TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND LATIN AMERICA, 1810-1850

Jürgen Schneider

I. INTRODUCTION: FRENCH FOREIGN TRADE 1815 AND THE ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

The period from the French Revolution to the Vienna Peace Treaty in 1814-15 saw a fundamental change in the structure of French foreign trade. The colonial slave and reexport trade had brought the French ports – especially Bordeaux (Butel 1973) and Nantes (Meyer 1969) – to the height of their prosperity. The Hanse towns led in reexport. As a result of the revolutionary wars England and the United States took France's place in supplying the Hanse towns with colonial goods from the West Indies (Pohl 1965). Shipping trade came to an absolute standstill because of the conflict between France and England. Trade was further reduced by the continental blockade, 1806-1814 (Crouzet 1958, II: 676-683). In April 1814 the continental blockade was lifted. The Hundred Days incident led to a blockade of French ports which was lifted in mid-1815, however. Foreign trade relations were interrupted in 1815, and Haiti, the largest and most wealthy colony, was lost. French foreign trade had to be rebuilt under changed circumstances.

Although the situation in world trade had changed fundamentally, France's restauration government tried to reestablish the old colonial system with its remaining colonies – Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guyana, Senegal, Réunion and several trading posts in India (Gaffarel 1908: 15).

A clear indication that France was attempting to revive the old colonial system was the tariff legislation put into effect after 1814 which expressed the power of the protective tariff interests as well as the French government's lack of money. Sugar and coffee from Latin America were competing with the same products from the French colonies, so that the French tariff legislation for these goods was of great importance to French-Latin American trade. Beginning with the law of April 28, 1816, until 1852 the tariff on 100 kg of colonial sugar was 49.50 fr. Between 55.5 percent (1816), 111 percent (1822) and 44.4 percent (1840) more had to be paid for foreign, i.e. Latin American unrefined sugar (Larreguy 1854). The increase in charges for coffee from Latin America as compared with colonial coffee was 58.3 percent or 90 percent when the coffee was imported aboard foreign ships (Amé 1876; Arnauné 1911). How exorbitantly high the coffee tariff was can be gauged from the prices quoted on the exchange in Le Havre for coffee from Rio de Janeiro. 104.50 fr tariff had to be paid for 100 kg of coffee. In entrepôt, i.e. in the duty-free warehouse, the same amount of coffee was quoted at 87 1/2-90 in 1816 and at 45-62.50 fr in 1827.[1]

The French tariff system at that time offered protection for every branch of the national economy, for agriculture and industry, for the colonies and the shipping industry.

French foreign trade would without doubt have grown faster, had the restauration government, "which dreamed of the past and was blind to the future" (Say 1839: 60 f.), not insisted upon reestablishing the restrictive colonial system of pre-revolutionary times. Latin America's independence opened up an immense sphere of action for European trade. France excluded itself from this trade in order to maintain exclusive relations with several of the Antilles islands. The anachronistic-restrictive colonial system especially damaged trade between France and Brazil, since both of Brazil's main products – sugar and coffee – were almost completely excluded from the French market.

When the commercial treaty between England and Brazil (signed in 1810) expired in 1825 France immediately opened negotiations and the agreement was signed in 1826. France received most favored nation treatment and in return recognized Brazil's independence (Accioly 1945; Loreto 1889). As Brazil was a monarchy this recognition was easier for France than in the case of the Spanish-American republics.

Napoleon had declared in 1809 that he would not oppose independence for Spanish-America. Two years later he was prepared to support actively the freedom movement with arms.[2] With the return of the Bourbons, French policy towards Spain was fundamentally changed. Relations between Louis XVIII and Ferdinand VII evolved now on the basis of the Bourbon family pact. Due to its political and economic hegemony

1 BMH, Cours légal des marchandises sur la place du Havre arrêté par MM. les Coutiers. Market quotations were published weekly.

