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from Jackie
with great respect
and united appreciation*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Porfirian Political Elite: Life Patterns
of the Delegates to the 1892
Unión Liberal Convention

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

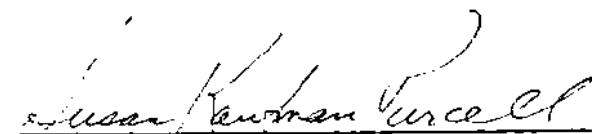
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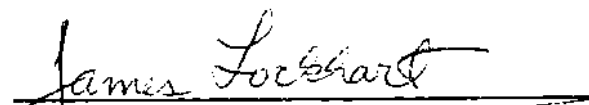
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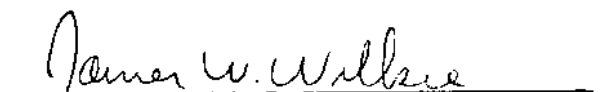
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The dissertation of Jacqueline Ann Rice is
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1979

To
my parents,
Mildred and Yale Rice

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS FOR MANUSCRIPTS

AH-UNAM	Archivo Histórico de la Universidad Autónoma de México. Fondo Expediente de Escolaridad. Serie Archivo General.
AH-UNAM/ENP	Archivo Histórico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Fondo Escuela Nacional Preparatoria. Libros y Registros de Asuntos Escolares y Generales.
AJ	Archivo Judicial, Mexico City.
AM	Archivo Militar, Mexico City.
ANG	Archivo Notorial General, Mexico City.
AN de Puebla	Archivo Notorial de Puebla.
Limantour/ <u>Correspondencia</u>	García Collection, Limantour. <u>Correspondencia, 1848-1911</u> , packets 87 A&B, Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.
TXU	Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS FOR PRINTED MATERIALS

Bazant	Appendix of Jan Bazant, <u>Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875</u> (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1971). Appendices list buyers of ecclesiastic goods.
Beals	Carleton Beals. <u>Porfirio Díaz, Dictator of Mexico</u> (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1932).

- Bravo Ugarte José Bravo Ugarte, Periodistas y periódicos mexicanos hasta 1935 (México: Editorial Jus, 1966).
- Casasola, Efemérides Gustavo Casasola. Efemérides ilustradas del México de ayer (México: Ediciones Archivo Casasola, 1902).
- Cockcroft James Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1913 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).
- Cosío Villegas, VPIPS Daniel Cosío Villegas, Historia moderna de México. El porfiriato: La vida política interior, parte segunda (México: Editorial Hermes, 1972).
- Debates México. Cámara de Diputados. Diario de los debates, 1862, 1888, 1891, 1892.
- DO México. Diario Oficial.
- DDS México. Directorio de diputados y senadores (México: Imprenta y escudernación de Ireneo Paz, 1907 & 1908) TXU GZG972D6 Ser. 23.
- González Navarro, La vida social Moisés González Navarro, Historia moderna de México. El porfiriato: La vida social (México: Editorial Hermes, 1970).
- Guía, 1898 México. Guía general descriptiva de la república mexicana. Tomo I: Distrito Federal. Compiled by J. Figueroa Domínech (Barcelona: 1899).
- Holms The Directory of Agencies, Mines and Haciendas, 1905-1906, published and compiled by Percy G. Holms (Mexico: American Books and Printing Co., 1905).
- La Lonja Appendix of Matilde Cabrera e Ypiña de Corsi, La Lonja de San Luis Potosí (n.d.). Appendices list officers from inception in

<u>La Lonja</u> (cont'd.)	1860's, following through until the 1940's.
Leduc	Alberto Leduc and Dr. Luis Lara y Pardo. <u>Diccionario geografía, historia y biografía mexicanas</u> (México: Librería de la vda. de C. Bouret, 1910).
<u>Los Hombres del Centenario</u>	México, <u>Los hombres del centenario</u> (México, 1910).
Mestre	Manuel Mestre Ghigliazza, <u>Efemérides biográficas</u> (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1945).
<u>Mexican Yearbook</u>	<u>The Mexican Yearbook</u> (London: McCorquodale and Co. Ltd., 1908).
<u>México</u> , 1891	Appendix of Bureau of American Publics, <u>Mexico Bulletin #9</u> (Washington D.C., July 1891). In appendix commercial enterprises listed by city and state.
Peral	Miguel Angel Peral, <u>Diccionario biográfico mexicano</u> (México: Editorial P.A.C., 1944).
Porrúa	Hermanos Porrúa, <u>Diccionario histórico, biográfico y geográfico</u> , segunda edición (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1965).
SA	Banco Central Mexicana, <u>Las sociedades anónimas de México</u> (México, 1908).
Villaseñor	Alejandro Villaseñor y Villaseñor, <u>Gobernantes de México y formas de gobierno. Indices alfabético</u> (Mexico: Tipografía de El Progreso Latino, 1910).

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Porfirian Political Elite: Life Patterns
of the Delegates to the 1892
Unión Liberal Convention

by

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Professor James W. Wilkie, Chair

There has long existed the notion that a group or clique of intellectuals--usually called the "Científicos" because they favored scientific or positivistic approaches to political development--was somehow crucial to the operation of the Mexican government during the rule of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910), especially in the later phase, coinciding with the turn of the century. Since it proves impossible to identify such a group with precision, I study here the lives of the seventy delegates to the 1892 Union Liberal Convention, which met in Mexico City to support the fourth reelection of President Díaz. The Unión Liberal, as an organization has little importance,

except that its manifesto was later identified as the first political statement of the alleged Científicos. The Unión Liberal delegates, as a population, on the other hand, are a wide sampling of the Porfirian political elite, containing those most frequently considered Científicos as well as others.

Source material for the study included wills and inventories, business contracts, and educational and military dossiers. Data of these types were collected for each of the seventy individuals and compiled to reveal any overall patterns, trends, or internal articulation, without letting the individuals fade into anonymity. Categories of interest include background and education, professional life, office-holding, business activity and family ties. These categories are covered in an equal number of chapters which form the body of the work, while a concluding chapter returns in more substantive terms to some broader interpretive questions. Biographical sketches with complete bibliographical references are found in an Appendix.

In general, the various chapters reveal normal procedures, continuity with the past, and diversification of activity in each of the categories examined. Another prominent characteristic is the special nature of the capital-province ties, with delegates shuttling back and forth between Mexico City and home region.

With regard to regional origins, the Unión Liberal Convention was the national assembly that it claimed to be; birthdates also show a wide spread without notable clustering. Law was by far the most popular profession among the delegates though multiplicity of occupational interests characterized professional life.

Looking at the delegates as office-holders, the presence of the older generation in high political office during Porfirian times indicates a continuity from the earlier part of the century. There seems to have been little change across the period in recruitment or in the type of offices prominent individuals held. The Porfirian political elite appears to have been characterized by standard renewal processes and not to have undergone any major internal change, crisis or disintegration.

With regard to the business interests of the delegates, over half either owned haciendas or were members of families that did. While their wealth cannot presently be quantified, this alone puts them at a certain level. Delegates tended to own land in their natal or adjacent regions, and reinforced their ties by representing these areas in national political office.

The characteristics exhibited by the delegates with regard to marriage and bloodlines indicate that their familial structure followed the usual Hispanic patterns in all respects. The Unión Liberal delegates connected

to even wider familial networks, with emphasis on relations with local regional elite and to the broader Mexico City elite, rather than tightly intermarrying with each other. And finally, it appears that the Mexican Revolution of 1910 did little to disrupt the patterns of old age for the subjects of this study, although apparently none returned to high political office.

PREFACE

There has long existed the notion that a group or clique of intellectuals--usually called the "Científicos" because they favored scientific or positivistic approaches to political development--was somehow crucial to the operation of the Mexican government during the rule of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910), especially in the later phase, coinciding with the turn of the century. Although the concept of a cohesive Científico clique with very special tenets interested scholars, they very reasonably sidestepped the issue of precisely defining the group and simply concentrated on identifying prominent and articulate figures known to be influential in Porfirian circles.

When I first conceived of the present study I set out to identify the Científicos, collect data on many aspects of their careers, work out the patterns in those data, and bring the results in relation with the politicians' expressed opinions. Such a plan, however, quickly ran up against a simple and almost insurmountable obstacle: it is impossible to identify the Científicos. One can only identify groups, even though not designated, when there is objective criterion for the people included, such as being in a certain physical locality or below a certain weight.

But one cannot identify conclusively any group to which a derogatory political nickname is applied. It is as impossible to pin down Científicos as it would be the "warmongers," "reds," or "muckrakers." As shown in Chapter I, the absence of a monolithically defined group in the literature suggests that the term "Científico" was a slogan and rallying point for the non-participating political factions--an overt power play by the discontented. The attention directed to the Científicos was designed originally to discredit a contemporary regime, not to combat a philosophy per se. Moreover, if the Científicos were created as a political slogan, later works that focused on them as the pivotal group were relying on a shaky historical foundation at best, misleading at worst. Since the term lacks objective content and those to whom it was vaguely applied never accepted the identification, there is in the strict sense no such thing as a Científico group, unless one arbitrarily redefines it.

To resolve these inconsistencies I decided, therefore to study the lives of a wider sampling of Porfirian political elite, one which would contain both those most frequently considered Científicos as well as others. In this manner I hope to see if any clear characteristics of a subgroup emerge.

This study is of a kind sometimes called prosopo-

graphical, in which data of various types are collected for each of the individuals of a given group and then, without the individuals fading into anonymity, the data are compiled and compared to reveal any overall patterns, trends, or internal articulation. My categories of interest, as broad as seemed practical, include background and education, professional life, office-holding, business activity and family ties. These categories are covered in an equal number of chapters, which form the body of the work, while a concluding chapter returns in more substantive terms to some broader interpretive questions.

To achieve my ends, I study the membership of the 1892 Unión Liberal Convention, though my analysis is not of the Unión Liberal as a political club, of its ideology as seen in its manifesto, nor of a positivistic movement. Rather this work is a study of life patterns among the Porfirian political elite as seen through the Unión Liberal delegates. Because the Unión Liberal Convention was my initial point of reference and all seventy delegates were present in Mexico City in April 1892, I began the search for life history data in Mexico City archives.

The use of Mexico City archives was a pragmatic choice. To travel to all of Mexico's distant state capitals in order to collect regional materials was out

of the question, though I did get access to the notarial archives in Puebla. Since the materials were collected primarily in the Federal District, the data provide a view of the Porfirian elite seen from a Mexico City perspective. By concentrating on federal archives we may be losing information on secondary figures or prominent personages rooted in regional life. Deficiencies in the data pool do not, however, invalidate the subsequent analysis because many of the regional figures were often in the capital and made wills and left other documentation there, thus yielding a fairly complete picture of regional activity of the members, especially those from the central and gulf regions. The fact that certain delegates were born, educated, married, conducted business, and died in their region (as evidenced by the nearly total lack of materials registered in the Federal District for some of them) is a forceful argument for further regional studies.

My source material was culled primarily from four types of archives: 1) educational records located at the Archivo Escolar, Mexico City; 2) hojas de servicios or military records in the Archivo Historico de la Defensa Nacional, Mexico City; 3) wills and inventories filed at the Archivo Judicial, Mexico City; and 4) business contracts registered with the notarial archives of Mexico City and Puebla.

Educational records housed at the Archivo Escolar

are of two types. The first is collective data found in the matrículas (grade books) or in the borredores de matrículas (day books). Through these materials researchers can locate students, seeing who went to school with whom. Interspersed throughout these materials are the mundane matters that comprise school administration, such as money owed to professors or pensionistas. For the second half of the nineteenth century materials in this archive relate to the Colegio de San Ildefonso and its successor, the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, among others less important for my purpose.

The second type of material found in the Archivo Escolar were the individual educational expedientes, or dossiers, containing a variety of data on the individual's academic experience in the Federal District. Occasionally one finds a copy of a student's exam or professional thesis, providing the researcher with an opportunity to see a delegate at an early stage in his intellectual development. Included also in these packets are correspondence, usually about one's academic credits. Such letters indicate where students attended school before coming to the Federal District. These letters were especially abundant for the law students, whose professional training was becoming standardized and subject to accreditation.

The names and/or dossiers of twenty-four Unión Liberal

delegates were found in the Archivo Escolar. Another twelve are known to have sent their children to school in the Federal District, even if the delegate had himself received his education in a regional institution. Thus the academic histories for some families can be traced for several generations. The Archivo Escolar was quite accessible, once I had established its location within the University of Mexico.

Of all the archives I encountered, the military archives, housed at the Defensa Nacional, were the most closely guarded. Letters of introduction were followed by a military review of the materials I wanted to examine. Expedientes included service records, petitions, and letters. I found expedientes on six delegates.

Hojas de servicios contain periodic reviews of military service, tracing the officers' entrance and subsequent professional activities. If an officer wanted to serve in Congress, or take leave for personal reasons, his application would be included in the expediente. Sometimes an expediente held surprises, such as in the case of Agustín Sanginés, whose repeated escapes from military court martial provide an interesting perspective on corporate justice. Salaries and pensions, also corporate issues, were a consistent theme among the correspondence found in these folders. Pensions were job-related and very important to most officers.

Twenty-five wills and inventories concerning Unión Liberal delegates were located in the Archivo Judicial, Mexico City. Materials relevant to the Porfiriato are indexed and give an indication of an individual's worth at the end of his life, even if in some cases they are incomplete or intentionally misleading so that the beneficiaries could avoid inheritance taxes. Deflated wills were particularly evident in the post-1910 period. If a delegate owned property in both Mexico City and another state or states, these assets may be unrecorded in the federal inventories. Jesús Valenzuela, for example, large landowner in Chihuahua and publisher of the literary journal Revista Moderna de México, filed his will in Mexico City in 1907 (though he did not die until 1911). Valenzuela acknowledged and disposed of the journal, but indicated nothing of his Chihuahuan investments or holdings.

Especially for Mexico City residents, wills and inventories offer detailed descriptions of personal possessions that identify what a man valued. Some delegates had in their inventories libraries that were individually catalogued, book by book. Family relationships were clarified, as were dependent relatives, while in other cases, religious beliefs were stressed, if one declared himself a Catholic in good standing.

And finally, the Mexico City notarial archives are

as rich in contracts and deeds as the period was with economic development, though only the records of discontinued or disbanded notaries are stored there. The variety of materials include marriage contracts, business liquidations and/or partnerships, land sales, and government concessions. These materials give an idea of who was doing business with whom and how.

Locating materials in four different archives acted as a cross-check system on the reliability of the data. Whereas school records list the delegates' ages, the wills and inventories provided birthdates. In cases where the information coincided, I proceeded with assurance. Sometimes, as in the case with birthdates, the information differed, which began a painstaking process of evaluating all the materials collected on the delegates in order to discern consistency of the facts. Occasionally, within the same expediente there was conflicting information, when for instance, a birth certificate recorded one date, but a marriage or death certificate recorded another. In other words, the mere fact that a document was registered did not make it reliable--only the constant interplay and evaluation of sources gave the data reliability. In cases where conflicting data could not be reconciled, as in the determination of birthdates, discrepancies are noted in the tables found in the body of the study.

To a lesser extent I used other sources, including

the Porfirio Díaz papers at the University of the Americas in Cholula; newspapers housed at the Hemeroteca Nacional, Mexico City; and the Latin American Collection at the University of Texas, Austin. Biographical dictionaries were also of help in completing the study.

Traditionally research on the Porfiriato has been limited largely to Congressional debates and newspapers which provide a detailed but not necessarily balanced approach to the topic. Going one step further and using less structured and less accessible sources, I hope to augment the existing body of knowledge and provide new insights into the fabric of Porfirian society. Perhaps only after additional studies for regional areas will we know whether the patterns and thoughts seen here were common to the entire Porfirian elite or special to a certain sector. In any case, this work aims to offer a new view of the lives of important Mexicans.

Appendix A, Biographical Sketches, also provides bibliographic references by individual and is the material from which many of the tables are derived. The reader is directed to that Appendix for the specific materials culled from the variety of sources described above.

On a more personal note, much appreciated financial assistance for the project was provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development: Latin American Education and Social Indicators Grant, and the Fulbright-Hayes

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CHAPTER I
HISTORIOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND AND
RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

In the wake of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, scholars needing to justify the upheaval portrayed the overthrown regime of Porfirio Díaz in negative terms. The Porfiriato (1876-1911) became for them an emotional topic that was impossible to treat objectively. Not until 1955, with the publication of Daniel Cosío Villegas' Historia Moderna de México, did a more serene attitude prevail and the serious process of analyzing the Porfirian period as part of general Mexican history begin.¹

The Porfiriato, in its day sometimes called the Pax Porfiriana, offered a thirty-four year period of peace after sixty years of civil war had followed the 1810 movement to gain political independence from Spain. Twice the civil wars of the early and mid-century were interrupted by foreign invasion, first from the United States, 1846 to 1848, and later by the French Intervention from 1863 to 1867. The nineteenth century struggles to create a sovereign Mexican state, free of external invasion and internal division, produced an abundance of national heroes, with Porfirio Díaz as the archetype. Díaz used

his support to modernize the country by providing peace for the economic progress that had earlier been impeded by the chaos of civil strife. Although Díaz gained much support because of his economic programs, mounting criticism of his regime led to his downfall in 1910-1911. Despite the fact that the Porfiriato until recently was roundly condemned, some now see it as a constructive period.² Following in the footsteps of Cosío, new studies of the Porfirian period have foresworn simply analyzing presidential policy and actions, and historians are adding new dimensions to their study of Porfirian politics at the national level.

