

The Hispanic-Anglosphere from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

An Introduction

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Chapter 5

**Love, Prejudice, Pandemics
and Global Entrepreneurship:
William ‘*Guillermo*’ Gibbs’s
Long Route to Tyntesfield**

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5 Love, Prejudice, Pandemics and Global Entrepreneurship: William ‘Guillermo’ Gibbs’s Long Route to Tyntesfield

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Bold and high up in the rafters of the library of Tyntesfield, the country residency near Bristol, UK, reads the personal motto of William Gibbs (1790–1875): ‘*En Dios mi amparo y esperanza*’ [In God (I find) my shelter and hope]. The phrase and the neo-Gothic style of architectural decoration – repeated throughout the house – constitute an excellent example of a product of the Hispanic-Anglosphere during the nineteenth century. This chapter traces the route towards its development through an exploration of the wider implications of the private and public life of William Gibbs, based mainly on neglected archival material. In particular, his formative years in Spain, the roots of his religious and aesthetic philanthropy and the measures he undertook hand-in-hand with his brother George Henry Gibbs (known simply as ‘Henry’, 1785–1842) to transform the family company *Antony Gibbs & Sons* into a global commercial powerhouse with permanent agents in Europe and the Americas – all long before acquiring Tyntesfield in 1843 and the signing with the government of Peru of the series of contracts that granted to the family firm exclusive rights to import guano to the United Kingdom for many years and that famously when he died was said to have made him ‘the richest commoner in England’.¹

This tale of personal achievement belies a more complex story – one that can only be appreciated in all its facets if we start looking into the life of William’s parents and crucially into their relationship. Antony Gibbs, the man who gave the name to the firm, was born in a house within the cathedral close of Exeter, but was baptized on 3 March 1756 at Mint Presbyterian Meeting House in the same ancient city on the River Exe in southwest England. He was the sixth child in the family of five sons and six daughters of George Abraham Gibbs (c.1724–94), surgeon at the Royal Devon and Exeter Hospital, and his wife, Anne Vicary. Antony attended the local grammar school, but soon was apprenticed for five years to Nicholas Brooke, a merchant in the Spanish trade who is reputed to have taught him the rudiments of Castilian language. His first trading venture was as a woollen exporter, principally to Spain and Italy, although he was also briefly involved with a woollen-cloth factory near Exeter.² In 1784, he married Dorothea Barnetta (1760–1820), second

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2 *Graciela Iglesias-Rogers*

surviving daughter of William Hucks (1717–82), a wealthy Yorkshire wine merchant and his well-educated wife Eleanor Barnett (1729–1807). Her issue became heirs to a distant branch of that family, their vast Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire estates coming to them at her death.³ Theirs was not a marriage of convenience, however, but the outcome of an ardent romance, the intensity of which could be crudely measured by the fact that they had seven children, two of whom died in infancy.⁴ In 1787, Antony entered into serious financial difficulties. Soon not only he lost his own money, but some of his family and friends as well.⁵ He tried to resolve the situation by looking for business in the continent. First, to France that he discovered subsumed by the economic turmoil that within a year fostered the famous French revolution. He ventured south towards the Spanish border in August 1788, reporting back to his ‘dearest Dolly’ that he considered France a troublesome country ‘much inferior in point of comparison to ours’.⁶ He arrived to Pamplona on 30 October 1788, where he did find the opportunities he was seeking:

I believe I have told you that I settled my business in France as well as I could expect & I think I shall have pretty good success here in Spain. This place is the most agreeable of any I shall see.⁷

The following day he was already in his way to Galicia making stops to collect orders in Bilbao, Gijon and Oviedo that he reached on 6 December, complaining of unexpected setbacks encountered due to the mountainous roads of the region. ‘I want much to arrive at Rivadeo where I hope to find letters forwarded to me from Bilbao. It is a long time now since I heard from England’.⁸ On the first day of the New Year, he set out for Santiago de Compostela, then to Astorga and from there straight to Madrid, where, he said, ‘I am called by a particular business’.⁹

The first step in Gibbs’s financial recovery involved the setting up of an agency business in Madrid to serve English manufacturers.¹⁰ Soon after his arrival on 22 January 1789 he told his wife: ‘Business gathers upon me so fast that I am now obliged to write you scraps of letters’.¹¹ Some of the clients were his creditors – including high in the list his brother George Gibbs (1753–1818), a merchant in Bristol – who aware that his debts in Britain were so enormous that none of his assets could be big enough to match them in the short term decided to turn his debts into loans to his company at high interest rates.¹² As a result, during the rest of his life he and his sons drew a salary from the business while the rest of the profits tended to be used to pay what the family identified in the ledgers under the code ‘DS’ to mean in Spanish ‘*deudas sagradas*’ (sacred debts).¹³ News from England had been indeed slow to arrive – and perhaps it was a blessing in disguise because while he was away, his one-year old son George Abraham fell ill and died suddenly on 3 March 1789. Unaware of the situation and regardless of bouts of homesickness, he took a long

journey back to England to get business completed which, he said, 'is a duty to myself and a debt which I owe my family'.¹⁴ He travelled via Bayonne, Toulouse and Lyon, grumbling all the time about deficiencies in transport and communications.¹⁵ On 20 July he was back in England, not at home but in Norwich where he signed a contract to take orders for the textile firm William Taylor & Sons.¹⁶

Within days, he was already in route back to Spain. This time, he was not travelling alone. In August 1789, Antony sailed to Corunna and travelled over land to Madrid with his wife barely recovering from an illness, two young children (George Henry and Harriet), Miss Elizabeth Gibbs (1752–1840), a cousin who acted both as nurse and Dorothea's personal assistant, and a maid called Alice.¹⁷ It was an exhausting journey. Although Dorothea's health improved and told her mother that along the way they had been 'met with great civility from English, Irish & Spanish dons', something in the tone of her letters led her mother to say: 'You are in the true sense Citizens of the World & must be prepared for a little Acid with good Sweet things you meet with. There is no Rose without a Thorn, but we have rather tricked our fingers than forgo the Pleasure of having one in our Bouquet'.¹⁸ The maternal advice went further and it may well have conditioned Dorothea's views about life in Catholic Spain. With the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela probably in mind, Eleanor Barnett recommended her daughter to visit what she had heard was 'a fine town & you will see there the fruits of that superstition & credulity which formerly governed great parts of Europe & still does in Spain & other fine Countries', the reason seems to dispel the Cloud that has so long enveloped even in those places where a few years ago they were the most bigoted'.¹⁹ Soon after settling in Madrid, Dorothea fell ill with child. Nonetheless, Antony left the family to go to Seville, Cadiz and Malaga for six weeks drumming up business for the English houses for which he acted as agent. When he returned, it was only to stay for a few days, before setting off for Bilbao, leaving his wife under the care of an Irish physician named O'Connor. His cheerful letters about progress in business – 'I am going on swimmingly'²⁰ – calling her to write him 'often & long letters for I have no entertainment' and to practice in the piano forte 'my favourite songs which I wish you will get quite perfect'²¹ probably threw salt to the wound. She told her mother that she could not read letters coming from England with dry eyes: 'I cannot tell you how uncomfortable I feel without him understanding very little of the language, and being in a strange place among a very disagreeable set of people which all the Spaniards are you will not wonder at my feeling as I do'.²² Her judgement may have been clouded as well by a difficult pregnancy. By early May 1790 she announced:

I shall be dully in expectation of the arrival of the little Spaniard. I believe it will be a complete Spanish breed for as I am by no means

4 Graciela Iglesias-Rogers

a considerably figure as I used to be at the same time, but if it is only healthy...God knows that I never suffered so much in my life before from sickness of any kind as I have in the last eight months.²³

Family accounts have always stated that William Gibbs was born on 22 May 1790 at 6 *Calle de Cantarranas*, a residence located a few minutes' walk from the *Parque del Retiro* and the Royal Palace in Madrid in what today is known as *Calle de Lope de Vega*.²⁴ Re-discovered material at the London Metropolitan Archives tells a slightly different and in many ways far more interesting story. William Gibbs was indeed born in Madrid, but probably in a modest flat within a tenement located in *Calle De la Reyna* Nr. 22 in an area known today as the *Barrio de Justicia* (neighbourhood of Justice) due to the presence of several magistrate court buildings.²⁵ It was not the roughest of the areas, but the accommodation was cramped for six people and Dorothea, reared for polite society found herself having to share tasks with the maid, reporting to her mother that they washed 'small things and iron everything at home' and never sent out 'the least thing to make or mend'.²⁶ All the surviving correspondence for and from Antony Gibbs, covering this period list *Calle de la Reyna* as the family's postal address, including letters Antony himself had sent to Dorothea a few weeks earlier.²⁷

Importantly, a rent receipt drawn by the owner of the house in the *Calle de Cantarranas* not only seems to discard any possibility that William's birth could have taken place there but also provides powerful reasons as to why this is unlikely. Here is an exact transcription (keeping the author's spelling and grammar), followed by a translation into English:

Como Dueño que soy de la casa numero 6 Manzana 232 en la Calle de Cantarrama de esta villa, recibí del Señor Don Antonio Gibbs, Comerciante Extranjero, Inquilino del Cuarto principal de dicha Casa. Mil quinientos reales de vellón correspondientes al Alquiler de él en el medio año anticipado á estilo de contrato que dará principio en primero de Junio proximo venidero de este año y cumplirá en fin de Noviembre benidero de él inclusive, al respecto de tres mil reales al año. En inteligencia de estarse blanqueando actualmente dicho cuarto, y por lo mismo no corre su Alquiler, hasta el citado dia primero, en el que se le entregarán todas sus Llaves y vidrieras corrientes, y firmará Pliego separado de ello. Y para resguardo de vuestro Señor, firmo el presente. Madrid y Maio veinte y dos de mil setecientos y noventa. Joseph de Mora.²⁸

[As owner of the house number 6 block 232 in the street of Cantarrama of this village, I received from Mr Antonio Gibbs, Esq. foreign merchant, tenant in the main Quarter of that house, one thousand five hundred *reales vellón* [Spanish currency] relating to the rent of

that Quarter for payment half-year in advance as agreed in the contract that will start on 1st June of this current year and will finish in November following that inclusive, being three thousand *reales* per year. In view that the alluded Quarter is at the moment being *blanqueado* (whitened) and therefore the rent is not applicable until the mentioned first of the month when all the Keys and the usual frames to open and close windows and doors will be delivered, and a separate document will be signed accordingly. And for your safeguard, Sir, I sign this document. Madrid, May, twenty-two of one thousand seven hundred and ninety. Joseph de Mora'.]

