



# DECONSTRUCTING LEGITIMACY

*Viceroy, Merchants, and the Military in Late Colonial Peru*



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When her husband died in 1759, the countess took over the family's business interests. She was both a landowner and a shipping magnate, a leader of the shipowners' guild,<sup>21</sup> and one of the wealthiest merchants engaged in the trade with Chile. When she died in 1791, her estate was valued at almost a million pesos, but in spite of her wealth and political power, she could not be matriculated as a merchant because she was a woman. Instead, she depended upon her brother Luis and her peninsular-born son-in-law Domingo Ramírez de Arellano to represent her at formal meetings of the consulado.<sup>24</sup>

There were other women who were merchants in late colonial Peru, though few as powerful as the countess of Vistaflores.<sup>25</sup> Most of them managed business affairs for husbands, brothers, or sons who engaged in more prestigious careers such as law or the bureaucracy. Josefa de Tagle y Portocarrero, sister of the last marqués de Torre Tagle, took care of her family's business affairs, as had her great-grandmother, Rosa Juliana Sánchez de Tagle, the first marquesa.<sup>26</sup> Josef's uncles and brothers occupied modestly remunerated positions of importance on the Audiencia of Lima, in the bureaucracy, and in the Church, thanks to profits on the family's commercial ventures.

And how should their male relatives, the lawyers and bureaucrats, be taken into account in a discussion of the merchants of late colonial Peru? The ordinances of the consulado of Lima expressly forbade lawyers to be

23. The shipowners' guild functioned as an integral part of the consulado, but it held separate meetings to discuss matters of special interest and to make recommendations to the prior, consuls, and viceroy, and occasionally directly to the crown. In 1782, three of the seventeen shipowners were women: El cuerpo de navieros del comercio interior de la Mar del Sur to Crown, 19 Apr. 1782, AGI-Lima, leg. 911.

24. Razón del número de chacras, trapiches y calenas, in Memorial de los hacendados y labradores de Lima, 1776. AN-Conceptos suprimidos, leg. 20900; Libro de juntas del Real Tribunal del Consulado de Lima desde 1770 hasta 1788, ANP-Hacienda colonial, leg. 907; Mark A. Burkholder, *Politics of a Colonial Career: José Baquijano and the Audiencia of Lima* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 12-13; Oscar Febrés Villalón, "La crisis agraria del Perú en el último tercio del siglo xviii," *Revista Histórica* (Lima) 27 (1964): 175. See also Rosalva Aghilar Gil, "Domingo Ramírez de Arellano: Comerciante naviero y hacendado," in Mazzeo de Vivó, ed., *Comerciantes limeños*, 175-87.

25. An exception would be Rosa de la Fuente, widow of the count of Villar de Fuente, who also carried on her husband's business, dealing in European imports, mules, and cinnamon: Joseph Dager Alva, "Noble y comerciante: José González Gutiérrez, Conde de Fuente González," in Mazzeo de Vivó, ed., *Comerciantes limeños*, 71.

26. On both Tagle women, see the family papers held in the Archivo Manuel Ortiz de Zúñiga (AMOZ), Lima. On Rosa Juliana, see Susy Sánchez, "Familia, comercio y poder: Los Tagle y su vinculación con los Torre Velarde, 1750-1825," in Mazzeo de Vivó, ed., *Comerciantes limeños*, 33-34.

matriculated, and there were laws intended to prevent trade by bureaucrats.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, noblemen who sought or held places in the military orders, especially as *caballeros de Santiago*, were required to present proof that they did not engage in trade.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the record shows that they did, and that Sebastián de Alíaga y Colmenares, marqués de Zelada de la Fuente, nobleman, bureaucrat, and *caballero*, was one of them.<sup>29</sup>

The marqués was indeed a merchant, and a highly successful one, in spite of the fact that he was not matriculated and apparently did not participate openly in the consulado's affairs. Instead, he placed his funds with other merchants, and exercised his considerable influence on behalf of one faction of the consulado, those who traded Peruvian sugar for Chilean wheat. He also owned twenty shares in the Filipinas Company,<sup>30</sup> Zelada de la Fuente owned a large estate near Lima, and inherited the post of treasurer of the royal mint upon his marriage to the daughter of the count of San Juan de Lurigancho. He had probably acquired much of his fortune—and his appetite for profit from commerce—during his

27. Representación del Real Consulado de la Ciudad de Los Reyes sobre la elección del Prior y Consal del Real Consulado de Lima, 22 Aug. 1787, AGI-Lima, leg. 1548; Testimonio de reales cédulas que reglamentan el comercio de efectos traídos de España a la ciudad de Lima, 1770, ANP-Archivo Astete Concha, MS Z-807.

28. The papers of aspirants to the military orders are held in AN-Ordens militares. See also Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Los americanos en las órdenes nobiliarias 1539-1900*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," 1947).

