

**Book Exports From Spain and France  
to Latin America  
in the Nineteenth Century**

**Occasional Paper 92**

**September 2002**

**Julio Rodríguez-Luis**

**University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
c/o Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies  
PO Box 413  
Milwaukee, WI 53201**

**Book Exports From Spain and France to Latin America in the Nineteenth Century <sup>1</sup>**  
**Julio Rodríguez-Luis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee**

**Abstract**

This article compares the annual figures for Spanish and French book exports to Latin American countries after independence and until the close of the nineteenth century. The research was motivated by my desire to question the widely accepted notion among Latin Americanists that French culture replaced Spanish as the predominant influence in independent Spanish America. A close examination of trade figures reveals that the number of French books exported to America was very high. It also suggests that Spanish culture regained its dominant role toward the end of the century. The tables included in the appendix, listing the amount of books (by weight) exported every year to at least the most populous Latin American countries by Spain and by France provide a fascinating look at the book trade and at trade in general with the New World during the nineteenth century.

## Introduction

There is a widespread belief among Latin Americanists, especially those working on the literature of Spanish America, that after independence (roughly 1820), the influence of Spanish culture, which was already somewhat on the wane, decreased very rapidly all over Spanish America. Meanwhile, French culture became increasingly important for Spanish Americans, soon replacing Spanish as the main cultural influence. Enrique Anderson Imbert's writings, Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana, a 1954 two-volume book that went through many editions, and an anthology of texts by him and the poet Eugenio Florit, shaped the view of Spanish American literature of many students and even some critics. In Historia he wrote:

lo que ha de ocurrir [between 1825 and 1835] es que la influencia de Francia se afirmará. En efecto, la primera generación hispanoamericana de románticos que saben lo que quieren y actúan con un programa polémico abandonó la madre España y adoptó a Francia como madrastra. Esto, en los países más impulsivos, como Argentina, y sólo hasta mediados del siglo.

[what would happen is that French influence would become stronger. In fact, the first romantic generation in Spanish America gave up on Spain as a mother and adopted France as a stepmother. This is what happened in the most impulsive countries, like Argentina, where it lasted only until mid-century.] (Anderson Imbert, 206) <sup>2</sup>

Let us look at what another canonical book says about the same subject. The Modern Culture of Latin America, by Jean Franco, was first published in 1967 and would become as influential as Anderson Imbert's Historia. Franco's work, in fact, helped change the way of looking at Spanish American literature that Anderson Imbert and other previous histories had fostered. Says Franco:

The fact that the Spanish colonial service required its senior officials in the colonies to be of Spanish birth undoubtedly helped to create a feeling of exaggerated regard for everything that came from Europe. After Independence, the attitude changed, but only superficially. Certainly, there was a decisive reaction in Spanish America against all things Spanish and a rejection, too, of Spanish culture. But this rejection came about, not because Spanish culture did not fit American reality, but because it was traditional, old-fashioned and not in tune with the modern world with which the new generation of Spanish American intellectuals identified themselves . . . . This exalted opinion of the up-to-date European (and especially the French) fashion was not favourable to the native artist. (Franco, 14)

In a footnote, Franco points her readers to the discussion of "the rejection of Spanish culture in Hispanic America" (312) by Leopoldo Zea. In a 1949 book, Dos etapas del pensamiento en Hispanoamérica [Two Stages of Spanish American Thought], this distinguished Mexican thinker, whose contribution to the history of ideas in Spanish America has been considerable, stresses the effects of European models (other than Spanish) on the intellectual make-up of the newly independent countries. Zea begins by describing the anguished, painful process by which the

Hispanic-American man, as he became more and more aware of his dependent relationship with a world which he did not consider his own and with a past which he considered foreign [forged by the colonial system], tried to break once and for all with that world and with that past. (Zea, 7)

He then goes on to discuss romanticism in Spanish America, stating that "Both French and German romanticism inspired in the Hispanic Americans a preoccupation with the reality which appears in

history and culture" (18). In his discussion of philosophical influences, he stresses the role that "Ideology, French traditionalism, eclecticism, utilitarianism, the Scottish school, and the romantic socialism of Saint-Simon" (21) played in shaping the minds of Spanish American thinkers. Later, Zea says that "Victor Hugo and Lamartine's lyricism expressed these men's desire for liberty" (21), and quotes Alberdi on how from Echeverría, "who had been educated in France," he "learned of Lermnier, Villemain, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Lamartine, Byron, and of everything that was then known as romanticism as opposed to the old classical school." (22)

While Franco, following Zea, seems to imply that the rejection of Spanish culture by the new nations was permanent, Anderson Imbert points to the survival of Spain's influence:

Después los hispanoamericanos se darán cuenta de que Francia no era una madrastra, sino una buena tía, y abrirán los brazos al romanticismo español. Es así como, en los países de más lento paso, el romanticismo llegó tarde y hablando, no en francés o en inglés, sino en español. La literatura romántica europea entraba por ahí ya españolizada. No es que disminuya la influencia francesa (esto no sucederá sino en el siglo XX), sino que aumenta la española.

[Afterwards Spanish Americans would realize that France was not a stepmother but a good aunt, and would embrace Spanish romanticism. This is why in those countries where things happened at a slower pace, romanticism arrived late and speaking neither in French nor in English, but in Spanish. Thus, European romantic literature entered those countries looking already Spanish. Which is not to say that French influence diminished (this will only happen in the 20<sup>th</sup> century), but that Spanish influence increases.] (Anderson Imbert, 207)

Notice that in Anderson Imbert's view, if the Spanish cultural influence survives and even increases in Spanish America after independence, it is only as a sort of poor-man's substitute, since in the "leading countries" it was mostly French literature that the intellectuals read.<sup>3</sup>

As, first of all, a Spanish American who grew up in a Spanish American country, but also as someone who has studied the literature of Spanish America, I always felt that the perception of its culture expressed by the critics just quoted, and which continues to be predominant among Latin Americanists,<sup>4</sup> was somewhat wrong. My own personal reading of Spanish American literature led me to believe that it continued to be heavily influenced by Spain after independence. I thought, in other words, that the role of French culture in Spanish America, although by no means unimportant, had been greatly exaggerated by critics who had assumed that political emancipation meant also cultural emancipation from Spain; they extended, without investigating the matter in sufficient depth, the undeniable influence that Rousseau and other philosophes had on the Spanish American revolutionaries of 1810, into the realm of literature.

The only way to test the possible validity of my own views was, I finally decided, to examine the records on book exports from Spain and from France to Latin America after independence, and to then compare the results. Although any given culture manifests itself and interacts with other cultures through many means, it was principally through the books it produced that a culture--before film and television would become the dominant media--spread its influence beyond its national or political borders. The focus of my investigation is not book production in Spain and France or the history of readership in Latin America, but something much more limited: a comparison of trade figures through which I hope to be able to suggest some conclusions about cultural influence.

I knew, from my own experience checking biographical information for critical editions, and from that of friends who had conducted extensive archival research in Spain, that it had been the custom in that country since at least the 1400s to keep very detailed data on practically everything that had legal implications or commercial value. It was more than likely then that records had been kept of the number of books exported to America. A search through several Madrid archives (Archivo Nacional, Archivo General de la Administración--located in Alcalá de Henares) and the information available at others (Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Sevilla's Archivo de Indias), as well as visits to the Dirección General del Libro, the Dirección General de Aduanas, and the libraries of two ministries all proved unsuccessful. I found the documents I was looking for, finally, in the library of the old Ministerio de Hacienda [Finances], a Carlos III (1759-1788) building on Alcalá, very close to Puerta del Sol. The library of the old Ministerio keeps copies (which most likely can be found also at the Biblioteca Nacional) of a Cuadro General del Comercio Exterior de España con sus Posesiones de Ultramar y Potencias Extranjeras [General Chart of Spain's Foreign Trade with its Overseas Possessions and Foreign Powers].

This publication began to appear in 1849 and initially was published annually, and again after 1882, but between 1862 and 1882 it appeared with delays of up to four years. It was published by the Dirección General de Aduanas y Aranceles [Custom Duties], under the imprint of various publishers (Calleja, Baz, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra; Imprenta Nacional being the most common). The annual contains extremely detailed records on all the trade between Spain and its own colonies and the foreign nations, from lard and olive oil to fans and lace, and including books. The products are listed in alphabetical order, and, as the years go by, with increasing complexity regarding subcategories. By the 1870s, books appear in the second group of the eighth class or category, which

includes all paper products. Only the 1850 Cuadro General del Comercio Exterior is missing from the collection of the Ministerio de Hacienda. Beginning in 1861 the first word in the title of the yearbook changes to Estadística. The format of the publication undergoes other changes in the course of the years, the most pertinent of which I will mention. As of 1898 the annual was published in two volumes. Since my project was to examine book exports during the nineteenth century, I limited my study of the yearbooks to the volumes covering 1849 to 1900, although I looked at a few after 1900 in order to see how the book trade continued to evolve.

### **Spanish Books**

The library collection of the Ministerio de Hacienda includes a few texts that show there were some attempts before 1849 to compile and make Spain's trade records available. In 1803 the Royal Press published a Balanza del Comercio de España con las Potencias Extranjeras for the year 1792. An Advertencia or preface explains that in England, Germany and France, each country's trade accounts are known. They specify, with enough accuracy to guide the government's economic policy, the resulting profits or losses from the import and export of industrial and primary products either original or foreign to the country (géneros y frutos propios y extraños). The year 1792 is chosen because, being the last year in which the country was at peace (in 1793 Spain went to war against revolutionary France), trade was more active than in the years to follow. Among the many products listed in the Balanza is paper, but not books. A manuscript book dated 1795 contains some information on exports and imports, but although it lists America in the title, I couldn't find any data on the American trade. There is another Balanza, for the year 1826, published in 1828. Its preface makes reference to what was attempted in 1795, adding that there is so much backwardness in Spain regarding economic policy that the usefulness of that publication was not very great. The preface also



apologizes that the data that follows is not as accurate as it should be, yet it is hoped that the information can be of some value. A similar book covering 1827 is being prepared, announces the preface, adding that the 1828 edition will improve in accuracy, and those following even more so. The records include data on the exportation of books printed in Spanish to various European countries and also to America, without specifying to which countries the books went. Listed under libros are 12,762 volúmenes (the actual books?); 30 volúmenes of libros de marquilla en blanco (agendas?); and 176 boxes of libros impresos (printed books). These are the only other publications on Spain's foreign trade found in the Ministerio de Hacienda library besides the publication that first appears in 1849.