Previously, that is in pre-Cosío views, the Científicos were considered the power elite who manipulated late nineteenth-century economic and political structures; works in this vein tended to detail the intrigues and machinations of the Científicos.³ Apologists for the Porfirian era claimed that the Científicos were an expression of Mexican nationalism, protected by scientific jargon and wrapped in professional, non-aristocratic garb.⁴ While biographers contributed to the great man theory of national development,⁵ the socialist school pointed to the cooperation of the national and international capitalists in the exploitation of Mexican resources.⁶ The newest trend emerging in the historiography of the Científicos

identifies them as precursors of the present-day technocrats, or neo-Científicos.⁷

Perspectives on the Científicos are dependent upon the observer's perspective of the Mexican Revolution. Mexican intellectuals, such as Leopoldo Zea deem the Científicos' use and adaptation of Positivism a key factor working against the development of an indigenous ideology which could encourage social justice in a context of economic growth.⁸ No one has studied the history of Positivism in Latin America more thoroughly than Zea. His first major works, El Positivismo en México and Apogeo y Decadencia del Positivismo en México, published in 1943-44, have dominated the literature for decades.

Zea traced the philosophies of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and John Stuart Mill from Europe to their introduction into Mexico in 1867 by Dr. Gabino Berredá, founder and first director of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria. According to Zea, the Científicos were a generation of Mexican bourgeoisie, who, after education at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, entered the forefront of political life in 1892 by founding the Unión Liberal. Proceeding to monopolize the administrative echelon of government then, they corrupted their principles for the sake of self-enrichment.

Zea's thesis was not created in a vacuum; it reflects an earlier revolutionary tradition, exemplified by Antonio

Manero's 1915 publication: ¿Que es la revolución? Manero wrote that

[The Científicos] because of their ability to enrich themselves, became the object of general discontent; they were called the Científico Party because within this group there were individuals who belonged to the "Unión Liberal" of 1892, a political party whose foundations were in the social sciences....⁹

Because such twentieth century views of the Científicos were either defensive or accusatory in nature, they were predictably more passionate than objective, demonstrating little regard for accurately defining Científico group membership.

Each critic of the Científicos defined them in different terms. Luis Cabrera (writing under the pseudonym of Lic. Blas Urrea) perceived the Científicos as an intellectual construct. Writing in 1911, Cabrera argued that cientificismo involved the "monopolizing of commercial and financial advantages in favor of big business which had official protection and influence."¹⁰ Cabrera's typology included several descriptive categories: el caciquismo, el peonismo, el fabriquismo, el hacendismo, and el extranjerismo. In his conceptual framework Porfirian society was composed of various groups or interests which were conceptually independent of one another. López Portillo y Rojas, who followed the same type of analysis, put the matter as follows:

When we calmly and impartially trace the events of the last twenty years of the Porfirian era, history will show that there emerged a group of talented men, but that they were contemptuous of society. They proceeded to amass great fortunes even as they lived divorced from that society. It will also show that their influence in the spheres of power, although well meaning at times, in the end proved to offer the wrong course and thus was detrimental to the general good; and finally this disruptive association contributed to the demise of the autocracy.¹¹

Historical writing that identified the Científicos with the Unión Liberal, as Manero, Cabrera, and López-Portillo y Rojas were wont to do, contributed to Zea's "definitive" efforts to analyze the Científicos in the 1940's. Since then his unquestioned assumptions about the cohesiveness and organizational structure of the group have continued unchecked and unchallenged while undergoing an intense examination from an ideological perspective.

Reevaluation of the Zea interpretations did not begin until the 1960's when two American historians, Charles Hale and William Raat, began to question matters.¹² Raat, for example, reexamined the methodology and content of some of Zea's most fundamental arguments and found them lacking:

Zea was certain that the founders and signers of the Unión Liberal manifesto of 1892 were in the same positivist tradition as the positivists who had written for the newspaper La Libertad in 1878. Citing the authority of Aragon's Essai, he noted that such government administrators as Limantour and Fernandez Leal consciously employed techniques of positivism in making decisions. On the vague authority of Aragon alone, he assumed that Porfirismo was a government which

responded to the needs of a middle class which sustained its position through a process of nationalization based upon positivist ideology.¹³

In Raat's analysis, the Científicos appear far less positivistic and more concerned with the practicalities one would expect to concern any Mexican political figure of the time.

In this questioning of traditional views of Porfirian society, what should be the next step in the analysis of the policies and procedures of the Díaz regime? One tack would be to identify the Científicos with precision and to carry out a more rigorous analysis of the entire corpus of their writings and statements, searching for what might distinguish these from statements of other Mexican politicians. But because of Raat's work, it seems quite clear that no well-defined, emphasized body of doctrine is there to be identified.

One is thrown back, then, on an approach in which the special beliefs and procedures of the Científicos might be reflected in their life patterns. Possibly they had distinctive governmental career patterns or different education? Perhaps they had unique types of investments, or they formed a tight intermarrying clique among themselves or distinguished themselves from other segments of society in any number of ways which could only emerge from a compilation of facts of their lives. The problem with this approach is that it anticipates the conclusion that

there was a Científico group in actual fact. But if Raat's work shows that no marked Científico intellectual position existed, it would be inappropriate to adopt a procedure that takes their group existence for granted.

Instead of taking that tack, I develop here from the membership of the Unión Liberal Convention a sample of people involved in Porfirian politics. Approaching the matter in this way led me to reassess my interests, with much less emphasis on the Científico question. If the very existence of a subgroup was theoretically in doubt, it might be best to ask at yet a deeper level the question that the people who had been so curious about the Científicos were trying to answer: How did Porfirian national politics work in general? What were the personalistic characteristics of the regime? Studying a broad cross-section of Porfirian national politicians can also tell us something about the role of the national capital and the various regions in the regime's recruitment, and whether recruitment continued at an even pace from the same sources. Too, the standard career trajectory and rewards for a Porfirian politician should be revealed. By knowing what a typical figure's career looked like, we can tell if what happens to any specific individual was usual or unusual, whether his role was exceptionally great or whether or not he was in political favor with the Díaz government. Knowledge about life patterns of Porfirian

politicians enables us to further establish an understanding of Mexican political figures that can accompany life history research conducted for earlier and later times.¹⁴ In this vein, and in view of the complex career overlapings in nineteenth-century Mexican life, the Porfirian political figures studied here can hardly be considered simply politicians. In a way, their careers represent "life patterns" of a certain number of prominent Mexicans who doubtless have much in common with their fellows.

In view of the great difficulty of compiling data for nineteenth-century Mexico, and rather than taking, for example, all cabinet ministers, or all congressmen over the entire time period, I decided that I would need to concentrate on a reasonably compact and easily identified group actually existing as a group at one time during the height of the Porfiriato. It might have been feasible to study the entire corps of ministers, but there would have been the danger of concentration on a single restricted type of figure without its explanatory context. The entire corps of congressmen would have been ideal because Congress served as a clearing house and home-base out of which politicians held many other kinds of national office, and it was a place where the general spectrum of national politicians came together. But as will be seen in Chapter IV, it turns out to be very hard even to identify the total membership of Congress for a given year.

My solution was to settle upon analyzing the Unión Liberal delegates, a group who showed a willingness to work together to support the Díaz regime.

The Unión Liberal

On Saturday, April 23, 1892 seventy men met in Mexico City to announce their political support for the fourth reelection of the president, General Porfirio Díaz. This group gave itself a name, the Unión Liberal, and argued for the achievement of freedom through order and progress. Clubs and conventions were part of the ordinary scene in nineteenth-century Mexican politics, and there was no intrinsic uniqueness to the Unión Liberal except that this convocation was later identified as the first political statement of the famed Científicos.

The significance of the Unión Liberal within the labyrinth of Porfirian society is that it was a microcosm of political elite during a dynamic period of Mexican economic development. According to one scholar the Unión Liberal emerged at the mid-point of the Porfiriato after previous attempts to organize alcaldes and jefes políticos failed to generate a facsimile of political enthusiasm.¹⁵

During the Porfiriato, political clubs were short-lived, as were the political principles that they articulated.¹⁶ However, as a political apparatus, such a club could insure the participants' access to the emerging public and private bureaucracies charged with

the distribution of credit and government concessions.

The Unión Liberal Convention was organized by Lic. Manuel Romero Rubio, then Minister of Gobernación, and a small group of hand-picked professionals. Romero Rubio's forte was his acumen as a political broker;¹⁷ he formed a nucleus of distinguished men of diverse political persuasions who were of great importance to the national reorganization that occurred during the Porfiriato. Six delegates have been cited among Romero Rubio's intimates. They were: Licenciados Manuel M. de Zamacona and Carlos Rivas; Generals Mariano Escobedo and Sóstenes Rocha; Señores Joaquín Redo and Pedro Diez Gutiérrez. Moreover, in his Mexico City law firm, five other Unión Liberal delegates were once employed: Rosenda Pineda, Justo Sierra, Joaquín D. Casasús, Roberto Núñez and Emilio Pimentel.¹⁸ Apparently Justo Sierra authored the convention's manifesto; during its initial phase Manuel Zamacona was the convention's provisional president; and later it was Mariano Escobedo who presided over the convention as president.

Despite the influence exerted by Romero Rubio on its organization, the 1892 Unión Liberal was a national convention, patterned after the United States model of political conventions. The Unión Liberal Convention was designed by Díaz to counter the political apathy resulting

from both the absence of ideological direction and the dearth of serious political opposition.

Aspirations of the delegates as articulated in the Unión Liberal manifesto were four: to gain the irremovability of judges; to achieve the reorganization of government (with special reference made to the War department); to win the abolition of alcabalas (intra-state tariffs); and to attain freedom of the press for the free expression of political opinion. The delegates wanted to institutionalize the political system and insure their place in it. As perceived by historian Walter Breymann, the Unión Liberal manifesto reflected a reformist tendency: the document received initial approval by a group of eleven, including Sierra, Pineda, Zamacona, Pablo Macedo, José Ives Limantour and Francisco Bulnes. Presidential reelection, perhaps the true core of the group's concern, played a surprisingly small role in the manifesto. The convention opened April 5, lasting approximately twenty days. By April 19, Díaz was nominated and on the 23rd the convention adopted the platform.

Table 1 offers the complete roster of Unión Liberal delegates. The roster, and a text of the convention's manifesto, appeared in El Siglo XIX the day after the convention adopted the platform. This body of political elite forms the basis for the analysis that follows in subsequent chapters.

TABLE 1

DELEGATES TO THE UNIÓN LIBERAL CONVENTION
(April 26, 1892)

1. Acosta, Miguel M.	30. Guinchard, Miguel
2. Alcázar, Ramón	31. Hornedo, Ricardo
3. Alvarez, Emilio	32. Jamet, Manuel
4. Anaya, Ventura	33. Limantour, José Ives
5. Arce, José E.	34. Llaven, Magín
6. Arellano, Filipe	35. Lombardo, Alberto
7. Aspe, Francisco P.	36. Lomellí, Sabás
8. Barrera, Joaquín de la	37. Luelmo, Pedro
9. Bejarano, Ignacio	38. Macedo, Miguel
10. Bulnes, Francisco	39. Macedo, Pablo
11. Caballero, Luis G.	40. MacManus, Tomás
12. Camacho, Sebastián	41. Mañón y Valle, Ignacio
13. Casasús, Joaquín D.	42. Martel, Jesús
14. Casco, Rafael	43. Mendizábal, Fernando
15. Castañeda, Francisco de P.	44. Nicoli, José patricio
16. Castañeda y Nájera, Vidal de	45. Núñez, Roberto
17. Castillo, Apolinar	46. Palencia, Francisco
18. Cházari, Estebán	47. Pardo, Emilio, Jr.
19. Díez Butlérrez, Pedro	48. Peña, Praxedis de la
20. Elquezábal, Alejandro	49. Peniche, Manuel
21. Escalante, Ignacio R.	50. Pérez Pliego, Antonio
22. Escobedo, Arcadio	51. Pérez Verdía, Luis
23. Escobedo, Mariano	52. Pimentel, Emilio
24. Escontría, Blas	53. Pineda, Rosendo
25. Escudero, Ignacio M.	54. Puebla, José Antonio
26. Evia, Domingo	55. Ramírez, Francisco
27. García, Amado	56. Rayón, Francisco
29. García, Trinidad	57. Redo, Joaquín
29. García Yáñez, Manuel	58. Rivas, Carlos

TABLE 1 (cont'd.)

59. Rivas Gómez, Francisco	65. Sosa, Francisco
60. Rocha, Sóstenes	66. Valenzuela, Jesús E.
61. Rosas, Felipe	67. Valenzuela, Nicolás
62. Sanginés, Agustín	68. Velázquez, Eduardo
63. Saravia, Emiliano G.	69. Zamacona, Manuel M.
64. Sierra, Justo	70. Zárate, Julio

FOOTNOTES

1. Daniel Cosío Villegas, editor, Historia moderna de México, 9 vols., (México: Editorial Hermes, 1955-1972). Daniel Cosío Villegas felt so strongly that the Porfiriato's historical niche lay in its continuity with the nineteenth century struggles for national sovereignty that the first three volumes are an examination of the restored republic, or the historical period encompassing 1867-1876. Cosío Villegas' historical periodization employed a generational rather than a purely ideological framework. The nine volumes of the Historia moderna cover politics, society, economy, and foreign affairs for Mexico from 1867-1911.
2. See for example, Raymond Vernon, The Dilemma of Mexico's Development (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).
3. Authors who consider the Científicos as the power elite manipulating late nineteenth century economic and political structures include: José L. Cossío, Monopolio y fraccionamiento de la propiedad rústica (México: Tipografía de J.M. Linares, 1914); José López-Portillo y Rojas, Elevación y caída de Porfirio Díaz (México: Librería Española, 1921); Antonio Manero, El antiguo régimen y la revolución (México: Tipografía y Litografía "La Europea," 1911) and The Meaning of the Mexican Revolution (Veracruz: La Heróica, 1915); Ramón Prida, De la dictadura a la anarquía (El Paso: n.p., 1914); Ramón Puente, La dictadura, la revolución y sus hombres (México: Imprenta Sanchez, 1938); Alfonso Taracena, Mi vida y el vertigo de la revolución (México: Ediciones Botas, 1936).
4. Apologists include: Francisco Bulnes, The Whole Truth about Mexico: President Wilson's Responsibility (New York: M. Bulnes Book Co., 1916) and El verdadero Díaz y la revolución (México: 1955).
5. Biographies about Porfirio Díaz were popular at the turn of the century; they tend to be self-serving and were often written with the President's approval. See

- for example: Irene Paz, Porfirio Díaz: Leyenda histórica 2 vols. (México: Irene Paz, 1911); Goday, José F., Porfirio Díaz, presidente de México: El fundador de una gran república (México: Editoria Nacional, 1959). In contrast to the laudatory style, see: Carleton Beals, Porfirio Díaz: Dictator of Mexico (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1932); Federico de la Colina, Porfirio Díaz: Su vida militar, sus perfidias políticas, sus odios, sus traiciones, su decadencia (México: Talleres del "Diario Republicano," 1911).
6. Most of this work is recent, but the tradition began as early as 1911 with John Kenneth Turner's Barbarous Mexico (Chicago: Kerr and Co., 1911). See also Moisés González Navarro, México: el capitalismo nacionalista (México: Costa-Amic, 1970); José Luis Cecaña Gómez, México en la órbita imperial: las empresas transnacionales (México: Ediciones El Caballito, 1970).
 7. See Como México no hay dos: Porfirismo - Revolución - Neoporfirismo (México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1971); James D. Cochrane, "Mexico's 'New Científicos': The Díaz Ordaz Cabinet," Inter-American Economic Affairs, 21:1 (1967), pp. 61-72.
 8. Works that reflect this historical tradition include: Walter D. Breymann, "The Científicos: Critics of the Díaz Regime, 1892-1903," Positivism in Latin America, Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1971), pp. 87-94; Patrick Romanell, Making of the Mexican Mind (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952); Karl M. Schmitt, The Mexican Positivist and the Church-State Question, 1876-1911 (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, Offprint series, number 32); Sam Schulman, A Study of the Political Aspects of Positivism in Mexico (Unpublished masters of arts thesis, University of New Mexico, 1949); José C. Valades, El porfirismo: Historia de un régimen, 3 vols. (México: Porrúa, 1951).
 9. Antonio Manera, ¿Qué es la revolución? (Veracruz: La Heroica, 1915), p. 45.
 10. Luis Cabrera was a prolific and popular writer. The passage cited here has been reprinted in several anthologies, though originally it was published in April, 1911, in a Mexico City daily under the title: "La Solución del Conflicto." See, Armando Porrás y

- López, Luis Cabrera: revolucionario e intelectual (México: Porrúa, 1968), pp. 33-34.
11. José López-Portillo y Rojas, Elevación y caída de Porfirio Díaz, p. 274.
 12. See Charles Hale, "Sustancia y metodo en el pensamiento de Leopoldo Zea," Historia Mexicana, October 1970. For Raat's contributions see below.
 13. William Raat, "Leopoldo Zea and Mexican Positivism: A Reappraisal," Hispanic American Historical Review, 68:1 (1968), p. 8.
 14. For earlier period see Richard Sinkin, The Mexican Reform, 1855-1876; A Study in Liberal Nation-Building (Austin, Texas: Institute of Latin American Studies, forthcoming). Life data research for the post-Revolutionary elite has already been collected by Peter H. Smith, Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico (Princeton: New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979). See chapter VII, Analysis, for a brief discussion of this recent work.
 15. Information on the background of the Unión Liberal was summarized from the work of Walter N. Breyman, "The Científicos," Positivism in Latin America.
 16. Political apathy resulted no doubt from the 1888 constitutional amendment that allowed for the indefinite reelection of the president. This constitutional amendment contradicted Díaz' earlier position, in which he had supported the principle of no reelection.
 17. Manuel Romero Rubio's most brilliant political maneuver however was the marriage of his daughter, Carmen Romero Rubio to Porfirio Díaz. The fact that Romero Rubio's nineteen year old daughter was almost thirty years younger than the bridegroom mattered only to Díaz detractors who pondered "which of these two men was more despicable: the one who sold his daughter or the one who bought her?" from Frank Knapp, The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada 1823-1889: a study of influence and obscurity (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), p. 261.
 18. José Ives Limantour, Apuntes sobre me vida pública: 1892-1911 (México: Porrúa, 1965), p. 15.