29. As was José González Gutiérrez, count of Fuente González and count by marriage of Villar de Fuente, caballero de Santiago. Unlike Zelada de la Fuente, however, he was matriculated in the consulado and served as its prior in 1777-74 and 1783. Expediente personal, José González de Gutiérrez, AN-Madrid, Ordenes militares: Santiago 65 Moderno, Representación . . . sobre la elección del prior y consal, 1787, AGI-Lima, leg. 1548; Expediente relativo a la próxima elección de prior y consal del Real Tribunal del Consulado de este reino, 29 Dec. 1790, ANP-MSS, C-1692; Mendiburu, *Diccionario*, 11:425; Dager Alva, "Noble y comerciante," in Mazzeo de Vivó, ed., *Comerciantes limeños*, 65-86. See also the case of Isidro de Abarca y Gutiérrez de Cossio, count of San Isidro, who was admitted as a *caballero de Santiago* in 1775 and served repeatedly as prior of the consulado. Expediente personal, Isidro Abarca y Gutiérrez de Cossio, AN-Madrid, Ordenes militares, Santiago 10; Ramiro Flores, "El destino manifiesto de un marader limeño a fines del siglo xviii: De comerciante a consignatario. La vida y negocios de don Isidro Abarca, Conde de San Isidro," in Mazzeo de Vivó, ed., *Comerciantes limeños*, 89-129. These two are by no means the only noblemen who were members of one of the military orders and who openly engaged in trade.

30. Junta general de accionistas de la Real Compañía de Filipinas, Madrid, 23 Dec. 1805, AGI-Filipinas, leg. 991; Zahra de la Fuente's *apoderado* at the shareholders' meeting was the count of Palenques. An *apoderado* was a holder of a power-of-attorney who acted as an agent or proxy for his client.

tenure as corregidor of Chancery.<sup>31</sup> As a high-ranking bureaucrat and a nobleman, the marqués kept his commercial ventures out of official records, such as the consulado's matriculas. They were nevertheless an open secret, and provided grist for Lima's ever-active rumor mill. For example, in 1803, it was said that 170,000 pesos registered aboard the merchantman *Aurora* by two dependents of the Cinco Gremios Mayores de Madrid, belonged in fact to the marqués.<sup>32</sup> On another occasion, Zelada de la Fuente had offered to back a Chilean merchant, "promising him eight thousand pesos to invest, and his signature, which is more valuable."<sup>33</sup>

Although one of the wealthiest, the marqués was by no means the only bureaucrat of late colonial Peru who was deeply involved in trade. In 1746 the viceroy owned a cargo of wheat aboard a small ship that escaped the effects of the earthquake and tsunami because it was anchored in a small port to the south of Callao; he had intended to market the wheat in Panama.<sup>34</sup> Bartolomé de Bedoya, a lawyer serving as advisor to the intendant of Tarma, maintained a lively transatlantic trade in Peruvian bark, occasionally using the services of the Cinco Gremios Mayores in Peru to cover his tracks.<sup>35</sup>

Not infrequently, commercial ventures undertaken by bureaucrats involved direct conflict of interest. For example, Ignacio de Cruzeta, administrator of revenues in the northern port of Paiza, owned a merchant house large enough to require the assistance of his two sons, Gaspar and Manuel, who also helped him with his official duties. The Cruzetas and their associates were accused of mounting a major trade in contraband goods via Panama, which, of course, paid none of the import taxes the elder Cruzeta was

31. Razón del número de chacras, in Memorial de los hacendados, AHN-Consijos, leg. 20900; Lohmann Villena, *Los americanos*, 2267; Vicente Palacio Ariad, *Arde y Guinor Observaciones sobre el fracaso de una visita al Perú* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispánico-Americanos, 1946), 25; Manuel Moreyra y Paz Soldán, *La moneda colonial en el Perú: Capítulos de su historia* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1980), 161-85.

32. Vicente Morales y Duárez to Directors, Cinco Gremios Mayores, 26 Apr. 1803, AGI-Lima, leg. 1620. For a general account of the Madrid guilds and their trade, see Miguel Capella and Antonio Mailla Tasson, *Los Cinco Gremios Mayores de Madrid* (Madrid: N.p., 1957).

33. Jaime Eyzaguirre, ed., *Archivo episcopal de la familia Eyzaguirre 1747-1874* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Argentina, 1960), 143. For a similar case, see Dager Alva, "Noble y comerciante," 78-79.

34. Conde de Superunda, "Memoria de gobierno," in Fuentes, ed., *Memorias de los virreyes*, 417.

35. Duplicados de registros, 1803, AGI-Lima, leg. 746; Morales y Duárez to Directors, Cinco Gremios Mayores, 30 Mar. 1803, AGI-Lima, leg. 1620. Peruvian bark (*cascarilla*) was used medicinally to treat fevers.

charged with collecting.<sup>36</sup> Paiza had long been notorious as a center of illicit trade. In November 1740, when the English privateer George Anson raided the settlement, he and his men "were surprised to find such a large amount of gold and silver in a town so small and poor." They had also captured "a small fishing boat . . . near the Islas de los Lobos, where it was plying the coast from Callao to Paiza. He confiscated more than 70,000 pesos in gold on board. . . . Evidently the man was trying to reach Paiza in time to join the other merchants waiting to depart for Panama and the coast of New Spain."<sup>37</sup> More than a half-century later, the Cruzetas apparently saw no reason not to participate in a lucrative trade that defied the colonial rules for the regulation of trade.

