TEXTILE PRODUCTION AND STRUCTURAL CRISIS: THE CASE OF LATE COLONIAL PERU

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ABSTRACT

Large-scale production of woollen cloth represented colonial Peru's predominant manufacturing sector. In an economy largely based on barter trade, cloth ranked among the means of exchange of the highest estimation and formed part of the wages of many workers throughout the viceroyalty. Principal domestic purchasers were the urban conglomerations and the silver mining centres. Consignments to other American destinations along the routes of inter-regional trade supplemented the extensive distribution of domestically-manufactured cloth within the viceroyalty.

Contemporary observers unanimously perceived the introduction of comercio libre in 1778, with its extended transatlantic imports of cheaper and superior textiles, as the immediate cause of a subsequent decline of the sector. However, a careful analysis of primary documentation contradicts this general assumption. The cloth manufacturers of the northern and central Andean region - Huamachuco, for example - experienced, in fact, a period of continuing and substantial growth after 1778, primarily as a reflection of the prosperity of the silver mining economy in 1770-1810. Thereafter, cloth production spiralled down to a lower level but still superseded the volume realized in the 1750s, when the legalization of the reparto system had initiated a first pull towards expansion. The two chief cloth centres of the southern sierra, the areas of Huamanga and Cuzco, by contrast, clearly displayed symptoms of decline during the same late colonial era. Dramatic price reductions in their main outlets in Upper Peru particularly from the 1760s as well as the repercussions of the Túpac Amaru rebellion in 1780-1783 fundamentally debilitated the industry. The onset of the struggle for independence in Upper Peru in 1809 and the 1814 upheaval in Cuzco further drained the sector of manpower and capital and frustrated the movement of merchandise along traditional routes. Factors like the incorporation of the Upper Peruvian silver mining centres into the newly established viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 and the ensuing liberalization of transatlantic trade, which might have severely damaged the sector in a politically undisturbed period, were under the actual circumstances of no significant consequence.

Large-scale textile production in viceregal Peru, formally supervised and controlled by the crown, was performed in obrajes and chorrillos, manufacturing establishments distinguished from each other by the type of fulling mill in use. The plants were in general operated on the basis of a rigid division and control of labour and usually comprised a relatively large workforce. "Being the central part of a hacienda network, they were essentially a manifestation of the rural Spanish economy."

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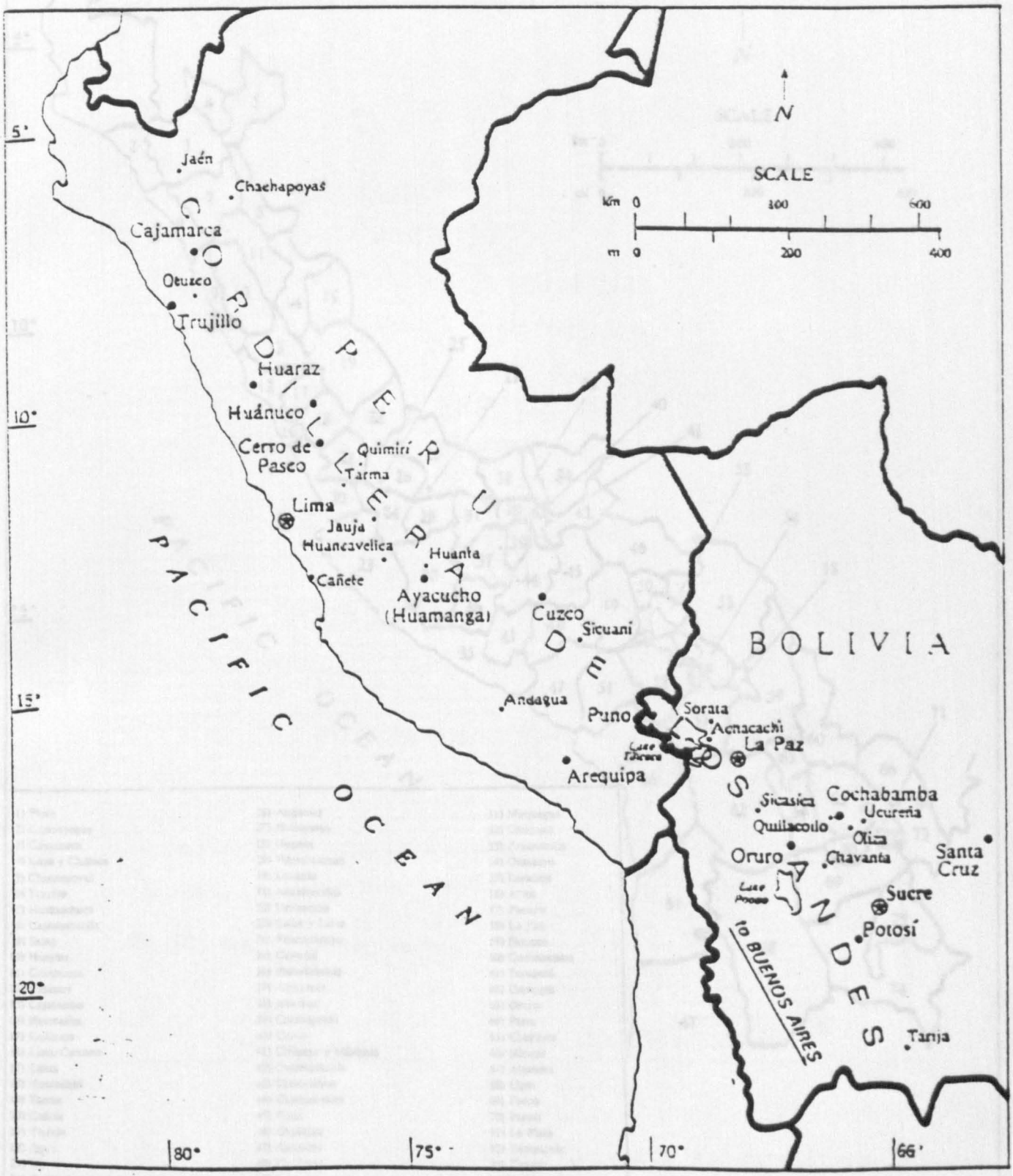
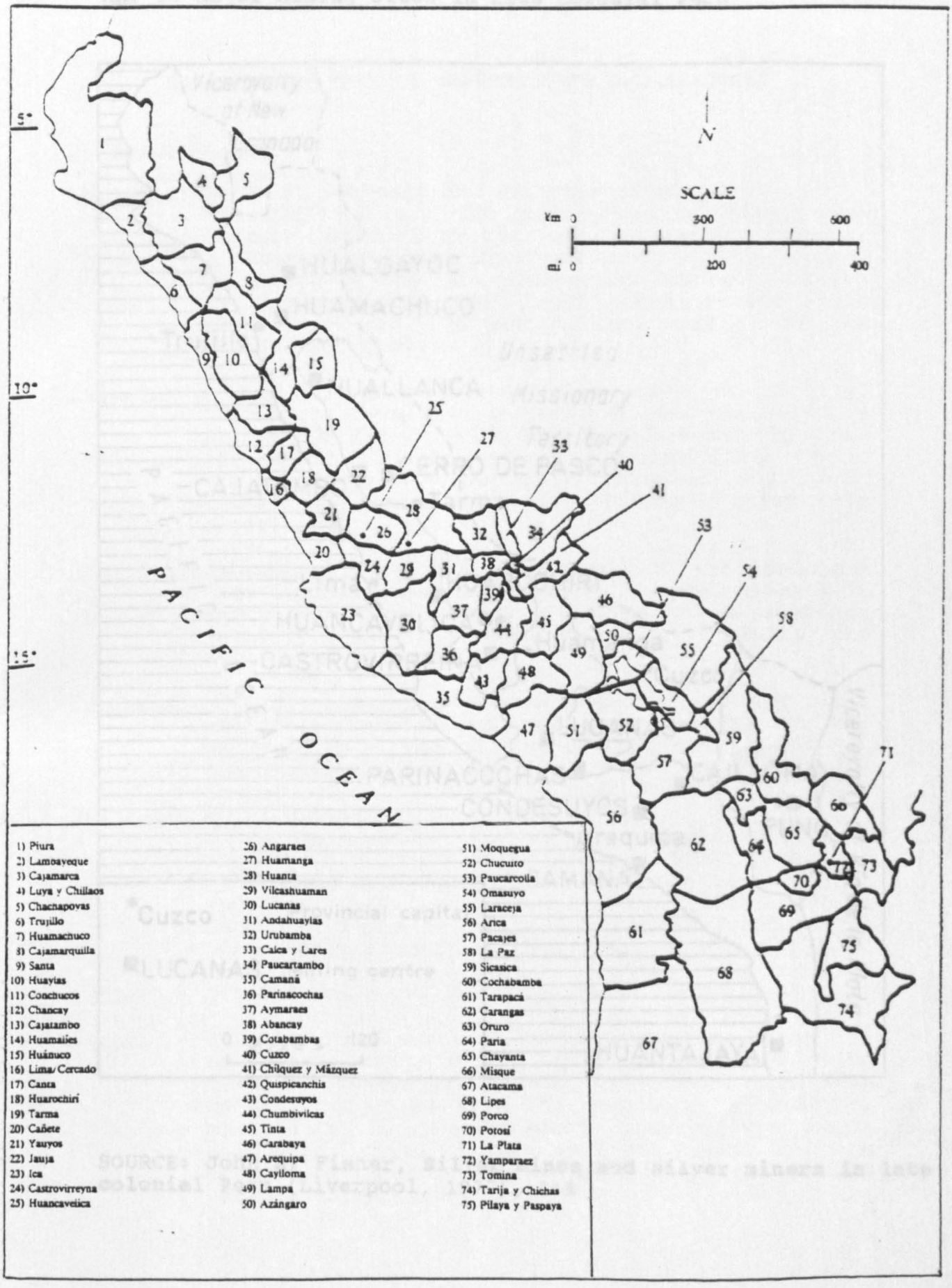


SOURCE: Steve J. Stern (ed.), **Resistance, rebellion and consciousness in the Andean peasant world, 18th to 20th centuries** (Madison 1987), xv.

MAP 2: Late Colonial Districts



1) Piura
2) Lamoayeque
3) Cajamarca
4) Luya y Chillaos
5) Chachapovas
6) Trujillo
7) Huamachuco
8) Cajamarquilla
9) Santa
10) Huaylas
11) Conchucos
12) Chancay
13) Cajatambo
14) Huamalies
15) Huánuco
16) Lima/Cercado
17) Canta
18) Huarochirí
19) Tarma
20) Cañete
21) Yauyos
22) Jauja
23) Ica
24) Castrovirreyna
25) Huancavelica
26) Angaraes
27) Huamanga
28) Huanta
29) Vilcashuaman
30) Lucanas
31) Andahuaylas
32) Urubamba
33) Calca y Lares
34) Paucartambo
35) Camaná
36) Parinacochas
37) Aymaraes
38) Abancay
39) Cotabambas
40) Cuzco
41) Chilquez y Mázquez
42) Quispicanchis
43) Condesuyos
44) Chumbivilcas
45) Tinta
46) Carabaya
47) Arequipa
48) Cayiloma
49) Lampa
50) Azángaro
51) Moquegua
52) Chucuito
53) Paucarcolla
54) Omasuyo
55) Laraceja
56) Arica
57) Pacajes
58) La Paz
59) Sicasica
60) Cochabamba
61) Tarapacá
62) Carangas
63) Oruro
64) Paria
65) Chayanta
66) Misque
67) Atacama
68) Lipes
69) Porco
70) Potosí
71) La Plata
72) Yamparaez
73) Tomina
74) Tarija y Chichas
75) Pilaya y Paspaya

SOURCE: Stern, Resistance, rebellion, and consciousness, xvi-xvii

MAP 3: Major Mining Sites in Late Colonial Peru

SOURCE: John R. Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners in late colonial Peru** (Liverpool, 1977), 141

GLOSSARY OF TEXTILE MANUFACTURES AND MEASURES

1. Types of cloth

Bayeta: baize of American and European origin.
In southern Peru the production of bayeta was largely confined to the urban chorrillo industry of Huamanga and to many villages; in the centre and north of the viceroyalty, by contrast, it was manufactured by the local obrajes for both extended local consumption and export to New Granada and Chile.

Bayeton: a thick woollen cloth of a superior quality, originally developed in England, but successfully imitated by the Peruvian manufacturers shortly after its introduction into the viceroyalty in the 1790s. The uniforms of the late colonial and early republican armies were made primarily from this material.

Bramante, bretaña, ruana: European cotton and linen-mix mass-manufactures, which were in great demand in the viceroyalty of Peru. The respective terms are references to the European regions where the fabrics were produced.

Cordellate, sayal, sayalete: coarse Peruvian woollen cloth varieties manufactured by many obrajes in the early colonial period, but of only small demand in the eighteenth century.

Frazada: woollen blanket.
Most obrajes had in permanent use the special loom required for its weaving. A considerable part of the output was exported to other American regions (notably Chile and New Granada). The textile centre of Tarma in central Peru specialised in the large-scale production of frazada.

Indiana: printed calico of European and Asian origin.

Jerga: unfulled and undyed coarse woollen cloth of American origin, which served, apart from being used as underwear by many natives, mainly as packing material. With the exception of a number of plants in the southern viceroyalty, which purchased jerga from external sources, its production formed a regular part of the output of a viceregal manufactory.

Lienzo: a) coarse Peruvian cotton fabric;
b) mass-manufactured European cotton-mix, usually printed (lienzo pintado).

Paño: broadcloth.
a) The obrajes of Puebla (New Spain) and of the Audiencia of Quito (New Granada) were the chief manufacturing centres for paño in Spanish America; it was not produced in the viceroyalty of Peru proper. Both centres exported most of their output to Peru in the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century their market share declined in face of European imports.
b) Broadcloth imported from Europe to Spanish America was graded into three classes (paño de la primera calidad, paño de la segunda calidad, and paño de la tercera calidad).
c) On rare occasions, the term was also used in Peru as an equivalent for 'cloth' in general.

Pañete: coarser local substitute for American paño. Although unknown in the southern part of the viceroyalty of Peru, it was the most consumed woollen variety in the northern provinces and represented the staple product of most of the regional manufactories.

Pellon: woollen cloak manufactured in most textile plants of the Cuzco region. The chief export market was Lima.

Ropa: type of woollen cloth whose manufacture was restricted to the textile industry of the southern part of the viceroyalty where it clearly dominated the output, since it formed, particularly in its fine quality (ropa fina), the industry's prime export commodity to the silver mining centres in Upper Peru.

Ropa de Castilla: general term used for all varieties of cloth imported from Europe.

Ropa de la tierra: general term used for cloth produced in Spanish America.

Tocuyo: principal American cotton cloth, traditionally a secondary product of many textile manufacturing centres in the north of the viceroyalty. In the southern provinces its weaving was, until the late eighteenth century, primarily performed in the textile plants of the cities of Huamanga and Arequipa.

2. Measures

Pieza: a bolt of cloth, of variable length.

Vara: unit of length of approximately 33 inches.

PREFACE

The bulk of the historiography, whether ancient or modern, relating to the economic structures of Spanish America has tended to concentrate on the aspects of economic life that were most visible to Europeans and, from the late eighteenth century, North Americans: namely the mining and export of precious metals, the production and export of agricultural and pastoral commodities, and the marketing in Spanish America of the primarily manufactured goods of the region's trading partners. The history of manufacturing industry within colonial Spanish America has not been entirely ignored by historical scholarship, as we shall explain briefly in this Preface, and, in more detail, in Chapter Four, but it has been relegated to an undeservedly insignificant level, reflecting perhaps, albeit unintentionally, the Spanish crown's view that it should not be encouraged to grow, for fear of the damage that its development would do to peninsular industries. In broad terms, therefore, the context for this thesis is established by the author's desire to make a contribution - necessarily restricted in terms of time and space - to the reconstruction of the industrial reality of Spanish America in the colonial period. At a different level it is also motivated by the desire to examine, from the standpoint of textile manufacturing, whether the deeply-ingrained historiographical assumption that the

late eighteenth century was a period of structural crisis and decline for the economy of the viceroyalty of Peru (as a consequence of the Bourbon reforms of the 1760s and 1770s) is sustained by the findings on textile production[1], or whether they support the opposing assumption that this period was, in practice, one of modest economic growth, as has been suggested by such works as that of John Fisher on viceregal silver mining[2].

To deal first with Peru, it is generally acknowledged by historians that woollen cloth production in hacienda-bound manufactories was Peru's chief domestic industry during the era of Spanish rule. It gradually substituted the system of a trade largely based on home weaving. The sector not only supplied an extended viceregal demand, created mainly by the fact that cloth was universally accepted as a means of exchange, but also channelled considerable quantities abroad to other American markets. Modern historiography has for the most part adopted the traditional view already expressed in many contemporary reports that the introduction of free trade in 1778 caused the subsequent decline of this once prosperous industry. It has been assumed that Peru's manufacturers became victims of the competition initiated by the inundation of the viceroyalty with cheaper and better fabrics of European origin. The main emphasis of this study is, therefore, laid on a re-examination of the state of viceregal large-scale textile production in the period after 1778. The analysis of four pre-eminent textile producing provinces situated in different regions - Cajamarca and Huamachuco in the

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[1]For a relatively recent restatement of this traditional theme see the introductory chapters of Timothy E. Anna, **The fall of royal government in Peru** (Lincoln 1979).

[2]John R. Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners in colonial Peru** (Liverpool 1977).

northern Andean Highlands, and Huamanga and Cuzco in the southern sierra - formed a further central part of the work. This method allows us to emphasize the distinct features of each area and, at the same time, makes it possible to exploit to the greatest extent the heterogeneous data available in different departmental archives in Peru.

Relevant and reliable works of modern historiography on the viceregal textile industry are relatively few, thus reflecting indirectly both the difficulty of reconstructing its history because of the problem of locating systematic documentation and, to some degree, the fact that the contribution of the sector to the economic welfare of the viceroyalty has still not been fully recognized. The topic came into the focus of detailed research for the first time in the early 1960s, when Maximiliano Sánchez[3] and Fernando Silva Santisteban[4] published their respective pioneering studies in quick succession. For both authors the general survey on the obraje sector provided by Emilio Romero in his **Historia económica del Perú** served as a basis for many points of their argumentation[5]. Moscoso Sánchez' article on the industry of the Cuzco area, the most important manufacturing centre in colonial Peru, has put particular stress on the identification and location of the sector within the larger context of the regional economy, whereas Silva Santisteban's monograph approached the topic at a general viceregal level for the whole of the colonial period, a scope that naturally levelled off the two crucial features of the industry, spatial and temporal differentiation. Moreover, being concerned primarily with

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[3]Maximiliano Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes para la historia de la industria textil en el Cuzco colonial', **Revista Universitaria** (Cuzco) 52 (1962-1963), 67-94.

[4]Fernando Silva Santisteban, **Los obrajes en el virreinato del Perú** (Lima 1964).

[5]See Emilio Romero, **Historia económica del Perú** (2 vols., Lima n.y., 2nd ed.), 207-217.

a somewhat narrow discussion of cloth production as such, derived to some extent from documents no longer in the public domain, the work does not contain any reflections on the commercial activities in which the sector was involved. Apart from drawing attention to the important position the industry held within the viceregal economy, the chief merit of both studies was essentially to classify information and to offer a set of definitions and conclusions that has encouraged historians during the last three decades to refer to Peru's obraje industry by quoting these authorities without ever challenging their methodology and conclusions. A good example of the continuous influence exerted on current historiography by these two pioneering studies is the discussion of late colonial and early republican Peru's textile sector in Paul Gootenberg's recent analysis of the country's postindependence trade policy, which is mainly built on arguments provided by these two studies[6].

The awakening interest of Peruvianist historiography since the 1970s in regional studies has generated some further, albeit limited, research on provincial manufacturing centres. The most fruitful of these contributions is undoubtedly Miriam Salas de Coloma's detailed investigation of the rural textile sector in the Huamanga area from its origin in the sixteenth century until its decline immediately before the close of the eighteenth century[7]. Its particular value lies in the presentation of unique quantitative

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[6]Paul Gootenberg, **Between silver and guano: commercial policy and the state in postindependence Peru** (Princeton 1989), 46.

[7]The most relevant of her articles consulted for this thesis were: Miriam Salas de Coloma, 'Evolución de la propiedad obrajera en la Huamanga colonial', **Anuario de Estudios Americanos** 39 (1982), 367-395, Miriam Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones con otros sectores económicos en el centro-sur peruano a fines del siglo XVIII', in Nils Jacobson and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), **The economies of Mexico and Peru during the late colonial period (1760-1810)** (Berlin 1986), 203-232, and

material on the commercial activities of one of the region's principal obrajes, which the author extracted from accounts drawn up by the plant's administration over several decades. However, Salas de Coloma's studies have so far not provoked the broader interest and recognition they deserve, perhaps partially as a result of the fact that they have been disseminated in the form of unrelated articles in a variety of journals and collections of essays. Magnus Mörner, for his part, supplemented Moscoso Sánchez' research on Cuzco's textile sector with data from a number of previously neglected printed sources and investigated further its rôle in the area's long-term economic development[8]. By contrast, the most recent study by Fernando Silva Santisteban of the textile industry of the provinces of Cajamarca and Huamachuco in the north of the viceroyalty, like his 1964 monograph, consists for the most part of an arbitrary enumeration of information gathered from manuscript records owned by the scholar and is, consequently, of only limited historiographical interest[9].

Research since the mid-1980s has not expanded to embrace other textile centres

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Miriam Salas de Coloma, 'Crisis en desfase en el centro-sur-este del virreinato peruano: minería y manufactura textil', in Heraclio Bonilla (ed.), **Las crisis económicas en la historia del Perú** (Lima 1986), 139-166.

[8]Of particular importance for this study were: Magnus Mörner, 'En torno a las haciendas de la región del Cuzco desde el siglo XVIII', in Enrique Florescano (ed.), **Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina** (México 1975), 346-393, Magnus Mörner, 'Some characteristics of agrarian structure in the Cuzco region towards the end of the colonial period', **Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe** 18 (1975), 15-29, and Magnus Mörner, **Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco a fines de la colonia** (Lima 1978).

[9]Fernando Silva Santisteban, 'Los obrajes en el corregimiento de Cajamarca', in Fernando Silva Santisteban, Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, and Rogger Ravines (eds.), **Historia de Cajamarca** (4 vols., Lima 1985-89), III, 181-192.

in colonial Peru, but has remained concentrated on the Cuzco region[10]. The most original contribution to the spasmodic discussion in recent years on the economic relevance of large-scale textile production in the viceroyalty has been provided by Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy in the introduction to her work on eighteenth-century social protest in Lower and Upper Peru where she examines with the assistance of new source material aspects of the relationship between the mining industry and the textile sector and also questions the legitimacy of the universally accepted hypothesis of the decline of the obraje economy in the late eighteenth century[11].

The research undertaken during the last two decades on the economic history of the viceroyalty of Peru has put much emphasis on the identification of trade circuits at both the regional and inter-regional levels. Quantitative approaches have been utilized with particular finesse for major consumption centres. Magdalena Chocano, for example, constructed the share of the viceregal and overseas goods brought into the mining centre of Cerro de Pasco during its period of greatest expansion in the last quarter of the eighteenth century[12]. Similar studies have been produced concerning Potosí, the chief silver mining centre of Upper Peru, which retained powerful commercial links with

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[10]See Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno y élite comercial en el Cusco antes y después de la Gran Rebelión de 1780', **Apuntes** 19 (1986), 53-72, and David P. Cahill, 'Reparto ilícitos y familias principales en el sur andino, 1780-1824', **Revista de Indias** 48 (1988), 449-474.

[11]Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, **Rebellions and revolts in eighteenth century Peru and Upper Peru** (Köln 1985), 11-27.

[12]Magdalena Chocano M., **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco a fines de la época colonial** (Lima 1982).

Lower Peru after 1776[13]. Of particular value among the latter are the statistical results extracted by Enrique Tandeter and Nathan Wachtel from long-term price studies of major American commodities in Potosí, since they provide background information on the economic state of the regions that supplied them[14]. Similarly, more light has been thrown on the rôle of the city of Lima as not only the chief urban consumption and re-export centre of the viceroyalty, but also as the stimulator of agricultural and manufacturing activities in an extended hinterland[15].

Relevant regional studies, however, are still small in number and concentrated on only a few areas of the viceroyalty, mainly in the southern provinces. Their relative paucity is particularly to be regretted in view of the clear recognition by modern scholars, such as Alberto Flores Galindo, that the key to a profound understanding of the overall viceregal economy lies in an analysis of its regional economies[16]. Outstanding in both complexity and consistency among these few studies is Kendall W. Brown's contribution which, based on one of the area's leading export commodities, aguardiente (and wines), analyses the links between the Bourbon reforms and the economic and social

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[13]Enrique Tandeter, Vilma Milletich, María M. Ollier, and Beatriz Ruibal, **The market of Potosí at the end of the eighteenth century** (London 1987), and Enrique Tandeter and Nathan Wachtel, 'Prices and agricultural production: Potosí and Charcas in the eighteenth century', in Lyman L. Johnson and Enrique Tandeter (eds.), **Essays on the price history of eighteenth-century Latin America** (Albuquerque 1990), 201-276.

[14]Tandeter and Wachtel, ibid., 213-271.

[15]Marcel Haitin, 'Urban market and agrarian hinterland: Lima in the late colonial period', in Nils Jacobson and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), **The economies of Mexico and Peru during the late colonial period (1760-1810)** (Berlin 1986), 281-298.

[16]Alberto Flores Galindo, **Arequipa y el sur andino: ensayo de historia regional (siglos XVIII-XX)** (Lima 1977), 20.

conditions of Arequipa during the eighteenth century[17]. For the Cuzco region Magnus Mörner has reconstructed in a number of publications long-term economic and social trends as they are reflected in documentary sources containing information on the demographic and land tenure structures for the colonial and postindependence periods[18]. Mörner's study of the province of Calca y Lares, an area characterized by the existence of a series of smaller haciendas, which traded their diversified agricultural surplus for the most part in the city of Cuzco, highlights economic changes from the late seventeenth century until the immediate aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion[19]. Although probably the least important among the three zones in colonial Lower Peru - Arequipa, Cuzco, and Huamanga - that acted as principal extra-regional suppliers of agricultural and manufactured staple goods to the silver mining centres in Upper Peru, the area of Huamanga has attracted considerable historiographical interest. Apart from Salas de Coloma's already mentioned works on the region's rural textile sector, the economic and social development of the city and its hinterland has also been scrutinized by Jaime Urrutia Ceruti[20]. The economic structures of the provinces of central and northern Peru, by contrast, have remained so far largely uninvestigated by historians. The only notable

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[17]Kendall W. Brown, **Bourbons and brandy: imperial reform in eighteenth-century Arequipa** (Albuquerque 1986).

[18]In addition to the works already cited in note 7, see Magnus Mörner, **Notas sobre el comercio y los comerciantes del Cusco desde fines de la colonia hasta 1930** (Lima 1979), and Magnus Mörner, **The Andean past: land, societies, and conflicts** (New York 1985).

[19]Magnus Mörner, 'Continuidad y cambio en una provincia del Cuzco: Calca y Lares desde los años 1680 hasta los 1790', **Historia y Cultura** (Lima) 9 (1975), 79-118.

[20]The most important of his works is Jaime Urrutia Ceruti, **Huamanga: región e historia, 1536-1770** (Ayacucho 1985).

exception is the research performed by Susan Ramírez Horton on the coastal province of Lambayeque in the northern part of the viceroyalty, an area that was described by a contemporary as one of the richest in colonial Peru[21]. This wealth was largely created by the cultivation of cash-crops on the local haciendas. Because of their superior quality, both sugar and wheat were of high demand in the markets of Lima until the early eighteenth century. The reasons for their declining importance thereafter, and the reactions of the affected estate owners to the new situation, are discussed in detail in her 1986 monograph.

What is true of trends in the historiography of colonial Peru is also true, with differing degrees of emphasis, for colonial Spanish America in general. It would not be appropriate here to discuss the regional historiography of other regions. However, it is relevant to comment briefly upon significant recent works relating to the textile industries of the two other principal textile manufacturing regions of colonial Spanish America, the viceroyalty of New Spain and the Audiencia of Quito. The last two decades have witnessed the publication of a number of important studies on these textile centres. The works of John C. Super on Querétaro, New Spain's prime woollen textile centre in the eighteenth century[22], and Richard J. Salvucci's monograph on the sector as a whole in

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[21]Susan Ramírez Horton, **Provincial patriarchs: land tenure and the economics of power in colonial Peru** (Albuquerque 1986). For the contemporary comment see Tadeo Haenke, **Descripción del Perú** (Lima 1901), 246.

[22]John C. Super, 'Querétaro obrajes: industry and society in provincial Mexico (1600-1810)', **HAHR** 56:2 (1976), 197-216, and John C. Super, **La vida en Querétaro durante la colonia, 1531-1810** (Mexico 1983).

colonial and postindependence Mexico[23], together with Robson B. Tyrer's thesis on the industry in the Quito area[24] have revealed organisational and commercial features for these industries that distinctly differ from those found in the viceroyalty of Peru. Moreover, they remind us, albeit inadvertently in the case of Tyrer, that textile manufacturing varied considerably, even within discrete jurisdictions, both spatially and temporarily, and even more so with respect to cotton manufacturing as opposed to the more traditional production of woollen cloth[25]. Unfortunately, Salvucci's monograph, although welcome as the first coherent attempt to provide a synthesis of textile production in New Spain over a long historical period, glosses over several important issues and also fails to discuss in any detail the contributions to historiographical debate produced by previous researchers on Mexican manufacturing. Such discussion here would be of only limited relevance to Peru. Turning to the more relevant example of Quito (modern Ecuador), where the growth of textile production was encouraged in part by the opportunities to supply the rich Peruvian market to the south, it is important to stress that Tyrer's study, although impressive in its approach towards the quantitative evaluation of archival data, was ultimately undermined in its methodological consistency by the

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[23]Richard J. Salvucci, **Textiles and capitalism in Mexico: an economic history of the obrajes, 1539-1840** (Princeton 1987).

[24]Robson B. Tyrer, **The demographic and economic history of the Audiencia of Quito** (Ph.D. thesis, University of California (Berkeley) 1976).

[25]On the cotton industry in New Spain see Guy P.C. Thomson, 'The cotton textile industry in Puebla during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', in Nils Jacobson and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), **The economies of Mexico and Peru during the late colonial period (1760-1810)** (Berlin 1986), 169-202, and Guy P.C. Thomson, **Puebla de los Angeles: industry and society in a Mexican city, 1700-1850** (Boulder 1989), particularly 38-46.

indiscriminate mingling of data relating to the urban and the quite distinct hacienda-bound obraje sectors. The latter, showing very similar characteristics to the Peruvian manufacturing industry, has also been investigated at a broader level in the 1977 doctoral dissertation of Rosemary D.F. Bromley, a most interesting work that has had only a limited impact on subsequent historical discussion, partly because of the rather specialized emphasis in it of a historical geographer on the relationship between regional urban decline and the economic problems of the Audiencia of Quito in the late colonial period[26]. Another valuable contribution to the debate on Quito, which is mentioned for the sake of completeness, even though its chronological focus is on the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is Nicholas P. Cushner's work on agrarian capitalism[27]. Its chief virtue for other scholars interested in linkages between textile manufacturing and other sectors of the economy is that it shows the direct relationship between sheep raising and cloth manufacturing, and, like the author's other works on Jesuit economic activities in colonial Spanish America, reveals the integration of textiles into both local and regional trade networks[28].

Despite the restricted number and range of the works referred to above, they reveal, in part because of their omissions, some of the broader issues which are relevant

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[26]Rosemary D. F. Bromley, **Urban growth and decline in the Central Sierra of Ecuador** (Ph.D. thesis, College of Swansea, Wales, 1977), particularly 76-91, 236-239, 377-392.

[27]Nicholas P. Cushner, **Farm and factory: the Jesuits and the development of agrarian capitalism in colonial Quito, 1600-1767** (Albany 1982).

[28]See, for example, Nicholas P. Cushner, **Lords of the land: sugar, wine and Jesuit estates of colonial Peru, 1700-1767** (Albany 1980).

to any serious attempt to understand textile manufacturing in colonial Spanish America, with respect to both Peru and other regions. The fundamental issue which must be stressed is that most historians beyond the relatively small number of real specialists, have tended to depict a static, archetypical form of production, based upon the large rural establishment employing several hundred conscript workers. The reality is that manufacturing plants were extremely varied in location, structure, and organization: some were, indeed, rural, articulated towards the needs of village communities; others, however, were urban-based, while a third broad category possessed both urban and rural features. Similarly, their integration into wider economic and commercial networks varied remarkably, even within discrete political jurisdictions. The same can be said about labour organization and many other aspects of their activities. This thesis is constructed, therefore, not on the basis of a preconceived model of the archetypical obraje. Indeed, it will be demonstrated that, even within the relatively cohesive space of late colonial Peru, there were at least two major types of manufactory in existence: the obraje and the chorrillo. The latter, which was similar in many respects to the Mexican trapiche in terms of size and organization, was a ubiquitous phenomenon in late colonial Peru, as we shall see, located in both the rural and urban spheres, whereas the obraje was firmly rooted in the hacienda.

Before moving on to discuss the deficient and scattered manuscript material, it is appropriate to mention briefly some contemporary accounts of the state of late colonial Peru at the provincial level, of which the most important for the preparation of this thesis

were those of Cosme Bueno[29] and Tadeo Haenke[30]. The intrinsic value of these works is enhanced by their attempts to synthesize their authors' observation of economic life in the late eighteenth century. Even more valuable as a critical and, therefore, equally often consulted source for first-hand information on many aspects of viceregal economic life during the last decade of the eighteenth century, including quantitative data rarely provided elsewhere, is the **Mercurio Peruano**, the flagship of the Enlightenment movement in colonial Peru, which first appeared in 1791 and remained in existence for five years[31]. At a different level, the reports written by the provincial deputies of the consulado of Lima immediately after the turn of the century, collected and commented upon by Pablo Macera and Felipe Márquez Abanto, are also of outstanding value for researchers working on economic history, since they cover most parts of the viceroyalty[32].

Relevant supplementary sources for this study, mainly concerning information on aspects related to economic activities in the closing years of Spanish rule, were consulted in the Archivo General de Indias of Seville and the Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco. The essential manuscript material, however, is located in the collections of the Archivo General de la Nación of Lima, the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima, and three regional archives in Peru: the Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca, the Archivo Departamental

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[29]Cosme Bueno, **Geografía del Perú virreinato (siglo XVIII)**, Carlos D. Valcárcel (ed.) (Lima 1951).

[30]Haenke, **Descripción del Perú** (see note 20).

[31]**Mercurio Peruano** (12 vols., Lima 1791-1795).

[32]Pablo Macera and Felipe Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', **Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú** 28 (1964), 133-252.

de La Libertad of Trujillo, and the Archivo Histórico Departamental del Cuzco. The main focus of the research undertaken in these repositories revolved around the attempt to acquire a set of reliable indicators on the performance of the textile industry in the late colonial period in the form of quantitative data for measuring long-term trends and developments. The legajos relating to the properties of the Society of Jesus, easily accessible in all the archives visited, since they are indexed as separate sections, provide a unique wealth of detailed information on their organizational structures as well as their day-to-day commercial activities. Hence, a considerable amount of our knowledge on manufactories is based on these Jesuit-owned plants, although it is, of course, most debatable as to what extent the elaborate organizational standards developed by the Jesuits might be legitimately considered as representative for other mills.

Fundamental for the study of regional commercial and economic circuits and provincial interplay were the different series of records of the real aduana, located in the Archivo General de la Nación of Lima, and so far comparatively little exploited by researchers investigating viceregal economic history. Although for many provinces the surviving documentation is relatively scanty and incomplete, this material is of vital importance, because its contents represent virtually the sole surviving official sources capable of reflecting trade activities at a regional and local level. While its value as a tool for historiographical reconstruction is, therefore, in most cases rather limited, if not, from the methodological point of view, even doubtful, when evaluated without reference to an appropriate context, the picture changes when it is used in conjunction with other relevant documentary materials, such as notarial sources and accountants' reports. In

combination, they form, despite their deficient quantity, a reliable foundation, from which general trends and conclusions can be derived. Furthermore, they include various references to specific economic matters regarding the textile sector at the provincial level.

The two departmental archives of Cajamarca and Trujillo house a considerable body of manuscript material on the local textile industry in the colonial and postindependence periods. As both are fully indexed for most sections, the collections can be examined reasonably efficiently and easily. Against a background of scanty central documentation in the real aduana section of the Archivo General de la Nación for the two provinces of Cajamarca and Huamachuco, the notarial account books (protocolos de los escribanos) proved to be especially valuable, because it was custom in these regions, in contrast to the practices employed in the Cuzco area, to supplement lease and sales contracts with detailed inventories. Since the term of a lease expired within a maximum period of nine years, the inventories had to be regularly updated. Although many of the contracts are not preserved, some have survived, and we believe that there is a sufficient number of them and that they are sufficiently detailed to allow us to extract a series of data which, at least in the cases of a number of the important obrajes, stretch over a long period of time, thus providing a basis for a reconstruction with considerable precision of the development of local industry during the century 1740-1840. It must be stressed, however, that the statistical data culled from both the real aduana records in Lima and the notarial sources in Cajamarca and Trujillo are fragmentary, and that they can only be interpreted satisfactorily in an impressionistic and judgemental fashion. This, indeed, is a problem with the vast bulk of the fiscal data relating to the colonial period retained

in local and even central archives. The material tends to be raw, uncollated and indigestible. Nevertheless, we are optimistic that, despite its incompleteness, the combination of surviving aduana records and notarial contracts provides an acceptable basis for the evaluation of the late colonial textile sector in northern Peru.

Moving south, by contrast, the position concerning the survival and accessibility of archival material is much less satisfactory: the immense, but only rudimentarily indexed fund of manuscript material in the departmental archive of Cuzco required a selective approach, concentrating on the years around principal benchmark dates for the area. Requests for revisions of the taxes imposed on textile mills, together with disputes over inheritances, most of them collected in the real hacienda section, supplied here most of the information on the economic situation of the textile sector in the late colonial period. Their historiographical value is, however, somewhat restricted, as their content, like all narrative sources, reflects strictly subjective views and interpretations of given facts, generated in these cases by the intentions of the manufacturers to obtain financial benefits. The Cuzco archive yielded particularly revealing manuscripts concerning the hitherto unreported acquisition of penal labour for the textile sector in the legajos indexed as pedimentos. It was, unfortunately, impossible to track down for further consultation the manuscripts cited by Moscoso Sánchez in his article on Cuzco (see note 3), as the archive has suffered several moves and revisions since the publication of his study in the early 1960s, and much material seems to have been removed or mislaid. Prudence in the context of the security situation dictated against any attempt to explore the availability of local sources in Ayacucho, formerly Huamanga.

I wish to express my gratitude to the directors and the staff of the institutions mentioned above. Professor Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse introduced me to the localities in Seville, whereas Dr Horacio Villanueva Urteaga involved me in a number of helpful discussions in Cuzco. Grants by the Faculty of Arts and the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Liverpool, both of them greatly appreciated, enabled me to conduct the research in Seville. In Liverpool, Dr Lewis Taylor kindly advised me on the archives in northern Peru. Above all, I owe Professor John R. Fisher a serious debt of gratitude for his patient supervision and active support in the course of the formation of this thesis.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

LARGE-SCALE TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN COLONIAL PERU

1.1 Definitions

The numerous textile manufactories founded in colonial Spanish America some decades after the conquest derived and adapted both their organizational and technological structures from pre-industrial European models. Based on the principles of strict division and specialization of labour, larger mills employed a manpower exceeding several hundred persons under one roof. Supervisors (maestros de obra(s)) carried out a meticulous control of work. An administrator (administrador) ran the plant in situ with the assistance of one or two mayordomos and was accountable either to the manufactory's owner or to the tenant.

In viceregal Peru, two major types of textile mills developed, the obrajes and the chorrillos. Moscoso Sánchez and Silva Santisteban define as one reliable distinguishing feature between them the different context in which they operated. According to these authorities, the former was part of the rural hacienda economy, whereas the latter was

confined to the urban environment[1]. In practice, neither type was exclusively attached to one particular sphere: the city of Cuzco had two obrajes situated in the periphery of residential areas, Huancaro and Tiobamba, while a considerable quantity of textile mills found on the hacienda complexes in the surrounding provinces were actually chorrillos, some of them employing as many labourers as an average obraje[2]. It is a fact, however, that those numerous chorrillos located in urban zones like Huamanga or Cuzco were comparatively small enterprises, most of them comprising a few departments only and, in some cases, as few as one or two looms[3]. The owners, frequently women, were, like artisans, organized in a guild.

A more precise criterion of differentiation is, therefore, whether a manufactory applied a water-driven fulling mill (batán de agua) or, if any, a hand-driven device (batán de mano) for the finishing process of the cloth[4]. The construction of both types of textile

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[1]Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 68-69; Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 31.

[2]For a definition of these rural chorrillos based on their size see **Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 133, note 7. For examples of inventories of large chorrillos see AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.173-101, hoja 1, document dated Cusco, 10.XI.1787 (Mollemolle), and AHD, Col., Real Audiencia, Causas Ord., leg. 69, 'Intenstado de Nicolaz Gonzáles' (1808-11), 3v-4 (Acopia).

[3]Silva Santisteban emphasizes in his work that an urban chorrillo had never more than six looms installed and was in Indian hands; see Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 31. These assumptions, however, lack documentary foundation: see, for instance, AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Administrativos, leg. 87, 'El Protector de los Naturales de esta ciudad...del Cuzco dieciocho dias del mes de Noviembre de mill setecientos cuarenta y uno años...' (1741), and AAC, XLIV, 4,75.

[4]This criterion had been already put into the discussion by Cosme Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 100. Inexplicably, modern historiography has not recognized the existence of a batán for the chorrillos so far, although it was, just like its water-driven counterpart, too subjected to taxation. See, for example, Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 204, where she outlines that chorrillos had in contrast to the obrajes no fulling mill.

mills followed basically the same principles[5].

The manufactory building was divided into various oficinas (departments), grouped around one or several patios (open courtyards). The galpón de obraje where the spinners and the bobbin boys were accommodated constituted the workshop's core. It was frequently of an impressive size. That of the plant of Otuto in Huamachuco, for instance, measured 57 varas in length and eight varas in width[6]. In the mill of Chuquisongo in the same province, the galpón had twenty-six windows[7]. Other departments served as store rooms for the wool, the dyes, and the finished cloth. The strenuous cleaning process of raw wool with its repeated washing was commonly executed in basins located in the patios. Special rooms were dedicated to the dyeing operation itself. They contained tubs (tinas), one of them specially reserved for the precious indigo. In many cases, the weaving department was spatially separated from the main manufactory building[8].

The establishment of a textile plant required large sums of capital invested in both the buildings and the installations. In the early 1770s, a spinning-wheel was valued at five reales in Cuzco, an ordinary loom at six pesos, and a loom specially designed for the weaving of blankets at sixteen pesos[9]. In the 1797 inventory of the important obraje

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[5]For fully detailed inventories see, for instance, ADC, Escrib., leg. 56, 250 (Polloc), ADC, Escrib., leg. 131, II:428 (Chacara) or ADL, J., Col., Inten., Compulsa, 404/2244 (Sangual).

[6]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 308, 172-172v.

[7]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 320, 110.

[8]See, for example, ADC, Escrib., leg. 60, 372 (Chancay in Cajamarca).

[9]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, 'Tierras, y Aperos de Pichuichuro Episcara, y Pecoy'(1772), 13v, 14.

of Llaray (Huamachuco), the spinning gallery was assessed at 1,500 pesos, the weaving hall with five fully equipped looms at a further 909 pesos, and the two departments for the dyeing and the storage of the wool at 600 pesos each[10]. The most substantial single investment was absorbed by the establishment of the batán. Its cost, including the device for the heating of the water, amounted to 4,000 pesos in the manufactory of Paruquio (Cuzco) in 1777[11]. Pichuychuro's fulling mill, estimated at almost 7,500 pesos in 1772, represented an equivalent to nearly one fourth of the plant's total value in that particular year[12].

1.2 Geographical diffusion

Pre-industrial cloth manufacturing required a permanent supply of clean water for the diverse washing and rinsing operations as well as for the dyeing process. Water-power also operated the batán[13]. The dispersion of the textile industry was, therefore, primarily determined by the opportunity of having unrestricted access to water. However, the extensive consumption of water by the plants created the potential for severe clashes of interest between mill owners and adjoining parties. In 1798, farmers in the province of

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[10]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 399, 560-560v.

[11]AHD, Prot., Escrib., leg. 38, 180-180v.

[12]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, 'Tierras, y Aperos de Pichuichuro Episcara, y Pecoy', 18v.

[13]The fulling mills were often installed outside of the obraje complex on the bank of a passing river: for cases see ADC, Escrib., leg. 56, 250 (Santa Clara), and ADL, J., Col., Temp., 276/3481 (Parrapos). The batán of the plant of Cusibamba (Cuzco) was, by contrast, located in the second patio of the manufactory itself; see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 7, 'Autos...formados al Obraje de Cusibamba, sus Molinos..., citas en la Doct.a de Paruro'(1786), 94.

Quispicanchis (Cuzco) complained that their seeds were invariably devoid of water during the month of August because the tenant of the obraje of Pomacanche used most of it for his fulling mill. As a consequence, the crop matured with delay and rendered a lower yield[14]. The administrator of the sugar estate of Collambay near Trujillo faced a similarly severe problem in 1817. The river that traditionally supplied the cañaveral with water passed, before arriving at the coast, the hacienda obrajes of Parrapos and Sinsicapa, located on the western Andean slope. The official assumed that it was the latter's consumption by the multitude of people living on the compound that reduced the abundant river to a rivulet too small to water the seedlings or even to supply the estate's attached textile mill[15].

