

THE GORDOA FAMILY PAPERS
1826-1846

A GUIDE TO THE MICROFILM COLLECTION



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THE GORDOA FAMILY PAPERS 1826-1846

A GUIDE TO THE MICROFILM COLLECTION

Michael A. Polushin, Ph.D.
Editor

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Introduction

The extremely rich Gordo Papers were donated to the Latin American Library during the 1970s as part of a larger gift derived from the estate of one of the descendants of Porter Cornelius Bliss (1838-1885), the secretary to the U.S. legation in Mexico, 1870-1874.¹ Bliss apparently found the documents included in this collection in the residence where the U.S. legation was housed in Mexico City, a property that had once belonged to the Gordo family. Bliss clearly recognized the value of the family papers and brought them back with him to the U.S. where he resumed his colorful and varied career as a journalist.

A careful reading of the entire Gordo collection reveals that it lies at the intersections of Mexican cultural, economic, social and political history during the turbulent period following Independence in the 1820s through to the war with U.S. in 1846. The bulk of the documentation found in the collection, however, dates to the 1830s and the first half of the 1840s, a period sometimes characterized by historians as the "Age of Santa Anna."² Along with the loss of Texas in 1836 and the first French intervention during the Pastry War of 1838, Mexico continued to reel from the socio-economic havoc caused by the Wars of Independence. The national treasury was in shambles, the rural agricultural economy gave the appearance of complete stagnation, and the silver mines still had not returned to their eighteenth-century glory.³ While the charismatic *caudillo* Antonio López de Santa Anna filled his personal coffers largely at the expense of the Mexican nation, the period also witnessed the crystallization of the centralist and federalist political struggles that foreshadowed the War of Reform during the 1850s.⁴

Throughout this collection we find an elite Mexican family from San Luis Potosí trying to maintain their integrity during this tumultuous period and how their personal concerns were never entirely

¹ Latin American Library, Tulane University New Orleans, Porter Cornelius Bliss Papers, Accession File.

² Oakah L. Jones, *Santa Anna* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968).

³ Despite appearances some regions and sectors were making a recovery. See Margaret Chowning, "The Contours of the Post-1810 Depression in Mexico: A Reappraisal from a Regional Perspective," *Latin American Research Review* 27:2 (1992): 119-150. On the dismal state of national finances see Barbara Tennenbaum, *The Politics of Penury: Debts and Taxes in Mexico, 1821-1856* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986) On the apparent success of colonial mining production during the eighteenth century see D.A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

⁴ Michal P. Costeloe, *La primera república federal de México, 1824-1835* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975); Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "The Struggle for the Nation: The First Centralist-Federalist Conflict in Mexico," *The Americas* (July 1992): 1-22.

removed from the political and economic problems confronting the country.⁵ At the center of the family interests, and indeed this entire collection, was the enterprising and upwardly mobile Luis Gonzaga Gordoia. Don Luis made important contributions to national affairs early in his political career, having co-authored the first Mexican constitution and served as secretary to the Mexican Legation to Rome in the 1820s. During the next two decades he continued to be an active member of the national congress, while maintaining his substantial interests in the agricultural and mining sectors of the Mexican economy. The eclectic and somewhat fragmentary nature of the manuscripts found in the second series of this collection reveal that he was very much a student of local, state, and national politics. In addition to voicing his opinion regarding Carlos María Bustamante, select documents that Luis Gordoia obviously collected suggest his interest in the activities of such figures as Lucas Alamán, Vicente Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria, and Esteban Moctezuma. His interest in understanding the process of political administration and international affairs is indicated further by his acquisition of French diplomatic dispatches dating to the Pastry War in 1838, correspondence involving José María Calderón (*intendente* of Puebla in 1822), and civil proceedings that relate to the elections of *diputados* to national office at the municipal, district and state levels in Zacatecas.⁶

While Luis Gordoia played a crucial role in Mexican politics, in the first series we further discover the central part he played in family affairs and the way elite families forged their identity and maintained kinship ties that extended beyond the immediate family. The first series of the collection includes the personal correspondence of the immediate Gordoia family members and the letters exchanged by Luis's wife Mariana Rubio de Gordoia and her sisters Carmen, Dolores and Isabel from their respective residences in Mexico City, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí.⁷ In addition to passing concern regarding the military and political upheaval of the period, the letters of the sisters vividly portray their bonds of sisterhood and deep-seated concern of the maladies (both real and contrived) that afflicted them and their families. The letters

⁵ Latin American Library, Tulane University New Orleans, Gordoia Family Papers, 1822-1846 (hereinafter, Gordoia Papers), Boxes 1-5.