Examples of bureaucrats who were also merchants could be multiplied endlessly, and included the judges of the Audiencia of Lima,<sup>38</sup> but perhaps one more instance will suffice. Fernando de Abascal, marqués de la Concordia, viceroy of Peru from 1806 until 1816, celebrated for his unyielding rectitude in the pursuit of Spain's continued rule in America, was accused by criollos and peninsulars alike of trading in wheat, sugar, and tobacco, to his immense profit.<sup>39</sup> Less powerful bureaucrats were sometimes less fortunate.

36. El contador general de Indias . . . informe sobre las causas que motivaron la separación del destino a D. Francisco Boga Portuñanza, 2 Feb. 1815, with attached papers, AGI-Lima, leg. 626. Cruzeta was one of the provincial merchants who attended the Junta general de comercio on 7 Dec. 1778, where opposition to Areche's new taxes was voiced. Acuña, Junta general, AGENP-Hacienda colonial, leg. 907.

37. Jorge Juan y Santacilia and Antonio de Ullan, *Discurso and Political Reflections on the Kingdom of Peru*, ed. and intro. by John J. TePaske, trans. John J. TePaske and Besse A. Clement (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 55.

38. Leon Campbell, "A Colonial Establishment: Caste Dominance of the *Audiencia de Lima* during the Late Eighteenth Century," *HHR* 52, no. 1 (1972): 1-35. For opinions about the quality of judges serving during the decade immediately prior to independence, see AGI-Lima, leg. 602, 649, 773; Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurte, "Plan del Perú," *corrr-Tomo 1: Los ideólogos*, 13 vols. (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, 1971-), vol. 5; *Plan del Perú y otros escritos por Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurte*, ed. Alberto Tamaro, 55.

39. José de la Riva Aguirre, *Manifestación histórica y política de la revolución de la América y más especialmente de la parte que corresponde al Perú y Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de los Expositores, 1818), 42-43; Antonio Izquierdo Martínez to Ministro de Hacienda, 9 May 1811, and Pedro Trujillo to Ministro de Hacienda, 31 Aug. 1813, AGI-Lima, leg. 772; Miguel de Eyzaguirre to the Regency, 8 Aug. 1813 as summarized for the Consejo de Indias on 28 June 1815, AGI-Lima, leg. 602; Gaspar Rico to Fernando de Abascal, Havana, 28 Nov. 1812, AGI-Lima, leg. 1061; Javier María de Aguirre to Crown, London, 23 Mar. 1823, AGI-Lima, leg. 798. Viceroy's who profited from trade were commonplace in Spanish America. For the notorious case of the first count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of Mexico from 1746 until 1755; see Andrés Cuyo, *Los tres siglos de Méjico durante el gobierno español hasta la entrada del ejército trigarante* (Jalapa: Tipografía Veracruzana de A. Ruiz, 1870), 290. For earlier examples in Peru, see Madeline Glynn D. Evans, "The Landed Aristocracy in Peru, 1600-1680" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1972), 220;

Who were the *cargadores* matriculated in the consulado? Merchants whose residence in Lima lasted only as long as required to complete a single business venture (which sometimes took three years) are almost invisible. The exceptions are few, and usually depend on chance encounters with seemingly trivial data. For example, some of the Cádiz merchants to whom funds were consigned in 1803 had themselves made voyages to Peru, usually as ships' masters or supercargoes, but sometimes as traders to the mining districts in the interior of the viceroyalty. Among them were Juan Miguel de Lostra, later a partner in the powerful Aguerrevere, Lostra and Company of Cádiz, and Gaspar de Amenabar, whose brother Silvestre lived in Peru most of his active life.<sup>71</sup> Some of them were probably merchants whose names appear on only one of the five matriculas so far located. And some of the merchants domiciled in Spain and only temporarily in Peru can be identified in cases like those of Antonio de Avendaño, Roque de Salinas, and Manuel Lorenzo de Saldamando.

Saldamando appears in Peru only in 1803, when he was matriculated in the consulado and consigned 78,240 pesos aboard the three ships sailing for Spain.<sup>72</sup> He was probably acting as agent for Simón, Feliz, and Manuel Pascual Gutiérrez, merchants of Cádiz. The pattern of his trade indicates that limeño merchants would have found it difficult to participate in the Atlantic trade if they had to depend on him for supplies of European goods. Saldamando had only one Peruvian connection, the peninsular Matteo de Cossio, who was then serving as the consulado's *diputado del*

similar distinction, see Anthony McFarlane, "The Rebellion of the *Barrica*: Urban Insurrection in Bourbon Quito," in *Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru*, ed. John R. Fisher, Allan J. Kuethe, and Anthony McFarlane (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 37.

