Race, Reform, and Nation in Salvador Camacho Roldán's 1887 *Notas de viaje (Colombia y Estados Unidos de América)*

Linda Gruen
University of California-Irvine

Abstract: This article explores the ways in which Colombian *letrado* Salvador Camacho Roldán engaged with race, reform, and nation in his 1887 travelogue about the United States. I argue that Camacho Roldán assumed an extraordinary position when he challenged popular racial pseudoscience by advocating for racial hybridity as the best outcome for *all* countries. Drawing from theorizations regarding national identity as a place of power negotiations, I unveil how this traveler broke with prevailing transatlantic intellectual discourse that discounted the contribution of non-Europeans to a country's citizenry. The article concludes with a reflection regarding how Camacho Roldán's radical perspective upheld Colombia as a model multiracial country, challenged the hegemony of U.S. exceptionalism, and served as a precursor to early twentieth-century Latin American intellectual discourse that celebrated *mestizaje*.

Keywords: Travel literature, Salvador Camacho Roldán, Colombia, nineteenth century, race

> The liberal creole project involved founding an independent, decolonized American society and culture, while retaining European values and white supremacy. —Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*

Established in 1882, the Librería Colombiana was one of the most important book importers and printers in Bogotá at the end of the nineteenth century. More than a source of income, this business allowed its cofounder, Salvador Camacho Roldán, to promote his political agenda through the titles he chose to import; this agenda included promoting industrial modernization, improved means of communication, tariff-free foreign trade agreements, and the use of economic statistics to inform government planning (López 21, 219, 236). As a businessman, government official, lawyer, newspaper founder, and economist, Camacho Roldán directly participated in liberal reforms aimed at modernizing Colombia despite ongoing economic and political instability. These reforms, enacted between 1850-1886, included manumission, confiscation of Church property, and promotion of public education (Mondragón Castañeda 8-12). The book company's motto, "Luz, más luz," epitomized this author's personal and political viewpoints, while the store itself quickly became the leading literary salon for Colombian intellectuals.

The 1887 account of Camacho Roldán's book-purchasing trip to the United States, *Notas de viaje (Colombia y Estados Unidos de América)*, was published in Bogotá by Talleres Gráficos del Banco de la República three years after his return. His itinerary included Colombia, Panama, and the United States, where he travelled

from New Orleans up the Mississippi and on to various cities including Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Washington D.C. In his preface, Camacho Roldán disavowed any preconceived intention to produce a travelogue, stating that he wrote merely "por complacer á mis hijos que han deseado tener más noticias de esos lugares distantes" (v). Professing not to have had enough time to "observar las costumbres ni estudiar el estado social é industrial" while abroad, he included lengthy economic statistics—likely from his imported printed sources—to bolster the usefulness and credibility of the account (v). Despite his disclaimer, this traveler posited that one had the moral and didactic obligation of conveying to one's homeland "las impresiones recibidas en países más adelantados," an observation that categorized Colombia as less "advanced" in relation to other countries (vi). This stated obligation reminds us that this author was not a casual traveler, but belonged to the "ciudad letrada," elite creoles with prestigious professions related to the written word—authors, government officials, booksellers, and more (Rama 16). A central theme of this text was a comparison between Colombia's Magdalena and the U.S.'s Mississippi regions, and this theme held implications for race.

Indeed, this author offered a unique, radical perspective regarding race and nation in his travelogue. I argue that Camacho Roldán assumed an extraordinary position when he challenged popular racial pseudoscience by advocating for racial hybridity as the best outcome for *all* countries, a move that presaged the late-nineteenth-century ideology of *mestizaje*. Moreover, I maintain that by upholding Colombia as a model multiracial country, this traveler challenged the myth of U.S. exceptionalism as well as core vs. periphery thinking that located Latin America as perpetually trailing behind on the path of modernization.[1] More than light entertainment, this travel book has revealed that Camacho Roldán was not a passive receiver of scientific theorizations read in imported publications. Instead, this public intellectual offered a unique voice in transatlantic discourses, one intentionally designed for domestic necessities.