⁶ Gordoia Papers, Box 1, Fols. 14-32; On the Pastry War see William S. Robertson, "French Intervention in Mexico in 1838," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24 (1944): 222-52; For Puebla see Guy P.C. Thompson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989); For the complex processes involved in local, district, and state politics in a national context for the period see Peter Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

⁷ Gordoia Papers, Box 1, Fols. 3-9, 13.

also mention the social and cultural events particular to elite circles. In this sense, their correspondence gives a Mexican perspective of similar themes discussed by Fanny Calderón de la Barca for the same period.⁸ Several of the letters sent to Mariana, however, also contain passages directed to Luis Gordoia and suggest that his economic and social responsibilities included his sisters-in-law as well. Thus, we can gain a better understanding how being a *patrón* during this period in Mexico extended beyond the immediate family after marriage.

To be sure, we can further learn in the first series that the effort to buttress family integrity and status lay at the heart of their extensive landed and mining interests, of which Luis Gordoia once again played a central role. The first series ends with documentation pertaining to the division of a part of the estate of the father of Luis, Antonio María Gordoia (d. 1832) amongst all of his heirs. This portion of the series, which overlaps with Series D and E, sheds new light on the manner in which inheritance actually worked within the context of efforts to entail estates despite laws geared towards the contrary. The documentation found in these sections of the collection reveals that upon Don Antonio's death, his estate was not divided nor was it subject to primogeniture. Instead, all of his heirs received disbursements from the profits of the family mines and from the massive (almost 270,000 acres) Hacienda del Maguey.⁹

In addition to administrative correspondence sent to Luis Gordoia detailing the diverse family enterprise and dealings with local government found in Series C, Series D and E will be of particular interest to social and economic historians. These records detail capital expenditures and investments, salaries of workers, prices of maize, gunpowder, and mercury, production figures, debts, production figures, and the amounts paid for various grades of ore at auction. Thus, they provide an additional regional dimension to our understanding of the mining and agricultural sectors of the nineteenth-century economy. Certainly, the documentation can add to the exceptional study of nineteenth-century Zacatecas undertaken by Harry Cross, since the accounts cover the bulk of the 1830s and the first half of the 1840s. The sources found in this collection for these years were largely unavailable for his study.¹⁰ Throughout the entire

⁸ Fanny Calderón de la Barca. *Life in Mexico* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1970). See also Ruth R. Olivera and Liliane Crete, *Life in Mexico Under Santa Anna, 1822-1855* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

⁹ Gordoia Papers, Box 1, Fol. 10; Gordoia Papers, Box 2, Fols. 7, 9, 22, 24; Box 3, Fols. 1-30. Harry Cross, "The Mining Economy of Zacatecas, Mexico in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1976), 291.

¹⁰ See Cross, esp. pp. 125-380.

collection, moreover, we are given a better understanding of the integral and complex role mercantile mechanisms of credit and exchange played within family interests and private enterprise and how this complex web was, in turn, inextricably linked to both local and national treasuries. Careful study of this documentation should lead us to reconsider yet another legacy of the colonial period, particularly since it reveals that credit continued to play a major role in the success or failure of local economy.¹¹

The final part of the collection demonstrates how credit arrangements were integral to the efforts of the Mexican government to come to terms with fiscal concerns emanating out of the problems with monetary system. The manuscripts of this section include pertinent documentation to the formation of the Banco Nacional de Amortización, and its virtual subsidiary, the *Compañía Zacatecano-Mexicana*. In addition to company reports and correspondence from its administrators, the series includes civil proceeding at the district level in Zacatecas that constituted additional efforts by the Mexican government to gain control over the mining economy.¹² We may learn more about the interplay between private investment and this early attempt at state-owned and operated companies through a reading of directives sent by treasury officials and bank executives to the government-appointed *Interventor* of the mines, a position Luis Gordoa assumed in 1843. The attempt to regulate and fund the national monetary system corresponds to the Banco de Avío, and the accounts, *libranzas*, and correspondence pertinent to the interest betray the involvement of British merchant houses in the company's affairs.¹³

