

# The Racial Composition of Latin American Port Cities at Independence as Seen by Foreign Travelers

By John J. Johnson

Immediately following the independence of the former Iberian mainland colonies in the New World (1820–25), the United States' interest in that area, except possibly in the economic sphere, quickly subsided<sup>1</sup>. The change in attitude was pronounced by 1830. Five major factors are believed to have contributed to the change. First, unusually rapid expansion of industrial and infrastructural projects and trans-Appalachian settlement on the heels of the War of 1812 so oversubscribed the nation's limited store of investment capital and placed such severe strains on its technological and manpower resources that the nation became preoccupied with its own development. Second, administrations in Washington determined that the enthusiasm for monarchism in those areas formerly under the dominion of the Iberian states, even at its height of popularity, was not sufficiently intense as to tie them irrevocably to Europe and thereby endanger trade

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<sup>1</sup> One must be cautious in laying claim to the importance of United States-Latin American trade relations during the period under review in this article. Although the United States government had a deep interest in promoting international commerce, it was generally recognized by 1825 that given the constant and unpredictable changing legislation regarding foreign commerce, the new nations' unstable political conditions, and their lack of entrepreneurial skills, they would not soon become major trading partners. Furthermore, it was well understood that because of Latin America's predilection for English manufactures, United States trade with Latin America would be for the foreseeable future largely limited to items such as flour, timber, and manufactures such as furniture. Cuba, which remained a colony of Spain and which was of considerable importance in the international commerce of the United States, was an exception to the above observations. United States-British competition for trade with the emerging nations is discussed in some detail in John J. Johnson, „United States-British Rivalry in Latin America, 1815–1830: A Reassessment“, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 22 (1985), pp. 341–391.

relations, republicanism, and hemispheric security. Third, as nationalism replaced religion as the source of unity following the War of 1812, Roman Catholicism, to which the new Latin American states subscribed, appeared much less a threat than earlier to the welfare of Protestant United States. Fourth, ranking personnel in the executive branch of government, at least by 1829, convinced themselves that the British Foreign Office, true to what it had been insisting for a decade, did not aspire to actual occupation of additional territory in Latin America (Belize excepted). Especially important, by the late 1820s the United States accepted in principle that His Majesty's Government was content to see Cuba remain under Spain, a position shared by Washington, at the time nervously grappling with the sticky sectional issue of the kind that the annexation of Cuba patently would have exacerbated. Fifth, the three primary racial stocks in Latin America – Iberian, Native American, and African – and the „mixed races“ resulting from generations of their „crossings“, all received low rankings on the Anglo-Saxon scale of human achievers. More to the point, North Americans by 1825 had satisfied themselves that the racial mix of the new states to a large degree explained their pervasive social incoherence and internecine conflicts which were certain to retard their economic development and deny them an early voice in the affairs of, or even to borrow wisely from, the North Atlantic community of nations.

The purpose of this article is to examine a single aspect of the very complex „race factor“ that, it is believed, had an important bearing on public and private views of Latin America before 1830. There is no intent whatever to indict any nation or people but simply to explain a historical condition. Having said that, it should immediately be recalled that because of their cultural encumbrances Anglo-Saxons, including those who recorded their Latin American experiences, tended to see not what actually existed but what their prior experiences and present needs dictated and that if in doubt as to the racial origins of individuals, they would lean toward associating them with members of their darker ancestors. The public accounts on which the article rests are considered to be especially important because they interjected Blacks into the data base from which images of Latin America emerged<sup>2</sup>. United States citizens already had what they be-

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<sup>2</sup> Readers who pursue this article beyond the first few pages will be aware that, although my interest on this occasion is to establish one probable source of the United States image of Latin America at independence, I rely heavily upon Old World documentation. I do so because, during the period I cover, Anglo-Americans were much

lieved was credible evidence regarding the Iberian racial stock. They had been nourished intellectually for two centuries on the „Black Legend“, that came unadulterated from Great Britain and emphasized, perhaps exaggerated (this is not the place to enter that debate) Spanish cruelty toward conquered Native Americans and its suffocating institutions<sup>3</sup>. Periodic editorials and special articles, many of them lifted directly from British publications, in newspapers and journals tended to sustain the „Black Legend“ concept<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, textbooks – and there was a surprisingly large number of them – in effect waged a continuing campaign against Iberian peoples for their presumed arrogance and indolence, and against the doctrines of the Catholic church and its efforts to vindicate its „infamous“ Inquisition<sup>5</sup>.

United States citizens, and especially public officials, believed they knew considerable about the Indians (the term ordinarily was used generically) of Latin America. Their knowledge came in part from the „Black Legend“, partly from English translations of Spanish chroniclers, partly

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interested in what the British and European writers had to report on the New World. The interest was in fact so intense that there was a steady flow of books and journals across the Atlantic. A key reason for the interest shown was that the early decades of the 19th century were an age of discovery and as a consequence travel accounts were avidly sought and Latin America was intellectually speaking essentially a *tierra incognita*. See, for example, Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 3rd ed., 1964), especially chapter 7. For European influences on textbook writing in the United States see Sister Marie Lenore Fell, *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783–1860* (Washington 1941), especially chapter 2, and Ruth Mills, „American Schoolbooks and Culture in the Nineteenth Century“, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46, 3 (1959).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York 1971) and *Spain in America* (New York 1966). Benjamin Keen, „The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities“, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (1969), pp. 703–719 and *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick 1971), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See especially the *North American Review* (Boston) 3 (1816); pp. 54–58; 5 (1817), pp. 30–31; 10 (1820), p. 157; 19 (1824), pp. 158–208; 21 (1825), pp. 61 ff.; 26 (1828), pp. 172–73; 31 (1833–4), pp. 4–7. *Niles' Weekly Register* and *Port Folio* periodically ran short accounts largely of a negative view during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography or a View of the Present State of all the Kingdoms, States, and Colonies in the Known World*, 2 vols. (Boston, 7th ed., 1819); Also see William Guthrie, *A New System of Modern Geography*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia 1794); William C. Woodbridge, *Rudiments of Geography, or a New Plan, Designed to Assist the Memory by Comparison and Classification*, (Hartford, 18th ed., 1835); *Encyclopaedia Americana, A Popular Dictionary*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia 1830–33) „Pizarro“ and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 18 vols. (Philadelphia, 3rd ed., 1st American ed., 1798) „Spain“, „Portugal“, and „Inquisition“.

from long contact with North American Indians, and partly from reports of white-Indian contacts on the Spanish-Mexican frontier. Whatever the source, Indians ordinarily were infantilized, their integrity and their culture destroyed<sup>6</sup>.