CHAPTER II

DELEGATES' BACKGROUND

The search for regularity and pattern in the lives of the Unión Liberal delegates as a group begins with a survey of their backgrounds in terms of time of birth, place of birth, and education through the college level. Because of the greatly scattered regional origin of the delegates, data do not suffice for a systematic analysis of their social backgrounds, but educational experiences give a rough notion of their position in society.

Birthdates

Two generations co-existed within the Unión Liberal; the older generation can be distinguished from the younger not only by age, but also by established political reputation. Sixty-nine year old Sebastián Camacho, the convention's oldest delegate, was forty-one years older than the youngest known, twenty-eight year old Alejandro Elquezábal. Consider further the fact that in 1892, when the convention President, General Mariano Escobedo, was sixty-six years old, the convention's Vice President, Lic. Rosendo Pineda was thirty-seven. In other words, while Pineda was a toddler of two in 1857, the General was distinguishing himself in the wars of The Reform.

Likewise, the father of Unión Liberal delegate Lic. Roberto Núñez, José Higinio Núñez, was a contemporary of fellow delegate Lic. Manuel M. de Zamacona; in 1861 when Núñez' father was heading the national treasury, Zamacona assumed leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Table 2 presents a summary of the ages of the delegates as of 1892. The thirty, forty, and fifty-year-old men are fairly evenly distributed, indicating that no one age group formed a dominant clique. Filling out the bell-shaped curve at the top are seven sixty-year old delegates, peers of the sixty-two year old President, General Porfirio Díaz. At the other end of the curve are the six twenty-year olds. Included also are seven delegates of undetermined age. The sixty-three-delegate sample of those whose ages are known or surmised represents ninety percent of all Unión Liberal participants.

I identify four delegates as falling in the twenty to thirty bracket on the assumption that they were the younger relatives of regional political elite.¹ This identification is based first on their surnames, which coincide with the names of prominent regional families located in the same states as these men represented, and second on the fact that their political careers were unestablished in 1892. For the seven unknowns, the dearth of biographical data might suggest that they were insignificant, or possibly older members of the Porfirian

TABLE 2
AGES OF UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES
IN 1892: SUMMARY

Approximate Age in 1892	Number of Delegates	Percent of Known Ages	Percent of Total
60 and over	7	11.1	10.0
50-59	16	25.4	22.9
40-49	19	30.2	27.1
30-39	15	23.8	21.4
20-29	<u>6</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>8.6</u>
Known	63	100.0	90.0
Unknown	<u>7</u>	<u>----</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	70	----	100.0

political elite, because there is no doubt that the more recent the date, the better are the data. A third possibility for the unknown category is that they were regional elites, so ensconced in regional life that they escaped recognition in the Mexico City archives. If such were the case, there would be little reason to believe that these men were younger or older than the established trend; rather they would probably reinforce the age distribution as it now stands.² In any case, the sample is large, and the overall characteristics of wide age spread and lack of marked bunching are very clear. Table 3 gives age data in detail.³

TABLE 3
APPROXIMATE BIRTHYEAR AND AGE IN 1892 OF
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Delegate	Approximate Birthyear	Approximate Age in 1892
Camacho, Sebastián	1823	69
Puebla, José Antonio	1825	67
Zamacona, Manuel M.	1826	66
Escobedo, Mariano	1826 ^a	66
Luelmo, Pedro	1830 ^b	62
García, Trinidad	1831 ^a	61
Rocha, Sóstenes	1831	61
Arellano, Felipe	1833	59
Castañeda y Nájera, Vidal	1833	59
Peniche, Manuel	1834	58
Aspe, Francisco de P.	1835	57
Nicoli, José Patricio	1835 ^b	57
Escudero, Ignacio	1836	56
Mendizábal, Fernando	1836 ^b	56
Lomelí, Sabás	1836	56
Mañón y Valle, Igancio	1836 ^b	56
Llaven, Magín	1838 ^b	54
Castañeda, Francisco de P.	1839	53
Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	1839	53
Guinchard, Miguel	1840	52
Ramírez, Francisco	1841	51
Castillo, Apolinar	1842	50
Redo, Joaquín	b	
Alcázar, Ramón	1843	49
Palencia, Francisco	1843	49
Rivas, Carlos	1843	49
Cházari, Estebán	1844 ^b	48
Escobedo, Arcadio	1844	48
Lombardo, Alberto	1844 ^a	48
Peña, Praxedis de la	1844 ^b	48
Zárate, Julio	1844	48
Older Generation		

Younger Generation		
Bulnes, Francisco	1847	45
Escontría, Blas	1847	45
Barreda, Joaquín de la	1848	44

TABLE 3 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Approximate Birthyear	Approximate Age in 1892
Sierra, Justo	1848	44
Sosa, Francisco	1848	44
Pardo, Emilio Jr.	1850	42
Escalante, Ignacio	1851 ^a	41
Caballero, Luis	1851	41
Macedo, Pablo	1851	41
Sanginés, Agustín	1851	41
Valenzuela, Nicolas	1851 ^b	41
Rivas Gómez, Francisco	1853	39
Limantour, José Ives	1854	38
MacManus, Tomás	1854	38
Pliego Pérez, Antonio	1854	38
Pineda, Rosendo	1855	37
Valenzuela, Jesús E.	1855	37
Bejarano, Ignacio	1856 ^a	36
Macedo, Miguel S.	1856	36
Anaya, Ventura	1857 ^a	35
Pérez Verdía, Luis	1857	35
Pimentel, Emilio	1857	35
Saravia, Emiliano G.	1857	35
Casasús, Joaquín	1858	34
Núñez, Roberto	1859	33
Rayón, Francisco	1859	33
Velázquez, Edurado	1863	29
Elquezábal, Alejandro	1864	28

^aResolution of conflicting data

^bEstimate

Source: Appendix A.

In Table 3 it is obvious that the older generation includes the fifty- and sixty-year olds; beyond that I dipped into the forty-year-old category. The reason for dividing the generations as I did is that there occurred

a three-year hiatus in the data between forty-eight and forty-five-year-old delegates. The three-year hiatus could be the result of loss or damage to archival resources or error resulting from the fact that nine birthdates are estimated. Nonetheless, dividing the generations at the hiatus seemed less arbitrary than drawing a line between ages for which I found more data. The older generation then, as I will use the term in this study, included those born approximately between 1823 and 1844; the younger generation included men forty-five years of age or under in 1892.

Birthplaces

The data in Table 4 show that delegates from the Central region dominated the Unión Liberal. Mexico City, the birthplace of nineteen percent of delegates, provided a disproportionate share compared to its four percent of the nation's population. However, the effect of Mexico City's large share on the regional percentage was nil; fifty-five percent of the population was in the Central region, and the region reflected this with fifty percent of the delegate's birthplaces. On the other hand, the bias in favor of Mexico City is evident in the distribution within the Central region, because if we compare the percentage of delegates born in the East and West Central states with their population, we find that these areas were underrepresented by twenty percent. The discrepancy

TABLE 4

REGIONAL SHARES OF UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES' BIRTHPLACES

Region ¹	Number of Delegates ²	Percent of Delegates	Percent of Population	Population in 1890
Central				
Federal District	13	18.6	3.9	451,246
West Central	12	17.1	27.2	3,127,395
East Central	<u>10</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>24.1</u>	<u>2,768,606</u>
	35	50.0	55.2	6,347,247
Pacific				
West	8	11.4	13.6	1,557,106
South	<u>8</u>	<u>11.4</u>	<u>12.2</u>	<u>1,396,016</u>
	16	22.8	25.7	2,953,122
Gulf	14	20.0	9.7	1,114,083
Frontier	5	7.1	9.3	1,072,758
Total	70	100	100	11,487,210

¹The four regions, Central, Pacific, Gulf, and Frontier, were taken from contemporary accounts. They reflect the administrative and commercial concerns of the nineteenth century: relationship to Mexico City and accessibility to maritime facilities. The sub-regions of East and West Central, West and South are geo-social

TABLE 4 (cont'd.)

categories employed in recent analysis by James W. Wilkie (The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910, pp. 237-243). I have modified Wilkie's categories as follows: Aguascalientes and Durango in Wilkie's West are included here in the Central region because nineteenth century accounts considered them to be part of the central area. I have followed Wilkie's West Central classification of Michoacán, however, because although it was considered in the nineteenth century as a Pacific state, it lacked port facilities. (Tamaulipas, classified by Wilkie as part of the North or Frontier region as it was called then, was considered to be part of the Gulf region in the nineteenth century accounts, but since no delegates were born there, the matter does not affect the analysis. Nineteenth century accounts did not distinguish a separate region defined by Wilkie as the "South.")

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²Because archival materials were skewed in favor of a Mexico City perspective, it is unlikely that any of the unknown, of whom there were six, were born in the Federal District. Except for the Mexico City-born, delegates generally represented their natal region, if not state. In other words, there is a high probability that a person of unknown birthplace was from the place he represented. Accordingly, four of the six unknowns listed in Table 6 were probably born in the East Central region, while two were from the Gulf. Table 4 reflects these assumptions.

Source: Population data from 1er Directorio Estadístico de la República Mexicana, 1890. Delegates birthplaces are from Tables 5 and 6.

can be readily explained by the Federal District's reputation as the commercial, cultural and administrative capital of the country; Mexico City was an especially desirable residence for the Central region's elite.

Both the Pacific and Gulf regions contributed significant contingents of delegates to the convention. The twenty-two percent born in the Pacific were fairly consistent with the area's share of the population. The Gulf region, on the other hand, like Mexico City, produced a disproportionately large percentage when compared to the region's share of the population. The already thin contingent of five delegates born in the Northern region was diluted further by the vast geographical spread of the six northern states. Nonetheless, the frontier with seven percent of the delegates, was proportionally represented not far below its ten percent of the population.

The Unión Liberal, a national convention, theoretically represented each of the twenty-seven states, two territories, and the Federal District. From Table 5 we see that no delegates were born in the following five states and one territory: Tamaulipas, Colima, Querétaro, Morelos, Hidalgo and the Territory of Baja California.

In brief, of the thirty-one delegates born in the Central region, 13 were from the Federal District, 4 from Puebla, 3 from Guanajuato and two each from the states of

TABLE 5
BIRTHPLACES OF DELEGATES TO THE
UNION LIBERAL CONVENTION

Region	Population in 1890	Delegate ¹
Central Region	6,347,247	
Federal District	451,246	Puebla, José Antonio Castañeda y Nájera, Vidal Escudero, Ignacio M. Lombardo, Alberto Bulnes, Francisco Pardo, Emilio Jr. Escalante, Ignacio R. Macedo, Pablo Limantour, José Ives Bejarano, Ignacio Macedo, Miguel Núñez, Roberto Valázquez, Eduardo
West Central	3,127,395	
Aguascalientes	121,926	Güinchard, Miguel Hornedo, Ricardo
Durango	265,931	Saravia, Emiliano G. Valenzuela, Jesús E.
Guanajuato	1,007,116	Rocha, Sóstenes Castañeda, Francisco de P. Alcázar, Ramón
México	778,969	Mañón y Valle, Ignacio Pliego Pérez, Antonio
Michoacán	801,913	Caballero, Luis
Morelos	151,540	None
East Central	2,768,606	
Hidalgo	494,212	None

TABLE 5 (cont'd.)

Region	Population in 1890	Delegate ¹
East Central		
Puebla	839,468	Zamacona, Manuel M. Barreda, Joaquín de la Alvarez, Emilio Mendizábal, Fernando
Querétaro	213,525	None
San Luis Potosí	546,447	Diez Gutiérrez, Pedro Escontría, Blas
Tlaxcala	147,988	Casco, Rafael
Zacatecas	526,966	García, Trinidad
Pacific Region	2,953,122	
West	1,557,106	
Colima	69,547	None
Jalisco	1,161,709	Lomelí, Sabás Ramírez, Francisco Palencia, Francisco Anaya, Ventura Pérez Verdía, Luis
Territory of Tepic	102,166	Rivas Gómez, Francisco
Sinaloa	223,684	Arellano, Felipe Redo, Joaquín
South	1,396,016	
Chiapas	269,710	Llaven, Magín Cházari, Estebán
Guerrero	332,887	Arce, José E. Rayón, Francisco

TABLE 5 (cont'd.)

Region	Population in 1890	Delegate ¹
South		
Oaxaca	793,419	Castillo, Apolinar Sanginés, Agustín Pineda, Rosendo Pimentel, Emilio
Gulf Region	1,114,083	
Campeche	91,180	Sierra, Justo Sosa, Francisco
Quintana Roo	---	Created in 1902
Tabasco	114,028	Valenzuela, Nicolás Casasús, Joaquín D.
Veracruz	633,369	Camacho, Sebastián Luelmo, Pedro Aspe, Francisco Zárate, Julio
Yucatán	275,506	Peniche, Manuel Nicolí, José Patricio Escobedo, Arcadio Evía, Domingo
Frontier	1,072,758	
Baja California	34,668	None
Chihuahua	298,073	MacManus, Tomás
Coahuila	177,797	Peña, Praxedis de la Elguezábal, Alejandro
Nuevo León	244,052	Escobedo, Mariano
Sonora	150,391	Rivas, Carlos
Tamaulipas	167,777	None

TABLE 5 (cont'd.)

¹Under each regional heading delegates appear in chronological order from oldest to youngest.

Sources: Birthplace data are from Appendix A; population data from 1er Directorio Estadístico de la República Mexicana, 1890.

Aguascalientes, Durango, México, and San Luis Potosí; Tlaxcala, Michoacán, and Zacatecas each claimed one terreño, or native son. From the western states of Jalisco, Sinaloa, and the Territory of Tepic in the Pacific region the total was seven; Jalisco contributed five of these. The three southern states of Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Chiapas indicate not insignificant representation with 4, 2 and 2 delegates respectively. The Gulf region, significant for its proportionately large number of delegates' birthplaces, divides up as follows: Veracruz and the Yucatán 4 apiece; Campeche contributed 3; and 2 delegates were born in Tabasco. And finally, with the smallest number of delegates from the northern region, the Frontier region, there were 2 from Coahuila and one each from the states of Nuevo León, Sonora and Chihuahua.

Table 6 lists the six delegates of unknown birthplace. There is a high probability that a person of unknown birthplace was born in the state he represented. Interes-

tingly, neither the birthplace nor the birthdate for these six delegates were available.

TABLE 6
BIRTHPLACES UNKNOWN FOR DELEGATES TO THE
UNIÓN LIBERAL CONVENTION

Delegate	Represented
Acosta, Miguel	Zacatecas
García, Amado	Tlaxcala
García Yañez, Manuel	Tlaxcala
Jamet, Manuel	Tabasco
Martel, Jesús	San Luis Potosí
Rosas, Felipe	Yucatán

The importance of birthplace cannot be overestimated because it translates into regional origins. In Porfirian Mexico, sustained regional identification often bordered on the maudlin as we see in the words of Joaquín Casasús from Tabasco:

You are not only my friends but my fellow
landsmen. We were born under the same heavens,
the heat of the same sun, heard from our child-
hood the sweet lullabies of Grijalva y Usumacinta
that rocked our cradles....The fact is your
benevolence, that is, the goodness of old
friends, has made it possible for you to hold
my very small merits in any esteem.⁴

Foreign Connections

Nine delegates were second or third generation Mexicans. As indicated in Table 7, they represented four European birthrights: French, Scottish, Portuguese, and Spanish. More cases could be cited if maternal lineage were as well documented as paternal.⁵ Eight out of the nine were forty-five years or younger;⁶ six from the group were born in the Federal District.⁷

TABLE 7
FOREIGN CONNECTIONS OF
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Delegate	Generation	Lineage
Bejarano, Ignacio	3rd	Spanish
Bulnes, Francisco	3rd	Spanish
Casasús, Joaquín D.	3rd	Spanish
Jamet, Manuel	2nd	French
Limantour, José Ives	2nd	French
MacManus, Tomás	2nd	Scotch
Macedo, Miguel	2nd	Portuguese
Macedo, Pablo	2nd	Portuguese
Puebla, José Antonio	2nd	Spanish

Source: Appendix A.

Initially, the fathers of Bulnes, Limantour, and the Macedo brothers were merchants; their commercial enterprises originated in the Yucatán, Veracruz and Jalisco respectively. Eventually they settled in Mexico City, where the four delegates were born. Manuel Bulnes, father of Francisco, and José Ives Limantour, father of the delegate of the same name, joined with second generation José Antonio Puebla as charter members of the Jockey Club, a prestigious social club for the Porfirian elite.⁸

In short, this group of second and third generation immigrants were young and Mexico City oriented delegates. By contrast, the majority of the Unión Liberal delegates were fourth generation Mexicans, probably of Spanish descent.

Preparatory Education

All the Unión Liberal delegates were literate. Educational records indicate that the group can be broken down into the older-younger generation model suggested earlier.⁹ Educational reforms of 1867 afforded the younger generation the opportunity of secular, public instruction. These reforms also inaugurated the federal education archive which documents the attendance of public school students. For the older generation, there are no records in this archive. These delegates born between 1823 and 1838, the older generation, must have received private or

ecclesiastical instruction--prior to 1867 the church monopolized lower educational institutions.