The records for 1849 differentiate between printed books (libros impresos) and bound books (libros encuadernados); they list also libros en blanco, which must mean agendas and the like. The distinction between libros impresos and encuadernados disappears in 1851, when only printed books are listed. In 1855, however, the data on the total value of exports in the "paper" category for some countries includes, in addition to books, paper and naipes [cards]; libros en blanco are also listed, destined for Cuba and Puerto Rico. The headings for books in some of the years following add specifications like "in the Spanish language," or "in paper." From 1859 on I think it is safe to assume that the data refers only to printed books, regardless of their appearance. It is very important to keep in mind that the figures quoted refer to weight, i.e., arrobas (a unit of weight approximately 11.5 kgs or 25 pounds) and later on, beginning in 1863, kilograms. The Cuadro also specifies how much money the exportation of books brought in, initially using the real as the currency unit, later the escudo, and eventually the peseta. In 1888 exports to Europe and America, which until then had been separated, begin to be listed in the same section, and the monetary value no longer appears with the export quantities.

The 1849 Cuadro contains data for very few countries: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Chile, the United States (Estados Unidos), Mexico, Nueva Granada (present-day Colombia), Río de la Plata (Argentina), and Venezuela. We find that in 1849, unidades of bound books (which I assume are measured in arrobos, since it is also under unidades that, for instance, the quantity of lemons is listed) were exported to what is now Argentina (733), Cuba (6,106), and Puerto Rico (14). Libros impresos were exported to Cuba (1,900), Puerto Rico (171), Chile (73), Mexico (8), Nueva Granada (5), Río de la Plata (10), Venezuela (1) and the United States (90).

Cuba and Puerto Rico consistently appear in the Cuadro. Mexico and Río de la Plata (later called República Argentina) are rarely missing--the former in 1863 and 1867, when the country was partially occupied by French troops, and the latter in 1864-1866.<sup>5</sup> These are years, at any rate, when the data recorded for all countries is very scarce. On at least one occasion I found that while there were no figures for libros impresos going to the River Plate area, there was a figure for kilograms of printed paper. Chile and Uruguay are included in a majority of the volumes, but by no means in all (e.g., Chile is missing from the records for an entire decade, from 1861 through 1870; Chile is also missing from other yearbooks.) Peru, Nueva Granada and Venezuela also appear frequently. After 1870 more Spanish American countries are listed, although some remain absent or appear irregularly and even sporadically. Only in the twentieth century will all the Latin American countries be listed, except that for some there are no figures. The United States appears very seldom until the early 1870s, and the inclusion of Brazil is even more rare until 1891. (After that year, figures for Brazil appear in every volume except 1898.)

The annuals for 1849, 1851 (1850 is missing), and 1852 mention, next to the monetary value of the book trade, whether the books had been transported by Spanish ships or if some had traveled in foreign vessels. In 1853 the yearbook lists separately the arrobos of Spanish books transported to

a particular country by non-Spanish vessels, specifying the ships's nationality (French, English, Sardinian, etc.); e.g., there are two figures listed for Mexico in 1853: 2,518, which we assume were the arrobos of books carried by Spanish ships, and another figure (775), in a separate list of American countries, with the notation bandera mexicana [Mexican flag]. After several years (the 1855 book states the total value of exported books carried by Spanish and by foreign vessels, adding that there were only two in the latter category) the procedure becomes standard until 1876, when the totals by country begin to appear in two columns, one corresponding to books transported by Spanish ships, and another to books carried by foreign vessels, whose nationality is no longer identified (French vessels, by the way, had predominated in the book trade). While practically all the books exported to Cuba and Puerto Rico (Spanish colonies until 1898) traveled by Spanish ships, after 1870 transport by foreign ships predominates among the independent Spanish American nations. That year Mexico received 320 kgs of books carried by Spanish vessels, and 2,125 kgs by non-Spanish (in this case French), while Italian ships carried 7,098 kgs of Spanish books to Río de la Plata, and Spanish ships, 4,898 kgs. In 1871, of the relatively high number of books that Mexico imported, only 221 kgs arrived there in Spanish ships, while over 4,000 kgs were transported by French and Italian ships. Ships flying the Italian flag transported that same year 4,006 kgs of books to Río de la Plata and 2,681 kgs to Uruguay. In 1872 no books seem to have gone to Mexico via Spanish ships, while over 7,000 kgs were carried by French, English and Italian vessels. Beginning in 1883, the situation changes drastically, and Mexico starts importing the bulk of its Spanish books in Spanish ships.

My guess is that the record keeping must have missed a good deal of the exports carried by non-Spanish ships. In 1859 Mexico appears to have received only 179 arrobos of Spanish books, and Río de la Plata, 228, all, we assume, carried by Spanish vessels, since there isn't any notation of other ships carrying books to either country that year. The figures for Mexico are very low in the preceding

years as well as in the years following, until 1870; yet, that country was already importing, according to the records, a sizable amount of Spanish books in 1853: 2,518 arrobas. This makes me think that if the figures appear to be so much lower in the years that follow (e.g., 1,160 in 1855, 167 in 1857, 179 in 1859, 12 in 1860) this does not mean that Mexico was importing fewer Spanish books, but that it was doing so mostly via non-Spanish vessels which were not being recorded. Mexican vessels carried 180 arrobas of books to Mexico in 1856, and 97 arrobas the following year, while Sardinian ships carried 40 arrobas in 1858; there are no figures at all for the exportation of books to Mexico by non-Spanish ships between 1859 and 1868 (and no figures at all for Mexico in 1863 and 1867); in 1870, as noted above, that country received most of its Spanish books from French vessels. Curiously, in 1857 Cuba is listed as having received a fair number of Spanish books via foreign vessels: United States' ships (102 arrobas ), Belgian (36), English (12) and French (139)--and Sardinian (40) in 1858. Another suggestion that the record keeping, especially during the first decades of the yearbook's publication, was not as accurate as one would have hoped, is demonstrated by figures for Río de la Plata. By 1863, this country is importing 9,100 kgs of books from Spain (one third of the amount imported by Cuba), yet the year before it appears to have imported only 273 kgs of books; 480 in 1861, 683 in 1860, and 228 in 1859. (Uruguay, listed separately; imported 1,380 kgs of Spanish books in 1863.) In 1872 (an annual, by the way, which was only published in 1876) the classification of paper products, under which we find books, becomes more complex: papel para escribir, de fumar, de pergamino, impreso en etiquetas, libros impresos [writing paper, cigarette paper, parchment, labels, printed books]. This growth in categories may reflect better bookkeeping.

The quantity of books exported to Cuba is, from the beginning of the record keeping, always in the thousands of arrobas.

**Spanish Book Exports to Cuba (arrobas)**

<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1856</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1862</u>
4,583	2,519	2,840	3,213	1,475	1,802

In 1863 the figure for Spanish books that Cuba imported reaches a truly astonishing figure, by comparison with other countries (27,785 kgs). After dropping below 20,000 in the years immediately following, the number of kgs of Spanish books going to Cuba grows to 60,168 in 1867 and 68,300 the year after. These high figures may simply reflect better record keeping for Cuba due to its colonial status, which may also account for a stronger influence of Spanish culture in that nation than in other Spanish American nations. The numbers for Puerto Rico only climb above 1000 in 1863 (2,115 kgs); the year before the amount was only 133 arrobas, but even lower are the figures for the books exported to some nations (e.g., 47 arrobas to Guatemala, 10 to Venezuela and 2 to Perú in 1855; 10 kgs to Santo Domingo in 1870, 69 in 1875, 13 in 1890; 48 kgs to Nicaragua in 1880; 45 kgs to San Salvador (El Salvador) in 1884; 22 kgs to Costa Rica and 120 kgs to Ecuador in 1893). Keeping in mind that there are always ups and downs in the figures (even those for Cuba), it can be said that the number of books exported by Spain to the New World grows rather consistently from 1870 on--and in some cases dramatically--even in the case of countries that were importing small amounts of Spanish books. By 1899, for example, Santo Domingo (present-day República Dominicana) appears to be importing 160 kgs of Spanish books. Only the number of books going to the United States remains very low relative to the size of the country and its Hispanic population. In the early years of the Cuadro the figures are sometimes in the single or double digits (7 arrobas in 1860, 13 in 1861). Figures increase substantially in 1873, decrease to well under 1000 kgs in

1876 and remain that way until 1891, reaching 2,204 kgs in 1893, then decreasing once again; at century's end, Spain exports 767 kgs of books to the United States.

**Spanish Book Exports to the United States (kgs)**

<u>1873</u>	<u>1876</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>1897</u>	<u>1899</u>	<u>1900</u>
1,495	687	1,525	2,204	164	101	767

By 1873, Mexico's book imports have grown considerably to 16,832 kgs. The following year Mexico imports 36,435 kgs of books (all carried by non-Spanish vessels), which is close to the amount going to Cuba (45,413 kgs). In addition, Mexico received 60 kgs of books via Spanish ships in 1874. Río de la Plata also received the great bulk of the Spanish books it imported in 1874 (30,758 kgs) in non-Spanish ships, as did Peru (1,879 kgs) and Uruguay (13,782 kgs). It's not surprising that in 1876, Mexico imported more books from Spain (56,959 kgs, 30 of which via Spanish ships) than did Cuba (48,066 kgs), given the size of its population compared to that of the neighboring island. The same year, Río de la Plata imported 26,598 kgs of Spanish books, and Uruguay, 12,806 kgs. Mexico continues to import more books from Spain than Cuba (a total of 81,481 kgs in 1877) until 1879, when it appears to have imported only 16,335 kgs of Spanish books, a figure below that of Río de la Plata (45,382 kgs) and Uruguay (26,414 kgs), and even the figure for Puerto Rico (16,586 kgs). Cuba is at the top of the list that year, with 79,673 kgs of books, 740 of which arrived in foreign ships. Curiously, it is followed by the Posesiones danesas [Danish colonies, nowadays the U.S. Virgin Islands], with 77,652 kgs. Those islands appear the year before for the first time in the Estadística, when they imported 3,477 kgs of Spanish books, already an unusually high number considering the size of the islands' population; 77,000 is a figure probably higher than the total number of people that lived then in Saint Thomas, the main island of the Virgin Islands. The French colonies also start appearing in the yearbook in 1878, with 27 kgs of books; in 1880 they imported

34,357 kgs. The Dutch colonies appear only once, in 1881; the British colonies appear once in 1868, but after 1889 are featured regularly, while after 1883, the Danish Caribbean islands only reappear once, in 1889, when they imported 1,295 kgs of Spanish books. Obviously, most if not all those books imported by the Danish Antilles for a few years (47,762 kgs in 1880, 42,784 in 1881, 10,859 in 1882) must have been re-exported to other countries, including perhaps the United States, which imported so few books directly from Spain. This points to the relative unreliability of the records included in the annual, given that we don't know where the books unloaded in Saint Thomas were destined.