2 AMAE, Correspondance politique, Nouvelle Grenade. Venezuela. Colombie, vol. 1, 1806-1821. Mémoire sur la cession de la capitanerie générale de Caracas à la France (1806); Barbagelata (1922).

England played a key role in the new states' struggle for diplomatic recognition.[3] With the ratification of the treaties with Colombia and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata in mid-1825 England had completed the process of according diplomatic recognition to the newly independent states. Louis Philippe, who was seeking recognition on the Continent himself, was the first to accept Spanish-America's independence in principle. The diplomatic recognition of the new states was to result in friendship, shipping, and trade treaties which were yet to be signed (Robertson 1939). England had been able to obtain trade advantages in exchange for its early recognition. Since the republics of Spanish-America had suffered some negative experiences in the wake of the agreements with Great Britain, they viewed the approaches of France with considerable misgivings. This became painfully clear to the French representatives as they entered into negotiations. Nevertheless, from 1830 to 1850 trade agreements were signed with Mexico,[4] New Granada (1832), Venezuela (1833), Bolivia (1834), Paraguay (1836), Venezuela (1843), Ecuador (1843), New Granada (1844), Chile (1846), Guatemala (1848), and Costa Rica (1848). The status of the most favored nation was achieved in each case (Glier 1905: 384 ff.).

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF OVERSEAS TRADE

European goods were not usually sold directly to Latin America but were sent there on a commission basis. The merchant in Latin America gave the manufacturer exact instructions. The manufacturer then consigned his goods to the correspondent in Latin America who, in turn, sold them on his behalf and either sent in return colonial goods (Kellenbenz 1972) or drew a bill of exchange on London, Paris or Hamburg (Schneider 1981b). It took about two years for capital to return from overseas, while in domestic trade it only took 4-6 months (Clapp 1965: 23; Hidy 1949: 104). The merchant who consigned goods abroad issued credit for a much longer period and needed much more capital in order to maintain a certain trade volume. The consignee abroad who effected the sales had to

3 Webster (1963); Kaufmann (1951); Webster (1938).
4 A preliminary convention which provided for the treatment of most favored nation, had already been signed between France and Mexico on May 8, 1827. Concerning the negotiations 1827-1834, see ANP, B III 452, Note sur les négociations commerciales avec le Mexique.

be a person who was trusted. If such a person could be found a Frenchman, once he had amassed sufficient capital and experience, would often return to France – especially to Paris – and conduct business from there. In its early stages export trade with Latin America depended heavily upon *pacotilleurs*, i.e. traders who traveled with their merchandise and sold it themselves. Since the *pacotille* was often smuggled, there were frequently problems with the customs officials in Latin America. As long as the owner of a shipment could not count on a trustworthy correspondent at the place of destination, the supercargo (or cargador) accompanied the shipment and was responsible for the sale of the goods and possible return freight.
In the ports the shipowners specialized more and more in the actual shipping business, that is they received the goods to be exported and forwarded them.[5] In the import trade from Latin America the shipping merchants played an active and creative role.

III. SHIPPING

In order to promote the rebuilding of the French merchant marine the shipowners were supported by the government with extensive privileges and indirect subsidies. The flag surtax for goods which reached France aboard foreign ships made sure that a third flag in the transportation of merchandise was almost completely out of the question (see Table 1). Le Havre controlled the major share of the Brazil and La Plata trade. Bordeaux had the most intensive trade relations with Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and the countries of the Pacific coast. Marseille maintained contact with all countries with a certain emphasis on the La Plata trade. Nantes was of little significance in Latin American shipping.[6] Bordeaux played an important role in the freighting (wine); the return trip was effected mostly to Le Havre which took over a very important position in the sale of products from Latin America. The specialization of the individual ports led to regular trade routes. By the end of 1826 a line of regularly scheduled packet ships to Pernambuco and Bahia had been founded in Le Havre. On December 15, 1843, Ferrère et Morlot (4 ships), Burgain et Cie. (1 ship) and Wanner Langer et Cie. (3 ships) founded a regular service

5 "Armement", *Journal du Havre*, (Le Havre, Nov. 15, 1833), BMH.
6 Jeulin (1929: 380): "Apart le Pérou, du reste assez neglieable, Haiti et le Brésil furent les seuls pays hors d'Europe méritant d'être cités."

