

Genoese merchants in the eighteenth-century Spanish imperial trade.

The central role of Gaditan Institutions.

Catia Brilli, Ph.D., University of Pisa

The creation of commercial settlements is the main feature of the Genoese model of expansion since the Middle Ages. In the Oriental Mediterranean the Genoese merchants were able to establish different forms of political control over their enclaves; in the Iberian context, due to the existence of “strong powers”, their strategies of “colonization” were based on the initiatives of private entrepreneurs, which played a complementary function to the Castilian and Portuguese projects of expansion.¹

The strategic relevance of Genoa in the system of communication between the European territories of the Spanish Empire consolidated these ties of reciprocity in a veritable formalized symbiosis with the agreement of 1528, which led to a substantial imperial protection over the Republic but, at the same time, granted to Ligurian merchants a privileged *status* and posed the basis for the opening of the so called “Genoese century”.²

By virtue of their contribution to the maintenance of the imperial system, Genoese merchants became the major lenders of the Castilian Crown, taking advantage from its problems of solvency to acquire trading privileges in the Indies in exchange for their loans.³

The Spanish bankruptcies of 1627 and 1647 represented a real turning point for Genoese businessmen: from the second half of the sixteenth century, they found themselves caught between the loss of their pre-eminent financial role and an irrecoverable political and naval weakness.

The end of the Hispanic-Genoese alliance was formally sanctioned by the Treaty of Münster, with which the United Provinces succeeded to Genoa in the transport of silver towards Flanders in exchange for countless privileges and regal concessions.⁴

The Republic, which had based its prosperity on political neutrality and military protection of the Crown of Castile, attempted to react to the crisis by supporting naval armament programmes to cope with the modern competition on the seas autonomously; however, these projects failed both

¹ PISTARINO, G., *Presenze ed influenze italiane nel sud della Spagna (Secc. XII-XV)*, in *Presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV-XVII*, Se villa, 1985, pp. 21-51.

² PACINI, A., *I presupposti politici del “secolo dei genovesi”*: la riforma del 1528, in “Atti della Società Ligure Storia Patria”, n.s., XXX/I (1990).

³ CARANDE, R., *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, Barcelona, 1987 (3° ed.).

⁴ STEIN, S.J.-STEIN, B., *Silver, Trade and War. Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 2000.

for internal contrasts and British and Dutch hostility, that led Genoa to abandon, from the eighties of the sixteenth-century, any project of Atlantic expansion.⁵

Ligurian merchants managed to overcome the "crisis" of the seventeenth century, adapting themselves to the rise of new competitors and maintaining strong interests in the Atlantic trade – albeit without recover the ancient dominance- by virtue of the changes of the American economy and the persistent contradictions of Spanish monopoly.

The progressive devaluation of silver and the development of plantation economy in the Indies partially changed the composition of trade over the Atlantic; increased demand for cocoa, tobacco and other agricultural products coming from the Americas opened new opportunities not only to the merchants who were engaged in the *Carrera de Indias*, but also to those who managed the distribution of these products from Spain to the Mediterranean and Northern European ports.⁶

Ligurian merchants maintained a leading role in trades between the Iberian markets and the Italian possessions of the Spanish monarchy, controlling the export of grains, silk and other raw materials from Sicily and Naples. Cabotage shipping became the backbone of Genoese trade, offering the population of Ligurian coasts, traditionally discouraged by the centralizing vocation of Genoa, an important role in trade system as in shipbuilding.⁷

The Genoese persistent dynamism in the Indian trades instead can be explained with the chronic need of foreign manufactures for the supply of the colonies, induced by the shortcomings of Spanish system of production: the phenomenon was so extent that at the end of the sixteenth century Spanish goods, mainly agricultural products, constituted only the 4.5% of the authorized loads for the Indies.⁸

The "porosity" of Spanish monopoly largely depended on the peculiar financial system of the *Carrera*, that was based on the advance of manufactures;⁹ the foreign merchants who resided in the monopolistic port of Seville therefore were only intermediaries, who bought on credit the goods produced in their countries of origin to sell them in America. Silver that was obtained in exchange arrived directly to the European centres, or to Seville, where it was largely redistributed abroad through practices of smuggling and fraud (the first exercised by subjects who were excluded from the system of monopoly, and the second by the authorities that were at the head of its government).

⁵ COSTANTINI, C., *La Repubblica di Genova nell'età moderna*, in GALASSO, G. (a cura di), *Storia d'Italia*, vol. IX, Torino, 1987 (I ed., 1986).

⁶ RAHN PHILLIPS, C., *The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450-1750*, in TRACY, J. D., *The rise of merchant empires. Long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750*, pp. 34-101.

⁷ GIACCHERO, G., *Genova e la Liguria nell'età contemporanea*, vol. I, Genova, 1980; GATTI, L., *Navi e cantieri della Repubblica di Genova (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, Genova, 1999.

⁸ EVERAERT, J., *De internationale en Koloniale Handel der Vlaamse firma's te Cadiz (1670-1700)*, Brugge (België), 1973, pp. 277-282.

