

# THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF QUITO, 1616–1787

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- LOS ASTILLEROS DE GUAYAQUIL COLONIAL.* By LAWRENCE A. CLAYTON. (Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 1978. Pp. 230.)
- FARM AND FACTORY: THE JESUITS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRARIAN CAPITALISM IN COLONIAL QUITO.* By NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982. Pp. 231. \$42.50 cloth, \$13.95 paper.)
- ACTAS DEL CABILDO COLONIAL DE GUAYAQUIL, TOMO VI: 1682–1689.* By JUAN FREILE-GRANIZO. (Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 1980. Pp. 229.)
- REVISTA DEL ARCHIVO HISTORICO DEL GUAYAS.* Archivo Histórico del Guayas.

It is surely anachronistic to interpret past events and trends within the framework of present-day territorial units in instances where the units do not reasonably coincide with their historical antecedents. This problem presents itself in studying Ecuador prior to its separation from Spain. The fundamental institutional and territorial precedent is the Audiencia of Quito and its district, which cannot be overlooked in the context of the nearly three centuries of Spanish rule. Yet as a result of certain post-1820 events and developments, Ecuador today represents territorially only a fraction of the Audiencia's jurisdiction as it existed from 1563 to the era of Independence. For this reason, I prefer instead to frame the present discussion spatially within the limits of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the see of Quito because the area covered by the diocese is the closest territorial precedent to present-day Ecuador. The temporal parameters will run from the erection of the bishopric of Trujillo in 1616 to the segregation of the see of Cuenca in 1787.<sup>1</sup>

In opting for the frame of reference of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it should not be forgotten that under the Real Patronato, this area was but one of several simultaneous and frequently overlapping territorial subdivisions of the royal administration. In addition to the territorial similarity of the diocese of Quito with modern Ecuador, the chronological limits chosen encompass a period of a century and a half corre-

sponding to what could be called the era of “colonial maturity,” which preceded the final years of Spanish rule. It should also be kept in mind that the diocese of Quito shared with the archbishopric of Mexico fourth place among all American sees in terms of wealth (as reflected by the stipends of their prelates), following Lima, Puebla, and Chuquisaca.<sup>2</sup> This fact alone would justify a systematic inquiry into the economic history of this area. Because Quito was neither a first-class administrative center nor a mining center, the economic preeminence of the diocese appears perplexing and worth investigating.

Twenty years ago, in an essay on Ecuadorian historiography, I expressed the need for greater emphasis on economic and social history, as well as the hope that a fruitful interest in the field would develop abroad.<sup>3</sup> About the same time, I coauthored a paper on the cacao trade of Guayaquil that, although based on limited research, became an introduction to a new chapter on Ecuadorian historiography.<sup>4</sup> To be sure, the economic topic was not exactly a virgin field, inasmuch as significant data were included in works of general history, beginning with Archbishop Federico González Suárez, whose *Historia general* is still the basic authoritative study of pre-Independence Ecuador.<sup>5</sup> Next should be mentioned the historians of the religious orders—Compte, Jouanen, and Monroy.<sup>6</sup> Finally, one must credit the prolific Dominican historian Fray José María Vargas, perhaps even more for his *Historia de la Iglesia en el Ecuador* (1962) than for his pioneering *La economía política del Ecuador* (1957).<sup>7</sup> Alberto Landazuri Soto made an important contribution in 1959 with *El régimen laboral indígena en la Real Audiencia de Quito*.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, some years passed before a definite body of analytical research developed. The late John Leddy Phelan’s well-known *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* emphasizes political-administrative history but contains economic data as well.<sup>9</sup> Dora León Borja and I have coauthored a number of articles on economic topics, most dealing with the sixteenth century and the years immediately following.<sup>10</sup>

The study of the economic history of the provinces included in the diocese of Quito is exceptionally interesting.<sup>11</sup> The episcopal rents suggest that these provinces were among the wealthiest areas of the Spanish empire. This wealth (not all of which is reflected in the stipends) came from a great variety of sources rather than from one or two major economic activities. This diversity deserves further research, inasmuch as regions with contrasting climates, ecologies, topographies, and cultures were integrated in the bishopric. In fact, the topic encompasses not a single economy but a number of economies that complemented each other through interchange. So extensive was the interchange that this economic interrelation and interdependence, more

than the institutional antecedents, were the factors that eventually consolidated the Republic of Ecuador, despite the centrifugal forces of regionalism and the external pressures of absorption and disruption. Two recent works by American scholars well illustrate this complementary bipolarity of the economy of the diocese of Quito. Lawrence Clayton's doctoral dissertation has been published in a Spanish translation as *Los astilleros de Guayaquil colonial*;<sup>12</sup> and Nicholas Cushner has produced *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito, 1600–1767*.