Racial hierarchies typified the period's transnational discourse. By relying on archival sources, including Darwin's unpublished letters and notebooks, historians of science Adrian Desmond and James Moore have contended that Darwin's "notebooks make plain that competition, free trade, imperialism, racial extermination, and sexual inequality were written into the equation from the start—'Darwinism' was always intended to explain human society" (xxi). While *On the Origin of Species* only vaguely mentioned the evolution of man at

1 Immanuel Wallerstein first developed the concept of "core/periphery" in *The Modern World-System*. This study had the objective of interrogating "a world dominated by the industrial capitalist economies of western Europe and North America" (DuPlessis 222). Wallerstein based his theorization on two premises: that "social change occurs only in social systems…and that the only social system appropriate as an object of analysis is a world-system" (DuPlessis 222).

all (Darwin would later declare this explicitly in *Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*), in his notebooks he declared that "the varieties of man seem to act on each other; in the same way as different species of animals—the stronger always extirpating the weaker" (Desmond and Moore 149). Desmond and Moore concluded that Darwin clearly meant that evolution was "predicated on the weaker being extinguished" and that "individuals, races even, had to perish for progress to occur" (149). This is the same progress that Mary Louise Pratt has labeled "the liberal creole project," and it is scientific Darwinism—inextricable from its social repercussions—that drove this project. Its outcome was to validate the elite *criollo* traveler's belief that he was equal to the Anglo American with whom he shared European heritage and, as such, best suited to determine the future of his country. In the United States, Anglo Americans were at the apex of a racial pyramid that defined the nature of man, and this pyramid was thoroughly reflected in the multiethnic makeup of the country that even casual travelers could easily observe.

In Latin America, the religious and administrative legacy of the *sistema de castas* underpinned racial hierarchies. Yet by and large, Latin American *letrados* during this historical period largely identified as secular and of European rather than of mestizo descent (Graham 1). Positivism, based on the work of philosopher Auguste Comte, dominated Latin American liberal political thought as a "filosofia del orden" that offered the greatest possibility of national progress (Weinberg 55). This theory promoted the idea that human society experienced stages of development. Positivism came to be supported by the natural sciences when rational scholars, such as Herbert Spencer and Hipployte Taine, contributed to the spread and popularization of Darwinism and its offshoots. That is, Positivism, as a philosophy of social utopianism, transformed "into a bio-logistic social technology that would fashion a new man, a new human, utilizing the laws of natural evolution" (Mendieta 4). If in the past *casta* paintings visually illustrated the dangers of degeneration caused by racial mixing, during the nineteenth century science became the epistemological reference for upholding racial hierarchies.[2] In fact, the development of the scientific disciplines went hand in hand with ranking humans racially on a statial timeline of development. In other words, human groups were thought to progress through predetermined, ordered stages of development and these differing stages coexisted. Racialized thinking served to justify the status quo in which certain human groups, because of their imagined superiority, dominated others. The apparent progress brought by European colonialism, along with the rapid growth of the United States from

2 French aristocrat Arthur de Gobineau produced one such example in his text, *The Inequality of Human Races* (1853-1855). Gobineau theorized that "The word *degenerate*, when applied to a people, means (as it ought to mean) that the people has no longer the same intrinsic value as it had before, because it has no longer the same blood in its veins, continual adulterations having gradually affected the quality of that blood" (25).

mid-century on, were examples that could be used to validate racial theories that classified Europe and North America as more advanced. These examples illustrated that societies, like biological organisms, were subject to evolutionary forces. In other words, the domination of particular racial groups over others, as illustrated by Great Britain's wide-ranging empire, was merely a manifestation of the "natural order." What's more, race "science" could be applied to wider social and political debates, such as which groups should receive the full rights of citizenship (Stein 13).

Notwithstanding the accepted precepts of racial pseudoscience, foreign visitors widely condemned the U.S. system of slavery. Except for Cuba and Brazil, Latin America had ended slavery earlier than the northern republic. Critics pointed to slavery and its legacy as a clear mismatch between the country's stated equalitarian principles and its social reality. Many Latin American travelers observed that the mistreatment of African Americans continued after Emancipation when they wrote about lynchings, or when they described the conditions of sharecroppers in the South. Foreign visitors also voiced their opinions regarding other U.S. racial and ethnic groups in their narratives. These authors included Argentinean visitor Eduarda Mansilla de García, who deplored the situation of Native Americans, and Mexican traveler Guillermo Prieto, who railed against the stereotyping of Mexican immigrants. In any case, expressing sympathy for subaltern groups did not always signify advocating for their social and political equality.