71. Expediente relativo a la próxima elección . . . , 29 Dec 1790, BNP-MSB, C-162a and C-451; Matricula del Real Consulado, 1779, AGN-Consulado, leg. 1; Informe de Gaspar de Amenabar, 30 Nov 1784, in *Libro de informes y consultas del consulado, 1779-96*, AGN-Fuencolonia, leg. 1031. Silvestre, born in Guipúzcoa, had been matriculated in the consulado of Cádiz beginning in 1761; by 1779 he was in Lima and matriculated in the consulado there. He and his brother Gaspar, who lived in Cádiz but appeared in Lima intermittently in the 1770s and 1780s, owned one of the largest businesses in the Peruvian trade; see, for example, Registers for the *Santa Rufina, Joaquina*, and *Amaro*, 23 Jan., 1 Feb., and 30 Mar 1803, AGI-Lima, leg. 726. In his *Tradiciones peruanas completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1964), 731-33, Ricardo Palma describes how Silvestre combed the market for women's stockings when Spain was at war with England.

72. Duplicados de registros, 1803, AGI-Lima, leg. 726; Consulado to Manuel José de Amadoro, 26 May 1803, AGN-Fuencolonia, leg. 115.

Table 2: Merchants registering 50,000+ pesos for Cádiz in 1803

Name	Number of transactions <sup>a</sup>	Number of consignees	Amount <sup>b</sup>
Gárate, Juan Bautista de	97	31	325,927 <sup>c</sup>
Uriarte, Juan Antonio de	24	22	158,568
Alvarez del Villar, Antonio Moreno, Pedro	61	33	154,686
Isasi, José Hermenegildo	42	22	151,188
Avendaño & Salinas <sup>d</sup>	37	23	135,758
Irida, Francisco de	10	1	133,916
Elizalde Hermanos <sup>e</sup>	26	11	103,700
Amenabar, Silvestre	70	34	101,033
Izcue, Francisco Xavier de Gorbea y Badillo, Manuel	14	5	100,395
Saldamando, Manuel Lorenzo	35	25	95,235
Erca, José Antonio de	5	2	87,609
Casa y Piedra, Diego de la <sup>f</sup>	31	11	78,241
Arias, Jacue & Company <sup>g</sup>	4	1	77,553
Pérrica, Juan de	16	2	75,500
Román Idiáquez, José	16	15	75,098
Zuloaga, Francisco María	11	11	69,408
Agüero, Jacinto <sup>h</sup>	7	6	65,387
Cortés, Josef	2	4	62,701
Laureta, Mathias de	2	1	57,408
Saldamando & García del Río	3	2	57,252
Arias, Dámaso de	36	19	54,661
	18	10	54,366
	14	10	51,876
			2,330,466

<sup>a</sup> Each transaction was listed separately because consignees in Spain differed, and because funds were transferred on several persons' account and at their risk (*cuenta y riesgo de . . .*).

<sup>b</sup> In *pesos fuertes*, rounded off.

<sup>c</sup> An additional 40,000 pesos was registered by other members of the Gárate family.

<sup>d</sup> Antonio de Avendaño and Roque de Salinas were merchants of Cádiz; all the funds registered by them on the three ships were consigned to them.

<sup>e</sup> Includes Antonio and José Mathias de Elizalde separately and their joint company.

<sup>f</sup> Casa y Piedra was acting as executor of the will of the count of San Isidro, one of the wealthiest merchants of late colonial Peru.

<sup>g</sup> Dámaso de Arias and Francisco Xavier de Izcue.

<sup>h</sup> Agüero and Cortés were alleged to have been merely couriers for the Cinco Gremios Mayores de Madrid, whose factor, Gaspar Rico, was attempting to conceal the amount being registered by the Gremios.

<sup>i</sup> Manuel Lorenzo Saldamando and Antonio García del Río.

comercio in Arequipa.<sup>73</sup> Saldamando also operated in partnership with Antonio García del Río, master of the *Santa Rufina*. Together, they registered 50,298 pesos on the warship and another 4,068 pesos on the *Joaquina*, all belonging to merchants of Cádiz.<sup>74</sup>

When the *Santa Rufina* set sail, Antonio de Avendaño was on board, and that fact alone makes his case more complex than that of Saldamando. The warship carried only specie, and Atlantic-trade merchants who had been unable to remit funds to their principals in Spain during the war with Britain were clamoring to place them aboard the well-armed ship. Avendaño himself registered funds aboard both the *Santa Rufina* and the *Joaquina*, and he as well as other merchants consigned funds to him for delivery in Cádiz.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, he was operating in partnership with Roque de Salinas, who had been in Peru in 1780 and again in 1790, but whose name does not appear on any of the matriculas located so far.<sup>76</sup> The partnership was consigned for 103,916 pesos in funds from Peru, none of it belonging to a criollo merchant. On separate registers, six individuals in Peru consigned 30,000 to Salinas in first place.<sup>77</sup> Eight people, including Avendaño, named him as consignee in second place, for a total of 166,338. Only one of those fourteen people, Diego de Aliaga y Santa Cruz, was a criollo merchant.<sup>78</sup>

73. Cassto, born near Santander, went to Arequipa in 1758, where he built the splendid mansion next to the cathedral. In 1795, he was named to a post in the Chacabuco treasury, which he was permitted to serve by proxy. See José de la Riva Agüero, *El Perú histórico y artístico: financiera y descendencia de los montañeses en él* (Santander: J. Martínez, 1921), 127; Ricardo Magdalena, comp., *Catálogo XX: Títulos de Indias* (Valledoid: Archivo General de Simancas, 1954), 624.