By 1880, Río de la Plata was importing over 50,000 kgs of Spanish books, an amount it had already reached in 1878 (55,778 kgs, of which more than 17,000 kgs arrived via Spanish ships). In 1882 the number of Spanish books exported to Mexico increases to 122,902 kgs, 10,000 more than to Cuba, the figures for which continue to be lower than those for Mexico in the following years. (Two-thirds of Mexico's books in 1885 arrived via Spanish ships.)

**Spanish Book Exports to Cuba and Mexico (kgs)**

	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>
<b>Cuba</b>	111,160	100,284	101,940	66,400
<b>Mexico</b>	122,902	102,794	126,953	108,775

Although Argentina was importing fewer Spanish books than Mexico in 1883 (60,117 kgs) and the years that immediately follow, if we add to that figure the number of books imported by Uruguay (49,453 kgs in 1883), the total for the region (109,570 kgs) is above the figure for Mexico. It is very possible, however, that some or many of the books that arrived in Buenos Aires and in Montevideo ended up in other Spanish American countries, including Chile, which shows consistently low figures. By the same token, of the books unloaded in Mexican ports, a good number might have gone

to Central America, many of whose nations are absent from the yearbook or, if present, show very low figures (e.g., in 1883, Nicaragua received 211 kgs of Spanish books, and El Salvador, 362 kgs).

The case of Chile is worth mentioning. Despite being, by 1849 (the first year Spain began publishing data on exports and imports), one of the most advanced Latin American nations, with a relatively high literacy rate, a stable political situation and a prosperous bourgeoisie, Chile appears to be importing negligible amounts of Spanish books, e.g., 73 arrobas in 1849, 156 in 1854, 176 kgs in 1871. (As mentioned above, the data on Chile is missing for several years; from 1864 to 1866 Chile was at war with Spain.)

#### **Spanish Book Exports to Chile (kgs)**

<u>1875</u>	<u>1879</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1894</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1897</u>	<u>1900</u>
3,640	110	798	254	1,049	197	4,894	496	169	10,602	31,937

In 1875 the numbers increase to 540 kgs of books imported via French ships, and 3,100 kgs via English ships; the amount continues in the low thousands for a few years, and then decreases to 110 kgs in 1879, not reaching the one thousand mark again until 1885, only to decrease again in 1888. After 1891 the figure is again above one thousand for a while, but goes substantially down in 1894 and is even lower the year after. Only once before 1899 (in 1897) did Chile import, according to the yearbook, over 10,000 kgs of Spanish books. In 1900, however, that country received 22,634 kgs of Spanish books via Spanish vessels, and 9,903 via non-Spanish ones. The disparity between this last figure and those preceding it, combined with the cultural and social conditions mentioned previously, suggests that data collecting with regard to Chile was particularly deficient, probably because Spanish books entered Chile via ways other than the country's ports. That Chile had a strong publishing industry may have something to do with the low figures for Spanish book imports, but is clearly not a sufficient explanation, since Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba and Colombia also



had many printing outlets during the same period.<sup>6</sup> In addition, Peru (absent from the yearbook more often than Chile) received, according to the annuals, minimal amounts of Spanish books, something especially surprising given how Spanish-oriented was Peruvian culture (more so than Chile) during the nineteenth century.

**Comparison Between Mexico, Argentina, and Cuba (kgs)**

_____	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1894</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1897</u>	<u>1899</u>	<u>1900</u>
<b>Argentina</b>	59,651	81,737	122,644*	120,191	163,462	186,229	228,677
<b>Cuba</b>	96,650	103,725	143,147	97,932	263,904	202,634	94,952
<b>Mexico</b>	190,243	156,517	131,530	139,538	173,497	189,378	272,594

\* Figure includes Uruguay.

Mexico continues to lead the rest of Spanish America in the importation of Spanish books throughout the 1880s. In 1892 the total kgs of books exported to Cuba surpasses the 100,000 mark (25,117 kgs to Puerto Rico). In 1894 Cuba imported more books than Mexico and more than Argentina and Uruguay combined. In 1895, Mexico is again above Cuba. But in 1897 the latter again surpasses its neighbor, importing 90,000 kgs more than did Mexico. Notice that this happened despite the fact that a war of independence was happening in Cuba, whose literacy rate was by no means high.<sup>7</sup> It is very possible, of course, that some of the books going to Cuba were then shipped to other countries. In 1899, Cuba, is already listed as an independent country (until 1898 Cuba and Puerto Rico appear always at the top of the list, as Spanish possessions) While the bulk of the books going to Mexico traveled in Spanish ships, the majority of those going to the River Plate went by foreign vessels. The last year of the century shows Cuba as receiving 94,952 kgs of Spanish books, México a truly astronomical amount, 272,594 kgs, and Argentina, 228,677 kgs.

I examined a few annuals after 1900. In 1905, Argentina imported more Spanish books (419,614 kgs) than did Mexico (306,652 kgs) or Cuba (209,854 kgs). The yearbook was now listing all the Spanish American countries in alphabetical order, but for many of them there is no data on books included. Mexico and Cuba continued to obtain most of their Spanish books via Spanish ships; Argentina received most via foreign ships. In 1910 Argentina imported over one million kgs of Spanish books, not really surprising considering that by then Buenos Aires was the largest Latin American capital and a very important commercial center. The figures for other countries are considerably below those for Argentina.

**Early Twentieth Century Spanish Book Trade Figures (kgs)**

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>
<b>Argentina</b>	1,114,106	580,216
<b>Mexico</b>	285,763	25,812
<b>Cuba</b>	188,512	272,096
<b>Chile</b>	46,607	12,195
<b>United States</b>	4,707	---
<b>Peru</b>	7	---
<b>Panama</b>	101,371	---
<b>Puerto Rico</b>	24,744	---
<b>Santo Domingo</b>	55,007	---
<b>Uruguay</b>	35,142	39,626
<b>Colombia</b>	---	405

In 1915 the figure for Argentina has decreased to 580,216 kgs (of which more than half a million were transported by Spanish ships); Mexico's decrease that year was surely due to the effects of the Mexican Revolution. The figure for Chile continues to be below that of Uruguay, and

Colombia imported only 405 kgs of Spanish books. After 1915 there is data for more countries than before (including Paraguay, Honduras, Bolivia, etc.). From 1926 on, the units listed are no longer kilograms but quintales métricos (100 kgs.; a quintal weighs 100 pounds or 4 arrobas), which are considered to be equivalent to 650 pesetas each. That year Argentina imported 1,357 quintales métricos of Spanish books; other figures include Cuba (739), Mexico (268), Bolivia (2), Peru (3), Venezuela (70), etc.

### **French Books**

Locating the records on French book exports proved easy once I knew where the equivalent records could be found in Spain. The two countries had been ruled by Bourbon kings from 1700 until 1848 (considering that the last French king, Louis-Philippe de Orléans, belonged to a branch of the Bourbon family), and thus by similar bureaucratic organizations. The Napoleonic state, which ruled France after the revolutionary period was over (1799-1814 and 1853-1870), and also Spain (1808-1813), codified, reinforced and extended many of the ancien régime practices, besides introducing new practices still in use. I wrote to the Ministère des Finances in Paris and received, in due time, a letter from the librarian of the ministry telling me that indeed their archives included records on the foreign trade of France from 1827 onward. Upon my arrival in Paris many boxes full of those books were waiting for me at the Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances's library in the ministry building, an ultra-modern complex in rue de Bercy, near the Lyon Station. (Recently the archives of the ministry have been moved to the Centre des Archives Économiques et Financières de la Direction du Personnel, de la Modernisation et de l'Administration in the suburb of Savigny le Temple).

Actually, France began gathering data on its foreign trade in 1825. This data appears in a book, Tableau general du commerce de la France avec ses colonies et les puissances étrangères pendant l'année 1825 [General List of France's trade with its colonies and the foreign states during the year 1825], published the following year. In 1825 France exported a total of 693,774 kgs of books in French, and there is mention of ships going to and coming from Brazil, Buenos Aires, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Mexico, the Dutch, English and Spanish islands, and Saint Domingue (Haiti). The following year the record begins to distinguish between books in French and books in langues mortes ou étrangères [classical or foreign tongues]. The figures corresponding to books in French are, of course, those I quote. In 1828 the format begins listing separately the total value of merchandise exported in French ships and that exported via foreign vessels or by land. In 1829 the yearbook starts listing the destination of the exports. The figures, however, are for the total of manufactured goods exported. There is also a separate listing for commerce spécial. This, according to the 1830 annual, differs from general trade in that, while the latter means everything that goes abroad, without making a distinction between merchandise from France and that from warehouses located there, special trade refers exclusively to merchandise coming from French soil or made in France that leaves its territory permanently. For some countries the two figures are the same; for others they vary, with that for commerce spécial being generally slightly lower than commerce général; in most cases there is only the latter, so this is the figure quoted in this article. A few of the annuals are missing from the collection of the Ministry of Finances. It is my understanding that France has not stopped publishing the same type of record, although I only checked the yearbooks through 1900.

In 1831 the actual numbers of French books exported to each country begins to be listed:

**French Book Exports, 1831 (kgs)**

<b>United States</b>	<b>Haiti</b>	<b>English colonies</b>	<b>Spanish colonies</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Mexico</b>	<b>Colombia</b>	<b>Peru</b>	<b>Chile</b>	<b>Río de la Plata</b>
25,834	2,118	130	3,580	12,298	8,099	1,255	302	1,906	2,515

These are rather high figures; for all countries listed except Cuba they are higher than the figures for Spanish books twenty years later, even taking into account that Spain was still using then the arroba, weighing 11.5 kgs., as the unit of measurement. When, as is very often the case, data on the books exported to a particular Latin American country is missing (sometimes there are figures on books for only three or four countries), I checked the totals for that country under the categories "paper, books and engravings," or "carton, paper, books and engravings" (some examples of those figures are included in the appendix). The differences between the general and the special trade figures are, in those categories, sometimes very noticeable, reaching 10,000 kgs.

**Comparative French Book Export Figures (kgs)**

	<u>1836</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1839</u>	<u>1840</u>
<b>Cuba/Puerto Rico</b>	6,622	5,018	6,615	8,602	16,195
<b>Mexico</b>	21,198	9,314	7,392	12,610	19,003
<b>Río de la Plata</b>	4,622	4,260	1,792	1,930	1,136
<b>Chile</b>	11,863	7,402	2,836	8,910	10,916
<b>Peru</b>	2,212	1,449	1,898	1,998	3,785
<b>Venezuela</b>	---	6,367	6,662	10,855	9,246
<b>Colombia (Nueva Granada)</b>	4,726	303	558	---	144
<b>Guatemala</b>	362	542	302	---	619
<b>Uruguay</b>	---	---	---	---	1,726

In the years following 1831, the numbers for Cuba and Puerto Rico (which are listed together) continue to increase, as do also those for Mexico, but the figures for Río de la Plata stay under 5,000 kgs. Chile, on the other hand, appears to import enormous quantities of French, far more than Argentina. Peru was importing in the 1830s as many or more French books seemingly than Spanish books in the same decade. Venezuela is not always listed, but when it does appear the figures are high. Curiously, Colombia appears as having imported 4,726 kgs of French books in 1836, but in the years that follow, when it is listed as Nueva Granada, it imported far less. Uruguay appears in 1840 for the first time.

