

CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMERCE  
AND MARITIME ACTIVITY IN THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY:  
SOURCES FOR A QUANTITATIVE  
APPROACH\*

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The scholar examining nineteenth-century Central American (here defined as including Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica) foreign relations, particularly foreign trade relations, constantly finds quite positive statements regarding British, French, and United States economic power in Central America. These often allege political domination of the individual nations through foreign economic influences. Invariably such claims are based either upon "common knowledge," without supportive data, or upon data of a highly selective, unsystematic, or arbitrary nature.<sup>1</sup> Confronted with the choice of accepting or challenging these allegations, the scholar may choose the previous "general wisdom," "create" his own "wisdom," or institute as systematic a study of foreign economic trade and navigation ties as existing data sources permit. For the scholar wishing to undertake a detailed study, this essay will describe the location, abundance, reliability, and accuracy of data relative to nineteenth-century Central American trade and navigation as encountered in sources from Guatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, the United States, Great Britain, France, Hamburg (until 1873), Bremen, the German Empire (beginning about 1880), Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium. While the following discussion focuses upon the use of United States and European archives and the statistical and commercial serials for gathering data on Central American trade and maritime activity, obviously many of these same sources, archives, or serials possess identical data for most other Latin American countries or regions.

Briefly, the kinds of data series selected for each Central American country are total importation and total exportation, value of major export products,

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value of exportation by country of destination, value of key export products by country of destination, value of importation by country of origin, and maritime activity for each Central American country in terms of nationality, number, and tonnage of vessels, as well as the division of trade among the various ports. In order to understand better the role of the chief Central American ports, data were gathered, when possible, for each port in terms of the total value of goods exported or imported, value of key products exported, and navigation in terms of nationality, number, and tonnage of ships.

For the United States and each European country, data series were constructed on the total volume of their imports and exports, on the total volume of their imports and exports with Central America, or with each country individually when possible, and on the value of significant export and import products exchanged with Central America. So far, data for over two thousand series of variables covering the forty-six year period (1840–85) have been gathered, although it is estimated that only about 50 percent of the roughly one hundred thousand possible pieces of data have been located. Hence a large number of gaps and voids in the data exist, which apparently will be difficult to fill.<sup>2</sup>

The search for commercial and maritime data began, naturally, in Central America. After an extensive examination of archival holdings, newspapers, *Memorias*, and annuals in each of the Central American republics, it became evident that even for Guatemala, where the data were most abundant, some gaps existed. It was evident also that the reliability and accuracy of the data were sometimes questionable. Of course, Central American data could be checked by examining United States and European sources. It was quickly discovered that these supplementary sources supplied not only missing data and checks on existing data, but perspectives and data series of their own.

The questions of the accuracy and reliability of the statistical information available on Central American trade and navigation pose complex problems which are, in part, irresolvable. For example, Costa Rica published price and volume or unit data for its chief export items. Yet, it appears that the Costa Rican officials only retained records of the volume or units of a certain item exported, then calculated an "average" price during the export season and derived the "total export value" by multiplying the number of units by the "average price." How the Central American officials gathered the data is often unknown.

The whole problem of accuracy and reliability is also challenged by the known proclivity of foreign importers, domestic exporters, and domestic collection officials to "adjust" their figures. The foreign importer sought to undervalue his goods to reduce the duty on them; the domestic exporter often sought to undervalue or underweigh his goods in order to reduce export taxes, or to hide his net worth; and the domestic customs officials often went along with both, for a fee. There was unquestionably a general distortion of commercial statistics resulting from bribery and an active smuggling system. Given the nature and illegality of these two "trading" forms—customs-official bribery and smuggling—we often can determine that both systems were in use, but we can never measure the volume or value of goods flowing in or out of a country by these "routes." Occasionally a domestic government agent, foreign consul, trav-

eller, or businessman would estimate such traffic, but the trustworthiness of such figures is suspect. Thus, unfortunately, the variety and opportunity for conscious, illegal distortion of the value of trade in Central America should caution the historian to interpret the statistics as general indicators rather than precise measuring devices.