Equally essential for the operation of a plant was the availability of a substantial reservoir of cheap manpower to satisfy the demands of the labour-intensive organization of work. In addition, other factors, like a guaranteed supply of inexpensive raw material, the proximity of lucrative markets or convenient transport facilities unquestionably imposed further constraints on the potential geographical diffusion of the industry.

In contrast to some regions in New Spain and the city of Quito in New Granada, Peru's textile manufactories formed in general not a part of the urban industry, but were integrated into a rural hacienda network. The circuit of commodities cultivated or manufactured in the different units of a hacienda permitted the greatest possible extent of independence and flexibility from external markets with their uncertain supply and

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[14]AHD, Col., Real Audiencia, 31/449, 2v-3.

[15]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Compulsa, 403/2239.

fluctuating prices. Many mills situated in Cuzco's higher altitude had haciendas panllevares annexed for the production of corn and wheat. That of Quispicanche comprised two of them, Condebamba and Chinicara, whereas Taray included, apart from the sizeable obraje, a panllevar, a grain mill, an alfalfar as well as an estate with twenty milk cows. Chuquisongo in Huamachuco or Ninabamba in Huamanga, located in valley pockets with a subtropical climate, were two of numerous examples of plants combined with a cañaveral.

Various contemporary descriptions allow us to reconstruct the location of the textile sector in late colonial Peru with some precision. Cosme Bueno, a physician and mathematician of Spanish origin, travelled on the viceroy's instruction throughout the provinces of Peru and published his observations in 1769. He particularly stressed the importance of large-scale cloth manufacturing in the provinces of Cajamarca, Huamachuco, Huaylas, Conchucos, Huamalíes, Cajatambo, Tarma, Jauja, Vilcashuamán, and Paruro (Chilques y Masquez)[16].

A generation later, Josef de Lagos defined in his 'Proyecto económico' the partidos of Conchucos, Huamalíes, Huánuco, Tarma, Huamanga, and Cuzco as the viceroyalty's principal textile centres[17]. Tadeo Haenke, a Czech naturalist, who arrived in Spanish America as a member of Alejandro Malaspina's expedition in 1790, was the author of a further work describing the provinces at the close of colonial rule. The value of this monograph is, however, not entirely beyond question, since his data are not

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[16]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 39 (Cajatambo), 42 (Conchucos), 44 (Huamalíes), 60 (Huamachuco), 79 (Vilcashuamán), 100 (Chilques y Masquez).

[17]AGI, Lima 1029, Josef de Lagos, 'Proyecto económico', Madrid 1786, capítulo 28, parágrafo 69.

always reliable and some passages appear to have been copied from Bueno's survey. He attributed major manufacturing activities to the provinces of Cajamarca, Conchucos, Huamalíes, Huamanga, Paruro (Chilques y Masquez), and Quispicanchis in this late period[18].

Jürgen Golte presents in his study **Redistribución y complementariedad** an elaborate map showing the dispersion of Peru's textile centres of both woollen and cotton production in the second half of the eighteenth century based on the information provided by Bueno, Haenke, and two archival sources (see map 4)[19].

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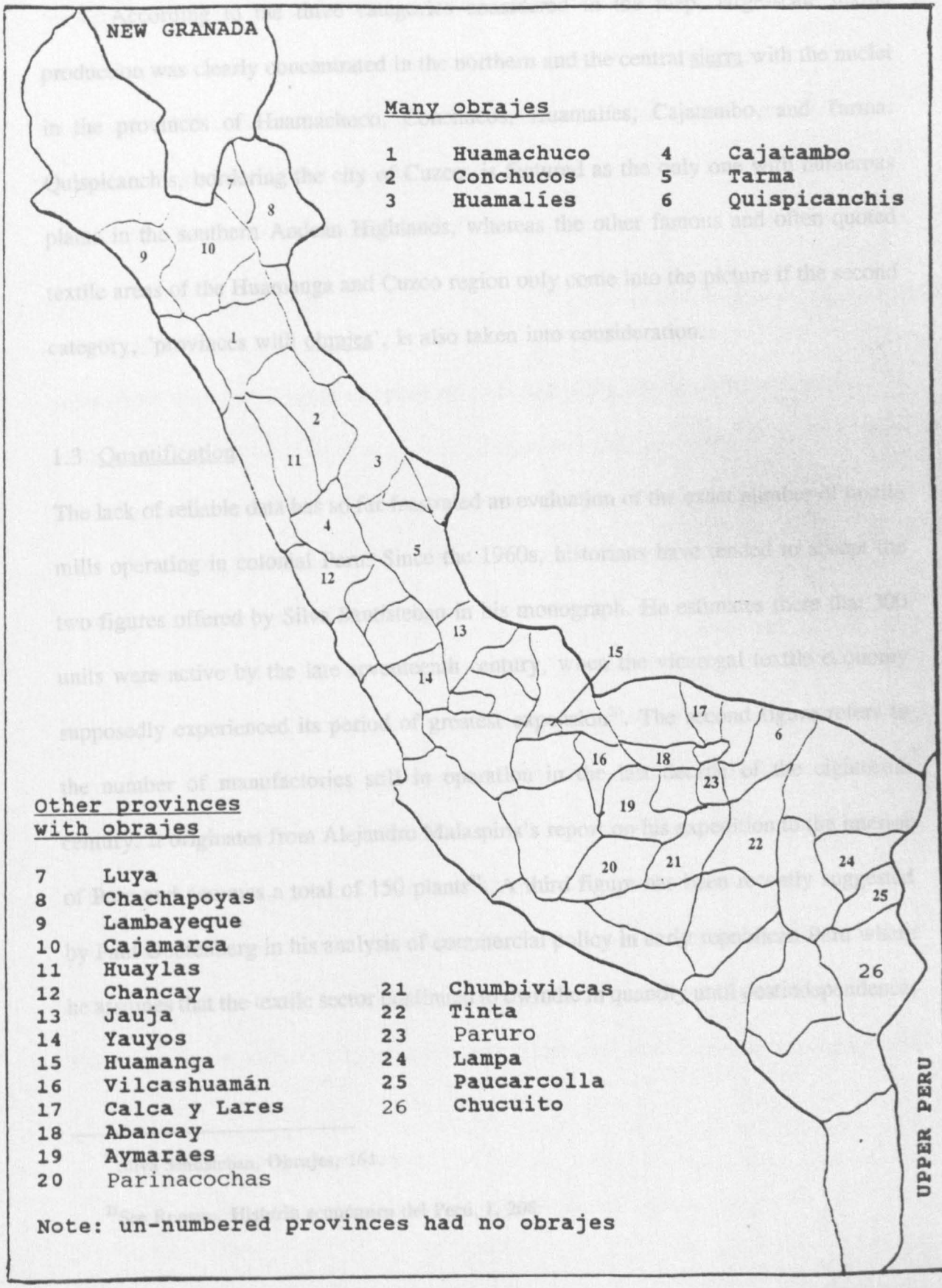
[18]Tadeo Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 46 and 247 (Cajamarca), 46 and 202 (Conchucos), 46, 190, and 198 (Huamalíes), 255 (Huamanga), 296 (Chilques y Masquez), 300 (Quispicanchis).

[19]Jürgen Golte, **Redistribución y complementariedad regional en la economía andina del siglo XVIII** (Berlin 1976).

MAP 4: Textile Centres in Late Colonial Peru



Note: un-numbered provinces had no obrajes

SOURCE: Golte, **Redistribución y complementariedad**, map 3

According to the three categories considered in the map, large-scale textile production was clearly concentrated in the northern and the central sierra with the nuclei in the provinces of Huamachuco, Conchucos, Huamalíes, Cajatambo, and Tarma. Quispicanchis, bordering the city of Cuzco, is featured as the only one with numerous plants in the southern Andean Highlands, whereas the other famous and often quoted textile areas of the Huamanga and Cuzco region only come into the picture if the second category, 'provinces with obrajes', is also taken into consideration.

1.3 Quantification

The lack of reliable data has so far frustrated an evaluation of the exact number of textile mills operating in colonial Peru. Since the 1960s, historians have tended to accept the two figures offered by Silva Santisteban in his monograph. He estimates there that 300 units were active by the late seventeenth century, when the viceregal textile economy supposedly experienced its period of greatest expansion[20]. The second figure refers to the number of manufactories still in operation in the last decade of the eighteenth century. It originates from Alejandro Malaspina's report on his expedition to the interior of Peru and assumes a total of 150 plants[21]. A third figure has been recently suggested by Paul Gootenberg in his analysis of commercial policy in early republican Peru where he assumes that the textile sector continued to dwindle in quantity until postindependence,

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[20]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 161.

[21]See Romero, **Historia económica del Perú**, I, 208.

by then reaching a number of no more than about a dozen plants[22].

Approaches to quantification are especially impeded by the fact that, with the exception of 1780, when a survey was carried out in order to record the number and size of the plants in many, if not all, provinces of the viceroyalty, no statistical data were compiled by the authorities, except for individual cases.

1.4 Classification

Apart from the type of batán in operation, which divides all textile manufactories and workshops into two basic categories, rural obrajes and chorrillos may also be classified either by the system of labour applied or by the structure of ownership[23].

The first criterion divides the manufactories into four different categories, one of them, the obraje de comunidad (communal manufactories), virtually non-existent by the early eighteenth century. These plants nominally belonged to Indian communities and served as a means to comply with their tribute obligations by the sale of the cloth produced in the mills. The real hacienda supervised this institution and also appointed the respective administrators or, especially since the seventeenth century, rented them out, sometimes to local caciques. Dismal working conditions, which failed to be improved despite several royal decrees, led finally to the decision to abandon the system. The crown subsequently put the obrajes de comunidad up for public auction. For the following five decades, viceregal administration refrained from further direct engagement

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[22]Gootenberg, **Between silver and guano**, 46.

[23]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 31-32; see also Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 69.

in the textile sector apart from legislation and control. It was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and her colonies in 1767 that made a renewed involvement inevitable. The Order's property was put under the jurisdiction of the specially created junta de temporalidades with the main seat in Lima. Thereafter, the dispossessed manufactories were administered by the local branches of the new authority.

The Jesuits had owned a string of important obrajes dispersed over the whole of the viceroyalty. They comprised units like San Ignacio and Parrapos in the northern sierra and Huancaro, Huaroc and, since 1760, Pichuychuro in the Cuzco area. An intricate system of exchange between the different haciendas within the same region allowed a high output combined with modest costs. The Jesuits were, however, not the only ecclesiastical institution involved in the lucrative textile trade, though undoubtedly the most successful one. Being in the possession of numerous manufactories, usually signed over as pious donations by their original owners, the church controlled, in fact, a substantial portion of the sector. The Augustinians, for example, were owners of such pre-eminent plants as Chusgón, Porcón or Uchuzquillo in the northern viceroyalty, while the order of Santa Clara's property included, among others, Sangual in Huamachuco, Pomacocha in Huamanga, and Sicllabamba in Cuzco. These plants were either managed by a priest or leased to both private and ecclesiastical parties. They enjoyed, like all other church enterprises, the privilege of tax exemption.

Mixed ownership of obrajes constituted a further category of property. Documentation on this type of holding is scarce. Hence, it might be concluded that it probably represented a phenomenon of merely marginal importance in viceregal Peru.

1.5 Labour force

Labour organization in the viceregal textile industry was, like that in the other economic sectors, based upon a system of forced and free labour with an extended, overlapping grey area between them[24]. Forced labour was controlled by either the regional or the local authorities. Its two principal institutions, the mita and yanaconaje, were organized exclusively for the native segment of the population, whereas the other important forms, penal servitude and debt peonage, included all ethnic groups. Slave labour, by contrast, although the principal source of manpower for many textile plants in New Spain, particularly during the seventeenth century, was in Peru's cloth sector of no importance[25]. The Jesuits, who had more than five thousand black slaves at their disposal in the viceroyalty alone, employed them in their coastal sugar plantations and vine-yards instead[26]. The use of slave labour implied specific problems, such as high acquisition costs and unreliable supply, and was, therefore, no option in regions where other forms of labour were available.

Free labour co-existed in the vast majority of the manufactories alongside forced labour[27]. These contracts obliged volunteers (voluntarios) in exchange for wage advances to work for a certain period of time in a mill in order to pay off their debt. The

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[24]For the very similar situation in New Spain see Super, 'Querétaro obrajes: industry and society', 206, or Samuel Kagan, **Penal servitude in New Spain: the colonial textile industry** (Ph.D. thesis, City University of New York 1976), 94.

[25]Super, ibid., 206; Kagan, ibid., 117-118, 127, Table 7: 'The workforce of three obrajes in 1660'.

[26]Fernando Ponce, **Empresa y esclavitud en el complejo económico jesuita**, (Lima n.y.), 6,7.

[27]In the obraje of Taray (Cuzco), for example, were 150 'free workers' (libres) and coerced labourers (presos peones) employed in 1758; see AHD, Prot., Escrib., leg. 125, 216.

small number of qualified artisans, who were essential for the maintenance of the equipment and supervisory tasks, such as the smith or the master dyer, formed together with temporarily engaged workers the group of the jornaleros[28], distinguishable from debt peons by their unrestricted right of free movement. The payroll of the manufactory of Pichuychuro (Cuzco), for instance, recorded a contingent of several hundred seasonal workers originating from a variety of surrounding villages[29].

Indications of the ethnic composition of the textile workers are comparatively scanty. However, considering the low estimation an engagement in this sector actually enjoyed, it strikes one as a surprise to learn that even the mills of Pichuychuro or Sicllabamba (Cuzco), despite their location in a region with a high percentage of Indian population, employed sizeable numbers, and in some cases a majority of mestizos[30]. The sector in the Huamanga region, for its part, experienced a conspicuous inflow of mestizos as labourers in the eighteenth century, frequently performing inferior auxiliary tasks, such as the collection of firewood, since they had, unlike the Indians, no experience in cloth manufacturing[31].

The mita, originally an Inca institution, was formally re-established by the

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[28]Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 75-76. Native seasonal labourers were also alternately called indios alquiles or maquipuras.

[29]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, 'Cuentas delos Administradores del Obraje de Pichuichuro...1773', 2-9.

[30]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 142 (Pichuychuro), and AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 48, 'Peticion: Don Joseph Miguel de Mendoza iniviso de la Jurisdiccion de Vmd y sin some que me ha ocacionado: En las diligencias que he estado siguiendo para quese suspensa la Vizita del Obraxe de Sicllabamba...'(1769), 42, 44v (Sicllabamba).

[31]Salas de Coloma, 'Evolución de la propiedad obrajera', 384-385.

Spaniards in Peru in the 1570s to furnish a steady and cheap labour force for the public sector as well as for private entrepreneurs. It recruited on a rotation basis male Indians in the age bracket from eighteen to fifty, who were also subjected to the payment of the tribute. In northern Peru, the mita constituted an additional obligation 'over and above the agricultural draft, just as the mining mita was in the south'[32]. The same authority suggests that in the viceroyalty as a whole, 15% of the conscripted Indians actually served their term in a textile mill. Each manufactory established with royal consent was entitled to benefit from an entero contingent, which included a certain number of indios mitayos 'of the seventh part' and of muchachos de obraje respectively[33]. The employer, for his part, was obliged to pay both legally fixed wages to the mitayos and an annual contribution for the entero to the administration, corresponding to the number of conscripted workers granted. In Conchucos, the obraje of Acopalca contributed in this scheme forty pesos per year to the local authority in 1780, the highest sum paid by a textile plant in the province, followed by the chorrillo of Uchupata with thirty pesos annually, and the manufactory of Cochao with twenty pesos[34]. Indisputably, the institution was frequently abused to bind labourers as debt peons to the plant after their service expired by encouraging them to purchase food and cloth on credit.

The degree to which a plant depended upon conscripted labour varied, of course,

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[32]David L. Wiedner, 'Forced labor in colonial Peru', **The Americas** 16:4 (1960), 376, 379.

[33]For a survey on the mitayos and muchachos granted to a number of mills in the Audiencia of Quito in 1683 see Alquiles R. Pérez Tomayo, **Las mitas en la Real Audiencia de Quito** (Quito 1947), 196-197.

[34]AGN, RA Pasco, C16. 1245-1, 'Malgesi de las Alcavalas de Cavezon..., 1780', 5v.

from manufactory to manufactory. Sizeable hacienda compounds like that of Porcón y Rumichaca in Cajamarca, the former with a regionally important textile mill, operated on the basis of a contingent of twenty-eight persons only, whereas the that of Ayanchacra in the same province employed alone fifty indios mitayos[35].

The mita was legally abolished in the Audiencia of Quito in 1704, but remained in force in the other parts of the viceroyalty until 1812.

Yanaconas were native men and women who were transferred at the viceroy's behest to serve on haciendas or as lifelong domestic servants. Their wages were supplemented by the allotment of a plot to secure their subsistence. The cloth producers of the Huamanga area deliberately exploited the yanaconaje system to provide their manufactories with a stock of specialised labourers on a permanent basis[36].

Penal servitude ranked in general among the principal sources of labour supply for the textile industry in Spanish America. The establishment of a lucrative trade in prisoners had helped to relieve the overcrowded jails in New Spain since the early seventeenth century. The criminals were partly publicly auctioned, partly distributed for a contribution to private entrepreneurs. In cases where employers showed reluctance to recruit such workers, since they were reputedly prone to abuse and required costly

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[35]ADL, J., Col., Real Hacienda, Causas Ord., 129/101 (Porcón y Rumichaca), and ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 296/65. According to a report in the **Mercurio Peruano**, mita assignments constituted the chief part of the manpower employed in the plants of the province of Cajatambo; see **Mercurio Peruano** V (1792), 191.

[36]Salas de Coloma, 'Evolución de la propiedad obrajera', 386-387.

security devices, the officials exerted pressure. The system was abandoned not before 1767[37]. Evidence suggests that the application of penal servitude in Peru was perhaps a phenomenon spatially restricted to the southern part of the viceroyalty. The obraje and sugar hacienda of Ninabamba in Huamanga, originally a Jesuit property, is known to have been operated to a certain extent by convicted prisoners[38]. In the Cuzco region, it was a common practice to sentence minor offenders to forced labour in one of the larger mills. A violent spouse, for instance, was sent for two years to the manufactory of Huancaro[39]. In the same year, a thief, who had stolen sixteen pesos, was assigned for an unlimited length of time to the plant of Sicllabamba in order to pay off the stolen money as well as the legal fees[40]. In other cases, the administration of a mill applied directly to the crown attorney for the assignment of a prisoner[41]. A certain Lorenso Pimentel petitioned in 1767 to be transferred from the manufactory of Sicllabamba to that of Quispicanchis in another province. He had been sent to the former for a period of two

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[37]Kagan, **Penal servitude**, 48-49.

[38]Jaime Urrutia Ceruti, **Comerciantes, arrieros y viajeros huamanguinos: 1770-1870** (n.p., n.y.), 36.

[39]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 45, 'Dna Rosa Iscamayta Vecina de esta ciudad del Cuzco y muger Lexitima de Simon Quispi paresco...'(1765).

[40]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Pedimentos, leg. 85, 'En la Ciudad del Cuzco, en catorze dias del mes de Agosto de mill setecientos sesenta y sinco años el Señor Gral Don Pedro Geronimo Manrrigue...Digo...'(1765).

[41]For two cases concerning the plant of Taray see AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Pedimentos, leg. 86, 'En la Ciud del Cuzco del Peru en cinco dias del mes de Febrero de mil setecientos setenta y quatro años. El S.or Gral Dn Manuel Lopes de Castilla...Digo que de su orden y a pedimento de Raphael Sanches...'(1774), and AHD, Col., Corregimiento, ibid., 'En la Ciudad del Cuzco en veinte y siete dias delmes de Enero demil setecientos setenta y quatro años. El Señor Gral Don Manuel Lopez de Castilla theniente de Cap.n Gral Corregidor y Justicia mayor en ella...que de su orden y pedimento de Francisco Gomez Santibañez...'(1774).

years for larceny - he had stolen a precious silver cross from a church in Cuzco -, but was still kept back there after nearly five years, the reason being acute labour shortage. He explained in his request that he was urged to indebt himself constantly by the management in an attempt to prolong his stay indefinitely. His appeal was approved[42].

An ever-present feature was the legally banned practice of both official and private persons of selling debtors to obrajeros. The phenomenon was so common that viceroy Amat referred to it in his **Memoria del gobierno**[43]. The tribute and reparto system were two institutions that provided particularly large scope for excesses by local authorities. Special notoriety pertained to the corregidores and the ecclesiastics[44].

The incentive for voluntary workers (voluntarios) to approach a manufactory was customarily the immediate need to gain access to cash. The contract they signed obliged them to work in a plant until they had paid off the sum they had received in advance and later accumulated debts. The initial debt was subsequently often gradually increased in ways, which the German humanist and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt plainly called

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[42]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Pedimentos, leg. 86, 'Dn Juan de Laguna como mas aya lugar en derecho paresco ante Vm.d y digo que avía serca de sinco años que Lorenso Pimentel...'.

[43]Vicente Rodríguez Casado and Florentino Pérez Embid (eds.), **Memoria de gobierno del virrey Amat** (Sevilla 1947), 193.

[44]For examples see Jorge Juan y Santacilla and Antonio de Ulloa, **Discourse and political reflections on the kingdoms of Peru**, John J. TePaske (ed.) (Oklahoma 1978), 74-75, 137, as well as BN, C 3969, 'Informe' of the priest of Oropesa. A decade later, identical accusations against corregidores and clerics were repeated in a letter for the attention of the Minister of the Indies, José de Gálvez; see AGI, Lima 996, 'Carta del Criado y Capellan Pedro Rodriguez Sabroso a Josef Galvez', dated Cuzco, 6.VIII.1778.

'cunning', thus guaranteeing a long-term engagement of the respective labourer[45]. Since voluntarios often lived in or around the compound of the mill, presumably at least in some cases locked up or put in chains, they were obliged to purchase their necessities - food and clothes - from the shop integrated in the obraje at prices the owner dictated[46]. However, documentary material for both Peru and New Granada indicates that a substantial percentage of manufactory owners were, in fact, not owed money by their labourers, but were, on the contrary, indebted to them[47]. An official survey on the twenty-five estates located in the province of Huamachuco revealed such an arrangement in no less than nine of them, a situation that one-sidedly benefitted the hacendados, because it relieved them from the burden of raising large sums of advance payments, without undermining the long-term attachment of the workers to the plant[48].

Cloth manufacturing was basically divided into a series of simple, repetitive tasks. The spinning operation absorbed throughout the viceroyalty a sizeable percentage of the labour force and formed a focal point of female labour in the trade. Pichuychuro had a total of 224 spinners on its payroll in 1773, of whom 84 were males and 140 females.

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[45]Alexander von Humboldt, **Versuch über den politischen Zustand des Königreichs Neu-Spanien** (5 vols., Tübingen 1809-1814), IV, 262, 263.

[46]A fact that provoked much criticism by contemporaries; see, for instance, Juan y Santacilla and Ulloa, **Discourse and political reflections**, 136.

[47]For the Audiencia of Quito see Tyrer, **Demographic and economic history**, 330-331.

[48]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 416/2723; among these nine haciendas, the majority had a textile mill attached: Tulpo, Otuto, Marabamba, Chuquisongo, San Ignacio-Parrapos (counted as a unit in the report), and Llaquen.

Next in numerical importance came weaving with 46 men, followed by 31 percheros, eighteen carders, fifteen bobbin boys, eleven washers, nine dyers, five pressers, and two warpers[49]. The plant of Lucre (Cuzco), for its part, employed 110 spinners: 79 women were supplemented by 31 men[50]. In Cacamarca (Huamanga), 101 of the total of 214 workers employed in 1783 were classified as 'women and girls', all of them active in the spinning department, and in Chusgón (Huamachuco), there were 144 'indias hiladeras' ('native female spinners')[51]. Spinning could also be a task mainly accomplished by children. In Chincheros (Huamanga), for instance, the section was exclusively filled with juveniles between six and sixteen years[52]. Infant labour, although legally strictly prohibited for the industry since the early seventeenth century, was also widely used for other manual operations, like carding of the wool and winding of the yarn onto bobbins[53]. In some textile mills, the number of women and children employed exceeded that of men. Silva Santisteban draws attention to the plant of Diego de Alvarez in San Martín de Chacas (Conchucos) where the labour force comprised 184 women and

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[49]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.23, 'Plan o extracto sacado por menor del libro general', 1-3.

[50]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, 'En el Pueblo de Oropesa Prov.a de Quispicanche en veinte dias del mes de Ag.to demill setecientos y cinquenta años...'.

[51]AGN, Temp., Cuentas de Haciendas: Cacamarca, leg. 136, 'Cuentas del Obraje de Cacamarca, año 1783', 103-105 (Cacamarca), and ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 416/2723, 'Chusgon'.

[52]Salas de Coloma, **De los obrajes de Canaria y Chincheros a las comunidades indígenas de Vilcashuamán. Siglo XVI** (Lima 1979), 105. Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 74, also mentions an age of six years for spinners.

[53]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 142 (Pichuychuro), and AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 25, '3.r Quad.no de los autos seguidos p.r D.n Mig.l Cañaval y Don Ant.o Gallegos sobre la translaz.n de los Indios operarios' (1791), answer no 15 (Amancay).

children but only 59 men[54]. More balanced was the proportion in Cacamarca (Huamanga) in the late 1780s and early 1790s, when 84 women and juveniles were supplemented by roughly seventy men[55].

It is, therefore, beyond question that women and children represented, as in contemporary Europe and New Spain, a chief labour reservoir for Peru's cloth sector[56]. The incentive to apply this form of labour to such an extent was, on the one hand, the chronic labour shortage in general, which was further aggravated in times of warfare, and, on the other hand, lower wage expenses. While an unskilled conscripted adult was remunerated with 40.4 pesos for 312 working days, a boy (muchacho) earned only 24.2 pesos in the same period[57].

Among the ordinary labourers, the weavers ranked at the top of the payroll since they were specialists in their field. Their output reached remarkable dimensions: the 42 weavers employed in Pichuychuro (Cuzco) in the early 1770s manufactured annually more than 1,000 piezas of cloth (or about 100,000 varas), about half of it of a fine quality[58].

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[54]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 132.

[55]AGN, Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 10, Cacamarca, leg. 5, C.34 (1787), and AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 10: Cacamarca, leg. 5, C.41 (1797).

[56]For New Spain see Richard E. Greenleaf, 'The obraje in the late Mexican colony', **The Americas** 23 (1966), 243, and, in more general terms, for Puebla's cotton industry Thomson, **Puebla de los Angeles**, 39.

[57]John H. Rowe, 'The Incas under Spanish colonial institutions', **HAHR** 37:2 (1957), 178. The salaries for the Cuzco region were slightly higher: a muchacho touched there 28.3 pesos, an adult 48.4 pesos.

[58]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.23, 'Demostraz.n de las P.zas de Ropa que se han texido...1772'.

Significantly higher wages than the those of the labourers were earned by those employees who were assigned as officials to management tasks. The 361 operarios working in Pichuychuro in 1773 were thus supervised by nineteen persons[59]. One decade later, fourteen 'Spaniards and mestizos' in charge supplemented Cacamarca's 214 labourers[60]. The wages paid to the administrator of this obraje amounted to 1,600 pesos annually in 1785, while the master craftsmen supervising the fulling and dyeing operations each reached one hundred pesos[61]. Considerable sums were, furthermore, spent on the clerics responsible for the instruction of the workers in the Christian faith. The priest reading the masses in Pichuychuro was remunerated with 300 pesos per year[62].

As in all economic sectors, the labour force of a textile mill received, irrespective of the position held within the hierarchy, its wages for the most part in kind. In the plant of Cusibamba (Cuzco), for example, these commodities consisted of coca leaves, sheep, ají, and grains but, unexpectedly, did not comprise cloth in the late 1770s[63]. In adjacent

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[59]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.23, 'Plan sacado por menor del libro general', 1.

[60]AGN, Temp., Cuentas de Haciendas: Cacamarca, leg. 136, 'Cuentas del Obraje de Cacamarca, año 1783', 103.

[61]For a full account see AGN, Temp., Cuentas de Haciendas: Cacamarca, leg. 136, 'Cuentas del Obraje de Cacamarca, año 1785', 46-47.

[62]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Año de 1796. Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja del cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...', 9.

[63]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 55, 'En la Ciudad del Cuzco en diesysiete dias del mes de Abril de mil setecientos setenta y nueve años los Señores Don Joseph de Toledo...y Coron.l Dn Jph de Andia...sobre el expediente de asegurar los Bienes...en el obraje de Cusibamba' (1779), 373.

Taray, the expenses for wages and advance payments (socorros) for the labour force amounted in 1775 to a total of 21,560.7 pesos: 7,040.6 pesos in cash payments, a further 7,010 pesos for corn, 1,888 pesos for shalloon (chalones), 1,725 pesos for wheat, 1,656.2 pesos for coca, 1,129.7 pesos for ropa de la tierra, 936 pesos for sheep, and, finally, 175 pesos for ají[64]. The wages for the administrator of the plant of Chincheros (Huamanga), Martin de Aybar, were composed of cloth worth four hundred pesos, the yield of two mills on the estate, a plot of land for his subsistence, and one sheep a week in 1793[65].

Working conditions in viceregal textile plants are a historical field that still lacks detailed research. Based on a rather limited number of contemporary documents and reports witnessing acts of violence, while rejecting contradicting voices, modern historiography has assumed either the traditional judgement of the manufactories as a stronghold of atrocities or refrains from commenting at all[66]. However, in his thesis Tyrer has taken a prudent first step towards a revision of the interpretation of the

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[64]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 182, 'Exp. promovido pr el Sor Conde de Vallehermoso, solicitando revaja de Encabezonam.to de su Obrage de Taray...', 13.

[65]BN, Z 96, 919.

[66]For examples of accusations of excesses in a particular plant see ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 299/111 (1788) (Ayanchacra) or AHD, Col., Inten., Pedimentos, leg. 224, 'Balerian Rios parda Esclaba del Dr Don Melchor Bustamente, y muger legitima de Ylario Martínez...'(1792) (Lucre). For a prominent contemporary report see AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 178, 'Expediente relativo a las providencias qe se han de tomar en los obrajes, papa de Indios, y su trabajo', submitted to the crown in 1785 by Mata Linares. The intendant sent with the same mail a further report dealing mainly with the abuses natives were subjected to on the regional sugar estates. Carrió de la Vandera, however, valued such reports as 'exaggerated' after having visited various obrajes; see Alonso Carrió de la Vandera ('Concolorcorvo'), **El lazarillo: a guide for inexperienced travellers between Buenos Aires and Lima**, Richard A. Mazzara (ed.) (Bloomington 1965), 224-226.

working conditions in rural hacienda obrajes of the Audiencia of Quito, a region for which abundant evidence indicates deplorable working conditions[67].

Documentation on the situation in Peru is, at the same time, not only less numerous but also more inconclusive than it may appear at first sight. An interpretation of the conflicts in cloth mills as a manifestation of racial prejudices is indeed tempting, though not exactly precise. As was hinted previously in this subchapter, actual conditions in late colonial manufactories were probably far more complex than the traditional antagonistic picture of a 'white' hierarchy and a 'brown' working mass. It is not fortuitous that a considerable portion of revolts and official complaints was actually initiated by non-native labourers. The famous upheaval in the plant of Pichuychuro (Cuzco) in November 1768, for example, which ended in a bloodbath, was headed by a mulatto and a mestizo weaver[68].

Equally oversimplistic is the attempt to qualify complaints submitted by workers against the management as invariably truthful and objectively correct, but to reject the reactions of the affected officials to the respective accusations as automatically biased and unfounded. Documents emphasizing severe disciplinary problems, centring on unpunctuality and absenteeism, appeared with increased frequency in the late eighteenth century. Dismissing them as purely fictional tends to overlook that many of them actually

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[67]Tyrer, **Demographic and economic history**, 416-427, appendix E.

[68]For an account of the events see, for instance, Carlos D. Valcárcel, 'Conato indígena en el obraje de Pichuichuro', **Perú Indígena** 1:3 (1954), 31-34.

stemmed from persons who were not personally involved in the textile trade in any way[69].

The fact that anxious fathers regarded a stay in a textile mill as an appropriate measure 'for correction and punishment' of their sons may be considered as a further indicator that the topic cannot be approached in a generalized way. In 1768, a silver artisan and shop owner of Cuzco pleaded with the authorities to transfer his delinquent son to a textile plant or a cañaveral. As a result, the son was assigned to Sicllabamba for a period of one year without salary[70]. In another case, a father wanted to keep off his son from 'suspicious company' by sending him to a manufactory; a petition that too met approval[71].

1.6 Legislation and control by the crown

Royal legislation of the colonial textile sector began as early as 1565, when Philip II decreed that the Spanish American manufactories were to be subjected to the same legal

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[69]For two examples see AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 197, 'Expediente promovido en el año de 1791 al efecto de encabesonar el Obrage de Cusibamba propio de Dn Nicolas Mogravejo...', 30, document dated Saguasagua, 11.XI.1789, and AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian de Ocampo, solicitando revaja del cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...', 9. A most interesting pair of documents form the complaints of the protector de los naturales against the new tenant of the chorrillo of Amancay (Cuzco), Miguel Cañaval, and the written defence of the latter, since these two legajos illustrate in an exemplary way that the conflicts resided in a different sphere than that of racial prejudices; see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 24, '2o Cuad.no sobre la solicitud de barios Indios pa qe se les restituya al Chorrillo de Camara del de Amancay', 5-10v, and AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 25, '3.r Quad.no de los autos seguidos p.r D.n Mig.l Cañaval y Don Ant.o Gallego sobre la traslaz.n de Indios operarios' (both dated 1791).

[70]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Pedimentos, leg. 86, 'Don Casimiro de Soria vecino deesta gran Ciudad del Cuzco del Peru y Mro de la Plateria con tienda publica en ella, Padre lexitimo de Bartholome de Soria...'.

[71]AHD, Col., Inten., Pedimentos, leg. 224, 'Maria Cachura India de la Parroquia de Sn Blas, y muger lexitimo de Alverto Paucar...'(1790).

regulations as those of the peninsula[72]. Twelve years later, in 1577, viceroy Toledo issued the first of a series of ordenanzas and cédulas which were to govern this sector. They aimed at restraining excesses and abuses by putting all aspects of manufacturing activities under legal control. The protection of the labourers from exploitation formed a matter of major concern. Other important spheres comprised the definition of quality standards, such as the quantity and amount of input essential for the production of the different types of cloth[73].

Despite the introduction of a licence system and the institution of the visitas (inspection tours) as instruments of control, these legislative efforts remained in practice without lasting effect, not least because of the crown's own contradictory attitude towards the colonial textile economy. Its claims to supply the American market with Spanish cloth interfered, of course, with its interests as a principal manufacturer in the colonies themselves, first as administrator of the obrajes de comunidad, then as owner of the former Jesuit property.

The legal procedure for the establishment of both a rural and urban textile mill demanded the submission of a detailed petition to the viceregal authorities. In cases of approval, a number of temporarily restricted licences was granted according to the desired standard and size of the future plant. The manufacturer was obliged to pay an annual contribution for all major equipment installed. The basic licence for an obraje

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[72]For more details see Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 59-88.

[73]Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, 'Las ordenanzas de obrajes de Matías de Peralta para la Audiencia de Quito, 1621: régimen laboral de los centros textiles coloniales ecuatorianos', **Anuario de Estudios Americanos** 33 (1976)', 909-913, articles 32-47.

alone cost five hundred pesos in the early eighteenth century[74]. Each loom, for instance, was taxed at the rate of four pesos a year, each basin for the dye at six pesos, and a batán de agua at sixteen pesos[75].

Plants operating without licences (or whose licences had expired) were an ubiquitous phenomenon, much to the chagrin of tax-paying neighbours, who felt put at a disadvantage by this competition. Occasionally, as it is documented for two cases in Cajamarca, they chose to denounce these illegal activities to the authorities[76]. During the era of Charles III, when a more rigid system of control and collection of the taxes was introduced in connection with the Bourbon reform programme, some manufacturers tried to evade the heavy taxation their obrajes were subjected to by having them officially classified as chorrillos, although they operated them, in practice, with the same equipment as before[77].

Repeated orders from Madrid for destroying illegal installations and for punishing offenders against the regulations were openly boycotted by the local officials who, being closely related to the owner élite, acted as their mouthpiece[78]. Various decrees

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[74]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 38.

[75]For a complete list of the different manufacturing equipment subjected to taxation see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., Provincias, leg. 100, 'S.or Adm.or de Rentas Viudas. D Evaristo Carbajal Apoderodo gral dela Snor Mariscala Dna Maria Antonia Suares...dijo: Que respeto de hallarse la Fabrica del Obrage de Lucre...', 'El Administ.or de Rs Rentas en cumplimiento del mandado por VS...', document dated Cuzco, 11.V.1819.

[76]ADC, Col., Corregimiento, Mitas y Obrajes, leg. 4, documents dated 8.X.1701 and 12.II.1746.

[77]ADC, Col., Corregimiento, Compulsa, documents dated 7.IV.1780 and 3.VII.1781,

[78]See Alberto Landázuri Soto, **El régimen laboral indígena el la Real Audiencia de Quito** (Madrid 1959), 180-183 (document 38). For an example illustrating with which strategies condemned manufacturers finally succeeded in avoiding a fine see Landázuri Soto, ibid., 166-168 (document 36).

instructing the viceroys to refrain from issuing further licences encountered only reluctant observance for the same reason[79].

The visita represented the crown's instrument of control and supervision in situ. A number of ordinances obliged the provincial authorities to perform inspection tours in the manufactories at a regular interval[80]. At the same time, each individual, feeling that the ordinances in a particular plant were not adequately respected, could ask for one to be performed. The first intendant of Cuzco, Benito de la Mata Linares, described the inspection tour as a valuable instrument to counteract the 'inhuman hearts' of the mill owners and their officials[81]. In 1723, 'poor Indians' insisted on an immediate inspection in the obrajes of the city of Quito[82]. Forty years later, the protector de los naturales (protector of the Indians) of Cuzco complained in a petition that no visita had been carried out so far in the manufacturies of the partido, although the law provided for one each six months[83].

Examining the working conditions and pursuing complaints were, however, only

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[79]José María Vargas, **La economía política del Ecuador durante la colonia** (Quito 1957), 238-239.

[80]For an example see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., Gobierno, leg. 146, 'Sobre visitas que intentaron hacer varios subdelegados en sus partidos y especialmente al de Quispicanchis y aimaraes' (1800-02).

[81]AGI, Lima 999, 'Informe del Oydor y Governor Intendente Mata Linares a José Gálvez sobre los miserables Yndios en los obrajes'(1785).

[82]AGI, Quito 129, Petition for a visita according to the cédula of 30.V.1721, document dated Quito, 30.V.1723.

[83]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Pedimentos, leg. 85, 'El Protector gral de los Naturales de esta Ciud. y Provincias del distrito de su Real Caja por S.M. Dize que hallandos prevenido por la ordenanza 30 tit.o 73 libro 20 de las municipales de este Reyno; el que cada seis meses se hagan las visitas de los obrajes...' (1763).

one of the functions that a visita fulfilled. Of equal importance was its aim of imposing control over the licence system and taxation. The summary of the inspection performed in the obraje of Uchuzquillo (Conchucos) in 1817 by the intendant of Tarma recorded the answers of the labourers to nine different questions asked of them in accordance with the regulations but also revealed the fact that the plant, a property of the Augustinians in Lima, had been established and operated without official permission[84].

The mill owners were, therefore, in most cases appalled by the prospect of a visita and, as Juan and Ulloa reported, often put obstacles in an inspector's path. Joseph de Esclava, who was appointed 'chief inspector of the obrajes' in New Granada, had first to resist 'sacks of silver' offered to him and thereafter to deal with murder threats. His colleague, Baltasar de Abarca, became some years later the victim of the mere assumption that he was going to carry out a thorough inspection in the workshops of the province of Quito. He was forced to resign from the project at short notice and to flee in order to save his life, because the manufacturers had hired a hit-man in a fit of foresight as soon as the news had spread around[85].

Peru's counterparts preferred, as evidence suggests, the less violent method of intimidation to influence the course of a visita in their favour. In the case of the obraje of Sicllabamba (Cuzco), the workers (voluntarios) confessed to have been pressurized with the threat of being sent either to the adjacent plant of Pichuychuro or the local jail in Anta by the management if they told the truth about the previous upheaval in the

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[84]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Asuntos de Gobierno, 417/2749. This document is the only detailed report on a visita in an obraje so far.

[85]Juan y Santacilla and Ulloa, **Discourse and political reflections**, 138-140.

manufactory[86].

Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of such inspections were undoubtedly performed for 'mere interest and ceremony', some of them led to determined actions[87]. For example, when the visitador Mariano Maruri reported to viceroy Amat in 1766 that a considerable number of labourers was held illegally imprisoned in Cuzco's manufactories, it was immediately ordered that all of them should be released, and that each be paid twelve pesos as compensation for each year of forced labour[88]. Shortly after his inspection in Sicllabamba in 1769, the corregidor liberated the workers on his own behalf, a measure that caused a temporary restricted closure of the plant[89]. In 1799, the priest of the parish of Pampacucho (Cuzco) was accused of 'violent extraction' of some Indian labourers from the obraje of María Agustina Canal[90]. A similar attempt in 1805 concerning Taray (Cuzco), by contrast, failed[91]. These, and other examples, indicate that the colonial authorities had considerable, but not absolute, scope for curbing

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[86]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 48, 'Peticion: Don Joseph Miguel de Mendoza iniviso de la Jurisdiccion...: En las diligencias que he estado siguiendo para quese suspensa la Vizita del Obraxe de Sicllabamba'(1769), 43-43v.

[87]AGI, Lima 999, 'Informe del Oydor y Governor Intendente Mata Linares a José Gálvez sobre los miserables Yndios en los obrajes' (1785).

[88]Silvio A. Zavala, **El servicio personal de los indios en el Perú** (3 vols., México 1978-80), III, 54.

[89]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 48, 'Peticion: Don Joseph Miguel de Mendoza iniviso de la Jurisdiccion...: En las diligenicias que he estado siguiendo para quese suspensa la Vizita del Obraxe de Sicllabamba' (1769), 86-86v.

[90]AAC, XX, 4, 75.

[91]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 213, 'Sept.e 9 de 1806. Exped.te sobre cobro de 320 pesos á la Sra Condeza Viuda de Vallehermoso, pr los tributos de los Yndios qe existian en su obrage de Taray...', see particularly 5.

abuse.

1.7 Conclusion

Large-scale woollen textile manufacturing was organised in the viceroyalty of Peru in textile mills that operated, like their European counterparts, along the principles of a pronounced, labour intensive division and specialisation of work with a hierarchy of supervisors exerting controlling functions. In contrast to other Spanish American textile zones, the viceregal manufactories formed, with very few exceptions, part of the rural hacienda economy. Their geographical dispersion was primarily restricted to the sierra region where a steady supply of clear water, vital for the cleaning and rinsing process as well as for the dyeing and fulling operations, was guaranteed, together with access to sufficient quantities of white wool in different grades at reasonable prices. The type of fulling mill determined the official classification of a plant. Obrajes were units with a batán del agua, a water-driven fulling mill, in use, whereas chorrillos, irrespective of the type of the environment in which they were situated - the hacienda compound or, as in the highland cities of the southern viceroyalty, the urban context - were equipped with the technically simpler device of a batán de mano.

While the exact number of manufactories in operation is uncertain at any given date as a consequence of inadequate primary documentation, it is known that the mills themselves as well as their annexes varied considerably in size and appearance. The largest, all of which were located in the provinces of the Cuzco region, employed in excess of several hundred labourers and had more than forty looms. The overwhelming

majority of the plants were, however, of significantly smaller proportions. Church organizations controlled a considerable number of the more important mills throughout the viceroyalty.

Against a background of general labour shortage, strategies to secure sufficient manpower always ranked among the first priorities of most manufacturers, a problem shared by the other economic sectors. While the original focus was on the crown organization of the Indian population by means of the mita and yanaconaje, recruitment of men, women, and children of all ethnic origins from the free labour market became increasingly an issue in the course of the eighteenth century. Particularly attractive from the financial point of view was the employment of female and infant labour for the various unskilled tasks, as their wages were lower than those of men. In exchange for a specified sum of advance payment on future wages, the voluntary workers (voluntarios), of both sexes, committed themselves to the plant until they had worked off their debts. In many cases they were encouraged by the administration to increase their debts by purchasing expensive goods from the hacienda shop in order to prolong their stay. These three chief labour categories - mita, yanaconaje, and voluntarios -, which usually existed alongside each other within the same unit, were supplemented by contingents of seasonal workers. The large plants in the south, always in need of labour, also employed penal labourers and debt peons, who were transferred to the mills by the authorities, frequently at the request of the obrajeros.

The sector was formally organised and controlled by the crown. Indeed, from as early as 1565 peninsular and Spanish American mills were equal in law, subjected to a

series of ordinances. The means adopted to control the number of plants in operation was a licence system, on which, with the exception of those establishments owned by religious orders, an annual tax (cabezón) was levied. The visita (inspection) was the formal instrument to enforce the application of the legal regulations, with a particular stress on protecting the labourers from abuses and on detecting tax frauds. The efficiency - and credibility - of the crown as legislator was, however, foiled by the ambiguity of its rôle, since it was also at one and the same time the beneficiary of tax collection, a major manufacturer in its own right, and in more general terms the representative in Spanish America of the interests of the peninsular textile industry.