Clayton's subject matter is important because the shipyards of Havana, Realejo, Manila, and Guayaquil held a near monopoly on shipbuilding in Spain's overseas domains for more than two centuries. Furthermore, the building and repair of warships as well as merchantmen constituted an essential element in the complex workings of the Spanish American economy. The mining industry might have been the most eye-catching sector of the economy, but it did not flourish in isolation. Shipping and shipbuilding were an "invisible" stimulus to Spanish American mining.

The Guayaquil shipyards first attracted historical research in the context of another (in this case, unpublished) doctoral dissertation.<sup>13</sup> Clayton's monograph, *Los astilleros de Guayaquil colonial*, is more accessible, but the Spanish title does it a disservice, however. Despite the awkward phrase *Guayaquil colonial*, which suggests that the work was penned by a *cronista de la ciudad* of a half-century ago, the book is mainly devoted to the seventeenth century. The limited material on the sixteenth century constitutes a good introduction to the main period; but the eighteenth century is barely represented by data mostly gleaned from Juan and Ulloa and from Dionisio de Alsedo, which is used to illuminate certain aspects of the industry in the 1600s. In other words, the book is actually about "los astilleros de Guayaquil en el siglo XVII."

Viewed from this perspective, the brief treatment given the sixteenth century is adequate. The titles of chapters 1 and 2, "Los astilleros reales" and "Galeras y galeones para la armada de la Mar del Sur," reflect Clayton's main concerns. The building of men-of-war was undoubtedly a key activity; the sources, both printed and manuscript, seem to offer more information on warships than on private construction. Nevertheless, a surprisingly large quantity of data exists on merchantmen, although such materials might be harder to assemble. Clayton presents much information on private shipbuilding. This topic invites further research because the building, repairing, and careening of ships at Guayaquil was a permanent, day-to-day activity down into the second decade of the nineteenth century, while the launching of warships was sporadic.

Reflecting the diverse aspects of the industry, the subsequent chapters denote the breadth of Clayton's research: "El constructor naval empírico," "Aspecto económico," "Regulación de la industria naval," and "Gente y gremios." The last chapter, "Una familia de empresarios," discusses the Castro clan, the dominant element of the Guayaquil oligarchy between approximately 1580 and 1650. Although the topic may appear anticlimactic at the end of the book, it has great significance because of the involvement of the Castro family in shipbuilding and related activities, its overbearing role in local affairs, and the influence that the family enjoyed with successive viceroys. Also recognizable are certain long-term trends and characteristics of the city's oligarchy, which survived well beyond the prominence of the Castro family. But here lies another wide-ranging topic, and Clayton's last chapter almost resembles an introduction to it. The chapter invites analysis in greater depth of the intricacies of Guayaquil's socioeconomic history, which exercised a subtle influence on certain world developments far beyond the expected reach of a small-town society.

For the past twenty years, I have championed such a reappraisal of Guayaquil's role in contrast to the traditional view of it as merely inconsequential local history, or even worse (and frequently expressed) as a register of fires, piracies, and epidemics. A revised and enlarged edition of Clayton's dissertation in English is to be desired, particularly because the Spanish edition is marred by flaws beyond the author's control: undistinguished type and format; a flimsy translation burdened with stylistic, lexical, and grammatical shortcomings; certain illustrations hardly related to the text; and the unheard-of editorial approach of using Clayton's work as a kind of bulletin board for the editors' comments, which at times are not pertinent and sometimes even contradict the author's opinions.

The opposing pole of the diocese's economy was the province of Quito. Nicholas Cushner's *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito* touches on various topics of interest within that geographical framework. It is the work of a mature scholar with experience in similar research in other areas. Cushner's focus is the productive sector of the Jesuits' economy, which supported not only the various colleges and *residencias* of the Society of Jesus in what is now Ecuador, but also the Amazonian missions and the establishments in Panama and Popayán, which formed part of the Jesuit province of Quito. Moreover, before its separation from the province of New Granada at the end of the seventeenth century, the vice-province of Quito consistently subsidized the upper northern colleges and missions.