Table 1
Shipping Traffic Between France and Latin America 1827–1834 in Percent

	Le Havre		Bordeaux		Marseille		Other Ports		Number of Ships	
	En	Ex	En	Ex	En	Ex	En	Ex	En	Ex
Brazil	37.3	54.4	7.9	1.4	20.3	25.0	34.5	19.2	507	428
Mexico	24.1	17.1	63.3	65.7	4.9	14.9	7.7	2.9	245	386
Colombia and Venezuela	11.8	15.3	65.7	50.5	15.7	24.2	6.8	9.9	102	111
Peru and Chile	8.7	15.2	78.7	80.2	1.0	2.3	11.6	2.3	103	86
Buenos Aires and Montevideo	28.0	35.5	21.6	14.4	27.5	30.5	22.9	19.8	218	187
Total	28.1	34.4	33.2	31.5	16.3	22.4	12.8	12.8	1.175	1.098

Abbreviations: En = Entries; Ex = Exits.
Source: Journal du Havre (Le Havre, Jan. 16, 1828; Feb. 11, 1829; Jan. 20, 1830; Jan. 22, 1831; Feb. 1, 1832; Jan. 19, 1833; Jan. 15, 1834; Jan. 18/19, 1835).

between Le Havre and Rio de Janeiro. The line, which was very profitable, received in 1848 the name of "Ligne des Chargeurs" (Schneider 1975: 55 f.). In 1827 the *Mémorial Bordelais* carried advertisements for a regular service between Bordeaux and Veracruz. Starting in January 1832, ships of Villeneuve et Laserre plied regularly between Bordeaux and La Plata.

IV. TRADE

1. Exports

Latin America's share of France's total exports rose from 8.88 percent in 1827 to 10.46 percent in 1850 while the United States' share climbed from 17.26 percent to 19.6 percent (see Table 2).

Textiles accounted with 40-50 percent for the major share of the exports. The amount of silk goods in the total exports remained the same, woollens increased greatly while linen experienced a corresponding decline. All in all, the structure of textile exports to Latin America corresponded to that of the total textile exports such as they were published by Lévy-Leboyer (1964: 175). The other manufactured goods sold in Latin America varied greatly. Prepared and processed hides (gloves, leather, saddlery) stand out, followed by paper, ceramics, glass and crystal goods, linens, fancy goods, clocks and jewelry, perfumes, haberdashery, and musical instruments. These goods corresponded roughly to what France

Table 2
Latin America's[7] and the United States' Share in France's Exports 1827-1850
in Percent

	1827–1836 Latin America	U.S.A.	1837–1846 Latin America	U.S.A.	1847–1850 Latin America	U.S.A.
General Trade[8]	8.88	17.26	9.02	13.94	10.46	19.6
Special Trade[9]	10.03	17.95	9.44	12.44	10.56	16.8

Sources and Explanations: See notes 7, 8 and 9.

offered at the World's Fair in London in 1851. Here France placed great value on the variety and quality of industrial products, smaller, specialized companies, and national manufacturing. "The English striving for capital and profit, the mass production and the highly developed economic life were contrasted with taste, an artistic sense of form and color, creativity and charm and elegance as the determing factors in the success of the French display" (Haltern 1971: 193-195).

The export of agricultural products – especially wine and spirits – shrank. The export of wine from Gironde in particular decreased. The biggest buyers of wine were Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico. Brazil, whose coffee and sugar sales were discriminated against in France, had taken measures against the import of French wines. The Latin Americans preferred wines from Sète and Marseille while the European expatriates had a preference for wines from Gironde.

