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RESEARCH ARTICLE

LOS HIDALGOS DE BORLEÑA: A TRANSATLANTIC HISTORY OF A SPANISH FAMILY'S MIGRATION TO THE CITY OF PUEBLA MEXICO AND ITS IMPACT ON THEIR HOMETOWN IN SPAIN (1816-1913).

Alfonso Gómez-Rossi, Sara Guadalupe Santillana-Arce and Gabriela Lechuga-Blázquez.

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Abstract

During the nineteenth century a transatlantic migration took place between the valley of Toranzo in Spain and the city of Puebla, Mexico. The relocation of Spaniards comprised both a chain and circular migration that involved moving to Puebla from Spain, and in some cases, returning to their home province with the capital they had accumulated through the exploitation of textile mills and agricultural enterprises. The first migratory movement involved the Gómez de Rueda siblings who journeyed between the years of 1838 and 1858. The second migratory movement involved kinsmen from the Spanish hamlet: the Martínez-Conde siblings and the González de Collantes brother's. Most of the immigrants built important capitals in Puebla's pre-revolutionary history (1910-1917) and returned to Cantabria after making their fortune in the Western Hemisphere, reinvesting some of the profits by improving the hamlet whence they had departed. The article takes a micro-historical approach, which explores a group of *vecino's* regional and familial network's impact on the place of departure and the destination.

Introduction:-

In 1827 and 1829 the newly independent Mexican Republic issued decrees that expelled any Spaniards living within the country, confiscating their goods and allowing them to keep only a third of their fortune (Grajeda Bustamante 1997, 126). The Spanish subjects who were exiled, fled to Cuba or Spain while the newly founded country of Mexico broke its social, political and economic bonds with its former overlord. The inauspicious legislature would seem to harken a Mexican republic where Iberians would no longer be welcome, a sentiment that increased when the Kingdom of Spain failed to reconquer Mexico in 1829 (Navarro García 2012, 218). Throughout the 1830s, though, a series of political events would modify the relationship between both countries and facilitate transatlantic emigrations from Spain.

In Spain, the death of Ferdinand VII (1833) and the problem of succession occasioned by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1830, which validated a Decree from 1789 allowing women to succeed to the Crown, led the Spanish kingdom into a six year conflict between the Carlists (conservatives) who supported the Salic Law that would theoretically enthrone Carlos, Count of Montemolín and the Isabellines (liberals) who supported the right of Don Carlos niece, Isabella II, to succeed Ferdinand VII as Queen regnant (Parker 1937, 17). In Mexico the political strife between federalists and centralists who supported liberal or conservative agendas prompted civil wars and revolutions that

Corresponding Authors:- Alfonso Gómez-Rossi, Sara Guadalupe Santillana-Arce and Gabriela Lechuga-Blázquez.

upheld different constitutions, while the military interventions of France (1838, 1861-1866) and the United States (1846-1848)--which led to the loss of half of Mexican territory--the independence of Texas (1836) and the establishment of a failed second empire (1864-67), aggravated the tense political and economic situation of the Aztec country (Walker 1986, 211).[1] Civil strife in both countries was responsible in part for the transatlantic migrations to Hispanic-America, while established patterns of emigration from *La Montaña* to the Western Hemisphere since colonial times propelled a particular Spanish migration that would transform two regions within Mexico and Spain.

This article explores the transatlantic ties that were forged between the hamlet of Borleña--in northern Spain--and the city of Puebla, Mexico during the period between 1840 and 1913.[2]There were two waves of migration from the Valley of Toranzo, to south-eastern Mexico that would transform both areas, thanks to the fortune Spaniards accrued in Mexico through the exploitation of haciendas and textile mills.[3]

The emigration from Cantabria to Mexico occurred amid legal changes that began in the 1830s and continued until the reign of Alfonso XII (1874-1885), a time during which a series of Liberal regimes transformed Spanish legislation attempting to modernize Spain's economic, political and religious status. The liberal governments began the political changes in the 1830s under the regencies of María Cristina of Bourbon-Sicily (1833-40) and Baldomero Espartero (1840-43), which ended the conservative policies Ferdinand VII had enforced since Napoleon released him from the castle of Valençay in 1813 (Parker 1937, 25).

Liberal reforms had three outcomes that effected the lives of the *Montañeses* studied in this paper:[4] firstly Spain and Mexico commenced diplomatic relations when the Regency recognized Mexico's independence in 1836. The government's decision allowed Spaniards to immigrate to Mexico with the benefit of diplomatic protection (Grajeda Bustamante 1997, 129). Secondly, the *Cristino* administration effectively ended the tax exemptions minor nobility had enjoyed since the reign of Charles I (Valero 2015, 240), creating a situation which Spanish historians call the "*confusion de estados."*[5] Most of the inhabitants of Cantabria were *Hidalgos,* members of the minor nobility, who were affected by the tax exemption changes of the law.[6] Thirdly the reign of Isabella II (1843-1868) eliminated laws that hindered migration to the Americas starting in 1853, while Mexican laws allowed foreigners to participate in any economic activity they wanted to pursue (Gamboa Ojeda, Empresarios asturianos en la industria textil de Puebla, 1895-1930 September-December, 2008, 16).

Immigrating to Puebla was an interesting choice for *Borleñeses*: it was the third largest city in Mexico during the nineteenth century and its economic elite was politically conservative, with a strong attachment to Spanish culture.[7] It was industrially developed (when compared to most cities in Mexico) and agriculturally prosperous (Calderón de la Barca 1982). Since the sixteenth century immigrants from different parts of Castile, Andalucía and Extremadura had settled in the city attracted by the economic advantages it offered and the other Spaniards who resided there. Migration from the Castilian town of Brihuega during the colonial period also developed a prosperous textile industry, which would remain an important economic motor for the for the Puebla region from the sixteenth through the twentieth century, foreshadowing some aspects of the *Montañés* immigration in the nineteenth century.[8]

[1] For a revision of Mexican History during the nineteenth century see William Beezley's *Mexico in World History* (Beezley 2011, 38-80).
[2] The inhabitants of the city and state of Puebla are called *Poblanos*. That is the term that will be used throughout the text to describe the citizens of the Mexican state of Puebla.
[3] [See tables IV and V].
[4] *Montañeses* is the name given to the inhabitants of the Mountains of Cantabria. The region is currently a part of Cantabria and its inhabitants are known as *Cántabros*. I also use the term Highlander, for that is the translation from Spanish. The three words will be used as synonyms.
[5] *Confusión de estados*: When all Spanish citizens were recognized as equals before the law, after the suppression of rights for the minor nobility
[6] *Fueros*: Rights
[7] Ignacio Zaragoza wrote about conservative *Poblanos* to President Benito Juárez (1858-1872): "*Que bueno sería quemar Puebla. Está de luto por el acontecimiento del día 5* [de mayo de 1862]. *Esto es triste decirlo, pero es una realidad lamentable*." The telegram was written in the time period under study.
[8] The inhabitants of Brihuega are known as *Briocenses*, a term that will be used throughout the paper to refer to them.