74. Funds belonging to a given individual were registered at his *cuenta y riego* whether he himself signed the register or his funds were transferred for him by another agent who had possession of them when the register was drawn up.

75. Avendaño registered a total of 52,636 pesos consigned to himself at his own *cuenta y riego*. He also registered funds belonging to three other merchants, who consigned 9,676 pesos to him. Duplicados de registros, 1803, A61-Lima, leg. 726.

76. Salinas attended a *Junta de nuevas* in 1780 and was involved in the dispute over the consulado's matrícula in 1790. Acta, *Junta de navieros*, 18 Nov. 1780, Libro de juntas del Real Tribunal del Consulado desde 1770 hasta 1788, A6N1-Hacienda colonial, leg. 907; Expediente relativo a la próxima elección . . . , 29 Dec. 1790, BNP-MSS, C-1692.

77. Merchants registering funds for Spain usually named several consignees, specifying that funds were to be delivered to those designated in second or third place if the principal were absent. In the case of partnerships, merchants in Peru sometimes named one in first place and the other in second. It appears from such data that Salinas was also associated with Bartolomé de Ayala of Cádiz; 79,000 pesos consigned to Salinas in second place were for Ayala in the first instance. Duplicados de registros, 1803, A61-Lima, leg. 726.

78. Acta, *Junta general de tribunales*, 15 July 1819, M6N1-Pezuela, Sig. 4, q. 6. Aliaga, scion of one of the oldest criollo families, was actively involved in the independence movement prior to San Martín's invasion in 1820: Lohmann Villena, *Los americanos*, 226ff; Joaquín de la Pezuela, *Memoria de gobierno*, ed. Vicente Rodríguez Casado and Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispánico-Americanos, 1947), 592-93.

Clearly, peninsular merchants only temporarily in Peru accounted for large sums of commercial capital, but Atlantic-trade merchants resident in Peru accounted for more. Of the twenty-one individuals and four partnerships registering funds in excess of 50,000 pesos aboard the three ships, five were not residents of Peru.<sup>79</sup> They accounted for only 19 percent of the funds remitted by those registering more than 50,000 pesos. By way of contrast, Juan Bautista de Gárate y Zelayeta alone was responsible for registering almost 326,000 pesos, or about 14 percent of the total remitted by this group of merchants; an additional 46,000 pesos were registered by other members of the Gárate family. Gárate's pattern of trade illustrates important characteristics of the newly arrived metropolitan merchants resident in Peru with whom the limeños had to compete.

Gárate died before the quotas for the forced loan of 1819 were assigned, and his heirs were required to contribute only 2,000 pesos. In 1803, however, he was one of the most powerful merchants in Peru, and as such had served as both prior and consul of the consulado. He maintained offices in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, La Paz, and Cochabamba in addition to his correspondents in Cádiz. Born in Urdas, Navarra, he had gone to Peru before 1770 and had established himself as a bullion merchant. Bullion merchants were usually refiners as well, and Gárate was no exception. He owned Hacienda de Tingo near Arequipa, where silver ores were combined with mercury in the refining process. Besides silver, he traded in raw cotton, chocolate and cacao, wine, wax, hosiery, Peruvian bark, cloth and clothing, spices, and confections. Much of his merchandise was imported from Europe, but some was produced in America.<sup>80</sup>

It would indeed have been difficult for a limeño merchant to compete with Gárate's house, either in the Atlantic trade or the trade to the interior of the viceroyalty. In the first place, his credit was such that he dealt with no fewer than thirty-one merchant houses in Spain, giving him considerable control over supply to his chosen market. Second, he selected

79. They were Antonio de Avendaño, Avendaño's partnership with Salinas, Juan Antonio de Utrarte, master of the *Aurora*, Manuel Lorenzo de Saldamando, and Saldamando's partnership with Antonio García del Río.