Cushner does not treat the Jesuit economy exhaustively. *Farm*

*and Factory* is more like a case study based on some of the establishments concentrated in the Valley of Chillos, on the outskirts of Quito. In addition to utilizing printed sources, Cushner consulted manuscript materials in the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Spain), the Archivo Nacional de Historia, and the Jesuit provincial archive in Quito, as well as documents belonging to the Vatican Library and the central archives of the order in Rome. His meticulous research is well displayed in the book.

The Jesuits did not create a new economy in the highlands, nor did they ever dominate the area. They did, however, take their share when the religious orders were amassing real estate, a trend that the Consejo de Indias attempted to curtail as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits' economic involvement was basically limited by their needs—that is, they were producing just enough to balance the budget of the province. Once they produced food for their own consumption, the alternatives for raising cash were either to sell foodstuffs at the local markets<sup>14</sup> or in Guayaquil or to produce Quito cloth for export. Considering the order's needs, only the latter alternative could guarantee a reasonably high rate of return on a permanent, dependable basis.

The cloth industry developed thanks to the skillful Indian weavers and the introduction of merino sheep in the 1540s. About a decade later, *encomendero* Francisco de Larrea set up the first *obraje*, and others followed suit. Community workshops were also established to produce cash for *encomienda* tribute. The Duke of Uceda (son of the Duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite) was the beneficiary of such an *obraje*. From about the turn of the century, indigo was being imported from Realejo through Manta and Guayaquil (although Cushner indicates that the Jesuits obtained it through Lima). As a result, most of the Quito cloth was dyed blue. Although different levels of quality existed, the cheaper kinds obtained the lion's share of the South American market during the seventeenth century. The prosperity of the industry was affected first by French and English smuggling and later by the Spanish traders using the Cape Horn route. The Quito cloth industry was then undermined further by the Reglamento de Comercio Libre of 1778 and ruined absolutely by foreign competition after Independence. But for two centuries, the manufacture and export of Quito cloth generated most of the species that circulated in the province.

The Jesuits had one big advantage over other producers in marketing because the organization of La Compañía, which covered the whole continent, constituted an efficient network for meeting the high demand for the product in Potosí, Chile, and even Buenos Aires. Particularly informative on the Jesuits' involvement in the manufacture of cloth (including wool production) are Cushner's chapters 5 and 7, "The

Obraje Complex" and "Finance and Capital Formation." The quantitative data included validate the results of his thorough research.

But Cushner is even more concerned with the agrarian aspects of the Jesuits' activities than with the industrial aspects. Chapter 3, "The Acquisition of Land," treats the formation of the big Jesuit holdings in the Valley of Chillos through sales and donations. He also discusses lawsuits. All these legal activities illuminate the manner in which ownership was being relinquished by the class of Indian notables. The chapter concludes with a survey of "Ownership and Patterns in Chillos around the Year 1700." Chapter 4, "Farms and Ranches," discusses the structure of farmsteads, crops, livestock, and management. Chapter 6 covers labor, including *mitayos*, slaves, debt peonage of free labor, labor costs, and rural society. Chapter 7, which combines both "farm and factory," discusses accounting methods, income, profits, and patterns of reinvestment.

Cushner's excellent study should be taken as a model for not only an exhaustive study of the economy of the whole Jesuit province of Quito,<sup>15</sup> but for studying the entire territory of the diocese, as far as the available sources will allow. The resources are more abundant than might be thought and can be located in Bogotá, Lima, Mexico, and Guatemala, as well as in the archives and manuscript collections in Madrid and a few other European capitals. Of special interest are the documents kept in the Archivo Nacional de Historia in Quito and in the Archivo Histórico del Guayas in Guayaquil. The latter repository contains many of the notarial registers of the port city from 1628 on. An inventory of the protocols has been made available in the *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas*.<sup>16</sup> Each number also reproduces at random certain documents, some kept in the archive, others obtained through microfilm from Seville. The earlier *Boletín del Archivo Nacional de Historia* had also published detailed inventories of the manuscripts in its care and reproduced some of them.<sup>17</sup> A guide to both manuscripts and the *Boletín* was prepared by Juan Freile-Granizo.<sup>18</sup> His *Actas del Cabildo Colonial de Guayaquil* also constitute a rich mine of economic data.<sup>19</sup> Of course, the main single depository of pertinent manuscripts is the Archivo General de Indias. The availability of microfilm or even typed copies is covered in Antonia Heredia Herrera's published guide: "Organización y descripción de los fondos de la Audiencia de Quito del Archivo General de Indias."<sup>20</sup> Although space does not permit a full inventory of research tools and resources, the quality work of two young Sevillian scholars should also be mentioned because of the importance of the topics they have treated. Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse has published articles on the economic history of the province of Quito, especially on the obrajes.<sup>21</sup> One only can hope that he will undertake an exhaustive study of the subject. The textile industry consti-