The guide found here differs from an earlier version for the collection prepared by Ms. Ruth Olivera for the Latin American Library at Tulane University in 1985 and which appears in its entirety at the beginning of each microfilm reel. While this guide maintains the same series conceived by Olivera, they have been renamed to adhere closely to recognized archival principles of alphabetization and, toward the

¹¹ For the Colonial period regarding this process see, Murdo MacLeod, "Aspects of the Internal Economy of Colonial Latin America: Labour, Taxation, Distribution and Exchange," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America* Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 219-64; Alfonso Quiroz, *Deudas olvidadas: Instrumentos de crédito en la economía colonial Peruana, 1750-1820* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 1993); Pedro Pérez Herrero, *Plata y libranzas: La articulación comercial de México Borbónico* (México: El Colegio de México, 1998); Robinson A. Herrera, "The People of Santiago: Early Colonial Guatemala, 1538-1587," (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1997); Michael A. Polushin, "Bureaucratic Culture, Bureaucratic Conquest: Town and Office in Chiapas, 1780-1832," (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999).

¹² Gordoa Papers, Box 4, Fols. 1-15; Gordoa Papers, Box 5, Fols. 1-11.

¹³ Ibid. See also Barbara Tennenbaum, "Merchants, Mining and Mischief: The British in Mexico, 1801-1862," *The Americas* (January 1979); 317-39; Robert A. Potash, *The Mexican Government and Industrial Development in the Early Republic: The Banco de Avío* (Amherst: University of Mass. Press, 1983).

same end, the type of sources found in each folder has been correctly identified. It is further distinguished by the inclusion of an index to facilitate the research needs of scholars.

Series Description

Series A **Division of Estate and Family Matters,** **1827-1846** Box 1, Folders 1-13

This series is largely comprised of the personal correspondence of various members of the immediate Gordoia family and letters sent between Mariana Rubio de Gordoia and her sisters Dolores, Carmen and Isabel. The series also contains documentation pertaining to the division of a portion of the estate of Antonio María de Gordoia (d. 1832) amongst his various heirs. The disbursements paid from other parts of the estate to these family members deriving from Gordoia's *testamentaria* for 1932 through 1845 can also be found in Series D and E below.

Reel #1

Box 1, Folders 1-13

- 1-10 Correspondence, 1826-45
- 11 "Cuenta de División y Partición de los Gananciales habidos en los bienes del Señor Don Antonio Maria de Gordoia."
Estate Accounts, 1832-36.
- 12-13 Outstanding Accounts, Correspondence, 1846, n.d.

* * *

Series B **Elite Political Concerns,** **1822-1840** Box 1, Folders 14-23

The series encompasses the patterns of elite domestic political activities and international concerns from the Mexican Empire to 1840. It begins with correspondence relating to the political administration of José María Calderón, *intendente* of Puebla in 1822. A significant portion of the manuscripts found in this series provide insight into matters discussed and disputed throughout the period that include questions regarding Church levies and plans for the regulation of the national and state treasuries. In addition to diplomatic dispatches and letters revealing congressional opinions, the civil proceedings found in this series explain processes that relate to the election of *diputados* to national office at the municipal, district and state levels in Zacatecas.

Reel #1 (cont.)

Box 1, Folders 14-23

- 14 Correspondence, Draft Report, 1822-26
- 15 Correspondence, Proposed Treasury Regulations, 1823
- 16 Correspondence, Laws, Treasury Official's Service Record, 1827-30
- 17-19 Correspondence, District, Municipal, and State Civil Proceedings, 1831-32, 1836-37
- 20-23 Correspondence, Copy of Diplomatic Dispatches Relating to Pastry War, Draft Legislation, Draft Mining Company Prospectus, 1839-40, n.d.

* * *

Series C **Gordoia Mining Interests and Estate Administration,** **1839-1846** Box 2, Folders 1-21

This series is largely comprised of correspondence between the administrators of the Gordoia mines and Luis Gonzaga Gordoia. The correspondence details routine administrative matters regarding labor, sales, salaries, acquisition of supplies, production, illness, debts, prices, technological improvements,

Series C (cont.)

and excavation progress. The letters also reference the interference of the local and national government into mining interests and shed light on the workings of nineteenth-century instruments of mercantile credit and exchange (*libranzas* and *fianzas*).

Reel #1 (cont.)