Even if the illegal methods of distorting trade and navigation data did not exist, the accuracy of the data would be questionable, to some degree, given our knowledge of the general educational level of these republics in the nineteenth century. Did the officials possess the methodological and mathematical ability and the training to maintain accurate records? Were the margins of error that one might expect the same in Costa Rica, which had a comparatively higher educational standard, as in Honduras, which was an educational wasteland throughout the nineteenth century? Again, we possess essentially no information that would permit an evaluation of the impact of national educational norms upon statistical information gathering.

The United States and European trade data pose different questions about accuracy. The United States, Great Britain, and France all used "fixed" values for imports and/or exports during the early nineteenth century. This meant that items were assigned a legally determined value, often based upon an eighteenth-century law reflecting the eighteenth-century value of the item, thus distorting the true market value of goods handled in trade. A further problem involves the fact that the United States and many of the European countries could only report their direct trade, that is their produce sold directly to Central America, thus obscuring the real value of their total exchange with Central America. For example, it was commonly reported that the British merchants in Central America often traded in United States products that had been reshipped out of Great Britain; this represented indirect United States trade. Whatever the value of such trade, it never found its way into the calculation of United States trade with Central America. Nor did any European country attempt to calculate its indirect trade. Since trade data on all countries were affected by indirect trade, to some extent a balance occurred. The trade figures drawn from non-Central American sources usually include reexports—items not the manufacture of the country sending them to Central America—i.e., the indirect trade of third countries. Export figures from the United States and Europe used in this study, while they can not include indirect trade, do include reexports. This seems acceptable because (1) the reexport goods probably came from other Atlantic community states, (2) to some extent indirect trade and reexports will balance each other out, (3) the country reexporting goods drew a profit from them and could obtain residual political influence from them, and, (4) this study deals with the impact of trade upon foreign relations, not internal manufacturing, hence it is not essential that Hamburg, for example, produced the goods involved in its trade.

The program currently being used for the initial processing of the raw data calculates various percentages to illuminate the data better and to direct attention toward possible errors. In the printout, the value of each variable and also the percentage figure of that value as a proportion of the official total value for that year are reproduced. In addition, where official total values are available,

an error percentage is calculated between the official total and the total arrived at through the summation of each variable for that year. Currently, the error figures guide the checking and reexamination of the original data sources; when no correction can be located, the given official and calculated totals and the error figure are retained in the final presentation.

While the statistical data collected for this study are subject to reservation with respect to their accuracy and reliability, in a historical sense, these are not necessarily centrally important. The data are, very probably, much more accurate, reliable, and abundant than the figures available to businessmen, economists, politicians, diplomats, and military leaders in the nineteenth century. Certainly one obvious use of trade data from the past is to help us understand decision-making at that time. For example, to attempt to use regression to "fill in" the missing data would be a questionable use of that quantitative technique. One needs only run through the nineteenth-century manuscript and printed sources to realize that nineteenth-century statesmen and businessmen had to make economic-related decisions without any "filled-in" data. They had to accept the gaps and undiscovered errors. Yet percentage calculations seem useful, partly because nineteenth-century men quite often used hand calculated or estimated percentages. At this time, the primary purpose in gathering and preparing this data is to bring together the data that were available and known to contemporaries. These statistics were also gathered to aid in making relative judgments regarding political-economic power, not to serve as precise measures of nineteenth-century industry and agriculture. Of course, nothing stated above reduces in the least the researcher's obligation to obtain the most accurate, reliable, and precise data he can. Still, even when the figures are less accurate, reliable, and precise than desired, they most often continue to possess valuable analytic utility.

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

Guatemalan commerce and maritime activity statistics were the most abundant and the easiest to gather. The folleto collection of the Archivo General de Centro América in Guatemala City, containing *informes* and *memorias* dating from the late 1870s, supplied a vast body of relevant statistical material. This was supplemented by the *Anales Estadísticas de la República de Guatemala*, first published in 1883, and the *Informe de la Oficina de Estadística* (1885) which contained historical tables of trade dating back to 1871. In Guatemala, as in the other Central American countries, newspapers proved to be an invaluable source. The official newspaper was the most useful for trade and navigation data. The hemerotecas of the Biblioteca Nacional and the Archivo General de Centro América contain an almost complete file of the official Guatemalan newspaper under its various names: *El Tiempo*, *La Gaceta de Guatemala*, *Boletín Oficial*, and *El Guatemalteco*. Other newspapers which carried data useful for this study are *El Noticioso* (Guatemala City), *El Crepúsculo* (Guatemala City), and *El Bien Público* (Quetzaltenango, Guatemala).<sup>3</sup>

