Terry, who occupied lands claimed by it,<sup>70/</sup> which a curate in Carhuaz apparently usurped. The Society proved a feeble defender of its own territory, however, for the case remained paralyzed for a quarter of a century, from 1875 to 1900,<sup>71/</sup> or longer, until the plot came to be considered private property. For many years, a profitable sawmill operated here, powered by water from the Chancos River.

The Public Charity Society still fared even worse in the case of Schreiber's invasion of the Honco Pampa area. Even though Alegre lost the court suit against Alois Schreiber, and the Society eliminated both Alegre and Schreiber from consideration as leasors in 1872, ten years later Alois Schreiber loaned the Society a large sum, and leased Hacienda Vicos.<sup>72/</sup> After his death, his son Germán and daughter Henrietta took over the lease in 1887.<sup>73/</sup> They remained in possession until 1902. Then the inventory of the property they turned over to the next leasor contained a description of the territorial limits of Vicos that placed its frontier in the direction of the Schreiber Collón property at the Quebrada Honda and Marcará River,<sup>74/</sup> safely away from Collón, including the Honco Pampa area carved out of the original Vicos purchase.

Thus, the original Vicos purchase was gradually reduced by territorial aggression by owners of adjacent properties, or squatters, throughout most of the period of public ownership. The officials of the absentee institutional owner delegated management to leaseholders concerned with piling up their personal profits, and even extending their own land holdings at the expense of Vicos., and its Indian serfs. (In this respect, territorial aggression against Hacienda Vicos resembled that against indigenous communities in reducing an Indian land base.) Those officials were not familiar with the area, lived 440 kilometers away, and were in no position to provide vigorous personal supervision over the property until the modern communications revolution provided telegraph lines, telephone lines, vehicular roads, and other means of rapid message delivery. There is no evidence that Vicos has suffered any territorial losses within the present century, since such communications have more effectively unified Peru.

NOTES

1. Ford 1955:2; Dobyns 1962:9-10.
2. Holmberg 1960:67-68; Harbison & Myers 1964:74-75.
3. This is a Comparative Studies of Cultural Change paper. A Carnegie Corporation of New York grant to Cornell University supported data collection under the general direction of Professor Allan R. Holmberg, Director of the Cornell Peru Project. The records of the Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública of Lima were consulted by Tula Pareja Y., through the courtesy of the then-President of that institution, Dr. Carlos Monge M., Co-Director of the Cornell Peru Project. Contract AID/csd-296 between Cornell University and the Office of Technical Cooperation and Research, Agency for International Development of the United States, supported analysis. Drs. Allan R. Holmberg and Mario C. Vázquez have read the manuscript critically and contributed to it. The author is grateful to all, but assumes entire responsibility for any errors, and the opinions expressed are entirely his own.
4. Dobyns & Vázquez 1964:1-2.
5. Lasswell 1963:99-120.
6. Vázquez 1952:34.

7. Mogrovejo 1922:64-65.
8. Trefogli 28 May 1883:41-42.
9. Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima.
10. Laos 1928:231.
11. Leguía 1927:192-193.
12. Junta 1928:24; Vázquez 1952:37.
13. Guerra 1928:104.
14. Quiroz 1928:354.
15. Holmberg 1950:95-96.
16. Dobyms 1964:38.
17. Velasco s.f.: 9; Bustamante 1918:41, 57.
18. Valdez 1921:145; Vega 1958:21-23.
19. Varallanos 1947:1.
20. Varallanos 1947:13-16.
21. Arca Parró 1948.
22. Yrigoyen 1922:8-9; Vidalon 1922:211; Gonzalez Prada 1924:55; Mariátegui 1928:64-66; Chira 1932: 17-18; Roca 1935:119; Bedoya 1948:70; Ponce de León 1952:160; Izaguirre 1957:111; Graciano 1963: 23.
23. Cotler 1959:35-36, 41-42.
24. Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas 1961:13.
25. Trefogli 28 May 1883:41.
26. ibid., pp. 41, 44.

27. Ibid., p. 42.
28. Ibid., p. 45.
29. Villa 25 May 1908:4.
30. Ghersi 1959:134.
31. Trefogli 28 May 1883:45.
32. Ghersi 1959:134-135.
33. Eguiguren 1959:I:388.
34. Alegre 9 Feb. 1867.
35. Yngar 1872:1.
36. Alegre 25 June 1862; Medina & Cáceres 1862.
37. Medina y Cáceres 1862:1.
38. García 8 June 1862:1
39. A. Schreiber 1862.
40. Meza 14 July 1862:1.
41. Padron 1841:24-28.
42. Orellana 1862:1.
43. Alegre 17 July 1862.
44. Alegre 25 June 1862.
45. Yngar 1872:1.
46. Meza 22 July 1862.
47. Sánchez 1 August 1862.
48. Medina 27 August 1862; Medina, Alegre, Orellana  
et al 1862.