Initially, Camacho Roldán had professed that increasing domestic population through European immigration was key to a country's rapid economic progress. Accordingly, as Colombian leaders "querríamos inmigración europea, moralizada y provista de elementos de trabajo" that had produced "asombrosos resultados" in the United States, South Africa, Australia, and Argentina (161). Not only did European immigrants provide the physical capital ("brazos necesarios"), but they also brought with them intellectual capital ("industrias mas adelantadas y hábitos de disciplina social de paises más antiguos") (161). This reasoning conformed to prevailing theorizations that human groups coexisted at different stages of linear development, and that European "stock" was inherently most advanced.

An extreme version of statial racial development theory can be read in the work of influential French polymath Charles-Marie Gustav Le Bon who classified Latin America as existing at "the lowest level of the scale of Latin civilisation" (145). Implying *terra nullius*, the concept that land can be legally designated as unoccupied, Le Bon propounded that Latin America was "peopled by exhausted races, without energy, without initiative, without morality, without strength of will, although situated in the richest countries of the earth, are incapable of making use of their immense resources" (145). Furthermore, Le Bon held that the region could only progress by returning to a colonial state

or "by being conquered by a nation strong enough to rule it" (145). In this theorist's view, the "degenerate" countries of Latin America would have long ago returned to a state of pure barbarism had it not been for a few foreigners settled in the capital cities (145). While not as harsh as Le Bon's perspective, this type of racial bias underpinned Camacho Roldán's lament that his country had been unable to attract large numbers of European immigrants to support Colombia's modernization.

The crux of the issue was that Latin America had little to attract the European immigrant. Rather, the United States, due to its advanced state of modernity, was "la mansión en la actualidad quizás más favorecida para la raza humana en toda la tierra" (163). Immigrants chose a country based on similarities, or what Camacho Roldán described as "relaciones de lengua, climas, costumbres y estado de civilización no inferiores en mucho á las de su país nativo" (162). Since "el inmigrante civilizado...no puede prescindir del teatro, de los refinamientos culinarios ni del comercio intelectual," this author surmised that "los pueblos tropicales tenemos que renunciar por algunos años á la esperanza de grandes corrientes de inmigración europea" (163).[3] In the meantime, he posited, "sólo podremos tener dos clases de importaciones humanas: las de raza amarillla (los chinos) y las de raza africana" (163). Overall, these observations regarding immigration reified established racial hierarchies.

Nevertheless, Camacho Roldán evaluated non-European immigration to Colombia with hopeful pragmatism. He labeled these two possible sources of immigration "una posibilidad feliz," affirming that "las tierras tropicales no han podido nunca ser ocupadas por la raza blanca sin el auxilio de otra raza mejor dotada para resistir las influencias físicas del clima" (165). This statement referenced the period's "race-out-of-place" theory of biology. This theory, based on drawing analogies between humans and animals, held that species were uniquely adapted to their originary geography. Accordingly, Europeans were accepted as best suited to northern, temperate climates, while Africans were associated with the tropics. A crucial aspect of this theorization was that human groups were thought to degenerate when relocated to different climatic zones. In the U.S., this theorization supported engrained social prejudices and policies of racial separation in order to prevent any possibility of future assimilation (Stepan 98-101). In Colombia, however, with its tropical climate and relatively underpopulated lands, what were thought of as appropriately adapted racial groups were welcomed as immigrants.

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3 Camacho Roldán saw population growth as key to economic progress when he theorized that "para producir el doble de hoy producimos, se necesitaría un 50 por 100 más de población" (*Escritos*, vol. III, 65). In 1871, as the Secretario de Hacienda y Fomento, he issued a governmental decree to promote and protect foreign immigrants. One item of this decree proposed studying "los alicientes é incentivos que ofrecen diversos países de América, Asia y Australia para atraer los emigrantes" (*Escritos*, vol. II, 462).