Statistics on trade and maritime activity are about as abundant for Costa

Rica as for Guatemala, but less readily accessible. Once again, newspapers and memorias supply the bulk of the data. The Archivos Nacionales, in its sections Congreso and Hacienda, contain numerous manuscript and printed trade reports, memorias, and informes. However, responsibility for compiling the trade data seemed to have moved around quite freely in nineteenth-century Costa Rica, so one must examine the memorias for the ministries of Gobernación, Hacienda, Fomento, Industria, and Guerra and Marina in order to locate all data available in the memorias. The Archivos Nacionales memorias collection must be supplemented by extensive collections found at the Biblioteca Nacional and the Banco Central. The official newspaper under its various names—*Mentor Costarricense*, *El Costarricense*, *Gaceta del Gobierno*, *Gaceta Oficial de Costa Rica*, and *Gaceta Oficial*—and some private newspapers like *Noticioso Universal* (San José) and *La Palanca* (Cartago) supply further data. The Biblioteca Nacional, Banco Central, Archivos Nacionales, and the library of the Universidad de Costa Rica contain the best public newspaper collections. Finally, some printed primary and secondary sources add significantly to our statistical knowledge of Costa Rican commerce and navigation.<sup>4</sup>

There appears to be little data available for El Salvador before the early 1850s, but thereafter the statistical record in commerce and navigation is approximately as complete as in Guatemala or Costa Rica. Due to the 1889 fire in San Salvador, the Archivo General de la Nación contains no relevant material until the last years of the nineteenth century. Fortunately, the official newspaper of El Salvador is perhaps the richest of the Central American official newspapers in information on trade and maritime activity. However, since it only commenced publishing in 1849, the decade of the 1840s remains a near blank in El Salvador's data series. The official paper was published under various titles: *Gaceta Oficial del Salvador*, *El Constitucional*, *El Faro Salvadoreño*, *Gaceta Oficial*, *Boletín Oficial*, and *Diario Oficial*. Several private San Salvadorean newspapers supplied additional data, *El Pueblo*, *La Discusión*, and *La República*. One problem was locating a complete file of the official newspaper for the nineteenth century. This task required visiting no less than six libraries: the Biblioteca Nacional, the private library of Miguel Angel Gallardo, the Museo Nacional "David J. Guzman," the library of the Universidad José Simón Cañas, and the libraries of the Banco Hipotecario and Banco Central. Several of these also contain extensive files of nonofficial newspapers. Although the Dirección General de Estadística only started publishing the *Anuario Estadística* in 1900, until 1915 it often published valuable historical tables of statistics. While the official newspaper often printed memorias, very few from the nineteenth century have survived in separate pamphlet form. A few were located in the Museo Nacional "David J. Guzman" collection of "hojas sueltas, folletos y miscelánea." This collection also contains a small amount of additional material on trade and navigation. As in the case of Costa Rica, several other printed sources offer supplementary materials.<sup>5</sup>

Data for Nicaragua are very scarce before the early 1860s and are only abundant beginning about 1870. Once again a natural disaster, the earthquake of 1931, must bear chief responsibility for the lack of earlier data. Memorias and informes, extant only for most years after 1867, are located in the library of the

Banco Central, the best research center for Nicaraguan history. The Banco Central also has the best collection of the official newspaper under its various names—*Redactor Nicaraguense*, *Rejistro Oficial*, *Boletín Oficial*, *Gaceta de Nicaragua*, *Gaceta Oficial*—and also of private newspapers combining trade information, like the *Mentor Nicaraguense*. The Archivo Nacional possesses a fine collection of private newspapers for the late 1870s and after, which fortunately was not destroyed by the December 1972 earthquake. Several printed secondary sources supply additional useful material on Nicaraguan trade and navigation.<sup>6</sup>