Although the 1867 educational reforms were proposed as early as 1833, they were not codified until 1857 nor mandated until 1867. Secularization changed curriculum but did not alter the traditional social function of school; always an institution of the elite, schools performed the process of informally introducing elites to one another, resulting in life-long associations and bonds of friendship. Table 8 summarizes the preparatory experience for twenty-eight of the delegates.

The twenty-eight-delegate total represents a forty-one percent sample of the convention. The data draws from both generations; seventeen were from the younger generation, ten from the older.¹⁰ Furthermore, the data have a regional spread, with seven delegates born in Mexico City and twenty-one born elsewhere. By and large, the sampled delegates attended preparatory school close to home; seventeen attended regional schools, while seven out of the eleven who studied in the Federal District were born there. Three students, Magín Llaven, Roberto Núñez, and Jesús E. Valenzuela, attended two different preparatories. Family moves explain these transfers. The pattern of regionally-based preparatory education is significant in light of the previous literature which concentrates primarily on Mexico City institutions.¹¹

TABLE 8
SUMMARY OF PREPARATORY EDUCATION OF
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Preparatory School in the Federal District	
El Colegio de San Ildefonso ¹	4
Escuela Nacional Preparatoria	5
Private Preparatory	2
Regional Preparatory	<u>17</u>
Total	28

¹On December 2, 1867, the Colegio Real, and later Nacional de San Ildefonso was replaced by the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, so that in a sense the first two subcategories of Table 8 are one and the same. The new school also combined the Colegios de Minería, de Agricultura, de San Juan de Letrán, the Academia de Bellas Artes and the lower classmen of the Escuela de Medicina. Five hundred students lived at the Colegio, and some thousands were day students only. See: José Rojas Garciadueñas, El antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1951, p. 26).

Source: Table 9 and 10.

Tables 9 and 10 offer details on preparatory education.

The older generation which received a formal education did so in ecclesiastical schools called colegios or seminarios.¹² Course work in these institutions included Latin, the humanities and Spanish grammar. With the introduction of the 1867 educational reforms, the sequence of professional studies began with preparatoria. Preparatories were established throughout Mexico as feeder

TABLE 9

PREPARATORY EDUCATION IN THE FEDERAL
DISTRICT FOR DELEGATES TO THE
UNIÓN LIBERAL CONVENTION

<u>El Colegio de San Ildefonso</u>		<u>Dates</u>
Castañeda, Francisco de P.		1856-58
Lombardo, Alberto		1856
Macedo, Pablo		1858
Sierra, Justo		1866
 <u>Escuela Nacional Preparatoria</u>		
Limantour, José Ives ¹		1869-71
Macedo, Miguel S.	Graduated in	1874
Núñez, Roberto ²	Graduated in	1874
Rayón, Francisco		1874
Valenzuela, Jesús E. ³		1874
 <u>Private Preparatory Education</u>		
Bejarano, Igancio	Seminario Colegio de	
	México,	1868
Bulnes, Francisco	Colegio del Profesor	
	Higareda,	1864-65

¹Limantour finished the three year program in two years.

²Núñez also attended preparatory in Tlaxcala, from 1870-73.

³Valenzuela attended preparatory in Chihuahua before moving to the Federal District.

Source: Appendix A.

TABLE 10
REGIONAL PREPARATORY EDUCATION FOR
DELEGATES TO THE UNIÓN LIBERAL

Delegates	State
Alvarez, Emilio	Puebla
Arellano, Felipe	Unknown
Aspe, Francisco de P.	Veracruz
Caballero, Luis G.	Michoacán
Casasús, Joaquín D.	Yucatán
Castillo, Apolinar	Oaxaca
Escobedo, Mariano	Nuevo León
Escontría, Blas	San Luis Potosí
Llaven, Magín ¹	Chiapas
Pérez Verdía, Luis	Jalisco
Pimentel, Emilio	Oaxaca
Pineda, Rosendo	Oaxaca
Rocha, Sóstenes	Guanajuato
Saravia, Emiliano G.	Durango
Sosa, Francisco	Yucatán
Zamacona, Manuel M.	Puebla
Zárate, Julio	Puebla

¹Llaven attended preparatory in Hidalgo as well as in his natal state of Chiapas.

Source: Appendix A.

schools for the college-bound, future professionals. The regulation of preparatory education, through validación (accreditation), enabled the state to expand its authority even to those students who opted for ecclesiastical instruction. Accreditation was a rigorous process, so much so that:

On one occasion, it did not seem excessive for an official newspaper to note that out of 195 students from a very important Catholic school, forty-six were flunked, because the Preparatoria

examinations which they had to undergo in order to be accredited were considered 'difficult.'¹³

At the preparatories all professional degrees had the same academic requirements grounded in the positivistic thesis that knowledge should be based on experience, not authority. Courses were organized according to a hierarchy that emphasized the positive sciences (i.e. mathematics) followed by the natural sciences (cosmography, physics, geography, chemistry, botany, and zoology) and finally logic. Modern languages (French, English and German) were integrated into the curriculum, while Latin was reduced to secondary status. Rejected was the scholastic approach that concerned itself with the transmission of certain unchallenged knowledge and principles.

The Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, located in the Federal District, was the cornerstone of the 1867 educational reforms, though it opened under a storm of protest that continued throughout the Porfiriato. Only five of the Unión Liberal delegates attended the national preparatory, although the regional preparatories were patterned after the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, thus expanding its educational impact accordingly. By 1869, eighteen states emulated its curriculum structured upon the principles of Positivism. Some regional preparatories, such as the Instituto Literario de Yucatán, were a credit to the Mexico City original.

Professional Training

At least forty-three percent of the Unión Liberal delegates underwent professional training in law. Professional choices were highly standardized in nineteenth-century Mexico: law, engineering, medicine, the clergy or the military. The propensity towards law not only reflected a long-standing tradition exemplified also among the Porfirian political elite, but it continued into the twentieth century.¹⁴ Though legal training indeed familiarized one with the intricacies of the law and increased debating skills, the title of licenciado, or lawyer, conveyed a concept far broader than its English equivalent.¹⁵

As evidenced in Table 11 thirty delegates matriculated in law, four in engineering, three in the liberal arts, two in pharmacy, and one trained to be a corredor, or broker. In addition, delegate Manuel Peniche, who was already counted as a law student, also studied land surveying, receiving a degree in that area nine years after completing his legal training. Similarly, lawyer Alberto Lombardo also received a second title, that of notary. Because these double degrees are reflected in Table 11, the number of degrees is forty-two (not forty), raising the total number of degrees that appear in Table 11 to seventy-two compared to seventy delegates.

TABLE 11
SUMMARY OF PROFESSIONAL-DEGREE TRAINING
FOR UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Professional Training in:	Number	Percent
Law	30	43
Engineering	4	6
Liberal Arts	3	4
Pharmacy	2	3
Surveying	1	1
Broker	1	1
Notary	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Known	42	59
Unknown	<u>30</u>	<u>43</u>
Total	72	102

Source: Table 12.

The academic records for six delegates are unavailable because they were members of the older generation.¹⁶ Seventeen delegates received their professional training in the Federal District, nineteen did not (two students, Alberto Lombardo and Manuel Zamacona, attended two law schools, one regional and the second in Mexico City). Because fourteen of the nineteen were known to receive their advanced degrees outside of Mexico City (the location of data for five is unknown) professional training of Unión Liberal delegates shows a strong respect for regional institutions, in spite of the fact that Mexico City is credited with being the center of academic life.

Furthermore, it is the data from the Mexico City institutions that give a hint of the social uses of education. Within the group of Mexico City trained professionals, there were instances where senior delegates had been on the examining committees of younger members.¹⁷ To appreciate how small this educational community was, consider the fact that by 1900 one-hundred students were enrolled at the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia, while fifteen composed the teaching staff.¹⁸ Thus, the educational experience is important as the beginning of a tightly-knit socio-political network within the group. Table 12 details the data on the delegates' professional training.

What is not reflected in these tables is the non-academic training several delegates received. For example, only one out of the ten professional soldiers present at the Unión Liberal Convention attended any professional school. The fact that General Sóstenes Rocha was the only officer of the ten to attend the national Colegio Militar says as much about that academy as it does about the profession. With antecedents in the late colonial period, the Colegio Militar opened in 1824. After fifty-eight years of instruction the academy could boast only two division generals from a cadre of twenty, nine of 93 brigadier generals, and eight of 57 colonels. In other words, the Colegio Militar trained

TABLE 12
PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Part I: Law		
Name	Location of School	Year of Degree
1. Alvarez, Emilio	Unknown	Unknown
2. Anaya, Ventura	Guadalajara	1878
3. Arellano, Felipe	Chihuahua	1903 ^a
4. Caballero, Luis G.	Michoacán	1875
5. Casasús, Joaquín	D. F.	1880
6. Castañeda y Nájera	D. F.	Unknown
7. Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	Unknown	Unknown
8. Elquezábal, Alejandro	Unknown	Unknown
9. Limantour, José Ives	D. F.	1875 ^b
10. Llaven, Magín	Tabasco or Chiapas	pre-1877
11. Lombardo, Alberto	San Luis Potosí and D. F.	1873 ^c
12. Luelmo, Pedro	Unknown	Unknown
13. Macedo, Miguel	D. F.	1880
14. Macedo, Pablo	D. F.	1871
15. Mendizábal, Fernando	Unknown	Unknown
16. Nicoli, José Patricio	Unknown	Unknown
17. Núñez, Roberto	D. F.	1878
18. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	D. F.	1871
19. Peña, Praxedis de la	Unknown	Unknown
20. Peniche, Manuel	Unknown	1850 ^d
21. Pérez Verdía, Luis	Jalisco	1877
22. Pimentel, Emilio	Oaxaca	Unknown
23. Pineda, Rosendo	Oaxaca	Unknown
24. Rayón, Francisco	Unknown	Unknown
25. Rivas, Carlos	D. F.	1865
26. Saravia, Emiliano	Durango	Unknown
27. Sierra, Justo	D. F.	1871
28. Valenzuela, Jesús	D. F.	1877
29. Zamacona, Manuel	D. F. and Puebla	Unknown
30. Zárate, Julio	Puebla	Unknown

TABLE 12 (cont'd.)

Part II: Other Professional Training		
Name	Location of School	Degree, Year
1. Aspe, Francisco	Veracruz	Corredor
2. Bejarano, Ignacio	D. F.	Liberal Arts (History)
3. Bulnes, Francisco	D. F.	Engineer (Mining)
4. Camacho, Sebastián	D. F.	Engineer
5. Castillo, Apolinar	Oaxaca	Pharmacy
6. Escontría, Blas	D. F.	Engineer, 1872
7. Garcia, Trinidad	Unknown	Pharmacy
8. Lombardo, Alberto ^c	D. F.	Notary, 1878
9. Peniche, Manuel ^d	Unknown	Surveyor
10. Rivas Gómez, Francisco	Unknown	Liberal Arts (Classics)
11. Rocha, Sóstenes	D. F.	Engineer (Military)
12. Sosa, Francisco	Mérida	Liberal Arts

^aFelipe Arellano attended law school when he was sixty years old. Graduating in 1903, he began practice at age seventy. His twenty-four year old son, also Felipe Arellano, graduated from law school two years before him; the two were partners.

^bJosé Ives Limantour finished the three-year sequence of law school in two years.

^cIn addition to a degree in law, Alberto Lombardo was a notary.

TABLE 12 (cont'd.)

^dManuel Peniche trained as a land surveyor after receiving a law degree.

Source: Appendix A.

only nineteen out of the 170 Mexican generals as of December 1882.¹⁹ The nineteenth century was replete with opportunities of which the other military men among the delegates took full advantage.

At least eight Unión Liberal members whose careers centered on business activities apparently also dispensed with higher instruction in favor of informal training, with much the same success as the professional soldiers. These eight were from families who already owned haciendas.²⁰ Apparently we have here the old pattern whereby wealthy families let the oldest son inherit the most property and sent only the others to the university to train for the professions.

Of the seventy Unión Liberal delegates, then, we know that forty received professional training in academic institutions, eighteen informal training. For fourteen delegates information on professional background is unavailable. Some of these men probably fall into the business community. Thus if professionalism flourished, its representatives did not monopolize the membership of

the Unión Liberal Convention. In the words of a Porfirian contemporary: "There are some that have degrees, others without, but who are well educated, and many without degree or education."²¹

Summary

Examination of the birthdates and birthplaces of the Unión Liberal delegates has shown a broad cross-section in both cases. The wide age spread and the even distribution across the decades are remarkable; this suggests that Porfirian politics did not harden around a cohort group associated with the foundation of the Unión Liberal Convention, but continued to absorb new figures from the same general circles as they came of age. I discerned two generations coinciding with a hiatus of data for delegates (those in their late forties and up fall into the older generation). But while this division serves some purposes of analysis very well, an even more significant aspect is that there is no division into two sharply differentiated groups; rather, the same types of people continued to be recruited over the whole time up to 1892.

With regard to regional origin, the Unión Liberal Convention was in fact the national assembly that it claimed to be. The spread of delegates' origins corresponds well with the distribution of the Mexican national population at the time. Only the Federal District

and the Gulf region were apparently over-represented. In the case of Mexico City, long-time center of cultural if not administrative activities, the phenomenon is to be expected and is easy to explain; in fact, one must emphasize that capital-city predominance was not as overwhelming as it might have been.

In the case of the Gulf, the reasons for over-representation are also clear. The Gulf region included Mexico's traditional port, Veracruz, in addition to the Yucatán, which was divided during the Porfiriato into the states of Tabasco, Campeche, Quintana Roo and the Yucatán. The development of henequen plantations explains, in part, the increased importance of the region; the hemp produced from the henequen plant went into rope essential to the flourishing cotton economy of the United States. Thus, the successful cultivation and transportation of henequen catapulted the Gulf region into a position of economic leadership in Porfirian politics and is reflected in the significant number of delegates from that region.

The social origins of the delegates, however, were less varied than the birthdates or birthplaces. Although there is no thorough study of the society of Porfirian Mexico, and data on the families and properties of the delegates are spotty, their education experience is a rough indicator of their place in society. All seem to have had primary education, which alone puts them above

the average for their time. Most had preparatory training in addition, and as many as forty of the seventy delegates had college degrees--almost all in the professions and the majority in law. Thus the core of the group, including the several hacienda owners without degrees, appears to have belonged to the upper stratum of Mexican society, the families who were literate, owned substantial property, and either trained their sons to manage and inherit that property, or sent them into the professions. Some were doubtless new arrivals to this position, others of long established families, and their wealth varied from very great to quite modest, but the large majority belonged or were on the verge of belonging to this type.

FOOTNOTES

1. Four delegates, José E. Arce, Domingo Evia, Jesús Martel and Ricardo Hornedo, were surmised to be in the twenty to thirty year old bracket. José E. Arce, delegate from Guerrero, is assumed to be the younger relative of General Francisco O. Arce (1831-1903), long-time governor of the state; Domingo Evia, delegate for the Yucatán, is assumed to be related to Tabascan hacendado Manuel Evia. Ricardo Hornedo, representing Aguascalientes, is assumed to be the younger relative of Francisco G. Hornedo (1847-1890), ex-governor of the state. Jesús E. Martel is assumed to be the younger relative of Felipe Martel, representative of the Compañía Constructora del Ferrocarril de San Marcos a Nautla. If further research were to discover these delegates older, possibly brothers of the regional political elite, it would not harm the existing overall age distribution, but rather eliminate, for all practical purposes, the twenty- to thirty-year-old bracket.
2. The seven unknown are: Miguel Acosta, Emilio Alvarez, Rafael Casco, Amado García, Manuel García Yañez, Manuel Jamet and Felipe Rosas. Five have common Spanish surnames, which explains in part the difficulty in locating data, or in locating so much data, that one person is clearly being confused for another. With regard to the sixth case, Rafael Casco, I cannot determine if it is father or son who is the delegate. The seventh unidentifiable birthdate is of a delegate with a French surname, Jamet.
3. Birthdates were readily available for forty-five delegates from one, if not several of the following sources: school records, wills and inventories, notarized contracts, and biographical dictionaries. School and notarial records provided a delegate's age, while the wills and inventories listed birthdates, documented by birth, death or baptismal certificates. Discrepancies in a given birthdate, indicated by a table note, are not vast; the largest was five years and in this case, the popularity of the name, Trinidad García, suggests the source of

confusion (i.e., that different individuals may be involved).

4. Joaquín D. Casasús quoted from El País, August 11, 1905.
5. Manuel M. de Zamacona's full name was Manuel María de Zamacona y Murphy, and was also sometimes listed as Manuel María de Zamacona e Inclán. Regardless of the inconsistent maternal identifier, we can conclude that all three denominations used for Zamacona refer to the same person because of a consistency in certain biographical data (i.e., his dates of 1826-1904 and his public accomplishments). Zamacona's example demonstrates, however, the confusion that surrounds maternal lineage, and explains in part, why the question of foreign descent on the maternal side is not included in this analysis.
6. José Antonio Puebla, at sixty-seven years old in 1892 was the only representative of the older generation.
7. Tomás MacManus, born in Chihuahua, and Joaquín D. Casasús were the known exceptions. All background material on Manuel Jamet is conjecture and therefore he is also not included in the Federal District group.
8. Origins of the Jockey Club were located in Casasola's Efemérides, May 1900, p. 51.
9. In the discussion of birthdates (see Tables 2 and 3) the age parameters of the older generation were 1823 and 1844. Educational records closely parallel these parameters, defining the older generation as those born between 1823 and 1838, or men fifty-four to sixty-nine years old in 1892.
10. The age of the twenty-eighth, one Emilio Alvarez, is unknown.
11. For example see Leopoldo Zea, Positivism in Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), Josefina Vázquez de Knauth, Nacionalismo y educación en México (México: El Colegio de México, 1970) or Octavio González Cárdenas, Los cien años de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (México: Porrúa, 1972).
12. Colegios prepared their students for any professional career; seminarios prepared them for a profession in the clergy.