⁹ OLIVA MELGAR, J.M., *El monopolio delas Indias en el siglo XVII y la economía andaluza. La oportunidad que nunca existió*, Huelva, 2004

These illegal practices on one hand guaranteed high benefits (and an almost total elusion of customs duties) to foreigners and their Spanish accomplices; but, on the other, fostered a real vicious circle, which deprived Spain of the capital that was necessary to invest in productive activities and to free itself from the "dependence" of foreign goods: a perfectly coherent and effective system, according to which if the Crown wanted to receive galleons loaded of silver, had no other choice that cram them of prohibited manufactures.

By virtue of these favourable conditions, the Iberian and American territories of the Spanish Crown remained one of the main markets for Genoese products, but the breakdown of the legal channels of participation to the Indian trades imposed the Genoese merchants to adapt themselves to their new marginal condition by privileging illicit channels.

For this reason from the middle of the 1600s their activities gradually shifted from Madrid and Seville to the port of Cadiz, the center of a widespread international contraband where foreign merchants easily introduced prohibited goods and intercepted the Spanish vessels coming from the Indies.

Ligurian commercial settlement of Cadiz maintained throughout the century a dominant position: on a total of 87 trading houses that were active in the port in the decade 1670-1680, the majority (27) belonged to Genoese intermediaries.¹⁰ The high volume of this parallel economy induced the Crown to transfer the *Consulado de Indias* and the *Casa de Contratación*, the institutions responsible for the management of *Carrera de Indias*, from the river port of Seville to that of Cadiz, that in 1717 became the new monopolistic emporium of colonial trade.

Nevertheless, the opening of the eighteenth century gave a further blow to the Genoese participation in Iberian Atlantic trades. The War of Spanish Succession sanctioned once and for all the dominance over the seas of two naval and commercial powers: Great Britain, that with the acquisition of Gibraltar and the *asiento de esclavos* gained a substantial commercial liberty over the Atlantic; and France, that with the rise to the Spanish throne of the Bourbons consolidated its presence in the *Carrera de Indias*, constituting in Cadiz the richest foreign community of the port.¹¹ In a context in which the enjoyment of transatlantic trades' benefits was closely linked to naval and military power, the Genoese merchants, who couldn't count neither on political support of the mother-city, nor on a commercial fleet capable of challenging such powerful competitors, bound their initiatives in a more organic manner to the needs of the monarchy.

¹⁰ BUSTOS RODRIGUEZ, M., *Población, sociedad y desarrollo urbano (una aproximación al Cádiz de Carlos II)*, in *Cádiz en su historia, IV jornadas de historia de Cádiz*, 1985, p. 83 e sgg.

¹¹ STEIN, S.J., "Un raudal de oro y plata que corría sin cesar de España a Francia": política mercantil española y el comercio con Francia en la época de Carlos III, in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre "Carlso III y la Ilustración"*, Tomo II, *Economía y sociedad*, Madrid, 1989, pp. 221-222.

The result was the consolidation of a new kind of symbiosis, that we could define "informal" because it was not based on a legally recognised *corpus* of "national" privileges but on personal strategies of mimetism or assimilation and informal practices of commercial negotiation.

The success of these strategies is testified by the growth of Ligurian settlement in Cadiz, that was the most consistent foreign community of the port throughtout the century: in 1791, excluding an undetermined number of transient immigrants, it counted almost 5000 people.¹²

They maintained a relevant economic position as well: according to the Register of merchant's properties of Cadiz, in 1771 they were the third group of wholesale traders (hidden behind the label of "Italians"), with a total income that was lower only to those French, Irish/British and Spanish (TABLES 1A-1B). At the end of the eighteenth century, indeed, Genoa resulted the fourth European city in terms of bills of exchange endorsed to the Gaditan *Corredores de Lonja* after Madrid, London and Hamburg (TABLE 2).

The survival of Ligurian diaspora in the Atlantic trades was favoured by the persistence of two elements now become "structural": the political neutrality and military weakness of the Republic, which allowed Ligurian merchants to operate in the Spanish territories without being perceived as dangerous competitors; and the nature of Ligurian commercial initiatives, that unlike British and French ones maintained their traditional character of small family companies, with greater capacity to penetrate in the residual spaces of modern maritime competition.

Ligurian merchants therefore continued to operate within the Spanish monopolistic system with the accomplishment of Gaditan institutions, taking advantage from the persistent local need of foreign goods to supply the Indian markets.

Many of these merchants began their careers in coastal trades, and then participated in the Indian trades using Spanish front-men or traveling illegally to America autonomously or on commission. Once they acquired the sufficient capital and skills, their business generally strengthened through careful matrimonial strategies – in order to ally themselves with the merchant families which were already well established in Cadiz- and the dislocation of their relatives in the ports around which gravitated the interests of their commercial houses.

The practices of cooperation and material solidarity between countrymen continued to represent a resource of primary importance; however, since for Genoese merchants the access to the *Carrera de Indias*' legal circuits remained a fundamental prerequisite to consolidate their business, they tended to privilege their ties with Spanish monopolistic institutions.