Race-out-of-place theories went hand in hand with the trope of racial degeneracy. Degeneracy, in this context, signified "a pervasive, subtle decay of the individual or group, a deviation from the standard of normality" (Stepan 112). Certain races, as well as mixed-race individuals, were thought to be inherently biologically degenerate, offering an example of how science came to support deeply ingrained social prejudices and even influenced government policy.[4] In the United States, the idea of degeneracy underpinned the "one drop rule." According to this "rule of hypodescent," any amount of African blood categorized the individual as of African origin—irrevocably "tainted" by one's genetics, and subject to segregation and discrimination (Graves 31).[5] French diplomat Alexis de Tocqueville recognized this U.S. social reality when he offered the opinion in his 1835-1840 travelogue that "those who hope that one day the Europeans will blend with the Negroes seems to me to entertain a chimera. My reason does not lead me to believe it, and I see nothing in the facts that indicate it" (553). Similarly, Camacho Roldán commented that in the northern republic "la [raza] blanca no admite nada en común" with African Americans (423). He found this stance inexplicable years after the Civil War, musing that "suponía yo que este sentimiento pasaría…pero no es así" (423). Still, miscegenation was a social issue in Latin American culture as well.

The link between degeneration and mixed-race parentage has had a long history in Latin America stemming from the Iberian preoccupation with blood purity. Colonial era *casta* paintings labeled "undesirable" racial pairings with atavistic terms such as "return backwards" and "I don't get you" (Martínez 228-238). As in the United States, a mixed bloodline with Africans or Afrolatinos was considered a condition that could not be fully absorbed by future generations (Deans-Smith and Katzew 3). The linkage between race and purity persisted after independence, as evidenced by Argentine and Chilean government policies to eliminate indigenous peoples while at the same time whiten the population through European immigration.[6] Camacho Roldán had originally promoted

4 Scholar Melissa Nobles identified the 1850 census as inaugurating "the inextricable and enduring link between census categorization, racial scientific thought, and public policy in the United States" (42). Additionally, Nobles upheld that "better theoretical understanding of race gave credence to the development of segregationist public policy" (43).

5 The term "miscegenation" first appeared in the United States in a polemic 1863 pamphlet entitled *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro*. Appealing to deep-seated social aversion to interracial marriage, this pamphlet aimed to garner support for Democrats by maintaining that miscegenation was a goal of the Republican Party (Von Vacano 4).

6 Susana Rotker has argued that "Argentina is the only country in Latin America that has determinedly and successfully erased the mestizo, Indian, and black minorities from its history and reality" (20). Euphemisms described government policies for eradicating indigenous groups. The twenty-year Chilean program, which ended in 1883, was called the "Pacification of Araucania," while Argentina titled its 1884 campaign the "Conquest of the Desert." Interestingly, literary works, such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's 1845 *Facundo ò civilizacion*

European immigration when he was a government official, but because of his deep commitment to Colombia's economic growth, he ultimately reframed miscegenation as a positive outcome.

Interestingly, Camacho Roldán reworked the concept of degeneration to support miscegenation while still adhering to the ideology of European superiority. Referring to examples of animal breeding to validate his claims, he affirmed that hybridity or "el cruzamiento de las razas como medio de mejorar una y otra, es un hecho demostrado en la biología" (169). Applied to humans, the addition of European bloodlines through admixture could "mejorar la raza nativa por el cruzamiento con otra mas fuerte y en un estado superior de evolución" (161). In other words, racial mixing had the potential to fulfill the vital task of uplifting the national "body" by passing on what were popularly thought of as civilized, inheritable character traits. Where Camacho Roldán differed with the norm was his positive interpretation of the contribution of indigenous and African bloodlines. By opposing the predominating linkage between degeneration and miscegenation, the mixed-race Latin American emerged in this account as superior to individuals of entirely European parentage.

Camacho Roldán offered the unconventional counterclaim to mainstream racial science when he hypothesized that inbreeding within the same racial group caused degeneration. This perspective underpinned his assertion that "la reproducción repetida en un mismo tronco, produce degeneración en la especie, debilidad física, esterilidad, enfermedades hereditarias" (169). In his view, hybridity strengthened humans, as it did for plants and animals, invigorating rather than devolving a racial group. In his construct, European racial stock offered exceptional intellect, while non-European bloodlines contributed a healthy constitution. Offering Colombia as an example, this author noted that "empieza á ser elemento dominante el de las familias de raza mixta" (170). Furthermore, the national leading families' physical and moral decline had been arrested by "algun cruzamiento oculto con el negro o con el indio" which had "restituido a la sangre del blanco el vigor físico…si bien no todavía…superioridad intelectual" (170). This ideology made sense for countries with a large racially diverse population, such as Mexico and Colombia, and contravened the mentality—then popular with Argentine and Chilean leaders—that "la nacionalidad tenga que ser homogénea en términos de raza" (Pérez Salazar 5).[7]

Camacho Roldán extended his argument regarding miscegenation to the United States and Europe. Citing newspaper and travelers' accounts as inter-

i barbarie en las pampas argentinas, nostalgically celebrated elements of the very culture that was being systematically destroyed.