13. González Navarro, La vida social, p. 616.
14. See James D. Cockcroft's "Mexico's Revolutionary Intellectuals," Mexican Life, July, 1969, p. 23.
15. For more on this concept, see Frank Bonilla, "Cultural Elites," Elites in Latin America, Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 233-255.
16. The members of the older generation which lacked educational records were: Díez Gutiérrez, Luelmo, Mendizábal, Nicoli, Peña, and Trinidad García.
17. For example, Vidal Castañeda y Nájera, Director of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria in the 1880's, sat on the examining committee of José Ives Limantour, Pablo Macedo and Alberto Lombardo.
18. Nemesio García Naranjo, Memorias: La vieja escuela de jurisprudencia, Tercer Tomo (Monterrey, N.L.: Talleres de "El Porvenir," n.d.), p. 23.
19. Juan Manuel Torrea, La vida de una institución gloriosa: El Colegio Militar, 1821-1930 (México: Talleres Tipografía "Centenario," 1931), pp. 1-78.
20. These eight delegates from families who already owned haciendas were: Alcázar, Francisco de P. Castañeda, Cházari, Arcadio Escobedo, Mañón y Valle, Puebla (whose family owned urban, not rural property), Redo, and Nicolás Valenzuela.
21. From El Tiempo, January 17, 1895 cited in VPIPS, p. 334.

CHAPTER III

DELEGATES IN THE PROFESSIONS

The professions practiced by the members of the Unión Liberal included the lettered arts of law, higher education, writing, journalism and publishing as well as the military. The latter stands out somewhat from the rest, and under nineteenth century Mexican conditions one might even hesitate to consider it a profession. In the present chapter I treat the military last, in a separate section, because it serves as a transition between the professional world and public office, the topic of the following chapter.

Law

The most popular profession among the Unión Liberal delegates was law, just as the most prevalent title among them was licenciado, or licentiate, rather than engineer or doctor. Licenciado was an academic degree received by all who graduated in the law; it also amounted to a license to practice. No less than forty-two percent of the Unión Liberal participants can be identified as licenciados. The Unión Liberal group is not at all exceptional in this pattern. Aside from the clergy,

which was under attack in the later nineteenth century, the law was and long had been the first choice for members of prominent families who went into a profession at all. But as the intellectual profession, it attracted many who did not practice the law in the stricter sense.

Licenciados can be divided into two categories: those who practiced full-time, and part-time or occasional practitioners. Many of the practitioners belonged to a law firm or bufete, which survived as long as the principal partner remained in the practice; in the case of his death or change to a career in government, the firm disbanded. Routine legal business included court work involving civil suits, writing and responding to briefs as well as handling wills, inventories, marriage agreements, and business contracts. A lawyer might also be a notary as was Lic. Alberto Lombardo, who became a notario publico five years after receiving his licentiate.

While many were non-practicing licenciados, it seems that they were beginning to band together as a professional group to the extent that they wanted all practitioners to be licenciados. Though traditionally licenciados had monopolized the function of serving as legal consultants, non-degree holders could also represent clients; the title señor abogado was sometimes used to indicate that one had not received the licentiate. This was the term used, for example, in 1860, when Manuel M. de

Zamacona and ten others were prohibited from practicing law because they had "not graduated." The prohibition read:

The subcommittee of the Ilustrious College of Lawyers of this city issued a resolution celebrated the 23rd day of last month that there should be sent by the office of this secretary to the Superior Tribunal of Justice, Court of Letters and Offices, a list of the ungraduated lawyers, imploring the tribunal to be so good as not to receive any petition or suit presented by them, in order to oblige them in this way to comply with the legal requisite that they graduate, since it has not been possible to achieve this by the milder measures employed up until now.

Complying then with what was decided, I include a list of the lawyers (señores abogados) who find themselves in this position so that you will have the goodness to inform the Superior Court, asking that they deign to observe the desire of our Ilustrious College, which will duly appreciate this favor.¹

Although the Zamacona family were important Pueblan landowners, they could not combat the censure which emanated from Puebla's Colegio de Abogados, or College of Lawyers, a censure that was upheld by the national organization of lawyers. The prohibition, it is true, coincided with Zamacona's political difficulties with President Benito Juárez, but it could have been passed only in the context of a corporate concern of the profession that all practicing lawyers be licenciados.

In Table 13 we see the names of thirty licenciados; twenty-seven are known to have practiced law at some time. Ten lawyers were in business; seven of these owned

TABLE 13

UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WHO WERE LICENCIADOS
AND THEIR PRACTICE

Delegate	Remarks
1. Alvarez, Emilio	Puebla Office
2. Anaya, Ventura	Practice: Unknown
3. Arellano, Felipe	Mexico City Office
4. Caballero, Luis	Morelia Office
5. Casasús, Joaquín	Mexico City, later New York Office
6. Castañeda y Nájera, Vidal	Mexico City Office
7. Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	Occasional Practice & Hacienda
8. Elguezábal, Alejandro	Saltillo Office & Business
9. Limantour, José Ives	Occasional Practice & Hacienda
10. Llaven, Magín	Occasional Practice & Hacienda
11. Lombardo, Alberto	Mexico City Office
12. Luelmo, Pedro	Practice: Unknown
13. Macedo, Miguel	Mexico City Office
14. Macedo, Pablo	Mexico City Office
15. Mendizábal, Fernando	Occasional Practice & Hacienda
16. Nicoli, José Patricio	Mexico City Office
17. Núñez, Roberto	Mexico City Office
18. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	Mexico City Office
19. Peña, Praxedis de la	Occasional Practice & Hacienda
20. Peniche, Manuel	Mexico City Office
21. Pérez Verdía, Luis	Occasional Practice
22. Pimentel, Emilio	Occasional Practice
23. Pineda, Rosenda	Occasional Practice
24. Rayón, Francisco	Occasional Practice & Business
25. Rivas, Carlos	Occasional Practice & Business
26. Saravia, Emiliano G.	Occasional Practice & Hacienda
27. Sierra, Justo	Mexico City Office
28. Valenzuela, Jesús E.	Practice: Unknown
29. Zamacona, Manuel M.	Judge
30. Zárate, Julio	Judge

Source: Appendix A.

haciendas. Apparently these lawyers were able to combine managerial duties with congressional sessions, because all licenciados, save four, were at some point Congressmen, capitalizing on their background in constitutional law and training in debate. Half of the licenciados were located in Mexico City. These lawyers could represent regional or international interests in the Federal District through poder amplio, or power of attorney; thus they assumed the duties of business agents or brokers.

Of those who practiced full-time, part-time or occasionally, Joaquín D. Casasús was a full-time, practicing lawyer. Born in Campeche, and educated in Mérida at the Instituto Literario de Yucatán, he received professional training at the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia in Mexico City. Graduating in 1880, Joaquín initially returned to San Juan Bautista, today Villahermosa, Tabasco, where he opened a law office. Soon he was a judge in Teapa, an important regional political center, and shortly thereafter was Secretary of the state. His wages, sixty pesos per month, proved to be an inadequate incentive to continue practicing in that area since by 1882 Casasús returned to Mexico City. There he had two important patrons: one was his literary mentor and future father-in-law, the statesman and writer Lic. Ignacio Altamirano. The second was the influential politician Lic. Manuel Romero Rubio; Casasús worked in Romero Rubio's law firm

as did fellow delegates Rosendo Pineda, Justo Sierra, Roberto Núñez¹ and Emilio Pimentel. From there he became secretary of the newly formed Banco Internacional é Hipotecario.

From this point, approximately 1884, Casasús' career was characterized by concern with the legal aspects of financial issues. During this period he published La Libranza, and more significantly La cuestión de los bancos a la luz de la economía política y del derecho constitucional (1885). Over time, Casasús' interest transcended national concerns--after the 1892 convention, he attended the International Monetary Commission meetings held in Brussels. Casasús' clients, industrialists, were attracted by the international perspectives he brought to his practice. Due to the dislocations of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, Casasús was forced to relocate his practice to New York City, where he died.²

Luis Pérez Verdía exemplifies the part-time practitioner, the man whose intellectual interests and pursuits superseded his law practice. This is, of course, a distinction of degree, since all the licenciados had intellectual interests, including Casasús, who was just cited as the example of a man devoted to practice. Born and educated in Guadalajara, Pérez Verdía came from an established, landowning family and was primarily a historian and publisher. Though not lured away permanently

from Guadalajara he fulfilled his responsibilities as a federal Congressman. When in Mexico City he lived in a hotel and he gave power of attorney to fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Emilio Pardo Jr., to manage his Mexico City business affairs. Pardo's responsibilities included paying Pérez Verdía's debts and federal taxes as well as collecting money owed him. Pérez Verdía's own legal activities centered on administrating familial affairs, much of which concerned his mother's property--handling gifts she made to the church, and the like. We may presume that a good many of the part-time practitioners followed this pattern, limiting their active practice to representing the interest of important families of which they were a part. They had probably been given a legal education with just that in mind.

Even those who finally chose not to pursue a law practice often used their professional training to launch their subsequent careers, as in the case of Lic. Rosendo Pineda, Vice President of the Unión Liberal Convention. A Juchiteco Indian, Pineda was born and educated in Oaxaca, relocating in Mexico City as an adult. Beginning his career in Romero Rubio's law firm, he became the chief partner's private secretary and liaison with Congress. Eventually Congressional business occupied the majority of Pineda's professional energy (while gambling captured his leisure time). In spite of the fact that Pineda was

integrated into the financial and political elite, being a consultant to the Banco de Londres y México for example, he died in 1914 impoverished in Mexico City.

In short, the above examples may provide some perspective on the breadth of the utility and application of a legal career.

Academia

Porfirian educational institutions provided one source of employment for the political elite. Twenty-one delegates, nearly one-third of the Unión Liberal Convention, worked in academia at some time. Appraised as a group, the majority were members of the younger generation, born in the Central region, and published authors, with no military experience. Generally they taught law, history and political economy in Mexico City schools, in particular the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia and the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.

But academic activity was even less an exclusive occupation than was the law. Traditionally, university and secondary instruction had been the part-time activity of intellectuals who made most of their living from the law and the church, and little had changed by 1892. No less than thirteen of the academicians were licenciados, and some actually practiced law; eleven were journalists. All twenty doubled as Congressmen. One had to be an intellectual and in some sense a professional to teach in

an institution of higher learning, but in another sense academic activity was often an ornamental topping to a successful career.

Four titles characterized the academics. In ascending order of prestige they were Lecturer, Professor, Catedrático and Director. The prestigious academic position of catedrático had at one time been the equivalent to holder of a university chair, but by the Porfirian times it signified one who had a certain academic specialization. The most common academic position was naturally that of professor.

Probably not a single one of the twenty delegates in academia gained his principal sustenance from the profession. For example, the successful Mexico City lawyer, Emilio Pardo Jr., taught Selected Cases two mornings a week at the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia. The course, fondly remembered by former student Nemesio García Naranjo, was conducted in an informal atmosphere, and Pardo employed the technique of devil's advocate to stimulate his students.³ (Pardo co-authored the Diccionario de derecho y administraciones.)

Half of the Unión Liberal delegates employed in academia were also at some point directors of educational institutions. In Mexico City directorships came as the reward for a successful academic or public career. Typical of the rewarded academic was Vidal Castañeda y Nájera,

whose long career in public education was consistently distinguished. Briefly in the 1870's he was Minister of Public Education and more permanently secretary of the national College of Lawyers. This organization, founded in 1829, included among its charter members Vidal Castañeda y Nájera's father, Manuel de Castañeda y Nájera. Vidal was also a practicing lawyer.⁴

By 1892 Vidal Castañeda y Nájera was Director of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, clearly an important even if sometimes controversial institution. As Director, Vidal was involved in a major student strike in 1892, when sixty students were arrested for publicly protesting Díaz' fourth reelection. They also criticized the school, claiming that 1) teachers were old and senile, 2) that the scientific method had been abandoned, and 3) that examinations were fixed. Castañeda y Nájera denied these latter charges and defended his own administration.⁵ It should be noted that whether examinations were fixed or not, Vidal served on the examining committee of several Unión Liberal delegates, specifically José Ives Limantour, Alberto Lombardo and Pablo Macedo. Despite the accusations of poor administration, the "Generalito," as he was affectionately called by admiring students, continued in his post as Director until his death in 1903.

The activities of financier and businessman Ramón

Alcázar typify the ornamental appointment common in educational, if not academic institutions. Born and raised in Guanajuato, Alcázar continued to reside in his native state, surrounded by his haciendas, mines, and bank. Late in his career, when his son, Ramón Alcázar Jr., was an engineering student in the Federal District, the prosperous entrepreneur relocated in the capital, where he represented Guanajuato in the Senate. A generous supporter of President Porfirio Díaz, Alcázar also made donations of money and objects to the national Museum. Ultimately he became the museum's director.⁶

Despite the fact that the majority of the academics among the delegates resided in the Federal District, some made significant contributions to the academic life of provincial areas. José Patricio Nicoli was instrumental in establishing the Instituto Literario y Científico of Sonora, and Blas Escontría was the first director of San Luis Potosí's Instituto Literario y Ciencia; both of these schools were modeled after the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria in Mexico City. Luis Caballero and Luis Pérez Verdía taught in regional law schools. Apolinar Castillo began his professional career as a professor of chemistry in Oaxaca, transferring to Orizaba; eventually he became governor of Veracruz. In contrast to Mexico City, directorships in provincial areas were less symbolic

of the crowning of a career; Escontría, for example, was only thirty-nine when he assumed leadership of the Instituto.

Table 14 details the academic positions held by the twenty-one delegates. Only two, Apolinar Castillo and Francisco Bulnes, taught courses in the physical sciences, though history and political economy were treated as part of the positive sciences.

Published Works

Another pursuit, in principle separate from academia but in practice carried out by the same people, was writing, be it of literary pieces or of technical monographs.⁷ Since the delegates who authored published works were almost the same ones who were employed in academia, the majority were younger, low on military experience, and high in law, journalism and government, especially membership in Congress.

Published works focused on several subjects, the most popular being history. Ten of the delegates wrote thirty historical studies that included analysis of the Juárez presidency, biography, and regional histories. Writing about or from his regional experiences was Trinidad García's Los mineros mexicanos; García himself was a successful Zacatecan mineowner. José Patricio Nicoli, a transplanted Yucatecan, was in 1879 Sonora's Secretary of State; in 1885 he wrote a tract combining

TABLE 14

UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WITH OCCUPATIONS IN ACADEMIA¹

Delegate	Position (Year)	Subject Taught	Institution
1. Alcázar, Ramón	Director (1902)		National Museum
2. Anaya, Ventura	Professor		Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
3. Bulnes, Francisco	Professor (1899)	Political Economy	Escuela Nacional Preparatoria
	Professor	Hydrographics & Meteorology	Escuela Nacional de Minería
4. Caballero, Luis	Professor	Philosophy	Colegio de San Nicolás (Michoacán)
	Professor	Constitutional Law	Universidad de Michoacán
5. Casasús, Joaquín	Catedrático	Political Economy	Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
			Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros
			Escuela Nacional de Comercio
6. Castañeda y Nájera, Vidal	President & Founder		Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
	Director (1872)		Colegio Nacional de Abogados
	Secretary (1875)		Escuela Nacional Preparatoria
	Director (1880-1900)		Oaxaca
7. Castillo, Apolinar	Professor (1870)	Chemistry	
	Professor (1875)	Chemistry	Orizaba

TABLE 14 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Position (Year)	Subject Taught	Institution
8. Escontría, Blas	Director (1886)		Instituto Científico de San Luis Potosí
9. García, Trinidad	Professor	Liberal Arts	La Escuela de Sordo-Mudos
	Director (1904)		La Escuela de Sordo-Mudos
10. Limantour, José Ives	Lecturer (1876)	Political Economy	Escuela Superior de Comercio
	Interim Professor (1878)	International Law	Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
11. Macedo, Miguel	Professor (1889)	Penal Law & Others	Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
12. Macedo, Pablo	Professor	Political Economy	Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
	Director		Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
	Director (1908)		Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia
13. Nicoli, José Patricio	Co-Founder		Escuela Nacional de Preparatoria
14. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	Professor (1899)	Business Law	Instituto Literario y Científico, Sonora
	Professor	Selected Cases	Escuela Nacional de Comercio
	Professor	History	Jurisprudencia
15. Pérez Verdía, Luis	Professor	International Law & Diplomacy	Universidad de Guadalajara
	Professor		Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia

TABLE 14 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Position (Year)	Subject Taught	Institution
16. Pimentel, Emilio	Catedrático (1899)	Administrative & Constitutional Law	Escuela Nacional de Comercio
17. Rivas Gómez, Francisco	Professor (1885)	Greek	Escuela Nacional Preparatoria
	Professor		Escuela Normal para Profesoras
18. Rocha, Sóstenes	Director (1880-1883)		Colegio Nacional Militar
19. Sierra, Justo	Professor (1878-1899)	History	Escuela Nacional Preparatoria
	Catedrático (1892)	History	Escuela Nacional Preparatoria
20. Sosa, Francisco	Founder (1911)		Universidad Nacional
	Professor		
	Director (last post)		Biblioteca Nacional
21. Zamacoña, Manuel	Professor	History	Escuela Nacional Preparatoria
	Director (1899)		Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios para Mujeres

TABLE 14 (cont'd.)