In 1842, the category of "special trade" is widened to include merchandise that, having become nationalized by the payment of entry tariffs, is then exported. The figure for commerce spécial, when it appears, continues to be only slightly below that of commerce général, e.g., 30,836 kgs to 31,137 kgs for the United States in 1842, much lower, by the way, than the year before (55,486 kgs and 55,027 kgs). Book exports to Cuba and Puerto Rico generally decrease after 1841, but in 1845 reach 18,426 kgs, a figure higher than that for Mexico (15,650 kgs) and Chile (13,813 kgs), but that amount will decrease again in the years that follow. In 1846 the figure for Chile is above 18,000 kgs, and that of Mexico is close to 9,000 kgs. In 1847, 21,002 kgs of French books went to Chile, and the figures for Mexico will grow to 26,284 kgs in 1849 and 37,586 kgs in 1850. The number of French books being exported to Brazil in 1847 was amazingly high: 43,693 kgs, only 25,000 kgs under the figure for the United States. That same year Nueva Granada imported close to 10,000 kgs of French books.

The French trade yearbook features a more complex organization than its Spanish equivalent; in fact, some of the terms it employs to describe the procedure used to gather data are so technical that specialized knowledge is required. By the same token, and because the annual includes

comparative data on exports and imports for every country with which France traded, one can see how commercial relations between the Latin American nations and France evolved throughout the nineteenth century. By 1851, for example, Brazil followed Turkey in importance as a trade partner for France. Chile and Peru imported that year very similar amounts of French books, 12,525 kgs and 12,592 kgs, respectively, while the figure for Río de la Plata was 9,186 kgs, slightly below the year before. That same year Mexico received 44,327 kgs of French books, or more than Brazil (33,847 kgs) and only some 15,000 kgs under the figure for the United States. Book exports to Mexico decrease after that year, but remain high (e.g., 22,917 kgs in 1860, in the midst of the civil war). Those to Río de la Plata are often above 15,000 kgs for the next decade; the figure for Chile reaches 28,342 kgs in 1857; the same year Peru imported 16,410 kgs of French books.

In 1860, Río de la Plata ranks after Brazil in the amount of French merchandise it imported (for a total of 46 million Francs). That year, Chile imported more than 25,000 kgs of French books. The records for 1861 show Brazil as being eleventh in the list of France's trading partners in imports, and eighth in the export category, after the United States. Book exports to Cuba and Puerto Rico increase that year to 17,298 kgs. Curiously, the amount of books exported to the United States decreases considerably for most of the decade, but not so those going to Brazil, which reach 88,615 kgs in 1862. Figures vary considerably during the 1860s, and are often absent for many countries. In 1865, during the French occupation, Mexico received 34,727 kgs of French books, and Río de la Plata, 24,872 kgs (over 1,000 more than Chile); three years later, the figures for Mexico and Río de la Plata are, respectively, 10,716 kgs and 17,399 kgs, with Chile under 10,000 kgs, and Cuba and Puerto Rico, now listed as Spanish possessions, at double that amount. The annual had become by then even more technical in some respects, while, at the same time, eliminating some of the analytical summaries it used to feature. There are totals for three-year periods and for the first five

months of every year; there is data on whether merchandise was transported by French or foreign vessels or by land. The 1866 book starts a distinction, under commerce spécial, between the quantities exported raw (au brut) and net, with the differences between those figures being sometimes considerable.

The 1869 annual (which only appeared in 1871 due to the siege of Paris and a fire in the ministry that destroyed many records) shows Mexico as receiving approximately 12,000 kgs of French books less than Nueva Granada (16,911 kgs to 28,224 kgs). The preceding year the figures are already 10,716 kgs to 26,881 kgs; this, of course, may be related to the expulsion of the French invaders). Río de la Plata is some 2,000 kgs under Nueva Granada, but with the addition of Uruguay's 11,589 kgs of books, the region leads all other Spanish American countries in the importation of French books. Chile and Peru are not listed under books that year, but in the paper category the figures for them are, respectively, 554,021 kgs and 696,488 kgs. In 1870 Mexico is again above Nueva Granada and Río de la Plata, but after 1871 and for a few years, the latter leads, coming very close to the figures for Brazil (44,471 kgs in 1872, compared to Brazil's 46,873 kgs) and surpassing that country when the figure for Uruguay (15,740 kgs) is added. It is interesting that a country as small and poor as Haiti, although not always present in the record, seems to have been importing a sizable number of French books (9,420 kgs in 1871), i.e., the fact that the Haitian bourgeoisie spoke French due to the country's colonial past, outweighs, when it comes to book imports from France, the dismal poverty of the island. There is an extraordinarily high figure for Nueva Granada in 1873: 73,693 kgs of books, almost 20,000 more than Brazil, something that leads me to believe that many of those books must have been re-exported.

In 1875, Río de la Plata follows Brazil as France's trading partner for imports and exports (thirteenth and eleventh, respectively). In the area of books, however, Argentina ranks well above



Brazil, having imported 111,769 kgs of French books, while the latter imported 60,462 kgs. But that extraordinary figure goes down the following years: 69,158 kgs in 1876 (still above Brazil); 56,570 kgs in 1877 (now under Brazil's figure by some 6,000 kgs). Very few Latin American countries are listed in the category for books between 1873 and 1880 (actually none in 1879); the United States, however, is almost never absent from the records, which specify that the exports go to the country's Atlantic coast—only once is there mention of exports going to the Pacific coast. Although figures for paper, books, prints, etc. are available for many countries, how many of those kilograms correspond to actual books is impossible to determine.

**Comparative French Book Export Figures, 1880s (kgs)**

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>
<b>Argentina</b>	80,549	73,244	104,730	153,795	80,669	89,882
<b>Brazil</b>	48,706	88,296	57,216	---	178,128	105,665
<b>United States</b>	63,400	73,261	98,928	92,520	69,349	---
<b>Mexico</b>	---	57,825	78,406	62,811	---	69,144
<b>Nueva Granada</b>	---	67,445	---	59,240	---	---

In 1880, Argentina, importing 80,549 kgs of French books, is again above Brazil and the United States. The following year figures for both the United States and Argentina are both below that of Brazil. In 1882, Argentina is once again at the top of the list, having surpassed the 100,000 kgs figure. One year later it imported 153,795 kgs of French books, or almost 60,000 more than the United States. But by that time Argentina was also a more important trading partner for France than Brazil (tenth in imports, while the latter was fourteenth; it also ranks above Brazil by one in exports, as ninth) and close to the position enjoyed by the United States (sixth and third, respectively). That very high figure in the importation of French books goes down afterwards as low as 72,675 kgs (in 1887), while Brazil was again leading all Latin American nations in the importation of French books.

In 1889 Argentina is again above the 100,000 figure (110,892 kgs); however, the absence of data on the importation of French books for other countries that and other years (only the United States and Argentina are listed in 1887-1890; in 1886 Mexico appears also), makes it impossible to judge what those figures meant relative to the rest of Latin America. Still, it should be mentioned that the 1889 total figures for French books and prints for México and Brazil are huge: 1,303,485 kgs and 1,655,239 kgs, respectively. In the much larger category "paper and its applications," there are high figures that same year for Peru (119,617 kgs), Chile (346,245 kgs) and Cuba and Puerto Rico (847,026 kgs).

The annuals for 1891 through 1896 are either missing completely or had been misplaced in the Fontainebleau archives, where ministerial records are kept (the 1832 yearbook was also unavailable). As of 1896, the Tableau began to be published in two volumes.

**Comparative French Book Export Figures, late 19<sup>th</sup> Century (kgs)**

	<u>1897</u>	<u>1898</u>	<u>1899</u>	<u>1900</u>
<b>United States</b>	105,553	103,363	113,048	104,146
<b>Brazil</b>	168,709	90,452	---	---
<b>Mexico</b>	90,678	118,500	96,971	72,902
<b>Colombia</b>	88,476	53,166	52,278	47,260
<b>Argentina</b>	68,796	66,035	32,499	---
<b>Chile</b>	44,486	---	---	---

In 1897 Argentina continues to lead Brazil as France's trading partner in the area of imports, but is two places below in exports. The United States was by then importing over 100,000 kgs of French books; the figure for Brazil is substantially higher. Mexico is now the leading importer of French books among Spanish American countries, followed by Colombia, Argentina, and Chile. Curiously, the figures for books, prints, carton, etc., decrease, in some cases very drastically, beginning in 1897

(e.g. Guatemala imported 28,127 kgs of "paper and its applications" in 1885, but only 5,935 kgs in 1897). In 1898, Mexico continues to lead, this time all the American nations, in the importation of French books. Only the United States (listed as the top importer of French goods in the entire world that year) is, besides Mexico, above the 100,000 figure. The next year, the figure for Argentina has decreased considerably, to 32,499 kgs; Colombia stays about the same, and Mexico is below the United States. In 1900, the last year of the record I consulted, Argentina was seventh in French imports, while Brazil had dropped to sixteenth (the two countries were closer in the export category, eleventh and twelfth, respectively). There are only figures on books for three countries that year: the United States, México and Colombia.

The archives of the French Ministry of Finances contain other publications of great value for the researcher besides the Tableau. Also available are books on France's foreign trade and its economic situation for various time periods, synopses of trade for ten-year periods, books containing "facts" related to trade, like statistics, trade treaties, trade legislation, and, finally, analyses of France's trade with certain groups of countries during given periods. (I consulted one for the Amérique du Sud which included Chile, the River Plate area, and Paraguay, for the years 1843 to 1866; there are others for Central America that include Colombia and Venezuela; for Brazil, etc.)

### **Conclusion**

Let us keep in mind first of all that the category "book" as it appears in both the Estadística and the Tableau is very broad, encompassing everything from missals to cookbooks to scientific treatises, and including, naturally, novels and poetry. It is possible that somewhere in the archives of the Ministerio de Hacienda and of the Ministère des Finances exist logs detailing the titles of the books exported by Spain and by France. The archives (assuming they exist) of the Asociación de Libreros in Madrid, as well as those of individual book dealers in Spain and France that were active

in the nineteenth century, may also contain information on the actual books that were exported to Latin America. There is no doubt that, in Spain's case, data collecting was not accurate, especially during the first decades of the annual's publication, as I suggested earlier. The figures vary enormously from country to country and sometimes from year to year with regard to the same country. The French records seem much more thorough; the problem is that, especially after 1870, they include data on increasingly fewer Latin American countries.