There are two words in this manuscript – penned exactly on the day considered as that of William Gibbs's birth – that require further explanation. The first one is '*Quarto*' which in modern Spanish translates as a room, but that in the eighteenth century often referred literally to a *quarter* of a house that could represent a large single room, but along the lines of today's lavished open-plan buildings. The other term is '*blanqueado*' (whitened) which alluded to the practice common at the time throughout the global Hispanic world (particularly in urban areas such as Manila, Lima, Seville and Madrid) of using quicklime for cleaning walls and ceilings after suffering floods, humidity and – more likely in this case, considering the dry climate of Madrid – epidemics. In the latter scenario, the measure was mandatory under pain of heavy fines and even prison following a royal decree that since 1751 stated that any suspected case of a contagious illness (which at the time included most ailments resulting in 'intermitting and remitting fevers') had to be reported to the authorities. If the patient died, all his or her possessions had to be burnt regardless of their value, and any affected lodgings were expected to have the walls 'pricked, plastered and whitened'. Quicklime was preferred over bleach because it was believed to offer the advantage of making the pricking and plastering unnecessary. Foreign visitors often criticized these measures because they tended to curtail their movements and viewed them as draconian whereas proprietors regarded them as an expensive nuisance, but they remained in place nonetheless until well into the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁹

The Gibbs family did move to the new premises, probably under the terms agreed, although the first document recording clearly the Cantarranas address in the surviving correspondence dates to 14 December 1790. It is a letter of Dorothea Gibbs to her husband – who was back on the road – aimed at transmitting good news about the health of the 'little Spaniard', as she liked to call William, mixing grudge with endearment. He had been taken ill with fever for a couple of days, but had fully recovered. 'I thought was his teeth because he was feverish two or three days',³⁰ she said. Not only did William Gibbs survive that and other health-related issues, but he enjoyed a rather eventful and long life as well. Unlike his parents and siblings who died relatively young, and also

uncharacteristically for the era, the ‘little Spaniard’ lived to reach 85 years of age. He learnt about Spanish life, customs and language at the cradle. His sister Harriet and elder brother Henry learnt how to talk Spanish as quickly as their native tongue. The latter to his mother’s annoyance read it to her ‘better than English for when he is reading to me he *spanishes* all his words’.³¹ Within months of his birth, Dorothea’s own mother, who had moved to Exeter to live near to the Gibbs, began urging the family to return to England for a visit. Although Antony agreed, work always seemed to get in the way.³² After suffering a miscarriage, put under a course of opium by a ‘young Physician who studied in Edinburg’,³³ and constantly complaining about the Spanish heat, Dorothea threatened with putting William with a nurse in a diligent to travel through revolutionary France back to England. Antony relented and in August 1792, the whole family took the journey back.³⁴ After two months stay, it became clear that for Dorothea, that had been a one-way journey. Antony had urgent business to attend in the Peninsula, but she made excuses not to accompany him, some which he believed to be absurd:

My Dearest Dolly knows that I love & esteem her more than all the world & am never angry with her without being afterwards angry with myself, but my wife has still a little coquetry which now & then shows itself in a comical expression even to her husband.³⁵

It was to no avail. Dorothea’s refusal became permanent and that had a momentous impact on the fortune of both the family and the firm. It meant that Antony could not follow the established pattern of the Anglo merchant community (English, Scottish, Irish) that for the most part established roots in the Hispanic world while keeping their personal and business links with the British Isles fully alive.³⁶ He was destined to be permanently on the move, renting accommodation and warehouses under short-term contracts in Spain and relying on his family in England to provide both an emotional and a logistical anchor. It was under these circumstances that the firm began to operate through a network of permanent representatives on whom Antony had to trust they would not just continue, but also would drum up business while he was away. He had no money to spare in employees’ salaries and could ill-afford to pay other agent’s commissions. Moreover, the job required self-drive, ready access to capital when needed, excellent local knowledge and connections. There was only a position that he could offer to anybody fitting that description – that of a partner. His English creditors, particularly those within his own family, were not prepared to deal with outsiders, so there was little prospect of altering the structure of *Antony Gibbs & Co.* However, he could establish new companies abroad to operate in a way that from the early nineteenth century was to be recognized by the term of ‘subsidiary company’.³⁷ Unlike branches, subsidiaries have a separate

legal entity from the holding company, even when they may be owned and controlled to a large extent by the latter. Their obligations are not usually a liability of the parent company. As a result, they can be more easily established and dissolved. For many years, all Gibbs houses charged commission to each other as they would be separate entities.³⁸ The first person with whom Antony entered into such arrangement was a wealthy fruit-exporter in Malaga who had become a close personal friend, Juan Pomar. From 1793, the company responded to the name of *Juan Pomar, Gibbs & Co.* – with Antony's surname in second position reflecting his initial weaker standing, particularly in Spain. The company was mainly concerned with exporting local produce into Bristol and importing wool and textiles in Andalusia. To keep competitors at bay, Antony also introduced the practice of replacing producers' labels for a stamp with his personal initials on most goods, thus making consignments to be identified exclusively under his name. The stratagem offered the added benefit of granting him time to look for new suppliers when existing ones did not meet an order.³⁹

There were a few downsides in Antony's unusual pattern of work. He could never stay in one place for too long. The frenetic lifestyle had taken an early toll in 1793 when a coach accident in the outskirts of Seville left him with wounds in 'the forehead and nose, laid open to the skull'.⁴⁰ Three years later his brother-in-law protested that while back in England, his 'progress throughout our Foggy Island is so rapid, that there is scarcely any following you even in thought much less can an insensible piece of paper filled with stuff almost as senseless pretend to run the race with you'.⁴¹ The context of the revolutionary wars added constant obstacles in his way. In November 1794, Pomar sent a large consignment of raisins to Bristol for the Christmas markets, but they arrived two days after Christmas. The customer refused to take them and had to be sold at a loss.⁴² References to *Juan Pomar, Gibbs & Co.* from that date stopped appearing in the records. Antony was also susceptible to occasional pilfering from servants. Returning home to Madrid, he once discovered that Manuela, a maid, had taken 'every thing she possibly could', including hats, shirts, cravats and handkerchiefs.⁴³ The Peace of Amiens in 1802 placed a promising hiatus in the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. To make the most of this one in more of a decade opportunity, Antony had no option but to seek assistance. He looked no further than home. William had received some education under the Unitarian minister Charles Lloyd in Exeter and since 1800 was taking lessons in an educational institution in Tiverton, Devon. Aged 12, both he and his elder brother were withdrawn from school to be placed under his father's wing with a view to develop in them a taste for travel and business. Antony bought a carriage, and the three travelled overland via Southampton and through Honfleur, Tours, Bordeaux and Bayonne to arrive to Cadiz after a journey of more than a month.⁴⁴ The boys were thrilled by the experience. Back in England,

following their mother's pleas, it was decided that William should remain at home. Age 16, however, he escaped the maternal clutches and moved to Bristol to work as an assistant clerk to *Gibbs, Bright & Gibbs*, a firm in which his uncle and cousin, both named George Gibbs, were partners.⁴⁵

The resumption of war in March 1803 had placed his father's business under considerable stress. The worst was only averted when in 1805 Antony devised the idea of requesting separate licences from the British and Spanish authorities to trade throughout the global Hispanic world, particularly with the viceroyalty of Peru. He chartered a Spanish frigate, *La Hermosa Mexicana* (previously known under the Catholic-sounding name *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*) and got the green light from the Spanish authorities to set sail with goods from Cadiz on consignment to Antonio Baras of Lima, with liberty to trade also at Veracruz (Mexico) and the Canary Islands where he was free to collect local commodities and bullion as homeward cargo as well.⁴⁶ On the advice of his brother George who had family interests in the West Indies, Antony decided to remove from the route plan Veracruz to add instead a stop in Jamaica which offered the opportunity of being furnished with English manufactures on much better terms than he could get taking them from Cadiz. Such a move was contrary to Spanish rules, but in the Caribbean it had become a common practice. Still, a British licence was required to avoid capture by the Royal Navy.⁴⁷ Newly knighted and appointed Solicitor General under the Pitt ministry, his elder brother, Sir Vicary Gibbs, pressed the matter with the Lord Chamberlain, George Legge, 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, the King's Advocate General who dealt with matters relating to maritime matters referred to him by the Privy Council, the Secretaries of State for Home and Foreign Affairs, Sir John Nicholl, and with the Judge of the Admiralty court, William Scott.⁴⁸ The licence was granted, but on the condition placed by the latter that the home cargo should come to England. Against the background of a failed British invasion of Buenos Aires in June 1806, Antony took a £2000 insurance to cover the goods 'from British capture and any other action whatever'; thus, the *Hermosa Mexicana* set sail from Cadiz on 24 December 1806.⁴⁹

Only two months passed for the scheme to run into serious trouble. Antony received an urgent letter from George Gibbs notifying him that Scott's condition that the ship should dock in England had 'rendered the whole voyage illegal being in the teeth of the navigation Acts'.⁵⁰ After the American war of independence, Britain still continued to rely on the Navigation Acts, which, to boost its shipping income, confined all trade to British ships – and the *Hermosa Mexicana* was not a British ship.⁵¹ All had been a cock-up, foremost on the part of the government. Antony was told that everything was to be done to 'wave off from you the consequences of this extraordinary oversight in the law officers of the Crown', provided that he kept the arrangement secret. Measures were to be taken 'immediately on the arrival of the Ship to secure the cargo from

confiscation to which would be subject by the above mentioned laws'.⁵² Still, there was no guarantee that such promises were to be fulfilled with a change of government. As the situation remained perilous, stops in neutral Portuguese territory both in Europe and the Americas (Brazil) were added to the original route, while Antony and Henry travelled to Spain to assess the situation and collect a few long-standing debts. Never an easy task, the latter became more difficult when news of a second British invasion of Buenos Aires and the occupation of Montevideo in February 1807 reached the Peninsula. Through a series of anxious letters, William learnt how after being escorted from the Portuguese frontier all the way to Seville by soldiers provided by the governor at Cadiz, his father and brother were still 'almost afraid to show our faces in the street'.⁵³ Back in England empty-handed, Antony dispatched his elder son once again to Spain to complete the mission. Grateful for his efforts, and with the blessing from creditors within the family, he made Henry full partner in the company which in November 1807 was registered in the City under the style *Antony Gibbs & Son*.⁵⁴ Regardless of his son's exertions, the financial situation worsened. Operations only continue by reaping advantage of a favourable exchange rate on reduced payments received from those debtors who could pay with strong Spanish currency. Plans began to be drawn to wound up all operations in Spain.⁵⁵ The crises seemed destined to be deepened when Napoleon's forces crossed the Pyrenees in their way to Portugal, thus triggering the largest transoceanic migration of an imperial capital in history: a court of nearly 15,000 people set sail from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro on 29 November 1807.⁵⁶

But a silver lining appeared in the horizon: in February 1808, Antony was appointed by Order in Council one of four commissioners to manage Portuguese property and funds that had been hurriedly sent to London. The task demanded much recording, auditing and attention to detail. On his uncle's recommendation who described him as being 'very apprehensive and diligent' and with a hand writing that was 'very well fitted for the purpose of book keeping', William was employed as senior clerk in the Portuguese commissioners' London office.⁵⁷ The position provided unique insights into both Portuguese and British state of affairs. Still, Antony wanted his son not to lose sight of the Hispanic world. On 3 March 1808 he wrote him a long letter with precise instructions to bring to their residence in London books in Spanish because, he said, 'if you make a Point of often reading Spanish, you will easily keep up the language and without that you will imperceptibly lose it, and more rapidly than you would imagine'.⁵⁸ It was a sound piece of advice and one that proved to be timely because it was about this moment when Napoleon decided to renege on the secret treaty with the Bourbons that had allowed his troops to cross Spanish territory in their way to Portugal. Within days, imperial forces secured key ports in Catalonia and Cantabria with a view to take direct control of Spanish affairs. What nobody had

predicted was the hostile reception they were to receive. Revolts sprung up in Pamplona and Burgos; two French soldiers were murdered in Vitoria and over a 100 were seriously wounded in clashes with the inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods of Barcelona who were bright enough to ponder why the French would want to install themselves in the Mediterranean coast if their target was Portugal. News of the kidnapping of the king and the majority of the royal family in Bayonne in early May triggered uprisings, not just throughout Iberia but in the rest of global Spanish world as well.⁵⁹ The whole Gibbs family was overjoyed by the unexpected display of Hispanic patriotism. Not only plans to wound up the business were halted but also steps were taken to offer supplies to the first Patriot's government, the *Junta Central*, from those arriving in the *Hermosa Mexicana*.⁶⁰ Antony instructed Henry to make the most from trade with the Americas bearing in mind that circumstances have turned them 'the only protestant House at Cadiz worthy of consideration'. His idea was to keep a paid representative there for a couple of years and 'each winter have a visit from you or William, who is likewise an attentive clever Fellow'.⁶¹ On hearing that a former employee, William Branscombe was planning to set up in Cadiz a 'General Commission Service' on his own, Antony decided to bring him into a partnership with a subsidiary styled *Antony Gibbs, Son & Branscombe*.⁶²

The Making of 'A Man of Some Fortune'