The immigration of Briocenses to Puebla (1560-1640):-

The city of Puebla was founded to wrest power away from the indigenous tribes who lived in the defunct kingdoms of Tlaxcala, Cholula, Huejotzingo, Tepeaca and Cuautinchán and to benefit the Viceroyalty of New Spain during the 1520s and 30s. The original hope of the governing Second *Audiencia* of the Viceroyalty of the New Spain and the Queen Regent, Isabella of Portugal (1529-1533), was that Castilian farmers would settle in the *Cuetlaxcoapan* valley and cultivate the land according "the uses and traditions of the Kingdoms in Spain." In theory at least, they would also help convert Native Mexicans through the correct practice of Catholicism (Shean Apr 2009, 18).[9] What filled *Poblanos* and their descendants with pride was the idea that the Spanish Crown and its administrative representatives in the New Spain had created a city specifically designed for Spaniards to settle in (González-Bustillos 94). The most important group of peninsular immigrants during the seventeenth century were from the town of Brihuega.

Though the *Briocenses* were not the founders of Puebla's textile industry, they were responsible for the development of it through the exploitation of *obrajes* (Mino Grijalva 2013) and the labour of slaves, salaried Native Mexicans and "*encerrados*."[10] The people from Brihuega were able to accumulate capital that allowed them to form an upper middle class that developed the *barrio* of San Francisco, turning it into a commercial area of Puebla and the surrounding area of the San Agustín Church (Altman 2000, 123).

Briocenses had worked on textiles since the late Middle Ages, (1200-1453) and had been known for making wool cloth within family nucleus throughout the village (Altman 2000, 79). The entire family would produce the fabric, which would later be sold through intermediaries at different fairs throughout Castile (Altman 2000, 82). Towards the second half of fifteenth century, Brihuega experienced economic decline which prompted the Crown to encourage the immigration of some residents to the *Alpujarras* in the province of Andalucía, with the belief that *Briocenses* with their textile expertise would incorporate into the silk industry there (Altman 2000, 35).

The Alpujarras, however, did not become the final destination, for *Briocenses* began immigrating to Puebla in the second half of the sixteenth century, when they became aware that relatives, friends and neighbours had improved their economic plight in Puebla, thanks to the expertise they acquired manufacturing cloth and the contact they had with the silk industry in Las Alpujarras. (Altman 2000, 35).

Agriculture in Puebla was also important from its founding until the twentieth century. Since the sixteenth century Spaniards experimented with diverse European ingredients, like olives, sugarcane and wheat (L. M. Morales 2006, 9), also exploiting indigenous crops like maize, beans, chilies, tomatoes and peanuts which were used to sustain the Native Mexican inhabitants and generate a profit (Coe 2013, 2615).

Agriculture was deemed important enough during the nineteenth century for President Manuel González (1880-1884) to engage Italian immigrants from the town of Segusino (in Northern Italy) to create agricultural colonies in Puebla and Michoacán that would develop and modernize the Mexican countryside (Savarino 2006, 278). Agricultural ventures were also pursued by the small French and German colonies who moved to the llanos of Puebla throughout the nineteenth century (Rojas Marín 2011, 119). Agriculture and textiles became the businesses in which the immigrants from Borleña and their descendants would be involved in during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The situation of Cantabria in the nineteenth century:-

The first recorded individuals to migrate from the hamlet of Castillo Pedrozo, in the Valley of Toranzo to what is now Mexico, were Ángel and Juan Díaz de Terán who arrived in the Viceroyalty of New Spain around 1658. Ángel served under the Spanish navy that fought France in the Spanish possessions in Naples and Sicily. In later years he served as the Mayor of the city of Oaxaca and was invested with the Order of *Alcántara*, for his work on behalf of the Crown (Díaz de Terán Rodríguez s.f.). Although Ángel Díaz de Terán died in Oaxaca, he remembered Toranzo

[9] By Spaniards we are referring to the subjects of the Kingdoms of Castile, Leon and Granada. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century being a Castilian also implied being Catholic and what was termed an "Old Christian". In theory "New Christians", descendants form Jews or Moors were not allowed to emigrate to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, though this was not always enforced. See Francisco Pérez de Salazar y Verea and Arturo Córdova Durana *Sino Novohispano de un peninsular* (Puebla: BUAP, 2004).

[10] Indigenous Mexican's who had accrued a debt with the owner of the *obraje*, and had to pay it off through work.

in his will, deeding a silver lamp to the Church of San Pantaléon "to illuminate the Holy Sacrament and other objects to decorate the church" (González Echegaray 1974, 178).

Díaz de Terán also willed "$200.00 pesos to guild the main altar of the Church and another $200.00 pesos to guild the altar of the side chapel of Saint Peter." Finally, he left enough money for the founding of a local school to teach the youth to read and write (González Echegaray 1974, 178-179), a legacy that was important for the wellbeing and development of future generations of *Montañeses,* who would emigrate throughout the next centuries. Díaz de Terán would become a prototype of the transatlantic emigrant from Toranzo: if they succeeded economically in the Western Hemisphere, some used a percentage of their capital to improve local churches, develop some aspect of the area which they deemed important—improving regional infrastructure or providing funds for a basic education--and ascending socially, using their status as gentlemen and spending conspicuously.

The emigration of *Borleñeses* was small: seven men who arrived in Mexico in two waves (1830s through the 1840s and then during the 1860s), who began a process of accumulation of capital and relative social success in Puebla. The hamlet where they sprung from is in an area known in Spain as "*La Montaña*" (The Mountain or the Highlands), 49.1 kilometres from the port of Santander, the capital and most important city of the region. When "*La Montaña*" became a province in 1833, it took its name from the port (Estrada Sánchez 2007, 14).

Santander developed and sustained commercial ties with Spanish America from the second half of the eighteenth century, when Charles III (1759-1788) enlightened policies relaxed the laws ruling commercial relations between the northern ports of the Iberian Peninsula and the American colonies, through the weakening the *Casa de Contratación de Cadiz* (Kuethe 1991, 280). Travellers riding from the port of Santander to the city of Burgos would traverse the mountainous area and by-pass Borleña, described in the census of 1845 as built on a hill "exposed to the wind" (Joseph 1814, 1816, 1822). Two sources separated by a time span of ninety years explain the makeup and transformations of the hamlet during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1753 a census commissioned by the Marquis of Ensenada was undertaken while in 1845, a second a census was unofficially done by Pascual Madoz when he visited the community.

The census of the marquis of Ensenada undertaken on 23 September 1752, named Francisco Gómez Rueda and José Domingo de Rueda (Maza Solano 1972, 33) as informants and *Hidalgos* of the hamlet. At that date, the population of the rural community was composed of thirty-six *vecinos* and eleven widows which totalled, according to the data, "forty-three and a half inhabitants", because widows counted as half a man (Maza Solano 1972, 36). There were thirty-six inhabitable houses and eighteen abandoned buildings. All the heads of the families were living within the hamlet's limits, as there were no houses outside of the community (Maza Solano 1972, 36). The community's economy relied on the cultivation of corn, wheat and the raising of cattle, of which there were 78 oxen, 29 cows, and 95 calves (Maza Solano 1972, 36). There were five flour mills on the *Peñas* river, although "one was completely ruined and useless" (Maza Solano 1972, 36). Little would change ninety-seven years later, when another survey was done.