Numerical data relating to Honduran commerce and navigation were extremely difficult to locate for any time in the nineteenth century, with the exception of the very last years, when Antonio R. Vallejo's *Primer Anuario Estadístico correspondiente al año de 1889* appeared. Since memorias are very rare for the nineteenth century, the official newspaper was the chief source of trade data. The only publically available collection of the official newspaper for the nineteenth century is in the Archivo Nacional de Honduras; but while it contains individual numbers dating back to 1841, the collection has large gaps of months and even years until the 1870s. Unfortunately, even when the newspaper file is complete, it is clear that the Honduran official newspaper devoted considerably less attention to trade and navigation than the other Central American official newspapers. Honduras is also poor in printed primary and secondary materials to supplement the official trade statistics.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, there are some sources in the United States and Europe which supplied information drawn from Central American sources. The most valuable sources of this nature were the foreign consular reports, which often included copies of official Central American trade and navigation reports as well as copies of Central American newspapers and pamphlets related to commercial matters. The British consular reports are available in the Foreign Office General Correspondence files: FO/15—Central America and Guatemala; FO/21—Costa Rica; FO/39—Honduras; FO/53—Mosquito; FO/56—Nicaragua; and FO/66—San Salvador. The United States consular reports for Central America are located in the National Archives. Both the British and United States consular reports are available on microfilm. In addition, trade and navigation data, extracted from United States consular reports for each year after 1853, were published in a yearly series, *Commercial Relations*, as a House or Senate Document in the Congressional Serial Set. The British abstracted their consular documents in a series called *Abstract of Reports on Trade in Various Countries*, appearing in the *Sessional Papers*.<sup>8</sup>

A useful German source for supplying missing data on Central American trade and navigation statistics is the *Handels-Archiv*, a weekly that published extracts of consular reports from the various German states as well as from German businessmen, intellectuals, and travellers. Later, this journal changed names several times to *Preussisches Handelsarchiv* and *Deutsches Handelsarchiv*, but continued to offer valuable data throughout the nineteenth century. Since it reproduces all the Prussian consular reports for the 1840s, the *Diplom-Arbeit* (equivalent of a senior thesis) of Eckhard Friedrich, "Die preussischen Konsularberichte von Guatemala, 1842–1850," is useful. Consular reports from Bremen and Hamburg offer a very small amount of supplementary material; these

manuscript reports are available at the Bremer Handelskammerbibliothek and the Hamburger Commerzbibliothek. There is a considerable body of material regarding shipping companies and individual ships in the Hamburger Staatsarchiv and the Bremer Staatsarchiv.<sup>9</sup>

Spanish consular reports offered no useful material, while the Dutch, Italian, and Belgian materials have not yet been examined, but it is not expected they will yield much information on trade and maritime activity.<sup>10</sup> The French compiled an *Annales du commerce extérieur* from commercial and consular sources beginning in 1843, but it contained little data useful for this study. It is much stronger in price information or general commercial information than in detailed data on trade and navigation. The French consular materials, housed in the Archives des Ministères des Affaires Etrangères and numbering about sixty-five volumes for the years 1823 until 1900, are divided into two series, "Correspondance Politique, Amérique Centrale" and "Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale," which supply supplemental data on Central American trade and navigation. The F12 series of the Ministère du Commerce, Archives Nationales, Paris, containing trade and navigation reports and statistics gathered in Central America, is also useful.

In addition to the consular materials, there are various types of printed materials that offer some data for the Central American countries. The printed sources that have proven useful in supplying trade and navigation data can be classified as immigration tracts,<sup>11</sup> travel accounts,<sup>12</sup> and secondary works.<sup>13</sup>

#### STATISTICAL DATA FROM CENTRAL AMERICA'S TRADING PARTNERS

In addition to the commercial data generated by the countries themselves, it is possible to gain some perspective on Central American trade through an examination of the trade data compiled by each of Central America's important commercial partners, that is, the United States and the major European nations. The most systematically organized and readily accessible data are those kept by the United States, Great Britain, and France. Yet these sources contain the serious drawback of not breaking down the statistical data for each country, but rather of grouping all data under the heading "Central America." This practice does not permit analysis of separate national policy or national growth for the Central American countries.