Not available were detailed accounts of the role of Africans in Latin American societies. Theoretically, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were closed to foreigners, except in times of extreme emergencies, although in reality smugglers and other adventurers repeatedly broke the exclusionary barriers. Those elements, however, seldom wrote of any social and cultural discoveries they may have made. With the collapse of the metropolitan imperial systems, Latin America was opened to foreigners and it was then that there appeared a barrage of published reports by educated observers, many of whom were absorbed with the social and cultural characteristics of the new nations. As it turned out, the foreign observers found most of the inhabitants of the port cities to be dominantly when not overwhelmingly Black or partially Black. To what degree the reports figured in inserting blackness into the United States image of Latin America's population cannot be determined with any degree of certitude (considerable was known about Blacks in the British West Indies and it is possible that oftentimes individuals did not distinguish between the Islands

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<sup>6</sup> For differing contemporary views of the „Indian question“ see the numerous articles in the *North American Review*, *Niles' Weekly Register*, *The Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington) for the years 1828, 1829, and 1830; Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia 1825), pp. 170–275. Samuel Stanhope Smith, *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexions and Figures in the Human Species* (New Brunswick, 2nd ed., 1810) pp. 27, 32; John G.E. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of Indian Nations, Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (Philadelphia 1818) and the laudatory review of the work in the *North American Review* IX (June 1819) pp. 155–178. The white image of Indians was capsulated in the Removal Act of 1830. It was meant not to protect the tribesmen but to postpone their demise, which was generally considered to be inevitable. President Andrew Jackson's defense of „removal“ may be found in his First Annual Message to Congress (1829). For placing the Indian within the framework of United States culture of the early nineteenth century see especially Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York 1978); Russell B. Nye, *American Literary History, 1607–1830* (New York 1970); Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, Conn. 1973); Michael Paul Rogin, „Liberal Society and the Indian Question“, *Politics and Society* I, 3 (May 1971), pp. 269–312; Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York 1975); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1981).

and Latin America). There cannot, however, be any doubt that, for whatever reason, such an image existed at the time and that it persisted well into the twentieth century<sup>7</sup>.

To conclude these preliminary remarks: no attempt is made to determine the correctness of the data used. I am interested only in establishing one kind of data that went into the formation of the United States' image of Latin America. It should, however, be kept in mind that the conclusions of the foreign observers regarding the racial composition of the port cities were based on a quite different set of criteria than prevalently employed by the inhabitants themselves.

Linkages between racial and cultural attitudes, prejudices, and public policy have been noted so often that any extended discussion of them in this brief study would seem superfluous, even, perhaps, to the reopening of old wounds. I will, therefore, call attention to only three policy decisions of the 1820s that explicitly and specifically were influenced by the attitude of decision makers toward Blacks. I have selected them because, as will be established, the port cities, the centerpiece of this article, were identified as Black by individuals who traveled in Latin America and later recorded their views of the new nations and their peoples. Each of the three instances is sufficiently well known to Latin Americanists and should not require elaboration. First, the Black colony of Haiti was, after the thirteen mainland British colonies, the first to free itself from foreign administrative dominance and to become an independent nation (1804), but it was not recognized by the United States until the 1860s. Occasional disclaimers to the contrary, blackness was the sole issue of importance in the repeated decisions by the United States to postpone recognition of Haiti. Second, Washington, mindful of what had occurred in Haiti, adamantly and, as it turned out, determinedly opposed the proposed joint venture of Colombia and Mexico to free Cuba from Spain: the concern in Washington was that the invaders, in seeking a military victory, would urge Blacks to take revenge on whites, thereby instigating a class war that might have repercussions in the nearby slaveholding areas of the United States. Third, representatives in the United States Congress, whose ultimate goal was to embarrass the John Quincy Adams administration, did so obliquely by centering their opposition to sending delegates to the Panama Congress of 1826 on the grounds that there would likely be Black

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<sup>7</sup> John J. Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature* (Austin 1980).

and mulatto delegates in attendance and that non-Black delegates might take positions on Blacks and slavery that would be unacceptable in the United States.

Let us now turn to what early foreign travelers had to say about the racial composition of Latin America's port cities at Independence. The world renowned German scientist Alexander von Humboldt, in reporting on Latin America, noted that, as a rule, Black and pardos, once freed, commonly opted to abandon rural areas in favor of urban centers<sup>8</sup>. Several decades earlier the prosperous merchant, Pedro Alonso O'Crouley, who had visited New Spain on more than one occasion, wrote that „Those who only travelled along the seacoasts, where there were few Indians and a large number of Negroes, thought the number of Negroes and mix-bloods exceeded that of the Indians; on the contrary those who had travelled throughout the interior were amazed by the countless number of Indians“<sup>9</sup>. The accounts of those who visited Latin America during the revolutionary era and the immediate postindependence years, it is believed, certify to the accuracy of von Humboldt's and O'Crouley's observations.

Havana had the „whitest“ population to be found in the Caribbean. Humboldt accepted that in 1810 the city's population stood at 96,114, of whom 41,227 (43 %) were white, 9,733 (10 %) free pardos, 16,246 (17 %) free Blacks, 2,277 (2 %) pardo slaves, and 26,631 (28 %) Black slaves<sup>10</sup>. William Shaler, a Special Agent of the United States, who arrived in Havana in the summer of 1810, was content to inform Washington that the city housed „a motley population“, half of whom were Blacks<sup>11</sup>. Joel Poinsett reported to Washington that „The city of Havana by the census of 1817“ contained within its walls 44,319 inhabitants and in its suburbs another 39,279, for a total population of 83,598. He fixed the number of „whites“ at 37,885 (45.3 %), free colored 9,010 (10.8 %), free Blacks 12,361 (14.8 %), colored slaves 2,543 (3 %), and Black slaves 21,799 (26 %) <sup>12</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre la Isla de Cuba*, D.J.B. de Vy M (trans.) (Paris 1827), p. 121.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro Alonso O'Crouley, *A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain, 1774*, Scán Galvin (trans. and ed.) (New York 1972), p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Von Humboldt, *Ensayo político*, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Roy F. Nichols, *Advance Agents of American Destiny* (Philadelphia 1956), p. 85.