According to the tally of 1845 Borleña had a population of one hundred forty-five inhabitants that lived in thirty-five houses distributed unevenly (within the town limits) and a Catholic church dedicated to Saint Anthony the Abbot (Madoz 1850). The configuration of the land was described as "loose, somewhat rocky and medially fertile, finding chestnuts and some common walnut trees among the houses" (Madoz 1850).[11] The people who lived in the mountainous part of the province worked at agriculture and the rising of bovine cattle which in the census of 1845 consisted of one hundred and seventy heads of cattle (Madoz 1850). They raised cows and sold the calves in different regional fairs, also selling cheese made from their livestock's milk. The nineteenth century economy of the hamlet also relied on the work of the local flour mills and the commercialization of certain products like wine from the Rioja region and distilled beverages from Catalonia (Madoz 1850).

In the period between 1752 and 1845 the population increased from forty-seven people to one hundred and forty-five. The number of houses occupied by the townsfolk decreased by one in the same period, which may attest to higher fertility rates and larger household units. In 1845 no abandoned houses are listed which begs the question of whether those houses had been owned by emigrants who never returned, and their houses fell into disrepair and disappeared. In 1752 there were 202 head of cattle, which had been reduced to 175 a century later.

[11] Borleña is a part of the valley of Toranzo. Because of this they can also be named *Toranceses.*

The data may signal that the community was in a prolonged economic decline if there were abandoned houses that were never rebuilt, but that there was sufficient stability and no epidemics of consequence that hindered the families' growth. Their economy was then based on the exploitation of small plots of land and migration: their chief export aside from the cows was the emigration of the population to different provinces of Spain and the Americas.[12]

Chart 1:- *Borleña in 1752 (Source: Catastro Marquis of Ensenada)*

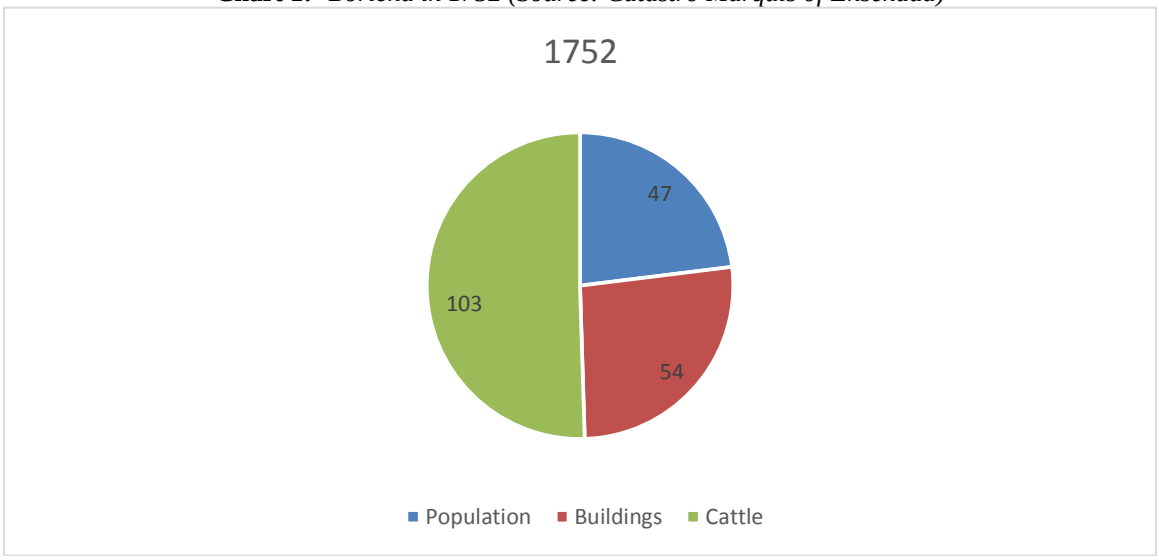
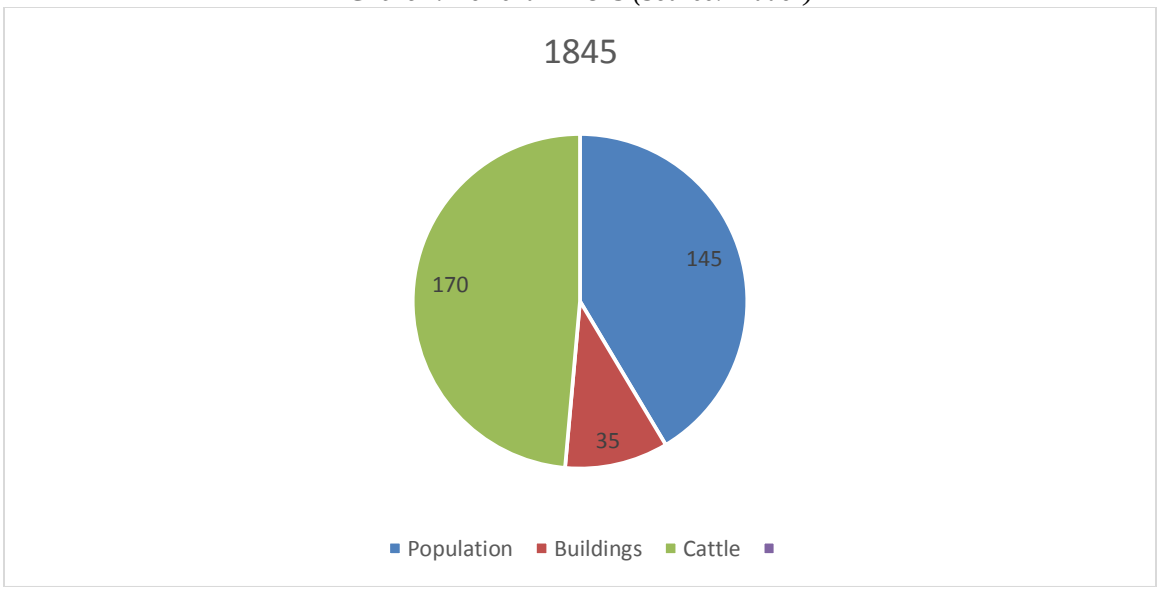


Chart 2:-*Borleña in 1845 (Source: Madoz)*



Immigration to Andalucía had been established since the seventeenth century, when according to Aramburú-Zavala a contingent of *Toranceses* migrated to Seville, settling in the *barrios* of "*El Duque, la Alameda, la Casa de Contratación… Santa Catalina, San Pablo, La Cabeza del Rey Don Pedro*" (Aramburú-Zabala Higuera, Miguel Ángel & Consuelo Soldevilla Oria 2013, 192). The first generations of migrants began selling ice-cream in the Andalusian capital, which required a royal permit for its sale during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Aramburú-Zabala Higuera, Miguel Ángel & Consuelo Soldevilla Oria 2013, 191). From the sale of iced milk, migrants from Toranzo became involved in other commercial ventures which included the ownership of taverns and

[12] This parallels the emigration of Briocenses to Puebla in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

the sale of wine, spirits and comestibles throughout the eighteenth century (Aramburú-Zabala Higuera, Miguel Ángel & Consuelo Soldevilla Oria 2013, 191). *Toranceses* migrated to Andalucía following the steps of kinsmen who had already established themselves Spain's southernmost province, working there for some years and eventually returning to Cantabria living off the money they had accrued (Española 2018). Every generation people from the Toranzo region would emigrate south, to work, accumulate capital they were unable to earn in Cantabria.