7 Similarly, nineteenth-century Mexican historian Antonio García Cubas rethought prevailing discourses on *mestizaje* when he characterized mixed race individuals as "vigorous," with a "lively and ardent temperament," and a "tenacious and strenuous resistance to submit themselves to force" (20). His work was translated to English with the aim of reaching an Anglophone audience (Stern 155).

textual evidence of Anglo American racial decline, he surmised that "la raza blanca…ha ganado en distinción y finura en los rasgos de la fisonomía, todo lo que ha perdido en robustez física" (170). Consequently, Camacho Roldán saw the U.S. woman as the product of excessive inbreeding to the point that "parece débil y enfermiza…[con] esterilidad…no es maternal" (171). He also assessed Europe as an inbred, devolving racial body, positing that "la idea del lujo llevada al extremo [y] el desarrollo de enfermedades infectivas" could be partly attributed to "síntomas de la degeneración de la raza, que pide el cruzamiento con otra más vigorosa y más sana bajo el aspecto moral" (171). Moreover, this author radically concluded that miscegenation or "el cruzamiento de la raza europea con la africana" was a biological imperative for both tropical and temperate America (170).

In effect, Camacho Roldán articulated an antiracialist perspective in this travelogue. He contested widespread prejudices against African Americans, expressing the opinion that the race was "susceptible de tanta elevación y nobleza como la raza blanca" (166). It was the institution of slavery—not inherent character defects—that caused the current state of that race, what this writer described as "no efecto de inferioridad de su organismo ni siquiera de su ignorancia y falta de cultivo moral" (166). In terms of Chinese workers, Camacho Roldán assessed them positively as "sobrios, laboriosos, buenos agricultores" as well as highly skilled in the manual arts (173). Addressing popular negative stereotypes against the Chinese race's character, this traveler recognized that "por el lado moral no es el mejor posible el concepto de que gozan" (173). However, he dismissed this bias as unfounded by citing the example of the first Spanish explorers to Latin America, arguing that "no se puede juzgar de una comunidad inmensa por unas pocas individualidades, generalmente las menos tranquilas, como son los primeros exploradores" (173). In essence, Camacho Roldán performed more than the task of challenging racism; he offered the idea that *mestizaje* was part of Latin America's unique destiny.

In its celebration of miscegenation, this work can be read as an important precursor to the ideology of *mestizaje*. José Martí formulated a similar counter-discursive argument in his 1891 "Nuestra América" when he insisted that "No hay odio de razas porque no hay razas" (67). This outlook, one that celebrated Latin American racial admixture, emerged more strongly in the aftermath of the 1898 Spanish American War and the 1910 Mexican Revolution. José Vasconcelos' 1925 work, *La raza cósmica*, offered an iconic example of a positive reappraisal of racial mixture.[8] At its core, this ideology opposed the hegemonic discourse of set racial boundaries by developing what one scholar has labeled

8 Vasconcelos envisioned America's destiny as that of carrying out the "misión divina" of racial synthesis when he declared that "su predestinación, obedece al designio de constituir la cuna de una raza quinta en la que se fundirán todos los pueblos, para reemplazar a las cuatro que aisladamente han venido forjando la Historia" (16).

"the synthetic paradigm of race in Latin American intellectual history" (Von Vacano 4). Above all, this position was highly unusual for a nineteenth-century *letrado*.