Another very important factor to keep in mind when drawing conclusions from the data on book exports is that several French publishing houses published books in Spanish, the majority of which were exported to Spain and Spanish America.<sup>8</sup> Germany and Italy also exported books in Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America, although in smaller numbers than did France (see Chonchol, pp. 82-83). Any conclusions drawn from the figures I have examined must take into account as well that we are dealing not with actual books but with weight units. How many books included in a kilogram depended on their size, which could vary from a heavy encyclopedia volume to a slim poetry book. Unbound books, of course, would weigh less than bound ones. (It is unlikely that newspapers and pamphlets were exported, and if so, accounted for under the categories studied here.)<sup>9</sup> The data gathered in this article must be seen then mostly as the basis from which to make a few assumptions. Those assumptions would be only tentative, depending on how they could be supported by other data or by sources of information such as those quoted earlier, on the influence of French and Spanish culture in Latin America. Some of the data I have provided could be examined in the context of France's relations with Latin America, or how that country handled its political influence in the region and developed economic ties with the Latin American countries (see in this regard the book by Hermann Christian). If the same or equivalent records to those analyzed in this article were to exist for British and American book exports to Latin America, and for German

books (at least after unification in 1870), the additional data would provide a fuller picture of foreign influence on the Latin American nations after independence.

There is no doubt that Spanish Americans read huge quantities of Spanish books, but they also read enormous amounts of French books. Granted, because of the social prestige attached to French culture, probably a considerable number of those books written in French that arrived in Latin American cities were merely displayed rather than read. Nevertheless, of the Spanish Americans who knew how to read, many read French too. In 1849, the first year the Spanish Estadística was published, only 8 arrobos, or 92 kgs of Spanish books appear to have gone to Mexico, but over 26,000 kgs of French books were unloaded in that same country. The Spanish data on the book exports is most likely wrong in this case, but the fact remains that Mexicans bought French books in large numbers in 1849. A decade later, only Cuba and Puerto Rico (which imported a total of 3,376 arrobos or 38,824 kgs of Spanish books in 1859) appear to be importing more Spanish books than French books among the Spanish American nations. Obviously, data gathering was more accurate in the case of the two remaining Spanish colonies in the New World, which conducted their trade mostly in Spanish ships; yet the reading public of the two islands also read an impressive number of books in French. In 1863, the first year Spain used kgs as a measurement unit, Argentina received some 9,000 kgs of Spanish books and over 16,000 kgs of French books. Exports of French books to Latin America are generally above those of Spanish books until the 1890s, but remain very close in some cases (roughly 54,000 kgs of Spanish books went to Colombia in 1898, only 1,000 fewer than French books). While the export of French books to Latin America continued to be quite strong, the number of books exported by Spain to the New World increased fairly consistently from 1870 on, reaching quite impressive amounts by century's end. Based simply on book trade figures, this seems to suggest that the influence of Spanish culture in Spanish America gradually regained its former dominant role.

## Bibliography

Anderson Imbert, Enrique

1962 Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. 2 vols. I La colonia. Cien años de república. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica (orig. pub. 1954).

Bazin, Robert

1958 Historia de la literatura americana en lengua española. Translated by Josefina A. de Vázquez. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova (orig. title: Histoire de la littérature américaine de langue espagnole).

Botrel, Jean-Francois

1997 "La librairie 'espagnole' en France au XIXe siècle". Le commerce de la librairie en France au XIXe siècle (1789-1914). Jean-Yves Mollier, ed. Paris: IMEC Editions.

Briseño, Ramón

1862 Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura chilena. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Chilena.

1879 Estadística... Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional.

Carilla, Emilio

1969 Hispanoamérica y su expresión literaria. Caminos del americanismo. Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires.

Chanady, Amayill, ed.

1994 Latin American Identity and Contradictions of Difference. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Chonchol, Jacques, and Jacques Martinier

1985 "Diffusion des idées, des produits et de marchandises: latino-américanismes et milieux d'affaires". l'Amérique Latine et le latino-américanisme en France. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.

Franco, Jean

1970 The Modern Culture of Latin America. Society and the Artist. Penguin Books (orig. pub. 1967).

Godechot, Olivier and Jacques Marseille

1997 "Les exportations de livres français au XIXe siècle". Le commerce de la librairie, op. cit.

Hamilton, Carlos

1960 Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. 2 vols. Primera parte. Colonia y siglo XIX.

New York: Las Américas Publishing Company.

Hermann, Christian.

1996 La politique de la France en Amérique Latine 1826-1850. Une rencontre manquée.

Bordeaux: Maison des Pays Ibériques.

Portuondo, Fernando

1950 Historia de Cuba. La Habana: Editorial Minerva.

Zea, Leopoldo

1963 The Latin-American Mind. Translated by James H. Abbott and Lowell Dunham. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press (orig. title, Dos etapas del pensamiento en Hispanoamérica: 1949).

## Notes

1. This project was completed thanks to the generous support of the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. With the help of grants from the Center I was able to conduct the research presented here during the summers of 1995 and 1996.

2. Emilio Carilla synthesizes this vision of Spanish American culture: "lo que los nacientes países hispanoamericanos hicieron después fue cambiar de tutela: Francia por España, en muchos aspectos" [what the emerging Spanish American countries did afterwards was to change tutors: France instead of Spain, in many aspects] (Carilla, 32).

3. Obviously, not everyone agrees with the dominant view on the influence of French culture in Spanish America. Carlos Hamilton, the author of the widely read Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana, emphatically denies that the patriots who carried out the independence project had been as influenced by French thinkers as it is assumed they were. In fact, he claims that the majority of them didn't know those thinkers (Hamilton 107). In the section of the book "From Enlightenment to Romanticism," the same critic states that Spanish American writers tried to become artistically independent from Spain and so imitated the French romantics, only to end up writing verses in the manner of Spanish romantic poets like Zorrilla and Espronceda (Hamilton, 110). Robert Bazin, the author of a 1953 Histoire de la littérature américaine en langue espagnole, is also adamant about denying the French influence on Spanish American literature of the independence period. He agrees that "the ideology of the period was above all French," but goes on to say that "this influence is much more noticeable in the political than in the literary terrain," adding that even when "French influence was actually dominant, many Spanish American thinkers received it through Spain," which had been absorbing French thought since the mid 1700s (Bazin, 32; my translation).

4. Amaryll Chanady says, in passing, that "the Spanish colonial influence was replaced [in Latin America] by the influence of the British [and] the propagation of French thought" (Chanady, xxxvii).

5. Between 1865 and 1870 Argentina was involved in the Triple Alliance War against Paraguay, but I don't believe that this conflict influenced book imports.

6. Ramón Briseño's Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura chilena, of 1862 and 1879 lists all the publications printed in Chile since the introduction of the printing press in the country, in 1812, and through 1876. The catalogue is impressive in the number of publications accounted for (each volume of the Estadística is over 300 pages), showing the existence of a very active publishing industry in Chile. What predominate in the Estadística are, however, newspapers, pamphlets and documents of all kinds, including legal papers. Regarding book imports from Spain and France, it should be noted that Briseño's lists include some original works of literature and translations from the French, mostly of novels, but the number of titles in both categories is by no means overwhelming.



7. Data for the period from 1878 to 1895--end of the first War of Independence and beginning of the second--indicates that 76% of Cubans were illiterate. In 1894 only 10% of the school-age population received instruction (Portouondo, 487).

8. Botrel concludes from his research that around 5,000 titles in Spanish were published in France between 1814 and 1914. Among them are translations from the French and other languages (including those of scientific books in many disciplines), re-editions and original titles. The number of publishers devoted to this trade was at times quite high, counting among them large enterprises, like those of Bouret and Garnier. Initially meant for Spain, where censorship was severe under Ferdinand VII, this publishing effort soon found a very profitable outlet in the New World. By the 1860s some publishers were orienting their publications so that they could satisfy the needs of the Spanish American schools and universities. By the beginning of the 20th century, France was exporting over four times more books to Latin America than it did to Spain (Botrel, 292).

9. Godechot and Marseille have studied French book exports in relation to other French exports and their relative economic value in order to draw some conclusions on the importance of the French language in the world during the nineteenth century. They note that "les statistiques disponibles ne nous livrent aucune information sur la nature et la présentation des ouvrages, sur les auteurs et les titres exportés" [the available statistics do not provide any information on the nature and the presentation of the works themselves, their authors and the titles being exported] (373).

**Spanish and French Book Exports to Latin America  
in the Nineteenth Century**

**Spanish Books**

**Amount of books    Destination**  
**(arrobas)**

**1849**

*Printed books*

1,900	Cuba
171	Puerto Rico
73	Chile
90	United States
8	México
5	Nueva Granada
10	Río de la Plata
1	Venezuela

(All the books were shipped in Spanish vessels.)

*Hard-bound books*

6,106	Cuba
14	PR
733	Río de la Plata

----

**1851**

*Printed books*

4,583	Cuba
338	PR
369	Chile
10	US
28	Méx
85	Plata
13	Ven
1	Ven

(All except those going to the U.S. and Venezuela were shipped in Spanish vessels.)