The migration to Andalucía was important in one cultural aspect for all highlanders: the first emigrants to Andalucía realized that it was important to educate the younger generations. Knowing how to read and write meant a pay increase for workers who had attained the rudiments of an education back home: teaching children how to read and write meant improved employability prospects (Cabiéces Ibarrondo 2016, 116). Cabarga claims—for example--that Manuel Rueda, who migrated to Puebla, Mexico, studied at the Piarist School in the neighbouring municipality of Villacarriedo, founded with the monies left by Antonio Gutiérrez de la Huerta in 1746, with the purpose of educating the youth in the zone. Another *Montañés*, Francisco Bustamante y Guerra (who immigrated to Veracruz and Jalapa, Mexico), founded another school in the Toranzo valley for boys and girls in 1819 (Cabiéces Ibarrondo 2016, 116). Having a basic education increased the prospects of employability for highlanders when they emigrated to Andalucía and the Americas.

Another aspect that socially benefited *Montañeses* in the *ancien régime* was that most of them were considered *Hidalgos* (minor nobility) by the State (Polo Sánchez 2004-2007), despite the Bourbon reforms between 1768 and 1797 aggressively curtailed the individual status of the gentry to reform the tax system (Pérez León 2014, 137), which had been instituted during the reign of Charles V (1516-1556). Until the eighteenth century the gentry had not paid taxes. In the scheme of the Castilian *Reconquista* (722-1492), Christians who fought against the Muslims, who did not descend from of Jewish or Moorish ancestors acquired the status of *Hidalgos* or *nobleza llana*.[13] The men granted this privilege, were exempted along with their male descendants from paying taxes, the confiscation of property and being processed in common courts of law (Pérez León 2014, 144).

Being a part of the lower nobility was an important issue for the *Montañeses* who migrated to other parts of the Iberian Peninsula or the Spanish empire, for two reasons: the first one was the ability to allege that they were nobles, which exempted them from paying taxes, serving in the army or being prosecuted by common law (Suárez Fernández, Luis and José Andrés Gallego 1986, 268). Secondly, the status of minor nobility gave them a higher social grade in the different realms of the Spanish Crown. Many highlander *Hidalgo's* that moved to other regions within the Spanish empire appealed to the Chancellery of Valladolid to have that institute issue documents that recognized the nobility of their lineage (Pérez León 2014, 145-46).

The documents in the Chancellery of Valladolid chronicle how the petitioners who moved out of their home town sought to have their nobility recognized by the State, explaining where they were born, who their spouses were and listing their parents and grandparents to ensure an acknowledgement of their nobility (Pérez León 2014, 148). This was a bonus for the *Cántabros* who moved to the Americas during colonial times and two periods in nineteenth century Mexico: 1821-23 and 1864 to 1867, when two Mexican emperors recognized the nobility invested by the Spanish and Papal Crowns (Cabarga 1977, 534-35). Though nobility was deemed worthless by the Mexican State throughout most of the nineteenth century (the use of noble titles was constitutionally abolished in 1824), it was still considered socially important in conservative circles, who looked up to European institutions and socio-political systems (Hidalgo 1904, 1-2).

Hidalguía was defined in *La Montaña* and other parts of the ancient Kingdoms of Leon and Castile, as family relationships which were determined by the concept of blood (*sangre*) and equated with "lineage or kinship" (Martínez 2011, 21). According to Pérez Vejo, this way of understanding identity gave rise to the belief that there was such a thing as "*Montañés* blood," which meant an individual was a highlander if his parents and ancestors were from Cantabria. It did not matter where they were born, for nationality was acquired "by genealogy, not by the geographical space one was born into" (Pérez Vejo 2014, 1587).

The people from Toranzo were considered Old Christians and Hidalgos—their nobility established some time during the Middle Ages (476-1492) and recognized by the legislation enacted by Charles I and Phillip IV (Suárez Fernández, Luis and José Andrés Gallego 1986). The shared culture of genealogy, blood and kinship probably

[13] *Nobleza llana* is the English equivalent of lower nobility.

influenced the attitudes of the inhabitants of Borleña when they immigrated to Mexico. Unlike Spanish migrations to Argentina, Brazil and the Spanish West Indies,[14] emigration from the highlands to Mexico was a chain migration which moved along a familial route enabling the immigrants to establish themselves with neighbours and kinsmen in a different country (Pérez Acevedo 2001, 135).

The Gómez de Rueda Family:-

We will briefly examine each branch of the family by analysing church documents from Borleña. These texts are limited to baptism, confirmation, marriage and the passing of individuals, along with the proofs of nobility called *actas de hidalguía*, which were used to prove the *Hidalgo* status of the family before 1836s *confusion de estados*. The founder of the Gómez de Rueda line that settled in Puebla during the nineteenth century, was Fernando Gómez de Rueda born 30 May 1775 (Rueda 1775). He was described by José Simón Cabarga as an "*alcalde de ordenanzas*" (mayor) of both Borleña and Salcedillo and also appeared in another record from 1816, when he "proved the nobility of his family at the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid" (Cabarga 1977, 529).[15]

Fernando Gómez emigrated to Andalucía and later returned to Borleña where he procreated five children with his wife María García de Castañeda. Three of these immigrated to Puebla: Domingo José Joaquín born 24 December 1814, José María born 25 March 1816 and Manuel born 28 November 1822 (Joseph 1814, 1816, 1822).[16] We only know the date of departure of the youngest sibling, Manuel, and can prove through marriages to Mexican women when Domingo and José Joaquín were in Puebla. Domingo was the most successful of the brothers, through his participation in the textile industry during the 1840s. Part of his accomplishments were achieved through his partnership with the widow of Francisco Puig (Thomson 2002, 375).

Although Guy P.C. Thomson writes "that [Domingo Rueda] would become one of the major dealers in cotton fabrics during the 1840s," there is no explanation for the capitals origin. "When the textile mill was sold in 1850, it was valued at $1,047.00 pesos, even though tens of thousands of pesos had been invested into it since its founding in 1820; upon the liquidation of this enterprise in 1850, the balance listed 32,176 pesos in numerous small debts owed to the business by outworking weavers (not employed by the factory) and by other clients and customers" (Thomson 2002, 375).

Domingo Gómez de Rueda married María de la Luz Vallarino in Puebla in 1848. They had three children: Adela, Roberto and Dolores. The last two concern this paper for they were the ancestors of economic elites in the city of Puebla (See table I): Roberto had a daughter--María Josefina Gómez De Rueda--who married Rafael Romay, a member of Puebla's economic elite from 1876 to 1929 (Sanchiz Ruíz 2013). Dolores married Rafael Rugarcía Molina and through her son, Luis, she was the grandmother of Amparo Rugarcía, who married Mexican business leader Manuel Espinosa Yglesias, one of the most important bankers in Mexico before 1982 (H. &. Morales 2010, 7) (Riding 2000, 139).