tutes an outstanding chapter of Spanish American economic history, and some studies on the subject exist for Peru and Mexico. The industry is pertinent to studying western industrial development as well as the use of labor resources and labor management.

While Ortiz de la Tabla concentrated on Quito, María Luisa Laviana Cuetos fixed her attention on Guayaquil, starting with a study of the royal treasury from 1750 on.<sup>22</sup> She also prepared a critical first edition of Francisco Requena's 1774 *Descripción histórica y geográfica de la Provincia de Guayaquil*, an invaluable source midway between Dionisio de Alsedo and Andrés Baleato.<sup>23</sup> Recently Cuetos has extended her attention to the shipyards, although only as a small segment of her wider concern for the general economic development of the province of Guayaquil.<sup>24</sup> Thus the work of the two Spanish historians links up with that of Clayton and Cushner.

This brief review should also mention Robson B. Tryrer's 1976 unpublished dissertation, "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry, 1600–1800."<sup>25</sup> Judging from its title and also from the data taken from it by Cushner, it appears to be a significant contribution worth publishing.

Summing up the developments in this field during the past twenty years, some excellent work has been done, although the quantity has been perhaps less impressive than the quality. But with some degree of optimism, I believe that a breakthrough has been achieved that can and should be exploited in the coming years in pursuing even higher goals. The possibilities offered by the area in terms of transcendent topics and available sources would surely justify undertaking the task.

#### NOTES

1. Fernando de Armas Medina, "La jerarquía eclesiástica peruana en la primera mitad del siglo XVII," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 22 (1965):700 (Seville). José María Vargas, O.P., *Historia de la Iglesia en el Ecuador durante el Patronato español* (Quito, 1962), 221, 522. The dates refer to the de facto beginnings of the new dioceses. The creation of the bishopric of Trujillo segregated the provinces of Piura and Jaén, while that of Cuenca also included the provinces of Guayaquil and Loja. The diocese of Quito included the provinces of Pasto and Barbacoas that, along with the rest of the Gobernación de Popayán, would become a part of Colombia. Concerning the territory disputed by Peru (beside the jurisdiction of Jaén), it became the separate bishopric of Maynas when its first bishop arrived early in 1808. Francisco Quecedo, O.F.M., *El Ilustrimo fray Hipólito Sánchez Rangel, primer Obispo de Maynas* (Buenos Aires, 1942), 77–104.
2. Juana Gil-Bermejo García, "La Iglesia y defensa de las Indias," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 33 (1976):354–57 (Seville).
3. Adám Szászdi, "The Historiography of the Republic of Ecuador," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 44, no. 4 (Nov. 1964):547–49.