80. Portrait of los 400,000 pesos, 1819, A6N1-Consulado, leg. 34; Gárate to Juan Pedro Zelayeta, 5 Jan. 1814, BNP-MSS; Correspondencia (letters are indexed by names of senders and recipients), which he mentions that he sold Tingo to Bernardo Gamio for 42,996 pesos; will of Juan Bautista de Gárate, 20 Apr. 1770, A6N1-Notario Juan Bautista Tenorio y Palacios; Mendiburu, *Diccionario*, vols. 5, 339, and 11, 426; Gárate to Zelayeta, 25 Nov. 1792, BNP-MSS; Correspondencia; Razón de los efectos existentes, Cuzco, Nov. 1778, BNP-MSS, C-3904; Gárate to Juan de Goyeneche, 22 Mar. 1802, BNP-MSS; Correspondencia.

his associates in Peru in accord with the time-honored custom of distrust of strangers; family ties were important to the organization and structure of his business. For example, Gárate's cousin, Juan Pedro de Zelayeta, was his junior partner. Some of the merchandise that Gárate sold on credit to miners was supplied by his nephew, Juan Miguel de Irigoyen. Gárate then acted as banker for Irigoyen's transfers of funds to Spain.<sup>81</sup>

Gárate's transatlantic network depended upon a similar set of relationships. Another supplier for Gárate was Juan Miguel de Lostra, a peninsular merchant then temporarily in Peru. Soon after 1793, Lostra returned to Cádiz, where he formed a partnership with Juan Josef and Juan Miguel de Aguerrevere. The Aguerrevere family of merchants was related to the Goyeneche family of Arequipa; the family patriarch had migrated to Peru in 1765, and married into the Barrera y Benavides family. Gárate handled most of their transatlantic business. The Goyeneche-Barrera-Benavides connection was responsible for the fact that Gárate consigned a total of 101,443 pesos to Aguerrevere y Lostra; this amount represented almost 31 percent of all the funds he transferred to Spain aboard the three ships of 1803. Of this, 18,441 pesos belonged to Gárate himself, and none of his own money was entrusted to any of the other merchant houses in Spain with which he did business.<sup>82</sup>

Like other peninsular-born merchants resident in late colonial Lima, Gárate was the nexus of a complex system of commercial relationships

81. But compare the powerful merchant house of Elizalde, Larrea y Cia, founded in 1786 and lasting until 1792, where the associates were not members of an extended family but natives of Navarra, Spain; in their case, regional ties were crucial: Dolinda Mercedes Villa Esteves, "Liderazgo y poder. La élite comercial limeña entre el comercio libre y la guerra de la independencia. El caso de Antonio de Elizalde," in Maszao de Vivó, ed., *Comerciantes limeños, independencia*. This was a pattern common to other regions of Spanish America; see John E. Kicza, *Coloñial Entrepreneur, Families, and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of Colorado Press, 1981), 51-52; Susan M. Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778-1802: New Mexico Press*, 1981), 51-52; Susan M. Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778-1802: New Mexico Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 18, 32-33, 169-71. Zelayeta Family and *Comerciantes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 18, 32-33, 169-71. Zelayeta was active in the affairs of the consulado through the end of the colonial period, and was still in Peru in September 1805. *Actas del Consulado de Lima, 1801-24*, AGN-Consulado, leg. 24; *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 3185g; *Gaceta del Gobierno* . . . *Bolivia*, 1392; 0217-Tomo 23, 1377-78, 403; *Razón de efectos existentes*, Arequipa, July 1799, BN-MS, C-437. Irigoyen supplied Gárate with goods produced locally, especially rough cloth. He also dealt in Peruvian bark. Gárate registered 4,017 pesos *cañuta y riego* of Irigoyen, consigned to Martina de Moliner. *Duplicados de registros*, 1803, AG-1-Lima, leg. 716.

82. *Razón de los efectos existentes*, Arequipa, July 1799, BN-MS, C-437; *Expediente relativo a la próxima elección* . . . 29 Dec 1790, BN-MS, C-1692; *Duplicados de registros*, 1803, AG-1-Lima, leg. 716; Lohmann Villona, *Los americanos*, 179-80, 228c; Pedro José Rada y Gamio, *El arzobispo Goyeneche y apuntes para la historia del Perú* (Rome: Imprenta Poliglota Vaticana, 1917), 5-9.

Table 3: Juan Bautista de Gárate's consignees in Spain, 1803

Name <sup>a</sup> (= Those to whom only Gárate consigned funds)	Amount <sup>b</sup>
Aguerrevere, Lostra & Co.	101,443
Barrolomé de Alzasua*	39,869
Paul Larrieta & Co.	24,606
Joaquín Pico de Villanueva	17,000
Viuda de Istariz é Hijos	13,404
Francisco de Barrera y Benavides	12,400
José Manuel de Goyeneche y Barrera	11,400
Micela & Martina Molinar, & Juan Francisco Espelósín <sup>c</sup>	11,374
Juan Miguel Aguerrevere	11,000
Wenceslao Helme	10,351
Victorio Iñigo	10,000
José Ignacio de Hemas <sup>d</sup>	10,000
Santiago Cristóbal Castañeto	8,413
Ventura Lacomba	6,788
Juan Bautista Chayasco*	6,191
Manuel Pascual Gutiérrez <sup>e</sup>	5,000
Juan María Bihalel	5,000
Martínez, Padre é Hijo	3,851
Juan de Tresteria	3,000
Juan de Borda Iñauspea	2,985
Juan Francisco de Veamurgia	2,374
Gaspar de Amenabar & Fermín Ramón de Barrera	2,249
Jaime Fourrat*	1,465
Juan Bautista Rapallo	1,146
Viuda de Guillén	1,000
Fermín Ramón de Barrera	1,000
Ramón Tobar*	1,000
Juan Francisco Veamurgia & Pedro Martínez Murguía	769
Manuel de Tejada y Hermoso <sup>f</sup>	400
Pedro Martínez Murguía*	361
Bernardo María Márquez*	88

<sup>a</sup> The list does not include those to whom Gárate consigned funds in second or third place.