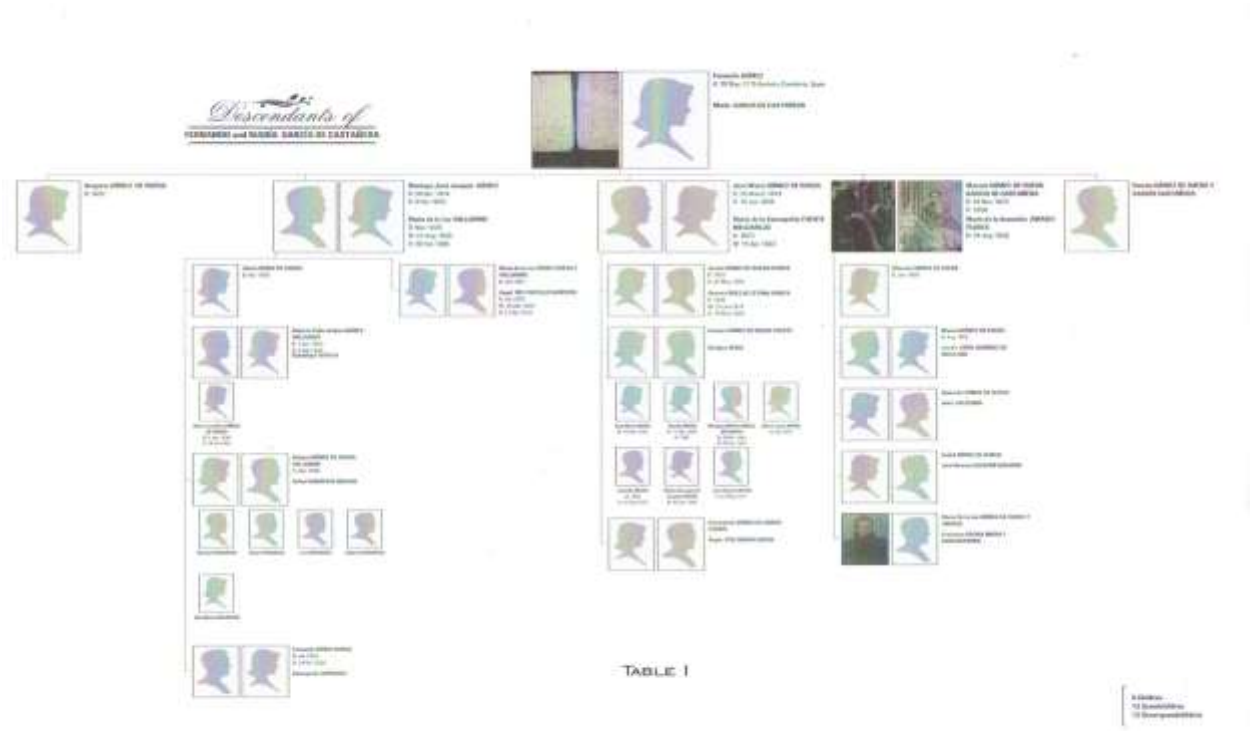
In the case of José María Gómez de Rueda—the brother of whom least is known at the present moment--he married María de la Concepción Fuentes Melgarejo in the town of Cholula de Rivadavia. Two of his daughters married into economic elites of Puebla: his daughter Carmen Gómez de Rueda married Benigno Hevia (their daughter María Luisa Hevia married Andrés Matienzo) (Sanchiz Ruíz 2013), while another married Santos de Letona. The men they married were a part of the economic and social elite of Puebla during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz (Sanchiz Ruíz 2013).

The youngest brother Manuel was raised by his sister Gregoria after being orphaned. According to Cabarga, the family was taught to look at emigration as a way to improve the family's fortunes (Cabarga 1977, 526). In the case of the three Gómez de Rueda brothers' it is unknown why they settled in Puebla, though textiles were important to the development of the *Borleñeses* fortune.

[14] Those Latin American countries were chosen by other Spaniards in the nineteenth century because of higher profit margins jobs held for immigrants.

[15] Have not been able to find proof of his nobility in the padrones yet.

[16] The other siblings were Gregoria born in 1820 and Román, who also migrated to Mexico but from whom we know nothing (Cabarga 1977), 530.



Although Puebla underwent an economic depression from the second half of the eighteenth century, the financial situation improved in the 1830s when the city became a precursor of modern textile manufacturing in Mexico, thanks to the Industrial Revolution in England and the United States (Bazant 1964, 68). Esteban de Antuñano, had visited and "admired the thriving mills of England" and decided to import machinery from the United Kingdom and North America to modernize the Mexican textile industry (Bazant 1964, 68). Thanks to a loan floated by the *Banco de Avío*, Esteban de Antuñano introduced the first spinning mill and power looms into the textile industry of Puebla (Hale 1961, 249) in the mill of *La Constancia*, which was later owned by the Martínez Conde family from Borleña (Rojas Salas 2013).

Manuel Gómez de Rueda originally worked in a textile mill that specialized in the pattern of fabric designs. He understood that mechanized machines increased profit and were a safe bet for the future while *obrajes* which had been an economic mainstay of the city, were on their way out. Manuel opened "*El Valor*",[17] a textile mill which introduced "fabrics that could only be imported from other countries and which could now be purchased at a cheaper price" in Puebla (Cabarga 1977, 530). Thanks to the mill Manuel acquired four textile mills and was well off financially by 1874. His economic success was also helped by his physical and social prowess. Manuel was described as a good-looking man, a *güero*—a blond man—which in Mexico's nineteenth century cultural construct, meant he was viewed favourably as a marriage partner because of his Spanish origins (Cabarga 1977, 535).

His good looks, family connection and money allowed him to marry María Asunción Amable y Flores Alatorre on 24 June 1857.[18] Her father was the President of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice in Puebla and as a vocal for the

[17] Not to be confused with the existing "*El Valor*" in Panzacola, Tlaxcala on the border with Puebla, which according to their web page was founded IN 1942 (Tenexac 2013). "*El Valor*" translates into English as "The Courage"

[18] We could include pedigree owing to the Hidalgo status, but as Guy P. C. Thomson rightly points out in the referee report, "cash and capital were far more important."

college of Lawyers in the same state (Cabarga 1977, 531).[19] As a bonus for the bride's aristocratic pretensions, Manuel demonstrated his *Hidalgo* origins though a certificate Borleña issued, proving his noble origins.[20]

Thomson explains that during the period between 1821 and 1850, the *Poblano* economic elite was "probably conformed by around one hundred families" that fitted "thanks to their acquisition of wealth, their participation in the military orders and the professionalization of the bureaucracy under the Bourbon regime" (Thomson 2002, 125). There was a small noble nucleus within the economic elite, a remnant from the "Spanish *ancien régime* (three members of the high nobility according to Reinhard Liehr, [and] a large amount of poor *Hidalgos*)" (Liehr 1976, 64). Despite a lack of a high nobility, Doris Ladd explains that Puebla was the Mexican city where the greatest number of citizens in the Viceroyalty asked for noble titles before 1821 (M. 1976, 178-181), which could mean that nobility—no matter how low--was perceived favourably by the social elites after the independence. It was Manuel's belonging to Spanish gentry and his economic success which facilitated access the access of the family to the court of the Mexican emperor, Maximilian of Austria (Cabarga 1977, 535).