From 1827 to 1850 French total exports to Latin America were principally directed to the following five areas: Brazil (1.), Mexico (2.), the states of the La Plata area, Argentina and Uruguay (3.), and on the west coast Chile (4.) and Peru (5.). Mexico's share of French trade with Latin America

7 Latin America: Brazil, Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador.

8 *Tableau décennal 1827-1856* (1838; 1848; 1858).

9 "Commerce général, Commerce spécial.—Cette distinction dont il est essentiel de bien se rendre compte, s'applique à l'importation comme à l'exportation. A *l'importation*, le commerce général embrasse tout ce qui est arrivé par terre ou par mer, sans égard à la destination ultérieure des marchandises, soit pour la consommation, soit pour l'entrepôt, soit pour la ré-exportation ou le transit; le commerce spécial ne comprend ce qui est entré dans la consommation intérieure. A *l'exportation*, le commerce général se compose de toutes les marchandises qui passent à l'étranger, sans distinction de leur origine, française ou étrangère; le commerce spécial comprend seulement les marchandises nationales et celles qui ayant été nationalisées par le payement de droits d'entrée sont ensuite exportées," *Tableau décennal 1827-1836* (1838: X).

Table 3
Latin America's[7] and the United States' Share of France's Total Imports 1827-1850 in Percent

	1827-1836 Latin America	U.S.A.	1837-1846 Latin America	U.S.A.	1847-1850 Latin America	U.S.A.
General Trade[8]	5.9	12.5	5.8	13.8	6.8	14.5
Special Trade[9]	4.9	13.5	5.8	15.6	6.8	16.9

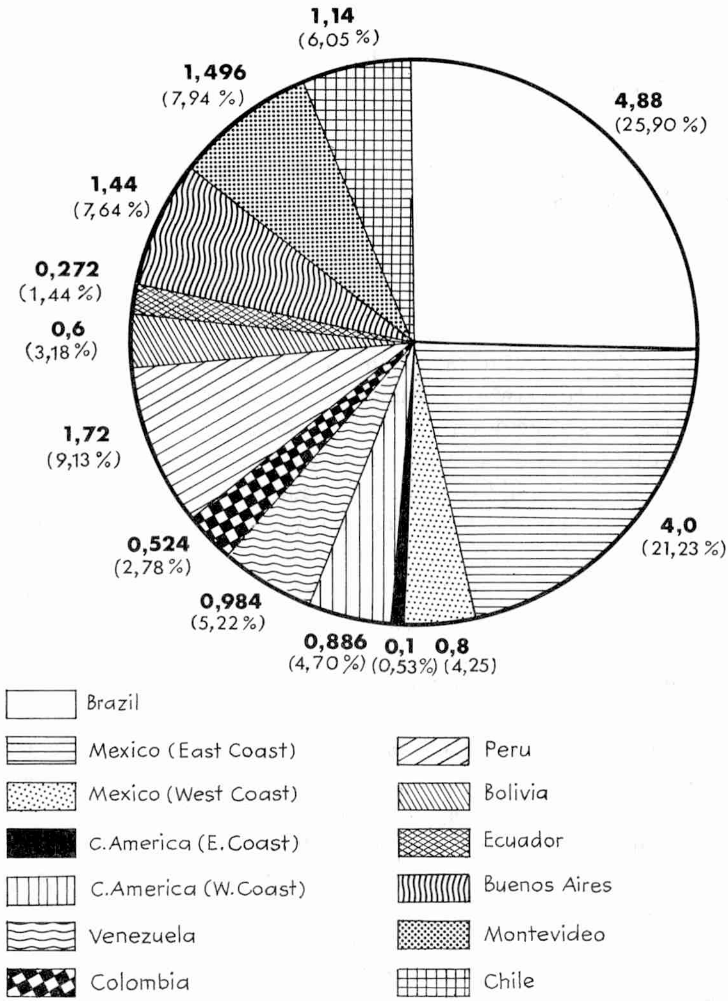
Sources and Explanations: See notes 7, 8 and 9.

decreased during this period while the share of Brazil, the La Plata states, Peru and Chile increased.