<u>Amount of books (arrobas)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
--------------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------

**1852**

*Printed books*

2,519	Cuba	
196	PR	
145	Chile	
958	Méx	
160	Perú	
892	Plata	
78	Uruguay	

(All in Spanish ships)

----

**1853**

*Printed books*

3,059	Cuba	
328	PR	
338	Chile	
3	US	
188	Goatemala (sic)	
2,518	Méx	775 In Mexican ships
99	Nueva Granada	
501	Perú	
899	Plata	
9	Urug	
37	Ven	

----

**1854**

2,200	Cuba (printed books)	
809	"en castellano" (?)	
542	PR	
156	Chile	
1292	Méx	
420	Perú	
310	Plata	

<u>Amount of books (arrobas)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
--------------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------

**1855**

125	Cuba	
2,019	"	
756	PR	
38	Ecuador	
4	US	
1,160	Méx	
47	Guat	
2	Perú	
230	Plata	
6	Urug	
78	Méx	
10	Ven	
64	Cuba	( <u>libros en blanco</u> )
2,019		(printed)
756	PR	(printed and <u>en blanco</u> )

---

**1856**

*Books and other printed materials in the Spanish language*

2,840	Cuba	
148	PR	
345	Chile	
50	Guat	
984	Méx	180 In Mex ships
174	Perú	
356	Plata	
29	Ven	
	Urug	6 In Sardinian ships

<u>Amount of books (arrobas)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
--------------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------

**1857**

*Printed books in Spanish*

2,658	Cuba	102 US 36 Belgian 139 French 12 English
138	PR	
48	US	
28	US	
42	Guat	
167	Méx	97 Mex
8	Peru	
384	Plata Urug	112 Sardinian

----

**1858**

2,645	Cuba	144 Fr
382	PR	
44	Chile	
110	US	
14	Guat	
290	Méx	40 Sardinian
14	Perú	
282	Plata	92 Bremen
42	Ven	

--

**1859**

Printed books, paperbacks

3,213	Cuba
163	PR
48	Ch
179	Méx
86	Per
228	Plata
61	Urug
23	Ven

<u>Amount of books (arrobas)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
--------------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------

**1860**

2,335	Cuba	
401	PR	
103	Ch	241 Sardinian
7	US	
12	Méx	
683	Plata	
13	Urug	26 Fr

----

**1861**

1,475	Cuba	
128	PR	
13	US	
10	Goat	
105	Méx	
480	Plata	42 US
20	Urug	

----

**1862**

1,802	Cuba	
133	PR	
45	Guat	
43	Méx	
273	Plata	
2	Urug	

**(In 1863, weight begins to be measured in kilograms.)**

<u>Amount of books (kilograms)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
--	--------------------	----------------------------

**1863**

27,785	Cuba	
2115	PR	
9100	Plata	
920	Ven	
	Urug	1380 Sardinian

**1864**

17,745	Cuba	
1234	Cuba	
850	Méx	

----

**1865**

14,393	Cuba	
76	PR	
1725	Brasil	
	Méx	575 Dutch

----

**1866**

18,843	Cuba	
1160	Méx	690 Swedish

----

**1867**

60,168	Cuba	
2,234	PR	
10,252	Plata	
7,633	Urug	
3,105	Ven	

<u>Amount of books (kgs)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
----------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------

**1868**

68,300	Cuba	
3,199	PR	
565	Méx	823 Dutch
1,0013	Plata	740 Prussian
		310 Swedish
7,126	Urug	210 Fr
	Brazil	1,642 Fr
		308 Engl
	Engl. Possess.	20 Dutch

----

**1869**

48,846	Cuba	
8,665	PR	
460	Méx	
1,3974	Plata	470 Fr
		80 Italian
1,372	Urug	80 Ital
35	Ven	

----

**1870**

51,259	Cuba	
8,699	PR	
320	Méx	2,125 Fr
4,898	Plata	7,098 Ital
10	Santo Domingo	
1,048	Urug	40 Ital

----

**1871**

67,986	Cuba	
9,443	PR	
180	Chile	56 Fr
		120 Engl
221	Méx	3,855 Fr
		327 Ital
3,470	Plata	400 Fr
		4,006 Ital
330	Urug	2,681 Ital



<u>Amount of books (kgs)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
----------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------

**1872**

63,456	Cuba	
18,082	PR	
2,204	Plata	75 Argentine 2,523 Ital 80 Swedish
60	S Domingo	
1,216	Urug	1,486 Ital
	US	80 Ital
6401	Méx	6,401 Fr 100 Engl 880 Ital

----

**1873**

69,776	Cuba	
10,844	PR	
200	US	604 Fr 380 Engl 300 Ital 11 Swedish
70	Méx	16,832 Fr
717	N Granada	250 Fr
1,238	Plata	4,640 Fr 1,336 Ital
76	Urug	1,871 Fr 1,122 Ital
295	Ven	
	Chile	817 Fr
	Ecuador	61 Fr
	Perú	1,516 Fr

<u>Amount of books</u> <u>(kgs)</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Non-Spanish Vessels</u>
--	--------------------	----------------------------

**1874**

45,413	Cuba	
9,591	PR	
143	Plata	16,313 Arg 11,963 Fr 2,482 Ital
60	Méx	34,445 Fr 494 Hol 748 Ital
30	Urug	1,811 Fr 400 Engl 11,571 Ital
154	Ven	
	N Gr	546 Fr
	Perú	1,879 Fr
	Danish Posses.	446 Fr

----

**1875**

48,655	Cuba	
8,065	PR	
2,796	Plata	10,181 Fr 1,962 Ital
69	S Domingo	
	Chile	540 Fr 3,100 Engl
	Guat	1,152 Fr
	Méx	668 German 15,478 Fr
	N Gr	789 Fr
	Perú	420 Fr
	Urug	3,332 Fr 177 Ital
	Ven	408 Fr

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1876</b>			
48,066	Cuba		
7,054	PR	2,287	Chile
		1,545	Ecuad
		687	US
		10,821	Guat
30	Méx	56,929	
320	N Gr	1,974	
		2,108	Perú
		26,598	Plata
		12,806	Urug
1,886	Ven		980
----			
<b>1877</b>			
71,257	Cuba		
8,279	PR	8,339	Chile
		1,280	Ecuad
		453	US
90	Guat	4,386	
1,206	Méx	80,275	
		4,640	N Gr
		4,889	Perú
		44,557	Plata
		17,946	Urug
2,580	Ven	9,186	

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1878</b>			
61,832	Cuba		
9,566	PR	1,317	Chile
		1,280	Costa Rica
		2,584	Ecuad
		75	US
		2,700	Guat
		66,730	Méx
620	N Gr	3,274	
		13,091	Perú
17,356	Plata	38,422	
		15,389	Urug
		12,407	Ven
		3,477	Dan Posses
		27	Fr Posses
---			
<b>1879</b>			
78,933	Cuba	740	
16,586	PR		
		221	Brasil
		110	Chile
		2,158	Ecuad
		417	US
		2,961	Guat
		16,335	Méx
		913	N Gr
		1,314	Perú
		45,382	Plata
		26,414	Urug
		2,536	Ven
		77,652	Dan Posses
		131	Fr Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
---------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------------------

**1880**

72,998	Cuba	315	
13,442	PR		
		798	Chile
		3,348	Ecuad
		804	Guat
		28,398	Méx
		48	Nicaragua
		2,083	N Gr
		590	Perú
		51,985	Plata
		19,329	Urug
		617	Ven
		47,762	Dan Posses
		34,357	Fr Posses

---

**1881**

87,289	Cuba	590	
17,003	PR		
		254	Chile
		104	Costa Rica
		1,634	Ecuad
180	EU	97	
		1,948	Guat
14,283	Méx	42,164	
		379	Nic
		1,724	N Gr
		232	Perú
80	Plata	43,687	
		1,005	San Salvador
		24,805	Urug
		1,541	Ven
		42,784	Dan Posses
		13,429	Fr Posses
		46	Dutch Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
---------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------------------

**1882**

111,119	Cuba	41	
9,124	PR	97	CR
		524	Chile
		1,690	Ecuad
		637	US
		672	Guat
60,500	Méx	62,402	
15,792	N Gr	2,764	
		56	Nic
		473	Perú
4,703	Plata	54,206	
		109	S Salvador
		40,369	Urug
60	Ven	12,212	
		10,859	Dan Posses

(Philippine Islands: 33,912)

---

**1883**

99,839	Cuba	445	
15,624	PR	245	CR
		517	Chile
		834	Ecuad
		176	US
		1,928	Guat
74,967	Méx	27,827	
20,655	N Gr	3,119	
		211	Nic
46	Perú	288	
3,106	Plata	57,011	
		362	S Salvador
659	Urug	48,794	
6,474	Ven	6,025	
		160	Fr Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
---------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------------------

**1884**

101,794	Cuba	146	
12,670	PR	43	CR
		978	Chile
		1,785	Ecuad
		12	US
		465	Guat
92,334	Méx	34,619	
29,435	N Gr	2,235	
		985	Perú
5,026	Plata	82,847	
		45	S Salvador
22,487	Urug	35,848	
13,032	Ven	6,730	
		120	Fr Posses

---

**1885**

66,400	Cuba		
10,451	PR	211	
17	Brasil	12	
		1049	Chile
11,453	Colombia	2,994	
		325	Ecuad
		320	US
75,163	Méx	33,612	
		783	Perú
884	Plata	54,800	
2,046	Urug	29,547	
18,652	Ven	233	
		30	Fr Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
---------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------------------

**1886**

72,787	Cuba		
7,291	PR		
23,448	Col	7,341	
		2,036	Chile
		31	Ecuad
		200	Guat
		41	Honduras
99,594	Méx	44,662	
11,252	Plata	99,187	
1,906	Urug	32,175	
3,458	Ven	428	
		6,476	Fr Posses

---

**1887**

89,422	Cuba		
13,199	PR		
7,072	Col	6,569	
		2,081	Chile
		100	US
107,572	Méx	39,538	
		8	Perú
27,526	Plata	87,210	
5,875	Urug	41,033	
387	Ven	1,073	
		20,062	Fr Posses



*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1888</b>			
74,581	Cuba		
19,160	PR		
		941	Chile
9,121	Col	9,922	
184	Ecuad	1,346	
218	US	7	
		744	Guat
129,783	Méx	50,281	
19	Perú	1,223	
33,297	Rep Argentina	125,934	
4,813	Urug	38,044	
532	Ven	6,558	
		26,442	Fr Posses
---			
<b>1889</b>			
84,239	Cuba		
23,609	PR		
24,607	Col	13,752	
		197	Chile
		621	US
		1,205	Guat
		3,632	Hond
118,176	Méx	50,447	
198	Perú	13	
31,195	Rep Arg	129,806	
		871	S Salvador
12,979	Urug	40,506	
3,862	Ven	19,178	
		1,295	Dan Posses
		1,815	Fr Posses
		4,304	Engl Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1890</b>			
82,889	Cuba		
31,682	PR		
40,693	Col	17,948	
		1,094	Ecuad
		393	US
105,137	Méx	41,571	
268	Perú	1,028	
37,067	Rep Arg	71,061	
95	S Salvador		
13	S Domingo		
19,564	Urug	23,590	
33,648	Ven	11,413	
		268	Dan Posses
		615	Engl Posses
---			
<b>1891</b>			
96,650	Cuba		
23,529	PR		
		1,839	Brasil
543	Chile	2,072	
52,058	Col	8,464	
1,154	US	371	
3,461	Guat		
139,889	Méx	50,354	
148	Perú		
30,571	Rep Arg	29,080	
18,824	Urug	21,190	
18,668	Ven	19,751	
		288	Fr Posses
		160	Engl Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
---------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------------------

**1892**

103,725	Cuba		
25,117	PR		
		4,000	Brasil
24,905	Col	49,512	
		4,894	Chile
966	US	112	
125,727	Méx	30,790	
		5	Perú
14,687	Rep Arg	67,050	
9,323	Urug	34,707	
497	Ven	20,185	
		1,037	Fr Posses