4. Dora León Borja and Adám Szászdi, "El comercio del cacao de Guayaquil," *Revista de Historia de América*, nos. 57/58 (1964):1–50.
5. Federico González Suárez, *Historia de la República del Ecuador*, 8 vols. (Quito, 1890–1903).
6. Francisco María Compte, O.F.M., *Varones ilustres de la orden seráfica en el Ecuador desde la fundación de Quito hasta nuestros días* (Quito, 1883–85); José Jouanen, S.I., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito* (Quito, 1941–43); Fray Joel Monroy, *Los religiosos de la Merced en la Costa del antiguo Reino de Quito* (Quito, 1935–36). See also José Félix Heredia, *La antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús y sus misiones entre infieles, 1566–1767* (Riobamba, 1924).
7. José María Vargas, O.P., *La economía política del Ecuador durante la colonia* (Quito, 1957). Vargas, *Historia de la Iglesia*.
8. Alberto Landazuri Soto, *El régimen laboral indígena en la Real Audiencia de Quito* (Madrid, 1959). A pioneering effort in labor history was Aquiles R. Pérez, *Las mitas en la Real Audiencia de Quito* (Quito, 1947).
9. John Leddy Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* (Madison, 1967). A work of social history that should also be mentioned is Magnus Mörner's *Aspectos sociorraciales del proceso de poblamiento en la Audiencia de Quito* (Madrid, 1969). For previously unknown socioeconomic military data, see Dora León Borja's 1956 doctoral dissertation, "Ensayo sobre la evolución histórica de Guayaquil," Universidad de Madrid.
10. See Dora León Borja, "Los indios balseros como factor en el desarrollo del puerto de Guayaquil," *Estudios sobre política indigenista española en América* 2 (Valladolid, 1976), 281–311; "Guayaquil y la Real Armada de la Mar del Sur, 1579–1624," *Memoria del III Congreso Venezolano de Historia* 1 (Caracas, 1979), 241–98. Adám Szászdi and Dora León Borja, "Los recursos y el desarrollo económico de Guayaquil, 1535–1605," *Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege*, Festschrift for Hermann Kellenbenz, vol. 4, *Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* no. 7 (Stuttgart, 1978), 201–17. Adám Szászdi, "Don Diego Tomalá, cacique de la isla de la Puná: un caso de aculturación socio-económica," *Estudios sobre política indigenista española en América* 3 (Valladolid, 1977), 57–82; "The Depreciation of Silver and Monetary Exchange in the Viceroyalty of Lima, 1550–1610," *The Journal of European Economic History* 4 (1975):429–58 (Rome); "Preliminary Estimate of Gold and Silver Production in America, 1501–1610," *Precious Metals in the Age of Expansion*, *Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* no. 2 (Stuttgart, 1981), 151–223; "El Distrito de Quito—economía y guerra," *Historia General de España y América* 7 (Madrid, 1982), 558–61. See also John C. Super, "Partnerships and Profit in the Early Andean Trade: The Experiences of Quito Merchants, 1580–1610," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11 (1979):265–81.
11. The provinces in the diocese of Quito included Quito, Guayaquil, Cuenca, Loja, Pasto, Barbacoas, Esmeraldas, and the *gobernaciones* of Quijos and Maynas. The *gobernación* of Santiago de las Montañas (Yaguarsongo) was politically united to Jaén, and both were included in the district of the Audiencia of Quito. But ecclesiastically, Jaén belonged to the diocese of Trujillo since its erection, while Santiago de las Montañas continued as part of the diocese of Quito during the rest of the seventeenth century.
12. Clayton's dissertation, originally titled "The Guayaquil Shipyards in the Seventeenth Century: History of a Colonial Industry," was directed by Richard Greenleaf at Tulane University (1972).
13. Dora León Borja, "Ensayo sobre la evolución histórica de Guayaquil," Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Madrid; see also her "Guayaquil y la Real Armada de la Mar del Sur, 1579–1624."
14. On contemporary local markets, see Ray Bromley, "Traditional and Modern Change in the Growth Systems of Market Centres in Highland Ecuador," in *Market-Place Trade*, edited by Robert H. T. Smith (Vancouver, 1978), 31–47; and "Market Center and Market Place in Highland Ecuador: A Study of Organization, Regulation, and Ethnic Discrimination," in *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, edited by Norman E. Whitten, Jr. (Urbana, 1981), 233–59.