2. *Imports*

In the period from 1827 to 1850 Latin America's share of France's total imports fluctuated between 5.9 percent and 6.8 percent. The United States share ranged between 12.5 and 14.5 percent (see Table 3).
A decrease in the amount of cotton imported from *Brazil* contrasts with an increase in coffee and sugar. The hide trade remained about the same from 1827-1846. Since due to discriminatory tariffs Brazilian coffee was difficult to sell in France, part of it was sent on to Switzerland and Germany in transit trade from Le Havre, France's leading coffee market (Schneider 1975: 142 ff.).
Mexico exported – besides silver – mainly cochineal, dyewood and vanilla as well as sarsaparilla, jalap and indigo. However, the share of cochineal decreased and that of dyewood and vanilla rose. In 1820, after Mexico's declaration of independence, successful attempts were made in the south of Spain to transfer the breeding of the cochineal insects to Spain. France's import of Spanish cochineal rose from 80,300 fr annually (1827-1836) to 3.61 million fr annually in the 10-year-period from 1847-1856. The main market for the Mexican cochineal, for vanilla, sarsaparilla, and jalap was Bordeaux.
Campeche wood – or logwood – was used to dye cotton, wool, silk and leather. Before leaving the site where they had been felled the trees were cleared of their bark, drained of the yellow sap, and cut into pieces of various sizes. The Campeche wood from the Campeche Bay in Mexico was the best and most colorful wood and produced full and strong colors (red, reddish, violet). The next best was from Honduras, from the south

Figure 1
Total Exports of Latin American Countries 1840 (Millions of £)



Sources: Schneider (1975; 1981a).

coast of the Yucatán peninsula. Other redwoods, that is wood from which red dye was extracted, were the Santa Marta, Rio del la Hacha, Nicaragua and the Stockfish woods. Dyewood came primarily from Mexico, Haiti, Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. Bordeaux, Le Havre, and Marseille were the three largest markets for dyewood in France.

Indigo from Latin America played only a small role in the French commodity market. The two most important markets were London (Bengal, Madras, Coromandel) and Amsterdam (Java). Three quarters of the indigo imported into France came from English India. The rest came from French and Dutch India, Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela. An analysis of imports from *Guatemala* reveals a change which was probably caused by the overwhelming competition from English India. The shares of dyewood, skins, and indigo sank and by the end of the 1870s almost 43 percent of the imports from Guatemala were coffee.

Venezuela exported mainly coffee, indigo and cocoa to France. Coffee's share of the imports from Venezuela increased from 37.5 percent (1837-1846) to almost 50 percent (1847-1856). Venezuela could thereby increase its share of France's total coffee imports from 4.5 to 6.2 percent (1847-1856).[10] Whereas only 30.8 percent of the coffee imported from Brazil in the period from 1847-1856 was actually consumed in France, in the case of Venezuela the corresponding share was 75 percent. The leading market for coffee and especially Brazilian coffee was Le Havre (Schneider 1975: 123). However, approximately half of the coffee coming from Venezuela in the years 1841-1850 was imported through Bordeaux, although Bordeaux accounted for only 15 percent of France's total imports.[11]

The total import of cocoa stagnated in the years 1825-1850 but the consumption in France increased slowly and steadily. Cocoa from Brazil achieved growing importance (see Table 4).

As long as the political situation on the continent was unstable, St. Thomas served as entrepôt. On the west coast Valparaíso was the transshipment point for cocoa from Ecuador. The main import port in France was Bordeaux which acted so long as an intermediary for Spanish cocoa imports from Latin America until Spain had been reconciled with its former colonies.