---

**1893**

127,554	Cuba		
25,438	PR		
		197	Brasil
46,610	Col	35,022	
22	CR		
		3,702	Chile
120	Ecuad		
2,204	US		
118,216	Méx	21,274	
		3,188	Perú
9,002	Rep Arg	84,459	
2,666	Urug	23,569	
3,309	Ven	6,827	
		6,828	Fr Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1894</b>			
143,147	Cuba		
26,420	PR		
		1,458	Brasil
16,685	Col	24,895	
		118	CR
		496	Chile
771	Ecuad		
282	US	65	
428	Guat		
108,575	Méx	22,955	
		2,702	Perú
5,514	Rep Arg	90,373	
1,236	Urug	25,521	
22	Ven	18,868	
		1,178	Fr Posses
		8,556	Engl Posses
---			
<b>1895</b>			
97,932	Cuba		
59,967	PR		
		919	Brasil
3,867	Col	49,267	
		348	CR
		169	Chile
18	US		
106,649	Méx	32,889	
		426	Perú
597	Rep Arg	119,594	
273	Urug	22,356	
		11,467	Ven
		9,569	Fr Posses
		3,265	Engl Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1896</b>			
66,092	Cuba		
41,709	PR		
		90	Brasil
3,058	Col	52,349	
		3,140	Chile
37	US		
130,216	Méx	43,622	
		139,173	Rep Arg
		31,857	Urug
		12,590	Ven
		5,015	Fr Posses
		7,355	Engl Posses

---

**1897** (*All the Spanish American nations are listed, even if they did not import books.*)

263,904	Cuba		
54,369	PR		
		226	Brasil
3,340	Col	45,223	
		10,602	Chile
164	US		
120,427	Méx	53,070	
13,189	Rep Arg	150,273	
		725	S Domingo
2,365	Urug	27,220	
		13,781	Ven
		7,188	Fr Posses
		3,632	Engl Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
---------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------------------

**1898** (In vol. 2, Cuba and Puerto Rico no longer appear at the beginning, but in the place that corresponds to them alphabetically, since by the time the annual appeared, in 1899, they were no longer Spanish colonies.)

1,765	Col	52,324	
69,496	Cuba	250	
		2,789	Chile
25	Guat		
92,658	Méx	97,824	
14,480	PR		
		150,884	Rep Arg
		160	S Domingo
		52,870	Urug
		6,683	Ven
		6,769	Fr Posses
		9,002	Engl Posses

---

**1899**

		336	Brasil
6,657	Col	43,705	
200,479	Cuba	2,155	
		2,223	Chile
101	US		
119,074	Méx	70,304	
6,186	PR		
26,873	Rep Arg	159,356	
6,813	Urug	47,535	
795	Ven	10,443	
		6,330	Fr Posses
		999	Engl Posses

*In Spanish ships**In foreign ships*

<u>Amount of books</u> (kgs)	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount of books</u>	<u>Destination</u>
<b>1900</b>			
1,075	Brasil	2,596	
24,271	Col	17,286	
92,463	Cuba	2,489	
22,634	Chile	9,303	
767	US		
33	Guat		
198,920	Méx	73,674	
5,028	PR		
52,374	Rep Arg	176,303	
110	S Domingo		
6,115	Urug	41,827	
62	Ven	5,013	
		3,940	Fr Posses
		528	Engl Posses

**French Books****Destination      Amounts (kgs)****1831**

US	25,834
Haití	2,118
Engl Posses	130
Span Posses	3,580
Brasil	12,298
Méx	8,099
Col	1,255
Perú	302
Chile	1,906
Plata	2,515

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1833**

US	38,751	37,883
Haiti	7,754	
Cuba	4,284	
Brasil	15,750	
Méx	16,590	
Col	1,171	
Perú	2,088	
Chile	3,244	
Plata	2,588	

---

**1834**

US	29,607	27,570
Haiti	11,053	
Cuba	4,297	4,216
Brasil	21,213	21,207
Méx	15,059	14,673
Col	1,303	
Perú	299	
Chile	6,430	
Plata	1,898	

(Total amount of exported books: 3,279,040; to Spain, 11,242)

---

**1836**

US	63,413	60,652
Haiti	6,964	
Cuba & PR	6,622	
St Thomas	1,957	
Brasil	24,729	24,704
Méx	21,198	
Guat	362	
Col	4,726	
Perú	2,212	
Chile	11,863	11,835
Plata	4,622	



<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1837**

US	44,807	44,129
C & PR	5,018	
Brasil	26,212	26,193
Méx	9,314	
Guat	542	
Ven	6,367	
N Gr	303	
Perú	1,449	
Chile	7,402	
Plata	4,260	

---

**1838**

US	50,547	49,583
Haiti	5,979	
C & PR	6,615	
Brasil	23,317	22,797
Méx	7,392	
Guat	302	
Ven	6,662	
N Gr	558	
Perú	1,898	
Chile	2,836	2,833
Plata	1,792	1,766

---

**1839**

US	55,520	53,097
C & PR	8,602	8,373
Brasil	22,808	
Méx	12,610	12,436
Ven	10,855	
Perú	1,998	
Chile	8,910	
Plata	1,930	

(Spain imported 7,276 kgs of French books that year.)

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1840**

5,710		
Brasil	22,303	US 41,462 39,345
Haiti	5,532	5,264
C & PR	16,195	15,913
St Th	1,031	983
Brasil	16,576	16,538
Méx	19,003	
Guat	619	
Ven	9,246	
N Gr	144	
Perú	3,785	
Chile	10,916	10,903
Plata	1,136	
Urug	1,726	

---

**1841**

US	55,486	55,027
C & PR	8,007	7,903
Brasil	22,719	22,607
Méx	25,929	
Guat	172	
Ven	5,423	
N Gr	1,052	
Perú	1,439	
Bolivia	185	
Chile	11,032	
Plata	358	
Urug	3,166	

---

**1842**

US	31,137	30,836
C & PR	5,795	
Méx	14,801	
Guat	750	
Ven	3,251	
N Gr	2,510	
Perú	2,465	
Chile	12,422	
Plata	2,364	
Urug	3,103	

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1843**

US	42,627	42,532
C & PR	7,477	
Brasil	19,796	19,755
Méx	16,998	
Guat	475	
Ven	2,971	
N Gr	3,477	
Perú	1,916	1,902
Chile	15,041	14,967
Plata	1,746	
Urug	809	

---

**1844**

US	49,553	49,502
C & PR	6,284	6,276
Brasil	24,574	
Méx	11,503	11,496
Guat	367	
Ven	2,359	
N Gr	2,657	
Perú	2,741	
Bol	77	
Chile	8,561	8,431
Plata	2,288	
Urug	1,242	

---

**1845**

US	64,976	62,675
C & PR	18,426	
Brasil	39,296	39,230
Méx	15,650	15,647
Guat	1,010	
N Gr	7,486	
Perú	2,364	2,307
Bol	331	
Chile	13,813	
Plata	3,142	
Urug	1,321	

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1846**

US	50,864	50,594
C & PR	11,115	
Brasil	29,217	29,214
Méx	8,702	
N Gr	7,125	
Perú	6,421	5,188
Chile	18,753	

(Figures under general trade for "paper, books and prints" for Venezuela, Uruguay and Argentina: 67,149; 31,942; 3,862, respectively.)

---

**1847**

US	67,696	67,167
C & PR	8,957	
Brasil	43,693	43,691
N Gr	9,529	
Perú	8,133	
Chile	21,002	

(Uruguay and Argentina, under "paper, books and prints": 36,871 and 11,451.)

---

**1848**

US	66,080	65,770
C & PR	4,839	
Brasil	23,287	
Méx	12,697	
N Gr	5,150	
Perú	5,664	
Chile	15,971	15,692

(Uruguay and Argentina, under "paper, books and prints": 67,293 and 25,979.)

---

**1849**

US	66,969	64,883
Brasil	28,259	
Méx	26,284	
N Gr	6,361	
Perú	8,000	
Chile	6,283	
Plata	6,364	

(Spanish possessions in America, under "paper, carton, books," etc.: 81,673.)

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1850**

US	61,007	60,801
C & PR	5,905	
Brasil	30,989	30,963
Méx	37,586	
N Gr	5,638	
Chile	6,438	6,413
Plata	9,200	

---

**1851**

US	60,267	60,245
Méx	44,327	44,273
Brasil	33,847	33,885
Plata	9,186	
Chile	12,525	
Perú	12,592	
C & PR	7,796	

(Uruguay, Venezuela and Nueva Granada, under "paper, carton," etc.: 25,662; 63,932; 60,309.)

---

**1852**

US	81,018	80,417
Méx	26,588	
Brasil	8,545	38,525
Plata	11,060	
Chile	12,249	12,086
Perú	25,074	
Haiti	12,764	
C & PR	11,885	

(Ecuador, under "paper, books and prints:" 3,284).

---

**1853**

US (Atlantic coast)	98,727	97,839
Méx	30,276	
Brasil	36,268	35,841
Chile	16,744	16,736
Perú	22,876	22,874
Haití	8,057	
C & PR	8,088	

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1854**

US (east)	71,644	71,600
EU (west)	6,154	
Méx	20,628	20,616
Brasil	56,698	
Plata	13,207	
Chile	16,445	16,436
Perú	12,733	12,730

---

**1855**

US *	85,734	84,656
Méx	15,922	
Brasil	52,314	
Plata	16,169	
Chile	26,801	26,606
Perú	23,104	

\* (We assume that the figures correspond to exports to the Atlantic coast if the Pacific coast is not mentioned.)

---

**1856**

US	98,164	
Méx	17,859	17,819
Brasil	61,201	61,170
Plata	16,477	
Chile	25,248	25,228
Perú	18,556	

---

**1857**

US	72,774	72,622
Méx	21,983	
Brasil	55,917	54,682
Plata	10,891	
Chile	28,342	
Perú	16,410	16,328

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1858**

US	65,868	65,536
Méx	13,976	
N Gr	9,192	
Brasil	5,2513	5,2504
Plata	12,370	
Chile	22,057	
C & PR	15,045	

(Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras, under "papel," etc.: 20,773; Haiti and Santo Domingo: 40,445.)

---

**1859**

US	75,200	74,908
Méx	14,885	14,883
Brasil	61,630	61,159
Plata	8,784	8,646
Chile	17,203	
C & PR	10,627	

(Venezuela, under "papel," etc.: 51,072.)

---

**1860**

US	74,994	74,588
Méx	22,917	22,780
Brasil	59,598	59,448
Plata	15,716	
Chile	25,558	25,495
Perú	22,260	

---

**1861**

US	20,656	
Méx	15,621	15,606
Brasil	79,544	79,329
Plata	10,435	
Chile	12,742	
Perú	9,533	
C & PR	17,298	
Haiti	12,037	

<b>Destination</b>	<b>General trade</b>	<b>Special trade</b> <i>(included only when it differs from the general trade figure)</i>
--------------------	----------------------	---

**1862**

US	14,673	14,328
Méx	14,189	14,177
Brasil	88,615	88,029
Plata	12,803	
Chile	10,588	
Perú	9,228	
C & PR	11,639	

(Guatemala, under "papel," etc.: 21,360; Uruguay: 108,949; Haiti and Santo Domingo: 121,977.)