#### *United States*

Yearly data on every United States product exported to Central America or every Central American product imported into the United States can be found in the government's annual volume, *Commerce and Navigation*, published, beginning in 1821, as either a House or Senate document in the Congressional Serial Set. However, only beginning in the late nineteenth century were the import-export data and the data on maritime activity usually broken down for each of the Central American republics. Additional valuable and more usable, if slightly less comprehensive, statistical sources are the annual *Statistical Abstract of the United*

States and several special government-sponsored studies on United States-Latin American trade.<sup>14</sup>

### *Europe*

Most of the European powers published annual volumes of trade data that offer figures for total national exports and imports as well as specific data for most countries or areas with which they conducted substantial trade. In some instances, however, the annual trade reports only began in the late nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century in most cases, the European powers treated Central America as a statistical unit, not publishing data for each country separately, but only under the rubric "Central America." Usually, beginning in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, the European countries began to record their Central American data on a national basis.

The import-export data for British trade with Central America for each year after 1846 are found in two annual publications: *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*, and *Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions*. Data for most years before 1846 can be found in Parliament's *Sessional Papers*. Robert Naylor has compiled statistical data from the Board of Trade archives for British-Central American trade from 1821 to 1851.<sup>15</sup>

In France, the *Tableau général du Commerce et de la Navigation* series began in the 1820s, but only carried data for Central America from the mid-1830s.<sup>16</sup> The French also published tables of importation and exportation of key products, thus permitting the researcher to pursue the precise nature of the exchange between Central America and France.

German data present special problems since, prior to the unification of the nation in 1871, the Hansa cities Hamburg and Bremen conducted most of the commerce and carrying trade between the German states and Central America. While data are available for these two key cities, the miscellaneous, secondary trade of Prussia, Hannover, and Lübeck, to name just a few German states conducting small occasional trade with Central America, is virtually impossible to track down. For Hamburg the *Tabellarische Übersichten des Hamburgischen Handels* offers a yearly breakdown of such trade from 1845 to 1873.<sup>17</sup> Likewise reliable data seem available for Bremen's trade with Central America from the mid-nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> Beginning with the year 1880, the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* offered data on the German Empire's trade with Central America.<sup>19</sup> German records did not break down Central American trade to the country level until the twentieth century.

In the 1840s, the Spanish began to publish a detailed annual report on commerce, entitled *Cuadro General del Comercio Exterior de España con sus posesiones Ultramarinas y Potencias Estrasgeras*.<sup>20</sup> This commerce annual contained a table of yearly imports and exports involved in the trade between Spain and Central America itemized by product. Although initially treated as a unit, starting in the 1870s, the data became available for each country separately.

The Italian commercial annual only contains a breakdown on specific import and export products in trade with Central America beginning in the late nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> For the earlier years, to be sure, it presented data under the label "Central America," but defined it to include New Grenada and the Antillian Islands. Beginning in the 1880s, it was defined as the five republics under consideration here.

Central American trade with the Netherlands, taken in conjunction with Central American data on Dutch shipping, reveals that the Dutch played a larger role as carriers than as purchasers or suppliers of trade goods. Despite the low level of trade, the Netherlands' commercial annual does contain a detailed breakdown of the products involved in the trade between the trading partners.<sup>22</sup>

The Belgian *Tableau Général du Commerce avec les Pays Étrangers, pendant l'année* presents annual trade data for Central America, beginning in the early 1830s.<sup>23</sup> This commercial annual offers the data in a detailed breakdown of import and export products traded between Belgium and Central America as a whole.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Previously, scholars of nineteenth century Central America have either largely ignored trade and maritime activity, or written impressionistic, subjective studies. They have focused upon great power interests, primarily the roles of Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century, and have tended to slight Central America's role. Suitable commercial data are available in the mid- and late nineteenth century for all Central American countries with the exception of Honduras, where lack of numerical data at this point frustrates any statistical analysis. Data for Nicaragua, while scarce in the 1840s and 1850s, are adequate thereafter. Data are sufficient or abundant for Guatemala, Costa Rica, and El Salvador for the years beginning with the breakdown of the Central American state. The United States and European sources, collectively, offer a vast body of supplementary statistical data, both to serve as a check on Central American data and to expand the base of analysis. The use of statistical data centering upon the trade figures of the Central American countries permits a broader approach to their relations with the United States and Europe and one which shifts more attention to Central America as an active participant in mid-nineteenth century affairs.<sup>24</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Chester Lloyd Jones, *Costa Rica and the Civilization in the Caribbean* (Madison: University of Wisconsin [Press], 1935), p. 94; Tomás Soley Güell, *Compendio de Historia Económica y Hacendaria de Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Soley y Valverde, 1940), p. 43; Robert A. Naylor, "The British Role in Central America Prior to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (hereafter *HAHR*) 40 (1960):361, 363, 367–68; Richard J. Houk, "The Development of Foreign Trade and Communication in Costa Rica to the Construction of the First Railway," *The Americas* 10 (Oct. 1953):201–5; Clotilde María Obregon Quesada, "La Primera Administración del Doc-