In order to formalise their participation in the colonial trades, the foreigners had essentially two options: entrust the management of their business to their sons who were born in Spain (*genízaros*);

¹² MOLINA, C., *L'emigrazione Ligure a Cadiz (1709-1854)*, in "Atti della società Ligure di Storia Patria", CVIII (1994), 2.

or try to obtain the naturalisation, which required the ownership of a real property, the continuous residence in Spain for at least 10 years, the payment of local contributions and the rupture of any relationship with their consulate.

In the first decades of the century, legal participation of Genoese merchants to the *Carrera de Indias* appears quite reduced; it was probably due to the devastating effects of the Spanish War of Succession, but even to the formal exclusion of *genízaros* from Indian trades, that remained in force from 1729 to 1742.¹³ In fact, from the 1740s, the registrations of Genoese merchants in the *Consulado de Indias* increased rapidly (TABLE 3).

Between 1700 and 1787 Spanish Crown granted 77 naturalisations, the majority of which (19) to Ligurian merchants: their dominance over the other foreign communities highlights not only that, despite the international marginalization of Genoa, Ligurian merchants slowly managed to restore their legal participation in the *Carrera de Indias*; but also, and above all, it testifies that their persistent competitiveness was the result of their assimilation strategies to Gaditan society and institutions. It is not a case that the powerful British traders, for whom the naturalisation was unnecessary, presented only three requests to obtain that privilege. (TABLES 4A-4B-4C-5A-5B).

The access to these legal circuits was allowed only to the most prosperous traders; however, this minority articulated a dense network of alliances and chains of obligation that opened the colonial and Gaditan trades to a wider range of economic subjects, rendering superfluous a massive penetration in the monopolistic institutions.

The greater circuits of trade supplied in fact a widespread undergrowth of small retailers and pedlars, which acted as connecting element between Genoa and the Indian markets and provided to the satisfaction of local consumption: in the only Cadiz existed in 1783 sixty shops conducted by Ligurian retailers, which annually returned to their country or visited other Mediterranean ports to purchase their goods.

Ligurian merchants benefited not only from the monarchy's productive and commercial weakness, but also from the internal contrasts between the Crown and Gaditan institutions: in the eighteenth century, in fact, the *Consulado de Indias* maintained the financial power acquired in the previous century and its consequent capacity of blackmail against Madrid for the control of Indian profits.¹⁴ The foreigners, which were used as a political arm by both contenders, found in this conflict a fundamental channel to consolidate their relationship with the monopolistic institutions.

¹³ GARCIA-BAQUERO GONZALEZ, A., *Los extranjeros en el tráfico con Indias: entre el rechazo legal y la tolerancia funcional*, I coloquio Internacional "Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna", Málaga 2003, Tomo I, pp. 73-99; BUSTOS RODRIGUEZ, M., *Cádiz en el sistema Atlántico. La ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantil (1650-1830)*, Cádiz, 2005.

¹⁴ OLIVA MELGAR, J.M., *op. cit.*; BERNAL, A.M., *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias, op. cit.*, pp. 307-310.

In 1740 the king asked to the *Casa de Contratación* and to the *Consulado* of Cadiz a loan of one million of *pesos*, promising to repay it within 10 years at a rate of 8%; in order to prevent any possible refusal, he threatened that in case of non-cooperation he would have asked for the contribution of foreign merchants, reimbursing them with licenses to trade in the Indies.

The Spanish "pseudomercantilism" reached its peak in the response of the *Consulado*: on one hand, it agreed to pay in exchange of levying a higher percentage on goods in departure and in return from the Indies; on the other hand, it informally proposed to the foreigners who resided in Cadiz to participate in the loan inviting also the Genoese consul, which was allowed to negotiate the conditions of his countrymen's involvement.¹⁵

If we consider the astonishing dimension of the Ligurian settlement, the consulate and the other Genoese institutions in Cadiz during the eighteenth century had very little influence on the community. The Genoese traders, recurring to Spanish frontmen and frequently changing their boots' pavilions, tended to avoid any customs control, and those who were naturalized appealed to their *status* to be legally exempted from "national" contributions;¹⁶ the mass of artisans took advantage from local inclusive channels of integration, such as the *status* of *vecindad* and the incentives offered by the Crown in order to attract skilled migrants in the monarchy.¹⁷

Genoese institutions were therefore neither able to raise funds through fees and customs duties, nor through voluntary contributions. This explains why there was a chronic lack of charities funds for the countrymen, and why the Genoese chapel in the port was practically abandoned.¹⁸

However, the Genoese consulate maintained its traditional function of articulating the great merchants' private interests, haggling informally the privileges and the immunities that the Republic had lost. The Gaditan institutions' compliance, once again, had a fundamental importance.