The Spanish War of Independence, known in the English-speaking world as the Peninsular War (1808–14) brought much upheaval, but also provided a turning point towards a period of prosperity. William Branscombe kept the fort in Cadiz throughout the conflict, supporting the most vulnerable during the two-and-a-half-year French siege of the town.⁶³ Henry paid periodical visits and in 1810 even found time to commission the purchase of three terracotta figures of Malaga (*esculturas de barro de Málaga*), thus starting a personal collection increased by his family later in the century.⁶⁴ Although business often seemed a game of snakes and ladders, Antony's debts began to be paid in earnest (although not completely until 1842) because enjoying the benefits of the Anglo-Spanish alliance, a profitable trade to and from the south of Spain and the rest of the Hispanic world became truly possible. Crucially, in 1813, William was made a partner in the company in London which thus acquired the famous name of *Antony Gibbs & Sons* (notice the latter word in plural)⁶⁵ and soon started to take on his eldest brother's round of trips to Spain, working alongside Branscombe, seeking clients not just for cotton and wool manufactures, but for a wide array of other products, including planks of iron and sherry.⁶⁶ It was during these years that the British Isles consolidated their position as the hub that for over a century would bring individuals from all corners of the global Hispanic world

closer to English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh people keen to be involved in Hispanic life, thus together giving life to a Hispanic-Anglosphere. Spanish-American revolutionaries settled in London, while hundreds of Spanish political and economic refugees were to flock to the British Isles after the restoration of Bourbon absolutism in 1814, crossing paths with Spanish American leaders in search for assistance in the delicate business of new-nation state building. In the case of the latter, it was not just a matter of political affinities or logistics: they were seeking cash.⁶⁷ Until the Napoleonic wars, international sovereign lending had largely been arranged through Amsterdam, once Europe's recognized financial centre. French occupation led to its displacement by London. Spanish and Spanish American turned therefore to Britain in search of funds for their various schemes, luring investors with potential riches and commercial opportunities.⁶⁸

Sadly, Antony could not witness these developments. He had been suffering lapses of loss of memory for a few years; on 5 December 1815, he suffered a stroke and five days later died at his home in London. He left everything, including his shares in all companies, to his wife followed by instructions to distribute all equitably among his children after her death.⁶⁹ This meant that Dorothea's income and assets depended on the firm's prosperity, also that she had to be consulted regarding any big decision. Not always seeing eye-to-eye with his 'most affectionate mother',⁷⁰ William left that task to his eldest brother. In 1818, as movements for Spanish American autonomy grew in violent intensity, he set up in Gibraltar a sister business with John Lees Casson (1788-?), *Gibbs, Casson & Co.* to trade directly from the Rock with Buenos Aires, Lima, Havana as well as Newfoundland. Keeping an eye on affairs in Cadiz, he also widened the firm's net into the Mediterranean basin through a representative in Nice (then part of the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia) Antoine Baras, and with two Spaniards exiled in France, one for political reasons, José Bermudez de Castro in Marseilles; the other as a result of a legal dispute with the *Consulado* (merchant guild and chamber of commerce) in Cadiz, Nicolás de Pedemonte, in Paris.⁷¹ Prospects were looking good – to the extent that William could consider himself a 'man of some Fortune', a situation he confessed, was 'rather new to me'.⁷²

Expansionism, however, was not driven necessarily by the availability of capital. By 1819, the brothers had already arrived to the conclusion that all political scenarios were to result in free trade in Spanish America. Therefore, appointing 'a good trustworthy fellow' in Lima was a measure they were 'obliged to take in order to defend', the business they had already secured in that part of the world. William began eyeing many Spaniards and Englishmen but none seemed entirely to fit the bill.⁷³ In the summer of 1819, an outbreak of yellow fever spread throughout Andalusia, and William found himself trapped in Cadiz by restrictions in movement placed in an effort to contain it. Among the thousands of

fatal victims was Branscombe who, considering William not just a partner, but a friend, named him executor of his will.⁷⁴ The epidemic had broken out among men in an expeditionary force that was being assembled in Cadiz to ‘pacify’ the rebellious government of Buenos Aires. Not only the expedition was halted, but also triggered a revolution in the morning of New Year’s day 1820 that ushered in the Liberal Trienium (1820–23), a period of conflictive rule by *moderados* and *exaltados* under an unwilling constitutional monarch.⁷⁵ William could hardly leave Spain under these circumstances when news arrived of the death of his uncle Sir Vicary in February followed by that of his mother in March.⁷⁶ But there was little time for any bereavement. The passing of the old generation increased the pressure on the brothers to succeed. Appointing a suitable replacement for Branscombe became a matter of urgency. The most obvious candidate was Joseph María ‘Pepe’ Boom, a young Cadiz merchant who had received some training in their London house and had been assisting Branscombe since 1817.⁷⁷ William initially opposed the idea. He had once observed in him what he defined as ‘a certain laxity of Principle very common among the Spaniards’ when Boom smuggled some goods through the Custom House and worse, he appeared to have tried to hide the matter in the accounts. It was only under pressure from Casson in Gibraltar that William relented, admitting that his opinion was ‘founded more on feelings of prejudice (I speak this to my own shame but we cannot sometimes overcome them)’.⁷⁸

About the same time in England, Henry was approached by John Moens (1797–1842), the young son of the Dutch consul in Bristol with a plan to draw on his family’s mercantile networks to operate throughout the Pacific and the Far East from a headquarters in Lima – a plan that fired the Gibbs imagination. Due to the distances involved, rather than appointing him as an agent, the brothers decided to establish a subsidiary having Moens as a junior partner with 25 per cent of the shares and a power of attorney that still conditioned all critical decisions to approval in London. Precise instructions were issued that he should establish contact and ‘know the character and means of the new men as soon as possible’, and to give them ‘advice of any large intended shipment of bullion for this country in English or other vessels’.⁷⁹ The ‘new men’ was a phrase alluding to individuals who controlled or had influence over the various administrations that emerged out of the crisis of the Spanish Monarchy not just from emancipatory movements but also in the wake of the restoration of the liberal Constitution of Cadiz as was the case in the loyalist viceroyalty of Peru.⁸⁰ The Gibbs had already in their books 33 Spanish *peninsular* and American clients who consigned bullion as well as merchandize and personal belongings through their companies, in a few cases calling also on the Gibbs for loans, contracting insurance and the purchase in London of luxury items for private consumption. Among them, there were members of families traditionally associated with the

Bourbon regime in the Americas, such as the Marcó del Pont, as well as liberals who provided early financial support to the cause of Peruvian autonomy such as Lorenzo Lequerica and Diego Aliaga.⁸¹

Towards an Existential Crisis

On 5 April 1821, William was visited in Seville by a group of merchants specialized on the Pacific trade, the so-called *limeños sevillanos*, who were anxiously seeking to convey their cargo through the constantly changing jurisdictions. Placing their property in ships under the neutral British flag no longer offered enough protection. They were alarmed by the corsair-like actions of the Scottish commander of the Chilean navy Thomas Cochrane (1775–1860, struck off the Royal Navy list in 1814, later tenth Earl of Dundonald) who during a blockade of the Peruvian coast seized six British vessels contravening expressed orders of the Chilean leader Bernardo O'Higgins, then in his capacity of minister of the State Navy, to avoid taking any step that could jeopardize the 'harmony and equilibrium' of the Spanish American republics with neutral nations. The merchants' proposal consisted of labelling their cargo as property of *Antony Gibbs & Co.* and to have them consigned from London to Moens in Lima. William warned them that the British government was unlikely to issue licences for Spanish manufactures even for re-export. Instead, he offered to set an expedition from Gibraltar keeping the stratagem hidden even from the English ships' captains and crews. Although convinced that the situation was 'likely to go on peaceably and quietly in Lima whether as independent or attached to the Mother Country', he thought better to avoid all paper trail by hiring a man of confidence to accompany the cargo all the way to Lima, carrying verbal orders to be transmitted to Moens under whom he was expected to work as a senior clerk, although he could also replace him in the partnership in case of the latter's death or accident.⁸² William's personal friendship with Nicolás and Francisco Achaval, heads of a family much respected in Buenos Aires and with useful contacts in Lima also seemed to open bright opportunities. They had just received two letters from the president of the government of Buenos Aires (at the time Martín Rodríguez, but more likely Bernardino Rivadavia, then minister of Government and Foreign Affairs) encouraging them 'strongly to return to their native country and promising them his Protection'.⁸³ Although they did not seem inclined to accept the invitation, William thought that, provided the political affairs settled in the region, Francisco could be persuaded to go there to establish a house under his direction after receiving six months of basic commercial instruction in England. He told Henry: 'The advantages which would result to the London and Gibraltar Houses as well as to that in Lima, if Moens should settle there for having an efficient Agent in Buenos Ayres are too obvious to be mentioned'.⁸⁴

While these initiatives tightened him up, William still found a way of mixing business with the pleasures of Andalusian social life. In June 1821, he was joined by his younger brother Joseph who at the time was looking to step into the business. A clerk position was eventually found for him in the Cadiz house, and a Spanish master was hired to teach him the rudimentary of writing commercial letter in Castilian.⁸⁵ But in the meantime, and arguing that as Joseph had arrived in the ‘fever months’ (June–October) and to keep him ‘away from mischief’, William sent him into vacation at the villa the Achavals had rented for the summer somewhere in the heart of the triangle of sherry-producing towns in the south-west corner of Spain: Jerez de la Frontera, Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Puerto Santa María.⁸⁶ It was by these means that William learnt that his *porteño* friends were just about to establish their own house in Gibraltar to trade with the Pacific via the River Plate, thus deflating plans of recruiting Francisco as Gibbs agent in Buenos Aires. Regular visits to the holiday residence of the Achavals also allowed him to mingle with key individuals of Cadiz polite society, including the founders of the legendary wine and sherry bodegas Osborne and Duff Gordon.⁸⁷ Time was found as well to participate in the social ritual of walking under the trees of the Cadiz’s *Alameda* while enjoying the sea breeze; also for attending operas in the local theatre, which notables patronized not much on account of the quality of the performance, but to see and to be seen. Among them was the family of lawyers and magistrates of the wife of Nicolás de Pedemonte, the de la Peña. William set his eyes on the youngest of their three daughters, a vivacious girl with a full moon face, highly intelligent and educated in France: Francisca de la Peña. He had been acquainted with the family for a few years, but now, he became a frequent guest in their holiday residence in the southern village of Chiclana, joining them in amateur satirical plays, balls and concerts with a repertoire that combined popular Andalusian *seguidillas* with Austrian waltzes, extracts of Italian operas and some risqué tunes Francisca played at both the piano and clavichord, including *The Battle of Prage*, composed by Franz Kortz-wara, a Bohemian composer whose fame had increased since discovered hanging in a house of ill fame in Covent Garden suspected of having indulged in auto-erotic asphyxiation.⁸⁸ It was a home where people could relax, sing and laugh at leisure away from the shadow of epidemics, political and economic turmoil. For the first time in his life, William fell head over heels in love. ‘My affection for her increased to such a degree’, he said, ‘that a mutual explanation took place when I had the satisfaction of knowing that our attachment was mutual’.⁸⁹ He made his proposal to her parents, but placing a condition that, he conceded, they could consider odd coming from a 32-year-old man: the union would not go ahead without the consent of his family and friends in England.