<sup>12</sup> United States National Archive, (hereinafter USNA), Despatches from Special Agents, 1794–1837, vol. 3. These figures correspond to those found in Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico made in the Autumn of 1822* (London 1825), pp. 288–89.

The census of 1827, carried out by order of Francisco Dionisio Vives, reported 39,980 living within the walls of Havana and 54,043 in the suburbs, for a total of 94,023 *almas*, of whom 46,621 (49.6 %) were *blancos*, 9,225 (9.8 %) were mulattos, and 38,177 (40.6 %) were Blacks. Within the walls of the city the breakdown was 19,190 whites (48 %), 4,011 mulattos (10 %), and 16,779 Blacks (42 %) <sup>13</sup>.

Turning attention to the east coast of the mainland, the available evidence establishes that the non-white population in every port city, all the way from Tampico, Mexico, to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, exceeded that of the Caucasians. My only datum on Tampico shows it to have 3,500 inhabitants, „mostly Indian and Mixed Breed“ <sup>14</sup>. Tampico was an oft visited port because it was from there that much of the mineral wealth of Mexico was shipped abroad.

Considering the number of travelers visiting or passing through Vera Cruz, there is a remarkable dearth of statistical data on the demographic composition of that port city. What evidence is available, however, suggests a quite heavy non-white element there <sup>15</sup>. *The New York Observer*, August 2, 1826, for instance, estimated the total population of the city to be no more than 8,000 or 10,000, of whom, „about nine-tenths are Indians, mulattoes and negroes, little, of any, more civilized than our Choc-tows“. British Commissioner and Chargé to Mexico (1823–27), Henry G. Ward elaborated. He determined to his own satisfaction that the inhabitants of Vera Cruz were „almost all blacks, or decendants of blacks with a mixture of Indian blood“ <sup>16</sup>. Earlier, Ward had recorded much the same view that Pedro Alonso O’Crouley had a half century before, namely, that both coasts of Mexico were inhabited „by Mulattos and Zambos, or, at least, by a race in which mixture of African blood prevails“. This element of the coastal populations had multiplied in an extraordinary manner by intermarriage with the Indian race, and „now form a mixed breed admirably adapted to the *caliente*, but possessing, in appearance, the character-

<sup>13</sup> Francisco Dionisio Vives, *Cuadro estadístico de la siempre fiel Isla de Cuba: correspondiente al año de 1827* (Havana 1829), p. 47.

<sup>14</sup> USNA, William Taylor, United States Consul to Vera Cruz, to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Puerto Viejo de Tampico, Jan. 12, 1824, Despatches from United States Consuls in Vera Cruz, 1822–1906, vol. I, microfilm reel 1.

<sup>15</sup> Although I have found less evidence than I expected on the demographic composition of Vera Cruz, there are many reports on the total population of the city. For that information see Richard E. Boyer and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th Century Latin America: Statistics and Sources* (Los Angeles 1973), p. 48.

<sup>16</sup> Henry G. Ward, *Mexico in 1827*, 2 vols. (London 1828), vol. I, p. 178.

istics neither of the New World, or the Old“<sup>17</sup>. George F. Lyons, resident in Mexico during the year 1826, made much the same point, but somewhat more expressively.

„My earliest walk was generally to the Mole, where a stranger can never fail of [*sic*] being interested in watching the bustle and activity which prevails. Crowds of Negro porters are in constant motion, discharging and carrying the cargoes of boats to the Custom-house within the gates, where a noisy concourse of cart-men are scrambling and quarrelling for the chance of employment . . .“<sup>18</sup>

Of the Central American ports, I have data (and that of a quite fragmentary nature) only for Belize. Figures based on a census taken in 1827 showed a total civilian population of the settlement to have been 5,197, distributed as follows: whites, 332 (6.4 %); people of color, 1,037 (20 %); free Blacks, 1,418 (27.3 %); and slaves, 2,410 (46.4 %)<sup>19</sup>. George A. Thompson reported in 1829 that European inhabitants in Belize may not have exceeded thirty families<sup>20</sup>.

The law of Colombia „sees none but citizens in every class of inhabitants whatever may be their origin or the tinge of their complexions . . .“<sup>21</sup>. Such socially advanced legislation undoubtedly explains in part why acceptable population figures based on race appear impossible to obtain for Cartagena, Colombia's major port on the north coast. Such legal provisions, however, cannot explain the limited data on the racial composition of the port during the late colonial and early independence eras, as seems to be the case. Theodore E. Nichols in his detailed study provides only total population numbers for Cartagena as well as for its neighbors, Barranquilla and Santa Marta<sup>22</sup>. Donaldo Basso Herazo accepts a figure of 22,000 for the total population of the port in 1815 and because of the toll taken by the Wars in Independence, only 11,938 in 1831. He makes no attempt to establish the racial composition of the city<sup>23</sup>. Other sources are

<sup>17</sup> *Ibd.*, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> George F. Lyons, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the Republic of Mexico in the Year 1826* (. . .), 2 vols. (London 1826), vol. I, p. 214.

<sup>19</sup> Henry Dunn, *Guatemala or the Republic of Central America in 1827-28* (Detroit 1981), p. 13. Dunn's report was first published in London in 1829.

<sup>20</sup> George A. Thompson, *Narrative of an Official Visit to Guatemala from Mexico* (London 1824), p. 419.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Hall, *Colombia: Its Present State . . . and Inducements to Emigration* (Philadelphia 1825), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Theodore E. Nichols, *Tres puertos de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1973), pp. 135, 155.

<sup>23</sup> Donaldo Basso Herazo, *Cartagena independiente: Tradición y desarrollo* (Bogotá 1967), p. 89.

only slightly more helpful. The Frenchman G. Mollien stopped over in Cartagena in 1822. He fixed the population of the city at 18,000 „for the most part, composed of people of colour“<sup>24</sup>. British Consul Edward Watts, assigned to Cartagena and writing from there on May 9, 1824, noted a preponderance of „African blood . . . on . . . an extensive line of coast . . .“<sup>25</sup>. *The Encyclopaedia Americana, A Popular Dictionary*, in its brief entry on Cartagena noted that „there are among the inhabitants of Cartagena very many of Indian descent“<sup>26</sup>.