Ox and cow hides were produced in all European countries but the demand was so great that they had to depend on imports from abroad.

10 *Tableau décennal 1847-1856* (1858: 154 f.).

11 *Tableau décennal 1837-1846* (1848: 152); *Tableau décennal 1847-1856* (1858: 154 f.).

Table 4
Individual Countries' Shares in France's Cocoa Import 1827-1856 in Percent

Countries	1827-1836 General Trade	1827-1836 Special Trade	1837-1846 General Trade	1837-1846 Special Trade	1847-1856 General Trade	1847-1856 Special Trade
St. Thomas	18.6	8.9	7.8	5.4	0.9	0.9
Brazil	21.6	46.0	31.8	45.4	45.4	50.8
Venezuela	-	-	17.6	14.0	14.0	17.2
Colombia	13.9	10.0	-	-	-	-
Peru	2.3	0.2	9.2	1.6	-	-
Chile	3.6	0.3	8.6	5.6	1.5	1.7
Ecuador	-	-	-	-	11.1	8.7
Annual Average Values in fr	1,798,810	726,986	2,345,718	1,442,382	3,228,685	2,552,077

Sources: Tableau décennal 1827-1836 (1838: 124 f.); *Tableau décennal 1837-1846* (1848: 152 f.); *Tableau décennal 1847-1856* (1858: 154 f.), as well as the imports of the different countries.

The La Plata states of *Argentina and Uruguay* exported mainly hides and wool to France. They were able to increase their share of France's total hide imports in large fresh untanned hides from 12.6 percent (1827-1836) to 31.4 percent (1847-1856) and in large dried untanned hides from 31.7 percent to 56.2 percent. Hides accounted for three quarters to four fifths of France's imports from Argentina and Uruguay. Marseille and Le Havre were the two principal markets. The La Plata countries were also able to increase their share in the total French wool imports from 0.2 percent (1827-1836) to 11.7 percent (1847-1856).[12]
Besides precious metals, France imported copper, saltpeter, tin, Peruvian bark and guano from the west coast of Latin America. France produced annually a scanty 2,500 hundredweight of copper but had a demand of approximately 60,000 hundredweight. The main copper supplier was England; Russia's and Sweden's deliveries decreased. *Chile* was able to increase its share from 4.4 percent (1837-1846) to 8.7 per cent (1847-1856) and consequently occupied second place behind England.

In the years 1827-1856 Chile and Peru accounted for over 90 percent of France's imports of saltpeter of which the greater share came at first from Chile and then later from Peru. Approximately 60 percent of the Peruvian bark which was imported into France from 1827-1846 came from *Boliv-*

12 *Tableau décennal 1837-1846* (1848: 48); *Tableau décennal 1847-1856* (1858: 46 f.).

ia and Peru. During the years 1847-1856 the major share came from Colombia.

Guano first appeared in the French tariff statistics in 1845. Peru increased its exports enormously and in 1856 shipped 28.7 million kilograms (i.e. 73.6 percent of the total imports). The demand was so great that the price rose from 0.08 fr per kg (1847) to 0.35 fr (1856).[13]

Although Peru and Chile increased their tin exports to France from 1827 to 1856, their share of the total French imports sank from 6.6 percent to 2.8 percent. Most of the tin came from East India and reached France by way of the Netherlands and England.