15. For New Granada, see the works of Germán Colmenares, particularly *Las haciendas de los jesuitas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada: siglo XVIII* (Bogotá, 1969).
16. Sixteen numbers of the *Revista* appeared between 1972 and 1979. Credit for its publication, as well as for creating the *Archivo Histórico*, goes to Julio Estrada Ycaza. The notarial documents are inventoried at the end of each number, starting with number 2. Although fragmentary, their importance for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cannot be exaggerated. Unfortunately, the listing of the documents and registers in the *Boletín* lacks order. The *Boletín* provides other useful research tools.
17. For instance, numbers 7–8 (Jan.–June 1959) extract and index many early-eighteenth-century documents and reproduce a *Cédula* of 31 Dec. 1704, with “información respecto a su cumplimiento en relación con que cesase enteramente el entero y servicio de la mita en los obrajes” (pp. 37–46). The last number issued was number 10 (1966).
18. The *Guía* has indexes of the *Boletín* and of earlier periodical publications of the Archivo Nacional de Historia.
19. The first volume of *Actas del Cabildo de Guayaquil, 1634–1639* was published in Guayaquil in 1970 by the Universidad Católica de Santiago de Guayaquil as Volume 1 of the *Anuario Histórico Jurídico Ecuatoriano*. Between 1972 and 1980, six volumes covering the years 1634–1689 were edited by the Archivo Histórico del Guayas. From 1690 on, the *actas* are available in the typewritten transcription prepared by Rafael Euclides Silva at the Biblioteca Municipal de Guayaquil. Among the many volumes published by the Archivo Municipal de Quito, two of the *Libros de cabildos de la ciudad de Quito* have to do with the period under discussion here: 1638–1646 (Quito, 1960) and 1650–1657 (Quito, 1969). There is also one volume of the *Libro primero de cabildos de la villa de San Miguel de Ibarra, 1606–1617*, as well as Volume 2 (1601–1660) of the *Colección de Cédulas Reales dirigidas a la Audiencia de Quito* published by the Archivo Municipal of Quito in 1946. Similarly, the *Anuario Histórico Jurídico Ecuatoriano*, edited by José Reig Satorres, published in Volume 2 the *Autos acordados de la Real Audiencia de Quito, 1578–1722* (1972) and in Volume 4 (1976) the *Cedulario* of Dr. Antonio de Morga, President of the Audiencia, covering the period 1589–1633 (pp. xxiii–xxxii and 1–252).
20. Antonio Heredia Herrera, “Organización y descripción de los fondos de la Audiencia de Quito del Archivo General de Indias,” *Historiografía y Bibliografía Americanistas* 21 (1977):139–65 (Seville).
21. See Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, “Las ordenanzas de obrajes de Matías de Pezalta para la Audiencia de Quito, 1621,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 33 (1976):875–931 (Seville); “Panorama económico y social del corregimiento de Quito, 1768–1775,” *Revista de Indias*, nos. 145/46 (1976):83–98 (Madrid); “El obraje colonial ecuatoriano: aproximación a su estudio,” *Revista de Indias*, nos. 149/50 (1977):471–543; “La población ecuatoriana en la época colonial: cuestiones y cálculos,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 37 (1980):235–77.
22. María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, “Organización y funcionamiento de las Cajas Reales de Guayaquil en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 37:313–49. Also, “Una descripción inédita de Guayaquil,” *Temas Americanistas* 1 (1982):25–28 (Seville).
23. María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, “La descripción de Guayaquil por Francisco Requena, 1774,” *Historiografía y Bibliografía Americanistas* 26 (1982):3–134 (Seville). The true author of the chorography published by Alsedo in Madrid in 1741 was Jacinto Morán de Butrón, S.I., a native of Guayaquil. See his *Compendio histórico de la provincia, partidos, ciudades, astilleros, ríos y puerto de Guayaquil en las costas de la Mar del Sur*. Andrés Baleato’s *Monografía de Guayaquil* (Lima, 1820) was reproduced in *Museo Histórico*, nos. 45/46 (1963):189–281 (Quito). See also Joaquín de Merisalde y Santisteban’s *Relación histórica, política y moral de la ciudad de Cuenca*; and Juan Pío de Montúfar y Frasso, *Razón sobre el estado y gobernación política y militar de la jurisdicción de Quito en 1754*, both reproduced in *Tres tratados de América (siglo XVIII)*, Colección de Libros Raros y Curiosos que Tratan de América no. 11 (Madrid, 1894).
24. María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, “La maestranza del astillero de Guayaquil en el siglo XVIII,” *Temas Americanistas*, no. 4:26–32. See her doctoral dissertation, “Guayaquil

- en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII: recursos naturales y desarrollo económico," Universidad de Sevilla, 1983. On the economy from 1763 to 1803, see Abel Romeo Castillo, *Los gobernadores de Guayaquil del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1931).
25. Cited by Cushner in his bibliography (p. 223) and notes (pp. 198, 200, 203, 212–13). See also the paper I coauthored with Dora León Borja, "Origen de la fortuna del primer Marqués de Casa Boza," VI Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana, Las Palmas, October 1984.