<sup>b</sup> Figures are rounded off to the nearest peso.

<sup>c</sup> Juan Francisco Espelósín was in Peru in 1806, and was active in the affairs of the consulado.

<sup>d</sup> AG-1-Lima, legajo 1549.

<sup>e</sup> Gárate's consignement to Hemas was composed entirely of funds belonging to the heirs of Juan Segalas. Pedro Moreno consigned another 42,906 pesos belonging to the same estate to Hemas, who was Segalas' executor. Juan Antonio de Uriarte, master of the *Arauca*, registered 6,897 pesos, *cañuta y riego* of Hemas, which may also have been part of Segalas' estate.

<sup>f</sup> These funds were consigned to Simón Gutiérrez in second place; Simón had been in Cuzco in 1778, in charge of Gárate's office. *Razón de los efectos existentes*, November 1778, BN-MS, legajo C-3904.

extending into the interior of Peru and across the Atlantic to Spain.<sup>83</sup> In 1803, no fewer than ninety-seven separate transactions were required to handle his business on only three ships. Nine people in Peru used his services to transfer funds to Spain; thirty-one people in Spain were designated as consignees for those funds. None was a criollo merchant matriculated in the consulado of Lima. Gárate, like other consulado merchants, seldom if ever registered funds for his peers, either criollo or peninsular. Instead, he worked with merchants like Injeyen or Pablo Iribarren, who were not yet wealthy enough to be matriculated in the Lima consulado.

As a result of trading patterns like that of Gárate, it was extremely difficult for criollo merchants to participate in the Atlantic trade, and the matter of consignments became a critical issue in their eyes. If peninsular merchants resident in Peru refused to form alliances with criollos, then the latter had to maintain, somehow, direct relationships with peninsular merchants domiciled in Spain. This they found difficult to do. The problem was not always the fact that the *cargadores de España* or the owners of Spanish merchant houses consigned goods to only one agent in Peru, as a glance at Table 4 makes clear. No fewer than sixteen persons in Peru in addition to his brother Silvestre dealt with Gaspar de Amenabar. Aguerrevere y Lostra dealt with nine. Of the forty-five individuals or merchant houses in Spain named as consignees for more than 19,000 pesos, six had only one correspondent in Peru. But exclusive representation could also be a problem, channeling imports from many peninsular sources through only one agent. The Elizalde brothers, for example, dealt with twenty-one merchant houses in Spain, and all but one of them consigned goods to them alone. Could criollos make a place for themselves in the Atlantic trade? Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, writing in 1746, insisted that they could.<sup>84</sup> Seventy years later, after the *Reglamento de comercio libre* of 1778 had declared the Atlantic trade closed to Americans, José de la Riva Agüero disagreed. In 1816 Riva Agüero, a criollo office-seeker who later served as a president of independent Peru, described the frustration of well-born criollos who had to compete with metropolitan merchants in Peru:

United, they conspire against the Americans, and are their perpetual rivals in matrimony and in commercial enterprise.

TABLE 4: Destination of funds consigned to Spain aboard three ships, 1803<sup>a</sup>

Consignee in Spain	Amount <sup>b</sup>	Consignors in Peru
Gaspar de Amenabar	275,700	Silvestre de Amenabar José Ruiz Andrés Pereyro Hormelo Antonio Escolano y Concha Matías Rodríguez José Ramón Idiáquez Marcos Parrondo Miguel Fernando Ruiz Lorenzo A. de la Madrid Francisco María Zuloaga Juan Bautista de Gárate Agustín Caldas Sebastián de Ugarriza José Ignacio Iribarre Juan José de Rubio Luis Santiago de Rotalde
Cinco Gremios Mayores	237,074	Fernando del Mazo Ramón Cavallero Gaspar Rico y Angulo Antonio Ortiz de Taranco Gregorio Fernández Elizalde Hermanos Paulino Domínguez Mariano Arriaga José Pascual de Vivero
Aguerrevere, Lostra & Co.	131,084	Bernabé Valdés Pedro José de Espinosa Juan Bautista de Gárate Miguel de Gárate Francisco de Inda Tomás Ortiz de Zevallós Balasar de Laya y Llano Domingo de Zepeda Ambrosio Ibáñez
Juan A. Sánchez de Cueto <sup>c</sup>	107,500	Diego de la Casa y Piedra Luis de Albo y Cabada Francisco de la Fragua
Bartolomé Lopetedi	95,553	José Antonio de Sarría José Antonio de Errea Antonio Fernández

83. Compare the network of the still more powerful Isidro Ahara y Gutiérrez de Cosío, count of San Isidro, in Flores, "Destino manifesto de un mercader," esp. 123-25.