¹Data for Table 14 were culled from the Fondo Expedientes de Escolaridad, Serie Archivo General, 1859-1893; the 1er Directorio Estadístico de la República Mexicana, 1890; the Gufa de la República Mexicana, El Distrito Federal, 1899. Therefore, the dates that appear in Table 14 reflect these sources. Only the Archivo Escolaridad, 1859-1893, presents a broader picture, but it was limited to the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria and its predecessor, El Colegio de San Ildefonso.

these two aspects of his experiences, entitled El Estado de Sonora: Yaquis y Mayas. Historians Julio Zárate and Luis Pérez Verdía wrote local histories of their home regions, Veracruz and Jalisco respectively.

Finance and commerce was the second most popular category, with publications primarily by lawyers and demonstrating a practical concern with the issues of development. These treatises were the logical off-shoot of a law practice that catered to national and international investors. Included here are the contributions of Licenciados Casasús, Limantour, and Pablo and Miguel Macedo to the development of political economy. By publishing their monographs early in their careers they met the needs of their clients while pioneering in this new academic field, later renamed economics. The lawyer's concern with these topics continues today in Latin America.

Closely related were four pieces authored by three delegates on Mexican diplomacy. Two other delegates, Bulnes and Limantour, published after 1910: Bulnes analyzed post-Porfirian Mexican affairs, while Limantour wrote an autobiographical study of his public career. I consider both apologists for the Porfiriato.

Some published works related to a delegate's lifelong research or vocation, as in the case of Ignacio Bejarano's Actas de cabildo de la ciudad de México, 1550-1561. Himself a civic leader and regidor (council member),

Bejarano managed the ayuntamiento's weekly bulletin, El Estado Municipal Libre, and held other municipal offices, such as director of the city's bureau of statistics and festivals. Towards the end of the century Bejarano's name appeared often in the papers in this capacity; he was the individual responsible for organizing funeral ceremonies for the nation's heroes, as well as the exhibitions at the St. Louis and Paris World Fairs. Also reflecting professional concerns were General Sóstenes Rocha's nine military manuals.

The nineteenth century was a time of great interest in the natural sciences. At the level of philosophy or ideology, scientism affected several of the delegates: biological determinism was attractive to Bulnes and Limantour, and also I suspect, to José Patricio Nicoli.⁸ But though traces appear in their writings, full-scale publications on science are rare. Nor do many works reflect an interest in technology, which lay at the foundation of the industrialization process. By and large, scientific tracts appeared in the Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics; five authors published their research in this prestigious journal. The Revista nacional de ciencia y letras combined science and literature; three delegates published in it.

In the area of belles lettres, despite the considerable production of both poetry and prose, no one was limited to

the literary--though some were most distinguished by their literary accomplishments. Jesús Valenzuela belongs in this category for his poetry, which was preoccupied with the scientific:

To Love! To Think! The spheres of science,
if perhaps discouragement does not limit us,
grows with work and hope;
the reward is worth the effort.⁹

A facet of literary works not to be ignored was the dedication. Through this device writers identified their intellectual community, as well as their supporters or patrons. Valenzuela dedicated the 1904 edition of Libre Lira, published by fellow delegate Ignacio Escalante, to his boyhood friend and then governor of Chihuahua, Enrique Creel. The book's first plate recognizes the nation's vice president, Ramon Corral, also a northerner. Justo Sierra, one-time professor of the author's at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, was also honored in this collection of poems, as were fellow delegates Casasús, Pineda, and Joaquín Redo (the latter was governor of Sinaloa, a North-Pacific state).

Eulogies might also be included in the literary category for their sentimental aspects; two delegates, Casasús and Limantour, wrote several. And finally, one of the many of the delegates who were international travelers wrote his travel accounts. Table 15 summarizes the data on published works as to frequency of publication; the classification of works divides the pieces by

TABLE 15
SUMMARY OF PUBLISHED WORKS AUTHORED
BY UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Topic	Number of Published Works	Number of Author-Delegates
History (includes biography and regional history)	30	10
Finance & Commerce	11	3
National Politics	9	3
Military	9	1
Law	4	2
Diplomacy	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
Subtotal	67	22
Literary		
Poetry	10	5
Prose	9	4
Eulogies	3	2
Travel Accounts	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	23	12
Scientific	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	97	41

writings related to politics and the literate professions, followed by the scientific tracts.

Table 16 lists selected publications by author. In this overview some authors can be identified as consistently publishing, others infrequently doing so. The consistent authors, writers whose publications spanned their careers, followed a long-standing convention, writing on a variety of subjects from science to politics to

TABLE 16

SELECTED LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS
AUTHORED BY UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES¹

1. Bejarano, Ignacio

Actas de cabildo de la ciudad de México, 1550-1561.

2. Bulnes, Francisco

Sobre el hemisferio norte: Once mil leguas; impresiones de viaje en Cuba, los Estados Unidos, el Japon, China, Cochinchina, Egipto y Europa (México, 1875).

La deuda inglesa: colección de artículos publicados en el Siglo XIX (México, 1885).

"Estudio" in La Crisis Monetaria (México, 1886).

Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823-1889 (México, 1889),
co-authored with J. D. Casasús, A. Chavero, G. Prieto
and others.

La independencia de Cuba en relacion con el criterio americano y los intereses de México (México, 1897).

El porvenir de las naciones latinoamericanas ante las recientes conquistas de Europa y Norteamérica (México, 1899).

El pulque: Estudio científico (México, 1899).

Discurso pronunciado por el señor ingeniero D. Francisco Bulnes, delegado del Estado de Morelos en la sesion del 21 de junio de 1903, presentando y fundando la candidatura del señor general D. Porfirio Díaz (México, 1903).

Las grandes mentiras de nuestra historia. La nacion y el ejercito en las guerras extranjeras (México, 1904).

El verdadero Juárez y la verdad sobre la Intervención y el Imperio (Mexico, 1904).

Juárez y las revoluciones de Ayutla y de Reforma (México, 1905).

TABLE 16 (cont'd.)

2. Bulnes, (cont'd.)

Le Nazas (Mexico, 1909).

La guerra de independencia, Hidalgo e Iturbide (México, 1910).

The Whole Truth about Mexico: President Wilson's Responsibility (New York, 1916).

El verdadero Díaz y la revolución (México, 1920).

Charges Against the Díaz Administration.

3. Casasús, Joaquín D. (Pseudonym: Efraín M. Lozano)

La cuestión de los bancos (México, 1885).

La reforma de la ley de instituciones de crédito y las instituciones de crédito en México (México, 1908).

En honor de los muertos (Delivered 1896, published: México, 1910).

Musa antigua, poetry (México, 1904).

Cayo Valerio Catulo: su vida y sus obras (México, 1904).

Versos (México, 1910).

Cien sonetos (México, 1912).

El libro para ti.

Cartas literarias.

La libranza.

Los problemas monetarios (Paris).

Discursos in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics.

4. Cházari. Esteban

Discursos in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics.

TABLE 16 (cont'd.)

5. García, Trinidad

Los mineros mexicanos (México, 1895).

Discursos in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics.

6. Limantour, José Ives

"Noticia sobre el congreso internacional de ciencias" in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics, 1878.

Memoria sobre la vida y la obra de D. Carlos Calvo (México, 1910).

Apuntes de vida pública (México, 1965).

Published: El Foro, a law journal.

7. Macedo, Miguel S.

Datos para el estudio de nuevo código civil de distrito federal y de exposición de motivos del proyecto de reformas al código penal (México, 1871).

Contributed to México: Su evolución social (México, 1900, 1902).

Mi Barrio: Ensayo histórico (México, 1930).

Apuntes para la historia del derecho penal mexicano (México, 1931).

Discursos published in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics.

Contributed to El Foro, Limantour's law journal.

8. Macedo, Pablo

Diccionario de derecho y administraciones (with Emilio Pardo, Jr. Began publishing, 1874: reprinted, 1899).

La cuestión de los bancos (México, 1890).

TABLE 16 (cont'd.)

8. Macedo, (cont'd.)

Contributed to México: Su evolución social (México, 1900-1902).

La evolución mercantil. Comunicaciones y obras públicas. La hacienda pública. Tres monografías. (México, 1905).

9. Nicoli, José Patricio

"Las ruinas de Yucatán y los viajeros" in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics, 1870.

El Estado de Sonora: Yaquis y Mayas, Estudio Histórico (México, 1885).

10. Pardo, Emilio Jr.

Diccionario de derecho y administraciones (with Pablo Macedo. Began publishing 1874: reprinted, 1899).

Contributed to México: Su evolución social (México, 1900-1902).

11. Peniche, Manuel

"Historia de las relaciones de España y México con Inglaterra, sobre el establecimiento de Belice" in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics, 1869.

12. Pérez Verdía, Luis

Compendio de la historia de México desde sus primeros tiempos hasta la caída del segundo imperio (1883).

Apuntes históricos de la guerra de independencia en Jalisco (Guadalajara, 1886).

Biografía de Jesús López-Portillo (México, 1908).

Historia particular del Estado de Jalisco, 3 vols. (Guadalajara, 1910).

Biografía del Sr. D. Pruciliano Sánchez (Guadalajara, 1881).

TABLE 16 (cont'd.)

12. Pérez Verdía, Luis (cont'd.)

Compendio de la historia de México (París, 1892).

Discursos in El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics.

Published: La Revista Literaria (Guadalajara).

13. Pimentel, Emilio

Studies in Geography and Astronomy.

14. Rivas Gómez, Francisco

Textbook on the Greeks.

15. Rocha, Sóstenes

La ciencia de la guerra (París, 1873).

El enquiridión para los sargentos y cabos del ejército, 7 vols. (México, 1880).

Los principales episodios del sitio de Querétaro (México, 1947).

Ayuda de memoria del oficial mexicano en campaña (México, 1880).

La guerra del Danubio, 1877-1878 by Camilo Farcy. Translated by Rocha (Oaxaca, 1881).

16. Sierra, Justo

El angel porvenir. Serialized articles for newspapers (México, 1869).

Piedad, a play.

Cuentos románticos (reissued, París, 1896).

En tierra yankee (México, 1897-98).

México: Evolución política del pueblo mexicano (Mexico, 1900-1902, Anthology with contributions by fellow delegates Pablo Macedo, Miguel Macedo, Emilio Pardo, Jr. and Julio Zárate.

TABLE 16 (cont'd.)

16. Sierra, Justo (cont'd.)

Juárez, su obra y su tiempo (México, 1905-06).

Poetry

Contributed to literary journals, such as La Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias.

17. Sosa, Francisco

Manual de biografía yucateca (México, 1866).

Magdalena (México, 1871).

Doce leyendas (México, 1877).

El episcopado mexicano (México, 1877).

Biografías de los mexicanos distinguidos (México, 1884).

Los contemporáneos datos para la biografía de algunos mexicanos distinguidos en las ciencias, en las letras, y en las artes (México, 1884).

Las estatuas de la Reforma (México, 1890).

Escritores y poetas sudamericanos (México, 1900).

Efemérides históricas y biográficas (México, 1883).

Recuerdos, collection of sonnets (México, 1888).

Contributed to literary journals, such as La Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias.

18. Valenzuela, Jesús E.

Almas y carmenes (México, 1904).

Lira libre (México, 1906).

Manejo de rimas (México, 1907).

Published: La Revista Moderna de México.

TABLE 16 (cont'd.)

18. Valenzuela, Jesús E. (cont'd.)

Contributed to literary journals such as La Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias.

19. Zamacona, Manuel M.

Poetry

20. Zárate, Julio

Los estados de la federación mexicana.

Monografía del Estado de Veracruz (1897).

Compendio de historia general de México para uso de las escuelas (México, 1892).

Elementos de historia general

México a través de los siglos

Discursos for El Boletín of the National Society of Geography and Statistics.

Contributed to Mexico: Su evolución social (México, 1900-1902).

¹Many of the titles included here were culled from secondary sources. Because these sources often fail to provide full publication data, some entries are incomplete. In spite of this bibliographic void, all titles collected are cited, rather than eliminating any because of lack of publication information.

literature; they did not concentrate on a specialty. Francisco Sosa, for example, who is remembered primarily for his biographical dictionaries, also wrote sonnets. Justo Sierra, Joaquín Casasús and Francisco Bulnes, also prolific authors, included prose and poetry among their credits.

Journalism

Nineteen delegates or approximately one-fourth of the convention members wrote for newspapers, making journalism another important professional activity; the majority of these professionals were already cited in the preceding sections on law, academia and published works. Journalism bridged the generations: like the law, the field was equally represented among older and younger delegates. The similarity between journalism and law continues: newspapers, like law firms, were short-lived enterprises. It was not uncommon for several of the Unión Liberal delegates to write for the same paper at the same time. The most significant case found was La Libertad, which had no less than eight delegates on its staff, while four delegates worked simultaneously for El Siglo XIX.¹⁰ Another characteristic of this fluid situation was that some delegates wrote for many different papers concurrently.

The delegates' positions with the press ranged from

editor-owner to writer. Because of the multiplicity of other professional activities engaged in by the majority of those involved in journalism, it is reasonable to assume that most delegates acted as contributors, or colaboradores, part-time personnel rather than full-time staff writers or editors. As such, they may well have been paid by the column inch. Many of them bore the ambiguous title redactor, which can mean editor, reporter or writer. By and large those who practiced in this field began writing early in their careers, as in the cases of Francisco Bulnes, Joaquín Casasús, Justo Sierra, Francisco Sosa and Julio Zárate.

At least one-third of the twenty-nine papers surveyed for this study were published as dailies. The content of one of these papers has been analysed as follows: 30% reserved for announcements or advertising; 10% for foreign news cables; 6% for office gossip (chisme de comesaría); 3% for social and personal items; 2% for news from Belén jail; 1% for business and finance; .5% for agriculture and mining; 3% for promotions of large firms, with .5% remaining for miscellaneous notices. Reporting of general, local news, other than ayuntamiento announcements, did not appear until the 1890's.¹¹ Table 17 summarizes the newspapers surveyed for this study.

Since nineteen out of the twenty-nine papers surveyed in Table 17 were published in the Federal District, it is

TABLE 17
SUMMARY OF NEWSPAPERS SURVEYED

Mexico City Newspapers	Number
Dailies	9
Others	<u>10</u>
	19
Regional Newspapers	
Gulf Region	7
Others	<u>3</u>
	<u>10</u>
Total	29

natural that most of the journalists should have written for the Mexico City press. Of the ten regional papers, seven emanated from the Gulf region.

Not surprisingly, the Gulf region's publications represented the interests of a specific class prominent in that area's flourishing economy, the agriculturalists or hacendados. Delegate Magín Llaven, an hacendado with a background in law, wrote in the 1870's for the Sovereign (La Soberanía), a Tabascan daily. Furthermore, delegate Nicolás Valenzuela managed the Boletín of the National Agricultural Chamber of Tabasco (Camera Agrícola Nacional de Tabasco) in addition to his writing for the daily, El

Progreso de Tabasco. A final link between Unión Liberal delegates, the press, and the Gulf region's commercial interests is found in José Patricio Nicoli's treatises on the Mayas and Yaquis. This latter study appeared in the Boletín of the national society of geography and statistics.¹²

Journalism in nineteenth-century Mexico could be as volatile as it was voluble, with public arguments originating in the press escalating to duels. An example of a politically motivated duel found among the Unión Liberal delegates centered on an apparently antagonistic article published in General Sóstenes Rocha's El Combate. Reportedly the article criticized those officers who consorted with the French during the mid-century intervention. The article provoked one General Antonio Gayon to defend his reputation--he was unsuccessful in this endeavor.¹³ In most cases, however, journalism was less dramatic. Table 18 details the delegates' journalistic experiences.

Publishing

Twelve delegates were publishers. Divided evenly among members of the older and younger generations, most combined publishing with related intellectual activities and congressional office. The exception to this pattern was Ignacio Escalante, whose monolithic concentration on

TABLE 18

UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES IN JOURNALISM

Name	Position	Newspaper	City
1. Arellano, Felipe	Publisher/writer	La Nueva Era	Cd. Juárez
2. Bejarano, Igancio	Publisher/writer	El Estado Municipal Libre	D. F.
3. Bulnes, Francisco	Editor	La Libertad	D. F.
	Writer	La Revista	D. F.
		Universal	
	Director	El Siglo XIX	D. F.
	Editor	Mexico Financiero	D. F.
	Editor	La Prensa	D. F.
	Writer	El Universal	D. F.
4. Casasús, Joaquín	Editor	La Libertad	D. F.
	Editor	El Partido Liberal	D. F.
	Writer	El Eco de Teapa	Tabasco
	Editor	La Unión Liberal	Tabasco
5. Castillo, Apolinar	Editor	El Partido Liberal	D. F.
6. Limancour, José Ives	Director	La Tribuna	Veracruz
	Editor	La Libertad	D. F.
7. Llaven, Magín	Writer	La Soberanía Popular	Tabasco
8. Lombardo, Alberto	Writer	La Libertad	D. F.
9. Macedo, Miguel	Editor	La Libertad	D. F.
10. Peniche, Manuel	Writer	El Pueblo	Merida
11. Rocha, Sóstenes	Publisher/writer	El Combate	D. F.
12. Saravia, Emiliano	Editor	Unknown	Cd. Durango

TABLE 18 (cont'd.)