One of the main tasks of the Genoese consul was to negotiate the exemption of Ligurian vessels from the local customs controls and the management of mercantile lawsuits, which guaranteed a

¹⁵ The consul Prasca in that occasion referred: "[sono stato] extragiudizialmente interpellato se vorrò concorrere in dett'impresito con insinuazione di che stimeram'assai, che disponga parimente concorrere i nostri nazionali, l'ho imposto, che sempre che resti aggiustato il dett'impresito colli modi, e condizioni da convenirsi con S.M., in loro vista, e della sicurezza de pagamenti non lascerò di persuadere detti Nazionali col mio proprio esempio, considerando quest'impiego molto migliore che quello di Torino", Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG), *Archivio Segreto*, n. 2673, Prasca, Cadiz, 2 maggio 1740.

¹⁶ ASG, *Archivio Segreto*, n. 2673, Lorenzo Grassi, Cadice, 1 marzo 1705; ASG, *ibidem*, Montesisto, Cadice, 10 novembre 1756; *ibidem*, Montesisto, Cadice, 24 maggio 1758; *ibidem*, Lorenzo Grassi, Cadice, 9 marzo 1703 e 24 settembre 1713,

¹⁷ HERZOG, T., *Defining Nations. Immigrants in early modern Spain and Spanish America*, New Heaven, 2003; *Permiso a los extrangeros católicos y amigos de la Corona para venir á exercitar sus oficios en estos Reynos*, in *Novísima Recopilación de las Leyes de España.... Mandada a formar por el Señor Don Carlos IV, Libro VI, Título XI, Ley I*, Madrid, 1805, p. 165.

¹⁸ ASG, *Archivio Segreto*, n. 2673, Prasca, Cadice, 7 maggio 1725; *ibidem*, Cadice, 20 maggio 1726; *ibidem*, Gaetano Merello, Cadice, 8 maggio 1778; *ibidem*, Cadice, 8 luglio 1777; *ibidem*, Cadice, 18 agosto 1778.

substantial freedom to exercise contraband. While the French, British, Portuguese and Flemish consuls' jurisdiction on the matter was legally recognized by the Crown, the other foreign communities were subjected to that of the *Gobernador político y militar* of Cadiz. Nevertheless, the Genoese consul managed to maintain throughout the century an informal protection over his countrymen by paying to the Governor an annual donor, the so-called *aguilando*, which constituted a relevant part of the Governor's income.¹⁹ In this way Ligurian merchants continued to trade freely and to solve their conflicts through their traditional practices, informed by equity and mutual trustness.

Unlike its French counterpart, which managed to extend its jurisdiction almost over the entire French community of the port²⁰ with a relevant capacity to impose customs duties²¹, the Genoese consulate was used by the richest Ligurian merchants as a channel of personal socio-economic rise; and since their strategies tended to mimetism or assimilation, the establishment of formal or informal ties with the Genoese consulate didn't represent an alternative but, in many cases, a necessary precondition or a useful resort for the achievement of this purpose.

Many Ligurian merchants who made request to obtain naturalization and the *status* of *vecindad* or *hidalguía* had been members of the consulate or had established close links with its members²²; the naturalization as in the cases of Prasca and Cabiasso families, could facilitate in turn the adscription to the Genoese patriciate.²³

The case of Benito and Bartolomé Patron demonstrates that the relationship with the Genoese consulate's members was considered a relevant element of legitimization even by the Gaditan authorities and could facilitate the obtention of a commercial or social privilege: in 1789 the *Cabildo* granted to the Patron brothers the *status* of *hidalgo* not only by virtue of their personal and familiar honorability, but also of the support of the most notable Genoese merchants of Cadiz, many of which were linked to the Genoese consulate.²⁴

¹⁹ ASG, *Archivio Segreto*, n. 2673, *Montesisto*, Cadice, 10 novembre 1756.

²⁰The register of the foreigners which were protected by the *fuero di extrangeria* of 1764 is extraordinarily eloquent in this sense: the Genoese consulate of Cadiz counted only 44 members, mainly great merchants (TABLE 6); the French consulate counted 709 members, which were employed at every level –including menservant- in 64 houses of trade conducted by 115 merchants, *Archivo Histórico Municipal de Cádiz (AHMC)*, *Padrones*, c. 5817, *Lista de los Nacionales Extrangeros y otras personas que gozan del fuero militar de guerra en esta plaza de Cádiz, año de 1765, Impresas en dicha Ciudad en la Real Imprenta de Marina de Don Mnuel Espinosa de los Monteros, en la Calle de San Francisco*.

²¹ ASG, *Archivio Segreto*, n. 2673, *Lorenzo Maria Grassi*, Cadice, 30 luglio 1720.

²² BRILLI, C., *La diaspora commerciale ligure nel sistema atlantico iberico. Da Cadice a Buenos Aires (1750-1830)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pisa, 2008, pp. 96-102.

²³ BITOSSO, C., *La Repubblica è vecchia. Patriziato e governo a Genova nel secondo Settecento*, Roma, 1995, p. 307.

²⁴ AHMC, 10656, *Pruebas de Hidalguía de los S.res D. Benito y Bartolomé Patron*, Cadice, 1789.

The case of foodstuff retailers and peddlers demonstrates that, in times of emergency, the parallel recourse to the protection of local and Genoese institutions characterized also the strategies of those social segments which were in theory excluded from both privileges.