Another advantage for the Gómez de Rueda bothers was their European origins. Thomson explains that it was easier for white foreigners to enter the tight knit circle of the economic elite, than for people lower in the socio-economic scale (Thomson 2002, 125), which could explain why Manuel was accepted into the Amable family through marriage. After living in Mexico for many years he decided to return to Spain, leaving his businesses under the administration of a man from Alsace. He toured France, England and Spain returning to Borleña (Cabarga 1977, 539). His retirement would not be permanent: he was forced to return to Mexico to settle a sting of affairs that had been mishandled by the Alsatian administrator. In Manuel we find a prototype of *Borleñés* that would rather settle back in his hometown than stay in Puebla, despite the capital and social connections he had accumulated. He passed away in Mexico as the father and uncle of many of the members of the Puebla textile elite that emerged during the *Porfiriato* and revolutionary periods (1876-1917).

The Martínez de Conde Family:-

The most important family of the Borleña-Puebla migration was the Conde family (see tables IV and V). The founder of this line was a woman, Angela Conde, only daughter of Manuel Conde. Even though her father married twice and had other children, Ángela's siblings died leaving her the only heiress (Gamboa Ojeda, Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominste en la industria textil de Puebla 1906-1929 1985, 242). Her husband (and relative) Francisco Martínez Conde began accumulating a fortune before the marriage, by associating himself with Andrés Matienzo, grandson in law of José María Gómez de Rueda (see table I), as a co-owner of San Martín mill (Conde 2016).[21] Ojeda claims that he had acquired the rights to the waters around the hacienda in 1892 from the federal government, and that he had done this to build a factory, which he and Matienzo accomplished in 1897. Historians like Paxman, Gamboa and Villavicencio agree that the Conde family was the most successful family socially and economically from 1897 to 1922. In the textile industry they exploited ten mills. Their importance was also recognized in the exploitation of agricultural landholdings, in which they cultivated sugar cane and wheat "which were then processed in the family's mills. The Conde's were involved in three economic activities: textile industry, agriculture and agroindustry" (Gamboa Ojeda, Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominste en la industria textil de Puebla 1906-1929 1985, 241).After the death of Fernando Martínez Conde, the family fortunes in the male line began an economic decline from which they never recovered.[22] Francisco M. Conde was a Gómez de Rueda relative through his mother (see Table III), though we cannot ascertain whether he migrated to Puebla following the successful footsteps of his Rueda kinsmen from another generation, it is highly probable that that was the case for around the same time they migrated with another first cousin once removed, Francisco González de Collantes who will be studied in the next section (see Table II).

[19] Cabarga uses the last name Alatorre, though Diego Flores mother's last name was de la Torre.

[20] From what I have been able to ascertain, it was not the town of Borleña that was able to issue the document: it should have been the Diocese of Santander or the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid.

[21] Fernando Conde, one of his descendants explained that Francisco Martínez Conde suppressed the Martínez in his and his descendant's last name (Conde 2016)

[22] María Conde y Conde married Isidro Couttolenc, 27 April 1908. Their descendants did well in textiles until the first decade of the twenty-first century (Aroche 2007)

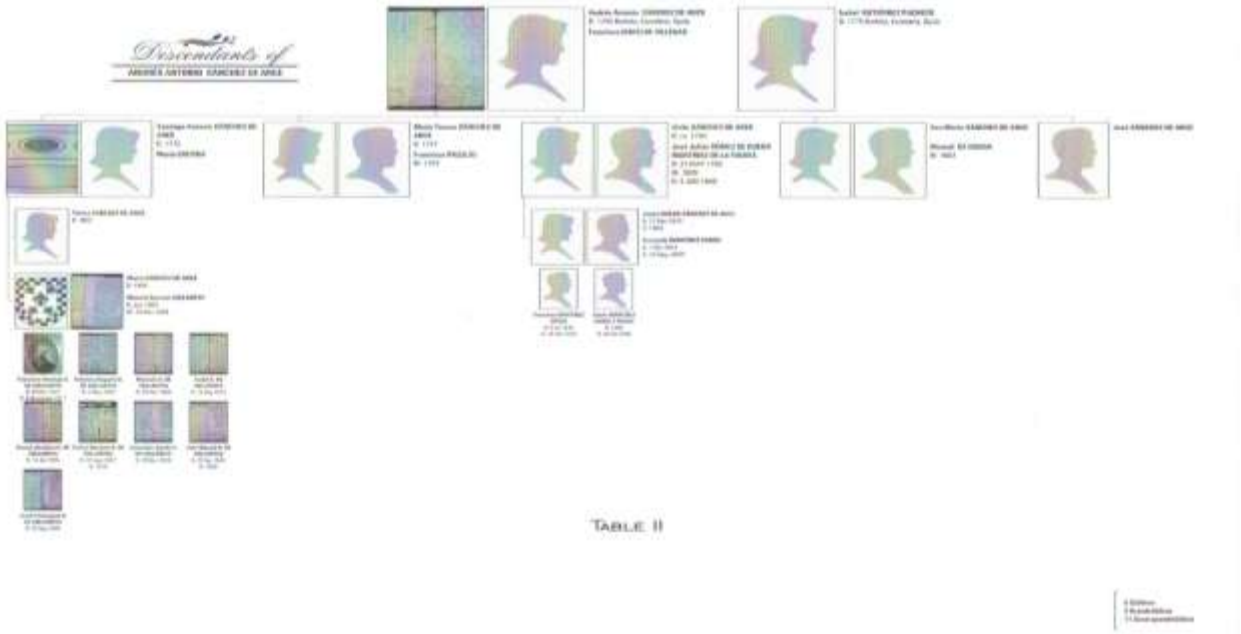
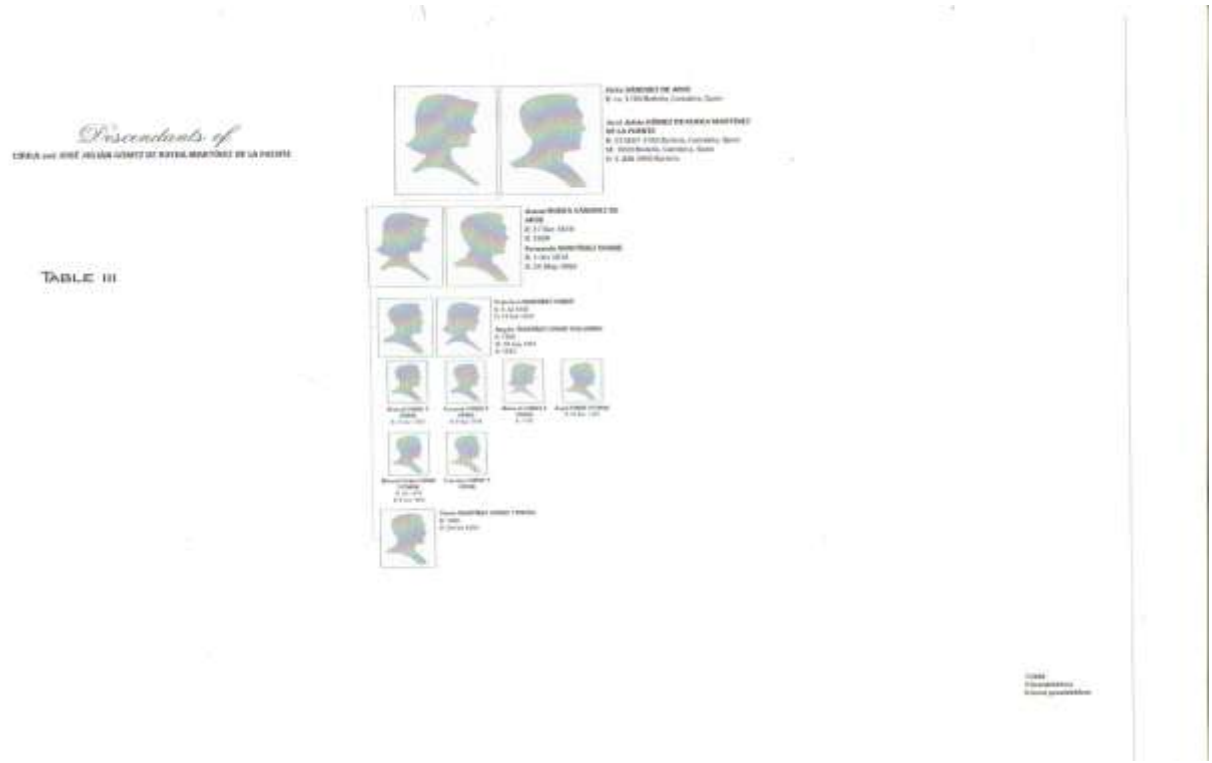