CHAPTER 2

ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LATE COLONIAL PERU

2.1 Major economic trends[1]

The newly-appointed visitador general (general inspector) for Peru, Chile and the La Plata region, Antonio de Areche, who arrived at Lima in 1777 with the task of reforming Peru's administrative, economic and financial structure, encountered a viceroyalty marked by pronounced economic inequality and social unrest.

Areche was not the first official to undertake such a mission in late colonial Spanish America. Spain's defeat in the Seven Years War, which led to the occupation of Havana by the British in 1762, induced Charles III to shift the stress of the imperial reform programme from the peninsular to the overseas context. After visitas (inspections) carried out in Cuba and New Spain during the 1760s, Peru was likely to become the next target, since her silver remittances to the crown had dwindled dramatically in the first half of the eighteenth century, partly as a direct result of high expenditure on viceregal defence and administration, partly as a consequence of the depression in the Upper

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[1]The following survey is largely based on John R. Fisher, **Government and society in colonial Peru: the intendant system, 1784-1814** (London 1970), the most exhaustive analysis of late colonial Peru.

Peruvian silver mining centres[2]. One major intention of the inspection, therefore, centred upon measures to increase Peru's remittances to Spain, either instantly by establishing an efficient system of tax collection or, in the long term, by establishing an institutional framework capable of encouraging economic and commercial activity in general.

The outlines of the ambitious programme for the inspection, defined by the Minister of the Indies and former inspector of New Spain, José de Gálvez, were probably influenced by the promising signs of a certain economic revival in at least two of the country's key sectors after the mid-eighteenth century.

Economic activity in Peru was always impeded in its development by a number of structural deficiencies. A pandemic in the early eighteenth century, that especially afflicted the highland Indians, had further reduced an already inadequate manpower. Poor internal communications made transport difficult, unreliable and high in cost. Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, the 1740s witnessed a gradual recovery of the silver output in Potosí after decades of decline. Its population simultaneously began to grow, reaching 20,000 inhabitants in 1779. A similar trend of expansion, though time-lagged, became noticeable in the 1760s for the mining industry in Lower Peru, particularly in Cerro de Pasco (Tarma). The subsequent discovery of new rich silver deposits at Hualgayoc (Cajamarca) in 1771 added to the revival.

Evidence indicates an even earlier stimulation of the viceregal textile trade. A stipulation in the 1752 lease for the hacienda of Llaqueda (Huamachuco) specified the obligation for the future tenant to install a further thirty spinning wheels in the obraje in

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[2]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 5-6.

order to 'increase production'[3]. A similar condition was laid down in the contract of the important manufactory of Taray (Cuzco) in 1758[4]. A sharp increase in equipment during the late 1750s is also documented for the plant of Porcón (Cajamarca): while the two inventories dated 1755 and 1757 showed an identical stock of 36 spinning wheels and three looms, the 1761 account mentioned no less than 52 wheels and six looms[5]. Even more substantially was the investment made in the mill of Chancay (Cajamarca) in the same period. In the 1759 inventory, most of its buildings and equipment were characterized as 'new'[6]. It clearly emerges from these cases that changed market conditions inspired the obrajeros to expand their production capacities significantly within a span of less than five years in the late 1750s. The sources do not provide an explanation for this behaviour. The time of the growth, however, implies a strong link to the demand for American cloth created by the legalization of the reparto system (i.e. forced distributions of American and European goods within the viceroyalty) in 1751.

Intensified economic and commercial activity, however, co-existed alongside regional and sectional depression. An outstanding example for an area suffering from a long-standing economic crisis were the coastal valleys of Trujillo and Lambayeque with

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[3]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 353, 437, 437v; see also appendix 2.

[4]AHD, Prot., Escrib., leg. 125, 216v.

[5]ADC, Escrib., leg. 59, 377 (1755); ADC, Escrib., leg. 60, 72 (1757); ADC, Escrib., leg. 154, 4 (1761); see also appendix 1.

[6]ADC, Escrib., leg. 60, 372.

their extended wheat and sugar estates in northern Peru[7]. Both contemporary commentators and modern historians confirm that the earthquake of 1687 as well as subsequent flood disasters caused devastating damage in these provinces, setting their economy back by decades. Cheaper suppliers started to invade successfully traditional outlets for the two cash-crop products. High-quality wheat was shipped in from Chile and sugar cultivated in provinces of the interior, like Cajamarca or Chachapoyas, undercut coastal cane. Lucrative sales prices had originally inspired many farmers in these peripheral regions to shift to sugar. Consequently, overproduction and glutted markets led in the 1740s to a drastic drop-off in price. Slave labour shortage combined with rising costs for vital supplies and tools were among the factors that aggravated the difficulties the once wealthy region had to struggle with. These gloomy conclusions are also confirmed by notarial sources[8].

Another area facing massive losses in its formerly profitable outlets was southern Peru. For centuries Arequipa, Cuzco and Huamanga had been trading the bulk of their export consignments in the mining centres of Upper Peru in exchange for unminted bullion and imported European goods. As the long-term analysis of Tandeter and Wachtel on the market of Potosí reveals, the prices for certain woollen items (sayal and sayalete) and sugar embarked on a course of pronounced and continuous decline since the 1740s

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[7]Intense research has already been done on this region. The information placed here are taken from **Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 92-94, and Susan Ramírez Horton, **The sugar estates of the Lambayeque valley, 1670-1800: a contribution to Peruvian agrarian history**, (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin), (Madison 1974), 28-33.

[8]See, for example, ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 310, 198v, for the different reasons made responsible for the 'ruinous condition' of the cañaveral of Chiquitos (Valle de Chicama) in the late eighteenth century.

until the end of the colonial era, interrupted only temporarily by stagnation or slight recovery. The most affected single article was sayalete which lost in this period compared to the late seventeenth century nearly 50% of its original value, whereas the price for sayal dropped by 30%[9]. The Cuzco region was among the principal suppliers of these commodities to Upper Peru. Huamanga contributed mainly ropa from its obrajes, in contrast to Arequipa that traded for the most part in agricultural products, such as aguardiente or ají. Although the products mentioned never represented key export commodities of the textile industry - Potosí was the classic market for ropa fina (fine woollen stuff) -, it is beyond question that this price movement reflected a general trend. A renewed downward curve in the late 1760s for American cloth finally initiated a revision of the mill owners' attitude towards their sales policy in Upper Peru. Cacamarca's (Huamanga) administrator at once reduced the volume of the consignments to Oruro, the manufactory's chief purchaser, and diverted growing quantities of cloth to the local markets[10]. Other plants in the region followed the same pattern. The silver mining centres of Upper Peru, therefore, ceased to be Huamanga's main trade target by the 1770s, after two centuries of intensive trade and commercial intercourse[11]. Cuzco's textile producers responded in an even more determined manner to the new price contractions, as table 2.1 illustrates. Within a period of seven years, cloth consignments

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[9]Tandeter and Wachtel, 'Prices and agricultural production: Potosí and Charcas', 214-219 (for textiles) and 219-227 (for sugar).

[10]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 232, Cuadro IV: 'Telas teñidas y beneficiadas: mercados'.

[11]Salas de Coloma, 'Crisis en desfase en el centro-sur-este del virreinato', 151.

from the obraje of Pichuychuro (Cuzco) to Potosí spiralled down from over 100,000 varas in 1769 to none at all in 1775. The two further potential destinations in Upper Peru, La Paz and Cochabamba, appear to have been only casual markets for this plant and were not served on a regular basis.

TABLE 2.1: Pichuychuro: Markets in Upper Peru, 1769-1775
(in Varas)

Year	Potosí	La Paz	Cochabamba
1769	101,301.5	0.0	0.0
1770	75,028.5	0.0	0.0
1771	93,709	0.0	0.0
1772	70,005.5	0.0	0.0
1773	23,255	10,848.5	0.0
1774	33,398.5	0.0	0.0
1775	0.0	0.0	0.0

SOURCE: AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, leg. 29a, leg. 30.

The incorporation of Upper Peru in the newly-established viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 brought the lingering crisis to its climax. Table 2.2 shows how the already truncated volume of trade in cloth between Cacamarca and Oruro experienced an additional setback of more than 50% in this period.

TABLE 2.2: Cacamarca: Remissions to Oruro, 1770-1780
(in Varas)

1770	40,020
1771	30,326
1772	26,083
1773	15,700
1774	---
1775	25.541
1776	11,756
1777	11,873
1778	15,562
1779	---
1780	11,987

SOURCE: Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 232, Cuadro IV.

The foundation of the viceroyalty and the subsequent introduction of comercio libre additionally undermined the monopoly of Lima's merchant guild (consulado) in Peru's export and import trade. Much of the silver extracted in the Upper Peruvian silver mines was now channelled to Buenos Aires, the more favourably situated port at the Atlantic coast, which, in turn, supplied southern Peru with the bulk of the European commodities.

The first step to initiate the Bourbon tax reform dated from 1772, when the alcabala (sales tax) was doubled to 4%. In a second phase, in 1776, this tax was not only raised again - to 6% - but was, at the same time, also extended to goods hitherto exempted. All major foodstuffs now became subject to taxation, to either the alcabala or

specially created taxes, such as the sisa for livestock and meat or the nuevos impuestos for aguardiente and wine. A series of customs houses was installed to guarantee both a close control of all traffic and an effective collection of duties. The first offices were established in the chief staple centres along the camino real connecting the northern viceroyalty with Upper Peru: Cochabamba received its customs house in 1775 and La Paz two years later.

The new aggressive tax policy instantly provoked broad resistance among the population, sometimes developing into open violence. Even as late as 1797, acceptance had not been fully achieved, for the villagers of Paruro (Cuzco) flatly refused to pay the alcabala on the sale of their home-made cloth, notwithstanding the intervention of the local customs clerk[12]. Equally persistent were the attempts to evade declaration. Consequently, sales tax fraud became the subject of countless investigations and legal proceedings, often involving secular and church officials[13].

With the exception of textiles produced in plants that belonged to church organizations, cloth, irrespective of whether it was woven in an obraje or in a village cottage, was a commodity on which the full alcabala tariff of 6% was levied. The regular procedure required for clearing a load of cloth was to obtain from the nearest customs

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[12]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Exp. sobre el Defraudo del R.l Dro de Alcavala en las ventas...porlos vecinos del Partido del Paruro'.

[13]See, for example, AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 174, 'Exp.te relativa en que D.n Pedro Flores Cienfuegos pague la Alcabala de los efectos que introdujo...'(1786), a document containing the conviction of the former corregidor of Paucartambo for tax evasion, or AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 151, 'S.r Adm.or Gen.l D.n Alonso de Hondina. Muy venerado S.r detodo respeto. Ha llegado a mi noticia que...'(1788), a report on offence in connection with taxation committed by the subdelegate, the cacique, and a cleric of Urcos (Cuzco).

authority a guía, in which the quantity of varas and the quality for each variety of cloth was registered together with its official value and its final destination. The tax was then calculated from the total sum. In apparent contrast to the situation before the reorganization of the tax system, the tariff was by the late 1770s not extracted any more at the place of the goods' final destination, but immediately at the place of declaration[14]. While the manufacturers could possibly not afford to refuse to pay the alcabala on commodities they reported at the customs, they reputedly developed considerable skills in pursuing their business outside official channels. The owner of two of the largest obrajes in the Cuzco area, for example, was accused of selling large quantities of ropa and blankets illegally at the door of his mill of Taray (Paruro)[15].

The visitador general, therefore, inherited the unenviable task of continuing a programme that had been lacking popular acceptance from the onset. His arrival in Peru coincided almost exactly with the transfer of Upper Peru to the new viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. At a stroke, Peru lost the rich mining region whose silver production had underpinned for two centuries the commercial, agricultural and manufacturing activities of much of southern Peru. It is arguable that, in the longer term, this surgery was beneficial for Peru and its entrepreneurs, for it stimulated the already existing trend for them to concentrate their investment and attention upon the hitherto neglected

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[14]Compare, for example, RA Cuzco, C16.161-6 (1775) and ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 1, 'Libros de Guías para las Provincias...' (1788).

[15]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 182, 'Expediente promovido p.r el S.or Conde de Vallehermoso, solicitando revaja de Encabezonam.to de su Obrage de Taray...'(1788), 11.

opportunities for economic growth that awaited them in the central and northern provinces of the viceroyalty. In the short term, however, many contemporaries were obsessed with the negative aspects of imperial reorganization, rather than with its potential economic benefits. Change always provokes fear amongst those who feel the preservation of their interests threatened. It was in this confused context that Areche, as instructed by the crown, concerned himself immediately with the welfare of the mining sector and the further progress of the tax reform[16]. His first measures included the establishment of a variety of privileges to support mining. Essential supplies for the industry, like firewood, iron or mining salts, remained exempt from taxation. In 1780, the price of mercury, a vital ingredient for the refining process of silver, was lowered by one-third. Mercury was a scarce commodity, since the output of the local royal mercury mine of Huancavelica was lagging far behind the actual demand of the expanding sector[17]. Extensive imports from overseas were necessary to cover acute shortages. But the vulnerability of maritime traffic, always threatened with suspension by warfare, as well as excessive carriage costs made the importation of European mercury a last resort. Various administrative reforms, aiming at increasing the mercury output at Huancavelica to such a level that it would meet the miners' consumption,

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[16]For a recent analysis of these and related issues, see the opening chapters of Serena Fernández Alonso, **La visita general de Jorge Escobedo Alcarcón al virreinato del Perú en el siglo XVIII (1782-1788)** (Jaén 1991).

[17]Escobedo, Areche's successor as visitador, pursued in 1782 the opposite policy in an attempt to regulate the demand for the item when he re-increased the mercury price.

brought only some temporary relief and ultimately failed[18]. Even in the periods of elevated annual yields, supply and demand diverged by one-third. A stream of petitions submitted by miners to the gremio de azogueros requesting additional mercury allocations reflected the situation[19].

However, in spite of supply shortages viceregal silver production, fuelled by the opening up of the Peruvian ports to direct trade with Europe in 1778, grew dramatically from 1777 onwards, doubling its output within the first fifteen years[20]. The peak result was attained in 1799 with 637,000 marks (5,414,500 pesos). Thereafter production remained, with the exception of a few years, at a high level until 1812[21]. Cerro de Pasco was the chief contributor to the expansion, yielding an average of 50% of the total volume. Unlike the other two principal mining centres, Pasco succeeded in maintaining its growth beyond the turn of the century, reaching its highest result in 1804[22].

The implementation of the Ordenanzas de minería, the new mining code, which

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[18]For all details on the reforms and their outcome see Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 75, 78, 121, and Fisher, **Government and society**, 140-144.

[19]See, for example, AHD, Col., Inten., Pedimentos, leg. 223, 'El Cap.n D.n Juan José de Belasque Cubarrubias Minero y Azoguero...'(1787) or AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, 203, 'Exp.te sobre la solicitud de d. Miguel Jph. de Zalasar para que sele den quinze quintales de Azogue'(1798).

[20]Even flexible miners, like the one at Condaroma (Cuzco), who used manure for his smelting ovens instead of firewood, were not absolved from supply problems. During the harvest and sowing season, when the Indians returned with their livestock to their villages, he was often left behind with a manure stock too small to maintain smelting for the whole period; see AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., Provincias, leg. 67, 'Pedim.to para que los indios de los Pueblos altos...concurran con la Ucha necesario para la quema de Metales'(1767).

[21]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 108, 109, Figure 2: 'Registered silver production in Peru, 1771-1824'.

[22]Fisher, ibid., 112.

was first introduced with gratifying results in New Spain in 1783, brought Bourbon re-organization of the mining sector in Peru to an end. The creation of a mining tribunal in Lima was of particular significance. It came into operation in January 1787 after the mining provinces had elected their representatives. The tribunal acted as an intermediary between the interests of the miners and those of the government as well as the mediator in cases of conflict between the miners themselves. Additionally, it provided the industry with loans and financed exchange banks[23].

The second sphere, on which Areche and his successor Jorge Escobedo concentrated much of their efforts, was the tax system. The tribute, levied on male Indians between eighteen and fifty years of age, represented an important source of revenue for the crown, but had long been neglected. A first step towards redress was to restore the inaccurate tribute lists. Rumours claiming that the tribute tax would be extended to further non-white ethnic groups caused considerable apprehension among the population, but proved to be of no substance. The adjustment of the lists, coupled with a more efficiently organized collection, soon increased the flow of silver to the royal treasury, a development that was demographically supported by an above-average rise in indigenous population during the closing decades of colonial rule.

In other areas of tax reform, the inspectors consistently followed the main lines developed in the 1770s. By the 1790s, virtually every commercial transaction was liable to taxation. Complaints about excessive financial burdens and requests for a revision of taxes imposed on haciendas and textile manufactories became a matter of bureaucratic

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[23]See Fisher, ibid., 31-53.

routine. In regions with crippled economies, the new duties were frequently blamed for failure[24]. The cloth producers of the Cuzco region, who were suffering from severe financial problems by then, particularly criticized that the alcabala of 6% was now, in contrast to previous practice, also collected from goods consumed within a manufacturing complex by its labourers for maintenance and in lieu of wages. This so-called consumo interno embraced the consumption of, first, commodities purchased from external sources and brought into the estate, and, second, all foodstuffs and manufactures produced within the hacienda itself for internal needs. The distribution of cloth or potatoes to the operarios, for example, was thus regarded by exchequer officials as subject to the alcabala, even when the goods originated from the hacienda obraje itself[25].

The installation of the intendant system in 1784, 'the key to the general programme of financial and administrative reform', had further implications for the viceregal economy[26]. It replaced the controversial corregimiento system, within which abuses committed by local officials had been one of the chief reasons for the cacique of Tinta (Cuzco), José Gabriel Túpac Amaru, to take the infamous corregidor Antonio de Arriaga into captivity on November 4, 1780. This event, culminating in the official's death a week later, initiated an unprecedented wave of violence and destruction. It

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[24]See, for example, AHD, Col., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Expediente promovido por Don Vizente Za sobre que se encavezone nuevam.te la Hacienda de Caña, nombrada Guadquiña...'(1796).

[25]Detailed statements on the problem can be found in AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 182, 'Expediente promovido p.r el S.or Conde de Vallehermoso, solicitando revajo de Encabezonam.to de su Obrage de Taray...'(1788), 2, 5v-6, and AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 197, 'Expediente promovido en el año de 1791 al efecto de encabesonar el Obrage de Cusibamba...', 1-2, 7v, 16.

[26]Fisher, **Government and society**, 29.

promptly radiated to Upper Peru in the south and northwards as far as Tarma. The Indian rebellion raged until 1783, even though its charismatic leader was publicly executed in Cuzco in April 1781. Parts of the local white élite actively supported the revolt in its first phase. Túpac Amaru's demands included the removal of the local authorities, the abolition of the reparto system and the establishment in Cuzco of a royal audiencia. After the abolition of the reparto as early as in December 1780, the introduction of the intendant system four years later satisfied the first demand, whereas the Audiencia of Cuzco was inaugurated in 1787.

In accordance with the objective of the intendant system to foment intensified exploitation of the viceroyalty's abundant natural resources, many intendants played an active role in stimulating economic alternatives. Various projects were launched to diversify overseas export trade and to reduce the country's dependence upon foreign imports. One of them tried to improve the inferior quality of the domestically produced indigo, the blue dye used in considerable quantities in cloth manufacturing, in order to reduce the dependence of the industry upon supplies from Central America.

The new administrative system also spawned to a certain extent individual initiatives. For example, in 1784 the Spaniard Francisco Suares addressed a petition to Mata Linares, the intendant of Cuzco, requesting the grant of a licence for the cultivation and processing of flax and hemp. He justified his petition with reference to the ordenanzas of the intendant system which laid down that anybody willing to turn to growing these plants would be granted all the assistance and support required[27].

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[27]AHD, Col., Inten., Pedimentos, leg. 223, 'Dn Francisco Suares Natural de los Reyes de España y residente en esta Ciudad como mas hay lugar...'.

The series of political decisions imposed on the viceroyalty by the crown in the 1770s and 1780s within the framework of its imperial reform programme determined the course of the country's economic development during the last fifty years of the colonial era. Increased remittances to the royal treasury contrasted with elevated social discontent and unrest. The following two decades were, by contrast, more a period of consolidation and consistency. The northern economies continued to benefit from high yields in silver mining despite the unresolved handicap of supply bottlenecks. Commercial traffic between the southern provinces and their outlets in Upper Peru continued, albeit at a reduced level. But the outbreak of the revolution in Upper Peru in 1809 - a reaction to the fall of the Spanish monarchy in the previous year - as well as the uprising at Cuzco five years later again ruptured and paralysed regional and long-distance trade again for several years in succession. The general political and economic crisis of the 1810s also genuinely affected the other regions of the country. The revenue exacted from the different sales taxes increasingly dwindled, since suspended Atlantic trade frustrated the shipment of vital supplies for the industries. Warfare in Spain and the rebellions in Peru itself additionally drained the royal treasury, thus causing a desolate financial situation. The incipient turmoil of the independence wars in the late 1810s brought viceregal economic activity to a virtual standstill.

2.2 Manpower

Acquisition and securing of a sufficient and steady labour force for all sectors of the Spanish market economy was a subject of major concern throughout the colonial period

in Spanish America. The substantial conjunctural upswing in Peru during the later eighteenth century not only aggravated the situation dramatically but also put limits to its growth despite a certain demographic recovery, as numerous complaints and petitions dealing with labour shortage problems suggest. Cosme Bueno noted that the output of the silver mines of Lucanas (Huamanga) could be considerably increased if more Indians lived in the province[28]. A group of officials described in a 1798 'testimonio' the lack of labour as 'one of the worst evils' affecting the silver mines at Hualgayoc[29]. Escobedo referred in a cover letter added to a petition to a general labour shortage in all economic sectors[30]. The administration of the textile mill of Chincheros (Huamanga) saw itself confronted at least on two occasions with the problem of not being able to continue cloth manufacturing because of deficient manpower: in the 1740s, when their labourers became subjected to the conscription for Huancavelica and in 1774, when there was a severe shortage of workers for unknown reasons[31]. In Chusgón (Huamachuco), cloth production was repeatedly frustrated by indios mitayos and yanaconas fleeing from the hacienda to the adjacent province of Conchucos[32]. Ignacio de Lequanda, an official from

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[28]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 76. According to Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, **Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito** (Madrid 1915), 41, the labour shortage was an even more virulent issue in the Audiencia of Quito where diverse potentially rich mining sites at Cuenca could not be exploited at all because of the lack of workers.

[29]AGI, Lima 1007, 'Testimonio', signed by a visitador and several other officials in Hualgayoc on 5.III.1798.

[30]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, Causas Ord., 129/103, letter dated Lima, 27.X.1783, see particularly 6.

[31]BN, C 2116 (1748), and AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 9: Cacamarca, leg. 4, C.17; see as well Salas de Coloma, 'Evolución de la propiedad obrajera', 383.

[32]BN, C 3619 (1795).

Trujillo and contributor of articles on the northern provinces of the viceroyalty to the **Mercurio Peruano**, for his part, attributed the main responsibility for the abandonment of the sugar plantations, that once brought prosperity to the area of Trujillo, mainly to an inadequate supply of black slaves[33].

Shortage invariably fomented abuse, frequently involving officials or ecclesiastics. Bakers in Huancavelica unscrupulously employed in their shops Indians from Cotabambas who were, in fact, destined to serve in the local mercury mines[34]. In Cuzco, magistrates forced natives from a sugar hacienda to work in the mines of Vilcabamba and in construction[35]. And in Cajatambo, the tenant of the obraje of Picos deliberately transferred twenty-four indios mitayos from the mill to his mines where he treated them so badly that many of them damaged their health[36].

In manufacturing, as in agriculture and mining, the labour force was bound to its employers by a system of contracts and informal obligations. Forms of forced labour, predominantly organized by the authorities, were supplemented by forms of free labour where necessary. The gradual substitution of the mita by voluntary workers, a process dating from the seventeenth century, initiated a fundamental alteration in the structure of labour organization. By 1760, for instance, various haciendas located in the province of

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[33]**Mercurio Peruano**, VIII (1793), 92.

[34]BN, C 76 (1730).

[35]BN, C 2738 (1775), and AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., Provincias, leg. 69, 'Lima y D.re 4 de 1775. Informe al Tnal de Cuentas y Exm S.or vista al S.r Fiscal'.

[36]AGN, IND. DER., leg. 22, C.378 (1777).

Trujillo were no longer operated by forced labour but by independent jornaleros[37].

Indisputably, the number of labourers required by the textile sector surpassed the needs of the mining industry considerably, as the following example illustrates: according to an official survey, carried out on the haciendas situated in the province of Huamachuco in 1817, at least eighteen of the total of twenty-seven estates had a manufactory in operation[38]. Assuming an average labour force of 130 persons per plant, the actual number of workers employed in cloth production amounted to 2,340 persons or about 5% of the population living in the province[39]. In comparison, the regional mining sites - Hualgayoc, Pataz, and Huamachuco - absorbed just 1,372 workers in 1799, a peak year of the silver boom[40]. If the two adjacent textile centres, Cajamarca and Conchucos, were considered in this calculation the imbalance would be multiplied[41]. Despite this significantly larger labour force required by the obraje sector, a number of specific circumstances presumably lessened the pressure exerted on it by labour shortage. Peru's textile mills were, unlike many in New Spain and Quito, not isolated factories operating in urban zones, but an integrated section of a hacienda network. It was

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[37]Lorenzo Huertas V., **Tierras, diezmos y tributos en el obispado de Trujillo (colonia - república)** (Lima 1984), 94-96.

[38]ADL, J., Col., Inten., 416/2723.

[39]The 1793 census registered a total population of 38,153 inhabitants in this province; see Huertas, **Tierras, diezmos y tributos**, 103, Table: 'Provincia de Huamachuco'.

[40]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 95, Table 10: 'Miners, productive mines, and mine workers in Peru, 1799'.

[41]The documentary material consulted for this topic contains no conclusive reference that might be relevant as a contribution to the discussion whether the existence of a mining centre had in some cases adverse affects on surrounding textile regions in terms of absorbing a part of their labour force; see Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 68, and O'Phelan Godoy, **Rebellions and revolts**, 23.

possible, therefore, to fall back in times of shortage upon the entero, either only granted for the hacienda or for both, as a resource for a steady contingent of cheap labour. Intensified exploitation of this internal potential to its limit apparently allowed in some cases a short-term expansion without a recruitment of additional workers from the considerably more cost-intensive free labour market. Moreover, a great number of operations in the manufacturing process had the character of auxiliary tasks and could be easily performed by untrained women and children.

The mining sector in Lower Peru was, by contrast, not only a relatively new industry - although Cerro de Pasco had been in operation since 1630, its major expansion dated from the eighteenth century - but also one that was legally never entitled to benefit from the mita institution[42]. Since the two long-established rural sectors employed most of the available Indian labour, it was crucial for the miners to concentrate their efforts in the acquisition of workers of other ethnic origin. Consequently, mining sites tended to have an over-average percentage of mestizos and black residents[43].

In the late eighteenth century the original entero was a shadow of its former self, but, even in this residual form, it remained significant as a tool to secure a steady and economic labour force in the two rural sectors. Frequent petitions for an official confirmation of the entero, once granted, were submitted, sporadically supplemented by an appeal for an enlargement of the contingent. The administrator of the mill of Ayanchacra, situated at a short distance from the mines of Hualgayoc, for example,

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[42]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 90.

[43]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 76; Huertas, **Tierras, diezmos y tributos**, 103, Table: 'Provincia de Huambos - Curato de Hualgayoc'.

requested in 1786 the acknowledgement of the fifty mitayos de la septima parte granted in 1749[44]. The owner of various haciendas in the same province, at least one of them with an obraje, requested in 1786 the grant of five additional mitayos[45].

The years immediately before and after the abolition of the mita institution and, provisionally, of the tribute system represented, therefore, a period of eminent crisis for the sector. In 1811, the proprietor of the estates of San Ignacio, Parrapos, and Chala (Huamachuco) instituted proceedings against the tributaries living on her properties, claiming that they had abandoned their tasks in good faith to be free persons. The two manufactories on the haciendas were particularly affected by this development[46]. Two years later, disturbances broke out in the plants of Angasmarca and Calipuy in the same province, and the adjacent obraje of Cayanchal, owned by the Carmelites in Trujillo, had to be closed down, since the labourers were no longer willing to work in it[47].

Despite lacking legal foundations, officials and miners also submitted numerous appeals for the contribution of forced labour in this period, probably, as Fisher suggests, as a result of informal conscriptions organized at earlier times by the corregidores[48]. Another aspect is certainly that many of the mine owners were also hacendados and,

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[44]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 296/65. For further examples for such requests see ADL, J., Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, 129/104, 129/105, 129/106, 129/107, etc..

[45]ADL, J., Col., Real Hacienda, Causas Ord., 129/103, document dated Cajamarca, 27.I.1786.

[46]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Compulsa, 399/2166; see especially 'Cuaderno 1' for the general background and 'Cuaderno 9' for the influence exerted by the two magistrates on the Indians.

[47]ADL, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 414/2611 (Angasmarca and Calipuy), and ADL, J., Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, Alcabala, 136/280 (Cayanchal).

[48]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 91.

therefore, familiar with the benefits all forced labour systems offered. A standard proposition in reports on how to relieve acute labour shortage in the mining sector was to conscript a large number of Indians in adjacent provinces[49]. In the same way, one of the most influential miners at Hualgayoc, Joseph Rudecindo de Casanova y Encalada, addressed in 1793 a petition to the 'sub-intendant' for a supplementary contingent of twenty-five workers, to be recruited from the nearby village of Cutervo[50]. Such requests were apparently rather indiscriminately approved by the authorities. However, it often turned out to be impossible to translate these concessions, so generously granted, into action. The local authorities responsible for the recruitment of drafted workers sometimes encountered fierce resistance on the part of the persons affected. The Indians of the parish of San Pedro de Tigllos, for instance, categorically declined to serve in the mines of one Juan Bautista Arrieto[51]. In the case of Joseph Torranteras, a miner at Condaroma (Cuzco), determined caciques impeded his administrator from collecting the natives of several villages[52]. A similar spirit was shown to magistrates, when they tried in 1796 to conscript sixty mitayos in several provinces for a drainage project in Cerro de

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[49]Baltazar Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, 'Sobre el ruinoso estado de las minas de Hualgayoc y modo de restablecerlas', in Fernando Silva Santisteban, Waldemar Soriano Espinoza, and Rogger Ravines (eds.), **Historia de Cajamarca** (4 vols., Lima 1985-89), III, 208, 212, and AGI, Lima 1007, 'Testimonio of Hualgayoc', dated 5.III.1798. For further examples see Fisher, ibid., 90-91, and BN, D 10975 (1804) where a miner from Puno expressed his hope of receiving drafted labourers also in future times.

[50]ADC, Col., Inten., Minas leg. 1, document dated Hualgayoc, 12.VIII.1793.

[51]BN, C 3035 (1780).

[52]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., Provincias, leg. 68, 'Pedimento para dar cierta Informacion por el contenido' (1771).

Pasco[53]. At the receiver end, miners like Casanova y Encalada, undeterred by such incidents, continued to submit further appeals: a few years later after his first request for twenty-five workers, he not only repeated his former petition with reference to the fact that none of the twenty-five additional labourers granted to him had actually ever presented himself at the mine, but also asked for the provision of a further one hundred persons for short-term employment in order to have his mine cleared of rubble[54].

Persistent labour shortage pressed both the miners and cloth manufacturers to look for new untapped labour resources. One potential they detected was the group of persons alternately labelled as 'idle', 'vicious', or 'drunkards'. Already in 1640, the city council of Trujillo threatened 'vagrants' with a four-year deployment in the border war of Chile unless they left the town limits without delay[55]. The crown attorney for criminal offence (fiscal del crimen) and corregidor, Pedro Geronimo Manrique, attributed the high crime rate in the city of Cuzco to the presence of 'vagrants' and advocated deportation along with corporal punishment as a remedy. However, since the large distances made this impracticable he recommended sentences to forced labour in the regional textile mills[56]. Similarly, the author of an open letter to the **Mercurio Peruano** demanded the arrest of all Indians without occupation or permanent domicile and their subsequent transfer to the

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[53]For full details see Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 93.

[54]ADC, Col., Inten., Minas, leg. 1, document dated Hualgayoc, 14.VIII.1797.

[55]ADL, J., Col., Real Hacienda, 267/3132.

[56]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 48, document dated Lima, 28.VII.1769.

mining sites[57]. In contrast to New Spain, however, where this method of acquisition of forced labour was legalized by the 'Ordinances of the Central Mining Tribunal', it remained without such a legal basis in the viceroyalty of Peru, thus probably reflecting its marginal importance for the mining sector as a whole[58].

A further option obviously favoured by many administrators in the textile sector during the late eighteenth century was an intensified exploitation of the available "free" labour force. In the contracts of the plant of Chincheros (Huamanga) it was laid down that textile workers were obliged to do other tasks 'useful for the estate' in times when raw wool shortage interrupted cloth production[59]. Six shepherds of the manufactory of Cacamarca (Huamanga) were employed for half a year annually in the obraje[60]. The tenant of the haciendas of Porcón (with a textile mill) y Rumichaca (Cajamarca) petitioned in 1786 for permission to transfer the 28 indios mitayos of the two sites occasionally to other properties belonging to the convent of Bethlehem[61]. Miners who rented or bought a hacienda or a manufactory in order to employ the labourers attached to them in their own mines, as in the previously mentioned case of a miner in

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[57]**Mercurio Peruano**, I (1792), 69-71. For more background information and examples on this topic see Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 93.

[58]Kagan, **Penal servitude**, 34.

[59]BN, Z 96, 919 (1790).

[60]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 9: Cacamarca, leg. 4, C.16 (1773), 12.

[61]ADL, J., Col., Real Hacienda, Causas Ord., 129/101.

Cajatambo, were imitating, therefore, this successful stratagem[62].

Pronounced competition forced both the miners and obrajeros to increase continually the amount of money and goods offered as socorros in order to secure labourers[63]. The administration of the plant of Polloc (Cajamarca), requiring more workers for its expanding cloth production in 1780, was obliged to attract potential labourers with 300 pesos in silver as advance payments[64]. The annual sum invested for socorros of silver, ropa de la tierra and jerga in the mill of Pichuychuro (Cuzco) amounted to the extraordinary sum of 11,602 pesos in 1773[65].

In other cases, financial rewards were successfully substituted by vague promises: investigations in connection with a violent uproar in the hacienda and obraje of Llaray (Huamachuco) in 1801 led unintentionally to the discovery of a gross case of very successful poaching, a practice so commonplace in the mining sector that it had to be legally banned by the viceroy in 1792[66]. The owner of the two neighbouring haciendas of Sangual and Carabamba, each with a manufactory, had called for the subdelegate's assistance in escorting sixteen yanaconas, who had fled together with their families from her property to Llaray, back to her own estates. As soon as the auxiliaries arrived, they

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[62]For another example see O'Phelan, **Rebellions and revolts**, 17.

[63]For the mining sector see Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 94.

[64]ADC, Col., Corregimiento, Compulsa, document dated 7.IV.1780.

[65]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.25, 'Plano o extracto sacado por menor del libro general...' (1773), 1, 2, 3, or, as another example, AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.27, 'Plan demonstrativo de las cuentas...1774'.

[66]For details and examples see Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 94, 96.

were attacked by outraged Indians handling all sorts of improvised weapons. Several soldiers were wounded. Thereafter it was found out that these sixteen Indians as well as another natives, having previously escaped from the hacienda of Porcón, had become victims of the propaganda of Llaray's owner, Tiburcio de Urquiaga y Aguirre. He had been spreading the rumour over the region that everybody who was willing to work for him would enjoy excellent conditions as well as absolute protection against his former master. In reality, the labourers were badly mistreated[67].

2.3 Textile exports from Europe to Spanish America and Peru

Spain's overseas trade with her American colonies, although based on a monopolistic claim, had, in fact, been dominated from an early stage by re-exports of merchandise originating from other European countries, thus channelling abroad a sizeable share of the silver flowing back from America. At the same time, contraband traffic was flourishing, in value surmounting that of legal trade[68]. In 1686, seven different countries consigned merchandise overseas through the port of Cádiz. The vast bulk of the commodities dispatched consisted of textiles, above all linen fabrics from France. Genoa, in the second place, contributed silk manufactures, followed by woollen items from England. Spain took only the last but one position in this particular year[69].

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[67]ADL, J., Col., Inten., 62/1058; for a detailed report on Urquiaga's tactics of 'seducción, engaños y ofertas' and abuses see particularly 'Cuaderno 2', 'Testimonio del 28.1.1801', 11v-13v.

[68]Carlos D. Malamud Rikles, **Cádiz y Saint Malo en el comercio colonial peruano (1698-1725)**, (Cádiz 1986), 31.

[69]John Lynch, **Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808** (Oxford 1989), 20, Table 1.2: 'Structure of the Spanish American trade in 1686'.

As is well known, legal trade was originally organized in a fleet system with two convoys annually leaving, first from Seville and later from Cádiz. This concept was definitely abandoned in 1740 because of its ineffectiveness. Already during the War of Spanish Succession (1713), a licence system had been introduced which authorised single vessels (registros) to trade in Spanish America, with French merchants as principal beneficiaries. The reform's immediate consequence was a significant intensification of maritime traffic, accompanied by an increased involvement of private merchant organizations, such as the powerful Cinco Gremios Mayores of Madrid[70]. For the first time, Peru and Chile could be officially supplied by Spanish as well as by French ships on the direct route via Cape Horn. In 1740-1775, a total of 101 European vessels called at the port of Callao. Excess of supply over demand caused sharp price cuts in the saturated markets[71].

However, transatlantic trade continued to be the platform for the re-export of foreign manufactures, whereas the small peninsular portion was largely devoted to agricultural products[72]. It was only after the introduction of comercio libre (1778) that this unequal balance underwent revision. Domestic exports, whose value multiplied during this era, now slightly exceeded the amount of re-exports with an average share

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[70]Agustín González Enciso, **Estado e industria en el siglo XVIII: la fábrica de Guadalajara** (Madrid 1980), 679.

[71]Sergio Villalobos R., 'Contrabando francés en el Pácifico, 1700 - 1724', **Revista de Historia de América** 51/52 (1961), 77.

[72]Lynch, **Bourbon Spain**, 155.

of 50.9%[73]. Nevertheless, the composition of the country's consignments abroad experienced no notable transformation in spite of the Bourbon programme to revitalize domestic industry.

Spain's entry into war with England in late 1796 paralysed all legal overseas transactions and left the colonies cut off from European supply. Pressurized, the cabinet was forced to issue an emergency decree in the following year which opened maritime trade to neutral vessels under the crown's control. North America, the principal power among the neutral nations, became the chief beneficiary of the new regulation, since it had already established close linkages to Central America and Chile in connection with its contraband activities in these regions during the past decades[74]. England, for her part, particularly succeeded in intensifying her presence in the Río de la Plata region. Consequently, an attempt by the cabinet to withdraw the decree two years later provoked widespread opposition in America from not only merchants and producers but also the crown's own representatives in the principal port cities of the empire. In France, the outbreak of the French Revolution and, subsequently, of the Napoleonic wars interfered with a possible restoration of the country's old-established interests in Spanish America.

Inflated production costs in the peninsular royal factories were the target of much

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[73]John R. Fisher, **Commercial relations between Spain and Spanish America in the era of free trade, 1778 - 1796** (Liverpool 1985), 46, Table VI: 'Exports from Spain to Spanish America, 1778-1796'.

[74]Arthur P. Whitaker, 'Early commercial relations between the United States and Spanish America', in R.A. Humphreys and John Lynch (eds.), **The origins of the Latin American revolutions, 1808-1826** (New York 1965), 87.

contemporary criticism[75]. The sales prices for Spanish serge and cassimere superseded, in practice, those of their British counterparts by two-thirds[76]. The fine quality of the royal stuffs was an additional obstacle for a successful marketing, since it confined them to the narrow upper end of market[77]. Attempts to counteract these handicaps in the form of price cuts and a merchandising on a broader level, showed, on the whole, no lasting effect. Ventures in offering the commodity in diverse European outlets at subsidized prices were similarly abortive[78]. More reliable in the long term was the overseas demand, although international competition made it necessary to reduce the actual sales prices even below the transport costs[79]. Notwithstanding, woollen cloth from royal plants ranked in the top scale of all European textiles traded in viceregal Peru, as indicated by the price list compiled by the intendant of Arequipa at about 1790. According to this document, paños of the first quality originating from the royal manufactories of San Fernando and the French royal plants of Sedan and Abbeyville, priced at 6.5 to eight pesos per vara, were the most expensive varieties among the 'woollens of ordinary consumption'. Slightly less expensive, with a price fluctuating between 4.5 pesos and 6.5 pesos, were the paños of the peninsular royal factories of

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[75]Jean F. Bourgoing, **Modern State of Spain**, (4 vols., London 1808), I, 103, and James C. La Force, **The development of the Spanish textile industry, 1750-1800** (Berkeley 1965), 40.

[76]Fisher, **Commercial relations**, 52. For the production costs of the mentioned manufactures see González Enciso, **Estado e industria**, 654-655.

[77]La Force, **Development of the Spanish textile industry**, 48.

[78]James C. La Force, 'Spanish royal textile factories, 1700-1800', **Journal of Economic History** 24:3 (1964), 355.

[79]La Force, **Development of the Spanish textile industry**, 42-43.

Guadalajara, Brihuega and Segovia[80]. Further promotion in the colonies was also frustrated by other factors, such as inadequate colours or sizes as well as a reluctant attitude of the American merchants in general towards Spanish products[81].

Lingering sales for cloth from the Guadalajara factory, which transacted about one-third of its total output in America, were more than once the subject of political debate[82]. In the late 1780s, it was decided 'to allow the dispatch to America of one foreign paño for every two bolts of Spanish cloth'[83]. Only a couple of years earlier, in 1786, the government had taken refuge in carrying out a survey among all religious orders in the empire in order to reconstruct their specific needs for cloth and to appeal to their sense of responsibility. In the text heading the questionnaire, the king openly accused the ecclesiastical institutions, traditional mass-consumers of woollen items, of harming the Spanish nation both economically and socially by their habit of giving preference to imported manufactures instead of considering peninsular textile products[84].

Catalonia's participation in the overseas trade had begun by 1680, when merchants sent local agrarian products, mostly wines and spirits, for transshipment to

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[80]Fr. Victor M. Barriga, **Memorias para la historia de Arequipa, 1786 - 1791. Relaciones de la visita del intendente de Arequipa, don Antonio Alvarez y Jiménez** (3 vols., Arequipa 1941 - 1948), I, n.p.

[81]La Force, 'Spanish royal textile factories', 355, and Fisher, **Commercial relations**, 52.

[82]González Enciso, **Estado e industria**, 639 (for the output data), 677 (for the export figures).

[83]Fisher, **Commercial relations**, 52.

[84]See the misleadingly titled document 'Mercado para la lana española, 1786', in Álvaro Goicochea C. (ed.), **Documentos sobre el sector urbano en Bolivia (1756 - 1877)** (Lima 1979), 7-8.

Cádiz[85]. A wide range of woollen textiles, woven in the same province, subsequently supplemented the exports. The region's colonial activities became organized for the first time with the foundation of the Royal Company of Barcelona in 1755/56. It was granted the privilege of trading in the Caribbean and Central America, but, in fact, never lived up to the expectations originally put in it[86]. A crucial impact on various sectors of Catalonia's economy was provided from 1765 onwards with the gradual opening up of the colonial market for direct trade. The port of Barcelona shipped almost 10% of Spain's total export volume to America during the free trade era, therefore taking second place in importance among the thirteen peninsular ports involved in direct trade, but lagging well behind Cádiz which still held the predominant position with 76%[87].

The regional woollen trade was substantially damaged in its overseas activities by the rapid advances of the new cotton and linen industry. Its transatlantic shipments dropped markedly after 1778, until they came close to insignificance[88]. Those of the new sector showed, by contrast, as indicated in table 2.3, an impressive, though fitful

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[85]Lynch, **Bourbon Spain**, 19, 21.

[86]Lynch, ibid., 354.

[87]Fisher, **Commercial relations**, 49, Table VII: 'Distribution of Spanish exports to Spanish America, 1778-1796'.

[88]Josep Delgado Ribas, **Catalunya y el sistema de libre comercio (1778-1818): una reflexión sobre las raíces del reformismo borbónico** (Resumen de la tesis presentada para aspirar al grado de Doctor) (Universitat de Barcelona 1981), 37-38. For the exports in 1785-1796 see Antonio García-Baquero González, 'Comercio colonial y producción industrial en Cataluña a fines del siglo XVIII', in Jordi Nadal and Gabriel Tortella (eds.), **Agricultura, comercio colonial y crecimiento económico en la España contemporánea** (Barcelona 1975), 291, Cuadro 4: 'Exportaciones de productos textiles'. For the destinations of these consignments - the most part was directed to New Spain -, see Pierre Vilar, **La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne** (3 vols., Paris 1962), III, 516, 543, 'Tableaux du commerce de Barcelona - Amérique en 1787, 1792, 1795'.

growth in 1785-1796.

TABLE 2.3: Transatlantic Exports of Indianas and Lienzos Pintados from Barcelona, 1785-1796 (in Varas)

1785	779,849	1791	1,732,850
1786	754,529	1792	2,903,852
1787	931,753	1793	1,441,299
1788	1,114,050	1794	912,947
1789	1,314,499	1795	892,129
1790	1,910,085	1796	1,144,094

SOURCE: García-Baquero González, 'Comercio colonial y producción industrial', 291, Cuadro 4.