84. Juan and Ulloa, *Discursos and Political Reflections*, 220-21.



TABLE 4 (cont.): Destination of funds consigned to Spain aboard three ships, 1803<sup>a</sup>

Consignee in Spain	Amount <sup>b</sup>	Consignors in Peru
Avenidaño, Salinas & Co.	95,535	Antonio de Avenidaño Juan & Antonio Macho Juan de Périca José Manuel Brito Pedro Villacampa
Bartolomé Ayala	88,241	Silvestre Arenahar Agustín Dorca Francisco Lizardi Francisco Gil Manuel Gorbea y Badillo José Gorbea y Badillo
Juan Francisco Espeloshin	82,195	Francisco Xavier del Campo Juan & Antonio Macho Antonio Alvarez del Villar Francisco Vázquez de Uzieda Angel Tomás de Alfaro Josef Saldívar
Ximenez Texada, García & Co.	79,879	Ramón de Soz José Pío García José Correa Pedro Moreno
Antonio de Avenidaño	62,312	Antonio de Avenidaño Diego de Aliaga y Santa Cruz Juan de Périca Martín de Gussasola
Paul Larrieta & Co.	60,607	Juan Bautista de Gárate José Hermenegildo Issasi
José Ignacio Hernas	59,803	Juan Bautista de Gárate Pedro Moreno
Diego Palacio <sup>d</sup>	57,408	Jacinto Agüero

<sup>a</sup> Includes only those who received more than 50,000 pesos aboard the three ships, as tabulated from the Duplicados de registros, 1803, AGI-Lima, legajo 746. Because of the multitude of sources from which it is drawn, additional information about merchants cannot be footnoted here.

<sup>b</sup> In *pesos fuertes*, rounded off.

<sup>c</sup> All funds consigned to Sánchez de Cueto were *hueriza y riego* of the estate of Juan Gómez. Pomar who had been born in Santander and whose brother José traveled to Peru at least once.

<sup>d</sup> Funds consigned to Palacio in Madrid were placed in escrow by the directors of the Cinco Gremios Mayores. They believed that Agüero had registered funds that rightfully belonged to the Gremios.

Because the latter is exclusively theirs thanks to the ties of friendship, family, and province, the Americans remain in a certain sense excluded from this lucrative trade, and without the credit necessary to prosper at the level of their rivals. The poverty of Americans is directly related to the distance from their Spanish fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers; thus it is rare that a fortune survives to the grandson. . . . The [peninsulars] enjoy the protection of their countrymen, the Spanish governors; . . . the [criollos] lack protection and do not know the merchants of the peninsula who remit their goods on consignment.<sup>85</sup>

Analysis of the three ships' registers of 1803 confirms Riva Agüero's perception that peninsulars dominated the Atlantic trade, and that the sons of peninsular merchants enjoyed an advantage, too, if only a slight one. Of the seventeen criollo Atlantic traders identified from their activity in 1803 (Table 5), nine were first-generation Americans. But five were from old criollo families.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, Diego de Aliaga y Santa Cruz traced his paternal lineage back to the daughter of one of the first conquistadors of Peru.<sup>87</sup> Thus "distance" from the Spanish forebear is an inadequate explanation of criollo marginalization in the Atlantic trade.

Nor is lack of capital an adequate explanation. All of the criollo merchants matriculated in the consulado were wealthy, compared with the majority of merchants, peninsular and criollo alike. Furthermore, eight of the seventeen criollo Atlantic traders were shipowners, and therefore not necessarily dependent upon consignments from peninsular merchant houses. Like the Santiago de Rotalde brothers, they could have sailed directly to Spain in search of European goods, provided that a family member was matriculated as a merchant in the peninsula. Nor is it likely that they

85. Riva Agüero, *Manifestación histórica y política*, 8-9. On the importance of family and regional networks in launching and maintaining a commercial career, see the essays in Marzocco de Vito, ed., *Comerciantes limeños*. Another factor in the decline of commercial fortunes from founder to the third generation was Spanish inheritance law, which stipulated that fortunes were to be divided equally among all the children of a family, male and female: Socolo, *Merchants of Buenos Aires*, 31-33.

86. The first-generation criollos were Compañet y Blander, Larrieta, Ortiz de Zevillos, Palacios Aguirre, Pérez de Cortiguera, Quirós, Santiago de Rotalde, and the counts of Premio Real and Villar de Fuente. From old criollo families were Albo y Cabada, Aliaga y Santa Cruz, Querejazu y Sarrinigo Cornecha, Ramírez de Laredo, and Vázquez de Larrieta. The birthplace of José Vázquez de Olmedo, father of Vázquez de Uzieda, and those of the fathers of Rodríguez and Ruiz Davila have not been located.

87. He was Genónimo de Aliaga: Mendiburu, *Diccionario*, 1220-30.