TABLE II

The history of the individual founder and the subsequent history of his wife and children is also important for the history of the state of Puebla, and the bankruptcy of the family in the 1920s meant an almost certain collapse of the state's economy, which was rescued by U.S. Citizen William O. Jenkins. Francisco Martínez Conde still retained ties with Borleña, while his children through marriages to different people of the Puebla plutocracy and Mexican society seemed more interested in their assets in Mexico. The Conde's listed the family house in Borleña as an asset in 1904 and 1922 (Gamboa Ojeda, Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominste en la industria textil de Puebla 1906-1929 1985, 204) and we know that together with their cousin Francisco González de Collantes they financed the building of the bridge "*La Unión deseada*" in the same hamlet (Sazatornil Ruiz 1996).[23]

[23] According to one of Francisco M. Conde's descendant's the Spanish branch of the Martínez-Conde family still has family reunions in Borleña (Conde 2016)



Francisco González de Collantes:-

The last member of the Borleña clan whom is less known than the Conde's and the Rueda's in Poblano historiography: his name was Francisco G. de Collantes. He was born in the town of Borleña in 1827 (Certificación de Partida de Bautizo 1964). His father was Manuel Gómez Collantes y Rueda, son of María Petra de Rueda Ceballos and María Sánchez de Arce (see table II). Through his mother María, we are able to prove the familial ties between the Conde family and Francisco, for through the Sánchez Arce family they descended from Andrés Antonio Sánchez de Arce who married twice: from his first marriage to Isabel Gutiérrez Pacheco was born a son, Santiago Antonio Sánchez de Arce (born 1772) and from his second marriage to Cirila Sánchez de Arce descend the Conde Family studied in the last section (Table II). Cirila married José Julián Gómez de Rueda Martínez de la Fuente and their daughter Juana Rueda Sánchez de Arce married Fernando Martínez Conde which made Francisco G. de Collantes first cousins once removed.

Francisco G. de Collantes married outside the prescribed circle of the Puebla plutocracy. While Francisco Martinez Conde and Manuel Gómez de Rueda married women from the hegemonic groups of Puebla, Francisco married a native Mexican woman in 1864 whose name was Jacoba de la Soledad García Andrade (Testamentaria de Francisco G. De Collantes 1864-1932). There are clearly no ties between her family and the Spanish community: her father Francisco García was born in the municipality of Coscomatepec in Veracruz while her mother María de la Luz Andrade Lozano was born in the town of San Salvador el Seco, in Puebla (Testamentaria de Francisco G. De Collantes 1864-1932). Jacoba had several sisters who remained unmarried and two siblings who did: Cornelio García who would later become a Lawyer and a member of the Superior Tribunal of Justice in Puebla and a sister—Josefa (1827-1913) who married José Simón Grados from San Pedro Cholula (Testamentaria de Francisco G. De Collantes 1864-1932).

Although Francisco's marriage did not include a woman whose family belonged to the *Poblano* elite, it did follow a pattern like Manuel Rueda's a generation before, when he married the daughter and sister of lawyers.[24] The García family resided in Nopalucan, an intermediate town on the road between the port of Veracruz and the city of Puebla, a nondescript station where stagecoaches stopped on their way to Mexico City. I was unable to determine when Francisco G. de Collantes migrated from Santander to Puebla or what his circumstances were to choose Nopalucan

[24] Cornelio García worked as a magsitrate at Puebla's *Tribunal Superior de Justicia*.

as the town that he settled in. What is known is that he leased the hacienda of *La Floresta* where his daughter Dolores was born in 1874 (Testamentaria de Francisco G. De Collantes 1864-1932).

He does not appear again in 1883 when he purchased the hacienda of San Antonio Limón in Palmar de Bravo, Tecamachalco, from the Couttolenc family of San Andrés, Chalchicomula (Muñoz Lara 1999, 78). The death of his wife Jacoba begins a series of legal wrangling between Francisco and his in laws and later between his daughters, husbands that would continue until the 20s. Even though Francisco G. de Collantes was a wealthy man in the last decade of the nineteenth century, there are unanswered questions about how he acquired the money. At one point he controlled five haciendas and a *rancho* (Table V). His wife's family was probably instrumentals in the acquisition of the wealth, although he seemed to exploit his personal connection with the Gómez de Rueda family, as can be ascertained from his marriage certificate, where instead of writing his mother María Sánchez de Arce as such, he instead wrote that his mother was his paternal grandmother, María Petra de Rueda Bustamante (Testamentaria de Francisco G. De Collantes 1864-1932).

From the wills and the succession trial, we learn that Francisco G. de Collantes had four daughters, María, Manuela, Dolores and Inocencia. The four girls were orphaned by their mother at relatively young ages and were taken care of by their father. All four daughters married Spanish subjects, two of them married relatives from the Valley of Toranzo (Manuela and Dolores), one married outside of the Borleña network by marrying an Officer on a Spanish ship and the other married a Spaniard who claimed to be a part of the nobility through his mother who was supposedly related to the noble family of Beaumont.

The two marriages that "worked" from an economic stand point were the marriages arranged for Dolores and Manuela who married men from the valley of Toranzo. Manuela married her first cousin Maximino Muñoz Collantes and settled in Santander and apparently lived off the fortune accrued by Francisco G. de Collantes. In the case of Dolores, family tradition has it that Francisco arranged the marriage, and that she found out through a maid that had served her husband to be and her father, while the women were locked up in the kitchen of the hacienda of Santa Ana. Francisco's daughters were not allowed to meet men, and when a man came to their house they had to hide. Antonio, her husband to be was a first cousin three times removed, and he had migrated first to Orizaba and then to Puebla, where he worked as an administrator of the Couttolenc family in Chalchicomula. They married in 1892, and when Francisco G. de Collantes moved back to Spain in the first decade of the twentieth century, he left his son in law Antonio Gómez Fernández in charge of the administration of the haciendas (see table IV), living in Santander, dependent on the profits he had accrued in Mexico during the nineteenth century.