The Atlantic trade was controlled by the large manufacturers. The Compañía de Hilados de Algodón, formed in 1772, for instance, employed 8,000 workers, dispersed between sixty factories, in 1783. The output of the 2,000 looms reached 250,000 pieces of indianas per year and was destined for colonial consumption[89]. The prominent producer Jaume Campins, by comparison, although concentrating his activities primarily on the colonial trade, also supplied various local and national markets[90]. Peninsular demand absorbed, in practice, no less than one half of the total output of indianas[91].

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[89]Fisher, **Commercial relations**, 49.

[90]Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'Los orígenes de la industria algodonera catalana y el comercio colonial', in Jordi Nadal and Gabriel Tortella (eds.), **Agricultura, comercio colonial y crecimiento económico en la España contemporánea** (Barcelona 1975), 264.

[91]Pierre Vilar, 'Discusión oral', in Jordi Nadal and Gabriel Tortella (eds.), **Agricultura, comercio colonial y crecimiento económico en la España contempóranea** (Barcelona 1975), 366.

Despite steady enhanced production capacities and fast mechanization, Catalonia's cotton sector was unable to keep pace with the accelerating demand. This deficiency was partly relieved by buying large quantities of bleached cotton and linen items in other European countries, importing them to Barcelona for printing and finally dispatching them overseas, now in accordance with the regulations classified (and taxed) as products of Spanish origin[92]. A focal point for such commerce was the international fair at Beaucaire in France, which was regularly frequented by merchants from Catalonia[93].

According to the scanty data available on the destinations of these consignments from Barcelona, New Spain invariably appears as the chief purchaser. 323,770 varas of the 1,490,759 varas of indianas shipped in 1792 were directed to the port of Veracruz, while a further 106,788 varas were consigned to Montevideo (Río de la Plata) and 21,774 varas to Trinidad[94]. Veracruz, New Spain's major Caribbean port, was also the first destination for linens from Barcelona. It absorbed together with Puerto Rico and Havana 328,194 varas of the total amount of 407,416 varas exported in the same year. Montevideo, for its part, received a modest 15,000 varas[95].

The external trade of the British woollen sector underwent a process of transition and restructuring by the mid-eighteenth century. North and Central Europe, both long-

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[92]Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'La Cataluña del siglo XVIII bajo el signo de la expansión' in Roberto Fernández (ed.), **España en el siglo XVIII: homenaje a Pierre Vilar** (Barcelona 1985), 90-91.

[93]Vilar, **Catalogne dans l'Espagne**, III, 42, 45.

[94]Vilar, ibid., III, 544, 'Tableaux du commerce de Barcelona - Amérique'.

[95]Vilar, ibid., III, 544, 'Tableaux du commerce de Barcelona - Amérique'.

established outlets of importance, had by then gradually developed textile sectors of their own and obtained a level close to self-sufficiency. At the same time, British cloth had lost parts of its market share in Spain and Portugal to French competitors. However, new opportunities, above all the recently established trade to North America and the consolidation of the formerly fragile position in the Levant, offered sufficient compensation for these losses. At the turn of the century, the British woollen and worsted sector sold, therefore, more cloth abroad than ever before[96]. This figure of success, though, masks the fact that most of the increase was in favour of the worsted sector and not of traditional broadcloth.

Legal trade to Spanish America received an essential incentive in 1713, when the crown granted the British South Sea Company the concessions of importing a contingent of black slaves into the Atlantic ports and of sending a vessel of 650 tons to the Spanish fairs, held in New Spain and Portobelo on an annual basis[97]. The introduction of liberalized trade and, subsequently, of neutral trade induced a further involvement in these activities. An observer noted in 1807 that the Peruvian ports were 'infested with English vessels'[98]. In 1818, the viceroyalty imported British goods to the value of £

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[96]Ralph Davis, 'English foreign trade, 1700-1774', in Walter E. Minchinton (ed.), **The growth of English overseas trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries** (London 1969), 101, 103, 105-106, 108, Table: 'Exports of manufactures from England'.

[97]Sergio Villalobos R., **El comercio y la crisis colonial: un mito de la independencia** (Santiago de Chile 1968), 37-38.

[98]John Lynch, 'British policy and Spanish America, 1783-1808', **JLAS** 1-2 (1969-1970), 28-29.

63,149, 95% of them textiles[99]. Woollen items from England, above all baize, unquestionably enjoyed considerable estimation in Peru[100]. Official entries of cotton fabrics of British and other origin to the viceroyalty were, by contrast, rare, despite the importation of large quantities into the La Plata region[101].

In France, a number of factors, such as demographic growth and an expanding colonial empire, contributed to a century of prosperity for the domestic textile sector with nuclei in Normandy, Brittany, and Lyons. Overseas trade focused on semi-luxury and on mass-produced cloths of ordinary consumption, since manufactures of the middle price range were too expensive for the international market[102].

Cotton and linen fabrics (toiles), originally introduced to Rouen and Brittany by religious refugees in the seventeenth century, soon became the chief export commodity of both regions, mainly directed to the colonies, which showed particular interest in

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[99]Heraclio Bonilla, **La expansión británica en el Perú** (Lima 1974), 5, Cuadro no 1: 'Perú: Importaciones de Gran Bretaña', and Heraclio Bonilla, Lía del Río, and Pilar Ortiz de Zevallos, 'Comercio libre y crisis de la economía andina: el caso del Cuzco', **Histórica** 2:1 (1978), 25.

[100]Chocano, **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco**, 26.

[101]Brooke Larson, 'The cotton textile industry of Cochabamba 1770-1810: the opportunities and limits of growth' in Nils Jacobson and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), **The economies of Mexico and Peru during the late colonial period, 1760-1810** (Berlin 1986), 153. For a comprehensive survey on the crucial role of Latin America as an outlet for the British cotton trade see, among others, Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'El impacto de la Revolución Industrial, 1780-1840' in Pierre Chaunu, Eric J. Hobsbawm, and Pierre Vilar (eds.), **La independencia de América Latina** (Buenos Aires 1973), 93, Gráfico: 'La fábrica del mundo: Exportación de textiles de algodón', and Douglas A. Farnie, **The English cotton industry and the world market, 1815-1896** (Oxford 1979), 94, 91, Table 5: 'Relative shares of the main markets of the world in the exports of the British cotton industry, 1820-1896'.

[102]Arthur Young, **Travels in France during the years 1787, 1788 & 1789**, (Cambridge 1929), 300, 306, 308.

unbleached stuff (toiles blancards)[103]. Figures referring to the volume of the overseas consignments in the 1770s suggest, however, a drop by nearly half of the quantities dispatched in earlier years[104].

The severe crisis, to which the French textile sector as a whole had been exposed in its external trade since the 1770s, reached its peak in 1789. The disruptive force of the revolutionary events brought the country's transatlantic activities to an abrupt standstill. In Carcassonne, for instance, an area that economically depended upon the export of locally produced woollen draps to Spain, 20,000 textile workers lost their income, and the output dwindled by three-quarters[105]. Parts of Brittany and Normandy, especially the region of Rouen, the 'Manchester of France', suffered from similar repercussions[106]. Paradoxically, the subsequent period of warfare initiated a substantial, albeit temporarily restricted, revival, because the vast territorial acquisitions during the Napoleonic wars opened up new markets[107].

Spain's efforts to monopolize the lucrative American trade by exerting absolute

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[103]For the export figures of toiles blancards from Rouen between 1728 and 1776 see Pierre Dardel, **Navires et marchandises dans les ports de Rouen et Du Havre au XVIIIe siècle** (Paris 1963), 202, Table: 'Exportation des blancards'.

[104]Dardel, ibid., 102-103, 105.

[105]William O. Henderson, **The Industrial Revolution on the Continent (Germany, France, Russia), 1800-1914** (London 1967, 2nd ed.), 86.

[106]Henri Sée, **Histoire économique de la France: les temps modernes (1789-1914)** (Paris 1969, 2nd ed.), 51.

[107]Sée, ibid., 94.

control over it, combined with her lack of resources for both the defence of these markets on a military basis and the maintenance of a stable flow of merchandise inevitably provoked forms of resistance and counteraction at all levels. Potential risks for contrabandists were offset by the prospect of a profit exceeding several hundred percent[108]. Inevitably, contraband and deception equally harmed the peninsular and colonial economies. Alsedo y Herrera exactly stressed this point in his 'Memorial informativo', when he blamed the British slave traders for deliberately evading existing regulations by importing vast quantities of cloth into Buenos Aires under the pretext of covering up the nakedness of their slaves[109]. The local deputy of commerce reported to the consulado of Lima in 1804 that considerable quantities of cheap foreign textiles were illegally introduced to Arequipa[110]. Twelve years later, in 1816, viceroy Abascal connected the alleged decline of the colonial textile manufactories with the unauthorised traffic in cotton fabrics[111].

The era of organized contraband trade on a large scale was initiated in 1700, when the Spanish crown authorised French ships to call at American ports for food purchases and vessel maintenance. In 1701-1724, no less than 153 French ships sailed

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[108]In 1711, for example, French merchants gained from a load of contraband Chinese products a profit between of 500% and 600%; see Villalobos, 'Contrabando francés', 63.

[109]AGI, Lima 519, Dionysio de Alsedo y Herrera, 'Memorial informativo, que pusieron en las Reales manos del Rey nuestro Señor el Tribunal del Consulado de la Ciudad de los Reyes y la Junta General del Comercio de las Provincias del Peru', 124-125.

[110]Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 232.

[111]Vicente Rodríguez Casado and José A. Quijano (eds.), **Memoria de gobierno del virrey Abascal** (Sevilla 1944), 219.

to the South Pacific region exchanging their freight mainly in Chile[112]. Further nations engaged in this field were England and Holland. According to a 1728 'informe', the South Sea Company already controlled one-third of all illegal transactions by then. Its bases were the ports of Jamaica, Barbados, and Buenos Aires[113]. In the same period, contraband goods in Peru had penetrated into such backwater areas as the villages of Huamanga's hinterland[114]. Ready availability of unregistered foreign merchandise also markedly reduced the turnover of commodities at the royal ferias in New Spain and at Portobelo[115].

Contraband traffic was not suppressed efficiently by either the licence system or the introduction of free trade in 1778[116]. Viceroy Amat emphasized in a report in the late 1760s that the annual value of cloth brought into Peru in clandestine ways exceeded 200,000 pesos. The bulk of it was shipped from the Portuguese outpost of Colônia de Sacramento to Buenos Aires and then forwarded to Upper Peru[117]. The royal privilege for fishing and trading in the South Pacific region, granted to England in 1790, fuelled the activities further. British commercial interests, however, continued to be concentrated

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[112]Villalobos, **El comercio y la crisis colonial**, 25.

[113]Malamud Rikles, **Cádiz y Saint Malo**, 38.

[114]Mendizabal Losack, 'Dos documentos sobre obrajes de Huamanga', 275.

[115]George H. Nelson, 'Contraband trade under the asiento, 1730-1739', **American Historical Review** 51:1 (1946), 65. The Chilean merchants even ceased to participate; see Villalobos, **El comercio y la crisis colonial**, 28.

[116]AGI, Lima 1445, 'Testimonio', dated 11.V.1786; see also the communication of Jorge Escobedo, dated 23.V.1786, where he complained in general terms about the disorganization of free trade traffic and abuses committed.

[117]BN, Z 590 (1767).

on the Río de la Plata ports, especially during the period when the Napoleonic wars impeded trade in Europe. In order to limit the damage for its economy, the British government encouraged transatlantic contraband traffic[118].

The United States, for its part, ruled over the South Pacific trade by the end of the eighteenth century. A total of 257 unlicensed vessels cruised in this sector in 1788-1809[119]. Even after the inauguration of the neutral trade decree in 1797, a dozen of the 226 ships, which called at Chilean ports in 1797-1809, were prosecuted in connection with contraband violations[120].

While the extent of this open form of illegal activities can be at least partially reconstructed by research, other, less apparent forms defy such an approach, although they were, in the long term, probably equally efficient. There is documentary evidence that many of the ships had actually carried a far higher portion of foreign merchandise than officially allowed[121]. One particularly obstinate practice was false marking. In 1786, to quote one case, Jorge Escobedo sent various samples of fine stockings and cotton velvets, which had been registered and taxed as peninsular products, back to Spain for an examination of their origin, because their superior quality led him to suspect that

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[118]Lynch, 'British policy and Spanish America', 24.

[119]Villalobos, **El comercio y la crisis colonial**, 149.

[120]Whitaker, 'Early commercial relations', 90.

[121]Juan y Santacilla and Ulloa, **Discourse and political reflections**, 59.

they were, in fact, contraband commodities[122].

2.4 Conclusion

Falling silver remittances from Peru to Spain in the first half of the eighteenth century was one of the main reasons for the Minister of the Indies to subject the viceroyalty to a visita general under the control of Antonio de Areche. His programme included appropriate reforms in the economic, financial and administrative spheres, primarily for the purpose of improving the revenues of the royal exchequer by stimulating the exploitation of Peru's rich natural resources, particularly in mining and agriculture.

In reality, Peru's economy was not in decline in all sectors and regions in the two decades prior to Areche's arrival in Lima in 1777, despite low production in general. The textile industry, for example, while facing a sales crisis in the southern parts of Peru, clearly experienced at the same time a process of expansion in the 1750s in the context of the legalization of the reparto system throughout the viceroyalty. Similarly, activity in the mining sector in Lower Peru increased steadily from mid-century and gained further momentum with major new discoveries in the 1770s, above all at Hualgayoc.

The first phase of reforming the sales tax system in the 1770s had revealed a high potential for discontent and social unrest among the viceroyalty's population. This climate of general uncertainty and apprehension was increased by the incorporation of the silver-

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[122]AGI, Lima 1445, 'El Superintendente de la Real Hacienda a Lima consulta con dos testimonios y muestras de unas medias, y terciopelos de Algodón...', dated Lima, 20.V.1786. Other examples are AGI, Lima 1445, documents dated 21.V.1785 and 9.VI.1787, both referring to probably falsely marked velvets, stockings, and yarn.

rich Kingdom of Upper Peru in the newly created viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776, since it affected not only the long-standing commercial relationship of the producers of agricultural and manufactured goods in Lower Peru with the consumption centres in Upper Peru, but also further undermined the flow of silver from Potosí and Oruro to the truncated viceroyalty.

In accordance with the instructions for the visita, Areche - and later his successor Jorge Escobedo - concentrated much of their efforts on measures to support Peru's mining industry. However, perhaps even more important as a factor contributing to the growth of silver production from the mid-1770s - its yield doubled within fifteen years, reaching its peak in 1799 and then remaining at a high level until the early 1810s - was the opening up of Peru to transatlantic and intercolonial trade in 1778, coupled with the subsequent ready availability of overseas commodities in Peru's major markets.

In the field of tax reform, particular emphasis was laid on a readjustment of the tribute lists and a rationalization of the procedures for collection. At the same time, the sales tax was further extended. The outbreak of the Túpac Amaru rebellion in November 1780 accelerated the abolition of the reparto system and the introduction of the intendant system, but had, at the regional level, severe repercussions on the respective economies of the southern part of the viceroyalty, a development that was later aggravated by the outbreak of revolutionary activities in Upper Peru in 1809 and by the 1814 rebellion in Cuzco.

Labour shortage was one of colonial Peru's crucial obstacles to economic growth, a problem which became particularly apparent in the second half of the eighteenth century, when in many parts of the viceroyalty all three main economic sectors - mining, textile manufacturing, and agricultural production - conspicuously expanded. Despite the fact that cloth production was by far more labour intensive than silver mining, the obraje industry, although affected by an insufficient number of workers, was less exposed to acute shortage, as the hacienda network guaranteed more internal flexibility. Moreover, many tasks within the working process demanded no special skills and could be performed by women and children.

By the late eighteenth century, the only mining centre in Lower Peru formally entitled to a regular supply of indios mitayos was Huancavelica. Nevertheless, there was often mutual co-operation between the authorities and the miners in cases where the latter requested the assignment of contingents of mitayos, although this was much more difficult to arrange in recently established centres (Hualgayoc, for example) than in those with long experience of informal arrangements. The labour shortage in northern Peru was accentuated by not only the relative infancy of major mining activity there but also by competition in the limited labour pool between miners, hacendados and obrajeros. The formal abolition of the mita in 1812 created temporary production problems in the hacienda and textile sector, and, more significantly, a climate of general insecurity, despite the fact that most of the labour was by then recruited from the "free" labour market. In a context where demand for labour exceeded surplus, one consequence was that the advance payments which had to be offered by employers to voluntarios reached

unprecedented amounts.

Textiles from different European regions had always constituted the bulk of the goods sent to Spanish America by both legal and contraband channels. Until 1778, when comercio libre was extended to the viceroyalty of Peru, legal transatlantic trade was mainly effected under the auspices of the Spanish crown by licensed single vessels (registros), since the fleet system, formally abandoned in 1740, had proved to be inefficient for the maintenance of an adequate commercial exchange. Peru's international trade expanded in the 1780s and early 1790s, but the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and England in 1796 paralysed maritime traffic, until an emergency decree in the following year allowed restricted trade activities for neutral vessels under the crown's control. The chief beneficiaries were entrepreneurs from the United States and England, who could both rely on a long-established commercial network in Spanish America. To a certain extent, this network had been constructed around contraband activity, which had continued to play a central rôle in the history of the transatlantic trade to Spanish America, even after the introduction of comercio libre. Contraband undercut in many cases the sales of commodities supplied through legal channels. How, then, did Peruvian textile production fare in the more open and competitive commercial environment of the late eighteenth century? This question will be addressed in the remaining section of this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION TO THE VICEREGAL TEXTILE ECONOMY

3.1 Output and specialization

Detailed and reliable figures on the overall output of the Peruvian textile sector were as rarely given by contemporaries as any other quantitative data concerning the industry in question. The statement of Joseph de Lagos in his 'Projecto económico', written in 1786, where he estimated the annual cloth output of both sectors, the obrajes and the chorrillos, at 1,641,360 varas to the value of 512,924 pesos is the only known exception[1]. However, when set alongside the few official figures concerning internal demand and exports in the same period, this assertion seems to be too conservative. While the province of Abancay, a sugar and cloth centre in the Cuzco region with approximately 25,000 inhabitants, had reportedly an annual cloth consumption worth 12,000 pesos in the early 1790s, the industry's export consignments to the Río de la Plata and Chile amounted to 970,000 varas in 1790[2]. These data projected onto the viceroyalty's total

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[1]AGI, Lima 1029, Josef de Lagos, 'Proyecto económico', Madrid 1786, capítulo 20, parágrafo 44. The author, therefore, valued the vara cloth at an average price of 2.5 reales.

[2]Vollmer, Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur, 260, AZ 1: 'Bevölkerung des Vizekönigreichs Peru (1792)'; **Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 150 (for the consumption in Abancay), and ibid., I (1791), 228a, Estado Número 1: 'Extracto del mutuo comercio de efectos del país' (for the export data).

population, which numbered about 1,100,000 persons in 1792, would have equalled a domestic consumption to the value of 528,000 pesos. To this sum must be added the sales value of the remittances to the southern American colonies. Since Lagos supposed an average price of 2.5 reales per vara, these exports represented a value of roughly 300,000 pesos. Hence, the overall consumption based on this hypothetical calculation would have come, in fact, to nearly 830,000 pesos a year.

These estimations, whatever their merits, gain more shape when put in comparison with the figures of the silver mining output in this era. In 1786, the year in which Lagos finished his study, the viceregal exchequer offices registered a silver extraction to the value of 347,834.4 marks, a sum worth 2,956,667 pesos[3]. This impressive performance clearly underlines the economic predominance of Peru's silver mining sector over the textile industry in terms of productivity in this period of relative wealth.

Supplementary documentation offers a certain insight into the production capacities of some cloth mills. Cuzco's plants equipped with up to fifty looms had, of course, an annual output that exceeded in volume many times that of the relatively modestly sized obrajes in the northern sierra. Pichuychuro and Taray, to quote two examples, each manufactured roughly 100,000 varas of ropa a year in the 1770s and

[3]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 124-125, Appendix 1: 'Registered silver production in the viceroyalty of Peru 1771-1824 by caja'.

1780s[4]. In the adjacent Huamanga area, the regionally important plant of Cacamarca produced an average of 34,123 varas annually in 1768-1785, a quantity that was a mere fraction in comparison to these large plants[5]. In the northern highland, to quote a further instance, the output of the medium-sized obraje of Marabamba (Huamachuco) was confined, one year after the discovery of silver at Hualgayoc, to 16,817.5 varas only[6]. It should be recognized, however, that the annual production was prone to notable fluctuations related to a wide range of parameters, which included accessibility of manpower and supplies or, as an external factor, unreliable demand in the major outlets. The production figures of Cacamarca oscillated between 51,335 varas in 1772 and 2,480 varas in 1784 during the aforementioned period.

Like all enterprises that have markets with a firmly defined demand, the manufactories aligned their production to these particular requirements. The urban conglomerations together with the mining centres were the main purchasers of ropa, a term referring to the variety of cloth that was perhaps the most circulated one in the viceroyalty and Upper Peru. The miners consumed large portions of ropa of the superior quality (ropa fina), with Potosí showing a particular preference for cloth in turquoise.

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[4]For Pichuychuro see AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, 21, 'Cuentas delos Administradores del Obraje de Pichuichuro...1773', 1; for Taray see AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 182, 'Expediente promovido p.r el S.or Conde de Vallehermoso, solicitando revaja de Encabezonam.to de Obrage de Taray...'(1788), 12v.

[5]This figure is calculated on the basis of Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 231, Cuadro III: 'Telas tejidas: volúmenes de producción y existencias'.

[6]ADC, Col., Donaciones particulares, 'Cuenta de Cargo y Descargo de la Hacienda de Marabamba'(1772).

While the manufacturers of the Cuzco and Huamanga region, who had their chief outlets in Upper Peru, therefore, dedicated their output to the weaving of ropa in different grades and colours, the obrajeros of Huamachuco and Cajamarca, who supplied mainly the coastal cities, produced a diversified range of woollen and cotton cloths[7].

In contrast to the names given to the different types of woven goods made by artisans or natives, which altered from region to region, large-scale textile products were classified in trading categories[8]. Among the principal woollen commodities traded within the viceroyalty and abroad, ropa, pañete, and bayeta (baize) represented the finer quality grades, which were in general similar in price. Ropa and baize of export quality were also produced in substantial quantities by the urban textile industries of Huamanga and Cuzco. Sayal and cordellate, woollens that were especially popular during the seventeenth century, were graded in three quality classes (finas, medias, ordinarias). Finished in a coarse texture, they were mainly used for trousers, blankets, and even saddlebags[9]. Jerga, also divided into these three categories, served predominantly as wrapping material and sacks for goods[10]. It was usually not fulled and never dyed. Tocuyo, whose manufacturing was traditionally largely confined to urban workshops in the southern

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[7]For examples referring to the context in the northern part of the viceroyalty see ADC, Donaciones particulares, 'Cuenta de Cargo y Descargo de la Hacienda de Marabamba' (1779-1781), and ADC, Escrib., leg. 60, 372 (Chancay).

[8]For further details in general see 'Glossary of textile manufactures and measures', 9-10.

[9]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 51.

[10]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, 21, 'Revission hecha enesta Direccion general de Temporalidades de la Cuenta...porlo perteneciente al Obrage Nombrado Pichuichuro' (1772), 5-5v.

sphere with Huamanga and Arequipa as the principal centres and, in the northern region, to provinces with easy access to raw cotton, like Piura and Chachapoyas, was 'a cotton fabric of an ordinary texture produced in the provinces of Peru and the kingdom of Quito which is consumed in large quantities, because the poor people use them for clothes'[11]. Its principal dressing purpose was to be worn in two pieces as underwear and shirt by the indigenous population[12].

3.2 Raw material and supplies

Pre-industrial cloth manufacturing consumed substantial quantities of both raw wool and supplies. One pieza of paño, the blue variety of pañete, with a length of fifty-five to sixty varas, for example, required an input of 109 kilograms of white wool of the finest grade[13]. Coarser types of cloth, by contrast, demanded significantly smaller amounts of lower classified wool. Brown wool, notorious for the short fibres of its fleece, was used in the making of jerga[14].

A key problem of all mill owners and their administrators was how to organize an adequate supply of wool of the right kind as well as to secure it at a reasonable price. The easiest and most promising strategy for minimizing the risks the purchase of wool

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[11]Alsedo y Herrera, **Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito**, 80, note 45.

[12]Jorge Juan y Santacilla and Antonio de Ulloa, **A voyage to South America** (New York 1964), 137.

[13]Cushner, **Farm and factory**, 109.

[14]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 51.

from the free market offered, was to produce it on the hacienda compound itself. In this case, the frequently high cost of transport could be avoided, as could seasonal disruptions of supply. Moreover, this system allowed the manipulation of the size of the sheep flocks in precise accordance with the ongoing production. In times of sluggish demand for cloth, surplus wool could either be stored or put on the market for sale. The owner of the hacienda obraje of Uningambal (Huamachuco), Urquiaga y Aguirre, successfully speculated in such transactions. On the estate itself 23,600 sheep were kept, providing a yield that exceeded the actual need of the manufactory. Nevertheless, Urquiaga bought up more wool on various occasions in 1813/14 and sold it together with his own surpluses for a gratifying profit to other haciendas[15].

The churro, the viceregal wool sheep, was a breed with an extraordinary aptitude for the barren environment of the puna, the highland pastures, but only provided a modest return. The yield per sheep in Huamachuco was at most two pounds of cleaned wool per year[16]. Flocks of 20,000 sheep and more were, therefore, a common feature for textile mills that favoured the principle of self-sufficiency[17]. In an individual attempt to improve both the quantity and the quality of the wool, the new proprietor of the manufacturing complex of Huacaris in the same province invested 2,000 pesos in the importation of purer bred merino sheep in 1772, a venture indisputably connected with

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[15]ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 104/1757, 'Cuaderno 1' (1815).

[16]Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, 'Geografía histórica de Huamachuco (1759-1821)', **Historia y Cultura** (Lima) 5 (1971), 37. For a general reference see Romero, **Historia económica del Perú**, I, 201.

[17]See, for instance, ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 289, 324 (Sangual), ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 369, 136 (Carabamba) or ADC, Escrib., leg. 146, 398v (Porcón).

the growing mining activities at Hualgayoc[18].

A further simple strategy to guarantee the required amount and grade of raw wool was to purchase it from other haciendas in the same area. Obrajes like Pumpa or Sinsicapa, which were situated along the western Andean slopes of Huamachuco, benefitted from a markedly milder climate than those located on the exposed mountain plateaus in the same partido. They naturally devoted their arable territory to the cultivation of lucrative cash-crop products rather than to sheep raising. Pumpa kept no more than 300 sheep on its land and Sinsicapa, despite six looms in operation, only 3,500[19]. In some cases, as in the lease concerning the hacienda manufactory of Chala (Cajamarca), the provision of supply was settled as part of a contract. In this particular example, the estate of Sondor was obliged to deliver a certain quantity of wool at a fixed price each year[20].

Contemporaries also reported self-sufficiency in wool supply for the other textile centres located in the northern part of the viceroyalty (see map 5)[21].

The system of provision, which the cloth manufacturers of the Huamanga and Cuzco area had in operation, displayed fundamentally different characteristics than that of their counterparts in Huamachuco and Cajamarca. Since they were located in regions

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[18]ADC, Donaciones particulares, 'Cuentas de Cargo y Descargo', 'Hacienda of Huacaris'.

[19]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 356, 95 (Pumpa; the year of reference is 1757); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 355, 57v, 70 (Sinsicapa; the year of reference is 1755).

[20]ADC, Escrib., leg. 56, 18-26v (1738).

[21]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 39 (Huaylas), 42 (Conchucos), 44 (Huamalíes); see also Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 198 (Huamalíes), 202 (Conchucos), 204 (Huaylas).

excellent for growing cash-crops, they frequently kept sheep purely for meat supply[22]. The most important external source for wool purchases was the Collao, an extended puna zone situated between the province of Tinta and Lake Titicaca (see map 5). Sheep's wool from this region was of the best quality produced in Peru. This form of supply, however, where long distances had to be covered, held specific risks. The heavy rainfalls during the Andean summer always restricted traffic to only six months a year[23]. In times of drought, moreover, communications were often disrupted by the lack of pack mules and shortage of pasture[24]. In 1781, when the outbreak of the Túpac Amaru rebellion abruptly suspended any trade activities between Lower and Upper Peru for three consecutive years, the obrajeros of Huamanga faced, not unexpectedly, insoluble technical problems in the weaving of fine cloth, their main commercial product, because the only accessible alternative, wool from the central province of Jauja, proved to be too short-fibred for this purpose (see map 5). After the establishment of independence, the British woollen trade started to import increasing quantities of sheep's wool from southern Peru and Bolivia, a development which initiated a period of substantial economic upswing for the sector[25].

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[22]The mill of Taray with twenty-six looms in operation in 1798, for instance, had no more than 230 sheep on its extended hacienda compound in this particular year; see AHD, Col., Real Audiencia, Causas Ord., 30/431, 53.

[23]AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 18, '1.o Quaderno de los Autos seguidos por el R.al Padre Maestro Fray Angel de Zegarra...sobre que su Convento le Satisfage Cant.d de p.s...' (1789), 64.

[24]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 216.

[25]Mariano E. de Rivero y Ustáriz, **Colección de memorias científicas, agrícolas é industriales publicadas en distintas épocas** (2 vols. in 1, Brussels 1857), II, 244-245, 247, 248. For Puno's postindependence wool exports to England see Rory Miller, 'The wool trade of southern Peru, 1850-1915', **Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv** 8 (1982), 297-311.

In the Cuzco region, the two provinces of Quispicanchis and Tinta produced considerable amounts of wool[26]. Spinners in the villages processed the wool to yarn (telas) and sold them to the textile mills, thus somewhat reducing the dependency of the local cloth industry on supplies from the Collao. The customs records of Cuzco registered the entry of a total of 624 pieces of tela between January and September 1776[27]. In the previous year, the manufactory of Taray forwarded eighty surplus pieces to that of Pichuychuro, while the urban plant of Huancaro exported a further 136[28].

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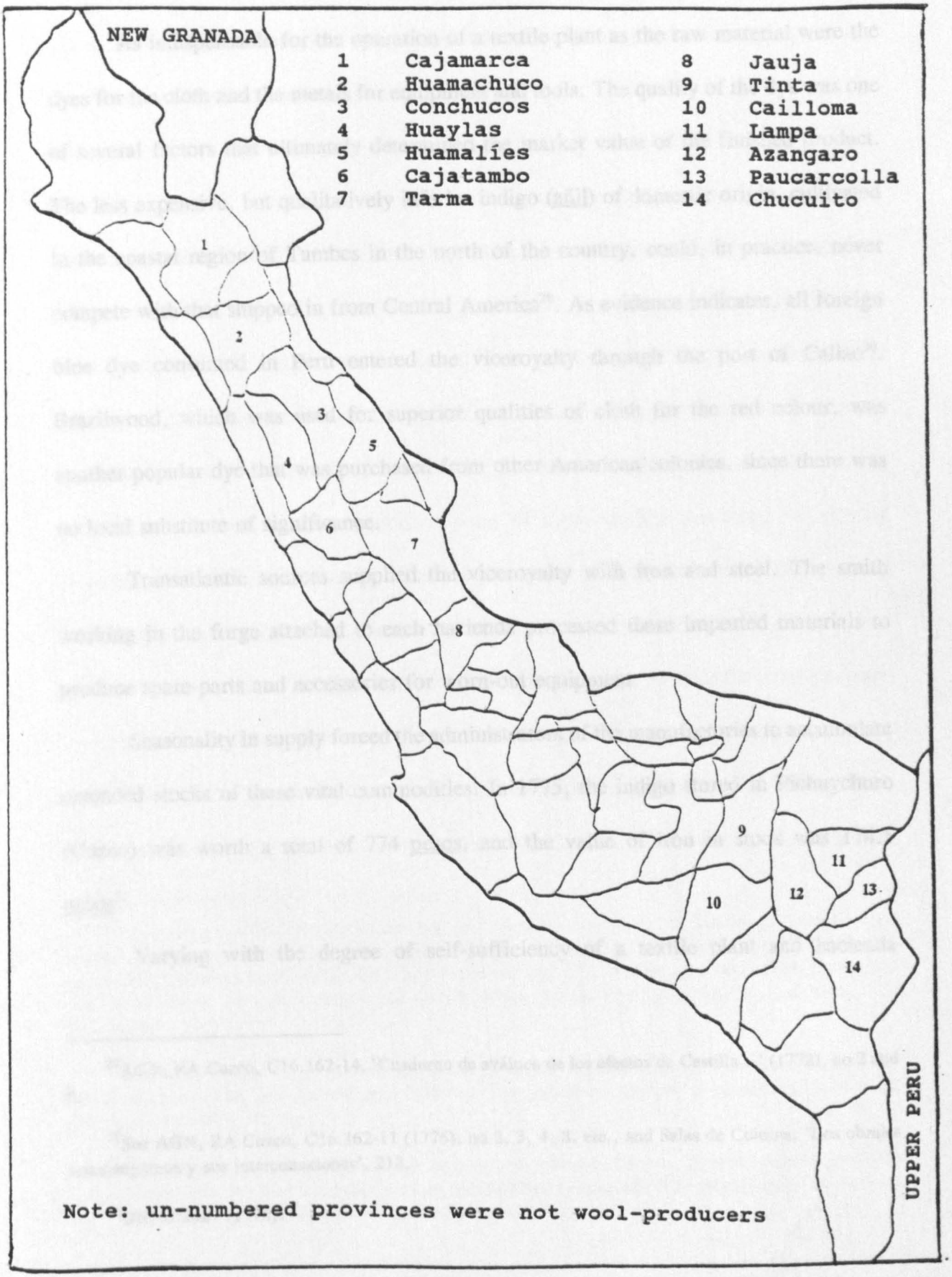
[26]Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 299 (Tinta), 300 (Quispicanchis), and Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 243 (Tinta).

[27]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-10, 'Cargo de los Pesos que se han enterado en esta Real Aduana del Cuzco...1776', 4, 29, 31, 32v, 34, 34v, 35, 37, 39.

[28]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.161-6, 'Cargo de los pesos por el Rl Dro de Alcavala...del Cuzco...1775', no 1, 6, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 35.

MAP 5: Principal Wool Centres in Colonial Peru



Note: un-numbered provinces were not wool-producers

SOURCE: Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**; Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**

As indispensable for the operation of a textile plant as the raw material were the dyes for the cloth and the metals for equipment and tools. The quality of the dye was one of several factors that ultimately determined the market value of the finished product. The less expensive, but qualitatively inferior indigo (añil) of domestic origin, cultivated in the coastal region of Tumbes in the north of the country, could, in practice, never compete with that shipped in from Central America[29]. As evidence indicates, all foreign blue dye consumed in Peru entered the viceroyalty through the port of Callao[30]. Brazilwood, which was used for superior qualities of cloth for the red colour, was another popular dye that was purchased from other American colonies, since there was no local substitute of significance.

Transatlantic sources supplied the viceroyalty with iron and steel. The smith working in the forge attached to each hacienda processed these imported materials to produce spare parts and accessories for worn-out equipment.

Seasonality in supply forced the administrators of the manufactories to accumulate extended stocks of these vital commodities. In 1775, the indigo stored in Pichuychuro (Cuzco) was worth a total of 774 pesos, and the value of iron in stock was 174.5 pesos[31].

Varying with the degree of self-sufficiency of a textile plant and hacienda

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[29]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-14, 'Cuaderno de avâluos de los efectos de Castilla...' (1772), no 2 and 8.

[30]See AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-11 (1776), no 2, 3, 4, 8, etc., and Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 218.

[31]BN, C 2427 (1775).

network, the range of materials also comprised a selection of goods of everyday use like wax, firewood, sacks, mules, and cow-hides[32].

3.3 Technology

Criticizing the technological standard adopted by the cloth industry of the viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada as essentially backwards is a common feature in modern historiography[33]. Its arguments refer to the fundamental transformation textile production underwent in Europe during the late eighteenth century, compared with the apparent immunity to any modernisation in the colonial manufactories apart from a certain trend towards rationalization, a point of view already expressed by viceroy Guirior in 1776, when he complained of the reluctance of the Indians to use the spinning wheel and other devices to simplify the spinning and weaving processes[34].

Two innovations the Spaniards introduced in Peru shortly after the conquest were the spinning wheel and the treadle loom. While the latter was immediately accepted, since it facilitated not only the weaving of unlimited lengths but also allowed the variation of the width, when aided by one or two assistants, the new spinning technique

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[32]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 9: Cacamarca, leg. 4, C.21, 'Razón de los efectos que remitió de la Administración General de Temporalidades al Obraje de...Cacamarca...'(1782) or, for the case of Pichuychuro (Cuzco), AHD, Col., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Año de 1796. Expediente promovido por...D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja del cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...'(1796), 9v.

[33]See, for example, Tyrer, **Demographic and economic development**, 225; Gootenberg, **Between silver and guano**, 46, and Pedro Santos Martínez, **Las industrias durante el virreinato (1776-1810)** (Buenos Aires 1969), 30.

[34]For rationalizations in the Huamanga obrajes see Salas de Coloma, 'Evolución de la propiedad obrajera', 386-387. For Guirior's statement see Gabriel Giraldo Jaramillo (ed.), **Relación de los virreyes de la Nueva Granada (Memorias económicas)** (Bogotá 1954), 74.

never entirely succeeded in superseding the traditional - and still nowadays popular - hand spinning method of the drop spindle, particularly in southern Peru's obrajes, whereas it was apparently willingly adopted in the northern textile centres of the viceroyalty[35]. In use were simple wooden devices along with wheels equipped more expensively with iron accessories[36]. Rather widespread in the sierra was also the torno de canillar, a gadget to rationalize the process of winding the yarn on bobbins[37].

A number of manufacturers applied a form of the putting-out system to rationalize the labour-intensive spinning process. It is recorded for the plant of Cacamarca (Huamanga) that cleaned wool was distributed among hand spinners (maquipuras) in the villages within the same province[38]. Yarn for the Huamanga mills was also produced in the Collao itself[39]. References like that in the 1803 inventory of the obraje of Otuto (Huamachuco) where it was registered that thirty-three out of the total of 87 spinning wheels were not installed in the manufactory itself but 'in charge of Indians' strongly suggests a dispersion of the system throughout the viceroyalty[40].

It is generally known that the Industrial Revolution had its initial take off in the

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[35]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 51. The ordinary width of the looms for ropa in Peru was restricted to one vara. Larger looms were so exceptional that they were separately listed in the inventories; see ADC, Escrib., leg. 59, 99v (Curucancha).

[36]See, for example, ADL, J., Col., Temp., 276/3481, and ADC, Escrib., leg. 140:I, 206.

[37]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 272, 294.

[38]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 9: Cacamarca, leg. 4, C.16, 'Inventario del Obrage de Cacamarca hecho en 1773', 1v.

[39]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 210.

[40]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 308, 172-172v. For a similar reference see AGN, Temp., Administrativos, leg. 232, 53 (Parrapos).

British textile sector at about 1780. Much less recognized is, however, the fact that those first steps towards technological transformation were exclusively confined to the manufacture of cotton cloth and, to a far more limited extent, to the worsted production. The old-established woollen sector, for its part, which had been dominating both the home and the foreign trade for centuries and continued to remain in this leading position until the turn of the century, was merely marginally affected[41]. One reason for this considerable delay was that it proved to be technically impossible for a further two generations to adapt the fragile and relatively short raw fibres used in the woollen production to large machinery. The other principal reason resided in the craftsmen themselves, who, organized in guilds, vehemently opposed the introduction of each mechanical innovation as they felt their livelihoods threatened. The cotton industry, by contrast, was of no major importance before the eighteenth century and lacked, therefore, a long-standing artisan tradition, preserved and handed down by guilds. Furthermore, in its early phase cotton cloth production did not compete in the domestic market with the woollen industry, since it sent almost 90% of its output overseas until 1770[42].

Textile production in pre-industrial Europe was based on three principal technical devices: the fulling mill, the spinning wheel, and the flying shuttle. The mill, an invention of the late twelfth century, performed the final cleaning, softening, and

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[41]In 1800, the British woollen and worsted industry represented by value more than 25% of the total exports of this year and, therefore, surpassed the share of the cotton fabrics by several points; see Eric Pawson, **The early Industrial Revolution: Britain in the eighteenth century** (London 1979), 106 and 220, Table 9:2 'Structure of the domestic export trade, 1700-1800'.

[42]Hobsbawm, 'El impacto de la Revolución Industrial', 69.

scouring of the undyed cloth and was water-driven[43]. Its fittings remained unaltered until a steam powered engine was available by the early nineteenth century. The subsequent introduction of the spinning wheel and the flying shuttle provoked in Europe, surprisingly enough, very similar reactions among the textile workers as the introduction of the spinning wheel and the treadle loom did in Peru. The former, although known since the Middle Ages, did not fully displace ancient techniques until the first half of the eighteenth century[44]. The flying shuttle received a much swifter acceptance. It was invented in the 1730s and was singularly suitable for the weaving of broad woollens. Apart from further rationalizing the weaving of any width of cloth, it also improved its quality. However, Haenke's description of the basic technology used for the weaving process in late colonial Peru strongly suggests that the flying shuttle had not yet found its way into the viceroyalty.

Despite these early efforts, spinning and weaving continued to represent the two bottlenecks in textile manufacturing. Weaving output entirely depended upon the quantity of prepared wool available. The ten looms installed in the obraje of Carabamba (Huamachuco), for instance, were fed by more than one hundred spinning wheels[45]. Inevitably, the early efforts of mechanization focused on these two operations. A first breakthrough was achieved by the invention of the spinning jenny in 1764. This hand-driven, portable machine with up to 120 spindles was suitable for all fibres and was

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[43]John Addy, **The textile revolution** (London 1976), 9.

[44]John H. Clapham, **A concise economic history of Britain from the earliest times to 1750** (Cambridge 1951, 2nd ed.), 239.

[45]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 369, 132v-133.

especially designed for domestic use. By the 1770s, its dispersal included the whole British Isles; a decade later, it was found all over Europe[46]. The subsequent attempt to introduce power technology in the cotton trade, a development of the 1780s and 1790s was initially boycotted, however, by the textile workers as both new machines, the water frame as well as the spinning mule, were factory-bound. Only after their definitive introduction in the nineteenth century could fabrics like cambric and muslin, which required particularly fine cotton yarn, be produced on a large scale. Consequently, even in 1803 a mere 10% of the British textiles sold were, in fact, industrially manufactured, a trend that persisted for further decades[47]. Mechanisation of the finishing operations - bleaching, dyeing, printing, and fulling - completed the industrial production cycle for cotton cloth in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The sharp downward spiral of the prices for cotton stuff throughout the nineteenth century was, however, primarily the result of declining prices for the raw material than of cost-cutting technical achievements[48].

One of the few operations which experienced relatively early mechanization in the woollen and worsted trade was combing, a part of the preparatory process for wool, by

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[46]For Normandy see Roger Price, **The economic modernisation of France (London 1975)**, 103; for Prussia Horst Krüger, **Zur Geschichte der Manufakturen und der Manufakturarbeiter in Preussen: Die mittleren Provinzen in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts** (Berlin/East 1958), 160-161; and for Saxony Rudolf Forberger, **Die Manufaktur in Sachsen vom Ende des 16. bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts** (Berlin/East 1958), 288-289.

[47]Addy, **Textile revolution**, 29; for similar data on Saxony see Forberger, **Manufaktur in Sachsen**, 154. In the early 1810s, the number of power-looms in the British cotton trade did not exceed 2400 units, whereas that of treadle looms in use still surpassed a quarter of a million in the 1820s; see Hobsbawm, 'El impacto de la Revolución Industrial', 76-77.

[48]Farnie, **English cotton industry**, 83.

the development of the scribbling machine. In 1790, a new generation of these machines linked various preparatory operations together with the spinning process[49]. This type gradually became familiar in the West Riding, a region predominantly specialized in the manufacture of cheap light worsted, while it turned out to be inapplicable for the weaving of superior worsted. The substantial expansion of the British woollen and worsted sector that marked the eighteenth century - Norfolk, a centre for fine worsted, tripled its output between 1700 and 1770[50] - was, therefore, essentially the product of social changes[51]. Domestic production based on pre-industrial technology ultimately formed the nucleus of the woollen trade until the mid-nineteenth century, as spinning machinery for the worsted production was not available before the 1820s[52].

Spain was among the first European countries to import British machinery, a demand partly created by the Bourbon programme to establish a modern, internationally competitive textile industry, partly by some private entrepreneurs, who engaged themselves increasingly in the production of cotton and linen fabrics.

The so-called general crisis of the seventeenth century had generated lasting repercussions for Spain's domestic economy as well as the Atlantic trade. New Spain had replaced Peru as the prime silver supplier for the first time. By the early eighteenth

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[49]Addy, **Textile revolution**, 22-23.

[50]Ephraim Lipson, **The history of the woollen and worsted industries** (London 1965, 2nd ed.), 248.

[51]Sidney Pollard, **Peaceful conquest: the industrialization of Europe 1760-1970** (Oxford 1986, 3rd ed.), 13.