A passing reference to Francisca within a letter to his younger sister Anne had already merited a scornful riposte. Travelling back to make, the case in person seemed the best course of action.⁹⁰ But the response

he received left him speechless for almost a month. His family voiced not one, but four objections against the marriage. His eldest brother laid them in writing on 19 June 1822. William addressed each of them in a long letter penned on 11 July. To the arguments that Francisca 'would not harmonize with her new relations' and that 'she would not add to their comfort by becoming one of the family', William answered that she was unlike 'the generality of Spanish women' in terms of habits, manners and way of thinking. She had been educated in France 'under the eye of a most excellent and virtuous woman' who had instilled in her 'those moral and religious principles, which learned in early life, are hardly forgotten'. She was not at all 'fond of gaiety or dissipation but on the contrary attached to domestic occupations, enjoyments'. Trifling differences in behaviour between the women of two countries could be 'easily learnt' through sense and observation. 'I doubt she would not harmonize completely with all the females with whom she would have to associate when married and add to the comfort of her new relations', he said. The third objection was more difficult to counter-claim. It was 'the character and respectability of her own connections'. Background details about Francisca's family are scarce, but at least two members of de la Peña family – Diego and Joaquín de la Peña – appear in the records associated with legal disputes brought against individuals who opposed the liberal Constitution of Cadiz.⁹¹ According to William, Francisca's father had held 'one of the highest offices in law under the old Government' (the traditional Bourbon regime) and though the political changes in Spain had deprived him of his employment and obliged him to return to the practice of an *abogado* (lawyer), he stressed that they did 'not deprive him of his rank in society'. He conceded that his 'private character some years ago was not good certainly' and that 'circumstances of a private nature, patriotic though they were' did not excuse him, but nothing could be said against him now. He was 'a generous hearted man and as kind and affectionate as father as ever I knew'. As for the character of her mother, Angela Espeleta de la Peña, William confessed he 'never liked, though there is nothing vicious or immoral in it at least in the worst sense of the words'. At any rate, he reminded his brother that he intended to 'marry an individual of the family not the whole of it'.⁹²

The strongest demurrer was Francisca's Catholicism. William was prepared to give the matter some weight, but told Henry that in his zeal to paint in strong colours the force of this objection he had made 'statements and advanced opinions essentially exaggerated and unfounded'. What followed could be read as a rehearsal of arguments in favour of an understanding with the 'old faith' that would become common currency later in his life:

Can you seriously think that the difference between the Catholic and Protestant religions to be so wide as you state? Are they not both supported by the same testimony and founded by the same authority?

Are not the duties, the moral precepts, our duty to God and man, enjoyed by one, the same as by the other? Do not both promise the same Rewards to Virtue and the same Punishments to Vice? The scope and design of the Christian Religion (I think I remember Paley's words) [the utilitarian theologian William Paley (1743–1805)] were to improve our moral condition here and to give man a clearer notion of a future state. Are not both Catholic and Protestants agreed in this? In the practice of moral conduct, which is the essence and spirit of all religion they agree exactly. They differ in doctrines of faith of minor importance in as much as they have not slightest tendency to influence their moral conduct (...). Under this view of the subject I cannot think it can be displeasing in the eyes of God for two people to marry who though they differ in some minor Articles of Faith, agree in the general and most important doctrines of their religion, and more particularly upon the moral conduct which is founded upon it. I really think there is more difference between the Religious Creed of a Church of England man and a Dissenter than between the former and a Catholic (...). No one would almost suppose from the manner in which you answer the Question that the Difference was tremendous indeed and that it was impossible for a Catholic mother to teach her Protestant child anything but vice and superstition – for you say 'who is to instil into their minds the first laws of Religious and Virtue, who is to watch over the gradual formation of their understanding and to direct them in the Path of Truth? This is the proper office of a mother but the Father who marries a Catholic deprives his Children of this first of all Blessings!' After what I have already said, I need not say how entirely I differ from you in this respect, nor do I see why a Catholic mother should not educate her Protestant Children in a most correct and virtuous manner.

William's appeal was meant to shake his brother's deeply held convictions in matters of faith. Religion figured highly in Henry's life. One of his sons, John Lomax Gibbs (1832–1914), once said that because Henry died when he was still a child he had few memories of him, excluding that of seeing him 'reading prayers in the dining room before breakfast'.⁹³ Only five years earlier, Henry had married Caroline Crawley (1794–1850), daughter of Rev. Charles Crawley, a minister in the Church of England. Her family sympathized with the High Church tradition of Anglicanism that emphasizes the historical continuity with Catholic Christianity. They were at the forefront of the Tractarian movement that sought reconciliation with the old faith and that at the time was germinating at Oriel College, Oxford. Her brother – later also a partner in the business in South America – Charles Crawley (1788–1871) became a close friend of Cardinal John Henry Newman and a cheerleader for the movement, gaining notoriety for sending out his sons and sons-in-law to ride through

the country distributing Newman's *Tracts for The Times*.⁹⁴ It was worth trying to awake in Henry some doubts about the supremacy of Anglicanism. Later in life, Henry joined 'Nobody's friends', the dining club of High Churchmen that throughout the nineteenth century championed the cause of historical continuity, particularly in relation to the establishment of the Anglican Church.⁹⁵

William had been transmitting highlights of his family's reaction to Francisca perhaps more candidly than it was necessary. Naturally, she felt hurt. Before he could measure the effect of his appeal to Henry, a letter arrived in which Francisca suggested that it would be easier if she would renounce him altogether rather than causing upset to a family that showed such repugnance to the idea of welcoming her into their ranks. At play there were also considerations of pride, self-respect (*amor propio*) and of regard to her family.⁹⁶ She asked him to stop all correspondence and promised to do likewise. As he insisted, she made a last attempt to present her side of the coin clearly (original spelling has been kept):

(...) He estado y estoy pronta á dejar una Familia que amo con pasión, mi patria, mis amigas por seguirte éirme á un Pais cuyas costumbres distan tanto de las nuestras, cuyo idioma ignoro, cuyo clima puede no serme favorable, en fin todos estos inconvenientes que he pesado muchas veces, son los mismos que deben probarte quanto mayor debe ser el cariño de la que conociendo estos, los sobrepuja gustosa y está pronta a cumplir su oferta! Los sacrificios se compensan con otros iguales. Qual es el que te merezco en equilibrio del que pido tanto por Ud?... contesta. Muy difícil te será el hacerlo! No insistiría tanto en este punto si las mismas razones que tiene tu Familia en creer su Religion la mejor, no me asistieran: en quanto a tí en tu particular sé que estas no son tan poderosas, pero en siendo hombre de bien y cumpliendo con todo lo que nos da prescribe la sana moral tienes lo suficiente: esa ventaja tienes para que sea en el fondo menos grande para ti el sacrificio que te pido. Bien veo que te será sensible viviendo en Inglaterra y profesando tu Familia una Religion distinta pero también sé que siendo ese el único medio de unir tu suerte á la mía si no lo vences me das una prueba bien convincente de la diferencia que hay de tu cariño al mío. Y qué, ¿no encuentras un medio de conciliar esta diferencia? ¿Tu amor no te sugiere alguno que haga mas fácil se cumplan nuestros mutuos deseos?(...)⁹⁷

(...) I have been and I am ready to leave a Family that I love with passion, my homeland, my friends, all to follow you and go to a Country whose customs are so far from our own, whose language I do not know, whose climate may not be favourable to me, in short all these inconveniences that I have weighed many times are the same that should prove to you how much greater the affection of the one who, knowing these, must gladly surpass them and is ready to fulfil her

offer! Sacrifices must be compensated with others of similar weight. What is it that you are prepared to offer to counterbalance that which I am ready to offer?... Answer me. It will be very difficult for you to do so! I would not insist so much on this point if the same reasons that your Family has for believing their Religion to be the best, did not assist me: as for you in particular I know that these (objections) are not so powerful, but in being a good man and complying with everything that prescribes healthy morals you have enough: you have that as an advantage that turns not so heavy the burden of the sacrifice I beg from you. I do appreciate that it may be difficult for you living in England and professing your Family a different Religion but I also know that being that the only way to unite your luck to mine if you do not overcome it you give me a very convincing proof of the difference that there is in your affection to mine. So what, can't you find a way to reconcile this difference? Doesn't your love suggest one that makes it easier for our mutual wishes to be fulfilled? (...)

It was not so much the religious divide, although she seemed to be nudging him towards a low-key Catholic wedding, but William's apparent pusillanimity, the cause of Francisca's exasperation. She thought that he could find a way of resolving the situation by establishing himself permanently in Cadiz either at the head of the Gibbs house or by opening a rival company. She also floated as an alternative following Pedemonte and her sister's example and settling after marriage neither in Spain nor in England, but in Paris.⁹⁸ What she did not know – and William could not tell – was that he was in no position to jump ship and leave his brother alone at the helm of the business because *Antony Gibbs & Sons* had been engulfed in an existential crisis.

Broken Hearts, a Wonder Drug and New Rules of the Game

Far from being the herald of opportunities in the Pacific coast, John Moens turned up to be a partner of nightmares. He kept none of the contractual arrangements with the Gibbs: his correspondence with the London, Cadiz and Gibraltar houses was sporadic and the content garbled and full of gaps. On one occasion, he remitted in a British warship considerable sums from Lima giving no indication to whom the funds belonged, including 22,000 dollars to which he had referred in a letter only to say that he was to disclose the names of the recipients some time in the future. So desperate the Gibbs became about the absence of precise information that they contacted his father in Bristol and an uncle in Rotterdam asking their intervention to remind him the terms of the partnership and to find a way to redress deficiencies 'common only in a schoolboy'.⁹⁹ The latter was an understatement. Rather than getting acquainted with the 'new men', as instructed, during the period of Cochrane's blockade of

the Peruvian coast, Moens got embroiled in numerous disputes, accused of not complying with Spanish trade regulations by the authorities of the viceroyalty in Lima and of providing aid to loyalists of the Spanish Monarchy by leaders of the new republics. Landed briefly in prison, several of Gibbs clients learnt that their cargoes had been confiscated through private letters and the newspapers.¹⁰⁰ Soon after his release, one consignment containing valuable Cinchona bark was sold in auction under dubious circumstances.¹⁰¹ Furious clients, suppliers and creditors in both Europe and the Americas knocked at the door of *Antony Gibbs & Sons*. Moens compounded the situation by writing with his unarticulated prose directly to a few clients. He also tried to justify his actions in letters that could have been easily intercepted, stating that he had visited 'Spaniards in Prison and concealed them in Rooms' at the same time that he could count himself among the few foreigners invited to the balls that the Protector (General José de San Martín, head of the Liberation Army of the South who presided over the government of Peru from 3 August 1821 to 20 September 1822) gave 'in the Palace every Saturday'.¹⁰² Concern about Moen's behaviour increased when the Gibbs learnt that he was planning to add to his workload the position of Dutch consul in Lima, a move that they feared could entail losing the protection he received as a British subject and thus leave their goods at risk of new seizures.¹⁰³ On 29 July 1823, Henry Gibbs spelt clearly the result of Moens's 'lamentable unfitness' backing his words with copies of dozens of clients' complaints:

(...) the character of our house has been placed in such a pitiful and disgraceful point of view that I can hardly think of it with patience and proper temper, but tho' we all feel more annoyed and vexed than I can find words to express at seeing the proceedings of a house of ours subjected to such remarks and suspicions as are to be formed in almost every line of the enclosed correspondence.¹⁰⁴

Such was the rotten state of affairs, and perhaps feeling partly responsible from the suggestions he had made to counter-act Cochrane's blockade, that William asked *Pepe Boom* in Cadiz to transmit any negative-sounding information to his private address rather than to the office in London because, he said, '*me da vergüenza que los dependientes vean la conducta de nuestro compañero en Lima*' (it causes me embarrassment that our employees could learn about the conduct of our partner in Lima).¹⁰⁵

The turmoil continued over five years. The impact on William's personal life was far more scarring than on the business front. Confronted to his family's rejection of Francisca, he had warned his brother: 'I am no (Spring) Chicken and therefore not likely to indulge in romantic ideas, but I am confident that I shall never be able to form an attachment to any other woman'.¹⁰⁶ Although the prediction was not fully precise, it took over seventeen years for marriage to become again a possibility.

He was by then 49; his bride, 27 years his junior and a member of Henry's in-laws family, Matilda Blanche Crawley-Boevey (1817–87).¹⁰⁷ Focusing on business served to fill the emotional emptiness of those years of bachelor life. Contrary to expectations, the Gibraltar house registered record profits in 1824, largely due to the re-export of global commodities such as hides, sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, indigo, cochineal, tobacco, pepper, Balsam of Peru and quina (Cinchona) about which more will be said later.¹⁰⁸ J.S.B. Mardon, an entrepreneur from Guernsey who had offered his services as an agent in Rio de Janeiro, was hired to try to untangle a part of Moens's mess.¹⁰⁹

On 20 June 1825, Charles Crawley was made a partner in the Lima firm to become *Gibbs, Crawley, Moens & Co.* The latter was informed of the change through a sixteen-page long letter that detailed 'the only system upon which we can consent to continue our Establishment in South America'.¹¹⁰ First and foremost, Moens was expected to wind up every outstanding concern in Lima and 'to furnish all the correspondents of the house with every account necessary to enable them to see the exact state of their affairs'. He was to keep books in order and to provide a clear account of the market, together with records of sales made, stock on hand, terms due, remittances and other details. All under the principle that it was (words underlined in the original) 'to be considered much more desirable to do whatever is done well than to do a great deal of business'. All proceedings of the firm were to be transmitted 'in such a way as to make us as thoroughly Masters of everything that is going on, as if we were ourselves on the spot'. All of Gibbs representatives 'must scrupulously abstain from smuggling in every shape and regularly pay the duties imposed by law in a fair and favourable way'. They were also 'never to take any part in Govt. loans or contracts or any thing of this sort, but quietly to pursue the legitimate business of the House, without meddling with politics, or attracting attention in any way whatever'. Moens was told to reside at Piura, northwest of Lima near the frontier with present-day Ecuador, for the purpose of collecting 'barks' and other commodities.