3. Precious Metals Trade

The French mint law of 1803 recognized gold as well as silver coins as legal tender in a proportion of 1:15.5. Once private persons are allowed to mint coins from precious metal, the parallel currency – if it only exists in one or very few countries – can easily become the only effective currency. Private persons will always mint the less expensive metal, the money minted from it will primarily be used for domestic payments whereas the more precious metal will be exported at a profit. Since the price of gold was higher before 1819 than the French mint law had expected, gold was exported and silver was imported. This changed after 1849: silver was exported and gold imported. French tariff statistics show an enormous trade in precious metals. From 1827 to 1856, 7,153 billion fr worth of precious metals were imported into France, with the 10-year-period from 1847 to 1856 alone accounting for 3,633 billion fr. In the 30 years from 1827 to 1856, 3,696 billion fr worth of precious metals were exported, i.e. 3,457 billion fr worth of precious metals remained in France. In the period from 1827 to 1856 only about 6 percent of the precious metals came from Latin America, but 62.8 percent from England.[14] In the silver and gold export trade the merchants preferred English warships and packet ships since they alone offered enough security for the transportation of precious metals. France exported precious metals to Spain (47.8 percent), Switzerland (17.2 percent), Turkey (10 percent), and to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (9.2 percent).

13 *Tableau décennal 1837-1846* (1848: 118 f.).
14 *Tableau décennal 1847-1856* (1858: XXXII, LXXXII-LXXXV).

France's precious metal imports from Latin America fell greatly from 1827-1850 as France itself became an exporter of silver. Adolf Beer discloses where the silver flowed to:" ... and it is just as clear that it was France who, on the other hand, had released the silver – mainly from its own circulation – that was needed in addition to direct imports from Mexico and South America in order to satisfy demand in the Far East in the years 1853 to 1862" (Beer 1864: 170). Silver money and raw silver from Chile, Peru and Mexico were imported chiefly through Bordeaux. Shipments of coins from Latin America had a better chance of producing high profits in Bordeaux since in neighbouring Spain they were actually accorded a rate of exchange. In other countries as, for instance, in Germany, the pesos had to be melted down, since it was here only their metal value that counted.

4. *Terms of Trade*

The author has previously examined whether, and to what extent, Latin America benefitted more from its trade with France during the period from 1847 to 1856 than it did in 1826 (Schneider 1981a, I: 46-49). In exports prices were higher in the 1847-1856 period compared to 1826 for the following products: silk cloth and florettée silk, wines and other alcoholic beverages, metal goods, furniture, haberdashery, prepared hides, linens, and ready-made clothing. Cotton and woollen goods, cloth, ceramics, glass and crystal products, dyes and perfumes had become less expensive. In the imports from Latin America two trends can also be seen. Prices for wool, sugar, hides, coffee, copper, cocoa, and guano were higher in 1847-1856 than in 1826. A decrease in price can be seen in cotton, tobacco, indigo, cochineal and Peruvian bark. The deciding factor as to whether the countries of Latin America were better or worse of is the composition of the imports and exports from and to Latin America. For Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Guatemala the terms of trade improved, while for Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia, and Mexico they deteriorated. The causes for these changes lie in the structure of both exports and imports. All in all, France received 60.9 million fr less for its exports (general trade) in the 10-year-period 1847-1856 as compared with 1826, and, on the other hand, had to pay 42.06 million fr more for imports from Latin America. Consequently, Latin America had a total advantage of almost 103 million fr. The terms of trade improved greatly for the Latin American countries who profitted from the increased productivity of the industrial nations, their economic growth and their increasing buying power. The prices for industrial goods as compared with those for raw materials sank as a result of cheaper manufacturing costs. The Latin American countries benefitted from the fall in the price of industrial goods. The advantages of technological progress were passed on since competition in Europe was great. The advantage was greater where the import share of European agricultural products (wines and alcoholic beverages) was lowest and the share of textiles – here especially cotton goods – highest. Albert H. Imlah (1950), Maurice Lévy-Leboyer (1964: 298 ff.), Paul Bairoch (1975: 111 ff.), and Carlos Manuel Peláez (1976: 276 ff., 286 f.) have all reached similar conclusions. At the same time they refute assertions made for all of Latin America by political economist André Gunder Frank, who relies on Celso Furtado for Brazil (Frank 1969: 170). The terms of trade cannot be seen as the cause of growing economic disparities in the 50 years which followed independence and which, according to Frank, are decisive. Empirical research into the terms of trade between Great Britain and Latin America should reach the same conclusion, especially since cotton goods made up a large part of English exports and the prices for cotton goods had fallen enormously.