In an attempt to expel the foreigners from local trade, in 1783 and again in 1788 the Bourbons ordered the closure of their shops; the Crown intended to support the project of the merchants of Santander, which aimed to monopolize the retail in Cadiz by creating a corporation of Montañeses with a limited number of shops and the power of jurisdiction in any infringement of its members and in the corresponding fines' collection.²⁵

On both occasions Ligurian retailers managed to impede the carrying into effect of the decrees by activating different institutional channels: the Genoese consul, who protected his "countrymen" gaining the support of the *Secretario del Despacho de Estado* Conde de Floridablanca in Madrid;²⁶ and the Gaditan *Cabildo*, which defended its "vecinos" accusing the merchants of Santander of behaving like the foreigners, without investing their profits in productive activities and then ignoring the common good.²⁷

The intervention of the Genoese consul confirms the strategic relevance of retailers and their close ties with the greater circuits of Ligurian commerce.

The attitude of the *Cabildo*, in turn, reveals that Genoese merchants continued to take advantage of the persistent conflict between the Crown and Gaditan authorities: the first, aware of the damages of foreign goods dependence in the long term and for this reason worried about controlling, as far as possible, their movements; the second, jealous of their specific conditions of prosperity and willing to pay the price of a partial flight of capital abroad to maintain a high volume of trades.

The measures taken by the Bourbon administration to consolidate the imperial system gave to Ligurian merchants also the possibility to invest in local productive activities. With the decree of *Libre Comercio*, in 1778 the Crown imposed high tariffs on foreign manufactures, but ensured to those produced by foreigners in Spain the same taxes reserved the "national" goods.²⁸ This explains why the most dynamic Genoese merchants, many of which were linked to the *Consulado de Indias*, at the end of the eighteenth century implemented a lot of textile factories in the Gaditan bay, selling their manufactures in the Indies with reduced transaction costs and tax loads.²⁹

²⁵ AHMC, L. 10.130, 1774.

²⁶ ASG, *Archivo Secreto*, n. 2673, Andrea Gherardi, Cadice, 4 luglio 1788. ASG, *Archivo Secreto*, n. 2673, *Real Orden que el Sr. Conde de Floridablanca remite al Gov.or del Consejo*, Cadice, 9 febbraio 1788.

²⁷ ASG, *Archivo Secreto*, n. 2673, Andrea Gherardi, Cadice, 22 gennaio 1788; AHMC, L. 10.130, *Pedro Miguel de Agreda, Josef Antonio de Quevedo, Miguel Rodriguez de Cavassa, Agustin Villota, Josef Alvarez Campana*, Cadice, 13 luglio 1771.

²⁸ *Reglamento y Aranceles Reales para el comercio libre de España a Indias*, de 12 de octubre de 1778, en la Imprenta de Pedro Marin, Imprenta C.S.I.C., Sevilla, 1978.

²⁹ BUSTOS RODRIGUEZ, M., *Cádiz en el sistema Atlántico. La ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantil (1650-1830)*, Cádiz, 2005, p. 258; RUIZ RIVERA, J.B., *El Consulado de Cádiz. Matrícula de Comerciantes (1730-*

With the decree of *Libre Comercio*, that enabled to intercolonial trades many other Spanish and American ports, Cadiz lost its *status* of monopolistic emporium. Nevertheless, during the second half of the XVIII century, it continued to control most of the exportations to the Indies (more than 70%)³⁰, and Ligurian settlement continued to grow.

In synthesis, from the sixteenth century Genoese trade in the Spanish empire had known a progressive decline; however, this withdrawal cannot be read in absolute terms but only in comparison with the spectacular growth of the great European powers, by virtue of naval and commercial policies which the Republic couldn't support.

Continuing to act in symbiosis with the needs of the monarchy, choosing Cadiz as the main centre of operations and adopting private strategies of mimetism or assimilation, with the accompliance of Gaditan institutions Ligurian merchants not only survived to the loss of their privileged relationship with the Crown, but also largely contributed to maintain prosperous an old oligarchical Republic until its definitive collapse.

1823), Cádiz, 1988, pp. 133 e sgg.; Archivo General de Indias (AGI), *Consulados*, Leg. 891, Juan Bautista Cheirasco y Vico, 28 marzo 1795.

³⁰ FISHER, J., *Imperial "Free Trade" and the Hispanic Economy, 1778-1796*, "Journal of Latin American Studies", n. 13, 1981, p. 42.