49. The northernmost portion of Hacienda de Collón is today known as Honco Pampa, and is located at approximately 13,000 feet elevation, above the upper limit of contemporary Indian habitation in the area. In 1908, Villa (25 May 1908:5) reported that elderly Vicosinos remembered when the "Honco-pampa section" of Hacienda Collón was the "preñadero" for Hacienda Vicos. This identifies the area with precision, for in 1872, a petition from Vicos serfs referred to the usurped area as the "Preñadería de Jongo" (Gutierrez et al 28 August 1872:3), while earlier documents mention the Corral de Hongo, or the Corral y pastos de Hongo (Alegre 13 May 1864:1).

50. Gutierrez et al 28 August 1872:3.

51. Alegre 1867:1

52. Alegre 20 May 1867:16.

53. Alegre 20 May 1867:14.

54. García 8 June 1867:2.

55. García 21 May 1867:20-21.

56. García 8 June 1867:1.

57. Ibid., p. 2.

58. Ibid.

59. Chavez 1 June 1867:1.

60. García 8 June 1867:3.

61. Ibid., p. 4.
62. Chavez 1 June 1867:1.
63. Obin 2 September 1872:6-7.
64. Lanning 1965:140.
65. Chavez 1 June 1867:1.
66. Ibid., p. 3.
67. Alegre 28 February 1867:6.
68. Alegre 20 May 1867:15, 18.
69. Gutierrez et al., 28 August 1872.
70. Trefogli 28 May 1883:42.
71. Vego 1 March 1900:38.
72. G. Schreiber 22 September 1902:7.
73. Olavegoya, Schreiber & Rivera 21 November 1902:3.
74. Salinas 8 September 1902:47.

TABLE 1 Citations:

- a. Trefogli 28 May 1883.
- b. Vázquez 1952.
- c. Alegre 25 June 1862.
- d. G. Schreiber 22 September 1902.
- e. Vego 1 March 1900.
- f. Salinas 8 September 1902.
- g. Villa 22 August 1914.
- h. Secretaría 1915.
- i. Tesorería 1917.
- j. Santa 1917.

TABLE 1. LEASORS OF HACIENDA VICOS

Year	Leasor	Term	Source
1662	Migual Paviño	?	a:44
1668	heirs of Migual Paviño	?	a:44
1669	Joseph Chavez	6 years	a:44 b:35
1680	Martín de Quijano	?	a:45
1705	Martín de Quijano		b:35
1711	Martín de Quijano		
1715	María Mariluz, Widow of Verais, & Miguel Mariluz	4 years	a:45 b:35
1763	Felix Romero	?	a:45.
1776	General Pedro Pablo Pomar	as long as want- ed	a:45
1808	Francisco del Risco	?	a:46 b:35
1814	Antonio Barbadillo	?	a:46 b:35
1853	Ambrosio Alegre	9 years	c
1862	Ambrosio Alegre	10 years	c
1872	suit to recover		
1882	Alois Schreiber	10 years	b:36 d:7
1887	Hortencia Schreiber de Arias, & Germán Schreiber	heirs	e:36
1902	Manuel Lostaunau	10 years	f
1914	Emilio Codenzi & Benjamin Valverde	10 years	g:61
1915	Leonidas Miranda	interim	h:1137
1916	José Ferreyra & Víctor Valera		i:2279
1917	Moisés Estremadoyro		j:1.

TABLE 2. VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RENTAL OF HACIENDA VICOS  
AND SERF POPULATION TRENDS

Year	Annual Rental	Populations		Source
		Persons	Families	
1593			15	Mogrovejo 1922:65
1669	400 pesos			Vázquez 1952:35
1680	400 pesos			<u>Ibid.</u>
1705	800 pesos			<u>Ibid.</u>
1715	?			<u>Ibid.</u>
1774		301		<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 36.
1808	1200 pesos			<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 35.
1850		513		<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 36.
1873	700 pesos			<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 35.
1862	1210 pesos			Medina 1862; Cá- ceres 1862; Ore- llana 1862.
1872			150	Gutierrez et al 28 Aug. 1872.
1882	450 soles			Vázquez 1952:36
1901		800		<u>Ibid.</u>
1902	2340 soles			Aliaga 18 abril 1906:58.
1911		1500		Vázquez 1952:36
1914	4800 soles			Junta Administra- dora de Fincas 1915:1113
1940		1230	262	Vázquez 1952:36
1946	14500 soles			<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 37.
1951		1703	363	Alers 1965:425
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