La Guayra in the 1820s was, next to Cartagena, the most important port on the Caribbean coast of South America. The French scientist François Raymond Joseph DePons identified it as the „shipping place“ for Caracas located „five short leagues“ inland<sup>27</sup>. *The New York Advertiser* of August 1, 1821, undoubtedly exaggerating, informed its readers that when Bolívar's troops took possession of Caracas and La Guayra „not a white person was to be found in either of those once populous cities, the only remaining inhabitants being a few negroes“. A few months later *The Atlantic Magazine* reported that the wharf was covered with persons anxious to see the coming strangers. „The most of them [the local population] were black; and their muscular, athletic forms presented a marked contrast to the puny and wan appearance of the whites“<sup>28</sup>. La Guayra itself had a population of „scarcely two thousand due to a destructive earthquake [1812] and the long continued wars. A large majority [of the population] is composed of coloured people“<sup>29</sup>.

Data contained in John Lombardi's sophisticated demographic survey of the bishopric of Caracas for the late colonial era confirm in a general way the image of La Guayra disseminated by contemporaries. Lombardi provides population figures for thirteen years between 1802 and 1820. His data for the first and last of those years suffice for our purposes. In 1802, La Guayra had a total population of 4,055, distributed racially as follows:

<sup>24</sup> G. Mollien, *Travels in the Republic of Colombia in the Years 1822 and 1823*, translated from the French (London 1824), p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Edward Watts to George Canning, Cartagena, May 9, 1824, in Robin Humphreys (ed.), *British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America, 1824–1826* (London 1940), p. 267.

<sup>26</sup> S.v. „Cartagena“.

<sup>27</sup> *Travels in South America, during the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804*, translated from the French, 2 vols. (London 1807), vol. II, p. 203.

<sup>28</sup> „Notes on a Voyage to Caraccus [sic]“, *Atlantic Magazine* (New York) I (May 1824), p. 53.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Caucasians, 1,133 (28 %); Indians, 66 (2 %); pardos, 1,701 (42 %); Blacks, 551 (14 %); and slaves, 603 (15 %). By 1820 the total population had fallen to 3,005, of whom 654 (22 %) were white, 280 (9 %) Indian, 904 (30 %) pardos, 696 (23 %) Blacks, and 471 (16 %) slaves<sup>30</sup>. Venezuelan ports to the east of La Guayra may well have had a larger proportion of non-whites than did La Guayra itself. That possibility is suggested by a report from Alexander Cockburn, British Minister to Colombia, to the Foreign Office. The minister informed his superiors that the population of the eastern ports of Cumaná and Barcelona „is Black“ and that many were from Santo Domingo and „of course in communication with the island“<sup>31</sup>.

Data on the racial composition of Brazilian port cities north of Rio de Janeiro are limited. Henry Hill, United States Consul in Rio de Janeiro, using 1808–09 figures adjusted to reflect population growth and what he believed was a tendency for Brazilians to consider „white“ individuals who would be viewed as non-white in the United States, reported the following to Washington in May 1821. Pará (Belem), on the Amazon, according to Hill, had a population of 20,000, of whom 4,000 (20 %) were whites; 7,000 (35 %), „Free Mixed Race“; 2,500 (12.5 %), „Free Negroes“; 6,000 (30 %), slaves; and 500 (2.5 %), „Domestic Indians“. Hill assigned Maranhão (São Luis) a total population of 25,000, of whom 5,000 (20 %) he adjudged to be white; 8,000 (32 %), free mixed race; 3,000 (12 %), free Blacks; and 9,000 (36 %) slaves. Hill's calculations for Pernambuco (Recife), the second most important port in northern Brazil, showed a total population of 60,000, distributed as follows: whites, 10,000 (17 %); free mixed race, 18,000 (30 %); free Blacks, 12,000 (20 %); slaves, 20,000 (33 %); domestic Indians, none reported<sup>32</sup>.

Salvador da Bahia, the major northern port, Hill estimated to have a total population of 95,000, of whom 12,000 (12.7 %) were white; 25,000 (26.3 %) free mixed race; 20,000 (21 %) free Blacks; and 38,000 (40 %) slaves. No domestic Indians were reported for the port. Hill's estimates for Salvador da Bahia may suggest a well-recognized United States „color“ bias unfavorable to individuals having any degree of Black ancestry. At least his figures do not jibe with those of Thomas Lindley, Andrew

<sup>30</sup> John V. Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela* (Bloomington 1976), p. 200.

<sup>31</sup> Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office, (hereinafter PRO FO), 18/87, Alexander Cockburn to George Canning, Caracas, April 24, 1827.

<sup>32</sup> USNA, Despatches from United States Consuls in Rio de Janeiro, Henry Hill to State Department, Columbia, S.C., May, 1821, microfilm reel 1.

Grant, and Richard Bower and Keith A. Davies, who all accept that at the turn of the century Salvador da Bahia had an approximate population of 100,000: 30 % Caucasian, 30 % mulatto, and 40 % Black<sup>34</sup>.

Early nineteenth-century demographic data on Rio de Janeiro are as rich as those of the northern ports are poor. The reasons are apparent. Throughout the eighteenth century, gold and diamonds were funneled through the port, making it – quite aside from the beauty of its surroundings – a favorite of officials. Then, after a sustained decline in the mines, Rio became the capital of the Portuguese empire. Perhaps as many as 25,000 hangers-on fled Portugal with the royal family or arrived in Rio de Janeiro during the following decade. The „invaders“ were joined by Portuguese Brazilians lured from the provinces by the glitter and culture of court life and by European and North American diplomats, agents of commercial houses, and retail merchants. By 1817 the influx of Europeans, according to John B. von Spix, gave Rio a population of approximately 100,000<sup>35</sup>. Spix’s initial reaction to the capital was that

„The Traveller is soon reminded that he is in a strange quarter of the world, by the varied crowd of negroes and mulattoes, who, as the labouring class, everywhere meet him, when he sits his foot on shore. . . . It was with great difficulty that we made our way through the noisy crowd of black, brown, half-naked men, who, with the importunity which is peculiar to them, offered their services“<sup>36</sup>.