Box 2, Folders 1-6

1-6 Accounts, Correspondence, 1839-1844

Reel #2

Box 2 (cont.), Folders 7-21

7-21 Accounts, Correspondence, 1844-1844, n.d.

* * *

Series D Gordoa Property Administration, 1835-1845 Box 2, Folders 22-25

This series provides a glimpse into the Gordoa family's substantial hacienda, Señor San José de Maguey. A major portion of the series reports the payments made to Gordoa heirs from the hacienda, as well as detailed inventories that reveal capital expenditures and investments.

Reel #2 (cont.)

Box 2, Folders 22-25

22-25 Accounts, Inventories, 1835, 1839, 1842-1845, n.d.

* * *

Series E Mining Reports and Estate Management, 1832-1846 Box 3, Folders 1-34

This series contains weekly account reports and estate disbursements paid to the Gordoa heirs from the principal family mine, Nuestra Señora del Refugio. The accounts detail capital expenditures, salaries paid to mine workers, prices of maize, gunpowder, and mercury, production figures, and the amounts paid for various grades of ore at auction. The series ends with accounts pertaining to the family cinnabar mine, Señor San Luis Gonzaga.

Reel #2 (cont.)

Box 3, Folders 1-19

1-19 Accounts, Estate Disbursements, Auction Records, 1832-45

Reel #3

Box 3 (cont.), Folders 20-34

20-30 Accounts, Estate Disbursements, Auction Records, 1845-46

31-32 Administrator Emolument Report, Inventory, 1835, 1845-1846

33-34 "Plano" of Cinnabar Mine, Accounts, 1839-40, 1844

* * *

Series F
Zacatecan Mines and the National Economy,
1835-1843

Box 4, Folders 1-15; Box 5, Folders, 1-11

This remarkable series details the efforts of the Mexican government to come to terms with fiscal concerns emanating out of problems with the monetary system. It includes pertinent documentation to the formation of the Banco Nacional de Amortización, and its virtual subsidiary, the Compañía Zacatecano-Mexicana. In addition to company reports and correspondence from its administrators, the series includes civil proceedings at the district level in Zacatecas that constituted additional efforts by the Mexican government to gain control over the mining economy. The series contains directives sent by treasury officials and bank executives to the government-appointed *Interventor* of the mines, as well as accounts, *libranzas*, and correspondence that reveal the involvement of British merchant houses in the company's economic affairs.

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- 2 Audit and General Inventory of the "Minas de Fresnillo," 1835

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- 3 "Expediente sobre la solicitud hecha por una comisión de la Compañía Aviadora, y licencia judicial para de los bordos y reservas de las minas." Correspondence, Judicial Deliberations, 1836
- 4 "Sobre la solicitud hecha por el Director negocio Aviadora par usar de los bordos y reservas de las minas." Correspondence, Judicial Deliberations, Testimony, 1836-37
- 5 "Sobre desborde de las minas." Correspondence, Judicial Deliberations, 1836
- 6 "Informe al Supremo Gobierno sobre el estado de la negociación." Correspondence, Production Assessment and Report, 1835
- 7 "Informe al Supremo Gobierno sobre desborde de las minas." Correspondence, 1837
- 8 "Sobre las partidas que no deben pasar en data en las cuentas de la negociación." Correspondence, 1841
- 9 "Sobre disponer de los metales que quedaron por cuenta del Supremo Gobierno." Accounts, Correspondence, *Libranzas*, Remissions, 1836-38
- 10 "Sobre disponer de los metales que quedaron por cuenta del Supremo Gobierno." Accounts, Correspondence, *Libranzas*, Remissions, 1840-41
- 11 "Diversas comunicaciones con el Supremo Gobierno, Banco Nacional y Amortización." Bi-annual Company Reports, Correspondence, Remissions, 1837-42

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- 12 "Reclamos de la Intervención de minas del Fresnillos, sobre haberse invallido ilegalmente tres estados del corte de caja de la negociación, correspondientes al mes de Abril." Correspondence, 1842
- 13 "Sobre pago á la Tesorería del Departamento de Zacatecas, de la parte de sueldos descortados en la Casa de Moneda de Méjico." Accounts, Correspondence, 1838
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- 4 "Reclamo del Inventor de minas del Fresno, sobre una partida del informe de la Junta menor del la Compañia Ariadora, en el segundo semestre del año de 1839." Bi-annual company reports, Correspondence, Remissions, 1839
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