The headquarters of the establishment remained in Lima with a branch at Guayaquil and another at Tacna both opened in 1823 with the same object in mind.¹¹¹ Cinchona bark, also known as quina bark, cascarilla, Peruvian bark and Jesuits's bark, originates from a large shrub indigenous to South America, mainly to Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Colombia. It was not cultivated elsewhere until late in the nineteenth century. Since its discovery in the seventeenth century, the cortex was stripped from the shrub, dried, crushed into small pieces and turned into various tinctures and tonics for medical purposes. Powdered Cinchona bark was used for the treatment of 'intermitting and remitting fevers', including as the sole agent against malaria and yellow fever, and for an array of debilitating diseases such as anaemia. In 1751, the Spanish Monarchy limited its trade. Two years later, it established a royal reserve in the Loja

region of Ecuador, recognized as producing the highest quality, which operated under *estanco* conditions (state monopoly) to distribute it freely to hospitals throughout the Hispanic world and as a tool of diplomacy, namely through gifts and donations to foreign dignitaries. Still, quina was collected elsewhere in the Andean region in vast quantities and in a variety of qualities which were allowed to be traded as any other commodity.¹¹² Absence of quality control, incorrect identification, uneven consignments and the frequent intervention of smugglers who polluted the product by adding bark of other trees cast a shadow over its value among health practitioners, but due to the absence of effective alternatives, it remained highly priced, doubly so in times of war and pandemics.¹¹³ Demand increased further when the alkaloid quinine was isolated and named by Pierre Joseph Pelletier and Joseph Caventou in 1820. Purified quinine and other alkaloids including quinidine, cinchonine and cinchonidine then replaced the bark as the standard treatment for malaria and still continue to be effective against chloroquine-resistant *Plasmodium falciparum*, the deadliest of the four species of parasites which cause malaria in humans.¹¹⁴

Within days of first arriving to South America, Moens was told to prioritize the involvement in the commercialization of this commodity and to name agents in Tacna and Guayaquil to arrange shipments to Europe.¹¹⁵ In 1825, Pedemonte passed the intelligence from Paris that as importers signed agreements to deliver bark to the manufacturers of quinine in exclusivity, the price of bark in France had increased dramatically because demand continued among traditional physicians and for the elaboration of nostrums.¹¹⁶ A year later, Boom also alerted about its 'great scarcity' in Cadiz.¹¹⁷ The Gibbs seized all these opportunities often dispatching South American cargos via Gibraltar. Supplies were located in Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia to be dispatched through intermediary ports on the Pacific coast which even at the height of the wars of independence were never closed. Agents were appointed to ease arrangements in the Peruvian department of Arequipa (ports of Tacna, Arica and Iquique) in 1823 and in the coastal town of Valparaiso in newly independent Chile in 1826. The accounts of Arequipa for 1829, for example, contain a file labelled 'Our Bark' detailing shipments of Colombian quina to Europe.¹¹⁸

Political instability accompanied by trade restrictions in the late 1820s reduced the activities of the Cadiz house. William tried to keep it afloat while entering into a period of experimentation which involved hiring Spanish botanical experts to ascertain the prospect of cultivating olive trees and oranges in England.¹¹⁹ On 1 April 1827, the partnership with Boom was dissolved and with that over 30 years of Gibbs's permanent presence in Cadiz came to an end.¹²⁰ Being light, quina bark offered the advantage that great quantities could be transported alongside cargos of bullion and other commodities such as cacao.¹²¹ A short spell of storage in damp conditions, however, was enough to reduce its medical efficacy.

Speedy delivery was of the essence.¹²² Free trade policies made it possible for South American commodities to be taken directly to the continental markets rather than via Gibraltar. The office in the Rock was wound up in 1833, but trading operations in Southern Europe continued, coordinated by *Antony Gibbs & Sons* in London.¹²³ William's life of trotting around Spain nonetheless fizzled out. Along with Henry and his cousin George Gibbs in Bristol, he became an investor in the Great Western Railway. The inaugural meetings of the London and Bristol committees of the railway were held in the Gibbs's London office. Profits continued to roll on, allowing the Gibbs brothers and Charles Crawley (settled in Lima from 1829 to 1833) to divide 20,000 pound a year for the next decade. The '*deudas sagradas*' incurred by Antony Gibbs in the eighteenth century were finally paid off. Personal reasons also kept William in England. His union with Matilda Blanche in 1839 was blessed with seven children: Dorothea (1840–1914), Antony (1841–1907), Alice Blanche (1843–71), William (1846–69), George Abraham (1848–70), Henry Martin (1850–1928) and Albinia (1853–74).¹²⁴

William's wealth sore to colossal levels in 1842. In that year, his brother George Henry inherited a fortune from his wife, but within a few months fell ill and died during a trip to Venice on 21 August. William became sole head of *Antony Gibbs & Sons*. He also took the mantle of acting as a father to the youngest of Henry's 14 children, John Lomax (1832–1914), Mary Dorothea (1833–1906), Francis (1834–57) and Robert (1839–56).¹²⁵ Trade with South America had been increasing steadily in both volume and diversity, consignments including copper, tin and exotic items such as chinchilla and vicuña wool.¹²⁶ He was already a rich man and was getting richer by the year. At marriage, he had moved from his brother's house in London, 11 Bedford Square, where he resided for most of his bachelor life, to 13 Hyde Park Street. Now, he was looking for a place to retreat in the countryside. He had in mind something along the lines of an estate leased by his sister Harriet in 1828 where he had spent many happy hours walking in surrounding woods, rehearsing madrigals with siblings and friends. It was nestled on the hillside above the village of Wraxall, not far from the Bristol Channel and within a few hours of London by train. The house, originally part of the local manor, had been rebuilt in 1813 mixing classic with Jacobean styles and named Tyntes Place. In 1843, William heard that the owners were thinking of selling. An offer was made and accepted. He had truly arrived in life. The long route to Tyntesfield was coming to an end.¹²⁷

Conclusion

While William was busy adapting to new circumstances, the house in Lima negotiated contracts with the Peruvian state to accelerate the commercialization of 'huano' in Europe – ignoring the business principles

laid out in 1825 of never entering into deals with governments. Also involved in the deal were the companies *Quiros Aller & Co.*, *Myers & Co.* and *Montane & Co.* of Paris. From the Inca word 'huanu', meaning dung, later corrupted into 'guano', this commodity was bird manure that had been used as a fertilizer in Peru for centuries, but that only came to the attention of Europeans when scientists and agriculturalists began experimenting with soil supplements in the late 1830s. Climatic conditions of the Peruvian coast prevented fermentation of the organic matter, leaving it both dry and rich in nitrogen and phosphorus. It was a promising, but risky product that did not bring much of a bonanza until a new contract was signed in 1849 by which *Antony Gibbs & Sons* provided a loan to the Peruvian state in exchange for monopoly control over exports to the British Isles.¹²⁸ It remains unclear whether William was fully aware of the dreadful labour conditions employed to extract the resource which involved Chinese and Polynesian indentured workers; what it is certain is that he disapproved of the arrangements from the start and that consistently referred to the scheme as a 'speculation'.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, confronted to the commitment included in the original deal that 120,000 tons of guano had to be sold by the close of 1846, he masterminded a successful marketing campaign centred on two pamphlets of testimonials published in 1843 and 1844, emphasizing guano's potency as a fertilizer, one including an endorsement from the chemist and popularizer of science Andrew Ure. Within a decade, most British and Irish farmers used guano to guarantee the fertility of their holdings. During the 1850s, the Lima House made as much as 100,000 pounds a year from the export licence which the Peruvian state briefly extended to most of the world outside the United States, France (both strong competitors) and Asia. Still, as a result of gluts, unwanted stock often ended being dumped in the Thames.¹³⁰

It would be foolish to deny that guano was central to the economy of the young republic of Peru, but the state never relinquished its control to a single company. Revenues were used to buy the loyalty of the Creole elite and to pay off debts accrued during the wars of independence; also, to eliminate a few social injustices, including the head tax paid by indigenous peoples, and to free all 25,505 Peru's black slaves, thus turning into reality the abolition of slavery decreed by General San Martín in 1821.¹³¹ Crucially, evidence laid out in this chapter demonstrates that the too-much repeated assertion, amplified through echoing an alleged Victorian doggerel according to which the Gibbs had made their fortune 'by selling turds of foreign birds',¹³² is inaccurate. Not only William Gibbs had been a wealthy man for three decades before trading guano but also the family's prosperity resulted from patiently building over half-a-century a wide portfolio of mercantile activities run through a global network of individuals who operated on the basis of reliability and trust.¹³³ The Gibbs never relied on the fate of a single commodity. They were constantly on

the lookout for new products to be added to their lists of consignments. If any one item needs to be singled out for shaping their business decisions, it should be another extractive commodity: quina (Cinchona) bark – an article that led them to establish an extensive web of agencies in South America to seize opportunities created by a rise in demand triggered by the waves of pandemics that haunted the Western world during the nineteenth century.¹³⁴

In October 1853, William joined his nephews John Lomax and Henry Gibbs in an eight-week journey through Spain. Matilda Blanche and the children were left in a villa near Pau, in the French side of the border while Henry's family settled in San Sebastian. John Lomax had visited Spain only a few months earlier and had benefited from the hospitality of many friends of 'Uncle William', including the two brothers Achaval and various members of the Duff Gordon, Osborne and O'Shea families.¹³⁵ According to him, William 'looked forward immensely to seeing it all again' and 'was full of spirits' throughout the entire journey making himself 'quite young, smoking his cigar and occasionally singing some of his old songs in Spanish and English' and teaching the young men to sign them as well. Accompanied by a male servant, James, the trio of men sought to experience the best that Spanish culture could offer. In their first night in Madrid, they went to see 'El Oro y el Oropel' (The gold and the tinsel), a comedy in three acts and verse by the Romantic playwright Juan de Ariza that had just been premiered in the *Teatro de Lope de Vega* (21st October 1853).¹³⁶ In Seville, they appreciated at close range great examples of art and Moorish architecture and were delighted by an impromptu organ concert offered by one of the canons in the cathedral. The British consul Manuel Williams introduced them to Francisco Romero Balmaseda, a landowner and art collector who sold to William the imposing painting of St Lawrence with his gridiron that can still be seen hanging today on the wall of the main staircase at Tyntesfield. It was then attributed to Zurbarán, although it is more likely the work of his colleague Juan Luis Zambrano of Córdoba (1598–1639), dating to around 1630.¹³⁷ By the time the group arrived to Cadiz, they could hardly walk before hearing somebody shout '*Amigo mio*' (My friend), a greeting addressed to William that was immediately followed by embraces and other expression of welcome. Strangely, however, he asked the party to drive out south to Chiclana. It was to visit his old flame, Francisca who, according to John Lomax, had 'remained *soltera*' (single). The situation was awkward enough to remain carved in his memory:

When we arrived at the house – as on other occasions, he (William) would not have himself announced, and when Doña Frasquita (Francisca) entered, my Uncle bowed, but there was no recognition

on her part. '*No me conocea...*' (Don't you recognize me?) he said; and then after a few moments more – with an excited voice, she cried out '*no es Gibbs?*' (Isn't Gibbs?) and then tears on her part and embraces, a most touching affair – but my Uncle took it astonishingly calmly – smiling benevolently at his '*novia del tiempo pasado*' (old flame) – after such a scene it took sometime to begin ordinary conversation. Henry and I were introduced and she was most pleasant to us both. She took especially to me because, she said, my eyes were like those of Don Guillermo. Then I remember she played to us most brilliantly on the piano-forte some of the old songs and pieces which she had played in old days, some of which I had often heard my Uncles William and Joseph sing together. She made a medley of these old airs bringing them in, one after another as she played. Our visit did not last much longer. She asked after Uncle William's wife and family, and could not refrain from a sarcastic cut at my Uncle – such as '*los viejos siempre se casan con las muchachas*' (old men always marry young girls) etc. etc. I think Uncle William must have been glad when this visit was over, but it was all very amusing to Henry and me.¹³⁸

On returning to England, William sent Francisca a dazzling Broadwood semi-grand piano. His nephew rather unkindly thought this was 'a consolation gift'.¹³⁹ Months later, the firm of John Gregory Crace (1809–89) was commissioned to redecorate Tyntesfield with instructions to place in prime position the picture of St Lawrence and others that William had acquired from Balmaseda in Seville, including 'The Christ Child' by a follower of Murillo and Miguel Alonso de Tovar's 'Immaculate Conception' which for many years hang in the Great Drawing Room. Crace had formed a working relationship with the pioneering advocate of the Gothic revival, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), famously responsible for refurbishing the Palace of Westminster, but the family motto ('*En Dios mi amparo y esperanza*') carved in a frieze in the Library and in some of the doors was the outcome of a more substantial two-year project started in 1863 with a view to spread and accentuate the Gothic naturalistic style and the Hispanic references already existing in the house.¹⁴⁰ The task was undertaken by the architect John Norton (1823–1904) and the builder George Plucknett of *William Cubbit & Co.* The identity of the craftsman who carved the ornamental woodwork remains uncertain, but it has been attributed to James Plucknett (c.1836–1905), possibly a kinsman of the builder, who later in the decade established with Frederick John Collier, a firm in Leamington specialized in rich carved furniture advertised as being in the style 'particular to the Gothic, Tudor and Elizabethan ages' (Figure 5.1).¹⁴¹



Figure 5.1 Frieze with the Gibb's family motto: '*En Dios mi amparo y esperanza*' in the library of NT Tyntesfield (photo by the author taken by courtesy of NT Tyntesfield).

If read literally, the Spanish motto makes little sense because it suffers from a grammatical error: either it should say '*En Dios me amparo y (tengo) esperanza*' (In God I shelter and I draw hope from) or more likely '*En Dios (encuentro) mi amparo y esperanza*' (In God I find my shelter and hope). In the latter case, for a native Spanish speaker – particularly one with a nineteenth-century religious predisposition – a comma placed between '*Dios*' and '*mi*' would have been enough to act as a mnemonic clue capable of alerting that a word was missing and that this word was likely to be '*encuentro*' (I find). Born and bred in Madrid, this was not a detail to be easily ignored by William. And, indeed, a close inspection of the carving provides a satisfactory solution to the conundrum: a comma is there, not with its usual typographical appearance, but in the shape of a curved and elongated pine cone placed over a leaf.

The Gibb's peculiar attachment to the fashionable neo-Gothic style had meaningful reasons. Originally, the family had been Presbyterian, but at some stage during the late eighteenth century they joined the ranks of the established Anglican Church. It remains unclear whether this happened immediately before or after Antony Gibb moved his family to Madrid in 1789, but William's formative years and career in Spain had certainly nurtured in him a particular love for the smells and bells of the old faith and the beauty of holiness. The impact of the arguments within the family that caused the breakage of his relationship with Francisca de la Peña should not be underestimated; indeed, neither should be overlooked the Gibb's association with the early Tractarian Crawley family. In conversation with

the bishop of Jaen and two of his chaplains, John Lomax once explained that the Gibbs's position in matters of faith was 'also Catholic, but not Roman'.¹⁴² The aspirations of the Tractarians chimed with those of Pugin and his followers who desired to re-establish the Gothic architectural style, prevalent prior to the Reformation, as the national style of Britain.¹⁴³ The Gibbs supported both these religious and aesthetic movements with numerous donations and commissions for many years.

In 1858, William retired from *Antony Gibbs & Sons*, leaving his nephew Henry Hucks, later first Baron Aldenham (1819–1907) in charge of the firm, to concentrate his energies entirely to philanthropic endeavours. He had already sponsored the construction of a series of churches intended for the Oxford Movement clergy, including St Michael and All Angels at Clifton Hampden, Oxfordshire (1847), where his younger brother Joseph, having relinquished a mercantile life, was rector, and St Mary the Virgin (1856), adjacent to the medieval Flaxley Abbey in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, where William had married Matilda Blanche. At both, the architect was the most prolific and famous of the Victorian restorers, Sir George Gilbert Scott. William's concern for the poor of his London parish in Paddington led him in 1861 to commission a new church, St Michael's, designed by the architect and antiquary Rohde Hawkins. In Devon, he bought Pytte, the house at Clyst St George owned by the family from 1560 to 1789, paid for almshouses in Exeter and Exwick and contributed to the restoration of Bristol (1867) and Exeter cathedrals (1870). He acquired several advowsons, including Otterbourne, Hampshire, associated with the Tractarian John Keble's living of Hursley and at the suggestion of their mutual friend Sir John Coleridge provided upwards of 30,000 pounds for the construction of the chapel at Keble College, Oxford. A week after he died (3 April 1875), William's coffin was carried from Tyntesfield to the church of All Saints in Wraxall by relays of 30 estate workers rather than in a carriage. Matilda Blanche inherited Tyntesfield and continued her husband's Christian philanthropy until her death, also at Tyntesfield on 22 September 1887. The estate remained with Gibbs's descendants until the death of his great grandson George Richard Lawley Gibbs, second Baron Wraxall, in 2001, who left the estate to all nineteen of his father's descendants, intending that they should share the benefits of a sale. A campaign run by 'Save Britain's Heritage' raised over 3 million from the public to add to a grant of 17.4 million from the National Heritage Memorial Fund which, with further grants and private donations, allowed for the successful purchase of the house by the National Trust in June 2002.¹⁴⁴

Notes

- 1 Found in *The Times* obituary of William Gibbs ('A Bristol Merchant,' *The Times*, 6 April 1875, 10), this quote has been repeated by many authors regardless that in the article it was acknowledged that the assertion was 'probably erroneous' and that the short piece merited a correction for other imprecisions

- published on the following day, see 'The Late Mr William Gibbs,' *The Times*, 7 April 1875, 12. See also Sarah Flew, *Philanthropy and the Funding of the Church of England, 1856–1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 100–1.
- 2 Elizabeth Neil, *Fragile Fortunes: The Origins of a Great British Merchant Family* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2008), 93.
 - 3 Henry Hucks Gibbs, Lord Aldenham, ed., *Pedigree of the Family of Gibbs of Pytte in the Parish of Clyst St George* (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1904), 14.
 - 4 George Henry Gibbs (1785–1842), Harriett Gibbs (1786–1865), George Abraham Gibbs (1788–89), William Gibbs (1790–1875), Francis Gibbs (1794–95), Anne Gibbs (1797–1852), Joseph Gibbs (1801–1864), see Mike Gibbs, *Gibbs Family Tree*, database: <https://gibbsfamilytree.com>, accessed 20 March 2019.
 - 5 Neil, *Fragile Fortunes*, 94–108.
 - 6 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, 30 August 1788, London Metropolitan Archives, Collection of *Anthony Gibbs and Sons Limited* (LMA), CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 97.
 - 7 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Pamplona, 30 October 1788, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 125.
 - 8 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Oviedo, 6 December 1788, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 ff. 138, 149, 157.
 - 9 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, 31 December 1788, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 165.
 - 10 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Madrid, 22 January 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 203.
 - 11 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Pamplona, 4 February 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 215.
 - 12 Neil, *Fragile Fortunes*, 116.
 - 13 William Gibbs to Henry Gibbs, Cadiz, 18 August 1818, as cited in David Hogg, *My Dear Uncle William: Tyntesfield Letters* (Bristol: David J. Hogg, 2012), 26; Rachel Gibbs, ed., *Pedigree of the Family Gibbs of Pytte in the Parish of Clyst St. George* (Richmond, Surrey: By the author – Kingprint Limited, 1981), xvii–xviii.
 - 14 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Madrid, 2 April 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 245.
 - 15 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Bayonne, 17 April; Toulouse, 21 April, postscript Lyon 27 April 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 ff. 251, 253.
 - 16 Contract of Antony Gibbs with William Taylor & Sons, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 259.
 - 17 E. Hucks to Mrs Gibbs, 16 September 1789; Mrs Gibbs to E. Hucks, Madrid, early December 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 ff. 279, 305.
 - 18 E. Hucks to Mrs Gibbs, 16 September 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 279.
 - 19 *Ibid.*
 - 20 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Malaga, January 1790, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 323.
 - 21 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Seville 16 December 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 299.
 - 22 Mrs Gibbs to E. Hucks, Madrid, early December 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 305.
 - 23 Mrs Gibbs to E. Hucks, Madrid, early May 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 362.
 - 24 Hogg, *My Dear Uncle William*, 7; David J. Hogg, *Diaries of Tyntesfield* (Croydon: David Hogg, 2009), 9; Mike Gibbs, 'William Gibbs, of Tyntesfield,' in

- Gibbs Family Tree, <https://gibbsfamilytree.com/tng/getperson.php?person-ID=I1611&tree=gft1>, accessed 20 March 2019.
- 25 Somewhere between eleven buildings listed in that street between *Calle del Clave* and *Calle de Hortaleza*, see Fausto Martínez de la Torre y Josef Asensio, *Plano de la Villa y Corte de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Joseph Doblado, 1800), 76 and loose page 'Lámina 36 – Barrio de las Niñas de Leganes.' See also 'Licencia a Don Bernardo Antonio Mendieta para edificar piso 2º en la calle de la Reyna nº 4 manzana 296,' in *Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid*, Signatura I-51-71, available in http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscador.php?accion=VerFicha&id=326705&num_id=2&num_total=5, accessed 8 December 2019.
 - 26 Mrs Gibbs to E. Hucks, Madrid, early December 1789, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 305.
 - 27 For example, Antony Gibbs to Mrs Gibbs, Cadiz 3 January 1790; E. Hucks to 'Mr Antony Gibbs, Calle De la Reyna Nr. 22, Madrid,' 21 January 1790, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 ff. 317, 325.
 - 28 Josep de Mora to Antony Gibbs, Madrid 22 May 1790, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 367.
 - 29 'Royal Order of October 6, issued by King Fernando VI ordering the cremation of baggages and furniture belonging to persons who died of a contagious disease in order to prevent its spreading throughout the Kingdom. [6 October 1751],' available at The Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018751780/>, accessed 20 December 2019; *Diario Curioso, Erudito, Económico y Comercial – Tomo Segundo, comprende los meses de Octubre, Noviembre y Diciembre de 1786* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Gonzalez, 1786), 250–1; Paula Ermila Rivasplata, 'Salud Pública impulsada por el cabildo de Lima durante la colonia/Public Health Promoted by the Cabildo of Lima in the Colonial Period,' *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de La Cultura* 41, no. 1 (January 2014): 239–73, 341.
 - 30 Mrs Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Madrid, 14 December 1790, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 435.
 - 31 Dorothea Gibbs to Sibella Gibbs, October 1791, as cited in Hogg, *Diaries of Tyntesfield*, 10.
 - 32 Antony Gibbs to Ms Gibbs, Lisbon, 5 April 1791, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/003 f. 513.
 - 33 Antony Gibbs to George Gibbs, Madrid, 27 June 1792, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/004 f. 53.
 - 34 Antony Gibbs to George Gibbs, Bordeaux, 7 August 1792 and Paris, 14 August 1792, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/004 ff. 69, 75.
 - 35 Antony Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Manchester, 26 September 1792, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/004 f. 92.
 - 36 See María Begoña Villar García, ed., *La Emigración Irlandesa en El Siglo XVIII* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2000); Julián Bautista Ruiz Rivera, *El Consulado de Cádiz: Matrícula de Comerciantes, 1730–1823* (Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1988); also Xabier Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and Their Overseas Networks* (London: Boydell Press, 2013), esp. 40–8.
 - 37 The first record of the term in the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates back to 1828. See 'subsidiary, adj. and n.,' *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) Online, March 2020, Oxford University Press, <https://www-oed-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/193008?redirectedFrom=subsidiary>, accessed 22 May 2020.
 - 38 William Gibbs to Henry Gibbs, Cadiz, 11 May 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871 ff. 26–9.