V. CONCLUSION

The Europeans were not universally popular in Latin America. From Colombia a representative of the French government reported about an "aversion prononcé des classes subalternes de la société pour tout ce qui est européen."[15] In Santiago de Chile the French Consul's house was plundered in 1829. "Les habitants de ces pays ont une haine contre tous les Etrangers, il faut convenir que la masse de ceux qu'ils voyent n'est pas faits pour se faire aimer ni respecter. [...] Dans les rues de Santyago, pendant le pillage, l'on a entendu crier: faisons une salade des français pour manger le rosbif Anglais."[16] These statements, however, cannot be generalized as is shown by the following case. In 1735 the members of the French Académie des Sciences Bouguer, Godin, Condamine (1751) and Jussieu had been sent to Quito to measure a meridian degree. In November 1736 the academy members had built pyramids below the equator near Quito which were later destroyed by the Spanish. One hundred

15 AMAE, Mémoires et documents, vol. 39, Colombie 1823 à 1826, p. 153.
16 ANP, BB^4, Marine 518 and 526.

years afterwards the government of Ecuador wanted to rebuild this monument to science and the president of the republic, Rocafuerte, laid the cornerstone for the rebuilding himself.[17] On August 15, 1837 the building was completed.[18] Vicente Rocafuerte had studied in Saint Germain with Jérôme Bonaparte and together with Bolívar had witnessed Napoleon's coronation as emperor of France in 1804 (Hamerly 1973: 158). The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars led to a catastrophic decrease in French foreign trade which did not recover the level of 1787-89 until 1855 (Marczewski 1965: 120).

The big winner in the turbulance at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century was England. In 1780 France, like England, had a 12 percent share of world trade. Forty years later the English share was three times higher than the French.

The destruction of the old colonial exchange system and the closing of traditional markets in Europe by the protectionist tariff policy which started in 1815 had to lead to a search for new markets. The Alsacian cotton printers "found themselves dependent mainly on overseas sales. They supplied the markets of Egypt, Turkey, Persia, East India, the Philippines, Chile, Peru, New Orleans and Mexico. Nevertheless here too, they came up against the very competitive English, who through trade agreements had also assured themselves of many privileges" (Herkner 1887: 99).

The French export merchants took advantage of the sales possibilities offered to them in Latin America. The vent-for-surplus theory of international trade developed by Adam Smith is particularly suited to explain the exchange between a country which is becoming industrialized and a country endowed with raw materials (Smith 1978: 363; Staley 1973). "International trade overcomes the narrowness of the home market and provides an outlet for the surplus product above domestic requirements" (Myint 1958: 318; Luckenbach 1970: 108, 109 ff., 163 ff.).

International trade led – as Adam Smith had said – to a world-wide increase in real income. In the opinion of certain development theorists, however, this is accompanied by a process of international income redistribution which leads to a transfer of real income from the developing countries to the industrialized countries. They believe that international trade has only helped the industrialized countries, while hindering the developing countries in their development. Perroux's theory of the

17 AMAE, Correspondance commerciale, Quito, vol. 1, 1834-1838, pp. 113, 130,136.
18 Ibid., p. 284.

dominating economy (Perroux 1962; Perroux 1952; Jeck 1968) as well as Myrdal's concept of international countereffects (Myrdal 1957) claim to explain the very real disadvantages of international trade for developing countries. "As long as the effects which are the center point of Perroux's and Myrdal's theories are not measurable, neither theory can be checked out; they are empirically empty" (Hemmer 1978: 189). However, the terms of trade can be measured empirically and these were much more to Latin America's advantage and led to a higher real income there. The most important positive effect on the Latin American countries which was brought about by international trade after their independence was the advancement of the production of primary products in the agricultural and mining sectors.