[52]Pollard, ibid., 10; Price, **Economic modernisation of France**, 105.

century, the peninsular economy had reached its nadir. The reform programme, launched by the first Bourbon king, Philip V, aimed at a restoration of all vital commercial and industrial activities in accordance with the mercantilistic principles originally developed and successfully implemented in France. Among the industries included in this programme the textile sector experienced major consideration. A massive web of direct control and intervention were supposed to spawn favourable conditions for a reorganized cloth trade. Various royal manufactories (manufacturas reales) were founded, most of them situated in backward inland provinces like Castile or León, dedicated to the production of fine woollen stuff. These royal plants enjoyed a number of privileges in the form of exemption from all commercial taxes and of the provision of a range of high-quality raw materials (wool, dyes, etc.) at heavily subsidized prices; in some cases the crown made no charges for the materials it supplied. The latest technology available, supervised by contracted experts from abroad, was acquired, since the manufactories should also serve as training centres[53]. Additionally, a policy of banning foreign cloth imports was pursued from 1717 onwards in order to protect the vulnerable home market[54]. The results of these intensive efforts were, nevertheless, just as in France, ambiguous. Although most royal textile units expanded their production substantially in the course of the eighteenth century, none of them proved to be an economic success in the long term. Guadalajara, the showpiece among them, increased the number of looms

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[53]For further details concerning the royal manufactories see La Force, **Development of the Spanish textile industry**, particularly 28-50, and 68-87.

[54]See Santos Martínez, **Industrias durante el virreinato**, 19-20, and Dardel, **Navires et marchandises dans les ports de Rouen et Du Havre**, 101-102.

for woollen stuff from 44 in 1731 to 670 in 1777 and that for serge from seven devices in 1731 to 500 in the late 1780s, then employing 24,000 persons in its halls and adjacent buildings[55]. On the other hand, excessively high production costs raised the retail price of the manufactured cloth so significantly that it faced serious sales problems in all markets where it was offered[56]. To avoid further financial losses, several royal mills, such as San Fernando (silk and fine woollen items), Almarzo (serge) and Avila (woollens), were finally abandoned, while others were rented out[57].

Within the peninsular context, Catalonia's textile sector underwent a unique development during the eighteenth century. One of the region's trade pillars was an old-established, lucrative woollen and silk industry, organized by a rigid putting-out system[58]. The import bans for cloth imposed by the crown as a protective measure promptly caused national shortage of the valued cotton fabrics, in spite of lively contraband activities[59]. In response to this vacuum, several Catalonian entrepreneurs started to manufacture printed calicoes (indianas) in the 1730s. Only a short time later, these cotton products appeared in the export trade. The local woollen sector similarly enjoyed a period of growth until the 1760s, chiefly because of a generally favourable

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[55]La Force, 'Spanish royal textile factories', 344-345.

[56]La Force, **Development of the Spanish textile industry**, 42-43.

[57]La Force, ibid., 44.

[58]Martínez Shaw, 'La Cataluña del siglo XVIII bajo el signo de la expansión', 80.

[59]The policy the crown followed in this respect actually showed a most incoherent and contradictory pattern, which included the grant of trading in cotton fabrics from Asia in Spain and overseas to the Royal Philippines Company in 1785; see Fisher, **Commercial relations**, 52.

economic climate[60].

One decisive factor for the success of the calico sector in Catalonia was the swift adoption of industrial technology, thus cutting down on the customarily high labour costs in the province. The jenny was introduced in Barcelona in 1780, the water frame in 1791, just six years after its installation in England, and the first mule in 1805[61].

Empirically seen, the historiographical tendency to castigate colonial Peru's woollen production as technologically antiquated in comparison with European standards lacks documentary foundation. As we have seen, industrial progress in England was largely confined to cotton manufacturing, a trade of no tradition in the viceroyalty. Even in this sector, however, fully mechanised production was not achieved until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In colonial Peru, internal factors like the availability of a cheap and abundant labour force for auxiliary operations (women and children) or a continuously elevated demand for American cloth in the northern viceroyalty perhaps added to the general reluctance of the obrajeros to invest in new technology under the given circumstances, even in cases when the capital might have been available. Only when increased overseas competition threatened the existence of the sector after the end of colonial rule did this attitude undergo radical transformation. By 1836, the 74 ancient spinning wheels belonging to the plant of Sangual (Huamachuco) had made way for four spinning machines (hiladores) and in the Cuzco region, the mill of Lucre was among the

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[60]Delgado Ribas, **Catalunya y el sistema de comercio libre**, 37, and Martínez Shaw, 'Cataluña del siglo XVIII bajo el signo de la expansión', 80.

[61]La Force, **Development of the Spanish textile industry**, 85.

first manufactories that shifted to industrial production in the early 1830s[62].

3.4 Markets

Textiles fulfilled, like coca leaves or even grains, multiple practical purposes in the colonial context. The viceregal economy remained, particularly beyond the urban and mining conglomerations, essentially based on the traditional barter trade system (trueque) with cloth ranking among the most valued means of exchange. Coins were, like in many other parts of Spanish America, a scarce commodity, despite the ubiquity of rich silver mines in Lower and Upper Peru and the existence of mints in Lima and Potosí. The bulk of the minted silver was actually channelled abroad. Viceroy Amat assumed that less than 25% of all the coins minted in Peru between 1761 and 1774 stayed within the viceroyalty[63]. Wages, therefore, even those of mine-labourers, generally consisted to a significant portion of manufactured and agricultural products, but included silver only to a minor degree[64].

A last offensive to provide the American colonies with an adequate amount of coins was launched by Charles III after the Council on Commerce and Money had complained in 1772 that money shortage invariably forced the miners to pay their labourers in kind. A ban on the shipping out of small coins to Spain was imposed, and

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[62]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 601, 136 (Sangual). I am indebted to Dr H. Villanueva Urteaga, the former director of the Archivo Histórico Departamental of Cuzco, for this information.

[63]Virgilio Roel, **Historia social y económica de la colonia** (Lima 1970), 255.

[64]**Mercurio Peruano** V (1792), 198-199.

the viceroys ordered that the outgoing boxes of cash should be checked for this purpose[65]. Moreover, the provinces of the interior were to be supplied with small coins on a regular basis in future[66]. Probably more successful than this imperial approach in relieving the shortage problem was, at a local level, the reorganization of the mint at Potosí in the late 1770s by Jorge Escobedo[67]. In practice, viceregal producers continued to be dependent upon the markets offered by the silver mining centres if they intended to obtain silver instead of kind in exchange for their goods.

Peru's trade was dominated by three principal commodities in circulation: aguardiente, coca, and cloth. Home-made manufactures from even remote textile producing areas in the sierra always found ready outlets in the coastal trading places[68]. In an attempt to counterbalance the encumbrance of the frequent shifts in demand, most obrajeros and their administrators were devoted to the principles of an elastic sales policy by supplying a multitude of fluctuating local and extra-regional markets, wherever a sales opportunity arose[69].

The sales of ropa de chorrillo pursued similar main lines. In 1775, for instance,

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[65]In New Spain, for example, the shop keepers of Mexico City, who had been suffering from permanent shortage of small coins, created a special token system ('tlacos') in the eighteenth century, which continued to be in use as a provisional currency in spite of a royal ban in 1767; see Earl J. Hamilton, 'Monetary problems in Spain and Spanish America, 1751-1800', **Journal of Economic History** 4 (1944), 36.

[66]For more details see Hamilton, ibid., 37.

[67]Fisher, **Government and society**, 130.

[68]Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 173 (Yauyos).

[69]For the case of Chincheros (Huamanga) see BN, Z 96 (1793), 803v-804v, 852-853v.

consignments from Cuzco were sent as far as Ica on the coast or as Potosí, but were also transacted within the same region at the mines of Cotabambas or in adjacent Andahuaylas[70].

While the marketing strategies applied by the viceregal textile industry on the whole followed a heterogeneous pattern, one outlet was, nevertheless, shared in common: the consumption existing in the plant and hacienda compound itself. Tyrer estimates that up to one-third of the total annual production of a mill was actually absorbed by internal requirements[71]. The sole purpose of the obrajes, which the members of the Oré family established on their estates in Huamanga during the sixteenth century, was, at that time, to supply this specific demand[72]. Accordingly, the numerous small plants in operation throughout the viceroyalty during the eighteenth century probably maintained no trade linkage with external markets. Textile mills on church property similarly first met the needs of the convent or the order they belonged to[73].

A substantial part of the cloth reserved for this particular source of consumption was used for the wages and pay advances (socorros) granted to the labourers. The beneficiaries included, apart from the manpower engaged in manufacturing activities themselves, all the other workers living on the haciendas and estates annexed to the plant, as well as those numerous persons only sporadically employed, such as clerics or

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[70]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-10, 14v, 18, 20, 22v.

[71]Tyrer, **Demographic and economic history**, 252.

[72]Salas de Coloma, **De los obrajes de Canaria y Chincheros**, 114.

[73]For the example of the obraje of Pomacocha (Huamanga) owned by the order of Santa Clara see Mendizabal Losack, 'Dos documentos sobre obrajes de Huamanga', 278.

seasonal labourers. As shown in table 3.1, 28.6% of the annual textile output of the hacienda obraje of Uningambal (Huamachuco) was spent on this form of expenses in 1814.

TABLE 3.1: Uningambal: Output and Internal Consumption, 1814

Cloth variety	Output (in varas)	Internal consumption (in varas)	Purpose (w=wages, soc=socorro)
Blue pañete	3,096	72	w workers
Black pañete	1,444.5	756.5	w, soc
Yellow pañete	141	72	w, soc
Blue bayeta	513	101	w, soc
White bayeta	1,533	834.5	w priest/w, soc
Jergas	312.5	282.5	w, soc
Corte	497	111	w, soc
Striped tocuyo	443	50	w, soc
Total	7,980	2,279.5	

SOURCE: ADL, J., Col., Inten., Causas Ord., 104/1757.

In Chincheros (Huamanga), the wages and socorros absorbed together 6,568.25 varas of cloth in 1786-1790[74]. In neighbouring Cacamarca, the administration additionally distributed a bundle of about twenty varas to each worker once a year for his clothing[75].

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[74]BN, Z 96 (1793), 804v.

[75]AGN, Temp., Cuentas de Haciendas, leg. 136: Cacamarca, 'Cuentas...de Cacamarca, año 1783', 107-108v.

The Jesuits went one step further by establishing an intricate circuit of interchange between their different haciendas situated in the same region in order to have each supplied with the various commodities required for its workers from their own resources. The textile plant of San Ignacio in Huamachuco, for instance, remitted for this particular purpose about 1,500 varas of pañete and bayeta annually to the estates of Chota and Motil located along the opposite border of the same parish[76]. This system proved to be so efficient and economic that it was retained after the expulsion of the order in 1767.

Apart from wages, cloth dedicated to internal consumption was also used as a means of exchange for many of the materials and foodstuffs brought into the compound. Dye was traded for bayeta, spare parts for the batán and maize for ropa, and sugar for blue pañete to quote a few examples[77].

Contributions to religious festivities or occasional donations to officials belonged to the group of casual financial obligations a mill accounted for in the same way[78].

As we have seen, the initial 'market' satisfied by cloth-producing haciendas was that generated by the needs of the workers within the complexes themselves. The next level of demand was the local market, namely that created by the need for cloth of the population living in the villages surrounding the hacienda manufactory complex. It

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[76]AGN, Temp., Administrativos, leg. 232, 36, 37.

[77]BN, Z 96 (1793), 853v (dye); BN, ibid., 804 (spare parts); BN, ibid., 852v (sugar); AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.23 (1771-72), 'Cuenta que presento yo Dn Christov.l Monteagudo...', 23v (maize).

[78]BN, Z 96, 852.

represented beyond question an external outlet of prime significance for the textile industry as a whole[79]. The sales were often effected at the obraje shop directly to the consumers. The **Mercurio Peruano** reported in 1795 that the obrajes and chorrillos established in the parishes of Zurite and Anta (Abancay) traded their commodities both within the limits of the province itself as well as extra-locally in Cuzco, the closest regional urban and staple centre[80]. Similarly, all the plants in the Huamanga area, including those of Pomacocha and Cacamarca, steadily supplied the nearby city of Huamanga[81]. In 1767-1785, Cacamarca directed an average of 26.6% per year of its total sales volume to this particular outlet[82].

The annual fairs (ferias) were a further focal point for local and regional trading interests. The most illustrious among them even evoked extra-regional participation. Cloth from the mill of Cacamarca was regularly offered on the two ferias of Chapi and Cocharcas in the outskirts of Huamanga[83]. In the Cuzco region, the 14th September marked the start of the international fair of Tungasuca in the honour of the Holy Cross. During the four weeks of celebration, traders from Quito, Chile, Tucumán, and Salta displayed their goods along with merchants from many parts of the viceroyalty[84].

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[79]Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 85.

[80]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 139-140.

[81]Mendizabal Losack, 'Dos documentos sobre obrajes de Huamanga', 277.

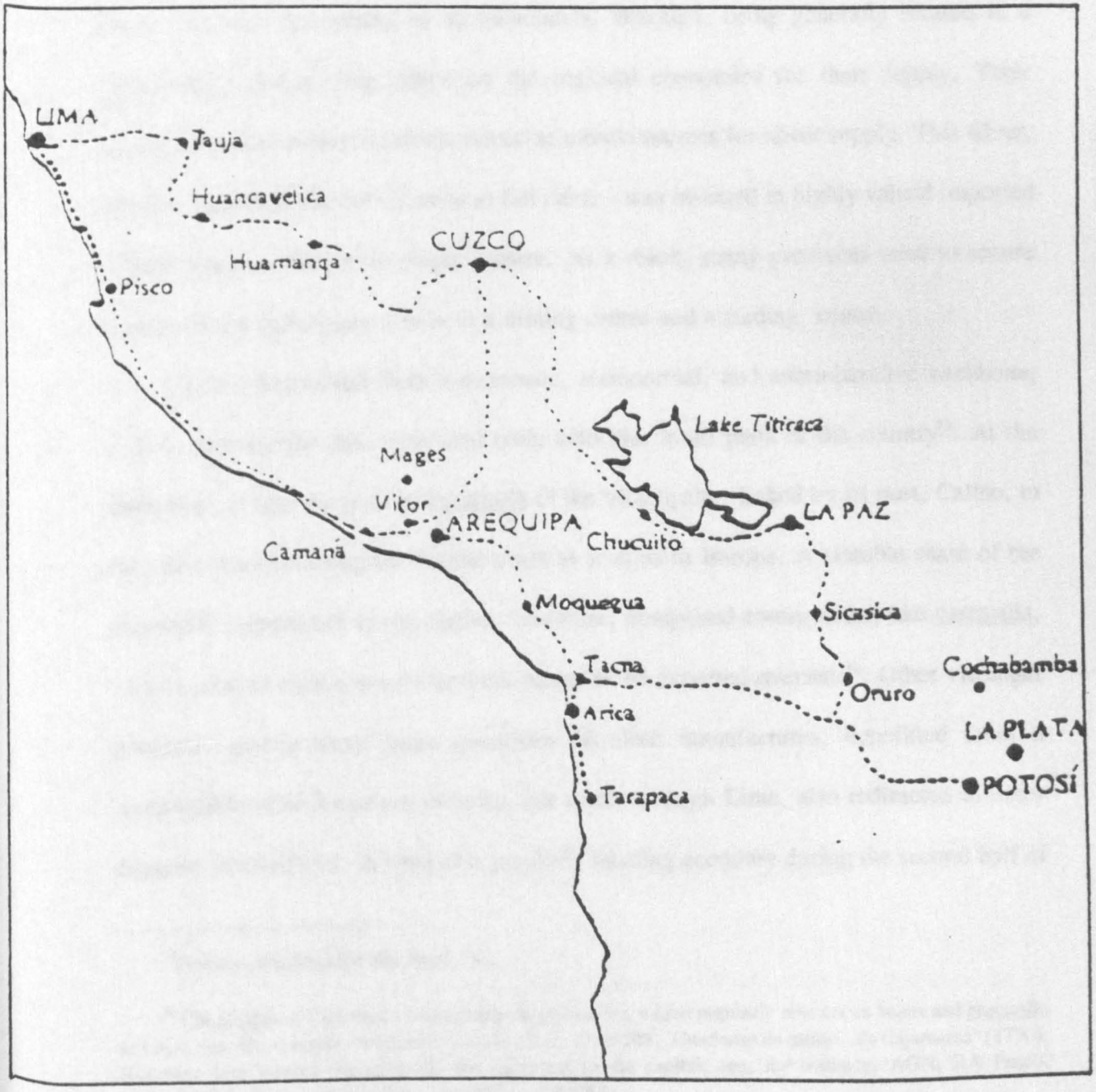
[82]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 232, Cuadro IV: 'Cacamarca: telas teñidas y beneficiadas: mercados'.

[83]Salas de Coloma, ibid., 225.

[84]Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 88-89.

In the interplay of regional development and commercial activity in colonial Peru the urban conglomerations and, especially during the period 1775-1810, the mining centres played a key rôle. The cities acted not only as ready purchasers of large quantities of domestically produced manufactures and agricultural goods but were also chief staple centres for American and overseas commodities, connected to the other parts of the country by major communications (see map 6). Consequently, an urban zone represented the prime market for the surplus of a vast hinterland. Merchants diverted the merchandise not consumed locally from there to further destinations.

MAP 6: Principal Communications in Southern Peru



SOURCE: Brown, **Bourbons and brandy**, 5.

The mining sites played a different rôle in the colonial economic context than the city conglomerations. With the exception of Cerro de Pasco in the central sierra, they did not serve simultaneously as consumer places and regional staple centres. In addition, their importance as purchasers was, in fact, restricted, since their permanent population rarely exceeded a thousand or so inhabitants, although, being generally located in a barren environment, they relied on the regional economies for their supply. Their attraction resided rather in their potential as unique sources for silver supply. This silver, in turn, - and here the circuit came to full circle - was invested in highly valued imported commodities on sale in the staple centres. As a result, many provinces tried to secure strong market participation in both a mining centre and a trading centre.

Lima represented Peru's economic, commercial, and administrative backbone, with a consumption that stimulated trade activities in all parts of the country[85]. At the same time, it was the principal entrepôt of the viceroyalty, linked by its port, Callao, to the other colonies along the Pacific coast as well as to Europe. A sizeable share of the provincial remittances to the capital, therefore, comprised commodities like cascarilla, cocoa beans or alpaca wool that were bound to be exported overseas[86]. Other viceregal products, among them large quantities of cloth manufactures, benefitted from a considerable inter-American demand, but were, through Lima, also redirected to other domestic destinations. In spite of a generally bustling economy during the second half of

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[85]Haenke, Descripción del Perú, 46.

[86]The partido of Cajamarca was among the provinces, which regularly sent cocoa beans and cascarilla to Lima; see, for example, AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1519-208, 'Cuaderno de guías...de Cajamarca' (1790). Huánuco, too, hauled cascarilla for the shipment to the capital; see, for instance, AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1245-18, 'Libro de las guías...de Huánuco' (1783).

the eighteenth century, the capital showed only a reluctant demographic movement. According to an authoritative recent study, it consumed almost 40% of the viceregal manufactured and agricultural output, but, since its population of 53,000 represented only 5% of the viceregal total, one must assume that this consumption figure includes re-exports both within and beyond the viceroyalty[87].

Tarma belonged to those numerous textile centres in the central and northern Highlands that had its major outlet in Lima. The few manufacturers of the partido, specialized in the production of jerga and blankets (frazadas), naturally encountered a comparatively narrow demand in Cerro de Pasco, the local mining centre, for their goods[88]. Local sheep owners bartered raw wool for woven fabrics in the surrounding provinces instead, in order to satisfy the demand of the miners for other varieties of cloth[89]. The bulk of the blankets was most probably not used in the capital itself, but shipped on to Chile where this manufacture enjoyed high estimation[90]. Tarma suffered extensive damage during the Túpac Amaru rebellion in the early 1780s. Two obrajes, Colpas and Michivilca, as well as the chorrillo of Exaltación de Roca were completely destroyed, while that of Paucartambo had been converted into a fortress by the royal

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[87]Haitin, 'Urban Market and agrarian hinterland', 286-287. After 1809, refugees fleeing the revolutionary upheavals led to a temporary increase of 30,000 in the population.

[88]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 133.

[89]Hipólito Ruiz, **Relación histórica del viage a los Reynos del Perú y Chile**, Jaime Jaramillo-Arango (ed.) (2 vols., Madrid 1952), I, 76.

[90]Chocano, **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco**, 8. Cajamarca also exported blankets to New Granada through the port of Lima; see, for example, AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1535-314 (1804), 15.

troops[91]. However, at least the plant of Michivilca underwent immediate reconstruction, a fact that indicates a favourable economic climate for the trade thereafter[92]. The data available on the consignments of textiles to Lima for two years in the late eighteenth century clearly support this assumption: while the export of jerga remained basically stagnant with 18,221.5 varas and 16,083 varas in 1787 and 1796 respectively, the blanket shipments quadrupled from 479 pieces in 1787 to 1,920 nine years later[93]. This shift in demand from cheap jerga to expensive frazadas brought new prosperity to the sector[94].

Various further textile centres situated geographically in close proximity to Tarma and Cerro de Pasco had, in contradiction to contemporary reports, their prime market, in practice, in the viceregal capital of Lima and not in the local mining centres, as suggested by the customs records. The partido of Conchucos, for instance, consigned in 1780 a mere 1,000 varas of ropa de la tierra together with 713 varas of bayeta to Pasco, whereas Lima received roughly 60,000 varas of ropa, 2,000 varas of bayeta, and 1,000 varas of tocuyo in the same year[95].

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[91]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 133-134; AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Civiles, leg. 230, C.1969 (Paucartambo).

[92]BN, C 3096 (1784).

[93]AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1245-99 (1787), and AGN, RA Pasco C16.1269-241 (1796).

[94]These findings are inconsistent with Chocano's assertion that Tarma's textile industry declined in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; see Chocano, **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco**, 8. After his visit to the partido in 1806, Helms emphasized, for his part, that cloth was still the region's principal trade commodity; see Anthony Z. Helms, **Travels from Buenos Ayres, by Potosi, to Lima** (Lima 1807), 87.

[95]AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1245-1, 12-17v. For further evidence see AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1278-310, 'Cuaderno de guías...1810-1814'.

To cite another example, the province of Huánuco, which was, above all, famous for its coca production, officially also transacted the entire surplus of its obrajes in the capital and not in adjacent Cerro de Pasco. In 1783, the quantity sent to the coast amounted to 20,413 varas[96].

Cuzco, the viceroyalty's second most important city, traditionally maintained extensive trade linkages with the capital even before 1776, not least in order to benefit from the export facilities it provided. The region's textile sector, for instance, customarily consigned a large share of its cloak (pellones) output to Lima, from where it was redirected to other American markets along the Pacific coast[97]. Exposed to aggravated sales problems in Upper Peru since the 1760s, the industry sought expanded market participation in this area[98]. The city of Cuzco, dominating a hinterland of fourteen provinces as consumer and staple centre, experienced an exceptional demographic growth by more than doubling the number of its inhabitants during the century after 1690. By 1790, its population numbered 32,000 persons[99]. Its commercial power motivated producers from the coastal lowlands to risk the arduous journey across the Andean mountain chains for trading their wines, aguardiente, and dried fish for cloth,

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[96]AGN, RA Pasco, 1245-18, no 8, 54, 293, 354, 569.

[97]See, for example, AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-10, 'Libro mayor de alcabalas...del Cuzco'(1776), 15v-16, 17, 19, 19v, 21, etc., and O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno', 64.

[98]See, for instance, AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.248-565 (1806).

[99]Mörner, **Noticias sobre el comercio y los comerciantes del Cusco**, 12.

tallow, dried meat, and other foodstuffs[100]. Moreover, woollen items from Cuzco supplemented Arequipa's textile demand, because the city's own industry was devoted to cotton fabrics[101]. Arequipa had slightly more residents than Cuzco in this period, 37,000 persons, but from the commercial standpoint was situated in a less privileged region[102].

The diocesan city of Huamanga, which became the capital of an intendancy in 1784, was the other major urban conglomeration in the southern sierra, located mid-way between Lima and Cuzco on the Highland real camino, in proximity to the mercury mining centre of Huancavelica; the more distant, but still accessible Cerro de Pasco was also important to its economy, especially for its local textile workshops. In 1792, roughly 25,000 persons lived within the city limits[103].

In northern Peru, Trujillo, the once prospering principal city of a catchment area that stretched as far as Cajamarca's tropical provinces, displayed all the symptoms of decline in the second half of the eighteenth century[104]. After a century of tremendous demographic growth - the number of its inhabitants trebled over the seventeenth century - it had been afflicted by an equally spectacular depopulation process from the 1760s,

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[100]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 78.

[101]See, for example, AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.171-90 (1787), no 265, 348, 506.

[102]Kendall W. Brown, 'Price movements in eighteenth-century Peru: Arequipa', in Lyman L. Johnson and Enrique Tandeter (eds.), **Essays on the price history of eighteenth-century Latin America** (Albuquerque 1990), 174.

[103]Vollmer, **Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur**, 259, AZ1: 'Bevölkerung des Vizekönigreichs Peru (1792)'.

[104]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 96.

probably as a result of the severe economic crisis of its coastal hinterland[105]. Within a twenty-five year period, the number of its residents, which included a notable community of hacendados, nearly halved from 9,300 to 5,800. The share of Indians living in the city suffered the greatest loss: it dwindled from more than 30% in the early eighteenth century to less than 5%[106].

Among the viceroyalty's mining centres, Cerro de Pasco held a dominant position in terms of both silver output and labour force. It had a population of approximately 7,000 in 1792, among whom mestizos numbered 4,000 and Indians 2,000. Spaniards and creoles formed, with 1,000 members, the third ethnic group[107]. Seven years later, in 1799, when the silver yield reached almost its peak level, 2,470 persons - or more than one-third of the total population in 1792 - were employed in the eighty-five mines[108]. In the early postindependence years, the centre still had between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants[109]. Pasco was also a unique case in view of combining mining and trade activities. Two thousand mules a day entered the place with cargo[110]. The first

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[105]See pages 63-64.

[106]Katherine Coleman, 'Provincial urban problems: Trujillo, Peru, 1600-1784', in David J. Robinson (ed.), **Social structure in colonial Latin America** (Ann Arbor 1979), 373, 376-381.

[107]Vollmer, **Bevölkerungspolitik and Bevölkerungsstruktur**, 255, AZ1: 'Bevölkerung des Vizekönigreichs Peru (1792)'.

[108]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 95, Table 10: 'Miners, productive mines, and mine-workers in Peru, 1799'.

[109]Rivero y Ustáriz, **Colección de memorias científicas**, I, 186.

[110]Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 190.

intendant of Tarma, Juan María Gálvez, reported that Pasco received grains and flour from Tarma, Jauja, and Huamalíes, cloth from Conchucos, coca leaves from Huánuco, sugar and cloth from Huaylas, and, lastly, salt from Cajatambo and Chancay[111]. The portion of American commodities registered by the local customs house (aduana) amounted to about 50% of all goods in the late eighteenth century[112]. The other half of the consignments were imports, which were forwarded to the centre from Lima. The value of these overseas remittances rose from 101,000 pesos to 417,000 pesos in the decade 1786-1795[113]. In the same period, the silver output more than doubled[114]. Cloth of American and transatlantic origin accounted for 45% of the taxed merchandise in the 1790s, thus representing the chief single item traded[115]. The bulk of these textiles was indisputably used as part of the wages for the mining workers. Mariano de Rivero, the director-general of mining after the establishment of independence, observed that the labourers continued to be paid only partially in cash. The rest of the wages still consisted of coca leaves and cloth[116].

Contrary to contemporary reports which cited the partidos of Huaylas,

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[111]Fisher, **Government and society**, 137.

[112]Chocano, **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco**, 26a, Gráfico V: 'Composición del comercio registrado'.

[113]John R. Fisher, 'The effects of comercio libre on the economies of New Granada and Peru: a comparison', in John R. Fisher, Allan J. Küethe, and Anthony McFarlane (eds.), **Reform and insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru** (Baton Rouge 1990), 158.

[114]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 109, Figure 2: 'Registered silver production in Peru, 1771-1824'.

[115]Chocano, **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco**, 25, Gráfico IV: 'Composición del comercio registrado a la aduana de Cerro de Pasco'.

[116]Rivero y Ustáriz, **Colección de memorias científicas**, I, 205.

Conchucos, and Huamalíes as the main cloth suppliers for Pasco, the vast portion of it stemmed, in fact, from Huamanga's urban textile industry[117].

Huancavelica, the royal mercury mining centre, was originally exploited on the basis of conscripted Indian labour. In 1577, viceroy Toledo had granted the privilege of drafting a contingent of 620 tributaries from thirteen provinces. By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, only two of them - Chumbivilcas and Cotabambas - still met their quota obligation of 265 mitayos. The other provinces contributed cash subsidies instead, a sum that reached 37,500 pesos in this period. They served to pay the voluntary labourers now employed in the mines, some of them former conscripts[118]. Huncavelica's population amounted to 5,146 in 1792, a time when the mining centre's yield was much reduced. Because of this specific labour organization it showed, of course, a distinctly different ethnic composition than, for example, Cerro de Pasco. Indians clearly dominated with almost 4,000 residents[119]. The city, an important consumer centre since the sixteenth century, represented for nearby Huamanga the prime market for its early trade. Its significance as a cloth purchaser decreased in line with the

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[117]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), and Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 190. Huamalíes, like the other provinces mentioned, had apparently no regular trade linkages in textiles with Cerro de Pasco; see AGN, RA Pasco, C.16.1255-122 (1788), AGN RA Pasco, C16.1259-158 (1790), AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1265-209 (1793), and AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1273-276 (1804). For the quantities shipped from Huamanga to the mining centre in a number of years see Chocano, **Cerro de Pasco**, 82-84, Cuadro 16: 'Mercancias procedentes de Huamanga'.

[118]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 11.

[119]Vollmer, **Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur**, 258, AZ 1: 'Bevölkerung des Vizekönigreichs Peru (1792)'.

gradual decline of the mercury production, but remained notable, mainly for bayeta and tocuyo from the urban chorrillos[120].

The reparto system, which had domestic cloth as its principal item before 1780, was first institutionalized by the crown in 1751, with roots dating back to the late seventeenth century. The quantities of American and European commodities to be distributed in a five-year rhythm was laid down in the arancel de repartimientos three years later. The introduction of the system had two specific aims: first, to provide an incentive for viceregal production and trade by creating a steady market for a specified range of goods, and second, to relieve labour shortage by forcing those who were subjected to the reparto to engage themselves in the Spanish economy, since the distributed merchandise was usually to be paid for in cash.

The corregidor was legally responsible for the organization of the reparto in his province. He bought the items, frequently on credit, and requested from the caciques lists of the individuals affected by the distribution. In a second step he delivered the goods to the different municipal magistrates, the alcaldes, who, for their part, redirected them to the households. The caciques were the persons entrusted with the collection of the money owed[121]. Originally, the reparto included tributary Indians only. In the later eighteenth

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[120]In 1781, Hunacavelica imported 13,888 varas of cloth from Huamanga; see AGN, RA Huancavelica, C16.462-42.

[121]Golte, **Redistribución y complementariedad**, 18.

century, however, it was also forced on other ethnic groups[122].

The system never ceased to be a matter of controversy. Nevertheless, even the firmest and most enlightened critics, such as Juan and Ulloa, although expressing their discontent with the abuses committed, gave, in the end, precedence to economic preponderance over social concern. They argued that a distribution handled in accordance with the regulations was a resourceful way to supply the natives with indispensable goods of everyday use[123]. The Council of the Indies, by contrast, indicated its disapproval of the institution, when it instructed in 1777 the newly appointed visitador general for Peru, Antonio de Areche, to take appropriate measures for its abolition. The ministers probably resented the idea of a subsidized Peruvian textile industry as a possible competitor to Spanish manufactures on the eve of a further liberalized transatlantic trade. The outbreak of the Túpac Amaru rebellion in late 1780 interfered with this order. In an attempt to appease the rebels, viceroy Jaureguí banned the system within a month of the onset of hostilities, a measure which had severe repercussions for some of the textile centres. Against this background, Jorge Escobedo's project of reintroducing the institution on the basis of modified parameters, submitted to the crown in 1784, was bound to meet rejection[124].

In practice, however, the legal abolition of the reparto had only minor effects.

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[122]Jürgen Golte, **Repartos y rebeliones: Túpac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial** (Lima 1980), 117.

[123]Juan y Santacilla and Ulloa, **Discourse and political reflections**, 77-78.

[124]For all details of the project see Pablo Macera's introduction to Alonso Carrió de la Vandera, **Reforma del Perú**, Pablo Macera (ed.) (Lima 1966), 23-24, and Fisher, **Government and society**, 89-90.

Tolerated, if not even supported by the viceregal administration, the subdelegates, who were in charge after 1784, reorganized the system under the rational criterion of the highest profit, now giving preference to commodities like mules, iron, and coca leaves[125].

3.4 Conclusion

The viceregal manufactories produced a comparatively wide range of woollen cloth designed for a number of different purposes. While the qualitatively finer types, including ropa, pañete, and bayeta, found general use as ordinary dress material for all social classes, the coarse varieties, such as sayal and jerga, provided mainly the native population with clothing material, but also served as material for saddlebags and packing. The large-scale weaving of the viceroyalty's sole cotton fabric of notable output, tocuyo, was confined in the highland region to those provinces - primarily Cajamarca, Chachapoyas, and Conchucos - with easy access to cheap raw cotton.

The organization of the wool supply, a matter of vital concern for the industry, showed distinctly different features for the textile centres located in the northern part of the viceroyalty compared with those situated in the southern provinces. The extended pasture zones of Cajamarca and Huamachuco where harsh climatic conditions impeded the cultivation of cash-crop products was used by many manufacturers as a means to

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[125]Cahill, 'Repartos ilicítos y familias principales', 472. For a report on a reparto distribution in the 1790s see AHD, Col., Real Audiencia, Causas Ord., leg. 18, 'Abril 29 de 1795. 1.o Quad: Autos de Dn Mig.l Gaypar Tupa sobre quejas contra Dn Antonio Barg.s casique del Pueblo de Lamay'.

provide them with wool at a self-sufficiency level despite the low yield of wool per sheep. The size of the flocks was regulated in accordance with the output capacities of the obrajes. In other cases, the administration concluded supply contracts with neighbouring sheep raising haciendas. Wool was also distributed regionally between the plants as a part of the ordinary exchange trade. In the southern part of the viceroyalty, by contrast, sheep raising was of marginal importance, mainly because the manufacturing of the area's chief commercial item, ropa fina, required a quality of wool that was, at that period, exclusively obtained in the Collao, a puna pasture area embracing various provinces around Lake Titicaca. In contrast to Huamanga's textile industry, which fully relied on this extra-regional source of supply, the dependence of Cuzco's sector was somewhat relieved by local wool production in the provinces of Quispicanchis and Tinta. The villagers spun this wool and sold the yarn (tela) directly to the different obrajes.

In contradiction to prevailing contemporary and modern opinion, Peru's wool textile mills, although, in fact, not undergoing any major change in their manufacturing technique since the sixteenth century, were, at least until the early nineteenth century, not decisively handicapped in their competition with transatlantic cloth by their form of labour organization. Insurmountable technical problems as well as determined opposition on the part of the artisans delayed the technical modernisation of the traditional woollen trade in Europe far beyond the turn of the century. The treadle loom and, later, the spinning jenny were the two only devices newly introduced into wool textile production in the course of the eighteenth century that found general acceptance. Early

mechanisation involved largely the manufacture of cotton goods and, though to a far lesser extent, that of worsted stuffs, a new business which subsequently undermined the sales of broadcloth in many outlets with better prices and a reasonable quality. Peru's cloth producers recognized soon after the establishment of independence, when they were fully exposed to the influx of British imports as well as to acute labour shortage as a result of wartime casualties and conscription, that the adaption of modern machinery was an inevitable step in their attempts to remain competitive. Cuzco was the region where the first factories developed from former obrajes. Similar trends are documented for Huamachuco's textile sector.

Cloth manufactured in domestic textile mills was, after aguardiente and coca leaves, the most circulated commodity within and beyond the viceroyalty. Its use went far beyond that of serving as clothing material in an economy that was largely based on barter trade. Valued as a means of exchange, it formed a regular part of the wages, paid to a substantial portion in kind to most labourers.

The industry's trade policy, subjected to permanently fluctuating conditions, followed in general the principle of utmost flexibility by supplying a wide range of markets with even very small quantities of cloth. The wages and maintenance of the labour force employed in a manufactory and its annexes created a considerable internal demand for cloth. Among the external markets, the cities and mining centres with their extended consumption of cloth represented prime trade targets. The most important of them, the viceregal capital and Cerro de Pasco, stimulated economic and commercial activities throughout Peru. Lima's central rôle was further enhanced by its facilities for

re-exports to other American destinations through the port of Callao. For most, if not all, textile provinces situated in the northern and central viceroyalty the capital represented, in fact, their principal and often sole export market. Like all regional administrative centres, Lima also served as entrepôt for the local producers, from where the cloth was distributed along the traditional trade routes to other destinations. These chief markets were supplemented by a number of local and regional outlets, which included annual and seasonal fairs. The legalization of the reparto in 1751 provided the textile sector with a further ad hoc market opportunity, since it identified domestic cloth as the major single item within the distributions.

CHAPTER 4

VICEREGAL TEXTILE PRODUCTION AND STRUCTURAL CRISIS

Contemporary observers, like the two viceroys Gil de Taboada and Abascal, who commented on the state of the viceregal textile sector in the late colonial period, shared the principal view that liberalization of the transatlantic trade in 1778 marked the start of the industry's subsequent decline[1]. Similarly, the ruin of Cajatambo's manufactories was attributed to the competition from European cloth that their products experienced in their traditional outlets, primarily the mining centre of Huarochirí[2]. Thereafter, its major trade was to supply the adjacent textile centres of Conchucos and Huamalíes with raw wool[3]. In its 1790 report, the consulado of Lima saw its position as the leading merchant guild apparently less threatened by imported goods arriving in the port of Callao than by the European merchandise penetrating into the viceroyalty along the commercial routes

Industrial decline — commercial life.

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[1]Lynch, **Bourbon Spain**, 362 (Gil de Taboada); Rodríguez Casado and Quijano, **Memoria de gobierno del virrey Abascal**, 218-219 (Abascal).

[2]**Mercurio Peruano** V (1792), 191, and ibid., VIII (1793), 148. For the province's prime outlets see O'Phelan Godoy, **Rebellions and revolts**, 24.

[3]**Mercurio Peruano** V (1792), 198; Helms noticed on his visit in the partido fifteen years later, however, that its principal trade was in woollen cloth; see Helms, **Travels from Buenos Ayres to Lima**, 78.

from Buenos Aires, because the latter, being less burdened by taxation and transport costs than those shipped in from Cádiz via Cape Horn and Lima, were marketed at lower prices[4]. The connection between the presence of overseas cloth and the local manufacturers' sales problems in the Cuzco region had already been recognized by Alonso Carrió de la Vandera in the early 1770s. He identified the recent establishment of a dynamic chorrillo industry in the surroundings of La Paz as a further factor damaging this region's trade, since it supplied the same markets in Upper Peru[5]. This point of view was also held by Ignacio de Castro, although related to another geographical environment. He observed for the chorrillo sector a process of considerable expansion in the city of Cuzco and argued that it undermined, with the cheap prices for its products, the demand for the local rural industry[6]. Other sources referring to the development in Cuzco and Huamanga attributed major responsibility for the decline of the sector to the abolition of the reparto system in late 1780 'because the corregidores would buy an increasing number of piezas [of cloth]'[7].

Contemporary opinions on the value of the textile sector for the welfare of the

[4]Fisher, 'El impacto del comercio libre', 409; Villalobos, **El comercio y la crisis colonial**, 107. According to the example cited in the report, taxation and transport costs of 100 piezas of bretañas to Arequipa added up to 97 pesos when traded from Spain and Buenos Aires to the city, but to 119 pesos when transacted by way of Cape Horn and Callao.

[5]Carrió de la Vandera, **El lazarillo**, 226-227, and **Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 142.

[6]Ignacio de Castro, **Relación del Cuzco**, Carlos D. Valcárcel (ed.) (Lima 1978), 60.

[7]Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 244 (province of Quispicanchis in the Cuzco area); Urrutia Ceruti, **Huamanga: región e historia**, 159 (Huamanga). The quotation is taken from a petition submitted to the intendant by 'the owners... of houses and haciendas' in 1794.

viceregal economy were divided. One party assessed its beneficial contribution as at least equal to that of the mining sector and, consequently, advocated a policy of strict protectionism for the Peruvian markets against international competition[8]. Josef de Lagos suggested as an additional measure the installation of manufactories in all capitals of the intendancies to meet each region's particular demands[9]. Other critics defined the mere existence of a domestic textile industry as conflicting with economic progress and prosperity[10]. Ignacio Lequanda argued that cloth production at cheaper rates overseas made viceregal manufactories obsolete. The workers, now bound in the mills, should be employed in the mining sector instead[11].

Relevant modern historiography has established a contradictory picture with regard to the onset of the supposed decline. It has been generally accepted, however, that the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a period of peak demand for domestic cloth in response to supply shortages in the American colonies caused by the so-called general crisis in Europe[12]. At the same time, the silver mining centres of Potosí and Oruro experienced their most expansive phase. By the mid-century, Potosí, with a

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[8]AGI, Lima 1448, Mariano de Laredo, 'Verdadera situación del Reyno del Peru desde el año de 1777 hasta el de 1786'.

[9]AGI, Lima 1029, Josef de Lagos, 'Proyecto económico', capítulo 10, parágrafo 18.

[10]Lynch, **Bourbon Spain**, 362 (Gil de Taboada).

[11]O'Phelan Godoy, **Rebellions and revolts**, 20.

[12]Silva Santisteban, **Obrajes**, 162.

population of 150,000, was Spanish America's largest human settlement. Silva Santisteban and Sempat Assadourian have assumed that the revival of the transatlantic traffic by French and British vessels after the turn of the century soon confronted the viceregal woollen industry with reduced sales opportunities, a trend which accelerated conspicuously after the introduction of comercio libre[13]. Scholars analyzing the situation at the regional level in southern Peru, by contrast, defer the beginning of the process of decline towards the final decades of the eighteenth century or even later. Moscoso Sánchez, for instance, has detected a period of prosperity for Cuzco that lasted until the first two-thirds of the century in question[14], whereas Heraclio Bonilla, Lía del Río, and Pilar Ortiz de Zevallos, the authors of an article investigating the impact of free trade on Cuzco's manufactories, have assigned the onset of the gradual depression of the trade to the decades following 1778[15]. Salas de Coloma, for her part, has linked the definitive termination of the conjuncture for the Huamanga sector to the final decade of the eighteenth century[16]. For all the cited scholars focusing on regional development, increased competition created either by imported fabrics - brought into the viceroyalty through both legal and contraband channels - or by the expansion of the American cloth industry during the second half of the eighteenth century represented, together with

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[13]Silva Santisteban, ibid., 161, and Carlos Sempat Assadourian, **El sistema de la economía colonial: mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico** (Lima 1982), 202.

[14]Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 84, 93.

[15]Bonilla, Río, and Ortiz de Zevallos, 'Comercio libre y crisis de la economía andina', 2, 14, 15, 22.

[16]Salas de Coloma, 'Evolución de la propiedad obrajera', 387.

specific local circumstances, such as the multiple repercussions of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, key factors for the decline of the rural textile economies in the southern Highlands[17].

This chapter is dedicated to an evaluation of the impact of each of the three general factors mentioned throughout the viceroyalty: the abundance of cheaper imported cloths, American competition, and the abolition of the reparto system. We will also consider the question of how and to what extent the manufacturers reacted to the changing conditions of the period.

The wages and the reparto system were the two vehicles, which were used to ensure a thorough penetration of the viceroyalty with European textiles after the 1750s and to create a steady demand for them. In 1772, the administration of the mill of Pichuychuro (Cuzco) bought no less than twenty different types of ropa de Castilla from merchants to supply their labour force, among them luxury items such as silk products, diverse fine manufactures of lace, and stockings for both sexes[18]. The roughly 280 workers consumed in 1775 domestically woven cloth (including jerga) to the value of 1,563.1 pesos, along with imported bayeta, paño, bretaña angosta, bretaña ancha, and

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[17]Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 92, and Cahill, 'Repartos ilícitos y familias principales', 460 (Cuzco); Salas de Coloma, ibid., 387 (Huamanga).

[18]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43, C.23, 'Factura de los efectos de Castilla...que se remite al obraje de Pichuychuro...', 16-16v.

camlet worth 867 pesos as well as other overseas textiles[19]. The purpose of having such a diversified stock of foreign fabrics on offer was undoubtedly, like the availability of cash payments, to provide an incentive for the workers to prolong their employment by accumulating further debts. As the **Mercurio Peruano** reported in 1795, the province of Abancay, in which Pichuychuro was situated, alone purchased imported merchandise amounting to 5,000 or 6,000 pesos per year[20].

The arancel de repartimientos laid down that in all but six viceregal corregimientos - Canta, Huarochirí, Chancay, the Cercado of Lima, Chucuito and Paucarcolla - European cloth was to form part of the distributions[21].

In contradiction to contemporary observers, who easily convey the misleading picture of an overwhelming presence of imported goods in the Spanish American outlets, their share was, in reality, even in the 1790s comparatively modest. It ranged in the two urban centres of Lima and Mexico City as well as in Potosí below one fourth of all transactions effected[22]. The overwhelming majority of cloth consumed, therefore, still stemmed from domestic mills.

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[19]BN, C 2427 (1775).

[20]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 142.

[21]Javier Tord Nicolini and Carlos Lazo, **Hacienda, comercio, fiscalidad y luchas sociales (Perú colonial)** (Lima 1981), 152-184, Apéndice no 1. For an example of the variety of grades and their prices contained in the reparto see the 1768 report on the province of Tinta (Cuzco) in BN, C 3969, third report.

[22]Lynch, **Bourbon Spain**, 351; Tandeter, Milletich, Ollier, and Ruibal, **The market of Potosí**, 25, Table 2: 'Total imports to Potosí, 1793'. In 1603, their percentage had already amounted to 9.5% in Potosí; see Lynch, ibid., 351.