tor Castro, 1847–1849” (2 vols., tesis de licenciado, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1968) 1:189–90; and Valentín Solórzano F., *Evolución Económica de Guatemala*, 3rd ed. (Guatemala: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra, 1970), p. 335; Ralph Lee Woodward, *Central America: A Nation Divided* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 131–33. One notable exception has been the group of young scholars working in conjunction with the *Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos* (hereafter ESC) whose work reveals use of statistical data and computer analysis. Specifically on a trade-related problem, see Ciro Flamarion Santana Cardoso, “Historia Económica del café en Centroamérica (Siglo XIX): Estudio Comparativo,” *ESC* 10 (Jan.-Apr. 1975):9–55. See also the demographic article by Julia Haydee Brenes and J. Alberto Rudea, “La Parroquia de Guadalupe (Costa Rica), 1859–1900,” *ESC* 5 (May-Aug. 1973):9–20, or Hector Pérez Brignoli, “Economía y Sociedad en Honduras durante el Siglo XIX,” *ESC* 6 (Sep.-Dec. 1973):52–82. For a review of current work on demographic studies in Europe, the United States, and Central America, see Ciro Flamarion S. Cardoso, “La Historia demográfica; su penetración en Latinoamérica y en América Central,” *ESC* 9 (Sep.-Dec. 1974):115–30. For other articles on quantification published by ESC, see numbers 1–17 (1972–77). On economic and quantitative work in nineteenth-century Latin America, see William Paul McGreevey, “Quantitative Research in Latin American History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in Val R. Lorwin and Jacob M. Price (eds.), *The Dimensions of the Past: Materials, Problems, and Opportunities for Quantitative Work in History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 477–502, and William Paul McGreevey, *A Bibliography of Latin American Economic History, 1760–1960* (Berkeley: University of California, Center for Latin American Studies, 1969).

2. The data were originally collected on xeroxed sheets, note cards, or from microfilmed documents, then transferred to data sheets and finally punched cards. The data are now available on tape and later will be deposited with a computer archive and perhaps also incorporated into a computer data bank. The time period encompassed in this study has recently been expanded to include the period from 1820s until 1941 with the full realization that little data is available for the 1820s and 1830s. The author earnestly requests any information or suggestions that might contribute to filling the data gaps. Part of the author’s ongoing study will be included in the 1977 *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* (Universität Köln).
3. Central American sources adequately described in the text will ordinarily not be cited again in the footnotes. However, since it is assumed that the European and United States sources are less familiar to Latin Americanists and less easy to locate, they will normally be given a full bibliographical footnote citation. For a description of Central American memorias and the years for which they are extant, see James B. Childs, *The Memorias of the Republics of Central America and the Antilles* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932).
4. Felipe Molina, *Bosquejo de la República de Costa Rica . . .* (New York: Imprenta de S. W. Benedict, 1851); Moritz Wagner and Carl Scherzer, *Die Republik Costa Rica in Central-Amerika* (Leipzig: Arnoldsche Buchhandlung, 1856); Joaquín Bernardo Calvo Mora, *Apuntamientos Geográficos, Estadísticos é Históricos* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1887); Departamento Nacional de Estadística de Costa Rica, *Resúmenes Estadísticas Publicados por orden del Señor Secretario de Estado en el Despacho de Fomento Doctor Don Juan J. Ulloa G.* (San José: Tipografía Nacional, 1896); “Datos y Hechos respecto de las rebajas tarifarias aduaneras propuestas por los Estados Unidos a Costa Rica,” *Revista del Instituto de Defensa del Café de Costa Rica* 2 (1935):431–55; Tomás Soley Guell, *Histórica Económica y Hacendaria de Costa Rica*, 2 vols. (San José: Sección Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas, 1947); and Ministerio de Economía y Hacienda, *1864 Censo de Población* (San José: Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1964).
5. Dário Gonzalez, *Lecciones de Geografía* (San Salvador: n.p., [1877]); David Joaquín Guzmán, *Apuntamientos sobre la Topografía Física de El Salvador* (San Salvador: Tipografía “El Cometa,” 1883); Joseph Laferrrière, *De Paris à Guatémala: Notes de voyages au Centre-Amérique, 1866–1875* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1877); and Carlos J. Canessa, *Lugar*