TABLE 1A

Average commercial capital of the foreign communities of Cadiz according to the register of *Unica Contribución* (1771)*:

<u>Merchants' origin</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Pesos</u>	<u>Pesos pro capite</u>
France	180	710.450	6.578
Ireland /Great Britain	44	238.100	5.411
Germany	6	31.000	5.166
Denmark/Sweden/ Prussia	17	75.500	4.441
Flanders	20	74.700	3.735
Italy	49	149.800	3.057
Spain	285	261.444	917

TABLE 1B

Italian *vecinos* who resided in Cadiz according to the register of *Unica Contribución* (1771) and total value of their commercial capital (expressed in *pesos*)*:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Pesos</u>	<u>Ligurian origin</u>
Balbi, José Maria	2000	x
Bañasco, Pedro	1800	x
Bechy, Anton	1750	x
Beliche, Francisco	800	
Biondina, Alberto	1500	
Buchely, Carlos	1250	x
Burón, Francisco	1750	
Burón, Pedro	1750	
Canavero, Juan Bautista	2000	
Canvazo, Francisco	5000	x
Capela, Pedro	500	x
Corsi, Antonio	750	
Dagnino, Antonio	1250	x
Ferrari, Angel	4800	x
Garzan Octavio Maria	2000	
Gazo, Tomàs	1750	x
Gazzo Bartolomé	3500	x
Guilloso, Juan Bautista	1250	x
Henrile, José Maria	6000	x
Jordan, Joseph	4500	x
Liverti, Felipe	1000	x
Masnata, Benito y Bolta y C.	1800	x
Miconi, Tomas	10000	x
Migone, Juan Maria	1500	x
Montesisto, Joseph y C.	12000	x (Genoese consul)
Mosty, Claudio	9000	x
Mosty, Esteban	6250	x

Oliveros, Lorenzo y C.	6800	x
Pedemonte, Eustaquio	5000	x
Pedemonte, Juan Bautista	2000	x
Pescia, Juan Bautista	1500	x
Pichardo, Andrés y Juan Maria	2500	x
Pollony, Francisco	3000	
Prasca, Juan Andrés y C.	12000	x
Procurante, Jacome y Gaspar	3500	x
Ravelo, Diego	750	x
Recaño, Costantino	1800	x
Reymundo, Juan Agustin	3000	x
Sciacaluga, Esteban	2500	x
Sigory, Joseph y C.	5500	x
Solari, Antonio	2500	x
Solari, Tomas	3000	x
Testa, Cayetano	2000	x
Testa, Juan Bautista	1000	x
Torre, Joseph	1250	x
Traverso, Geronimo	2250	x
Vico, Juan	1000	x

(*source: RUIZ RIVERA, J.B., *El Consulado de Cádiz. Matricula de Comerciantes (1730-1823)*, Cádiz, 1988, pp. 66-73.)

TABLE 2

European city of origin and global value of the bills of exchange that were endorsed to the Gaditan *corredores de lonja* in 1796:

<u>CITY</u>	<u>NUM. BILLS</u>	<u>% NUM. BILLS</u>	<u>VALUE</u>	<u>% VALUE</u>
Amsterdam	40	5,5	1.487.035	4,6
Barcelona	11	1,5	249.905	0,8
Cadiz	20	2,8	876.449	2,7
Genoa	59	8,2	2.209.810	6,9
Hamburg	171	23,7	7.135.160	22,2
London	156	12,6	8.137.976	25,4
Madrid	213	29,5	9.483.756	29,6
Valencia	3	0,4	217.345	0,7
TOTAL	673	93,2	29.797.436	92,9
Other 17 cities	49	6,8	2.276.971	7,1

(source: CARRASCO GONZALEZ, M.G., *Corredores y Comercio. La Correduría de Lonja gaditana entre 1573 y 1805*, Spain, 1999, p. 135).ù

TABLE 3

Ligurian merchants which were registered in the *Consulado de Indias* between 1743 and 1823:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE*</u>	<u>YEAR OF REGISTRATION</u>
José Francisco Burlando	Cadiz	1743
Manuel Lorenzo Delfin y Torres		1743
Nicolas Antonio Geraldino	Puerto de Santa Maria (Cadiz)	1743
Carlos Bayeto	Cadiz	1744
Nicolas Geraldino	Cadiz	1745
Pedro Tomas Geraldino	Cadiz	1745
Antonio Tomati	Cadiz	1745
Juan Fernando Pavia	Cadiz	1746
Juan Costa	Cadiz	1748
Luis Costas	Cadiz	1748
Andres José Cruzati	Cadiz	1749
Juan Grosso	Cadiz	1749
Cayetano Cruzate	Cadiz	1750
Pablo Capitanache	(<i>extrangero</i>)	1750
José Maria Jordan y Sierra	Cadiz	1750
Juan Felipe Costa		1751
Santiago Costa	Cadiz	1751
Juan Bautista Patron	Cadiz	1751
Lazaro Juan B. Anoceto	Cadiz	1755
Antonio Carnilia	[Genoa]	1755
Santiago Cristobal Castañeto	Cadiz	1756
Fernando Forte	Cadiz	1756
Nicolas Forte	Cadiz	1756
José Dañino	Cadiz	1756
Juan Nicolas Lamberto	Cadiz	1757
Felix Antonio Jordan	Cadiz	1758
Nicolas Miguel Geraldino		1759
Francisco Dapelo y Saviñon	Cadiz	1760
J.B. Dapelo y Saviñon	Cadiz	1760
Sebastian José Fosati	Cadiz	1760
Diego Patron	Cadiz	1760
José Maria Antonio Enrile y Guerci	Cadiz	1761
Juan Maria Solari	Cadiz	1761
Juan Bernachi	Cadiz	1763
Juan de Acereto	Cadiz	1764
Juan Pedro Casanova		1765
Antonio Jordan y Mandilo	Cadiz	1765
Domingo Jordan y Mandilo	Cadiz	1765
Geronimo Jordan y Mandilo	Cadiz	1765
José Rafael Masnata	Cadiz	1765
Juan Patron	Cadiz	1766
Juan Bautista Pedemonte	Cadiz	1769
Claudio José Vial	(<i>extrangero</i>)	1769
Juan Crisostomo Vial	(<i>extrangero</i>)	1769