A re-examination of the often-asserted assumption that overseas textiles were traded at lower prices in Peru than those produced in the local manufactories demands detailed information on the sales prices of both the viceregal and foreign fabrics[23]. Although relevant data are available in rather copious quantities in customs records, one soon realizes how widely the prices actually varied even for the same product. In Cajamarca, for instance, jerga manufactured in the plant of Jerez was priced at two reales per vara in 1780, whereas that of Porcón was marketed at 2.5 reales[24]. In adjacent Huamachuco, by contrast, jerga from Marabamba was sold at three reales in the same period[25]. The prices for imported cloth showed a similar heterogeneous pattern. Consequently, the following investigation on the price movements of a specified range of popular cloth varieties of viceregal and European origin before and after the introduction of free trade as well as during the long period of warfare after 1796 in two chief consumption and trading places in colonial Peru, Cerro de Pasco and Cuzco, can only claim validity in the restricted sense of an indicator referring to general trends.

As illustrated in table 4.1, Cuzco tended to be a market where domestic woollens were traded at lower prices than in Pasco in the final decades of Spanish rule. The scarcity of imported goods after the outbreak of the hostilities in Europe had apparently no noticeable effect on their prices in this place. The movement for the region's most important single manufacture, ropa, was even one of decrease by half a real per vara,

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[23]See, for instance, Silva Sanisteban, **Obrajes**, 161.

[24]Silva Santisteban, 'Los obrajes en el corregimiento de Cajamarca', 185 (Jerez), and ADC, Col., Inten., Compulsa, document dated 7.IV.1780, 17v.

[25]ADC, Donaciones particulares, 'Cuentas de Cargo y Descargo de la hacienda de Marabamba'.

a development also documented for pañete, which only partly succeeded in recovering from the sharp drop in price it had experienced after 1787. Bayeta was the only local product, whose price remained somewhat stable throughout the period in question.

TABLE 4.1: Prices for Selected Peruvian Woollen Items in Cuzco and Cerro de Pasco, 1787-1806 (in Reales per Vara)

Year	Place	Ropa	Pañete	Bayeta
1787	Cuzco	2.25-2.5	4	2
1788	Pasco	2.5	3[26]	2.5
1797	Cuzco	1.5-2	2	1.5-2
1798	Pasco	2.5	3	2.5
1806	Cuzco	1.75-2	2.5	2
1806	Pasco	4	4[27]	2

SOURCE: AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.166-53, C16.171-90, C16.209-294, C16.248-565; AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1255-105, C16.1269-246, C16.1273-280; Chocano, **Comercio en Cerro de Pasco**, 82-84.

By 1806, the prices in Cerro de Pasco for ropa and pañete had reached, after a period of relative stagnation, a level which clearly superseded that of the earlier years. Ropa in particular benefitted from this process. Bayeta, in comparison, had sustained a price cut by half a real per vara by 1806. Cuzco was, therefore, in terms of sales prices traditionally a far less attractive outlet for domestic large-scale manufactures than Pasco,

[26]This data refers to the year of 1793.

[27]This figure dates back from 1804.

witnessing, moreover, a continuous and pronounced downward spiral in the prices for two of its most sought after items at the end of the century, whereas the same products substantially increased in price in Pasco under the influence of the war conjuncture.

Table 4.2 reflects how dramatically the prices for imported textiles soared in the era of neutral trade. The cabo of bayeta de Castilla in Cuzco, for instance, which was priced at eighty pesos in the pre-war period, had tripled to 240 pesos by 1806. In Pasco, to quote another example, the piece of bramante doubled in price.

TABLE 4.2: Prices for Selected European Textiles in Cuzco and Cerro de Pasco, 1787-1806 (in Pesos)

Year	Place	Bayeta (cabo)	Paño 1a (vara)	Paño 2a (vara)	Bretaña ancha (pieza)	Camlet (vara)
1787	Cuzco	90	7-8	2.5-3	8	1.2-1.4
1788	Pasco	80	7	3	7	1.4-1.6
1796	Cuzco	100	9-10	2.4	7	1.0-1.4
1798	Pasco	155	?	4	?	?
1806	Cuzco	240	?	4-6	12	1.4-2.6
1806	Pasco	180/189	14	4	9	2

SOURCE: AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.172-92, C16.172-93, C16.206-277, C16.249-567; AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1255-105, C16.1269-246, C16.1273-280.

On the whole, imported merchandise was sold in Cuzco at higher prices than in Pasco, a trend which conspicuously gathered pace during the war conjuncture.

However, the overall price development for European textile commodities in

Cerro de Pasco during the 1780s and early 1790s, when comercio libre was at its peak, had been clearly marked by gradual reductions, as table 4.3 indicates.

TABLE 4.3: Prices for Specified Overseas Textiles in Cerro de Pasco, 1784-1793 (in Pesos)

Cloth Variety	Measure	1784	1788	1793
Bramante	pieza	8	7-8	7
Paño 2a	vara	3	3	2.4
Olandilla	pieza	?	25	20
Bayeta	cabo	?	80	83
Camlet	vara	?	1.4-1.6	1.4
Bretaña angosta fina	pieza	6	10	7
Bretaña ancha	pieza	?	7	7-9

SOURCE: AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1247-31, C16.1255-65, C16.1262-190.

Notwithstanding this underlying trend, European woollen items, such as broadcloth and worsted, exceeded in price those from the domestic mills at any given time by several hundred percent. Camlet, for instance, although the cheapest among them, still cost three times as much as Peruvian pañete; imported paño, of course, was much more expensive still than either domestic cloth or the cheaper imports, and the dramatic price differential put it entirely out of the reach of the ordinary consumer. As already observed by contemporary commentators, woollens from overseas, therefore, never constituted a serious challenge to American manufactures[28]. A different picture

[28]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 228, ibid., XII (1795), 144, and William B. Stevenson, **Historical and descriptive narrative of twenty years residence in South America** (3 vols., London 1825), II, 139.

emerges when the printed cotton and linen fabrics from overseas are taken into consideration. One vara of ruana was traded in Cuzco at a mere four reales in 1787, and bretaña in all grades as well as bramante were usually sold considerably below ten pesos a piece. The ease with which these new mass-manufactures gained a foothold in the viceroyalty resided to a large part in the underdeveloped state of the domestic cotton industry, since centres like Arequipa and Chachapoyas had a limited output and mainly supplied local consumption. Their strong presence in the Highlands initiated in many places a subsequent erosion in demand for the traditional woollen stuffs from American mills and smoothed the way for the establishment of two important cotton textile centres in Peru's periphery during the last decades of the eighteenth century: Cuenca to the north (Audiencia of Quito) and Cochabamba to the south (Upper Peru), both of them organized on the basis of a decentralised cottage industry. The former dispatched tocuyos in growing quantities across the border to Peru and Chile[29]. Cochabamba's outlets included primarily the regional urban conglomerations but also distant destinations, like the city of Cuzco[30]. In the same period, Peruvian cotton textile manufacturing somewhat expanded in response to the new demand, but still remained far below the actual requirements[31]. Particularly interesting is the phenomenon that cottage production

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[29]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 228 (north Peru), and **Mercurio Peruano** 1 (1791), 228a, 'Estado Número 4' (Chile).

[30]Brooke Larson, 'The cotton textile industry of Cochabamba, 1770-1810: the opportunities and limits of growth', in Nils Jacobson and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), **The economies of Mexico and Peru during the late colonial period, 1760-1810** (Berlin 1986), 158, and Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 239.

[31]Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 240 (Piura), 246 (Lambayeque).

started to spread out from the urban context to the villages of the hinterland, as in the case of Cuzco[32]. All these references are indicators for a notably expanding market for rustic tocuyo in the viceroyalty, apparently rather as a consequence of the previously mentioned shift in taste than because of greater economy, since its price of two reales per vara during the pre-war era put it in the same range as most American woollen manufactures[33]. During the period of warfare, when domestic demand reached its peak, the prices rose even further[34].

The evaluation of the part the chorrillo sector played within Peru's textile economy is another subject that largely escapes quantitative approach because of inadequate and scattered documentation. In 1776, for instance, 74,286 varas of ropa de chorillo were consigned in large transports from the city of Cuzco to a number of regional and long-distance destinations, including those of Huancavelica and Oruro[35]. The share of cloth originating from chorrillos dispatched to the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1790 amounted to just 17%, a portion which even lagged behind that of the tocuyos[36]. In the same period, Potosí absorbed bayeta de obraje worth 210,000 pesos

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[32]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 143.

[33]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-10 (1776), 20v, and AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.171-90 (1787), despachos no 849, 876.

[34]Larson, 'The cotton textile industry of Cochabamba', 158.

[35]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-10, 15v, 16v, 19, 21v-22, 22v.

[36]Calculated from **Mercurio Peruano** I (1791), 228a, 'Estado Número 2'.

and baizes from the chorrillo industry to the value of 10,000 pesos per year[37]. Based on these data, the conclusion might be drawn that the relevant outlets in Upper Peru met the large portion of their demand for better quality woollen items still from the obrajes in Lower Peru in this late period, whereas the chorrillos of the La Plata region, to which Carrió de la Vandera referred, supplied a substantial part of the ordinary cloth. Perhaps more decisive for the welfare of the sector in the Cuzco area than the export trade were, at that time, local sales, as the following case involving the obraje of Pichuychuro (Cuzco) illustrates: the purchases of chorrillo cloth by its labour force reached nearly 2,000 pesos in 1792, while those concerning ropa de hacienda remained below 700 pesos[38]. Similarly, the mill of Cusibamba (Cuzco) had bought 1,000 varas of the same type for its workers in 1775[39].

There are strong indicators culled from documentary sources that, in contradiction to the previously quoted contemporary accounts, the urban chorrillo industry of the city of Cuzco, like the hacienda manufactories, was, in practice, exposed to an equally severe crisis in the aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, since it supplied the same markets as the rural sector. In various of the seven bankruptcy cases concerning urban workshops in 1785, their economic state was directly linked to this event. In others, the owners claimed to be unable to pay the licence fees imposed on them after years of disrupted

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[37]Marie Helmer, 'Commerce et industrie au Pérou a la fin du XVIIIe siècle', **Revista de Indias** 10 (1950), 522.

[38]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 187, 'Plan que se forma de los Gastos cauzados en este Obraxe de Pichuichuro...'.

[39]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.161-6, 88-88v.

trade[40]. Municipal surveys recorded the closure of six further units in 1787 and of five more in the following year, while only one is reported to have been set up[41]. Huamanga's chorrillo industry, by contrast, displayed an altogether different picture, having in Cerro de Pasco and Huancavelica two prime markets whose demand for bayeta and tocuyo remained invariably high for the following decades.

The sales prices for products from chorrillos varied no less than those for cloth from obrajes. In 1775 and 1776, for instance, customs officials in Cuzco valued ropa de chorrillo on four occasions at 1.5 reales per vara, six times at two reales and once at 2.5 reales. Ropa de obraje, by contrast, was taxed once at 1.5 reales and six times at two reales[42]. Five years later, in 1781, the former was registered three times at the price of two reales per vara, once at 2.25 and 2.5 reales respectively, but also once at three reales. Their counterpart stemming from obrajes, in comparison, was then priced at 2.25 reales as well as once at 2.5 reales[43]. As these few figures suggest, ropa de chorrillo tended in the two years considered to be about 0.5 real per vara cheaper than ropa from obrajes. A more significant price gap is reflected in the 1790 export statistics referring to the viceregal cloth consignments to the Río de la Plata, where ropa manufactures from obrajes were valued at the relatively high price of four reales a vara because of their

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[40]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.169-79, no 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

[41]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.173-101, 'Encavezonamientos y ceses de tiendas...y chorrillos de esta ciudad, año de 1787'; AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.178-122, 'Expedientes sobre encabezonamientos y ceses de tiendas, cajones...y chorrillos...'(1788).

[42]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.161-6 (1775), and AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.162-10 (1776).

[43]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.166-53.

superior quality, in contrast to ropa de chorrillo which was registered at 2.5 reales[44].

There is no evidence for the Cuzco area, however, which supports the recently suggested assumption that the sales price for cloth originating from chorrillos undercut that of cloth from obrajes by more than 50%[45]. In the quoted customs records for 1781 half of the prices registered for ropa de chorrillo were, in fact, identical to or, in one case, even considerably higher than those concerning cloth produced in the obrajes. The relationship between the two sectors in the 1780s is, therefore, at least in the Cuzco area, best characterised as one of co-existence and not one of competition; a stalemate perhaps imposed forcibly on the obraje sector, which might have had to adapt its prices to those of the chorrillos in order to restore its competitiveness, as pointed out in a contemporary source for the Huamanga context[46].

The arancel de repartimientos of 1754 provides an excellent source for studying the importance of the reparto system for Peru's large-scale textile industry as a market before its abolition in December 1780[47].

Domestic cloth, the dominating commodity within the system, was distributed in 56 out of the 68 viceregal provinces. No domestic manufactures were included in the coastal provinces of Piura, Lambayeque (Saña), Santa, Cercado, Ica y Pisco, in

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[44]**Mercurio Peruano** 1 (1791), 228a, 'Estado Número 2'.

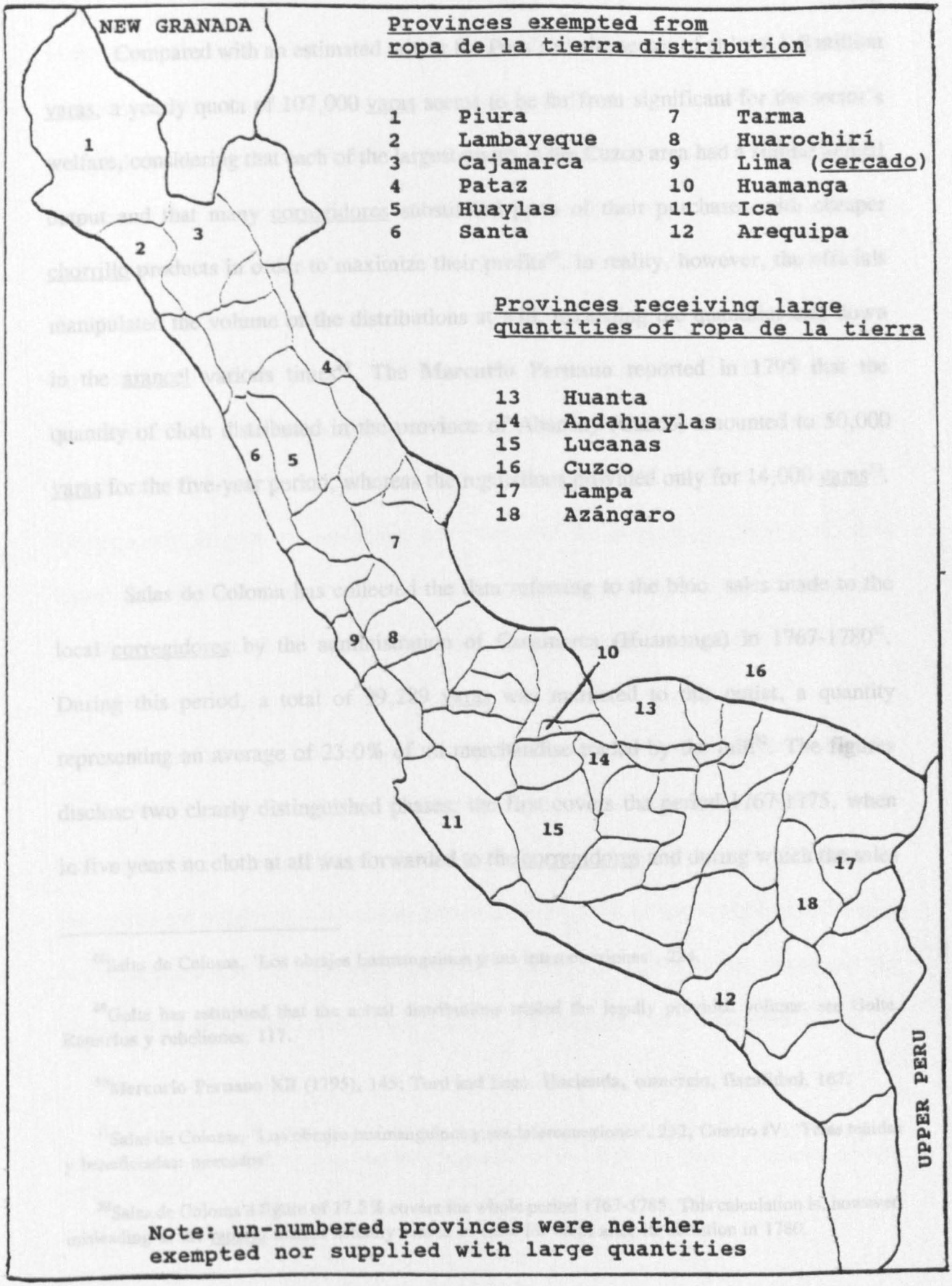
[45]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 221.

[46]Source quoted by Salas de Coloma, ibid., 221.

[47]Tord and Lazo, **Hacienda, comercio, fiscalidad**, 152-184.

Arequipa, and furthermore in the highland provinces of Cajamarca, Pataz, Huaylas, Huarochirí, Tarma, and Huamanga (see map 7). For nine corregimientos, the arancel contained no regulations on the quantities of cloth to be distributed. The total amount of textiles in the reparto for the remaining 47 provinces amounted to 537,300 varas of ropa de la tierra for five years, or to 107,460 varas annually. The highest quantity, 30,000 varas, was provided for the province of Lampa (Cuzco), followed by 25,000 varas in Lucanas (adjacent province of Ica), and 20,000 varas in each of the corregimientos of Huanta (central Highlands), Cuzco, Andahuaylas (Cuzco), and Azángaro (neighbouring Lampa) (see map 7). While the southern Andean region was, therefore, heavily burdened with cloth distributions, a number of provinces in the central and northern sierra was legally exempted, some of them, like Cajamarca and Huaylas, textile areas themselves, others, such as Tarma or Huarochirí, mining centres, creating a situation of disbalance that clearly privileged the textile industries of the Huamanga and Cuzco region.

MAP 7: Distribution of Peruvian Cloth as Indicated by the Arancel de Repartimientos



Note: un-numbered provinces were neither exempted nor supplied with large quantities

Compared with an estimated output for Peru's textile sector of at least 1.6 million varas, a yearly quota of 107,000 varas seems to be far from significant for the sector's welfare, considering that each of the largest plants in the Cuzco area had a similar annual output and that many corregidores substituted parts of their purchases with cheaper chorrillo products in order to maximize their profits[48]. In reality, however, the officials manipulated the volume of the distributions at will, exceeding the quantities laid down in the arancel various times[49]. The **Mercurio Peruano** reported in 1795 that the quantity of cloth distributed in the province of Abancay (Cuzco) amounted to 50,000 varas for the five-year period, whereas the regulations provided only for 14,000 varas[50].

Salas de Coloma has collected the data referring to the bloc sales made to the local corregidores by the administration of Cacamarca (Huamanga) in 1767-1780[51]. During this period, a total of 99,289 varas was marketed to this outlet, a quantity representing an average of 23.0% of all merchandise traded by the mill[52]. The figures disclose two clearly distinguished phases: the first covers the period 1767-1775, when in five years no cloth at all was forwarded to the corregidores and during which the sales

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[48]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 224.

[49]Golte has estimated that the actual distributions tripled the legally provided volume: see Golte, **Repartos y rebeliones**, 117.

[50]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 145; Tord and Lazo, **Hacienda, comercio, fiscalidad**, 167.

[51]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 232, Cuadro IV: 'Telas teñidas y beneficiadas: mercados'.

[52]Salas de Coloma's figure of 17.5% covers the whole period 1767-1785. This calculation is, however, misleading as the reparto market actually ceased to exist for cloth after its abolition in 1780.

in the others fluctuated between 21.2% in 1771 and 33.9% in 1774. Four of these five years coincided with the highest portions of ropa dispatched to Oruro, the plant's principal market (89.3% in 1769, 81.6% in 1770, 76.3% in 1772, and 78.7% in 1775). The second phase includes the years 1776-1780. Against the background of a constricted traffic to Oruro (39.2% in 1776, 32.7% in 1777, 35.9% in 1778, 0.0% in 1779, and 39.6% in 1780), the consignments to the reparto outlet then steadily equalled or surpassed 40% (40.0% in 1776, 41.3% in 1777, 56.6% in 1778, 42.0% in 1779, and 40.4% in 1780). Hence, the reparto served as a supplementary outlet for the mill until the mid-1770s, when the main stream of the trade was still channelled to Upper Peru. Consequently, it grew in importance accordingly to the increasingly fitful demand in Oruro. The dual loss in the early 1780s of the reparto and the Upper Peruvian markets, therefore, represented a major blow for the economic survival of Huamanga's manufactories.

In the Cuzco region, the organization of the reparto system was determined by the close family and social linkages between the local élite and the corregidores[53]. These connections opened up in addition the space of Puno and Upper Peru to the influence of the prominent obrajeros, two regions which were together with the provinces of Cuzco to be supplied with 360,000 varas of cloth[54]. Huancaro, for example, situated in the partido of Quispicanchis, sent 23,000 varas to the corregidor of Cochabambas, Josef de

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[53]For examples see Cahill, 'Reparto ilícitos y familias principales', 460-461. For an identification of the rural property owned by important local residents see also O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno', 55, 57.

[54]Cahill, ibid., 461.

Villalobos, in 1777[55]. As a consequence, Cuzco's textile sector was, similar to the case of Huamanga, to a considerable extent dependent upon the opportunities offered by the reparto, which disappeared without compensation when the system was abolished.

In the northern textile centres, references to the reparto market are virtually non-existent in the documentation consulted, although it unquestionably acted as a powerful stimulus, as it is reflected in the substantial expansion of the industry after the legalization of the system in the 1750s. The silver bonanza at Hualgayoc and a generally favourable conjuncture from the 1770s onwards, however, deprived it of its former importance, without leaving a vacuum to fill after its abolition.

Contemporary comments give little attention to the reaction of the affected manufacturers towards the imminent crisis, thus implicitly creating the impression of an overall air of indifference and indulgence. In practice, an entrepreneur's economic survival in a business like textile production, with its constantly changing framework of conditions, imperatively demanded a high capacity of ad hoc adaptability, a skill that was particularly necessary in times of depressed sales[56].

The influx of a variety of light woollens and worsted from overseas created a demand for this class of textiles in Peru which far exceeded the actual supply. A number of American manufacturers sensed in this gap a niche for new sales opportunities with excellent financial prospects. In a document referring to the plant of Cacamarca

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[55]O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno', 60.

[56]For a survey on the strategies chosen by the obrajeros of the Huamanga region see Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 222-224.

(Huamanga). it was estimated that an imitation of British paño achieved a net profit of 227.7 pesos per 100 varas in comparison to just 10.4 pesos for eighty varas of an improved version of the American pañete[57]. As a consequence, most activities centred on attempts to copy some of the popular imported grades and designs at cheaper rates, a strategy that also formed one of the pillars of the success of many plants in Europe[58]. Carrió de la Vandera described in his **Reforma del Perú** the case of the obrajero Ignacio Fernández de Zaval in Cajamarca whose bayetas in different colours and English designs were very well received even by upper class consumers[59]. The already cited account concerning Cacamarca shows the production costs of five new varieties of cloth. The project was presumably launched in the early 1790s and included three types of foreign cloth as well as two domestic grades. The type called 'blue cloth with the hems' was unmistakenly intended to be an imitation of the legendary broadcloth from Quito, the paño azul, which had been flowing in large quantities to the viceroyalty during the seventeenth century as the only American manufacture of fine quality available, apart from broadcloth woven in Puebla (New Spain). When the European countries started to export products of a similar quality, but at cheaper prices, it soon fell prey to the fierce

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[57]BN, Z 96 (1793).

[58]For examples relating to the imitation of English innovations in diverse countries see La Force, 'Royal textile manufactories', 360, note 94, as well as González Enciso, **Estado e industria**, 157, for the Spanish context and A. Rébellion, **Histoire de Bretagne** (Paris 1957), 162, for the French sector.

[59]Carrió de la Vandera, **Reforma del Perú**, 86; see also O'Phelan Godoy, **Rebellion and revolts**, 21.

competition[60]. As part of the reparto distribution, however, it continued to find a reduced market in Peru and in 1790, it still formed part, albeit in insignificant quantities, of the re-exports of cloth from the viceroyalty to the Río de la Plata and Chile[61]. Paño of the second quality, together with paño 'of the width of one vara and three-quarters like that which comes from Europe', the two other superior quality cloths described in the document, were, in comparison, types that had their models in European manufactures. The two regional products mentioned in the source, blue pañete and cordellate, were presumably intended to attract the attention of the large consumer group with restricted financial means, which could only afford to purchase American cloth. Experiments with finer grades of pañete were also made in the plant of Pichuychuro (Cuzco)[62]. In contrast to most of these ventures based on private initiative and funding, which apparently did usually not materialize, there is one example of an innovation which soon conquered the whole of the viceroyalty and continued after the establishment of independence, when it was produced particularly for the army, to be a trade commodity of importance for both the obraje and the chorrillo sector: bayeton, a thick woollen cloth mainly used for coats,

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[60]AGI, Quito 139, Ramo 7, 1700-1752: 'Cartas y expedientes del cabildo de Quito', folio 21, 313, and folio 24, 333, 335, 339, 340. See also Tyrer, **Demographic and economic history**, 225, and Rosemary D.F. Bromley, 'Disasters and population change in Central Highland Ecuador, 1778-1825', in David J. Robinson (ed.), **Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America** (Ann Arbor 1979), 91.

[61]**Mercurio Peruano** I (1791), 228a, 'Estado Número 4'; see also **Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 229.

[62]Carrió de la Vandera, **Reforma del Perú**, 86; see also O'Phelan Godoy, **Rebellions and revolts**, 21.

originally a British development[63]. It appears rather late, in the early 1790s, for the first time in Peru's customs records[64]. The earliest entries for domestically manufactured bayeton were registered in the late 1790s, i.e. about five years after their first importation from overseas[65]. By the turn of the century, the cloth was also in Huamachuco one of the principal woollen products, of particular demand and high price during the periods of warfare in Europe[66]. Those produced in the obrajes of Llaray and Uningambal enjoyed special esteem, because they were equal in quality to their counterparts imported from Spain[67]. By 1815, when the trade in the southern Highlands was still severely handicapped by revolutionary activities, the manufacture ranked among Cuzco's chief trading commodities. In this particular year, Arequipa was supplied with 9,600 varas of obraje origin plus a further 1,000 varas produced in chorrillos, while 586 varas were dispatched to Lima[68]. A comparison of the prices for foreign and viceregal bayeton in Cuzco in the years 1796-1797 reveals that its lasting success was built on a sound economic foundation, since the local fabric was sold at prices that clearly undercut those for imported bayeton: domestic bayeton destined for Urubamba (Cuzco) and La Paz

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[63]For examples of such contracts between the early republican government and obrajeros of the Cuzco region see AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Asuntos Administrativos, leg. 1, 'Contratas de Bayeton.s' (1825-28) or AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Asuntos Administrativos, leg. 3, 'Contrata de Dies mil varas de Bayeton gris con el Señor Coronel D. Ramon Nadal p.a vestuarios del Ejercito. Año de 1834'.

[64]AGN, RA Pasco, C16.1262-190 (1793), no 1099.

[65]AGN, RA Cuzco, 209-294 (1797), despachos 297, 306, 317.

[66]Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 185.

[67]Macera and Márquez Abanto, ibid., 185-186; see also O'Phelan Godoy, Rebellions and revolts, 21.

[68]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.273-751, guías 48, 52, 68, 82, 104, 140.

(Upper Peru) was then taxed at three reales per vara and that dispatched to Andahuaylas (Cuzco) at two reales[69], while the vara of bayeton de España was priced at 2.4 pesos and its British counterpart at 2.6 pesos[70].

4.1 Conclusion

The period after 1778 has been depicted by both contemporaries and modern historiography as one of swift and irreversible decline of the viceregal woollen trade. Indeed, it has been argued until recently that the competition initiated by the increasing presence in Peru of cheaper European textiles after the introduction of free trade gradually edged the American manufactures out of their markets, a development supposedly accompanied by a dramatic decrease in the number of manufactories in use. However, both contemporary and modern observers, who have focused their attention particularly on the regional level have provided a more complex picture of the same era.

Peru had been an outlet for luxury textiles of European origin since the seventeenth century. The first liberalization of the Atlantic trade in the early eighteenth century, coupled with expanding production facilities for cheap fabrics in Europe, mainly of cottons, encouraged in the viceroyalty a shift of the imported textiles towards varieties of a more popular consumption. Soon the manufactured and agricultural goods consigned from Arequipa, Cuzco, and Huamanga to Upper Peru were no longer exchanged for

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[69]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.209-294 (1797), despachos 297, 306, 317.

[70]AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.206-278 (1796), 3:20, 5:14, 5:29v, 5:38.

silver but for overseas textiles, penetrating the region through the port of Buenos Aires. The expansion of the silver industry in Lower Peru from the 1760s further fuelled viceregal demand for European cloth of mainly ordinary use. The opening up of Peru to a less rigid form of direct trade with Spain in 1778 initiated a dramatic increase of imports of both mass manufactures and luxury textiles to the viceroyalty. Nevertheless, even in the early 1790s, when silver production and comercio libre were at their peak, the share of the market enjoyed by European textiles was limited even in prime consumption centres to less than 25%. The documented trend towards lower prices for overseas cloth in the viceroyalty during the early 1790s was reversed by the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and England in 1796. Scarcity and soaring prices of European goods during the era of neutral trade created renewed short-term market opportunities for American manufactures. However, at any given time the prices of all grades of woollens and worsteds surpassed those of domestic origin by a considerable margin. Next in price to American woollen stuffs came only European cotton and linen-mix fabrics from England, Catalonia, and France. Reasonable pricing, combined with ready availability, created a gradual shift in taste from traditional domestic cloth to the new fabrics in the major Andean trading places, a process that severely damaged the sales of the local woollen manufactures. Although the weaving of tocuyos in Peru itself was somewhat expanded in response to this development, the chief beneficiaries were the cotton manufacturing centres situated in neighbouring regions.

The attractive designs and textures of the imported woollen stuffs inspired a number of viceregal manufacturers to imitate them, since they promised not only valuable sales prospects but also extraordinarily high profits. While most projects were soon abandoned, one grade, bayeton, an imitation of a recent British development, turned out to be a lasting success throughout the viceroyalty, following its introduction in the 1790s.

The existence of both an obraje and a chorrillo sector within the rural context has provoked the hypothesis that they stood in a relationship of pronounced competition to each other because of the presumed ability of the latter to offer its cloth at lower prices than the obrajes. In the case of Huamanga, it has been argued that the existence of a urban chorrillo industry forced the obrajeros to offer their cloth at prices below the actual market value in order to remain competitive. Similar trends towards drastic price reductions for cloth originating from obrajes are also documented for the Cuzco region. At the same time, evidence available on the prices paid in the Cuzco area for products from rural chorrillos clearly suggests that there was little or no significant price difference between cloth woven in obrajes and that manufactured in chorrillos. Moreover, the share of ropa de chorrillo in the exports to Upper Peru remained constantly below a rather modest 20% in the late eighteenth century. The chorrillos of the Cuzco region themselves faced, in fact, increasing competition in their markets in Upper Peru in this period from the establishment of new chorrillo centres in the surroundings of La Paz, Salta and Tucumán, which supplied the miners with products that enjoyed a price advantage because of lower transport costs.

The legalisation of the reparto system in the 1750s, with American cloth as the major single item, stimulated throughout the viceroyalty a period of conspicuous expansion by the textile centres which endured for more than two decades. The legal abolition of the reparto in December 1780 as a consequence of the outbreak a month earlier of the Túpac Amaru rebellion affected the manufacturers in the southern viceroyalty in a far more direct way than their counterparts in the north, as the obrajeros of the Huamanga and Cuzco region had increasingly relied on the reparto market as a buffer to compensate for their dramatically dwindling sales and profits in Upper Peru since the 1770s. Close family ties with the corregidores as the organizers of the distributions had allowed them to establish themselves as sole suppliers of a space that included not only the Cuzco provinces but also Arequipa and most of Upper Peru. In the northern textile centres, by contrast, the blow of the abolition of the system was fully compensated by the growing demand for domestic cloth of the miners at Hualgayoc.

CHAPTER 5

MAJOR TEXTILE CENTRES AND CRISIS: A REGIONAL ANALYSIS

5.1 Cajamarca

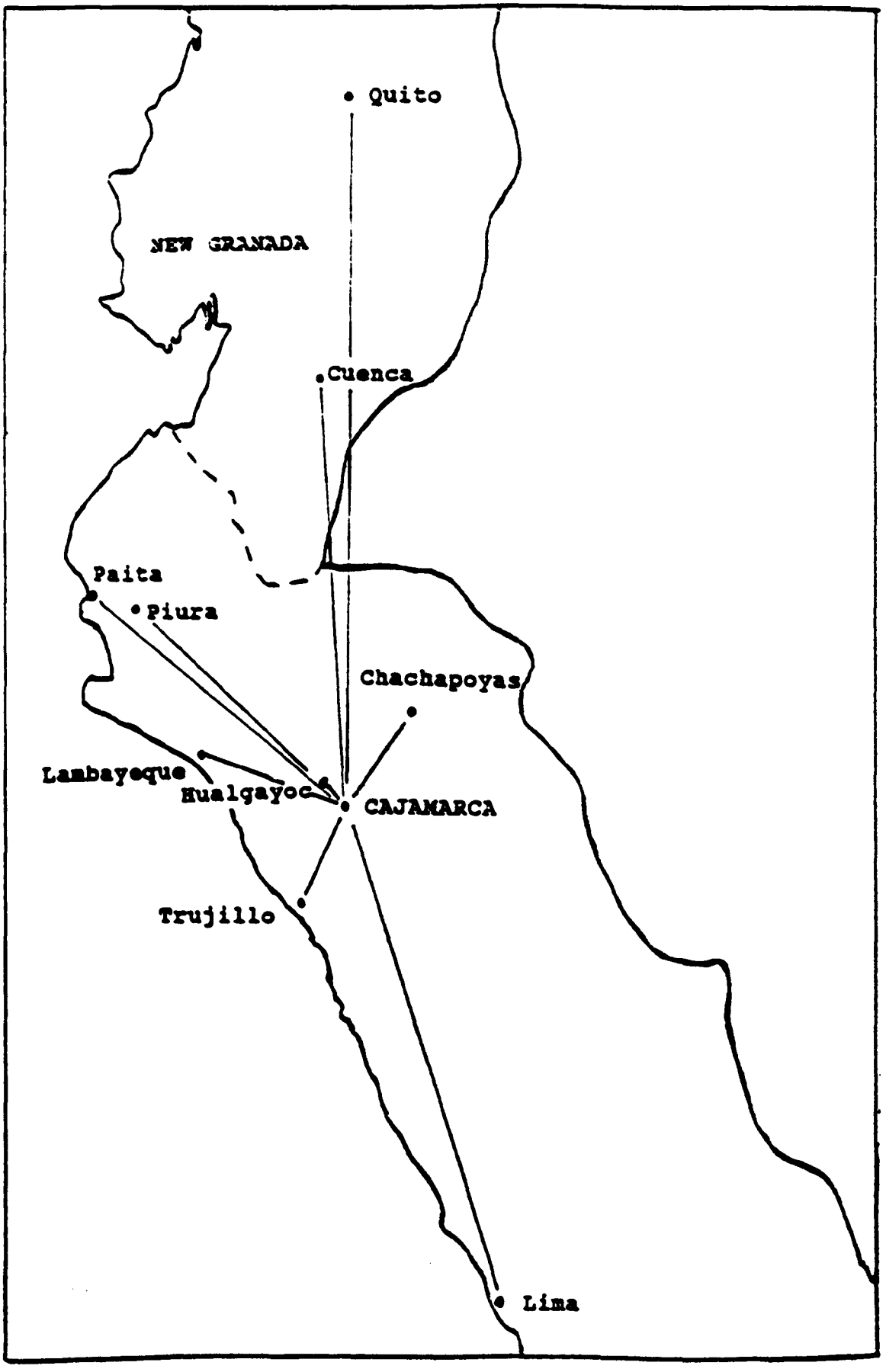
The province of Cajamarca, which formed a territorial and administrative unit with Huamachuco until 1759, was distinguished from most other regions in the viceroyalty by its excellent farming conditions and mineral resources[1]. The numerous haciendas, some of them with a textile manufactory in operation, produced a widely diversified range of agricultural goods, destined primarily for internal and local consumption. The ancient city of Cajamarca with its extended web of long-established trade relations was the region's sole staple centre. It linked the urban conglomerations along the coastal and the highland zone with the Audiencia of Quito as well as with the subtropical province of Chachapoyas (see map 8). The commodities channelled into these export trade circuits consisted predominantly of woollen cloth, together with sheep and goats, the latter

[1]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 57; Giandomenico Coleti, **Dizionario storico-geografico dell' America Meridionale** (2 vols. in 1, Venezia 1771), I, 74f.; **Mercurio Peruano** X (1794), 186.

mainly destined for the consumption in Lima[2].

[2]See, for example, Joaquín Ramón Iturralde, 'Relación descriptiva del cerro de Hualgayoc descubierto con poderosas vetas de plata en la provincia de Cajamarca, con noticias exactas de su fatal estado' (1776), in Fernando Silva Santisteban, Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, and Rogger Ravines (eds.), Historia de Cajamarca (4 vols., Lima 1985-1989), III, 322, and Coleti, ibid., I, 74f.

MAP 8: Cajamarca's Major Trade Relations



Although not reported upon by contemporary observers, after a period of stagnation Cajamarca's textile industry experienced in the post-1750 period a lasting phase of hectic expansion, presumably as a result of the new market opportunities opened up by the legalization of the reparto system. Porcón, one of the most important local manufactories, for example, doubled its inventory of three looms and 36 spinning wheels to six looms and 65 spinning units between 1757 and 1770[3].

It was, however, the discovery of the rich silver deposits at Hualgayoc that provided the region with the necessary stimulus to exploit its economic potential to the full[4]. The new mining site was located on the brink of a virtually uninhabited highland plateau, looking over the fertile plain of Bambamarca. The hostile climate foiled agricultural efforts. Consequently, the labourers and their families, who were drawn to Hualgayoc by its rich silver ores, relied for their subsistence on supplies of food and other commodities brought under difficult circumstances to the mining centre from either the city of Cajamarca or, alternatively, Bambamarca and Chota. The 1793 census registered 4,005 persons in the parish of Hualgayoc, half of them classified as mestizos and a further 25% as of at least partially black origin[5]. Alexander von Humboldt estimated the population at utmost 4,000 persons on the occasion of his visit shortly after

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[3]ADC, Escrib., leg. 60, 72 (1757); ADC, Escrib., leg. 61, 59 (1761); ADC, Escrib., leg. 154, 4 (1770); see also appendix 1.

[4]See, for instance, Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 247, and **Mercurio Peruano** X (1794), 192.

[5]Huertas, **Tierras, diezmos y tributos**, 103; see in this context also Iturralde, 'Relación descriptiva del cerro de Hualgayoc', 323.

the turn of the century[6]. The location of the ores impeded easy exploitation. Baltazar Martínez de Compañón, the bishop of Trujillo, regarded the lack of capital and manpower as the main obstacles to an improved extraction of the mines[7]. Despite these deficiencies, which were never resolved, the annual silver yield steadily grew in volume until the first decade of the nineteenth century. Between 1785 and 1789, for instance, the miners sent silver to the value of 600,000 pesos a year to Trujillo[8]. The first symptoms of an impending crisis found their expression in increasingly unpredictable output figures after the turn of the century. Years of peak results alternated with others of unprecedentedly low returns. The 1810s with their permanently poor output level marked the definite end of a silver bonanza which had lasted for forty years[9].

Immediate consequences of the new wealth circulating in the province included a substantial rise in price for all consumption goods, along with a notable increase in the quantity of European commodities imported to the area[10]. The value of goods (both American and European) soared from 50,000 pesos in 1768/69 to 225,790 pesos twenty years later. Almost three-quarters of it were actually spent on the purchase of efectos de

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[6]Fisher, **Silver mines and silver miners**, 8.

[7]Baltazar J. Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, 'Sobre el ruinoso estado de las minas de Hualgayoc y modo de restablecerlas', in Fernando Silva Santisteban, Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, and Rogger Ravines (eds.), **Historia de Cajamarca** (4 vols., Lima 1985-1989), III, 205-233.

[8]**Mercurio Peruano** X (1794), 211.

[9]José Deustua, **La minería peruana y la iniciación de la república, 1820-1840** (Lima 1986), 77, Gráfico 6: 'Producción registrada de la plata en Trujillo, 1800-1834'.

[10]Iturralde, 'Relación descriptiva del cerro de Hualgayoc', 323.

Castilla[11]. Mostly wines and aguardiente from the coast supplemented the long-distance dispatches to Cajamarca[12].

The growing demand of the miners at Hualgayoc for woollen cloth to be used as both clothing material and part of their wages generated within a matter of three years an entirely new regional market with nearly unlimited sales opportunities for the textile industry[13]. Porcón's production capacities had been further expanded by the installation of ten spinning wheels by 1772 in response to the recent development[14]. Numerous small mills, so far primarily dedicated to satisfying internal and local consumption, now sought active participation in the regional trade. One of them, Pallán, a church property situated in the sugar zone of Celendín, showed, with an equipment stock consisting of only two looms and eight spinning devices with unusable accessories, unambiguous signs of decline in 1750[15]. By 1773, however, the equipment had been increased to three looms and 34 spinning wheels plus a further loom for the weaving of blankets[16]. The mill reached its highest output level in the 1780s, when it had four looms in operation, fed by forty spinning wheels and a flock of sheep, which had been more than doubled in size in comparison to the previous decade in order to supply the expanding output on

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[11]**Mercurio Peruano** X (1794), 211, 212. For examples of the annual imports of overseas goods to the province see AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1519-208 (1789/90) or AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1535-314 (1803).

[12]See, for instance, AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1533-294 (1798), 'Cajamarca'.

[13]**Mercurio Peruano** X (1794), 192.

[14]ADC, Escrib., leg. 154, 4 (1770); ADC, Escrib., leg. 130:I, 271 (1772).

[15]ADC, Escrib., leg. 58, 399v (1750).

[16]ADC, Escrib., leg. 131:II, 102v (1773).

a self-sufficient basis[17].

In spite of conspicuously extended production capacities, Cajamarca's textile sector was unable to meet the growing demand for cloth from its own resources. Consignments from other textile centres were necessary to made up the shortfalls. Huamachuco and Conchucos contributed woollen items, whereas Cuenca in New Granada dispatched both baize and tocuyo. Chachapoyas, for its part, traded a portion of its cotton fabrics in Cajamarca[18]. Less important consignments were also forwarded to the province from Lambayeque[19].

Pañete was the most popular American grade of cloth consumed in the region. Most obrajes dedicated a large share of their output to this single article[20]. It was the sole variety of ropa de la tierra which clearly benefitted in price, and perhaps in quantity, from the supply shortages of overseas textiles after the outbreak of warfare between Spain and England in 1796: irrespective of the place of its origin, pañete was officially marketed at three reales a vara in 1780 and 1791, but achieved a price of between four and 4.5 reales by 1809. That of tocuyo, in comparison, increased in the same period by

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[17]ADC, Escrib., leg. 131:II, 103-103v (1773); ADC, Escrib., leg. 136, 312v, 313 (1782).

[18]ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 2, 'Libro de avaluos de lo perteneciente a los efectos intruidos en esta Real Aduana de Caxamarca' (1791), 107, 107f., 108.

[19]ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 3, 'Libro de Avaluos de Guías de Efectos internados...en esta Tenencia...de Cajamarca' (1809), guías 160-163.

[20]ADC, Col., Corregimiento, Compulsa, document dated 7.IV.1780, 10v-11v, 15v-16v, 17, 27v, 33v, 74-74v, 76, 78; for references to the annual output of some of the plants see Silva Santisteban, 'Los obrajes en el corregimiento de Cajamarca', 184 (Polloc and Porcón), 185 (Pauca).

not more than half a real, whereas that of bayeta even experienced stagnation[21].

At the same time, cloth continued to be the province's principal export commodity, with Chachapoyas as the chief purchaser. During the quinquennium of 1786-1790, the province absorbed roughly 20,000 varas of pañete and baize together with 344 blankets[22]. The despatch of woollen cloth to the coastal zone, in comparison, although described as 'considerable' by Stevenson in 1812, was, in fact, insignificant in quantity and not performed on a regular annual basis[23]. In 1788, for example, these consignments comprised less than 900 varas[24]. The sole manufactures sporadically traded to extra-regional markets in a substantial volume were blankets, a product traditionally woven in many of the regional obrajes[25]. The customs records registered the exit of 285 blankets in 1788 to Popayán, a mining centre in New Granada operated with the help of slave labour. They were first shipped to Lima and later forwarded by boat

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[21]ADC, Col., Corregimiento, Compulsa, document dated 7.IV.1780; ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 2, 'Libro de avaluos de lo perteneciente...en esta Real Aduana de Caxamarca' (1791), 107, 107f., 108, etc.; ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 3, 'Libro de Avaluos de Guías de Efectos internados...en esta Tenencia...de Cajamarca' (1809), guías 88, 130, 160-163.

[22]**Mercurio Peruano** X (1794), 212, Table: 'Comercio activo y pasivo de Cajamarca'; for details on the consignments in the year of 1789 see AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1513-166. For the figures referring to a later period see AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1536-322 (1805) or AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1537-328 (1806).