- que ocupa El Salvador en la Producción mundial de Café* (San Salvador: Imprenta Diario del Salvador, 1929).
6. Ephraim George Squier, *Nicaragua: Its People, Scenery, Monuments, Resources, Condition, and Proposed Canal* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860); Pablo Levy, "Notas Geográficas y Económicas de Nicaragua," *Revista Conservadora del Pensamiento Centroamericano* 13 (Nov. 1965); David R. Radell and James J. Parsons, "Realejo: A Forgotten Colonial Port and Shipbuilding Center in Nicaragua," *HAHR* 51 (May 1971): 295–312; and Noel Lacayo, "Historia de Nicaragua" (unpublished MS). Noel Lacayo, formerly Director of the Library, Banco Central, Nicaragua, graciously permitted me to extract relevant materials from his manuscript. A very useful, recently published source on early Nicaraguan trade data is Alberto Lanuza Matamoros, "Comercio Exterior de Nicaragua (1821–1875)," *ESC* 14 (May–Aug. 1976):109–36.
  7. Carl Scherzer, *Travels in the Free States of Central America: Nicaragua, Honduras, and San Salvador*, 2 vols. (London: n.p., 1857); and Ephraim George Squier, *Honduras: Descriptive, Historical, and Statistical* (London: Truebner & Co., 1870).
  8. U.S. Congress, *Commercial Relations in the U.S. Congress*, Serial Set (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1808–); and Great Britain, Parliament, *Abstract of Reports on Trade in Various Countries in the Sessional Papers* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1688–). For additional information on British archival materials of use to Central Americanists, see Dean Kortage, "Centro América en los archivos británicos (siglo XIX)," *ESC* 1 (Sep.–Dec. 1972):206–10. See also P. Walne (ed.), *A Guide to Manuscript Sources for the History of Latin America and the Caribbean in the British Isles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).
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22. Netherlands, Department van Financien, *Statistiek van den Handel en de Scheepvaart van het Konigrijk der Nederlanden, over het Jaar [year]* ('sGravenhage: [various publishers], 1846–). For a useful one-volume summary of early trade statistics, see Netherlands, Department van Financien, *Statistiek van den Handel en de Scheepvaart van het Konigrijk der Nederlanden. In-, Uit-, en Doorvoer, Handel met de Verschiedende Rijken, Scheepvaart—Scheepsbouw, 1847–1873* ('sGravenhage: Gebroeders Guenta d'Albani, 1874).
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24. A related problem, offering intriguing possibilities for either a doctoral or post-doctoral research project, involves a study of Central American economic policy and finance in order to establish the linkage among expanding export trade, government budget policy, and national economic policy. To what extent were policy and/or financial decisions influenced by export trade interest groups? For example, already in the 1840s, Costa Rica debated the desirability of constructing an all-weather road to the Atlantic coast to facilitate access to the world for its coffee. Yet, only forty years later was the eastern communication route completed and then with a railroad, not a road. During these years, the debate on economic policy focused upon finance and thus upon the income derived from the export trade. Why the delay? What impact did delay have upon Costa Rican long-term economic growth? What interests or classes represented what viewpoints? Any deep analysis of development and modernization in nineteenth-century Central America can be greatly facilitated by a thorough examination, including statistical analysis, of budgets with regard to income sources and expenditures. The budgets of the Central American governments in the nineteenth century were published either in memorias or in the official newspapers.