Name	Position	Newspaper	City
13. Sierra, Justo	Writer	El Monitor	D. F.
	Writer	Republicano	
	Writer	El Domingo	D. F.
	Director	La Tribuna	D. F.
	Editor	La Libertad	D. F.
	Writer	El Federalista	D. F.
	Writer	El Mundo	
	Writer	El Renacimiento	D. F.
	Writer	El Buen Público	D. F.
	Editor	La Revista Universal	D. F.
	Editor	El Siglo XIX	D. F.
14. Sosa, Francisco	Writer	La Vida de México	D. F.
	Writer	La Revista Universal	D. F.
	Writer	El Renacimiento	D. F.
	Publisher/writer	El Radical	D. F.
15. Valenzuela, Jesús	Editor	La Libertad	D. F.
	Writer	El Mundo	D. F.
16. Valenzuela, Nicolás	Director	Boletín de la Camara Agrícola Nacional	Chihuahua
	Writer	El Progreso de Tabasco	Tabasco
17. Velázquez, Eduardo	Writer	El Combate	Tabasco
18. Zamcona, Manuel	Director/publisher Director/writer	El Siglo XIX	D. F.
	Director/writer	Diario del Gobierno	
19. Zárate, Julio	Writer	El Globo	D. F.
		El Eco de País	Atlixco

Source: Appendix A.

the publishing business not only distinguished him from the other eleven, but merits attention as an example of an impresor or printer-publisher. With over 25,000 pesos invested in equipment, Taller de Escalante serviced the Banco Nacional, the Correo Nacional (national post office) and the Boletín of the national society of geography and statistics. Also numbered among his clients were fellow delegates Casasús, Valenzuela and Sierra, whose literary works he published. In 1909 Escalante died at his home, which was located on top of his business office at San Andres 69, being a block or so from the Alameda.

In contrast to Escalante, who derived his income primarily from publishing, several of the publishers were motivated by objectives connected with broader intellectual or political activities. Jesús Valenzuela, for example, was a wealthy Chihuahuan landowner, lawyer and poet. It was primarily as a vehicle for the productions of his own school, the modernists, that he financed the Revista Moderna, a fortnightly literary and to a lesser degree scientific journal that endured for thirteen years. Predictably, the journal ceased shortly after Valenzuela's death in 1911.¹⁴

Ignacio Escudero's El Hombre Libre had a short-term political objective: to secure the founder's place in Durango's gubernatorial office, a goal which Escudero in fact attained. Sebastián Camacho also harbored political

ambitions, while continuing a familial tradition; his father, an important Mexican scholar (who translated Benjamin Constant into Spanish), politician and diplomat, also named Sebastián Camacho (1791-1847) had dabbled in the press too. During the Porfiriato, congressional debates which dealt with selection of appropriate textbooks for the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, were detailed in Camacho's publication, La Libertad (1787-1884?). This Mexico City daily, as mentioned above, united eight Unión Liberal delegates in a common enterprise. Despite all this, the principal occupation of Camacho was that of a banker. Table 19 provides the data on the publishing activities of all twelve of these delegates.

The Lettered Arts as a Unit

The professional lives of Unión Liberal delegates manifest a cohesive quality, suggesting that their varied activities embody a unitary type of intellectual career. By and large, they all received the same comprehensive education in a college or university. The literate professions indeed lacked full specialization, and the free circulation of participants from one activity to another was characteristic, but this was not a chaotic system; the same general range of activity appears in one individual after another. Lawyer-teacher-writer was clearly a single spectrum, quite distinct in the minds

TABLE 19
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES IN PUBLISHING

Name	Newspaper	City
1. Arellano, Felipe	La Nueva Era	Cd. Juárez
2. Bejarano, Ignacio	El Municipal Libre	D. F.
3. Camacho, Sebastián	La Libertad	D. F.
4. Castillo, Apolinar	La Tribuna	Veracruz
5. Escalante, Ignacio	El Taller de Escalante	D. F.
6. Escudero, Ignacio	El Hombre Libre	Durango (?)
7. Limantour, José Ives	El Foro	D. F.
8. Pérez Verdía, Luis	La República Literaria	Guadalajara
9. Rocha, Sóstenes	El Combate	D. F.
10. Sosa, Francisco	El Radical	D. F.
11. Valenzuela, Jesús	Revista Moderna de México	D. F.
12. Zamacona, Manuel	El Siglo XIX	D. F.

of those involved, even if the emphasis varied somewhat from person to person. Note that there are no physicians (and, of course, no clergymen) in this group.¹⁵

Thus their education and the multi-faceted aspects of their professional lives in law, academia, journalism and publishing distinguished the practitioners of the lettered arts from other sectors within the Porfirian

political elite, for example from the military. At the 1892 convention the literate professionals tended to be the younger generation, to be born in the central region and to have no military experience. These tendencies contrast sharply with those of professional soldiers, who were overwhelmingly from the older generation and from provincial areas, with little or no higher education. Indeed, the dichotomy in characteristics of the two groups has convinced me to consider the military men separately from the other professionals.

The Military

Political and ideological issues were often resolved in early nineteenth century Mexico by military force. Twice foreign invasions interrupted the civil strife, the first by the United States in 1846-1848 and the second by the French from 1862-1867. Consequently, prior to the Porfiriato, officers had ample opportunity for service, leading some to a position of national distinction. On the other hand, the Porfiriato, also known in its time as the Pax Porfiriana, ushered in an era of stability after six decades of armed struggle. Most of the military men in the Unión Liberal had, naturally enough, first come to prominence in the time of frequent conflicts.

The 1892 Unión Liberal Convention had on its roster nine military officers who reached the rank of colonel or

higher. Hojas de servicios, or military records, housed at the Archivo Nacional de la Defensa, Mexico City are available for six of the nine officers. Of the unrecorded, two only achieved the status of colonel, while the third was part of the regional or state military machinery, as opposed to being part of the federal forces. Table 20 identifies the nine officers.

As mentioned above, the majority of officers differed from the delegates who participated in the lettered arts, in that they lacked formal professional training, were born in provincial areas, and were members of the older generation. Five generals reached their highest rank prior to the Porfiriato; though they were professional peers of the President, they had not always been Porfiristas. Such was the case, for example, with General Mariano Escobedo, the president and senior military officer of the Unión Liberal. Escobedo began active service during the American Invasion of 1846; twenty years later he was made Division General by President Benito Juárez. Born in Galeana, Nuevo León, his family had resided there for some three generations, since 1713. Spaniards living in the north had long been accustomed to combat against the mobile Indians of the area, and the military tradition was strong in the Escobedo family.¹⁶

When Díaz assumed the presidency in 1876, Escobedo was Minister of War in Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada's

TABLE 20
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES FROM THE MILITARY

Delegate	Highest Rank (Date)	Hojas de Servicio
1. Arellano, Felipe	Colonel (1875)	No
2. Escobedo, Mariano	Division General (1866)	Yes
3. Escudero, Ignacio	Division General (1893)	Yes
4. Evia, Domingo	Colonel (date unknown)	No
5. Lomelí, Sabás	Brigadier General (1884)	No
6. Ramírez, Francisco	Brigadier General (1884)	Yes
7. Rivas, Carlos	Brigadier General (1861)	Yes
8. Rocha, Sóstenes	Division General (1871)	Yes
9. Sanginés, Agustín	Division General (1914)	Yes

government. Together with Romero Rubio and others, including fellow delegate General Sóstenes Rocha, Escobedo fled from Mexico in the hope of arranging for armaments and organizing a counter revolution from the United States. Unsuccessful in these attempts, he returned and was kept under arrest on his Nuevo León hacienda for these anti-Díaz activities.¹⁷

Escobedo's professional services were employed again during Manuel González' presidency, 1880-1884. He was appointed Secretary of War for 1880-1882. In 1882 he was designated President of the Supreme Court of Military

Justice, in which post he continued until his death in 1902. Prior to the Porfiriato, Escobedo spent many productive years in the north. Governor of his natal state, he also conducted hacienda business from San Miguel Allende, moving to San Luis Potosí when he became that state's governor. During the Porfiriato he settled in Tacubaya, a suburb of Mexico City, where at the age of seventy-six he died. He was given a full state funeral, President Díaz in attendance.

Because the turbulence of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century provided great opportunity for military advancement to persons not formally trained, the majority of national heroes, of whom Escobedo is an archetype, cannot be traced to the national military college, nor can most of the military men in the Unión Liberal. An exception is General Sóstenes Rocha, an academic chauvinist who made much of his formal professional instruction and demeaned those in the military hierarchy who lacked it. Of Escobedo, his former commander and long-time political associate, Rocha wrote:

General Mariano Escobedo is an uneducated man, having always lacked the necessary means to become educated. But, up to a certain point, and in all that does not require precise military science, his clear intelligence and his great physical and moral activity have been able to make up for this defect. He is no bully/fighter, but he is excessively touchy on points of honor, and capable of affronting even one of the best intentioned democrats who serve in Mexico under the banner of the great

progressive party. The secret of the brilliant victories he obtained during the war of Intervention should be attributed more to the special good judgement that he always observed in the selection of his lieutenants and to his great activity than to the personal qualities that constitute a good soldier.¹⁸

As with Escobedo, Rocha's career in the military reflects the ups and downs of the professional soldier during an era of political instability. Rocha began active service in the Engineer Corps at the age of twenty-three, fighting for the constitutional government--his employer--against Juárez' Revolution of Ayutla. Eventually he defected, switching in time to join the victorious "Liberal" forces. For his successful efforts against the French (under General Escobedo) President Juárez promoted him to División General. As a professional soldier in the Juárez government, Rocha effectively subdued local political rebellions, among them Díaz' Plan of Noria in 1872. In the face of Díaz' growing popularity and strength in 1876, Rocha surrendered early to Díaz' Tuxtepec Revolution and left the country. During Díaz' first administration, 1876-1880, Rocha absented himself to France, visiting military colleges and writing.

Like other prominent political personalities, Rocha returned to Mexico when General Manuel González assumed the presidency in 1880. González appointed Rocha director of his alma mater, the national military college. Rocha's continued political vulnerability was reduced by

publishing El Combate, a popular and aggressive twice weekly newspaper. In time, El Combate supported Porfirio Díaz' indefinite reelection as well as other issues that served Rocha's political career.

Essentially the career pattern exemplified by Escobedo and Rocha can be described as that of a military figure, important before Díaz' ascent to power. Although at one time on the "wrong" side, eventually they were reconciled into the Porfirian political elite, still holding military posts but also involved in other things, be it haciendas, business or gubernatorial posts. This pattern was common as well to Ignacio Escudero and Carlos Rivas, who also survived politically the turmoil of the nineteenth century, though Rivas represents the officer who did not continue active association with the military. In 1862 Carlos Rivas was Comandante Militar of Tepic; by 1867 he was a Brigadier General, commended by Maximilian for distinguished service to the Empire. If the fall of Maximilian and Carlotta thwarted Rivas' military career (he opted instead for a law degree), it did not stop him politically or financially. For example, when he was serving as a senator in 1891, the federal government paid Rivas 9,600 pesos for two houses it bought in Tepic in order to establish federal offices.¹⁹ Although Carlos was not born in Tepic himself, his brother, who went under the name of Francisco R. Gómez, was born there.

Representing the territory in Congress, Francisco, the brother, died in his Tepic hacienda in 1919.

From a different generation than Escobedo, Rocha, or Rivas, was Agustín Sanginés, who did not become a Division General until 1914, almost three years after Díaz escaped to France. During the Porfiriato, Sanginés was Jefe Político in Baja California, where scandal surrounded but did not diminish his career. Jailed initially by revolutionary forces, Sanginés was soon re-activated; his post-Porfirian service included organizing an irregular auxiliary core in Sonora (1912) and Hidalgo (1913); also he was instrumental in destroying Orozco's forces. Later he was Treasurer for the State of Mexico (1918), retiring in México City in 1920 on a military pension.²⁰

Military men such as these were (with some exceptions) quite distinct in their characteristics and their activities from the literate professionals, but both types ranged far beyond the narrower world of a professional specialty. The military members of the Unión Liberal, largely senior figures and from peripheral regions, adroitly combined public and private business and managed to survive and prosper long beyond the turbulent period that brought them eminence.

Summary

Despite the distinctions in age, regional origins, and educational background between the professionals who practiced in the lettered arts and those in the military, a characteristic common to both was the multiplicity of outside professional interests. The majority of professionals had two or more positions. These multifaceted occupational roles resulted in interconnecting professional activities, and, like a finely tuned machine, Porfirian professional life reflected the demands of a society in which the different branches of life all tended to converge at the top.

FOOTNOTES

1. Archivo Juzgado Civil: Puebla. Roll 42: Circular Año de 1860. General Pleno: Expedientes formado con la comunicacion del Secretaría del Ylustre Colegio de Abogados y lista de los que no estan matriculados en dicho Colegio, Mayo 1860. (This archive is located at the Anthropology Museum, Mexico City.)
2. Casasús was a multifaceted individual, owning considerable real estate in Mexico City, at one-time editing El Partido Liberal (founded by fellow delegate Apolinar Castillo), investing in mining properties and the Mexico City Tramlines (of which he was president), writing and translating Latin and Greek. Moreover he was professor of law and political economy as well as Ambassador to Washington in 1905. See: Felix F. Palavicini, Los Grandes de México (México: Sociedad Bolivariana, Departamento Editorial, 1948), pp. 79-90.
3. Nemesio García Naranjo, Memorias, p. 185.
4. Perhaps related to his role as educator is the fact that Vidal Castañeda y Nájera served as the tutor, or guardian, to the sons of fellow delegate General Mariano Escobedo; the sons were attending preparatory in the Federal District while the General was detained on his Nuevo León hacienda. As a lawyer, Vidal also handled Escobedo's affairs during and after this period.
5. TXU GZG378Es68 No. 1 (Contesción de Vidal Castañeda y Nájera).
6. The quasi-academic nature of this institution emerges clearly in the fact that its successor today includes the nation's finest school of anthropology and anthropological library.
7. Fourteen of the eighteen delegates who authored published works are known to have been academics. The four who were not in academia but who published nonetheless were: Ignacio Bejarano, Esteben Cházari, Jesús Valenzuela, and Julio Zárate. I suspect that

Valenzuela and Zárate taught, though I could find no evidence of that in the sources I examined.

8. For an excellent example of revisionist history about the Porfiriato, with special attention given to intellectual currents, see William D. Raat, "Los intelectuales, el positivismo y la cuestión indígena," Historia Mexicana, January-March, 1971, pp. 412-427.
9. Jesús Valenzuela, Almas (México: Imprenta de Ignacio Escalante, 1904), p. 90.
10. Delegates with common journalistic experiences on La Libertad included: Francisco Bulnes, Sebastián Camacho, Joaquín Casasus, José Ives Limantour, Alberto Lombardo, Miguel Macedo, Justo Sierra and Jesús Valenzuela.

Delegates with common journalistic experience on El Siglo XIX included: Francisco Bulnes, Justo Sierra, Francisco Sosa and Manuel Zamacona.
11. González Navarro, La vida social, p. 676.
12. During the nineteenth century the demand for henequin outdistanced the labor supply; as a result Yaqui Indians from Sonora were imported to take up the slack. See John Kenneth Turner, Barbarous Mexico.
13. VPIPS, p. 26 describes the circumstances surrounding the duel.
14. For discussion of this intellectual school of thought and its journal see the introduction of Hector Valdes' Indice de la Revista Moderna (México: Centro de estudios literarios, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1967).
15. Possibly there are two exceptions. The academic records for Francisco Rayón indicate that at the preparatory level he desired to be a physician. However, he dropped out of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria; later, in his will, he defined himself as a lawyer and property owner. Also, I came across a reference to a Dr. Jesús Valenzuela; I assume this to be a different person than the Valenzuela I have identified as a Chihuahuan landowner, lawyer, and poet.
16. For an in-depth study of the Escobedo family see Gustavo López Gutiérrez, Escobedo: Republicano

demócrata benemérito de Chiapas (Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas, 1969).

17. It was probably during this period that Escobedo assessed the damages to his property, because later he solicited an amparo (judicial relief) against the executive branch of government. He was represented in this claim in Mexico City by fellow delegate Lic. Vidal Castañeda y Nájera. Escobedo's petition for amparo was settled in 1882; he was awarded 5,742.19 pesos in damages to his hacienda, Manuilpe, granted in bonds of 500 pesos per month. This settlement was equal to the salary he would have drawn as a Division General in Lerdo de Tejada's cabinet. Continuing in this vein, the Mexico City judicial archives reveal that at his death in 1902 the General was worth 33,062 pesos in cash, while his hacienda San Mateo Coccolapam, district of Tlalnepantla, Mexico had a 50,000 peso note against it. An in-depth analysis of the General's personal, public, and professional interests would surely shed light on the unaddressed issues about the military elite's capacity for political action and the relationship between military, state, and society. Source: see Appendix A.
18. Sóstenes Rocha, Los principales episodios del sitio de Querétaro (México: Archivo de la Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, 1947), p. 47.
19. Debates, September 29, 1891, p. 59.
20. Agustín Sanginés, AM/156,XI/111/I-187.

CHAPTER IV

DELEGATES IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Porfirian politics was choreographed by the Don Porfirio himself. Partisans of the president populated all major public offices, including legislative and judicial seats, executive appointments, and gubernatorial posts. The fact that Díaz monopolized political offices need not imply, however, that standard political procedures and patterns did not exist; the fact that the participants took seriously their political ideas and formal institutions, indicates that the political process had an impetus of its own. Before the role of Díaz or the relative fate of individuals can be assessed, it is imperative to discern the established patterns and procedures, studying long-term continuities and trends which are independent of any one ruler's personality or policies. With this goal in mind, this chapter describes the various political offices Unión Liberal delegates occupied in the three branches of government, in the administration of the Federal District, and in the state offices of governor and jefe político.

Congress

Eighty percent of the Unión Liberal were congressmen at some point in their political careers, making congressional office the closest approach to a common political denominator among the delegates. Convening in the Federal District, Congress divided its year into two sessions with one three-month session that ran from September 16 to December 16, while the second was two months long, beginning April 1. Evidently the congressional calendar coordinated the national activities of the Porfirian political elite; the Unión Liberal met in the Federal District to support the fourth re-election of President Díaz in April, 1892, at the beginning of the second congressional session.