Colombia emerged in this account as the more advanced country in comparison to the United States when considering the situation of racial relations. An ardent abolitionist, Camacho Roldán reminded his readers that Colombia was in the forefront as a social paragon because slavery had been abolished there earlier than in the United States. To that end, he declared that "Colombia ofrece un ejemplo no desmentido en los cuarenta años corridos desde la abolición de la esclavitud" from which other countries could learn (173). This traveler viewed slavery as both immoral and counterproductive to economic progress since a slave had no motivation to work due to "la falta de compensación a sus trabajos injustamente expropiados por una institutución inicua" (167). The Colombian Liberal party's mid-nineteenth century reforms, unlike the U.S., had granted universal male voting rights without racial or income qualifications (Sanders 136). Although these reforms were modified in the 1880s, Camacho Roldán continued to uphold the liberal agenda. During an interview with a New Orleans newspaper, he roundly criticized Anglo Americans for their continued unbridled "desprecio" and spatial segregation of African Americans after Emancipation (596). He informed the reporter that Colombia offered an exemplar of racial coexistence since "no se hace diferencia política entre las dos razas y muy poca en las relaciones sociales" (596). In contrast, the U.S. experienced deep racial divisions and inequities.

Nevertheless, Colombia could profit from U.S. racial biases. Given the failure of Reconstruction, Camacho Roldán stated that freedmen in the South "no tienen muchos motivos para estar del todo contentos desde el gobierno federal cesó de darles esa protección…contra el desprecio de sus antiguos amos" (164). Therefore, he proposed an original (although never executed) strategy of attracting African-American immigration to Colombia by offering "algun pequeño auxilio para su pasaje y tierras baldias" (165). As for Chinese immigrants, overpopulation would continue to motivate their movement abroad because "la raza mongólica parece ya estrecha dentro del límite de su gran muralla" (163). Given that the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had banned this ethnic group from further entry to the U.S., Colombia could also receive this ethnic group.[9] Disputing the prejudices inherent in the North American law, this author noted that in Panama (part of Columbia at the time) Chinese

9 Early in the century, Chinese workers were welcomed, primarily in the West, as inexpensive laborers. After completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 and in the face of economic recessions, this racial group came to be seen as competition. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the first U.S. immigration law that barred a particular racial group, was passed "on the assumption that the Chinese were a distinct race with a biologically determined nature that was reflected in moral behavior, cultural preferences, and physiological traits" (Calavita 11).

canal workers had "dado menores ó ningunos motivos de queja" (164). Since these guest workers were likely to eventually settle outside of Panama after completing their labors, Camacho Roldán advocated formulating government policy regarding this ethnic group when he pointed out that "la inmigración de mongoles está, pues, á nuestras puertas, y es bueno pensar de antemano en la manera como deberemos tratarlos" (164). In effect, although not European, African American and Chinese immigrants could contribute to the vital task of developing Colombia. These detailed proposals for government action make clear that Camacho Roldán's travelogue had less to do with travel than with promoting his own explicit reformist political and economic proposals for his country.

In point of fact, the most important Colombian booksellers during the nineteenth century also belonged to the lettered ruling elite. For this reason, bookselling signified more than a commercial endeavor but "contribuyó a la legitimidad del letrado como agente rector reafirmando el fuerte engancho entre poder y trabajo intelectual en Colombia" (Murillo Sandoval 66). Printing, bookselling, and the closely associated literary salon were key components of the domestic intellectual network, one that kept the *letrado* reader abreast of current worldwide debates—and an important way that this author could forward his liberal political agenda. Although he valorized European culture, Camacho Roldán revealed this overriding agenda when he evaluated non-Europeans and mixed-race individuals with unusually positive appraisal, offering an important nineteenth-century antecedent to the Latin American ideology of *mestizaje*. Furthermore, confronting aspects of the "model republic" through the act of writing can be viewed as an important political maneuver that validated Latin American sociocultural capital. Although Camacho Roldán shared lengthy statistics regarding North American economic progress as a service to his country, in terms of racial progress his travelogue ultimately positioned Colombia as a racially utopian future under construction, a dialectical inversion and political stance that directly contravened the myth of U.S. exceptionalism. In a period of increasing U.S. interventionism in the region, this traveling persona disrupted those pseudoscientific discourses that represented Latin Americans as less civilized "race" in a peripheral geographic region. Ultimately, as this travelogue has revealed, race, nation, and civilization were closely interrelated concepts with deep levels of signification. A traveler could consider racial issues as either a building or a stumbling block of an ideal national citizenry. This vision had direct implications for government policy by defining who should be included in the definition of nation with full rights of participation—and who should be excluded.

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