- 39 Correspondence of Antony Gibbs 1792–6, including A. Gibbs to Dorothea Gibbs, Seville, 2 October 1794, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/004 all file, esp. f. 307.
- 40 'Extracts from Sir John Head's Diary,' Seville, 1 February 1793, LMA CL-C/B/012/MS11021/004 f. 166.
- 41 J. Hucks to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 12 July 1796, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/004 f. 460.
- 42 Neil, *Fragile Fortunes*, 336–7.
- 43 Antony Gibbs to unknown, Madrid, 25 December 1792, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/004 f. 133.
- 44 Christopher Gibbs, 'Preface' in *Pedigree of the Family Gibbs of Pytte in the Parish of Clyst St. George*, ed. R. Gibbs (Richmond: Kingprint Limited, 1981), xvii–xviii.
- 45 Matthew Kilburn, 'Gibbs, William (1790–1875), Businessman and Religious Philanthropist,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19 May 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/89656>, accessed 21 February 2016.
- 46 Gabriel Salazar Vergara, *Mercaderes, Empresarios y Capitalistas: Chile, Siglo XIX* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Sudamericana, 2009), ii–x.
- 47 George Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 18 November 1805, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/023 f. 12.
- 48 George Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 22 September 1805, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/023 ff. 1–12.
- 49 George Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 10 February 1807, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 f. 21; Register of Passenger of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, alias *Hermosa Mexicana*, in *Archivo General de Indias AGI/25//ARRIBADAS*, 440, N. 28, 34 and 35; Patricia Marks, *Deconstructing Legitimacy: Viceroy, Merchants, and the Military in Late Colonial Peru* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 52.
- 50 George Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 10 February 1807, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 f. 21.
- 51 P. J. Cain, 'Economics and Empire: The Metropolitan Context,' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 36.
- 52 George Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 10 February 1807, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 f. 21.
- 53 George Henry Gibbs to William Gibbs, Lisbon, 7 May 1807, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 ff. 109–13.
- 54 Antony Gibbs to George Gibbs and others, January–December 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 ff. 1–369.
- 55 George Henry to Antony Gibbs, Tangiers, 18 April 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 f. 743. On the strength of Spanish currency and exchange practices, see Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin, 'A Stakeholder Empire: The Political Economy of Spanish Imperial Rule in America,' *Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 609–51; *idem*, 'Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire Building,' *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (2008): 173–209; Barbara H. Stein and Stanley J. Stein, *Edge of Crisis: War and Trade in the Spanish Atlantic, 1789–1808* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 321–520.
- 56 Michael Broers, *Europe under Napoleon 1799–1815* (2nd edition, London: I B Tauris, 2015), 152–6; Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 88–9.

- 57 Antony Gibbs to George Henry Gibbs, 3 February 1808 and George Gibbs to Antony Gibbs, Bristol, 14 February 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012 /MS11021/009, ff. 533 and 583.
- 58 Antony Gibbs to William Gibbs, London, 3 March 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 f. 639.
- 59 Claude Morange, Jean-René Aymes, Gérard Brey, Annie Lacour, and Albert Dérozier, *La Révolution française: ses conséquences et les réactions du 'public' en Espagne entre 1808 et 1814* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1989), 29; Juan Pérez de Guzmán y Gallo, *El Dos de Mayo de 1808 en Madrid* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneira, 1908), 227–8, 277–83, 613–4; Emilio de Diego García, 'El problema de los abastecimientos durante la Guerra,' in *El comienzo de la Guerra de la Independencia – Congreso Internacional del Bicentenario*, eds. José L. Martínez Sanz and Emilio de Diego García (Madrid: Editorial Actas, 2009), 297–8.
- 60 Correspondence of Antony and George Henry Gibbs in 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012 /MS11021/010 ff. 25–378, esp. Cadiz, 30 June 1808, f. 107.
- 61 Antony to George Henry Gibbs, 22 June 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/010 f. 97.
- 62 Antony to George Henry Gibbs, London, 10 August 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/010 ff. 223–30; Articles & Copartnerships between Antony Gibbs, Son & Branscombe, 8 September and 1 October 1808, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19868.
- 63 He was one of the leading subscribers of the *Fondo Patriótico* (Patriotic Fund), a welfare scheme established by a British volunteer in the Spanish Army, James Macduff and a London merchant, Frederick Grellet, see *Gazeta de la Regencia de España e Indias*, 6 June 1810, 8; Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 129–30, 170. See also the biography of James Duff, Viscount Macduff, Fourth Earl of Fife (1776–1857) in Section II of this book.
- 64 Accounts Cadiz 1808–13, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19873; on the collection of terracotta figures, see 'The Risky Appeal of the Common People,' in Section II of this book and in *Exploring the Hispanic-Anglosphere, an Online Exhibition – The Hispanic-Anglosphere: Transnational Networks, Global Communities (Late 18th to Early 20th Centuries), project funded by the AHRC and the University of Winchester in partnership with the National Trust*, <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com/online-exhibitions/the-risky-appeal-of-the-common-people>, accessed 25 May 2020.
- 65 Kilburn, 'Gibbs, William,' *ODNB*.
- 66 For example, 'Comercio – Entrada – Gibbs Hermanos y Branscombe,' *Re-dactor General*, 24 February 1814, 3.
- 67 Karen Racine, *Francisco de Miranda: A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, NC: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002), 141–211; Pam Decho, Claire Diamond, and Rory Miller, eds., *Latin Americans in London: A Select List of Prominent Latin Americans in London c. 1800–1996* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998); Vicente Lloréns, *Liberales y románticos: Una emigración española en Inglaterra (1823–1834)* (Valencia: Editorial Castalia, 1979); Daniel Muñoz Sempere and Gregorio Alonso García, eds., *Londres y el liberalismo hispánico* (Madrid: Vervuert, 2011); Ivan Jaksic, *Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Graciela Iglesias Rogers, "José Joaquín De Mora in Chile: From Neo-Europe to the 'Beocia Americana,'" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 36, no. 3 (2016): 326–39.

- 68 Frank Griffith Dawson, *The First Latin American Debt Crisis: The City of London and the 1822–25 Loan Bubble* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 14–5.
- 69 Will of Antony Gibbs of Saint George the Martyr, Middlesex, The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA) PROB 11/1578/213.
- 70 See, for example, Dorothea to William Gibbs, Cowley Cottage, 8 February 1807, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/009 f. 17.
- 71 John Lees Casson to Antony Gibbs & Sons, Gibraltar, 5 December 1818 LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19875 f. 3; Sundry interesting statements respecting the progress of our business, & the settlement of our annual & quarterly accounts, 1819–20, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19880; correspondence of Antoine Barras with William Gibbs, 1822–24 LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01, ff. 41–70; J. Bermudez de Castro, Marseille, 31 December 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01 f. 84; Correspondence of Nicolas de Pedemonte with William Gibbs, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/02 ff. 72–194.
- 72 William Gibbs to Henry Gibbs, Cadiz, 9 March 1819, as cited in Hogg, *My Dear Uncle William*, 28.
- 73 William Gibbs to Henry Gibbs, Cadiz, 15 January 1819, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871 ff. 9–12.
- 74 Will of William Branscombe, Merchant or General Trader of Cadiz, Spain, 12 December 1820, TNA PROB 11/1636/400; George Brittain to William Gibbs, Rio de Janeiro, 12 January 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01 f. 80.
- 75 Manuel Codorniu y Ferreras, “Historia de la Salvación del Ejército Expedicionario de Ultramar de la Fiebre llamada amarilla y medios de evitar los funestos resultados en ella en los sucesivo, Puerto De Santa María, 1 April 1820,” in *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, available at *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000072244&page=1>; Álvaro Cardona, *La Salud Pública en España durante el Trienio Liberal, 1820–1823* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), 69, 287–90.
- 76 William Gibbs to G.H. Gibbs, Cadiz, 28 March 1820, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/014, f. 269.
- 77 William Gibbs to G.H. Gibbs, Seville, 19 January 1820, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871 ff. 15–6.
- 78 William Gibbs’s ‘Copy of my confidential letter to Casson dated 10 November 1819,’ LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871 ff. 13–5.
- 79 G. H. Gibbs to J. Moens, London, 24 October 1820, Letter with reminder of instructions, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/1 f. 1.
- 80 Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, ‘Loyalism and Liberalism in Peru, 1810–1824,’ in *The Rise of Constitutional Government in the Iberian Atlantic World: The Impact of the Cádiz Constitution of 1812*, eds. Scott Eastman and Natalia Sobrevilla Perea (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015), 111–32.
- 81 List of 33 clients with consignments, London, 24 October 1820, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/1 f. 4; Jonathan C. Brown, ‘Decline and Fall of the Spanish Merchants at Buenos Aires: Marcó Del Pont in the Age of Independence,’ *Working Papers of the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin* 87-14 (1987): 1–13; Juan Luis Ossa Santa Cruz, *Politics and Revolution: Chile, 1808–1826* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 65–100; Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, *Historia del Perú independiente, Primer Periodo (1819–1822)* (Lima and The Havre: Imprenta de Alfonso Lemale, 1868), 88–9 and 106–8.
- 82 William Gibbs to Henry Gibbs, Seville, 5 April 1821 and Cadiz, 11 May 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871, ff. 19–20, 26–9; W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, Cadiz, 18 May 1821 as cited in Hogg, *My Dear Uncle William*, 45–6; Brian Vale, *Cochrane in the Pacific: Fortune and Freedom in Spanish America* (London: I.

- B. Tauris, 2008), 47, 54, 60–1; Luis Uribe y Orrego, *Nuestra Marina Militar: Su Organización y Campañas durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (Valparaíso: Talleres Tipográficos de la Armada, 1910), 258–63.
- 83 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, Cadiz, 19 May 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871, f. 34. It has been said repeatedly in journalistic articles that on 16 February 1809, Bernardino Rivadavia became the first Argentine public auctioneer when he presided over the auction of the frigate 'Juan Federico' acquired by Nicolás Achával, see Antonio Montero, 'Desde aquellos tiempos,' *La Nueva Provincia*, 3 October 2014, available at <https://www.lanueva.com/nota/2014-10-3-0-25-0-desde-aquellos-tiempos#:~:text=Entre%20ellos%2C%20Bernardino%20Rivadavia%2C%20benjam%C3%ADn,ha-cienda%20por%20un%20tiempo%20prolongado>. Rivadavia became certainly connected to the Achaval family when he went into exile in Cadiz. He bequeathed to Nicolás Achaval a portrait of himself by the artist Antonio María Esquivel and also left in his will a picture of the Conquistador Pizarro to both Nicolás and Francisco Achaval, see Ana María Fernández García, *Catálogo de Pintura Española en Buenos Aires* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1997), 70; 'Testamento de Bernardino Rivadavia,' Buenos Aires, 30 September 1848, in *Archivo General de la Nación Argentina*, Fondo Bernardino Rivadavia, Sala VII Nr. 190.
- 84 William Gibbs to Henry Gibbs, Cadiz, 19 May 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871, f. 34.
- 85 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, Cadiz, 29 January 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871, f. 63.
- 86 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, Cadiz, 1 June 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871, ff. 37–9.
- 87 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, Cadiz, 1, 15 and 19 June 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19871, ff. 37–9, 42–50, 52–8.
- 88 Francisca de la Peña to *Guillermo* (W.) Gibbs, 22 May to 19 August 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015, ff. 15–87, esp. ff. 47–50; G. S. Rousseau, *The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 185.
- 89 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, 11 Bedford Square, London, 11 July 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015, ff. 35–43.
- 90 *Ibid.*; Francisca de la Peña to *Guillermo* (W.) Gibbs, 15 July 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015, ff. 43–6.
- 91 See, for example, *Informe que hizo en estrados públicos los días 13, 14, y parte del 15 del mes de diciembre del año de 1813 el licenciado Don Joaquín de la Peña y Santander, Abogado Del Ilustre Colegio De Cádiz, Defensor de Sr. D. Mariano Martín Esperanza, Canónigo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de esta Ciudad* (Sevilla: Cabildo Central de Cádiz, 1814). He is also listed as member of the 'Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País,' *Diario mercantil de Cádiz*, 19 June 1817, 3; as *oidor* in the *Real Audiencia de Sevilla*, *Diario mercantil de Cádiz*, 13 May 1819, 4; and as legal adviser in the tribunal court under Enrique O'Donnell, count de Abisval, *Diario mercantil de Cádiz*, 20 February 1820, 2. He was singled out as one of those suspected of defacing a monument of the Cadiz Constitution in an article published by the *Diario constitucional de Barcelona*, 17 May 1821, 3. A similar case had already been brought against a Diego de la Peña in 1813 (see *El Redactor General*, 6 November 1813, 2) who appears listed in 1817 as lawyer of the Royal Councils and *alcaide mayor* for matters relating to crime and police in Cadiz (*Diario mercantil de Cádiz*, 10 March 1817, 2).
- 92 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, 11 Bedford Square, London, 11 July 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015, ff. 35–43.