John Mawe, who reached Brazil in 1804, found Blacks the city’s most numerous portion<sup>37</sup>. John Luccock, who arrived in Brazil in 1808, estimated the population of the city, based on 4,000 dwellings with an average occupancy of 15 and including 29,000 children, at 60,000, of whom white people and mulattos made up one-third of the total<sup>38</sup>. And Andrew Grant, recording his impression of the city about the time that the royal family reached Rio de Janeiro, recognized as whites only 3,000 in a total

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Lindley, *Authentic Narrative of a Voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to Brazil, 1802, 1803* (London 1808), pp. 252–53; Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London 1809), p. 206; Richard Bower and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization*, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup> John B. von Spix and C.F.P. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817–1820*, H.E. Lloyd, trans., 2 vols. (London 1824), vol. I, p. 134.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 134.

<sup>37</sup> John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (Boston 1816), pp. 97–98.

<sup>38</sup> John Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern Parts of Brazil; Taken during a Residence of Ten Years in that Country, from 1808–1818* (London 1820), pp. 41–42.

population of 43,000<sup>39</sup>. Henry Brackenridge, on assignment from Washington to the Plata region, broke his voyage at Rio de Janeiro. In the version of his report made public, he wrote, „The town seemed to be crowded with inhabitants of every colour and hue, but the proportion of those, who with us would be called white was by far the least considerable.“<sup>40</sup>. Shortly after Brackenridge’s volumes appeared, James Henderson published in London his account of Brazil in which he estimated the population of Rio de Janeiro to be 150,000, of whom two-thirds were Blacks, mulattos and others „exhibiting every variety of complexion“<sup>41</sup>. The aforementioned United States consul, Henry Hill, „supposed“ the population of Rio de Janeiro in 1821 to be 145,000, distributed as follows: white people, 30,000 (21 %); free mixed races, 30,000 (21 %); free Negroes, 15,000 (10 %); slaves, 70,000 (48 %)<sup>42</sup>. Alexander Caldcleugh, private secretary to the British ambassador in Brazil, who in 1825 published a two-volume account of his experiences in South America, informed his readers that the population of Rio, including foreigners, was 135,000 of whom 105,000 were Blacks, 25,000 Brazilians and Portuguese, 4,000 foreigners, 1,000 gypsies and an estimated 400 Indians and caboclos<sup>43</sup>.

North American T.H. Bennett, who spent several weeks in Rio de Janeiro and its environs, wrote that „Two-thirds of the inhabitants of Rio are said to be people of colour“. Bennett also noted, as did numerous other individuals in writing about Brazil, that „the jealousy of Brazilians with respect to their females is such that it is an actual curiosity to see a lady in the streets of Rio during the daytime, except on holidays“<sup>44</sup>. The point is relevant because the absence of „white“ women from the streets, while dark-complected women were commonplace in public places, would tend to add to the impression of Rio having a large non-white population. Readers of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* learned from the article on Brazil’s capital that the population consisted of „a singular mixture of colors . . .

<sup>39</sup> Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>40</sup> Henry Brackenridge, *Voyage to South America; Performed by Order of the American Government in the Years 1817–1818*, 2 vols. (Baltimore 1819), vol. 1, p. 98; my emphasis.

<sup>41</sup> James Henderson, *A History of Brazil* (London 1821), p. 72.

<sup>42</sup> USNA, Henry Hill to State Department, Columbia, S.C., May 1821, microfilm reel 2.

<sup>43</sup> Alexander Caldcleugh, *Travels in South America, during the Years 1819–20–21* (. . .), 2 vols. (London 1825), vol. 1, pp. 79–80.

<sup>44</sup> T.H. Bennett, *Chile and Peru in 1824*, p. 12.

about two-thirds are negroes and mulattos and &c. . . .<sup>45</sup> The widely read *The Niles' Weekly Register* informed its clients that Rio had about 150,000 inhabitants „of whom three-fourth are negro slaves and a few free blacks“<sup>46</sup>. And the Frenchman Alcides D. D'Orbigny, in recalling his images of Rio in 1826, wrote that:

On entering the city, what surprised me most was the great number of people of color, as compared to the whites. I suppose it is what must be most strange to every European disembarking in Brazil. An eye used to the pageant of a population of uniform color, so to speak, accustoms itself with difficulty to that mixture of colors of all possible shades, from black to white, passing through yellow and brown; to such a degree, that all faces seem identical at the beginning, it being impossible to distinguish one person from another. Only a prolonged stay permits the effortless discernment of the difference that the ranges in the dark colors contain.<sup>47</sup>

To complete what most foreign eyes saw in Rio de Janeiro before 1830, it seems appropriate to quote Robert Walsh, who landed in the city two years after D'Orbigny: „My eye really was so familiarized to black visages, that the occurrence of a white face in the streets of some parts of the town, struck me as a novelty.“<sup>48</sup>

South of Rio in temperate Montevideo and Buenos Aires, the population, as a whole, was lighter complected than in the Brazilian capital, but not, perhaps, as light as one might suspect. Although data for Montevideo are scarce, what are available bear out that observation. Nicolás Besio Moreno, relying on a census of 1780, found „españoles“ to constitute 73 %; Indians, 2 %; mulattos, 6 %; Blacks, 6 %; and slaves, 14 %, in a total population of 6,516<sup>49</sup>. Caldcleugh found the city in decay with a population of 10,000 „comprising a small proportion of Blacks“<sup>50</sup>. Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, whose work on the Blacks in Uruguay is the best to date, however, concluded: „It is unquestionable that Negroes and pardos formed an important nucleus of Montevideo's population from 1777 to 1830, at times a third part . . .“<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> S.v. „Rio de Janeiro“.

<sup>46</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register* (October 8, 1825), p. 85.

<sup>47</sup> Alcides D. D'Orbigny, *Viage a la América Meridional*, 4 vols. (Buenos Aires 1945), vol. I, p. 31.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, 2 vols. (Boston 1831), vol. I, p. 257.

<sup>49</sup> Nicolás Besio Moreno, *Buenos Aires, puerto del Río de la Plata, estudio crítico de su población, 1536–1936* (Buenos Aires 1939), p. 392.

<sup>50</sup> Caldcleugh, *Travel in South America*, vol. I, p. 124.

<sup>51</sup> Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, *El negro en el Uruguay* (Montevideo 1965) p. 47.