Agustin Gnecco	Cadiz	1770
Jeronimo Antonio Enrile y Guerci	Cadiz	1771
Antonio Sigori	Cadiz	1771
Domingo Sigori	Cadiz	1771
Pedro Sigori	Cadiz	1771
Francisco José Traverso	Cadiz	1771
Geronimo Traverso	Isla de León (Cadiz)	1771
José Jordan y Mosti	Cadiz	1772
Juan Andres Prasca	(<i>extrangero</i>)	1774
Miguel de Bocanegra	Cadiz	1776
Diego Antonio Galeano	Cadiz	1776
Juan Anton Costa	Barcelona	1777
Juan Bautista Canepa	Cadiz	1779
Florencio José Ceruti	Huelva	1785
Nicolas Enrile y Tomati	Cadiz	1785
Luis Gassin y Aguayo	Sanlucar de Barramela (Cadiz)	1787
Juan Francisco Gasin	Sanlucar de Barramela (Cadiz)	1789
Antonio Canepa	Cadiz	1790
José Maria Codevila	Cadiz	1791
Pablo Colombo		1791
Carlos Antonio Camuso	Cadiz	1791
José Recaño	Cadiz	1791
Domingo Colombo		1792
Francisco Colombo	Cadiz	1792
Luis Suffo	Cadiz	1796
Sebastian Peñasco	Cadiz	1802
José Ramon Recaño	Cadiz	1802
Cayetano Saturnino Castelli		1804
José Peñasco	Cadiz	1804
Miguel Bozo	Cadiz	1808
Tomas Ravina	Cadiz	1808
Francisco Patron	Cadiz	1812
Juan Manuel Patron	Cadiz	1812
Sebastian Patron	San Ildefonso (Cadiz)*	1813

[* The birthplace may be incorrect. For example Sebastian Patron was born in Voltri, where his father Benito, a merchant who resided in Cadiz, went back to marry and to baptize his children, Archivo General de Indias, *Consulados*, leg. 893.

However, the majority of these merchants were *genízaros*].

(source: Archivo General de Indias, *Consulados*, Libro 447, foj. 442 e ss).

TABLE 4A

Requests of naturalisation presented to the *Consulado de Indias* between 1700 and 1787 to obtain the right to trade in the Indies:

<u>“NATION”</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Genoa	19
Ireland	14
France	11
Flanders	6
Milan	5
Portugal	5
Venice	4
Great Britain	3
Savoy	2
Unknown	2
Athens	1
Florence	1
Gerusalem	1
Lucca	1
Scotland	1
TOTAL	77

(source: Archivo General de Indias, *Consulados*, Libro 445)

TABLE 4B**Ligurian merchants of Cadiz which obtained the naturalisation between 1700 and 1787:**

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEAR</u>
Juan Antonio Bigo	1700
Juan Bautista Sanguineto	1719
Jacome Felipe Crosa	1719
Bernardo de Recano	1719
Bernardo de Llanos	1723
Juan Francisco Grondona y Oneto	1723
Janu Teodoro de Oddo	1729
Joseph Maria Burlando	1729
Tomas Miconi	1737
Joseph Maria Jordan	1750
Pedro Antonio Blanco	1751
Carlos Felipe Bucheli	1753
Juan Bautista Maestre	1753
Cayetano Sudice	1753
Antonio Carmilia	1755
Joseph Maria Enrrile	1771
Juan Andrés Prasca	1774
Carlos Malagamba	1785
Juan Bautista Rapalo	1787

(source: Archivo General de Indias, *Consulados*, Libro 445)**TABLE 4C****Ligurian merchants of Cadiz which obtained the naturalisation between 1790 and 1811**

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEAR</u>
Nicolas Traverso	1793
Ambrogio José Quartin	1795
Juan Bautista Cheirasco y Vico	1795
Lorenzo Malagamba Villarino	1795
Vicente Rivera	1802
Benito Picardo	1802
Antonio Maria Picardo	1809
Benito Picardo (nipote)	1810
Domingo Ignocencio Lavaggi	1811

(source: Archivo General de Indias, *Consulados*, Leg. 891)

TABLE 5A

List of the ships owned by Genoese merchants and registered in the *Carrera de Indias*, 1793:

<u>Ship-owner</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Destination</u>
Antonio Sigori	Polacra "Princesa de Asturias"	160	
Bartolomé Patron	Frataga "N.S. de Gracia y S. Telmo"	207	Montevideo
Benito Patron	Polacra "N.ra S.ra del Carmen y S.ta Teresa"	125	
"	Brigantino "Rosario" (alias) "La America"	10	
"	Balandra "Bella Anastasia"(o)"Paquete de Africa"	10	
"	Frataga "N.ra S.ra de Gracia y S.ta Francisca"	250	
"	Frataga "N.ra S.ra del Rosario y S.ta Barbara"	266	
"	Frataga "S. Vicente Ferrer ("El Africa")"	220	
"	Brigantino "S.ta Barbara" (alias) "La Europa"		
Josef Prasca e Benito Patron	Fragata "N.S. del Pilar"	760	
Benito Picardo	Polacra "N.ra S.ra de la Misericordia"	120	
Carlos Malagamba	Fragata "S. Josef"	200	
"	Fragata "SS.ma Trinidad"	200	Honduras
"	Goleta "S.Felipe y Santiago"	80	Honduras
"	Fragata "S. Carlos" (alias) "La España"	190	Cartagena de Indias
Esteban Copelo	Paquebot "Sofia Magdalena"	200	Mahon
Felipe Firpo	Brigantino "La Fortuna y Santa Ana"	225	
Hugo Sabezari	Paquete "Espiritu Santo"	150	
Josef de Añeses	Fragata "San Josef" ("La Aurora")	212	
Diego Galeano	Fragata "N.S. de los Dolores" ("S. Fermin")	234	
Josef Maria Balbi	Fragata "S. Josef",		
"	Fragata "Santa Anna"		Cartagena de Levante
Josef Francisco Facio	Brigantino "N.ra S.ra del Carmen"	120	
Miguel Alvarez Poggio	Fragata "N.ra S.ra del Carmen"	118	
Pedro Aveño	Brigantino "N.ra S.ra de la Concepcion"	125	
Santiago Romaione	Polacra "N.ra S.ra del Carmen"	90	Alicante-Cartagena
Andres Vallarino	Brigantino "N.ra S.ra del Rosario y S.ta Teresa"	86	
Alexandro Rizo	Brigantino "La Maria"	250	
Marques de Enrile	Fragata "La Industria" ("La Pizana")	220	
Agustin Parodi	Paquebot "Carmen y Santa Teresa"		
Domingo Colombo	Fragata "Virgo Potens" (alias) "La América"	200	
"	Polacra "La Sacra Famiglia" (alias) "El Correo de Cadiz"	170	Barcellona
Pablo Colombo	Fragata "N.ra S.ra de la Concepcion" (alias) "El Jupiter"	230	

* ["sindicatos del concurso" of D. Josef Maria Cambiazo].

(source: Archivo General de Indias, *Consulados*, leg. 929)

TABLE 5B

Naturalized Ligurian ship-owners:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year of naturalisation</u>
Josè Maria Enrile	1771
Juan Andres Prasca	1774
Alejandro Risso	1778?
Carlos Malagamba	1785
Juan Bautista Codevilla	1791
Juan Bautista Corletto	1792?
Benito Patron	1793?
Francisco Bordas	1793
Benito Picardo	1802
Benito Picardo (nipote)	1810

(source: ALFONSO MOLA, M., *Los navieros naturalizados de Cadiz (1778-1820)*, in A.A.V.V., *La burguesia de negocios en la Andalucia de la Ilustracion*, Tomo I, Cadiz, 1991, pp. 209-226)

TABLE 6

Ligurian merchants registered in the Genoese consulate of Cadiz, 1764:

Don Eustachio Pedemonte
Don Thomas Solari
Don Antonio Maria Becchi
Don Thomàs Eustaqui Ardizone
Don Jacome Procuranti
Don Gaspàr Procuranti
Don Joseph Patron
Don Francisco Maria y D. Andres Picardo
Don Augustin Merello
Don Manuel Perasso
Don Jacinto Valentino
Don Miguel Grena
Don Felix Ghignino
Don Juan Bautisa Codevilla
Don Bartholomé Fontichely
Don Juan Avegno
Don Vicente Saetone
Don Ignacio Ravello
Don Pablo Brareti
Don Juan Bautista Midolli
Don Lorenzo Ronco
Don Angel Braseti
Don Pasqual Bruggia Castelli
Don Bernardo Riva
Don Joseph Ghignino
Don Juan Bautista Giorno
Don Lorenzo Corallo
Don Pasqual y Nicolas Papalino [Rapallino?]
Don Antonio Maria Benvenuto
Don Benito Areco
Don Nicolas Lanata
Don Joseph Tognini
Don Jacome Solary
Don Antonio Maria Dagnino y Costo
Don Nicoals Recagno
Don Phelipe Liverti
Don Francisco Testa San Martin
Don Nicolas Testa
Don Nicoals Testa de D. Juan Baptista
Don Tomas Ravina
Nicolas Jubini
Nicolas Canale
Juan Jiri
Gregorio Picasso
Juan Baptista Seyacaluga
Don Esteban Lamberry
Don Domingo Laura

Don Antonio Maria Dagnino y Muerto
Don Ignocencio Moro

(source: Archivo Histórico Municipal de Cádiz, 5871. It has been respected the original order of the names)