- 93 Rachel Gibbs and Ray Gibbs, eds., *Reminiscences of John Lomax Gibbs, 1832–1914* (London: By the editors, 2006), 2, available at *Gibbs Family Tree* https://gibbsfamilytree.com/tng/documents/John-Lomax-Gibbs_Reminiscences.pdf, accessed 10 May 2020.
- 94 R. Gibbs, *Pedigree*, xviii.
- 95 Mike Gibbs, 'George Henry Gibbs (1785–1842)', in *Gibbs Family Tree*, available at <https://gibbsfamilytree.com/tng/getperson.php?personID=1616&tree=gft1>, accessed 10 May 2020; William C. Lubenow, *Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture in Modern Britain, 1815–1914: Making Words Flesh* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 97.
- 96 Francisca de la Peña to Guillermo Gibbs, 2 September 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015 ff. 89–93.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 5 November 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015 ff. 99–103.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 18 July 1822 and 5 November 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015 ff. 47–50, ff. 99–103.
- 99 George Henry Gibbs to Adrian Moens (Bristol), London, 27 February 1823, LMA CLC/B/012/MS19866/1 f. 132; G.H. Gibbs to J. Moens (Rotterdam), Stowe, 19 August 1823, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/02 ff. 37–9.
- 100 See a note from *Gibbs, Casson & Co.* to Francisco Antonio Larrara confirming information about the fate of his property seized in Lima by Spanish custom officers under the orders of General César José de Canterac Orlic y Donesan, Gibraltar, 31 December 1823, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01 f. 163; Letters of Henry and William Gibbs to John Moens, 24 October 1820–10 July 1823, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/1 ff. 1–146.
- 101 *Pepe Boom* to Guillermo Gibbs, 28 June 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19872 ff. 1–3.
- 102 John Moens to *Antony Gibbs & Sons*, Lima. 1 December 1821, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19867 loose folio (unnumbered).
- 103 Henry Gibbs to John Moens, 27 June 1823, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/1 ff. 144–6.
- 104 H. Gibbs to J. Moens, Stowe, 29 July 1823, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/02 ff. 1–9.
- 105 William Gibbs to *Pepe Boom*, London, 9 August 1823, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/02 f. 36.
- 106 W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, 11 Bedford Square, London, 11 July 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11021/015, ff. 35–43.
- 107 R. Gibbs, *Pedigree*, 16.
- 108 J L. Casson to W. Gibbs, Gibraltar, 20 November 1824, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19875 f. 130.
- 109 Letters of J.S.B. Mardon to *Antony Gibbs & Sons*, Rio de Janeiro, 11 March 1821 to 17 March 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01 ff. 179–218.
- 110 This quote and those following in the paragraph, unless stated otherwise, from *Antony Gibbs & Sons* to J. Moens, London, 2 February 1825, CLC/B/012/MS19866/02 ff. 101–18.
- 111 Findings on this topic were made during a research carried out for the author's project 'Medicine & Warfare: The Cinchona Bark in the Peninsular War' funded by the Wellcome Trust Small Grant 203169/Z/16/Z in 2016–17.
- 112 For the period prior to 1800, see Matthew James Crawford, *The Andean Wonder Drug – Cinchona Bark and Imperial Science in the Spanish Atlantic, 1630–1800* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014); *idem*, 'An Empire's Extract: Chemical Manipulations of Cinchona Bark in the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Atlantic World,' *Osiris* 29 (2014), 29: 215–29; Andreas-Holger Maehle, *Drugs on Trial: Experimental Pharmacology and Therapeutic Innovation in the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 223.

- 113 For an example of the use of bark in war situations during the 1820s, see Manuel Codorniu y Ferreras, *Historia de la Salvación del Ejército Expedicionario de Ultramar de la Fiebre llamada Amarilla y medios de evitar los funestos resultados en ella en los sucesivos, Puerto de Santa María, 1 April 1820* (Puerto de Santa María: Ramon Nemesio Quintana, 1820), 9, 79–103.
- 114 Jane Achan, Ambrose O. Talisuna, Annette Erhart, Adoke Yeka, James K. Tibenderana, and Frederick N. Baliraine, 'Quinine, an Old Anti-malarial Drug in a Modern World: Role in the Treatment of Malaria,' *Malaria Journal* 10, no. 144 (2011): 1–12; G. Gachelin, P. Garner, E. Ferroni, U. Tröhler, and I. Chalmers, 'Evaluating Cinchona Bark and Quinine for Treating and Preventing Malaria,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 110, no. 2 (2017): 73–82; Irwin W. Sherman, *Magic Bullets to Conquer Malaria: From Quinine to Qinghaosu* (Washington, DC: ASM Press, 2011).
- 115 H Gibbs to J. Moens, London, 24 and 27 October 1820, 31 December 1820, 10 August 1822, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19866/1 ff. 1–5, 122–8.
- 116 N. Pedemonte to W. Gibbs, Paris, 17 January 1825, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/02 ff. 91–2.
- 117 J. Boom to W. Gibbs, Cadiz, 24 October 1826, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19872 f. 152.
- 118 N. Pedemonte to W. Gibbs, Paris, 5 and 23 March, 2 and 9 April 1825, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/02. ff. 97–106; Arequipa Commission in Gibraltar, 17 July 1829, Accounts relating to Gibraltar 1819–29, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19876/01; 'Our Bark,' Arequipa, 31 October 1829, Accounts South American branches, Arequipa, Peru (1819–1877) LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11031/01. On the situation of the intermediary ports during Cochrane's blockade, see Francisco Betancourt Castillo, 'Negocios e Influencias Informales: La red de poder en el gobierno de Bernardo O'Higgins, 1817–1823,' *Diálogo Andino* 60 (2019): 22–3.
- 119 Letters of Manuel Baños to G. Gibbs including 'Observaciones acerca de los olivos,' 7 September and 7 December 1825, 1 March 1826, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01 ff. 33–4, 37–40.
- 120 'Notice of Partnerships Dissolved,' *The London Gazette*, 28 September 1827, 200.
- 121 For cacao, see for example Antoine Barras to W. Gibbs, Nice, 19 January 1824, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS19864/01 f. 41.
- 122 Crawford, 'An Empire's Extract,' 223. For the Gibbs continuous presence in the area, see TNA FO61/123 f. 231 List of British Mercantile Houses Established in the Towns of Tacna, Arica and Iquique in the Department of Arequipa in the Republic of Peru in 1849 (Arica, 31 January 1849).
- 123 John Orbell and Alison Turton, *British Banking: A Guide to Historical Records* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 220.
- 124 Lord Aldenham, *Pedigree*, 14; R. Gibbs, *Pedigree*, xviii.
- 125 *Ibid.*; R. Gibbs and R. Gibbs, *Reminiscences*, 58.
- 126 See, for example, 'Accounts Gibbs, Crawley & Co – Balance sheet 30 April 1829,' LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11031/01; Observations of Accounts, Lima, 5 February 1840, LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11032/2.
- 127 James Miller, *Fertile Fortune: The Story of Tynesfield* (London: The National Trust, 2006), 13, 17, 39.
- 128 David Hollett, *More Precious Than Gold: The Story of the Peruvian Guano Trade* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), 94–6, 109–19; Gregory T. Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 54–6, 68, 70; Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, eds., *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 129–30.

- 129 See for example, W. Gibbs to H. Gibbs, 27 August 1842, as cited in Hogg, *My Dear Uncle William*, 136; ‘Nr. 3 Speculation on Huano, 30 April 1844,’ LMA, CLC/B/012/MS11032/02 South American branches, Lima, Peru: accounts (1819–83), loose folio; W Gibbs to Henry Hucks Gibbs, 10 March 1858, LMA, CLC/B/012 /MS11021/021 ff. 205–14. Working conditions improved considerably in the 1850s following a complaint made by the British *chargé de affaires* in Lima to the Gibbs’s local representative, see Hollett, *More Precious Than Gold*, 156–63.
- 130 Hollett, *More Precious Than Gold*, 103–12; Pomeranz and Topik, *The World That Trade Created*, 130–1.
- 131 Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World*, 54–54; Pomeranz and Topik, *The World That Trade Created*, 132.
- 132 See, for example, Carol Howard, Lisa Davies, Conrad Heine, Roxana Willis, and Christopher Wilson, eds., *The World of Business: From Valuable Brands and Games Directors Play to Bail-Outs and Bad Boys* (London: The Economist & John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 84; Hollett, *More Precious Than Gold*, 98; Antony Sampson, *The Money Lenders* (London: Penguin Books, 1983), 136; James Foreman-Peck, *A History of the World Economy: International Economic Relations Since 1850* (London: Barnes & Noble, 1983), 14.
- 133 On the importance of trust in a Hispanic trading context, see Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*.
- 134 For the story of how Cinchona seeds were smuggled out of the Americas to be successfully grown and commercialized by the Dutch in Asia, see the biography of Charles Ledger (1818–1905) in Section II of this book.
- 135 R. Gibbs and R. Gibbs, *Reminiscences*, 12.
- 136 *Ibid.*; Juan de Ariza, *El oro y el oropel: comedia en tres actos y en verso estrenada en el Teatro de Lope de Vega el 21 de Octubre de 1853* (Salamanca: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Oliva, 1863).
- 137 Miller, *Fertile fortune*, 52; Richard Roberts, *Autumn Tour in Spain in the Year 1859* (London: Saunder, Otley & Co, 1860), 326; Felix Gonzalez de León, *Noticia Histórica y Curiosa de todos los edificios públicos, sagrados y profanos de esta muy noble, muy leal, muy heroica é invicta Ciudad de Sevilla y de muchas casas particulares* (Seville: Imprenta de D. José Hidalgo y Compañía, 1844), 259.
- 138 R. Gibbs and R. Gibbs, *Reminiscences*, 15.
- 139 *Ibid.*
- 140 For further examples, see ‘Chile’s national flower at Tyntesfield’ and ‘The risky appeal of the common people’ in Section II of this book.
- 141 Miller, *Fertile Fortune*, 41–87; Paul Waterhouse, revised by John Elliott, ‘Norton, John (1823–1904), Architect,’ *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35259>, accessed 18 January 2018; Melanie Hall, ‘James Plucknett of Warwick and Leamington Spa,’ *Furniture History* 32 (1996): 159–78.
- 142 R. Gibbs and R. Gibbs, *Reminiscences*, 12–3.
- 143 See Timothy Brittain-Catlin, Jan De Maeyer, and Martin Bressani, eds., *Gothic Revival Worldwide: A.W.N. Pugin’s Global Influence* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016).
- 144 Kilburn, ‘Gibbs, William,’ *ODNB*; Fiona Reynolds, ‘Preface’ in Miller, *Fertile fortune*, i.