Conclusions:-

The migration from Borleña to Puebla was unique in that seven men from that town migrated to Puebla and some of them were successful economically and socially, transforming the textile and agricultural economy of the Mexican city of Puebla. It would have seemed unlikely that nineteenth century inhabitants from a small hamlet in the *Montaña* of Cantabria would acquire economic wealth when looking at their rural background. Their success may be attributed to a chain migration based on familial connections, the rudiments of education which included reading, writing, arithmetic and presumably some form of Catholic catechism, their *Hidalgo* status which bespoke of Iberian conceptions of the belonging to the gentry as well as unifying concepts of blood and race, allowed some of them to marry into the Puebla bourgeoisie.

When comparing the emigration of the people of Borleña, with that from Brihuega in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we note a pattern that was probably common to other transatlantic migrations from the Iberian Peninsula to Hispanic America: a chain migration from a certain geographic enclave to certain geographic area of the America's, where relatives or neighbours had already settled. Support for the emigrants from the towns people or kinfolk already established helped in some cases to achieve economic and/or social success.

Some of those emigrants returned to their home-town or province, where they reinvested part of their earnings back into the land they left and attempted to live what was purported to be the life of aristocrats thanks to the capital they accumulated in the America's and which earned them in nineteenth century Spain the contemptuous appellation of *indianos*. Looked at this way, there is little to distinguish the *Briocenses* from the *Borleñeses* migration, except for the period and political regimes that they operated under. Unlike the *Briocenses*, the Gómez de Rueda may have dealt with higher probabilities of rejection by Mexican society in the decades after their independence. The first

generation of Gómez Rueda probably inspired the Martínez Conde and the González de Collantes to migrate to Puebla in search of wealth and a better social status, relying on the social and economic success they had accrued. What made the Martínez Conde stay in Puebla particularly important was that it coincided with the long peace and technological development that occurred in Mexico during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1880, 1884-1911), which allowed them to grow economically. What is also notable is that the second generation of children of these men enjoyed the benefits of their father's work, but lost much of the family fortune through the Mexican Revolution and misguided business ventures.

Table IV:- Factories owned by the inhabitants of Borleña and their relations[25]

Name of Individual with ties to Borleña group	Name of factory	Location	Years owned
José Antonio Quijano y Quijano and Francisco M. Conde[26]	La Esperanza	Puebla	1900-1906
Antonio Quijano y Quijano[27]	El Mayorazgo	Puebla	1900-1918
Antonio Quijano[28]	La Esperanza[29]	Puebla	1906-1912
Antonio Quijano[30]	Vista Hermosa	Etla, Oaxaca	1913-1914
Francisco M. Conde and Inocencia López widow of Matienzo	San Martín[31]	San Martín Texmelucan	1900-1911
Ángela Conde widow of Conde e Inocencia López widow of Matienzo and Francisco M. Conde	La Constancia	Puebla	1905-1918
Alejandro Quijano y Gómez de Rueda	San Juan de Amandi[32]	Puebla	1912-1918
Santos López de Letona y Apoita, Santos López de Letona y Rueda and Emiliano López de Letona y Rueda[33]	La Josefina	Tlaxcala de Xicotencatl	1900-1909
Santos López de Letona y Rueda	Concepción Cabecitas	Puebla	1904-1912
Francisco M. Conde[34]	La Trinidad	Santa Cruz Tlaxcala	1900-1907
Andrés Matienzo	El Patriotismo	Puebla	1905-1918
Ángela Conde widow of Conde[35]	Santo Domingo San Rafael	Puebla Puebla	1917-1921 1921
Successors of Manuel M. Conde, José Antonio	La Maravilla	Mexico City	1900-1912

[25] Data taken from (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70) and (Gamboa Ojeda, Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominste en la industria textil de Puebla 1906-1929 1985, 134-35, 130-31)
[26] Owned with Manuel Rivero Collada and Mowatt Grandison Hijos (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[27] In partnership with Manuel Rivero Collada (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[28] In partnership with Manuel Rivero Collada (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[29] La Esperanza was later owned by Jesús Rivero Quijano, Alejandro Quijano y Gómez de Rueda and Herlinda Llera de la Hidalga (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[30] In partnership with Manuel Rivero Collada (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[31] From 1912 to 1915 Ángela Conde took over her son's portion of shares (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[32] Owned in partnership with Jesús y José Luis Rivero Quijano and Herlinda Llera viuda de de la Hidalga (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[33] Partnership with José María Zunzunegui (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[34] Partnered with his brother in law Ignacio Morales (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[35] In partnership with Eladio Martínez Pandó and Francisco Albisúa (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).

Quijano y Quijano[36]			
Francisco M. Conde and Ramón Romay	El Alto	Puebla	1902-1910
Manuel and Fernando Conde Y Conde	La Perla	Puebla	1916-1919
Santos López de Letona y Apoita, Santos López de Letona y Rueda and Emiliano López de Letona y Rueda	La Concepción Cabecitas	Puebla	1904-1912
Antonio Gómez Fernández[37]	El Carmen	Puebla	1917-1946

Table V:- Haciendas owned by the Borleña group[38]

Francisco González de Collantes	Santa Ana	San Andrés Chalchicomula	1892
Francisco González de Collantes	San Miguel Sesma	Esperanza, Puebla	1913
Francisco González de Collantes	San Antonio Limón	Tecamachalco, Puebla	1893
Francisco González de Collantes	San Miguel el Salado	San Marcos Puebla	
Francisco González de Collantes	Rancho de San Joaquín	Tlachichuca, Puebla	1892
Francisco González de Collantes	Torija	Oriental, Puebla	
Conde family	San Félix	Atlixco, Puebla	1891,1924
Conde family	Santiago Michac	Zacatelco, Tlaxcala	1897, 1904
Conde family	San Antonio Tamariz	Tepeaca, Puebla	1904, 1910, 1922
Conde family	San Agustín	Atlixco, Puebla	1910, 1924
Conde family	Tejaluca o Tezayuca	Atlixco, Puebla	1910, 1924
Conde family	Espíritu Santo Tatetla	Matamoros, Puebla	1922, 1925
Conde family	San Cristóbal Polaxtla	Huejotzingo, Puebla	1922, 1923
Conde family	San José Teruel	Matamoros, Puebla	1922, 1925
Conde family	San Francisco Javier Calipam	Tehuacán, Puebla	1922, 1924, 1928
Conde family	San Antonio de Abajo	Chalchicomula	1922, 1924
Conde family	San José Acatocha	?	1923, 1924
Conde family	La Trinidad	Tecamachalco	1924
Conde family	El Rodeo	Matamoros	1925
Conde family	San Isidro Ovando	Tepeaca, Puebla	1925

[36] In partnership with Manuel Rivero Collada, Ignacio Morales y Benítez and Ángel Díaz Rubín (Gutiérez Álvarez 2000, 65-70).
[37] Son in law of Francisco González de Collantes
[38] Haciendas owned by Francisco González de Collantes are taken from the *testamenaria de Francisco González de Collantes*. The haciendas owned by the Conde family are taken from (Gamboa Ojeda, Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominste en la industria textil de Puebla 1906-1929 1985, 154)

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