[23]Stevenson, **Historical and descriptive narrative**, II, 137-138.

[24]ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 1, 'Libro de Guías para las Provincias de este Reyno...1788', 2v, 8.

[25]ADC, ibid., 2v, 5v; AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1513-166 (1789), no 4; AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1519-208 (1789/90), no 1, 7, 9.

boat to the port of Guayaquil[26].

After two and a half decades of intensive textile production an abrupt downward trend set in. In the 1790s, a number of inventories show production capacities that had been reduced to a size similar to that established in the years immediately preceding the discovery of Hualgayoc. Others reflect, in addition, symptoms of a neglected maintenance of the equipment. By 1795, Porcón had reduced the number of its spinning wheels to the 1770 level and temporarily operated with one loom fewer than in this base year[27]. In the 'casa de telares' ('house of the looms') of the mill of Huagal, four of the twenty spinning devices were no longer in operation by 1799 and most accessories belonging to the two looms were unserviceable[28]. Much of the equipment installed in the obraje of Chaquil (province of Celendín) was characterised as 'worn-out' or 'broken' in the 1797 inventory. It was just about one decade earlier that the administration had expanded the capacities of the plant substantially not only by doubling the number of looms and by establishing eight further spinning wheels but also by increasing adequately the size of its flock of sheep[29]. In other, exceptional cases, like that of Jelic, situated close to the border of the province of Huamachuco, there was no reaction to the constricted demand before the turn of the century. In contrast to the 1744 inventory, that of 1799 registered an expansion of its equipment from one single loom and thirteen

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[26]ADC, Col., Inten., Asuntos y Administrativos, Alcabalas, leg. 1, 'Libro de Guías para las Provincias de este Reyno...1788', 7v.

[27]ADC, Escrib., leg. 154, 4 (1770); ADC, Escrib., leg. 141, 155v (1795).

[28]ADC, Escrib., leg. 145:II, 8.

[29]ADC, Escrib., leg. 146:I, 214, 219 (1780); ADC, Escrib., leg. 142, 265-265v, 267 (1797).

spinning wheels to three looms and 25 spinning devices[30]. By 1817, in turn, the number of spinning wheels had fallen back to thirteen and that of sheep had been reduced to half of the 1799 figure[31].

The textile sector, therefore, experienced its first economic setback at a time when the commercial framework was, in fact, particularly favourable for the trade: the mines provided high annual yields and the demand for American cloth was higher than usual because of the distorted transatlantic traffic after 1796. Consequently, the local manufacturers' sales problems were in their origin not related to the silver conjuncture, but to a structural disbalance within the trade itself, most probably caused by a market which had become increasingly glutted in the 1790s by local and regional overproduction as a result of the high prices paid for cloth at Hualgayoc. Nevertheless, the textile production of the province was maintained until the end of colonial rule at a level that markedly exceeded in volume that of the 1750s. There are no reports of bankruptcies or tax problems. Indeed, travellers, like Stevenson, perceived the textile trade in the 1810s as still very active and economically sound[32].

5.2 Huamachuco

Bueno characterized the province of Huamachuco as a region with a considerable number of haciendas, but with only a few villages, exposed in most parts to a cold climate.

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[30]ADC, Escrib., leg. 56, 434 (1744); ADC, Escrib., leg. 145:II, 11 (1799).

[31]ADC, Escrib., leg. 145:II, 13 (1799); ADC, Escrib., leg. 153, 8, 8v-9.

[32]Stevenson, **Historical and descriptive narrative**, II, 137-138, 166.

Those estates which were most populated had, in addition, a textile manufactory attached (see map 9)[33]. Moreover, some silver was extracted from various mines in the province. The harsh weather conditions impeded agricultural exploitation on an intensive scale. Chusgón, for example, a vast obraje hacienda complex situated close to the village of Huamachuco and in the possession of the Augustinians in Lima, produced mostly cattle, sheep, and maize. As was typical for the region, its income largely derived from the return of cloth sales effected in both local and distant markets.

Huamachuco had, in contrast to Cajamarca, no regional staple centre. Its surplus commodities - most of which consisted of woollen stuffs - were traded along the two transit routes traversing the province from Trujillo to Cajamarca. The shorter of them ran through the villages of Chusco and Huamachuco, whereas the less direct connection passed through those located more to the west - Simbal, Otusco, Usquil, and Chuquisongo -, rejoining the principal track at Cajatambo, the gateway to the Cajamarca area. The exported goods were exchanged for agricultural goods not produced within the region, such as rice or wines[34]. The number of the inhabitants of the province amounted to 38,153 in 1793, consisting in equal proportions of mestizos and Indians[35].

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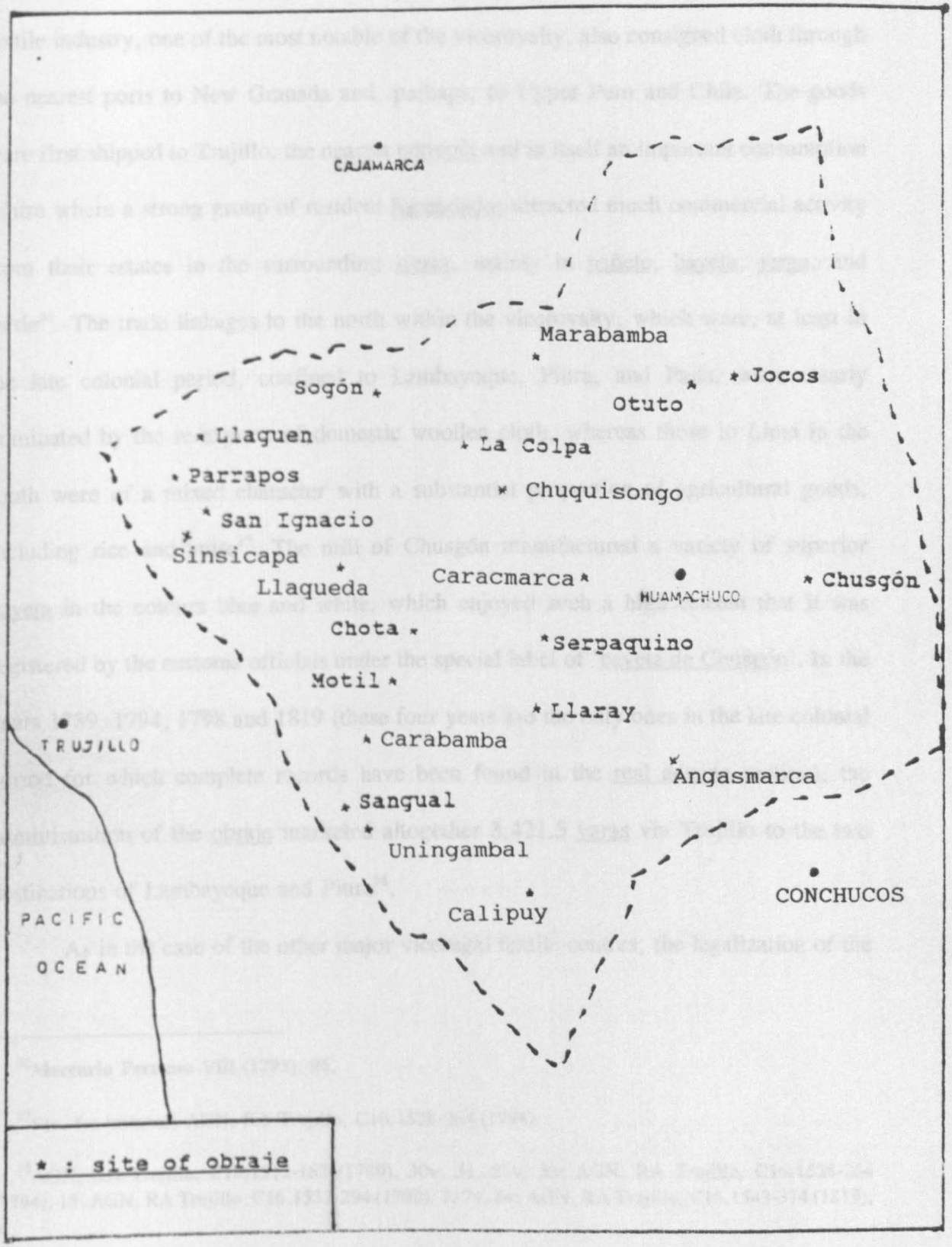
[33]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 60.

[34]See, for example, AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1512-162 (1789), 'Huamachuco'.

[35]Huertas, **Tierras, diezmos y tributos**, 104.

MAP 9: Principal Obrajes in the Province of Huamachuco



SOURCE: Espinoza Soriano, 'Geografía histórica de Huamachuco', 50a, and archival sources

Apart from supplying the urban consumption centres at the coast, Huamachuco's textile industry, one of the most notable of the viceroyalty, also consigned cloth through the nearest ports to New Granada and, perhaps, to Upper Peru and Chile. The goods were first shipped to Trujillo, the nearest entrepôt and in itself an important consumption centre where a strong group of resident hacendados attracted much commercial activity from their estates in the surrounding sierra, mainly in pañete, bayeta, jerga, and cattle[36]. The trade linkages to the north within the viceroyalty, which were, at least in the late colonial period, confined to Lambayeque, Piura, and Paita, were clearly dominated by the re-exports of domestic woollen cloth, whereas those to Lima in the south were of a mixed character with a substantial proportion of agricultural goods, including rice and anise[37]. The mill of Chusgón manufactured a variety of superior bayeta in the colours blue and white, which enjoyed such a high esteem that it was registered by the customs officials under the special label of 'bayeta de Chusgón'. In the years 1789, 1794, 1798 and 1819 (these four years are the only ones in the late colonial period for which complete records have been found in the real aduana section), the administration of the obraje marketed altogether 3,421.5 varas via Trujillo to the two destinations of Lambayeque and Piura[38].

As in the case of the other major viceregal textile centres, the legalization of the

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[36]**Mercurio Peruano** VIII (1793), 96.

[37]See, for instance, AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1528-264 (1794).

[38]AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1512-162 (1789), 30v, 31, 31v, 33; AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1528-264 (1794), 15; AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1533-294 (1798), 7, 7v, 8v; AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1543-374 (1819), 6.

reparto system marked the beginning of an extended period of expansion for Huamachuco's textile sector in the 1750s. The early 1770s again witnessed increased activities, undoubtedly the result of the silver extractions at nearby Hualgayoc. The installations of the manufactory of Sangual were expanded by three looms and ten spinning wheels between 1750 and 1775. Its equipment, one of the largest in the region, then comprised eleven looms and 94 spinning devices[39]. The plant of Jocos, a comparatively modest obraje, more than doubled its inventory to four looms and 38 spinning wheels during the eight-year period of 1771-1778[40]. The mills of Parrapos and San Ignacio had a further 31 spinning units in operation by 1773, improving the production potential by one-third[41].

The market of Cajamarca with its rapidly expanding demand and its gratifyingly high prices became the new stronghold for Huamchuco's cloth manufacturers after 1771[42]. This development was at the expense of the export trade to Trujillo and certainly does not reflect any fall in production in Huamachuco. Indeed, the province's cloth production continued at the same outstandingly high output level for the next forty years, but consignments to the coast decreased dramatically, as table 5.1 illustrates for

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[39]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 289, 324 (1750); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 355, 8v (1775); see also appendix 2.

[40]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 280, 32v (1771); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 290, 66 (1778).

[41]ADL, J., Col., Corregimiento, Temp., 276/3481.

[42]Iturralde, 'Relación descriptiva del cerro de Hualgayoc', 322, and Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 185. Espinoza Soriano's assumption of a strong trade linkage between Huamachuco and Cerro de Pasco, however, contradicts any available documentary evidence; see Espinoza Soriano, 'Geografía histórica de Huamachuco', 6-7.

the years 1789, 1794, and 1798, because the manufacturers found it more profitable to divert their output to Cajamarca[43].

[43]Since the export trade to the coast from Cajamarca, the only other local woollen textile centre in existence, came practically to a standstill after 1771, it is legitimate to assume that these data reflect quite accurately the volume of Huamachuco's long-distance trade. The quantity of cloth consumed within the province of Trujillo itself, however, escapes quantification.

TABLE 5.1: Cloth Exports from Trujillo to Coastal Destinations by Variety, Quantity (in Varas, and Year (1789, 1794, 1798)

Year	Bayeta	Pañete	Jerga	Total
To LIMA:				
1789	12,894.5	9,885.5	4,437.5	27,217.5
1794	11,939.5	2,093	300	14,332.5
1798	3,531	7,564.5	0.0	11,095.5
TOTAL	28,365	19,543	4,737.5	52,645.5
To LAMBAYEQUE:				
1789	7,590.5	829	6,851	15,270.5
1794	2,086	849	3,606.5	6,541.5
1798	1,943.5	1,858	6,240	10,041.5
TOTAL	11,620	3,536	16,697.5	31,853.5
To PAITA:				
1789	13,009.5	0.0	2,206	15,215.5
1794	4,403	340	0.0	4,743
1798	12,120	0.0	577	12,697
TOTAL	29,532.5	340	2,783	32,655.5
To PIURA:				
1789	2,064	1,242.5	1,145	4,451.5
1794	620	880.5	813	2,313.5
1798	2,968	3,476	1,889	8,333
TOTAL	5,652	5,599	3,847	15,098

SOURCE: AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1512-162 (1789); AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1528-264 (1794); AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1533-294 (1798).

Particularly striking is the reduction of the 1794 volume in comparison with that of the base year: exports to the Lima and Piura markets fell by nearly 50%, and those to the other destinations by even larger proportions. For 1798, a year of disrupted transatlantic trade, not surprisingly, somewhat higher quantities are documented, but those were, with the exception of Piura, despite a generally greater demand for cloth from within the province as a consequence of inadequate overseas supplies, still conspicuously below those of 1789[44].

Considering these three years together, Lima appears as the chief single market with a consumption of 52,000 varas, thus superseding by more than one-third the quantity absorbed by each of the second markets, Lambayeque and Paita, which both received roughly 32,000 varas[45]. In contrast to the other destinations, however, the shipments of cloth from Trujillo to the viceregal capital in 1798 were even lower than those of 1794, an unambiguous indicator for the continuous decline of this market. By 1798, Lima had, in fact, lost its position as the prime sales outlet - with purchases that had decreased by 60% - to Paita. Piura, for its part, which was the only one of the mentioned outlets that absorbed a larger quantity of cloth in 1798 than in 1789, still remained, in comparison with the other destinations, of only limited importance.

Table 5.2 shows that bayeta was the most popular among the grades traded by Trujillo, with a quantity amounting to 75,169.5 varas. Lima and Paita received a large

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[44]For a contemporary reference to more favourable sales conditions for the province's manufacturers during the era of neutral trade see Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 185.

[45]One interesting question, which is yet to be explored, is the extent to which the volume of these exports was in response to Lima's internal market or whether they were shipped on to other destinations.

portion of it, with approximately 28,000 varas each. Pañete and jerga, by contrast, while being the two most popular varieties in the mining centres, were with a total consumption of less than 30,000 varas each of a notably more limited demand in the coastal zone. The viceregal capital appears here as the major purchaser of pañete with nearly 20,000 varas; Lambayeque was the chief outlet for jerga. The cheap quality probably found use as clothing material for the slaves employed in the haciendas of the province.

TABLE 5.2: Exports of Woollen Cloth from Trujillo to Coastal Destinations in 1789, 1794, and 1798 (in Varas)

Market	Pañete	Bayeta	Jerga
Lambayeque	3,536	11,620	16,697.5
Lima	19,543	28,365	4,737.5
Paita	340	29,532.5	2,783
Piura	5,599	5,652	3,847
Total	29,018	75,169.5	28,065

SOURCE: AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1512-162 (1789); AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1528-264 (1794); AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1533-294 (1798).

Both bayeta and jerga, however, were commodities of diminishing importance during the period in question. The volume of baize, for example, dropped from 35,558.5 varas in 1789 to 20,562.5 varas in 1798. In both cases, the movement was strongly connected, though not exclusively, to reduced demand in the viceregal capital. Only pañete was not affected by this general trend. On the contrary, it extended its relative market share continuously: the quantity shipped amounted to roughly 12,000 varas in

each of the two years. It conspicuously expanded its foothold in the outlets of Lambayeque and Piura. Diminishing exports to Huamchuco's coastal outlets were, therefore, accompanied by a notable shift in preference away from baize to higher-priced pañete.

In contradiction to the case of Cajamarca's textile sector which showed the first signs of a depressed economy as early as the mid-1790s, Huamachuco's industry continued to exist in a state of relative prosperity until the eve of independence. The owner of the estate of Catache (Huamachuco) confirmed in a 1807 petition the exceptional rôle this trade still played for the local producers after the turn of the century, when he emphasized that those hacendados involved in the trade circuit with Hualgayoc were, unlike himself, financially prospering[46]. The bonanza came to a end in the 1810s, when silver production at Hualgayoc started to decline. At least some plants subsequently adjusted their equipment in accordance with reduced sales opportunities in the course of this decade[47]. Nevertheless, the manufacturers perceived the overall prospect for their trade as sufficiently promising to effect further investments in the installations of their mills[48]: Otuto, situated near to Cajabamba, had been rebuilt after a fire in 1803 and equipped with six looms and 54 spinning wheels[49]. Eight years later,

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[46]ADL, J., Col., Real Hacienda, Alcabala, 136/280.

[47]For the case of Sangual see ADL, J., Col., Inten., Compulsa, 404/2244 (1818).

[48]In the 1818 inventory concerning the obraje of Sangual explicit reference is made to the good condition of the installations and the equipment; see ADL, J., Col., Inten., Compulsa, 404/2244.

[49]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 308, 172-172v.

in 1811, six of these spinning devices had been replaced by new ones[50]. The seven looms operating in the obraje of Caracmarca, which was located to the south of Cajabamba, were fitted with new accessories in 1812[51]. And in Chuquisongo, to quote a further example, two of the seven looms for baize and jerga production had been replaced by 1815[52].

5.3 The Huamanga region

Textile production in the hinterland of the city of Huamanga, although it embraced a number of obrajes, was largely dominated by three major plants: Cacamarca, the most important one of them, was located in a rather remote valley some forty kilometres south to the capital of the intendancy[53]. The mill, a property of the Carmelite order (Carmelitas), was rented out in 1685 to the Jesuit novitiate (noviciado) of Lima for one hundred years. During the period between the expulsion of the Society of Jesus (1767) and the expiry of the lease, it had been administered by the junta de temporalidades. Cacamarca's total output amounted to roughly 200,000 varas in 1767-1780[54]. The second textile plant was Pomacocha, which had belonged to the order of Santa Clara since the early seventeenth century. It was conveniently linked to Huamanga by the

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[50]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 316, 28-28v.

[51]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 317, 90v-91.

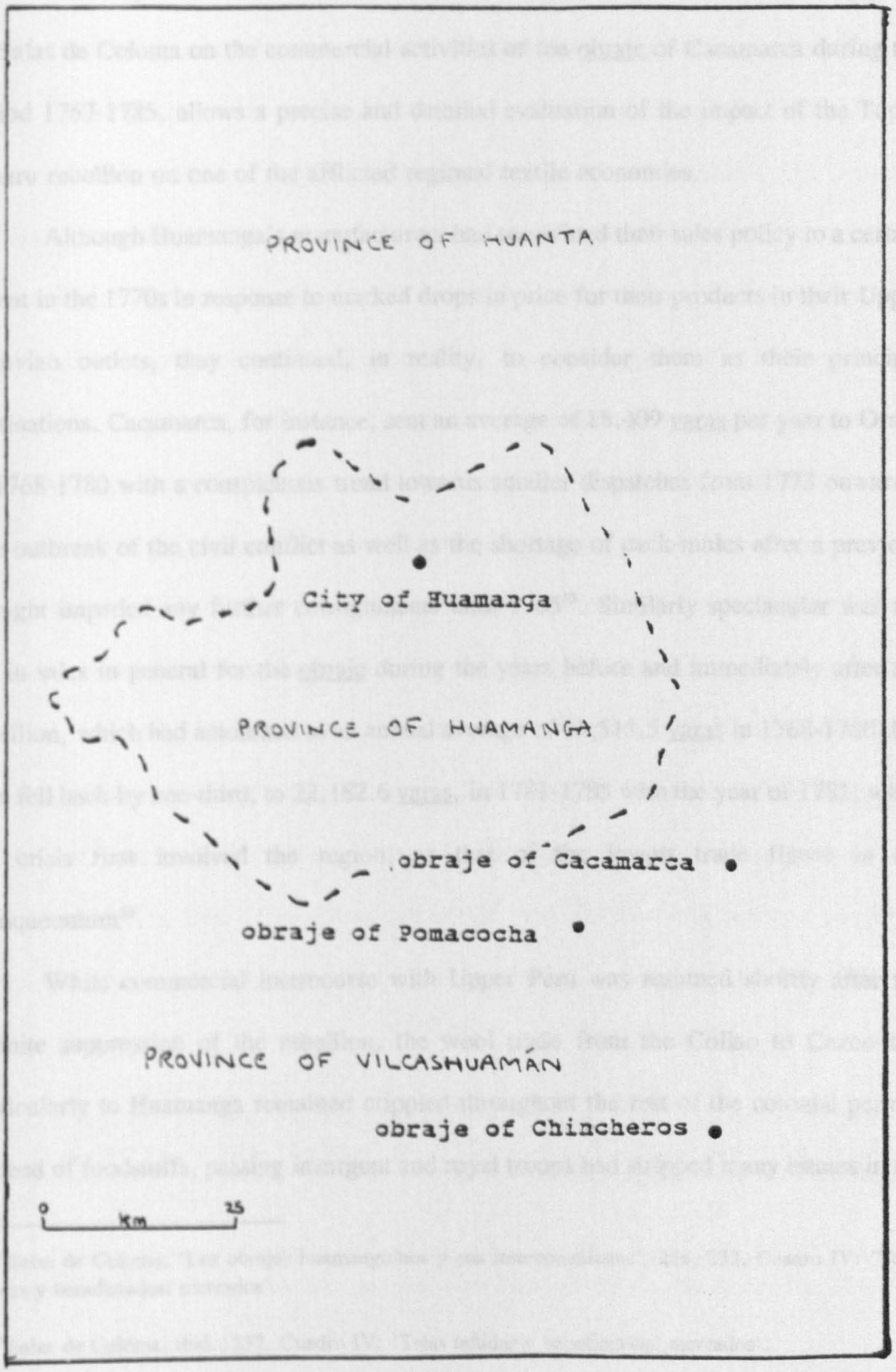
[52]ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 320, 110.

[53]Urrutia Ceruti, **Huamanga: región e historia**, 152, 155.

[54]Salas de Coloma, 'Crisis en desfase en el centro-sur-este', 151.

camino real. The third manufactory of importance, Chincheros, was the only one among them in secular ownership. It was sold to general José de Vega y Cruz in the early eighteenth century and had become a property of the marquis de Feria y Veinte by the end of the century (for the precise location of the mills see map 10).

MAP 10: The City of Huamanga and its Hinterland



SOURCE: Urrutia y Ceruti, Huamanga: región e historia, 152a

The unique statistical material for the Peruvian context, which has been compiled by Salas de Coloma on the commercial activities of the obraje of Cacamarca during the period 1767-1785, allows a precise and detailed evaluation of the impact of the Túpac Amaru rebellion on one of the afflicted regional textile economies.

Although Huamanga's manufacturers had re-defined their sales policy to a certain extent in the 1770s in response to marked drops in price for their products in their Upper Peruvian outlets, they continued, in reality, to consider them as their principal destinations. Cacamarca, for instance, sent an average of 18,409 varas per year to Oruro in 1768-1780 with a conspicuous trend towards smaller dispatches from 1773 onwards. The outbreak of the civil conflict as well as the shortage of pack-mules after a previous drought impeded any further consignments until 1785[55]. Similarly spectacular was the cut in sales in general for the obraje during the years before and immediately after the rebellion, which had amounted to an annual average of 33,515.5 varas in 1768-1780, but then fell back by one-third, to 22,182.6 varas, in 1781-1785 with the year of 1781, when the crisis first involved the region, as that of the lowest trade figure in the quinquennium[56].

While commercial intercourse with Upper Peru was resumed shortly after the definite suppression of the rebellion, the wool trade from the Collao to Cuzco and particularly to Huamanga remained crippled throughout the rest of the colonial period. In need of foodstuffs, passing insurgent and royal troops had stripped many estates in the

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[55]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 216, 232, Cuadro IV: 'Telas teñidas y beneficiadas: mercados'.

[56]Salas de Coloma, ibid., 232, Cuadro IV: 'Telas teñidas y beneficiadas: mercados'.

Puno area, a central scene of the conflict, of their livestock and destroyed them in some cases[57]. Huamanga's textile sector which traditionally depended to an extraordinary degree upon the white wool provided by this region, suffered, therefore, a severe blow, when its chief source of supply ceased to be accessible. Cacamarca, for example, purchased more than 80% of its wool from this single source in 1767-1780. Further 15% consisted of coarse black wool, which was brought in from adjacent Jauja, the region's prime regional wool centre. The share of local wool was restricted to a mere 1.4%[58]. The picture as presented after 1781, however, indicates quite a different situation: although there were still dispatches from the Collao trickling to the manufactory in 1781, the overwhelming majority of it was now obtained from Jauja[59].

Indeed, the re-organisation of the wool supply in terms of the quantity and, above all, in terms of the required quality was a vital problem for all manufacturers in the southern viceroyalty after the destruction of the infrastructure in the Collao. They faced the dilemma that the inferior grades of wool produced in Jauja technically defied the weaving of superior ropa, a circumstance which drastically reduced the competitiveness of the industry in their Upper Peruvian outlets and deprived the sector of its most lucrative source of income. It appears, moreover, that Jauja's sheep raisers were unable

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[57]AGI, Lima 1029, Josef de Lagos, 'Proyecto económico', parágrafo 4, and Augusto Ramos Zambrano, Puno en la rebelión de Túpac Amaru (Puno 1982), 36. For an example concerning the damage committed in the sheep and cattle raising estates of Carpa and Cuturi, located in the province of Azángaro, see AAC, LX, 2.22 (1783).

[58]Calculated from Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 216, 228, Cuadro I: 'Lanas, aprovisionamiento'; for the transactions made in 1786 and 1787 see also BN, Z 96, 803.

[59]Calculated from Salas de Coloma, ibid., 228, Cuadro I: 'Lanas, aprovisionamiento'.

to meet the dramatically increased demand for their product after 1781. Erratic wool supply led to a first closing down of the mill of Chincheros for the months of September and October in 1782. Its output in this particular year, amounting to 11,000 varas, fell short by more than 50% of the level achieved in earlier years[60]. By 1793, the administration of the plant had definitely succumbed to the problem by establishing it as a part of the daily routine: textile workers were now to seek employment in other sections of the hacienda compound in times of a paralysed cloth production[61].

The joint effects of the Túpac Amaru rebellion on Huamanga's textile industry - the simultaneous loss of the Upper Peruvian and the reparto markets as well as of the prime source of wool supply - left the obrajeros with the options of either making major adjustments to the transformed economic framework for their trade or of resigning themselves to the situation with the vague expectation of a restoration of the former status quo in the nearer future. An immediate reaction to the crisis was, of course, to strengthen the position in the remaining markets, such as the cities of Huamanga or Ica on the coast[62]. More innovative responses included experimentation with new and better grades of cloth and attempts to open up new outlets. Lima, one of the most promising new destinations, was supplied with a total of 35,000 varas in 1782-1783 by the mill of Cacamarca, a quantity which represented 60% of the shipments in these two years.

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[60]BN, Z 96 (1793).

[61]BN, ibid., 919.

[62]Salas de Coloma, 'Los obrajes huamanguinos y sus interconexiones', 224-225. For the reference to the growing importance of Ica as a market for cloth from Huamanga in the late eighteenth century see Urrutia Ceruti, **Huamanga: región e historia**, 156.

However, as soon as the markets in Upper Peru showed the first signs of a certain recovery in 1785, the administration abandoned the new concept in favour of concentrating its efforts on the recapturing of its former strongholds. Consequently, the dispatches to Oruro absorbed 24,076 varas, or 81.6%, of the transactions effected in this year, whereas those to Lima dropped to less than 4,000 varas. Huamanga, which had become the principal market for the plant during the previous four years, also received, with 1,557 varas, only a fraction of the amount formerly consigned[63].

Despite these orchestrated efforts and occasional symptoms of a short-term relief, the overall trend for Huamanga's textile production was clearly one of severe depression and decline in the immediate aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, as indicated by the figures available on the region's prime obraje. Cacamarca's output, like the sales, dropped by at least one-third of its former volume, without any prospect of growth in the following decades, since unreliable wool supply and a dwindling demand in the mining centres, partially caused by a general overproduction, furnished no basis for an economic recovery. Very little detailed research has been done so far on the situation of the sector in the last decade of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, and this problem impedes a detailed reconstruction of the full extent of these trends[64].

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[63]Salas de Coloma, ibid., 232, Cuadro IV: 'Telas teñidas y beneficiadas: mercados'.

[64]For some references to the state of the region's rural textile industry in this period see Urrutia Ceruti, Comerciantes, arrieros y viajeros huamanguinos, 35-36.

5.4 The Cuzco region

Large-scale textile production in the Cuzco area was concentrated in several of the ten provinces the zone embraced. The most important of them was the province of Quispicanchis which accommodated three of the seven plants being taxed at three hundred or more pesos per year for their equipment (cabezón) in 1780: Lucre, Quispicanche, and Pomacanche. Moreover, it was the location for many of the smaller chorrillos[65]. The province, which bordered the city of Cuzco to the south-east and combined a moderate climate with rich water resources, was also one of the zone's principal producers of grains and maize. The cloth was, together with the cash-crops, consigned further southwards along the ancient trade route to the markets of the Collao and Upper Peru[66]. The neighbouring provinces of Paruro (or Chilques y Masquez) and Chumbivilcas, both with a less favourable climate for agriculture than Quispicanchis, were further nuclei of local textile production. Paruro contained, apart from the prominent obraje of Taray, various chorrillos[67]. The obraje of Ocaruma, the fifth largest in size, was situated in Chumbivilcas, as were a number of chorrillos, including the most important of these smaller plants, Saguasagua[68]. Pichuychuro, Peru's largest

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[65]O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno', 65, Cuadro II: 'Encabezonamiento de obrajes y chorrillos del Cusco en 1780', and Mörner, Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco, 146, Cuadro LI. For information on the ownership and the ubication for most of Cuzco's textile mills see Moscoso Sánchez, 'Apuntes', 70-72, 86-87.

[66]Haenke, Descripción del Perú, 300, and Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 244.

[67]O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno', 65, Cuadro II, and Mörner, Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco, 141-143, Cuadro LI.

[68]O'Phelan Godoy, ibid., 65, Cuadro II.

manufactory, was along with some chorrillos located in the province of Abancay, essentially a sugar cultivating region to the north-west of Cuzco[69]. The city limits themselves included the two major plants of Huancaro and Santa Rosa (for a general survey see map 11).

The number of inhabitants of these ten provinces added up to a total of 216,282 in the 1792 census, with Tinta (or Canas y Canchis) as the most populated one, showing roughly 35,000 persons, followed by Abancay and Quispicanchis which each had 25,000[70].

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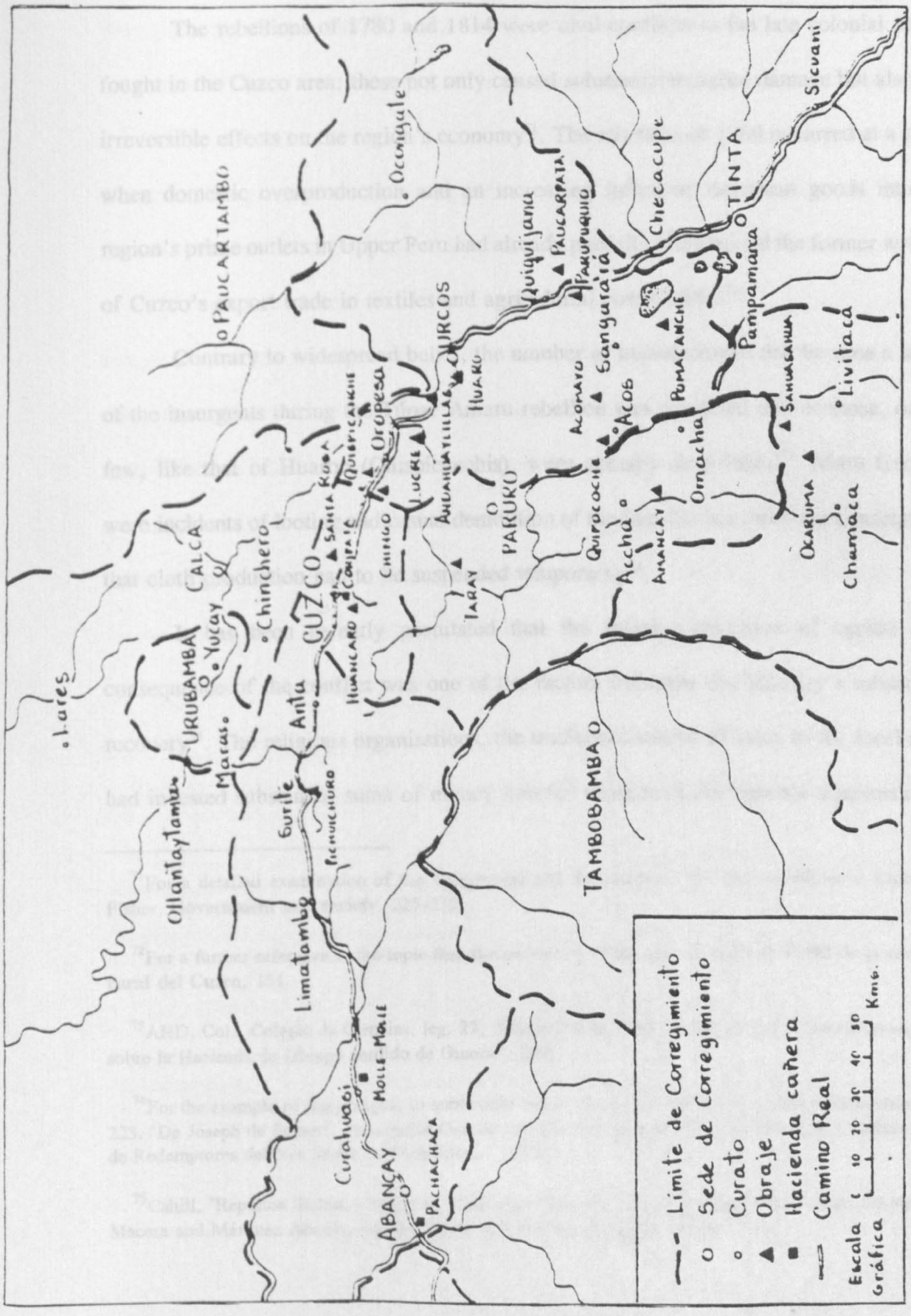
[69]Mörner, **Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco**, 134, Cuadro LI.

[70]Vollmer, **Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur**, 266, AZ 1: 'Bevölkerung des Vizekönigreichs Peru (1792)'.

MAP 11: Major Haciendas and Obrajes of the Cuzco Region



SOURCE: O'Phelan Godoy, 'Aduanas, mercado interno', 67

The rebellions of 1780 and 1814 were civil conflicts in the late colonial period fought in the Cuzco area; these not only caused substantial material damage but also had irreversible effects on the region's economy[71]. The rebellion of 1780 occurred at a time, when domestic overproduction and an increasing influx of European goods into the region's prime outlets in Upper Peru had already partially undermined the former welfare of Cuzco's export trade in textiles and agricultural commodities[72].

Contrary to widespread belief, the number of manufactories that became a target of the insurgents during the Túpac Amaru rebellion was restricted and of those, only a few, like that of Huaroc (Quispicanchis), were actually demolished[73]. More frequent were incidents of looting and casual demolition of the installations, with the consequence that cloth production had to be suspended temporarily[74].

It has been recently postulated that the massive diversion of capital as a consequence of the conflict was one of the factors impeding the industry's subsequent recovery[75]. The religious organisations, the traditional source of loans to the local élite, had invested substantial sums of money into the support of the crown's suppression of

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[71]For a detailed examination of the background and the course of the 1814 rebellion in Cuzco see Fisher, Government and society, 225-232.

[72]For a further reference to the topic than the previously cited ones see Mörner, Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco, 151.

[73]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 27, 'Marzo 26. de 1798. Quaderno 2.o de los Autos seguidos sobre la Hacienda de Obrage perdido de Guaroc', 27v.

[74]For the example of Saguasagua, to quote only one instance, see AHD, Col., Inten., Pedimentos, leg. 223, 'Dn Joseph de Echarri, Procurador Gen de este Covento grande del Cuzco del Real y Militar Orden de Redemptores del Vra Sa de las Mercedes...' (1784).

[75]Cahill, 'Repartos ilícitos y familias principales', 460. For a contemporary reference to the topic see Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 244.

the upheaval[76]. Expenditure on the repair of damaged property and the concurrent incapacity of those leaseholders and borrowers, who had suffered losses during the turmoil, to meet their obligations put further strains on the financial liquidity of the clergy[77]. The pressure on the clergy to support the crown's ventures with financial donations increased in the 1790s, culminating in 1804 in the Consolidation decree[78]. In order to ensure a certain flow of income against this background, the organisations took refuge in instituting a series of enforced sales among their debtors. The owner of the chorrillo of Paucarpata (Quispicanchis), for instance, was forced to sell his plant in the early 1780s to satisfy church creditors' claims amounting to 10,900 pesos[79]. Lucre, too, was confronted on various occasions with financial demands on the part of the Order of Santa Catalina. At the instigation of the prioress, the obraje was finally sold off to Jacinto Roque Luna for 100,000 pesos in 1798, of which one tenth had to be paid in cash to the benefit of the various clerical creditors[80]. In 1818, wheat, maize, and cattle of

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[76]David P. Cahill, **Crown, clergy, and revolution in Bourbon Peru: the diocese of Cuzco, 1780-1814** (Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool 1984), 358.

[77]Manufacturers involved in long-distance trade to Upper Peru were in numerous cases unable to collect outstanding debts for their merchandise in the aftermath of the conflict. For examples see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 5, 'Expediente que sigue Dn Juan Martines contra el Capn Don José Fernando Campino sobre la cantidad de doze mil setecientos setenta y tres pesos' (1786), 12, and Cahill, 'Repartos ilícitos y familias principales', 463.

[78]For further details see Cahill, **Crown, clergy, and revolution in Bourbon Peru**, 362-372.

[79]AHD, Prot., Escrib., leg. 69, 304-310v. For further cases see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 18, '1o Quaderno de los Autos seguidos por el R.al Padre Maestro Fray Angel de Zegorra...sobre que su Convento le Satisfage Cant.d de p.s...' (1789), 59v-60, and AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 29, 'Abril 2 de 1793. Exp.te seguido por el Conv.to de N. S. delas Mercedes contra D.n Nicolas Mogrovejo...', 103.

[80]AHD, Col., Inten., Pedimentos, leg. 226, 'La Madre Fran.ca del Transito Priora, y Administradora delos propios y rentas del Monasterio de Santa Catalina de esta Ciudad'.

the annexed haciendas were confiscated to cover an outstanding sum of 1,550 pesos owed to the order for the provision of religious instruction to the estate workers[81].

In general, however, both customs records and petitions compiled by the manufacturers suggest that the decade following the Túpac Amaru rebellion was, in fact, one of a certain, albeit modest, economic recovery for the sector. The plants of Pichuychuro (Abancay) and Cusibamba (Paruro) even expanded their installations in the period in question. The former was operated with 44 looms in 1772 but had 48 to fifty units in use in 1786[82]. Cusibamba, for its part, worked in the early 1780s with the capacity of twenty-one looms, whereas its 1779 inventory had included only sixteen devices[83].

Textile plants which had not lost their stocks during the rebellion resumed their commercial activities in 1783 with consignments that equalled in volume those of the period prior to the conflict. Lucre, to cite one instance, shipped ropa to the value of 51,675.3 pesos to Potosí in 1783, and sent a further consignment worth 8,392.5 pesos to Cochabamba. In the following year, the quantity of ropa ordinaria and fina forwarded

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[81]AHD, Col., Inten., Provincias, Causas Ord., leg. 101, 'Expediente seguido en el Juzgado real de Quispicanche, sobre la Hacienda de Lucre'.

[82]AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, 'Tierras y Aperos de Pichuichuro, Episcara, y Pecoy', 13v (1772), and AHD, Col., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja del cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...', 1.

[83]AHD, Col., Corregimiento, Causas Ord., leg. 55, 'En la ciudad del Cuzco en diesysiete dias del mes de Abril de mil setecientos setenta y nueve años. Los Señores Don Joseph de Toledo tresoro, y Dn Jph de Andia Contador...asegurar los Bienes que se decia tener...en el obraje de Cusibamba', 364, and AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 197, 'Expediente promovido en el año de 1791 al efecto de encabesonar el Obrage de Cusibamba propio de D.n Nicolas Mogrovejo', 33.

to the mining centre alone added up to 77,272.5 varas[84].

In 1787, when trade had become more settled under the new conditions, the sector sent a total of 301,687 varas to its diverse Upper Peruvian outlets, as illustrated by table 5.3, with Potosí, although less dominant than in earlier periods, still holding with 58.5% the position of the prime destination, followed by La Plata (Chuquisaca), Cochabamba, and Oruro. As in 1790, the share of ropa de chorrillo was confined to a modest 15% and was insignificant in quantity to destinations other than Potosí.

TABLE 5.3: Cuzco's Exports of Ropa to Destinations in Upper Peru which Purchased more than 1,000 Varas in 1787

Destination	Ropa de obraje	Ropa de chorrillo	Ropa[85]	Total	%
Cochabamba	20,886.5	5,024	13,560	39,470.5	13.1
La Paz	5,049.5	0.0	0.0	5,049.5	1.7
Oruro	21,924	2,007	4,350	28,281	9.4
Plata	40,746	500	10,823	52,049	17.3
Potosí	66,499	39,023.5	71,294.5	176,817	58.5
Total	155,105	46,554.5	100,027.5	301,667	100.0
%	51.4	15.4	33.2	100.0	

SOURCE: AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.171-90 (1787).

Peru exported three years later, in 1790, 768,000 varas of ropa de obraje and

[84]AHD, Col., Real Audiencia, Causas Ord., 31/440, 85-88v.

[85]This column contains all those consignments that remained unspecified of their origin. It is, however, clear that the overwhelming majority, if not all of this cloth actually stemmed from obrajes and not from chorrillos since only ropa de chorrillo was customarily identified as such in the public accounts.

ropa de chorrillo to the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, the greater part of them undoubtedly supplied by Cuzco's mills[86]. The market of Potosí was in this period still dominated by woollens from Cuzco, which accounted for a share of more than 90% of all transactions made in American cloth[87].

It was exactly in this period, the early 1790s, that the large obrajes, with the exception of Taray, which had already been suffering from structural deficiencies in the previous decade, experienced for the first time severe economic problems[88]. Pichuychuro's production level had spiralled down from 104,000 varas prior to the rebellion to 71,000 varas[89]. Its owner, Sebastián Ocampo, claimed in 1796 that the number of looms in operation had fallen back to a mere fifteen units because of the administrator's mismanagement during his absence[90]. Less than five years earlier, the plant had still been performing on the basis of forty devices[91]. To quote a further example, the 1798 equipment of the obraje of Lucre, which was originally of a similar size to that of Pichuychuro, amounted to just twenty-six looms and thirty old spinning

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[86]**Mercurio Peruano** I (1790), 228a, Estado Número 2: 'Extracto del mutuo comercio'.

[87]Tandeter, Milletich, Ollier, and Ruibal, **Market of Potosí**, 14, 15, 33, Table 10: 'Operations in efectos de la tierra, Potosí, 1793'.

[88]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 182, 'Expediente promovido p.r el S.or Conde de Vallehermoso, solicitando revaja de Encabezonam.to de su Obrage de Taray y sobre la satisfaccion de lo que debe p.r este y el de Pomacanche' (1788), particularly 12v, 13, 13v (for the output performance in the mid-1780s), 14v (for the 1788 inventory).

[89]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 142.

[90]AGN, Temp., Títulos de Haciendas, leg. 43: Pichuychuro, C.46 (1793), and AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja del cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...', 1.

[91]**Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 140.

wheels[92]. Negligence and fraud on the part of the respective tenants had also brought the two large plants of Quispicanche and Huaroc (both situated in the province of Quispicanchis), to the brink of ruin[93].

At the same time, the prices for American ropa plummeted in the city of Cuzco, probably, as it may now be deduced from the established circumstances, in connection with a massive surplus of the item in the local markets, as a reflection of the dwindling sales in Upper Peru. The crisis found its immediate expression in a series of requests submitted by the manufacturers for a revision of the cabezón levied on their mills before 1780, when their installations were being operated at much higher production capacities. Such petitions were, on the other hand, a popular means used by the cloth producers in attempts to evade the rigorous taxation by portraying a picture of their plants that was far from being consistent with reality. The merit of being the initiator of probably the boldest example of such a ploy belongs to the owner of Cusibamba (Paruro), who reported in 1795 that his manufactory had ceased to operate years earlier. A subsequent official inspection (visita), however, revealed that the obraje had been, in fact, illegally 'repopulated' with 220 labourers since 1791[94].

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[92]AHD, Col., Real Audiencia, 30/431, 43.

[93]AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 38, 'Autos executivos seguidos por los Apoderados de la S.ra Marqueza de Valleumbrosa contra Pablo de Alcarras arriendatario de las Haciendas, y Obraje de Quispicanche' (1796), 16, 26v-27 (Quispicanche); AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 27, 'Marzo 26. de 1798. Quaderno 2.o de los Autos seguidos sobre la Hacienda de Obrage perdido de Guaroc', 27v (Huaroc).