Buenos Aires was one of the fastest growing cities of South America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Between the 1770s and 1810, when the revolt against Spain erupted, Buenos Aires's population ballooned from roughly 24,000 to around 45,000<sup>52</sup>. The rapid demographic growth of Buenos Aires was not an accident. In 1776 it was made the capital of the newly created Viceroyalty of La Plata. Shortly thereafter commercial regulations were relaxed significantly, to the benefit of the port, in part at the expense of Lima; and Buenos Aires became a major port for the legal and illegal entry of tens of thousands of African slaves, most of whom were sent on to the mining centers of Bolivia, but several thousand of whom remained in the city. Then, too, unlike so many cities that suffered from the Wars of Independence, Buenos Aires thrived in considerable degree because the ebb and flow of rebel and royalist armies by-passed it. Depending upon whom one chooses to accept, the city's population by 1820 ranged between 49,000<sup>53</sup>, or 100,000<sup>54</sup>. The actual population was probably in the middle range of those estimates<sup>55</sup>.

With very few exceptions, reading matter available in the United States and Great Britain during the first three decades of the nineteenth century could not have failed to create the impression that Buenos Aires was home to a proportionately large population of Blacks, mulattos, Indians, and mixed races. Sir Home Popham, in command of the unauthorized British expedition that landed Colonel John Beresford's forces, which captured and temporarily held Buenos Aires in 1806, reported the city's population to be about half Caucasian and the remainder, Indian, Black, and mixed races<sup>56</sup>. Alexander Gillespie, a captain in Beresford's forces, estimated the white population to be no more than 20 percent, „the rest being a com-

<sup>52</sup> There are several studies, in fact the best for any port city of Latin America during the independence era, that treat population data at a sophisticated level. See, for example, Lyman Johnson, „Estimaciones de la población de Buenos Aires en 1744, 1778 y 1810“, *Desarrollo Económico* (Buenos Aires) 19, 73 (April–June 1979), pp. 109–110; Marta B. Goldberg, „La población negra y mulata de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1810–1840“, *Desarrollo Económico* 16, 61 (April–June 1976), pp. 75, 79–80; Lyman Johnson and Susan Socolow, „Population and Space in Eighteenth Century Buenos Aires“, in David J. Robinson, *Social Fabric* (Ann Arbor 1979), pp. 343–346; George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison 1980), pp. 5, 66; Besio Moreno, *Buenos Aires*, pp. 394–398; Boyer and Davies, *Urbanization*, pp. 7–9.

<sup>53</sup> Lyman Johnson and Susan Socolow, „Population and Space“, p. 345.

<sup>54</sup> Samuel Haigh, *Sketches of Buenos Ayres and Chile* (London 1829), p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> See Marta Goldberg, „La población“, p. 78; George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, p. 66; Besio Moreno, *Buenos Aires*, p. 348.

<sup>56</sup> See Jedidiah Morse, *American Universal Geography* (1812 edition), pt. 1, p. 172.

pound breed throughout the various stages of connection, and progressive changes, from negro to the hue of the clearest Europeans“<sup>57</sup>.

Foreign authors going to press during the second decade of the century continued to report a large „colored“ population in Buenos Aires. Samuel Haigh, who arrived in the port in 1817 and who resided in South America for ten years, wrote that among the inhabitants of the city „the pure whites are not numerous, and the mass of the people are of such a mixed breed of Whites, Indians and Negroes, that it would be difficult to establish their exact origin“<sup>58</sup>. Theodorick Bland, United States special commissioner to South America, writing of Buenos Aires and neighboring regions, noted that the „three classes of population it must be observed have evidently been mingled and discolored with Indian blood. The city least of any . . .“<sup>59</sup>. Commissioner Henry M. Brackenridge made the interesting observation that „the mixture of negroes and mulattos“ in the city was „by no means remarkable, not so great perhaps, as in Baltimore“<sup>60</sup>. Until at least 1830 Buenos Aires continued to be portrayed by foreigners as heavily populated by non-whites. John Milton Niles, for example, informed his readers that the port’s inhabitants were Blacks and mixed races<sup>61</sup>. Modern scholars are in some disagreement as to the accuracy of the „foreign“ reporting. George Reid Andrews, relying basically on figures from several „official“ censuses dating from 1810 and 1827, contends that most foreigners exaggerated the proportion of non-whites in the Buenos Aires population. He argues that the non-white populations dropped from 30 % in 1810 to the 20–25 % range in the 1820s<sup>62</sup>. Marta Goldberg<sup>63</sup>, and Lyman Johnson and Susan Socolow<sup>64</sup> insist, however, that the estimates by foreigners were decidedly more nearly correct than the census figures used by Andrews would suggest.

<sup>57</sup> Alexander Gillespie, *Gleanings and Remarks; Collected during Many Months at Buenos Aires* (Leeds 1813), p. 43.

<sup>58</sup> Samuel Haigh, *Sketches of Buenos Ayres and Chile* (London 1829), p. 22.

<sup>59</sup> Report of Theodorick Bland to John Quincy Adams, Baltimore, November 2, 1818, in William R. Manning (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations*, (hereinafter *Dip. Cor.*) 3 vols. (New York 1925), vol. I, p. 418.

<sup>60</sup> Henry M. Brackenridge, *Voyage to South America Performed by Order of the American Government in the Years 1817–1818*, 2 vols. (Baltimore 1819), vol. I, p. 249.

<sup>61</sup> John Milton Niles, *A View of South America and Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York 1826), vol. II, p. 173.

<sup>62</sup> *The Afro-Argentine*, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>63</sup> „La población“, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>64</sup> „Population and Space“, pp. 342 ff.