---

**1863**

Brasil	71,719	71,205
Plata	16,223	
Chile	12,830	12,824
Perú	16,448	
Haiti	19,370	

(México, Nueva Granada, Ecuador and Bolivia, and Spanish Possessions, under "papel," etc.: 354,105; 74,933; 86,008; 354,710.)

---

**1864**

US	9,960	98,54
Méx	20,784	
Ven	9,905	
Brasil	94,699	94,693
Plata	14,143	
Chile	16,764	
Span Posses	13,418	

---

**1865**

US	14,829	
Méx	34,727	34,442
Brasil	107,954	107,944
Plata	24,872	
Chile	23,347	
Perú	20,854	
Span Posses	19,516	
Haiti	20,854 (The figure could include the books exported to Santo Domingo, since under the category "paper, books, prints," etc., the two countries appear as a unit.)	



<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
		<u>au brut</u>	<u>au net</u>
<b>1866</b>			
US	26,882	26,611	23,418
Méx	29,836	29,836	26,256
N Gr	15,093	*	13,282
Brasil	87,072		76,623
Urug	10,814		9,516
Haiti	10,546		9,280
Poses Esp	20,033		17,629

*\*When the figure is not mentioned is because it is the same as general trade.*

---

**1867**

US	30,106		26,493
N Gr	19,974	19,888	17,501
Brasil	79,976	79,956	70,361
Urug	11,586	10,660	9,381
Plata	33,458		29,443
Span Posses	15,161		13,342

(México, under "paper," etc.: 338,756)

---

**1868**

US	34,636	34,556	30,236
Méx	10,716		9,376
N Gr	26,881		23,522
Brasil	81,102	80,941	70,823
Urug	20,953		18,334
Plata	17,399	17,229	15,075
Chile	9,154		8,011
Span Posses	19,986		17,488

---

**1869**

US	49,476	48,765	42,913
Méx	16,911		14,882
N Gr	28,224		24,837
Brasil	90,213	90,048	79,242
Urug	11,589		10,198
Plata	26,077	25,538	22,474
Span Posses	10,880		9,175

(Venezuela, under "paper," etc.: 110,639.)

<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
			<u>au brut</u>
			<u>au net</u>
<b>1870</b>			
US	50,206	48,415	42,605
Méx	29,954	28,986	25,508
N Gr	20,481	20,081	17,671
Brasil	70,510		62,049
Plata	24,661	24,599	21,647
Span Posses	7,433		6,550
--			
<b>1871</b>			
US	76,557	76,403	67,235
Méx	17,252		15,182
N Gr	18,941	13,841	16,668
Brasil	42,850		37,708
Plata	50,975	50,925	44,814
Perú	10,678	9,466	8,330
Haiti	9,420		8,290
Span Posses Esp	6,079		5,350
---			
<b>1872</b>			
US	80,756	77,689	68,366
Méx	25,460	27,420	24,129
N Gr	20,156	22,790	20,055
Brasil	46,873	46,675	41,074
Urug	15,740	15,570	13,702
Plata	44,471	44,175	38,874
Perú	25,527	25,296	22,261

(Chile and the Spanish colonies, under "paper," etc.: 573,704 and 304,249.)

---			
<b>1873</b>			
US	84,948	84,024	73,941
Méx	39,122	38,547	33,921
N Gr	73,693	72,729	64,001
Brasil	55,064	55,010	48,409
Plata	48,441	48,261	42,470
Perú	15,470	15,449	13,595
Haiti	19,556	19,501	17,161

<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
		<u>au brut</u>	<u>au net</u>
<b>1874</b>			
US	77,630	71,142	67,885
Méx	41,013	41,093	36,162
Brasil	75,540	75,279	66,246

(Guatemala, Uruguay, Plata, Ecuador and Bolivia, Chile, and Spanish Possessions, under "paper," etc.: 90,600; 300,221; 667,297; 55,163; 319,797; 285,523.)

---

**1875**

US	62,924	62,795	55,260
Méx	57,940	57,340	50,459
N Gr	60,708	60,298	53,062
Brasil	60,462	56,462	49,680
Plata	111,769	111,605	98,212

---

**1876**

US	58,092	56,112	49,379
N Gr	54,445	53,445	47,032
Brasil	57,705	57,513	50,611
Plata	69,158	69,158	60,8819

(Cuba and Puerto Rico, under "paper," etc.: 315,735.)

---

**1877**

US	72,197	72,021	63,379
Brasil	62,185	62,177	54,715
Rep Arg	56,570	56,177	49,782

(México, under "paper," etc.: 487,924.)

---

**1878**

US	60,467	60,002	52,802
Brasil	44,144	44,129	38,833

(Nueva Granada, Venezuela, Uruguay, Ecuador and Bolivia, Haiti and Santo Domingo, under "paper," etc.: 261,198; 145,347; 145,154; 144,767; 52,171.)

<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
			<u>au brut</u>
			<u>au net</u>
<b>1879</b>			
US	63,170	62,593	55,082
(Spain: 76,250)			
---			
<b>1880</b>			
US	63,400	63,138	55,246
Brasil	48,706	44,726	39,135
Rep Arg	80,549	80,476	70,417
(México and Chile, under "paper," etc.: 515,485 and 274,935.)			
---			
<b>1881</b>			
US	73,261	72,086	63,074
Méx	57,825	57,774	50,552
N Gr	67,445	66,683	58,348
Brasil	88,296		77,259
Rep Arg	73,244	68,164	59,644
---			
<b>1882</b>			
US	98,928	94,091	82,330
Méx	78,406	78,406	68,605
Brasil	57,216	57,171	50,025
Rep Arg	104,730	104,491	91,430
(Perú, under "paper," etc.: 159,519.)			
---			
<b>1883</b>			
US	92,520	91,706	80,243
Méx	62,811		54,959
N Gr	59,240		51,835
Rep Arg	153,795	153,581	134,383
Uruguay and Cuba and Puerto Rico, under "paper," etc.: 181,992; 653,010.)			

<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
		<u>au brut</u>	<u>au net</u>
<b>1884</b>			
US	69,349	68,494	59,932
Brasil	178,128	177,283	155,123
Rep Arg	80,669	80,669	70,585

(Venezuela and Chile, under "paper," etc.: 82,695; 438,153.)

---

**1885**

Méx	69,144	69,036	60,407
Brasil	105,665	105,239	92,084
Rep Arg	89,882	88,290	77,254

(United States, under "paper," etc.: 523,030.)

---

**1886**

US	73,195	69,985	61,236
Méx	64,676	64,656	56,574
Rep Arg	92,524		80,958

(Ecuador appears for the first time, under "paper," etc.: 133,831.)

---

**1887**

US	58,224	56,494	49,432
Rep Arg	72,675		63,591

(México and Brasil, under "paper," etc.: 849,584; 914,349.)

---

**1888**

US	79,801	79,430	69,501
Rep Arg	110,892	110,796	96,946

---

**1889**

US	84,849	84,618	74,041
Rep Arg	66,848		58,492

(Nueva Granada, Uruguay, Perú, Chile, Cuba and Puerto Rico, under "paper," etc.: 584,487; 325,383; 119,617; 346,245; 847,026.)

<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
		<u>au brut</u>	<u>au net</u>
<b>1890</b>			
US	80,405	80,387	70,339
Rep Arg	54,566		47,745

(Brasil, Cuba and Puerto Rico, under "paper," etc.: 2,322,556; 1,238,131.)

---

**1897** (2 vols; the yearbooks of 1891-96 are lost or cannot be located)

US	105,553	104,994	92,395
Méx	90,678		79,797
Col	88,476	88,299	77,703
Brasil	168,709	168,672	148,430
Rep Arg	68,796		60,540
Chile	44,486	44,369	39,045

---

**1898**

US	103,363	102,560	90,253
Méx	118,500	118,300	104,104
Col	53,166	51,596	45,404
Brasil	90,452	90,429	79,578
Rep Arg	66,035	65,982	58,064

(Guatemala, Ecuador, Haiti and Santo Domingo, Cuba and Puerto Rico, under "paper," etc.: 6,371; 41,841; 41,530; 67,272.)

---

**1899**

US	113,048	112,823	99,284
Méx	96,971	96,916	85,286
Col	52,278	52,176	45,915
Rep Arg	32,499	34,454	28,560

(Under the category "paper," etc., there are big differences among the figures for general and special trade: e.g., Brasil, 22,113 and 2,134,380; Uruguay, 1,033 and 86,931; Chile, 3,380 and 259,657; Perú, 1,367 and 103,483.)

<u>Destination</u>	<u>General trade</u>	<u>Special trade</u>	
		<u>au brut</u>	<u>au net</u>
<b>1900</b>			
US*	104,146	104,053	91,567
Méx	72,902		64,154
Col	47,260		41,589

\* The record no longer refers to "Atlantic Ocean."

(Under "paper," etc., the amounts appear now in metric quintals, e.g., Guatemala, 111, Venezuela, 147, Brasil, 13,020, Uruguay, 1,290, Argentina, 6,924, Chile, 4,543, Cuba and Puerto Rico, 876.)

Economic historians now know that inequality has not been a constant feature of the Latin American landscape since the original colonization by Spain and Portugal. Rather it has fallen and risen several times over the two centuries of independence, and the dawn of the twenty-first century has also brought a welcome slight retreat from extreme inequality.<sup>1</sup> Why the movements, and why the differences between countries? This chapter's strategy exploits the deep analysis of the twenty-first century distributional impact of fiscal policy, and uses it to explore episodes since the nineteenth century to initiate a history of fiscal incidence. Latin America also tended to concentrate fiscal authority more in the hands of the central government (Sokoloff and Zolt 2006). The Ibero-American Summit, founded by Spain and Mexico in 1991, is an example of Spain's Latin American foreign policy. It comprises the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. On its official website, it states that Cuba's President Raúl Castro has never attended the summit, and at the latest summit in 2014, the left-leaning governments of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Venezuela sent deputies instead of their respective heads of government.<sup>[10]</sup> With enthusiasm waning from some Latin American countries, the summit was changed to take place every two years, which, combined with the ongoing economic downturn. Latin American exports to Europe especially Cite this Item. CHAPTER 6 Order and Progress. CHAPTER 6 Order and Progress. (pp. 117-129). To achieve progress, Latin Americans turned more and more in the second half of the nineteenth century to positivism—a political philosophy that stressed order, peace, and progress. The objective was to overcome the near anarchy and the rule of the caudillos that had followed the Wars of Independence. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Latin America became more and more engaged in world affairs. Europeans were caught up in full-scale imperial ventures in Asia and Africa.