[94]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 197, 'Expediente promovido en el año de 1791 al efecto de encabesonar el Obrage de Cusibamba propio de D.n Nicolas de Mogrovejo' (1795), 8v-9v. For the case of the mill of Pichuychuro see AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja del cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...', 1, 1v.

By the early 1800s, the economic situation had grown so depressed, according to the local deputy of commerce, that Pichuychuro was, like Lucre, on the verge of closure, with an output not surpassing 25,000 varas[95]. The textile production for the region as such had dropped from more than three million varas in the era before the rebellion to 700,000 varas in 1802, with Quispicanchis as the chief contributor (360,000 varas), followed by Paruro (120,000 varas), and Chumbivilcas (100,000 varas)[96].

Although Potosí and the other destinations in Upper Peru were singled out in this contemporary account as prime outlets for the sector, the customs records reflecting the exports for the year of 1806, convey, as shown in table 5.4, a composition of the markets which clearly contradicts this assertion.

TABLE 5.4: Cuzco's Exports of Ropa and Bayeton to Destinations which Purchased more than 500 Varas in 1806

Destination	Ropa	Bayeton	Total	%
Arequipa	1,575	---	1,575	3.5
Buenos Aires	4,172.5	0.0	4,172.5	9.3
La Paz	0.0	780	780	1.7
Lima	17,892.5	8,348	26,240.5	58.2
Potosí	9,834.5	2,500	12,334.5	27.3
Total	33,474.5	11,628	45,102.5	100.0

SOURCE: AGN, RA Cuzco, C16.248-565 (1806).

[95]Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 241 (Pichuychuro), and Cahill, 'Repartos ilícitos y familias principales', 462 (Lucre).

[96]Macera and Márquez Abanto, ibid., 241 (Abancay), 242 (Chumbivilcas), 243 (Paruro), 244 (Quispicanchis).

Lima had replaced Potosí by then as the region's principal purchaser of ropa and bayeton with 26,000 varas, whereas the mining centre's absorption rate was confined to just 27.3% of the total dispatches. The dramatic drop in the volume traded, which had dwindled in a period of relative political stability from 300,000 varas in 1787 to less than 50,000 varas in 1806, must be interpreted, above all, as a reaction to the producers' failure to open up alternative sales outlets.

The lingering economic crisis was naturally aggravated after 1809, when the outbreak of revolutionary activities in Upper Peru, as well as in the viceroyalty, affected not only the commercial activities but also initiated a new wave of material destruction for many textile mills[97].

As early as in 1811, the owner of the chorrillo of Huaro (Quispicanchis) informed the authorities that he had to disrupt cloth manufacturing. He argued that his products were no longer in demand in Cochabamba. A further reason was acute labour shortage, created by the conscriptions for the royalist troops in Upper Peru. The absence of most weavers impeded the operation of the plant's fifteen looms at a reasonable pace. Moreover, the prices of supplies were soaring because of the warfare, and firewood, vital for the dyeing and finishing processes, had become almost unavailable locally. There was also a lack of pack-mules. Nonetheless, the brother of the former owner intended to

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[97]For the example of Lucre see AHD, Judiciales, Ordinario, 1825, 'Don Ramon Nadal', documents dated Cuzco, 11.II.1825 and 18.V.1825 as well as Cahill, 'Repartos ilícitos y familias principales', 456. For references to Saguasagua see AHD, Col., Inten., Causas Ord., leg. 72, 'Certifico en quanto puedo, y el Dro me permite: do estando Yo corriendo en el Chorrillo de Sahua Sahua con los intereses de D.n Andres Villanull...' (1815), and AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Pedimentos, leg. 190, 'D.n Nico.s Mogrovejo, vecino del P.do de Paruro, ante Vm,...digo: Q.e habiendo seguido litis con D.n Apolinar Saballos...' (1825).

reopen the mill soon and to expand it by making major investments[98].

Cuzco's economic development in the late colonial period was for all sectors mutually intertwined with the political events of the time. Warfare strongly affected availability and pricing of the essential materials and drained financial resources. Perhaps more important for the textile industry's welfare than these factors was, however, the inability of the manufacturers to recapture their former markets in Upper Peru after 1780 and their reluctance to make rational adaptions to shifting trading conditions, such as abandoning the production of the no longer sought after ropa.

While greater financial flexibility allowed the large plants to bridge the three decades of slack business and material destruction until after the establishment of independence, a number of chorrillos, like those of Santa Rosa de Unca (Quispicanchis) or Mollemolle (Paruro), had to be closed down from the 1790s. The severe economic depression, therefore, basically initiated a process of consolidation for the sector in favour of the larger mills.

5.5 Conclusion

Cajamarca's textile industry consisted of a large number of comparatively small plants which produced an extraordinarily diversified range of cloth for the domestic as well as for the Spanish American markets. It experienced its period of greatest prosperity in the

[98]AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 216, 'Dn Francisco Ochoa, vecino del comercio de esta Ciu.d y recidente en el Pueblo de Guaro, con el cargo del chorrillo demi giro...digo...' (1814), 1, 3, 15, 16.

late eighteenth century in connection with the province's economic upswing in the aftermath of the discovery of the silver at Hualgayoc in 1771. Even obrajeros, hitherto largely supplying localized requirements, now involved themselves in regional commercial activities. At the same time, the industry's traditional export trade, which centred on consignments to urban outlets along the coast, declined to an insignificant level. The above-average prices paid by the miners for the commodities, in conjunction with steadily expanding silver production, generated a climate of pronounced interregional competition between the different cloth suppliers and encouraged, for the first time, a strong presence of overseas textiles in the area. In the 1790s, when the silver yield reached its peak, the market had become so saturated with American cloth that smaller suppliers, like those from the province itself, who probably produced at higher costs than the more rationalized large plants in other textile centres, were practically edged out of the market. The immediate consequence of this process was a conspicuous reduction of the output potential in many of the local mills. Thereafter, until the end of Spanish rule, the trade remained depressed for Cajamarca's manufacturers. However, even in this prolonged crisis of severely reduced sales, cloth production continued at a level which clearly exceeded that reached before the 1750s, when the legalization of the reparto system had created a first pull towards expansion for the province's textile industry.

In Huamachuco, a province with extended highland pastures, economic activities focused on the manufacturing and marketing of cloth in coastal outlets, among which

Lima and Trujillo ranked as prime purchasers. This trade, the traditional backbone of the province's economic welfare, suffered significant setbacks in the 1770s, less because of structural changes within the outlets themselves than as the result of a deliberate decision of the obrajeros to concentrate their business activities on the silver conjuncture in neighbouring Cajamarca, where a swiftly expanding market spawned prices that were higher than those on the coast. Moreover, the pressure exerted on the sales of American cloth by the presence of overseas textiles was less notable inland. Soon Huamachuco's manufacturers had established themselves as one of the chief suppliers of the miners. This phase of outstanding prosperity for the province's textile industry lasted until the 1810s, but then fell back conspicuously as a reflection of decreasing silver production at Hualgayoc. However, the fact that the obrajeros continued to replace worn-out equipment in their mills, notwithstanding the unpromising general circumstances, implies that they actually expected a certain revival for their trade in the near future.

In an attempt to counterbalance reduced sales and benefits in their principal outlets in Upper Peru, Huamanga's major textile producers sought to channel more of their output to the market established by the reparto system. By the late 1770s, the reparto market had, in practice, become their most important single outlet. Its abolition in December 1780, therefore, represented a serious threat for the economic foundation of the sector, a danger which was enhanced by the fact that the traditional trade linkages to the Collao and Upper Peru could, against all hopes, never be restored to the level experienced prior to the Túpac Amaru rebellion. The wool from Jauja, which was

supposed to substitute the distorted supplies from the Collao, proved to be inadequate for the requirements of the sector in both quantity and quality. This created two problems: first, an absolute shortage of wool, without which, of course, cloth could not be woven; second, even the wool which did arrive from Jauja was of inferior quality, and, therefore, unsuitable for the weaving of high-priced ropa fina. Nevertheless, Huamanga's obrajeros continued to pin their economic future on a recovery of the trade to Upper Peru instead of opening up new markets by gradual penetration. Experiments with new grades of cloth and improvements in quality by the use of better supplies were performed with similar inconsistency. The lack of further in-depth research on the state of the sector after the turn of the century impedes any definite conclusion for this period. It is evident, however, that the prospects for the future, as they presented themselves in the 1790s, were, on the whole, gloomy.

In the Cuzco region, where the viceroyalty's prime textile industry was located, the cloth producers, like their counterparts in Huamanga, relied on the reparto system as a valuable alternative outlet for their products in the face of eroding sales in Potosí. The abolition of the reparto system as well as the substantial damage suffered in the course of the Túpac Amaru rebellion had, therefore, an immediate and severe impact on the sector. The imminent crisis, further deepened by ongoing overproduction, emerged into the open for most manufactories in the early 1790s, when the trend to consign more cloth to the city of Cuzco as a consequence of diminished sales in Upper Peru had caused dramatic price reductions locally. Large plants, like that of Pichuychuro (Abancay), were

forced to cut down their production capacities to less than half of the pre-1780 level. At the same time, a number of smaller establishments, above all rural and urban chorrillos, had to be closed down. It was reported one decade later that the total textile output of the region's industry had spiralled downwards to one-third of the volume produced prior to the outbreak of the rebellion. By 1806, Lima had substituted Potosí as the region's main export destination for cloth. The period of revolutionary activities in Upper Peru after 1809 and subsequently in the Cuzco area further undermined the industry's already precarious economic state, initiating in its course a new wave of bankruptcies and closures in the sector: all supplies became scarce and, therefore, expensive, whereas a number of buildings and installations suffered more material damage. In addition, the already limited capacities of capital and manpower were further strained. Altogether less affected by this long-term adverse economic development were, however, the larger plants with their greater resources. They remained in operation, although seriously affected in their daily performance, until after the establishment of independence.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this general conclusion is to draw together the prior conclusions advanced in each chapter and also to relate them to the broader historiographical issues raised in the preface.

In Chapter One we established that the spatial expansion of large-scale textile manufacturing in colonial Peru was restricted largely to the sierra zone by a number of factors, such as the availability of regular water supply and ready access to wool. The plants were officially classified, according to the type of fulling mill in use, as obrajes or chorrillos. In contrast to the chorrillos, which were established in both the rural and urban spheres, the obrajes formed part of the hacienda network. As a consequence of a work process rigidly divided into many small tasks of repetitive character, the rural manufactories employed a relatively large labour force, which was bound to the plant by a wide variety of contracts. Free labour, recruited from the free labour market at considerable expense was supplemented by various forms of forced labour. Many cloth producers favoured female and child labour as an economic alternative to the more expensive male labour. The crown benefitted financially from the industry by the levy

of annual taxes on the licences that had to be purchased for the establishment of textile mills. Visitas were performed to control working conditions and to disclose tax frauds.

As we have seen in Chapter Two, the Bourbon reforms imposed on the viceroyalty in the second half of the eighteenth century had major consequences for Peru's subsequent social and economic development. Some of the measures, like the transfer of Upper Peru to the newly established viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata and the general reform of the tax structure, had a major impact on the cloth industry of some regions. Crucial for the economic development of Lower Peru was the introduction of comercio libre in 1778, since it fuelled the growth of both silver production and supply industries. The period of general economic expansion in this period aggravated the latent shortage of labour in the viceroyalty. Attempts to revive or introduce the obsolete mita system in all economic sectors met resistance on the part of the Indians. Moreover, as competition between employers had made the acquisition of free labour excessively expensive, many obraje owners favoured the strategy of a more flexible use of their labourers, coupled with trying to ensure longer periods of employment by encouraging them to accumulate debts. The gradual liberalization of transatlantic trade by the Spanish crown during the eighteenth century had encouraged, above all, the export of a growing volume of cheap mass-manufactures, without effectively undermining the flourishing contraband trade. The new cotton and linen-mix fabrics were produced in a number of textile centres in England, France and Spain. However, demand in Spanish America did not grow significantly for the traditional woollen cloth woven in Spain's royal manufactories, because its sales price was so excessively high that it always ranked

free trade → Stimulated

among the luxury goods. Worsted stuff from England, produced in a partially mechanized way and sold at reasonable prices, by contrast, enjoyed considerable popularity overseas. Apart from England, Catalonia with its swiftly expanding cotton sector in the latter half of the eighteenth century was probably the greatest beneficiary of comercio libre (although modern Catalan historiography argues that its major growth was caused by internal factors). The outbreak of war between England and Spain in 1796 caused the disruption of transatlantic trade. The subsequent era of neutral trade relieved the import shortages in Spanish America somewhat, but caused high sales prices. The American textile manufacturers, in many regions rather exposed to European competition, succeeded in reviving their commercial activities to a certain degree during the era of neutral trade.

In Chapter Three we described the viceregal manufactories as highly commercialized enterprises, with a focus on their location in a wider economic context. They produced in general a considerable range of woollen cloth in various colours. In some regions, where cotton was locally cultivated or available at reasonable prices, the plants also wove some cotton fabrics, mainly tocuyo. Wool and dyes were two of the most essential supplies for the production process. As a result of limited cash-crop facilities at high altitudes in the provinces situated in the northern part of the viceroyalty, many obrajeros kept a sufficient number of sheep on these pastures to supply their requirements for wool. In other cases, additional quantities were purchased from other haciendas within the same region. In the textile centres of Huamanga and Cuzco, however, the superior quality of wool that was essential for the production of the

manufacturers' chief export cloth, ropa fina, could only be obtained extra-regionally from the Collao in the area of Lake Titicaca. Any disruption of this supply - for example, during the Túpac Amaru rebellion, or sporadically, after 1809 - had an immediate impact upon cloth production. The supplies of the two principal dyes, indigo and brazilwood, had to be shipped into Peru from other American regions (primarily the Central American provinces of New Spain). Although already criticized by contemporaries as backward, the technological development of the viceregal textile mills was, in fact, until the early nineteenth century rather similar to that found in many traditional woollen centres throughout Europe. Determined opposition on the part of the artisans, as well as technical problems in the adaption of the machinery to the fine yarn, delayed the mechanization of the sector by decades. However, Europe's traditional woollen industry was soon challenged in many of its outlets, just as in Spanish America, by the increasing presence of new mass-manufactured fabrics, such as cotton textiles or worsted cloth, whose production was rationalized by the early introduction of mechanization.

Being one of the goods that enjoyed highest estimation as a means of exchange in the largely barter trade based economy of the viceroyalty, locally produced cloth circulated in large quantities throughout colonial Peru. It also formed a major part of the wages in kind that were paid to many labourers. Urban and mining centres with their extended consumption were the principal domestic purchasers, among which Lima and Cerro de Pasco stood out in importance. Through the ports of the coastal cities and along the other routes of inter-regional trade cloth was furthermore distributed to destinations

beyond the viceroyalty, notably to Upper Peru, Chile and New Granada. The consumption of cloth within a hacienda obraje complex itself by the labourers for their maintenance and in lieu of wages represented a further important market. Cloth was also offered in a number of local and regional outlets which included village markets and fairs. A new - and for many textile centres economically vital - demand was created in 1751 by the legalization of the reparto system, as Peruvian cloth was its major single item.

In Chapter Four we examined the impact of three events in the late colonial period that had direct effects on the viceregal textile industry as a whole. The increasing influx of European textiles to the viceroyalty after the introduction of free trade in 1778 was perceived by contemporaries as the trigger for a subsequent decline of the sector. An analysis of the official sales values of some of the most popular grades of American and overseas cloth in Cerro de Pasco and Cuzco reveals, however, that European woollen stuffs, despite a certain secular trend towards lower prices before the disruption of transatlantic trade in 1796, still exceeded those of the American products many times. Next to American woollen cloth came only mass-manufactured cotton and linen-mix fabrics, textiles that had been so far of no notable output in the viceroyalty. The ready availability and relatively low prices of these new products created a shift in demand away from traditional Peruvian woollen cloth that was not even reversed during the period of neutral trade, when supply shortages led to soaring prices for imported textiles. In the absence of a notable domestic industry, the growing demand for cotton and other light fabrics in late colonial Peru was largely supplied by imported tocuyos woven in

Cochabamba (Upper Peru) and Cuenca (Audiencia of Quito). At the same time, the prices for local cloth spiralled downwards in the markets of Cuzco, even after 1796, whereas they climbed in Cerro de Pasco, a contradictory development that cannot be easily explained. Competition between the rural obraje and chorrillo sector, which some commentators have suggested as the explanation, seems unlikely, since the prices for chorrillo cloth were in some cases even higher than those for obraje products in the Cuzco region. Moreover, existing chorrillos in Lower Peru found themselves challenged in their Upper Peruvian markets by new chorrillos established in various places in the extended hinterland of Potosí. The legalization of the reparto had caused a considerable expansion of the output of the textile sector throughout the truncated viceroyalty of Peru. This market became of crucial significance for the manufacturers in southern Peru in the 1770s, particularly after 1776, when the dramatic reduction of sales and profits in Upper Peru forced them to divert their merchandise to alternative outlets. The abolition of the reparto system in late 1780, therefore, deprived them instantly of the sole market that was capable of compensating for the reduced trade with Upper Peru, although some compensation was forthcoming in the form of increased indigenous purchasing power in fairs and from the expansion of demand in Lima. In the northern provinces of the viceroyalty, however, the silver conjuncture at Hualgayoc had offered market opportunities since 1771, which continued to expand after 1780 and, therefore, fully offset the shortfall caused by the abolition of the reparto system.

As has been outlined in the analysis in Chapter Five of four major textile centres in late colonial Peru, the discovery of rich silver ores at Hualgayoc led to an instant

stimulation of regional and extra-regional textile production in the early 1770s. The obrajeros of the two provinces of Cajamarca and Huamachuco cut down on their traditional export trade to the coastal urban centres and, at the same time, expanded their production capacities conspicuously in order to benefit from the high prices paid by the miners for American cloth. Nevertheless, imports from other textile regions, such as Conchucos (Peru) or Cuenca (Audiencia of Quito), were necessary to satisfy the demand. Competition between these American producers soon edged out small manufacturers, like those from Cajamarca, in favour of large suppliers, like those from Huamachuco. As a consequence, only two and a half decades after the beginning of silver production at Hualgayoc, Cajamarca's textile industry showed severe symptoms of stagnation and decline. In Huamachuco, by contrast, production was maintained at an extraordinary high level until the 1810s, that is until silver extraction began continuously to decline at Hualgayoc. Despite diminishing sales opportunities in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the province's manufacturers felt confident about the future of their trade and made regular investments in the purchase of new equipment for their plants. The two chief textile centres in the southern part of the viceroyalty, Huamanga and Cuzco, for their part, which had already been encountering severe structural problems since the 1760s, were plunged into crisis by the outbreak of the Túpac Amaru rebellion in 1780. Disrupted communications with Upper Peru, acute supply shortages (especially of wool) and the abolition of the reparto system drove a number of smaller cloth producers into bankruptcy in the Cuzco area from the late 1780s and compelled the owners of larger mills, which were capable of remaining in existence, to dramatically reduce their output.

Result of tupac Amaru.

Huamanga's producers were, above all, struggling to overcome wool supply shortages from the Collao. The lack of wool sometimes caused seasonal closures. Although some contemporary sources, such as the Mercurio Peruano suggest that overall trade with Upper Peru had recovered from the crisis by the early 1790s, the real aduana records clearly show that, in so far as the textile sector was concerned, the recovery was modest and incomplete; in relative terms, the textile sector was unable to regain its former markets in Upper Peru. Trade linkages with Upper remained, in fact, crippled after 1780 for the rest of the colonial era. The political events in the early nineteenth century, therefore, merely accelerated the existing trend towards a consolidation of the large manufactories at the expense of the less significant producers in the Cuzco provinces, but did not set it off.

In the aftermath of independence, England, traditionally an important supplier of cloth to Peru, became virtually the country's single overseas trade partner[1]. In the first decade of the republican era, 95% of the goods imported consisted of industrially manufactured cotton fabrics and woollen cloths. In 1824, British merchants had already established thirty-six businesses in Lima and Arequipa. They did so in the aftermath of the period of warfare preceding independence, which had caused massive losses in terms of manpower and capital for Peru's economy. Silver production, the former source of

[1]For all details on the trade relations between Peru and England in the first decades following independence and their impact on Cuzco's economy see Bonilla, del Río, and Ortiz de Zevallos, 'Comercio libre y crisis de la economía andina', particularly 2-4, 12-13, 15.

wealth, reached its nadir[2]. Provinces, like Huánuco, which had aligned their economy largely with the requirements of the market at Cerro de Pasco, were faced with a dramatically dwindling demand for their products[3]. In its attempt to arrest these trends by promoting the recovery of the vulnerable domestic textile sector in recognition of its continuous significance for the economic welfare of many Andean provinces, the early republican government took refuge in a policy of protectionism[4]. Between 1821 and 1836, no less than five trade conventions came into force, all of them either imposing high taxes on overseas textiles or banning their importation altogether, with the predictable result of encouraging thriving contraband activities.

The government's initiative also included, as an attendant measure, active support of the manufactories by offering them contracts for bayeton and uniforms for the army. The production of cloth for military purposes had already enjoyed a certain tradition since the late eighteenth century, when a number of obrajes dedicated a portion of their

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[2]Deustua, **Minería peruana y la iniciación de la república**, 34, Gráfico 1: 'Producción nacional de plata registrada, 1800-1850'.

[3]Archibald Smith, **Peru as it is: a residence in Lima, and other parts of the Peruvian republic comprising an account of the social and physical features of that country** (2 vols. in 1, London 1839), II, 47.

[4]Gootenberg's argument that the importance of the obraje sector in this period was reduced to that of a symbolic reminder 'of a glorious and patrician past' and of providing a market for domestic woollen and cotton production is only valid when based on the traditional assumption that only a handful of textile manufactories remained in operation by the end of Spanish rule; see Paul Gootenberg, 'North-south: trade policy, regionalism and caudillismo in post-independence Peru', JLAS 23 (1991), 291. It should be repeated here, that there is, in fact, considerable documentary evidence which confirms that in many parts of Peru large-scale textile industry survived in a state of relative stability well into the republican era.

output to this market[5]. Cuzco's manufactories soon sent accessories for uniforms to units throughout the country[6]. The principal beneficiaries of these contracts were owners of large plants like Lucre and Amancay, who had not only the adequate facilities but also the requisite social and political rapport with the local government[7]. The stipulations of the orders were most favourable for the manufacturers as they provided, apart from fixed prices and guaranteed purchases, substantial advance payments for the buying of the required materials and supplies[8]. There is little doubt that the ventures of the sector towards mechanization in this period of general financial shortcomings were directly linked to this new source of income.

Cloth sales in the free market, however, remained depressed because the low prices of the British woollen imports as well as a surplus of overseas textiles in general reduced demand[9]. Moreover, foreign merchants, searching for cheap supplies of high-

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[5]AHD, Judiciales, Ordinario, 'Don Ramon Nadal' (1825), document dated Cusco, 18.V.1825 (Lucre), Romero, **Historia económica del Perú**, I, 216 (Paucarolla), and Silva Santisteban, 'Los obrajes en el corregimiento de Cajamarca', 185 (Jerez for the year 1824).

[6]See for two cases AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Asuntos Administrativos, leg. 2, 'Relacion de los Tercios que conduce á Arequipa el Harriero que al pie del conocimiento firma' (1831) (jackets and trousers to Lima), and AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Asuntos Administrativos, leg. 3, 'Relacion de los Tercios que conduce al punto de Andaguaylas con destino p.a Tarma el Harriero q.e alpie delconocim.to firma' (1833) (coats and caps to Tarma).

[7]For one example see AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Comunicaciones, leg. 116, 'Contrata con D. Ramón Nadal para la construccion de 8000 vs de bayeton' (1833/34).

[8]For a detailed reference to financial and delivery conditions see AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Asuntos Administrativos, leg. 1, 'Contratas de Bayeton.s', contract dated Cusco, 25.IX.1826.

[9]See the source cited by Bonilla, del Río, and Ortiz de Zevallos, 'Comercio libre y crisis de la economía andina', 20, and also R.A. Humphreys (ed.), **British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826** (London 1940), 195. For a general reference see Gootenberg, **Between silver and guano**, 64.

quality wool for their growing home industry, started to buy up the wool produced in the Collao, thus creating a situation of shortage for the local industry. Consequently, the process of concentration of local textile production in favour of a small number of large manufactories, a trend which had already begun in the late colonial period, gained further impetus, as emphasized in a 1830 report on the province of Quispicanchis, Cuzco's chief textile manufacturing province[10]. By the mid-nineteenth century, Lucre employed a manpower of five hundred, a number by far larger than that of the pre-1780 period[11].

The northern textile centres of Huamachuco and Cajamarca convey in the same period a picture of continuity. Their comparatively remote location as well as the near-ruin of their local silver mining sites might have provided them with a natural shield from foreign competition, albeit within a context of overall economic depression. It is true, of course, that Gootenberg has argued that the obrajeros were keen to switch their production from woollens to tocuyos in the first two decades after the establishment of independence[12]. However, it seems plausible to suggest that the reason for this preference might have resided in an acute wool shortage rather than in either a spontaneous change in manufacturing policy or a reaction to foreign competition; indeed,

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[10]AHD, Administración del Tesoro Público, Asuntos Administrativos, leg. 2, 'Informe q.e da ál Supremo Gobierno de la República el Apoderado Fiscal emicionado p.a la matricula de Indígenas y Cartas de la Prov.a de Quispicanchi', 1-2. For references in recent historiography to the definitive decline of Cuzco's textile industry in the early republican era as a consequence of the influx of cheaper British textiles see Flores Galindo, **Arequipa y el sur andino**, 44, and Bonilla, del Río, and Ortiz de Zevallos, 'Comercio libre y crisis de la economía andina', 2, 22.

[11]Mörner, **Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco**, 99, note 43.

[12]Paul Gootenberg, 'North-south: trade policy, regionalism and caudillismo', 278.

temporary shifts in production were a well-known phenomenon in the region[13].

Notwithstanding the fact that the character of the inventories compiled in the postindependence era does not allow a precise reconstruction of the production capacities and the state of technology in this period, it emerges that the rural textile mills remained in operation in many cases throughout most of the nineteenth century[14].

Each new study of textile manufacturing in colonial Spanish America confirms that in a sense it is illusory to think of the sector as homogeneous in either space or time. The temporal context of this thesis is the period between the general reform period of the mid-eighteenth century and the onset of Peruvian independence in the early nineteenth century. The thesis has demonstrated that even within this relatively short time frame, textile manufacturing in Peru was not only different in various aspects from that in other parts of Spanish American such as Quito, but also varied considerably within the viceroyalty.

A discussion focusing on the identification of distinguishing features between centres of textile production in different parts of Spanish America has first to define the location of the respective manufacturing region in a wider economic context. As has been shown in this thesis, the outstanding position held by the large-scale production of

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[13]Macera and Márquez Abanto, 'Informaciones geográficas del Perú colonial', 186.

[14]For references concerning plants in Huamachuco see ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 602, 366-369 (Llaqueda, 1839), ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 681, 376v-684 (Serpaquino, 1857), ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 419, 1242-1246v (Sangual, 1861), and Espinoza Soriano, 'Geografía histórica de Huamachuco', 37, who refers indirectly to the plant of Chusgón at about 1860. For references to Cajamarca see ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 417, 467-472v (Porcón, 1860-62), and Silva Santisteban, 'Los obrajes en el corregimiento de Cajamarca', 186 (Sondor).

woollen cloth in colonial Peru was a direct reflection of the nature of the viceroyalty's economy, which was largely based on barter trade transactions. Many workers throughout Lower and Upper Peru received, in fact, cloth and other goods in lieu of wages. Urban consumption and extended trade linkages beyond Peru supplemented the demand for domestic cloth. A similar structure of the economy is also documented for the Audiencia of Quito, an agrarian region, where the producers depended for their economic welfare upon the supply of distant markets, such as the mining centres in Upper Peru and New Granada. The viceroyalty of New Spain, by contrast, had developed a monetary economy at a much earlier stage of its development. In comparison to Peru, demand for textiles was, therefore, limited to the needs of the population for dress material. Only in a few exceptional cases, such as Puebla, whose traditional broadcloth industry marketed its products at a large scale through Lima to the viceroyalty of Peru during the seventeenth century, could colonial Mexico's textile sector benefit from the extended demand for cloth as it existed in other parts of Spanish America. This fundamentally different economic framework was probably the principal factor responsible for the establishment of a predominantly urban-based manufacturing industry in New Spain, whereas textile production in Peru and the Audiencia of Quito was dominated by the existence of rural textile plants embedded in the structure of the hacienda[15]. An example based on annual output figures reveals the gap between urban and rural manufacturing potential: according to Alexander von Humboldt, Querétaro's

[15]For an account on the dispersion of rural and urban obrajes in the province of Quito in the late eighteenth century see Tyrer, **Demographic and economic history**, 315, Table 8-B: 'Rural and urban obrajes, circa 1780'.

urban woollen textile industry in central Mexico, which consisted of 215 looms in 1793, had an output of 299,999 varas of woollen stuffs in this particular year, whereas in each of the six largest plants in the Cuzco region an average amounting to more than 100,000 varas of ropa per year was woven[16].

A further significant point to stress is that there were basic differences in the structure of the labour force employed in the three textile regions referred to. For the case of Querétaro, it has been assumed that the latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed a fundamental shift in the structure of the manpower employed. Free mulatto labourers together with mulatto and black slaves had been the dominating forms of labour in the city's obrajes during the seventeenth century. As a result of labour shortage, mainly created by an increased demand for labour by other expanding urban sectors, the manufacturers were forced to acquire indebted farmhands from the surrounding rural area for their plants[17]. Convict labour, while of some consequence in other textile centres of the viceroyalty, was insignificant in this region[18]. The province's hacienda mills, by contrast, continued to be operated with workers of predominantly Indian origin[19]. Mexican urban obrajes, being organised in guilds like Peru's city chorrillos, also adopted the system of apprenticeship, through which youths were recruited to be trained as specialists. The rural textile manufacturing sector in the Audiencia of Quito, for its part,

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[16]Super, 'Querétaro obrajes', 215.

[17]Super, ibid., 207-208.

[18]Super, ibid., 207.

[19]John C. Super, **Querétaro: society and economy in early provincial Mexico, 1590-1630** (Ph.D. thesis, University of California (Los Angeles) 1973), 68-72.

relied to a considerable extent on indios conciertos in the eighteenth century, although this form of voluntary settlement of village Indians on Spanish haciendas had been officially banned since 1699. The Indians benefitted in this system from a number of privileges granted to them by the estate owner in exchange for their labour[20]. For the viceroyalty of Peru evidence suggests that the textile centres in the southern provinces probably depended, just like the urban sector in Querétaro during the late eighteenth century, to a large extent upon forced labour, whose two prevailing forms were yanaconaje and debt peonage, whereas the employment of prisoners probably represented a marginal phenomenon. Free labour was in this region largely restricted to seasonal workers and artisans. In Peru's northern textile manufacturing centres, by contrast, the mita system, although numerically of relatively little importance in the late colonial period, played together with the recruitment of free labour (voluntarios) a valuable rôle in the textile manufacturing sector.

Large-scale textile production in Spanish America was not restricted to the weaving of woollen stuffs. In the viceroyalty of Peru as well as in the Audiencia of Quito, a number of rural obrajes traditionally devoted a portion of their output to cotton fabrics for popular consumption. The production of cotton goods was also an important manufacturing activity, albeit of low output, in some of the provinces of colonial Peru where cotton was grown. Lambayeque (Saña) and Paita, for example, traded diverse cotton fabrics in other regions[21]. Furthermore, some of the cities in Peru and Quito,

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[20]Tyrer, **Demographic and economic history**, 326, 328.

[21]Bueno, **Geografía del Perú**, 49 (Saña); Haenke, **Descripción del Perú**, 240 (Piura), 246 (Saña); see also, for instance, AGN, RA Trujillo, C16.1493-1 (1774).

such as Huamanga (Peru), Arequipa (Peru), and Cuenca (Audiencia of Quito) featured the existence of a thriving urban cotton industry, whose organizational structure has so far not been investigated by historians. The description of the corresponding activities in the city of Arequipa, provided by the intendant Antonio Alvarez y Jiménez, however, points to an industry divided into a large number of independent weavers who operated their business mostly with the help of family members[22]. Similar organizational patterns are documented for the cotton industry located in the city of Puebla and its surroundings, which emerged, together with other cities such as Guadalajara and Mexico City, as one of the leading cotton textile centres of the viceroyalty of New Spain in the eighteenth century. The independent weavers of this period, mostly of creole and mestizo origin and backed by merchant capital, owned their looms, purchased the yarn they required and employed apprentices. They competed with their Indian counterparts, whose tradition as artisans went back to the pre-Columbian era, in the same markets. The cotton was spun by Indians in the villages of the province[23]. A process of concentration of production in larger units led to a partial restructuring of the industry from the late eighteenth century[24].

It would be presumptuous and, therefore, unjustified at this stage of our knowledge of the welfare of the industry in the postindependence period to speculate

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[22]See Romero, **Historia económica del Perú**, I, 203.

[23]Thomson, 'Cotton textile industry in Puebla', 169, 172.

[24]Thomson, ibid., 195.

about the significance of our findings for broader discussions about the nature of regional economies in early republican Peru. Scholars, such as Paul Gootenberg[25] and José Deustua[26], have begun to argue the case for the existence of separate trade circuits in northern and southern Peru for this period. They base their case on the fact that the élite of the so-called northern sphere (which included the coastal provinces from Lambayeque in the north to Pisco, a wine-producing centre, south of Lima) advocated in the first two decades after independence a rigid protectionist trade policy as well as direct interventions by the government at a local level to support the regional agricultural and manufactural industries, whereas the élite of the Arequipa region sought a restoration of the area's traditional (but since the latter half of the eighteenth century seriously distorted) trade linkages with Upper Peru and the Atlantic port of Buenos Aires, based on the principles of free trade[27]. The highland provinces, for their part, unanimously backed in this early period (i.e. until the 1840s) protectionist measures, in the hope of preventing a further weakening of their depressed regional economies in face of foreign competition as well as the break-up of the old-established network of commercial relationships, which had survived largely intact during the late colonial period[28]. The attacks against foreign persons and property which broke out in Highland Peru in late

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[25]Gootenberg, 'North-south: trade policy, regionalism and caudillismo', 273-308.

[26]Deustua, **Minería peruana y la iniciación de la república**, particularly the two introductory chapters.

[27]For further details see Gootenberg, 'North-south: trade policy, regionalism and caudillismo', 277-278, 285.

[28]For an example of the remarkable persistence of colonial trade patterns until far into the republican period see Urrutia Ceruti, **Comerciantes, arrieros y viajeros huamanguinos**.

1820s and 1830s were immediate expressions of a general feeling of apprehension among anxious Peruvians. By the 1840s, however, despite the continuous decline of the sierra economies (and, in particular, of the large-scale textile industry), and despite increasing disapproval in the Highlands of the political decisions being taken in Lima, Peruvian public opinion as a whole gradually had begun to shift towards the support of liberal trade principles[29]. The explanation for this is that an increasing number of prominent Peruvians, particularly based in Lima and Arequipa, had become convinced that they had more to gain from free trade than from protectionism. In other words, the interior provinces of Peru had lost the political struggle, and, therefore, were no longer able to dictate the terms of the nation's economic policy.

The history of textile manufacturing in viceregal Peru undoubtedly provides ample justification for the inference that one of chief causes for the political rift between the northern and southern zones in the early republican period lay in the structure and organization of colonial trade[30]. Prior to the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Bourbon reforms, together with local events, such as the Túpac Amaru rebellion and the silver conjuncture in the province of Cajamarca, directly interfered with long-standing patterns of trade activities, there was a clear spatial fragmentation of the viceregal cloth trade into two independent commercial spheres, each of them supplemented with a specific infrastructure. The textile manufacturers of the northern viceroyalty - those of Cajamarca and Humachuco, for example - had at that time their prime outlet in the Lima

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[29]Gootenberg, 'North-south: trade policy, regionalism and caudillismo', 289.

[30]Gootenberg, ibid., 273.

market, but they also supplied, apart from other coastal urban consumption centres, various outlets in New Granada and the remote inland provinces. These destinations absorbed mainly bayeta and pañete, which were woven from raw wool obtained from local sources, if not even from within the hacienda, to which the textile mill was attached. In the southern sphere, the sales of cloth focused on the markets provided by the silver mining centres in Upper Peru, while the urban outlets located in the same region were of marginal importance. The large obrajes and chorrillos, which dominated Cuzco's and Huamanga's textile export trade, had dedicated a large portion of their output to the manufacturing of ropa, for which the wool had to be imported from an extra-regional sheep raising centre, the Collao.

The broad concluding point to make is that the examination of the history of the textile industry, like that of many other aspects of Peruvian history, in the late colonial and early independence period confirms the view that political independence in 1824 left many of the internal structures of Peru unchanged, at least in the short term.

APPENDIX 1

INVENTORIES OF TWO OBRAJES IN CAJAMARCA[1]

a) Obraje of Porcón:

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms	Number of sheep
1755	36	3	16,991
1757	36	3	19,600
1761	52	6	20,000
1770	65	6	20,968
1772	75	6	20,968
1781	75	6	20,968
1795	65	5	20,968
1805	65	6	20,968
1860-62	no detailed inventory		

SOURCE: ADC, Escrib., Leg. 59, 377, 377v (1755); ADC, Escrib., leg. 60, 72-72v (1757); ADC, Escrib, leg.61, 59, 60 (1761); ADC, Escrib., leg. 154, 4, 4v (1770); ADC, Escrib., leg. 130:I, 271, 272-272v (1772); ADC, Escrib., leg. 146, 398, 398v (1781); ADC, Escrib., leg. 141, 155v, 156v (1795); ADC, Escrib., leg. 128, 58v, 59v (1805); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 417, 467-472v (1860-62).

[1]The fact that the numbers of sheep on these two haciendas do not change in 1770-1805 and 1793-1819 respectively is striking. One simply does not know whether it reflects administrative inertia or a method of calculation which would have made sense to the parties concerned. Given the contractual nature of the notarial proceedings, it is unlikely that interested parties would not consented to false accounting.

b) Obraje of Santa Clara:

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms	Number of sheep
1751	25	4	3,407
1792	28	4	3,759
1793	28	4	3,825
1803	28	4	3,825
1813	28	4	3,825
1819	28	4	3,825

SOURCE: ADC, Escrib., leg. 58, 497v-498 (1751); ADC, Escrib., leg. 206, 207-207v (1792); ADC, Escrib., leg. 140, 297v (1793); ADC, Escrib., leg. 127, 128v, 129 (1803); ADC, Escrib., leg. 130, 17v, 18v (1813); ADC, Escrib., leg. 154, 98v-99 (1819).

APPENDIX 2

INVENTORIES OF FOUR OBRAJES IN HUAMACHUCO

a) Obraje of Sangual:

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms	Number of sheep
1750	64	8	33,456
1775	74	11	26,039
1782	74	11	26,395
1818	?	9	26,870
1836	?	6	14,174
1861	no detailed inventory		

SOURCE: ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 355, 7v, 8v (1750); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 289, 324, 324v (1775); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 204, 205 (1782); ADL, J., Col., Inten., Compulsa, 404/2244 (1818); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 601, 136, 142-142v 1836); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 419, 1242-1246v (1861).

b) Obraje of Jocos:

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms	Number of sheep
1771	16	2	1,685
1778	38	4	2,490
1797	38	4	2,268
1806	no detailed inventory		
1839	no detailed inventory		

SOURCE: ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 280, 32v, 33 (1771); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 290, 66v, 68v (1778); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 399, 579, 579v, 581 (1797); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 311, 348 (1806); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 3v-6v (1839).

c) Obraje of Llagueda:

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms	Number of sheep
1740	?	4	2,995
1752	35	4	3,000
1771	65	4	3,607
1839	no detailed inventory		

SOURCE: ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 272, 294, 295 (1740); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 353, 437v, 438 (1752); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 280, 256, 257 (1771); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 602, 366v-369 (1839).

d) Obraje of Serpaquino:

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms	Number of sheep
1740	?	?	8,500
1756	47	3	8,500
1776	47	3	8,500
1818	no detailed inventory		
1826	no detailed inventory		
1857	no detailed inventory		

SOURCE: ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 272, 471-471v (1740); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 370, 278v (1756); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 384, 89, 90v (1776); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 545, 464-467 (1818); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 595, 149-153 (1826); ADL, Not., Prot., leg. 681, 676v-684 (1857).

APPENDIX 3

INVENTORIES OF THE OBRAJE OF PICHUYCHURO IN CUZCO

Year	Number of spinning wheels (for ropa)	Number of looms
1771	145	40, further 6 out of use
1772	?	44
1774	159	?
1786	?	48-50
Early 1790s	?	40
1796	?	17

SOURCE: AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 21, 'Cuenta de D.n Miguel Enrrique Adm.r del Obrage de Pichuychuro', 2 (1771); AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, 'Tierras y Aperos de Pichuichuro Episcara, y Pecoy', 13v-14 (1772); AHD, Col., Colegio de Ciencias, 'Pichuichuro año de 1773 a 1774', 'Balanze de Pichuychuro de 1773 á 1774' (1774); AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Año de 1796. Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja de cavezon que contribuye el obrage de Pichuichuro...', 1 (1786); **Mercurio Peruano** XII (1795), 140 (early 1790s); AHD, Col., Inten., Real Hacienda, leg. 199, 'Año de 1796. Expediente promovido por el Coron.l de Milicias D Sebastian José de Ocampo, solicitando revaja...' (1796), 1v.

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

Administrador manager of a textile plant
Aguardiente brandy
Ají dwarf pepper, used for seasoning purposes
Alcabala sales tax
Alcalde magistrate
Alfalfar lucerne field, providing food for the animals
Algodón cotton
Añil indigo
Arancel list of fees
Audiencia high court of Justice
Auto judicial decree
Azoguero silver refiner
Batán del agua water-driven fulling mill
Batán de mano manually operated fulling mill
Cabezón annual licence tax
Cabildo municipal council
Cacique Indian chieftain
Camino real royal highway
Canillero bobbin boy
Cañaveral sugar hacienda
Cardador carder
Cargo y descargo revenue and expenditure
Cascarilla medicinal bark
Cédula royal decree
Coca dried leaf, used as a narcotic by the Indians
Comercio libre free trade
Compañía company
Conde
Consulado merchant guild
Corregidor district officer
Corregimiento district governed by a corregidor
Chalon shalloon
Chorrillo smaller textile mill in Peru
Chorrillero owner of a chorrillo
Churro Peruvian wool sheep
Diputado deputy
De la septima parte 'of the seventh part'; each seventh
Efectos de la tierra goods produced within Spanish America
Efectos de Castilla overseas goods
Entero contingent of mitayos
Expediente file
Feria fair
Fina of a fine quality
Fiscal del crimen crown attorney for criminal offences
Galpón de obraje spinning department in an obraje
Guía permit to export merchandise
Gremio guild
Hacendado owner of a hacienda
Hacienda de panllevar food producing hacienda

Hilador male spinner using a spinning wheel for his task; also spinning machine
Hiladora female spinner working with a spinning wheel
Hoja page
Informe report
Jornalero day labourer
Junta committee
Maestro de obra(s) supervisor in a textile plant
Manufacturas reales royal manufactories
Maquipura spinner using the drop spindle technique
Mark weight of eight ounces; equivalent to 8.5 pesos
Mayordomo foreman in a textile manufactory
Media of an average quality
Memoria Account of a high crown official to his successor
Mestizo offspring of an Indian and a white
Mita system of drafted labour
Mitayo conscript worker
Muchacho de obraje conscripted juvenile worker employed in an obraje
Mulatto offspring of an Indian and a black
Obraje Spanish American textile manufactory
Obraje de comunidad communal manufactory
Obrajero owner of an obraje
Oficina department in a textile mill
Operario worker
Ordenanza ordinance
Ordinaria of an ordinary quality
Partido subdivision of an intendancy, governed by a subdelegate
Patio open court yard
Pedimento request
Perchero textile labourer arranging the cleaned woollen on trestles for the drying
Peso Spanish silver coin
Prensa press
Preso peón forced labourer
Protector de los naturales official in charge of native interests
Puna pasture zone in the Andean Highlands
Real one-eighth of a peso
Real aduana royal customs
Real hacienda exchequer
Registro register ship
Reparto forced distribution of American and European goods
Sierra Andean Highlands
Sisa sales tax levied on meat
Socorro advance payment in silver and goods
Tela yarn
Telar loom

Tina	dye basin
Torno	spinning wheel
Torno de canillar	device to rationalize the winding of the yarn on bobbins
Trueque	barter trade
Visita	official inspection tour at a local level
Visita general	inspection tour at an interregional scale
Visitador	local inspector
Visitador general	inspector appointed to carry out an interregional inspection tour
Voluntario	free labourer, 'volunteer'
Yanacona	Indian bondsman

ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco
ADC	Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca
ADL	Archivo Departamental de La Libertad, Trujillo
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Lima
AHD	Archivo Histórico Departamental del Cuzco
BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Lima
HAHR	Hispanic American Historical Review
JLAS	Journal of Latin American Studies

Al.	alter
Causas Ord.	causas ordinarias
Col.	colonial
Ed.	edition
Escrib.	escribanos
J.	judicial
Inten.	intendencia
Leg.	legajo
Not.	notariales
N.p.	no place or no page
N.y.	no year
Prot.	protocolos
RA	real aduana
Temp.	temporalidades
Vol.	volume

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