On the Pacific Coast, Valparaíso was the first major port to be reached from the South. During the war years, whether controlled by the royalists or rebels, it was a commercial and military entrepôt. Ships supplying the west coast market put in there, and nearly all sailors, soldiers, and war materiel provided by Argentina and Chile in support of the patriot cause in Peru were embarked from there. After independence „scarcely a vessel“ doubled the Horn without touching at the port to discharge or to take on cargo or supplies<sup>65</sup>. The fact that during the six months ending December 31, 1824, 101 vessels flying the flags of either Great Britain or the United States cleared Valparaíso speaks to its importance<sup>66</sup>. And from across the Andes came other foreigners, mainly British, searching for mining prospects and observing political developments. The opportunities for foreigners to note the racial composition of the port thus were numerous. That being the case, the information of the demographic mix of the city is both scanty and imprecise. Assuming a reasonable search for data, the most logical conclusion to be drawn from the lack of information is that foreigners were by background conditioned for what they saw. Commissioner Bland seems to confirm that view in his report to Washington:

... from whatever portion of province of Europe they [the Chileans] have principally derived their descent, every stranger acquainted with other Spanish settlements in America at once remarks the fairness of the complexions of the Chilinos of unmingled European descent; blue eyes and fair hair are common. ... The mixture with those of the European race in and about the Indian towns is so general, and the population has been so blended and whitened in them, that, in a project of a constitution presented to the Congress ... it was proposed to consider them as a portion of the people, entitled to all the privileges of citizens. The huasos, or peasantry of the country, are all of this mixed class. ... Previous to the arrival of the Buenos Aires negro auxiliaries, there were not, in all Chili, one thousand of the African race, bond and free. ... Upon the whole, it is universally admitted that the population of Chili has less of the African blackening, has a smaller proportion of slave, and is altogether more homogenous, than any other of all Spanish America.<sup>67</sup>

Several months earlier Judge John B. Prevost, Special United States Commissioner to South America, had identified the population of Chile

<sup>65</sup> Robin Humphreys, *British Consular Reports*, p. 94.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Report of Theodorick Bland, Special Commissioner of the United States to South America, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States, on the condition of South America, November 2, 1818, in Manning, *Dip. Cor.*, vol. II, pp. 991–92.

as one-third Spaniards and creoles, „and the other two-thirds natural Chileans [mestizos]“<sup>68</sup>.

This is not to suggest that even in normal times Valparaíso's inhabitants appeared European. They did not. According to W. Bower, „The population, consisting of whites, mestizes, mulattoes, blacks, in short, all shades of complexion and condition . . . [form] as heterogeneous a mixture as is to be met within any corner of the creation . . .“<sup>69</sup>.

Devastating earthquakes, declining mineral production, having to share overseas commerce with Buenos Aires, and impoverished by wars and political changes gave Lima, capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru and later of independent Peru, an erratic demographic history for nearly a century before the 1840s. Its population of 60,000 in 1746 declined to less than 53,000, including religious, by 1790<sup>70</sup>. The city's population may have reached about 64,000 by 1810<sup>71</sup>. The city's population trended upward from that figure for approximately two decades. In 1818, John B. Prevost fixed the city's population at 70,000<sup>72</sup>, and United States Agent Joel R. Poinsett figured the population within the walls of the city at 62,000<sup>73</sup>. Federico Moreno settled for a population of 64,000 in 1820<sup>74</sup>. General Miller established the city's population at 70,000 in 1822<sup>75</sup>. Caldcleugh, reporting on the city in 1825, also accepted the 70,000 figure<sup>76</sup>. British Consul

<sup>68</sup> USNA, John B. Prevost to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Santiago, Feb. 12, 1818, State Department, Special Agents, vol. 6.

<sup>69</sup> *Naval Adventures during Thirty-Five Years Service*, 2 vols. (London 1833), vol. II, p. 98.

<sup>70</sup> Joseph Skinner, *The Present State of Peru* (London 1805), p. 145; Alfredo Moreno Cebrián, „La descripción del Perú de Joaquín Bonet y la ordenanza de intendentes de 1803“, *Revista de Indias* 37 (1977), p. 736; PRO FO 51/2, Thomas Rowcroft, British Consul General to Foreign Office, Lima, July 27, 1824; Jedidiah Morse, *American Universal Geography*, 2 vols. (6th edition, 1812), vol. I, p. 750; William T.W. Ruschenberger, *Three Years in the Pacific, Including Notices of Brazil, Chile, Bolivia and Peru* (Philadelphia 1834), p. 210.

<sup>71</sup> William B. Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, 3 vols. (London 1825), vol. I, p. 289.

<sup>72</sup> Judge John B. Prevost to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States, Santiago, June 10, 1818, in Manning, *Dip. Cor.*, vol. II, p. 929.

<sup>73</sup> United States Congress, 15th Congress, 2nd session, *American State Paper, Foreign Relations* IV (1818), p. 329.

<sup>74</sup> Federico Moreno „Crecimiento, decrecimiento y mortalidad de la ciudad de Lima“, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geografía de Lima*, 7 (1897), p. 147.

<sup>75</sup> John Miller (biographer), *Memoirs of General Miller*, 2 vols. (London, 2nd edition, 1829), vol. I, p. 383.

<sup>76</sup> Caldcleugh, *Travels in South America* as quoted in the *Quarterly Review* (London) 32 (June–Oct. 1825), p. 150.

Rowcroft was more cautious. He wrote in 1824 that there was much doubt and some dispute whether the population of the city was 30,000, 35,000, or 40,000<sup>77</sup>. The German scientist J.J. von Tschudi accepted the 70,000 figure for 1826, but relying on data from tax registers for 1836, dropped the city's population to 54,628, or almost down to where it had been in 1790<sup>78</sup>.

Whether its population was expanding or contracting, Lima was by all reports a city made up overwhelmingly of people of color. An oft quoted census of 1790 indicated that in a total secular population of 47,796, Spaniards and creoles constituted 36 %; Indians, 8 %; mestizos, 10 %; Blacks, 19 %; mulattos, 12 %; quadroons, 5 %; zambos, 7 %; and other mixed races, 3 %<sup>79</sup>. Alfredo Moreno Cebrián fixed the total population of the city, including religious and secular, at 52,627. Of the total, according to Moreno Cebrián, Spanish of all classes constituted 38 %, Indians 8 %, mestizos 9 %, people of color 19 %, and slaves 26 %<sup>80</sup>. William Bennett Stevenson reported that in 1810 the white population of the city represented 37 % of the total<sup>81</sup>. Caldcleugh's estimates for the city's racial distribution were Spaniards, 37 %; free mulattos, 22 %; slaves, 22 %; and mestizos and Indians, 18 % (total, 99 %, due to rounding)<sup>82</sup>. Tschudi's data for 1836 are consistent with those for the preceding half-century. His delineation of Lima's secular population placed the white creoles, „chiefly of Spanish descent“ at 36 %, Indians 10 %, people of color 45 %, and slaves 9 %<sup>83</sup>.

Ports between Lima and Acapulco, Mexico, did not figure prominently in international trade involving the United States and Great Britain. During the six months ending December 31, 1825, for example, only 23 British and United States vessels weighed anchor in Guayaquil<sup>84</sup>. In 1790, the port had a population of approximately 11,500<sup>85</sup>. And its population

<sup>77</sup> PRO FO 61/3, Rowcroft to Canning, Lima, Nov. 2, 1824.

<sup>78</sup> J.J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru during the Years 1838–1842*, translated from the German by Thomasina Ross (New York 1849), pp. 63–64.

<sup>79</sup> Joseph Skinner, *The Present State of Peru*, p. 147, Morse, *American Universal Geography*, vol. II, p. 806; PRO FO 61/2, Rowcroft to Canning, Lima, July 27, 1824; Ruschenberger, *Three Years in the Pacific*, p. 210.

<sup>80</sup> Alfredo Moreno Cebrián, „La descripción del Perú“, p. 736.

<sup>81</sup> Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative*, vol. I, p. 289.

<sup>82</sup> See the *Quarterly Review* (London), 32 (June–Oct. 1825), p. 150.

<sup>83</sup> Tschudi, *Travels*, p. 64.

<sup>84</sup> Humphreys, *British Consular Reports*, p. 239.

<sup>85</sup> Michael T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil, 1763–1842*, (Guayaquil 1973), p. 91.

apparently approached 13,000 by 1820<sup>86</sup>. Like many east coast ports located near the equator, Guayaquil had a population that was pronouncedly of African descent. Hamerly's census figures for 1790 show the white/mestizo component of the population to be 19 %; Indians, 5.5 %; pardos, 63.8 %; and slaves, 11.7 %<sup>87</sup>. Luis T. Paz y Miño<sup>88</sup> adds that the entire province of Guayaquil in 1781 had a population composed of 15 % white, 30 % Indian, and 55 % pardos and Blacks. William B. Stevenson, who visited Guayaquil in 1808, reported the city's population to be composed of all the different classes found in the various towns of South America, „but there is an excess of mulattos“<sup>89</sup>. Adrian R. Terry found Guayaquil „peopled by all shades, from jet black to pure white, which run into each other by almost imperceptible gradations. . . . About one-sixth of the population may be white.“<sup>90</sup>.

Panama City, the Pacific terminal for trans-Isthmian commerce, in normal times could be a busy port. During the period covered in this study, however, independence struggles and wars between the new nations themselves, fought in large part with privateers and blockades, converged to make Panama City, with a population of perhaps 10,000, including its immediate environs, a distinctly marginal trading center. Haigh, for example, wrote that only three British ships visited the port annually and even then could dispose of only a small part of their cargo<sup>91</sup>. In 1790 the port's population was 66 % free Blacks, 22 % slaves, and 12 *blancos*<sup>92</sup>. In Haigh's mid-1820s account of the port's population, the *blancos* had for all intents and purposes totally disappeared. He wrote that the population was entirely Black except for the British Consul and his family<sup>93</sup>. John M. Niles did not venture a breakdown of the population by races, but did record that „a considerable portion . . . are slaves; most of the inhabitants have some knowledge of the English language, which is acquired by their intercourse with the island of Jamaica“<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Federico Moreno, „Crecimiento, decrecimiento“, p. 148.

<sup>87</sup> Hamerly, *Historia social y económica*, p. 91.

<sup>88</sup> *La población del Ecuador* (Quito 1942), p. 35.

<sup>89</sup> Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative*, vol. II, p. 209.

<sup>90</sup> Adrian R. Terry, *Travels in the Equatorial Regions of South America in 1832* (Hartford 1834), pp. 80–81.

<sup>91</sup> Samuel Haigh, *Bosques de Buenos Aires, Chile y Perú*, trans. and prolog, Carlos A. Aldao (Buenos Aires 1920), p. 185. Also see John M. Niles, *A View of South America and Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York 1826), vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>92</sup> Alfredo Figueroa Navarro, *Dominio y sociedad en el Panamá colombiano (1821–1903)* (Panama City 1978), p. 84.

<sup>93</sup> Haigh, *Bosques*, p. 185.

<sup>94</sup> Niles, *A View of South America and Mexico*, vol. II, p. 13.

Acapulco, famous for centuries as the western terminus of the Manila Galleon, as a result of the devastations of the wars beginning in 1820, had lost much of its population and practically ceased to be a market for other than domestic products. The British Consul-General in Mexico City, Charles T. O'Gorman, wrote the foreign office on August 10, 1824, that „a cargo of British goods of £ 10.000 principal would stock the market for 3 years“<sup>94</sup>. The only datum I have on the racial composition of the settlement shows it to have had 400 chino, mulatto, Black, and Spanish families<sup>96</sup>.

During the years immediately following the emergence of the independent Latin American nations, United States interest in the area dropped precipitously. As noted at the beginning of this article, there were several possible reasons for the loss of interest. One was the racial attitudes of the citizenry of the United States: dominant elements in the former Anglo-American colonies held strong beliefs, mostly of a negative nature, about peoples outside the mainstream of their own white, Protestant society. In the United States' view, the Spanish and Portuguese were the least respected of the western Europeans. Native American and mixed white/Indian peoples were held in lower regard than were Iberians. Least regarded of all were the Africans and their descendants. The purpose of this short exercise was to establish the racial composition of the major port cities of the Caribbean and Middle and South America as one input in determining the United States' probable images of the emerging nations of Latin America. My assumption was that the darker the population of the port cities of a given nation, the darker the prospects for that nation. If my assumption is correct, the printed evidence herein establishes beyond doubt, I believe, that in the perceptions of foreign travelers who recorded their views, the population of most ports was too dark complected to offer much immediate hope for social stability, responsible political growth, and the kind of sustained economic development that would make the new states dependable allies or promising trading partners. Based upon race alone, then, the United States, it followed, could, for the foreseeable future, safely reduce its attentions to Latin American developments. For whatever reason, that is what occurred.

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<sup>95</sup> Humphreys, *British Consular Reports*, p. 333.

<sup>96</sup> Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario geográfico de las Indias Occidentales*, 4 vols. (Madrid 1967), s. v. „Acapulco“. The English edition of Alcedo fails to make any mention of Spanish families.