A qualified candidate for congressional office fulfilled two eligibility requirements. The first, an age requirement, stipulated that a man had to be at least twenty-five years old to run for deputy and thirty to qualify for a seat in the Senate. If the age requirement was generally respected, it was also occasionally sidestepped. For example, when Julio Zárate entered the national Congress for the first time in 1862 as deputy from Puebla, he was only an eighteen year old student attending the Colegio Carolino de Puebla. Zárate's premature entrance into Congress was the exception rather than the rule.

The second requirement for eligibility to Congress was the stipulation that a candidate reside for at least one year in the state he represented. The data indicate that the delegates were not above evading the residency requirement. Again Zárate demonstrates a pattern, common to at least eight other delegates: during his fifty years in Congress he represented no less than five different states. Veracruz was his natal state, while Puebla was his residence for education. After school, Zárate moved to the Federal District, which he also represented in Congress. The two cases in which he apparently avoided the residency requirement were for Aguascalientes in 1884 and Campeche in 1912. Nonetheless, the elite of Aguascalientes were satisfied with his service in their behalf and acknowledged their gratitude publicly.

Table 21 summarizes the ages of the delegates when they entered Congress. The twenty, thirty, and forty year olds are fairly evenly distributed, indicating that no one age group dominated congressional office, nor was entering Congress limited to one particular age group. For those entering Congress in their twenties and early thirties it may be assumed that they were beginning a national political career. Such was the case with Manuel Peniche, who entered at age twenty-six in 1862.¹ Although Peniche's political career began as a member (regidor) of the municipal council of Mérida, he soon became a deputy

TABLE 21
AGE OF UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES ENTERING
CONGRESS FOR THE FIRST TIME

Minimum Age	20's	30's	40's	50's	60's	Unknown	Total
Entered By:							
1862-71	3	2				1	7
1872-81	3	4	2				9
1882-91	4	7	9	5	2	4	30
1892-1901			1		1		3
Unknown: 7						7	7
Total	11	13	12	5	3	12	56

to the national congress. Peniche family members were important Yucatecan landowners, specializing primarily in sugar plantations. While in the capital on congressional business Peniche began representing Yucatecan banking and railway interests, securing needed congressional concessions. From his consistent appearance in congressional debates as well as his membership in Mexico City social and professional organizations it appears that Peniche relocated in the Federal District. Eventually he represented other states or individuals who wanted to obtain congressional concessions; thus we see him organizing banks in Nuevo León, as well as holding some two million hectares of land in Sonora, part of a land

speculation deal no doubt. Peniche represented his clients through poder amplio, or power of attorney, and would include himself in some of the more attractive speculations. An example of where he represented both his clients and himself was in the 1898 sale of a mine located in Guerrero; included in this deal was fellow delegate Mariano Escobedo, originally of Nuevo León. Peniche died in 1899 in the port city of Veracruz. Because of his long-term career in Congress, first as deputy and later as senator, we can consider Peniche an example of a true congressman who used his congressional office as his primary base of operations.

Differing from Peniche's pattern were eight delegates who entered Congress in their fifties and sixties: three as deputies, five as senators. Some (Aspe, Llaven, and Puebla) had no previous political experience, while two, Diez Gutiérrez and Sabás Lomelí, were members of politically important families in Jalisco and San Luis Potosí respectively. Both had held state offices (while Diez Gutiérrez had also worked previously in the executive branch). These delegates were not national political figures, however, which makes the appearance in the 1880's of Sóstenes Rocha, Mariano Escobedo, and Sebastián Camacho, all long since prominent políticos in their own right, of interest. Their presence may be construed as a vote of confidence for Porfirio Díaz' indefinite re-election, the

legitimation of which was written into the 1857 constitution during the 1880's.

Table 21 also indicates that the largest number of delegates entered Congress before the 1892 convention. No Unión Liberal delegate entered after 1900, and only three entered after the date of the convention. These three, Tomás MacManus, Magín Llaven, and Alejandro Elguezábal, were important regional figures.

Candidates secured office in a variety of ways. One whose entrance into Congress can be documented was Alberto Lombardo. In 1886, at the age of forty-two, Lombardo wrote his friend and former classmate, José Ives Limantour, for assistance in becoming a candidate for a deputyship; the appeal was based upon their long friendship, which originated, according to Lombardo, at the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia. The relationship between the Limantours and the Lombardos had its professional overtones as well: in the late 1870's Limantour's father was a client of Lombardo, employing the young lawyer's notarial services. Lombardo's political heritage can be traced back to his father, a delegate to Mexico's first national congress in 1824. If these connections were not enough, Lombardo augmented his chances for the deputyship by also writing Manuel Romero Rubio--Romero Rubio had sat on Lombardo's examination committee in law school. Not surprisingly, Lombardo was

successful in his bid for office.²

The legislative branch consisted of two houses, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The deputies were elected every two years in the proportion of one deputy for every forty thousand people. The senate, which was not created until the late nineteenth century (1872), was composed of two senators from every state and the Federal District.³

Those who served in the Senate prior to the 1892 convention were all members of the older generation, though some had no other political office-holding experience. It would appear from this sample that the Senate was a reward given mature figures for partisan political activity. An example of one who was so honored was a second-generation Mexican of Spanish descent, José Antonio Puebla, the wealthy Mexico City landowner. Another was the well connected, albeit personally undistinguished, senator for Veracruz, Francisco Aspe.⁴ As in the case of Peniche, sometimes a Senate seat was a normal step up from a deputyship. Table 22 shows the congressional experience of the Unión Liberal delegates.

Table 22 reflects the fact that I was able to locate two congressional rosters, one for 1862, the second for 1907, but nothing similar for the intervening years. In lieu of a comprehensive listing, I searched the congressional debates for the years of 1876, 1880, 1888,

TABLE 22

UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

Delegate	Entered by	At Age	Birthplace	Deputy/ Senator ¹	Representing
1. Alcázar, Ramón	1888	45	Guanajuato	S	Guanajuato
2. Alvarez, Emilio			Puebla	D	
3. Arellano, Felipe	1862	29	Sinaloa	D/S	Guanajuato, Chihuahua, Durango
4. Aspr, Francisco	1888	53	Veracruz	S	Veracruz
5. Barrera, Joaquín	1888	40	Puebla		Puebla
6. Bejarano, Ignacio	1880	24	D. F.		D. F., Sinaloa
7. Bulnes, Francisco	1880	33	D. F.		Morelos
8. Caballero, Luis G.	1883	32	Michoacán		Michoacán
9. Canacho, Sebastián	1888	65	Veracruz	S	Jalisco
10. Casarós, Joaquín	1886	28	Tabasco	D/S	Tabasco
11. Casco, Rafael	1891		Tlaxcala	D	
12. Castañeda, Francisco	1888	49	Guanajuato		Guanajuato
13. Castañeda y Nájera	1862	29	D. F.	D/S	Yucatán, Veracruz,
14. Castillo, Apolinar	1878	36	Oaxaca	D/S	Oaxaca, Nuevo León
15. Cházari, Esteban	1878	34	Chiapas		Oaxaca
16. Díez Gutiérrez	1891	52	San Luis Potosí	S	San Luis Potosí
17. Elguézabal, Alejandro	1890	26	Coahuila	D/S	Coahuila, Guerrero
18. Escobedo, Mariano	1880's	54	Nuevo León	D	Guanajuato, Aguas- calientes
19. Escontría, Blas	1876	29	San Luis Potosí		San Luis Potosí

TABLE 22 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Entered by	At Age	Birthplace	Deputy/ Senator	Representing
20. Escudero, Ignacio	1884	48	D. F.	S	Sinaloa, Coahuila
21. García, Amado	1888				Tlaxcala
22. García, Trinidad	1869	38	Zacatecas	D	Xochimilco
23. Guinchard, Miguel	1882	42	Aguascalientes	D/S	Chiapas, Aguas- calientes
24. Hornedo, Ricardo	1891		Aguascalientes		Michoacán
25. Limantour, José Ives	1883	34	D. F.	D	D. F.
26. Llaven, Magín	1898	60	Chiapas	D	Chiapas
27. Lombardo, Alberto	1886	42	D. F.		Guerrero
28. Lomeli, Sabás	1888	52	Jalisco	S	Jalisco
29. Macedo, Miguel			D. F.		
30. Macedo, Pablo			D. F.	D	
31. MacManus, Tomás	1900	46	Chihuahua		Nuevo León, Quere- taro, Chiapas, Durango
32. Manon y Valle, Ignacio	1862		México		
33. Martal, Jesús	1888				
34. Mendizábal, Fernando	1880	44	Puebla	S	Puebla
35. Nicoli, José Patricio	1876	41	Yucatán		Yucatán, Sonora, Guanaquato
36. Núñez, Roberto	1882	23	D. F.	D	D. F.
37. Palencia, Fran- cisco	1891	48	Jalisco		Colima
38. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	1888	37	D. F.		D. F.

TABLE 22 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Entered by	At Age	Birthplace	Deputy/ Senator	Representing
39. Peniche, Manuel	1862	26	Campeche	D/S	Campeche, Yucatán
40. Pérez Verdía, Luis			Jalisco		
41. Pimentel, Emilio	1891	34	Oaxaca	D	Oaxaca
42. Pineda, Rosendo	1888	30	Oaxaca	D	Oaxaca
43. Pliego Pérez, Antonio	1888	34	México		Tepic
44. Puebla, José Antonio	1891	66	D. F.	S	Michoacán
45. Ramírez, Francisco M.			Jalisco		
46. Redo, Joaquín	1891	49	Sinaloa	S	Chihuahua, Colima
47. Rivas, Carlos	1891	48	Sonora	S	Hidalgo
48. Rivas Gómez, Franc.			Territory of Tepic		
49. Rocha, Sóstenes	1884	53	Guanajuato		Puebla
50. Saravia, Emiliano	1888	31	Durango		Durango
51. Sierra, Justo	1880	32	Campeche		Sinaloa
52. Sosa, Francisco			Campeche	D/S	
53. Valenzuela, Jesús	1880	25	Durango		Chihuahua
54. Velázquez, Eduardo	1888	25	D. F.		Puebla
55. Zamacona, Manuel M.	1862	37	Puebla		Campeche (1912);
56. Zárate, Julio	1862	18	Veracruz	S/D	Puebla (1862); D. F.; Veracruz; Aguascalientes

1D/S signifies that delegate held both offices, though not at the same time.

Source: Appendix A.

and 1892, culling delegates' names as I came across them. From that process we know that in 1892 at least twenty-seven delegates were in Congress: fourteen were deputies, thirteen were senators. Furthermore, data in Table 22 indicate that between 1862 and 1911, twenty-three out of the fifty-six delegate sample were known to have represented their natal state, nineteen were known to have represented non-natal states and fourteen could not be identified with any state. The lack of data demonstrates that for the most part, keeping information such as which delegate represented which state was immaterial to the functioning of the Porfirian congress.⁵

The Judiciary

Whereas many delegates held congressional seats, judicial posts were limited to a few. The judicial branch consisted of thirty-two district courts, three circuit courts and one supreme court. In Table 23 we see that eleven delegates held judicial offices; the most common position among the delegates was magistrado, or magistrate. Terms were for six years and the magistrates were elected in the same way as the senators and deputies.⁶ A supreme court justice in 1892 received 5,000 pesos annually. This compared to the salary Generals received. Three delegates were magistrates in the district courts; three sat on the supreme court.

TABLE 23
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WHO HELD JUDICIAL POSTS

Delegate	Highest Post
1. Alvarez, Emilio	Attorney General, 1898
2. Anaya, Ventura	Agent and later President of Supreme Court of Jalisco, 1890
3. Caballero, Luis	Judge and later Magistrate in Michoacán, 1885, 1914
4. Casasús, Joaquín	Judge in Teapa, Tabasco, 1880
5. Castañeda y Nájera	Attorney General, 1888
6. Núñez, Roberto	Promoter Fiscal, Hidalgo, 1878; Judge, San Luis Potosí, 1879; Judge, Mexico City, 1880
7. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	Magistrate in 2nd and 5th Sala, D. F., 1891
8. Pérez Verdía, Luis	Magistrate in Jalisco
9. Sierra, Justo	Magistrate in the Supreme Court, 1893
10. Zamacona, Manuel M. de	Magistrate in the Supreme Court, 1900
11. Zárate, Julio	Magistrate in the Supreme Court, 1902

Several delegates cited in Table 23 began their career as a judge in the state court system. Others served in court-related posts, two as procuradores, or attorney generals, and one, Roberto Núñez, as promotor fiscal, or state's prosecutor. And lastly, Ventura Anaya, was an agent for Jalisco's state supreme court, eventually becoming its president. All delegates in the judiciary were lawyers; most held congressional seats at some point in their careers.

Several delegates used local or minor posts in the judicial system to launch their political careers. Roberto Núñez held three minor positions in the judiciary, beginning with an appointment as federal prosecutor in Hidalgo, moving next to San Luis Potosí where he was a judge in the district court system, and ultimately returning to Mexico City for a one year appointment as judge in the criminal courts. After the judiciary, Núñez worked in Gobernación, or the Department of Interior, and remained in Mexico City until the 1910 Revolution--he died in France in 1912.

Others beginning their public careers in the judiciary included Joaquín Casasús, whose first employment after finishing law school was that of judge for the state court system in his native Tabasco. Similarly, Emilio Pardo, Jr., was a magistrate for a district court located in Mexico City. Pardo was a little older,

occupying this position in his early thirties. Another whose career began in the courts, though not as a judge, was Justo Sierra. In 1872, at the age of twenty-four, Sierra was a secretary to the supreme court, and he retained this position until 1880. In 1893, at the age of forty-five, Sierra returned to the supreme court as a magistrate.

The most prestigious office in the judiciary was precisely the one Sierra then occupied, that of magistrate of the supreme court. The opportunities for national exposure were great. From 1857 until 1900 there were eleven members; in 1900 this number was increased to fifteen.

As a group, those serving in the higher echelons of the judiciary did not participate actively in business and industry; rather they pursued the lettered arts. Julio Zárate, historian, journalist, and lawyer, became a supreme court justice in 1902 at the age of fifty-eight; he had been in Congress since 1862. The son of a Jalapa lawyer and the grandson of a Jalapa landowning family, Julio's position in the political elite was secure--his father was an intimate of former president Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada. In spite of the fact that most of his adult life he resided away from his native Veracruz, Zárate wrote regional histories of his familial home, in addition to his other academic investigations.

If the magistrates in general refrained from actively participating in business and industry, still they were not isolated from it. On the contrary, issues such as terrenos baldíos, or unclaimed lands, essential to the development of Porfirian railway, mining, and colonization projects, were adjudicated in the courts.

Equally relevant to the judiciary were political issues of fundamental importance. Passed by the lower house of Congress, but defeated in the Senate was a bill calling for permanent tenure for the supreme court justices. This attempt to strengthen the functional divisions among the three branches of government was a cornerstone of the Unión Liberal manifesto.

In short, of the eleven delegates who engaged in the judicial branch of government, six became judges; two of these became state supreme court judges and four national figures. Although not numerous, these delegates occupied some of the nation's most prestigious political posts.

Executive Appointments

In 1892 the executive branch of government consisted of the President, his staff, and seven cabinet ministries;⁷ diplomatic assignments also fell into this category of public office. Table 24 summarizes the activities of the seventeen delegates who filled twenty executive appointments.

TABLE 24
SUMMARY OF EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS HELD BY
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Cabinet Posts	Number
Non-Porfirian Cabinet Ministers	3
Porfirian Cabinet Ministers	4
Undersecretaries	<u>5</u>
Subtotal	12
Diplomatic Assignments	<u>8</u>
Total	20

Díaz could not attend to all organizational and administrative details of government despite his pervasive presence in political life. His cabinet ministers therefore were important, as conduits to the president and in their own right. So too were the undersecretaries, called oficiales mayores; of the five delegates who served as undersecretaries, two, Limantour and Sierra, continued on to head the cabinet office they administered. The position of undersecretary carried considerable influence. Ignacio Escudero, for example, took charge of the ministry of war and navy and ran it effectively when its leader, General Pedro Hinojosa, was critically ill. This assignment coincided with the 1892 Unión Liberal Convention.

Of the four Porfirian cabinet ministers, one member, Trinidad García, was from the older generation of delegates; he served in an early Díaz cabinet. The remaining three, Escontría, Limantour and Sierra, were all the younger generation. Unlike García, they all served as ministers after 1892, staying in office until death or the 1911 Revolution. While acting as minister one could also hold other public offices. Sierra, for example, was on the supreme court while simultaneously serving as Minister of Public Instruction.

Three delegates were non-Porfirian cabinet officers. Two, Mariano Escobedo and Manuel M. de Zamacona, had pre-Porfirian cabinet experiences. In 1861 Manuel Zamacona was Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1876, when Díaz usurped the constitutionally elected president, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, Escobedo was Minister of Gobernación. Both of these delegates were important political contenders in their own right: Zamacona was a potential presidential candidate in 1880.

Executive appointments during 1860-64 were made by the then president, General Manuel González. Julio Zárata, though a former partisan of ousted President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, was appointed Minister of Foreign Relations under González. All three of these non-Porfirian cabinet ministers were of the older generation; their

political life began at the same time as that of Porfirio Díaz.

Eight delegates were appointed to diplomatic posts during the Porfiriato. By and large the delegates received their appointments after the 1892 Unión Liberal Convention, naturally enough, since diplomatic posts were plums in one's political career, generally rewards to those who were already prominent and successful as well as faithful to the president. Justo Sierra, Manuel Zamacona and Roberto Núñez appear in the president's cabinet prior to their assignments abroad.

All Unión Liberal delegates holding executive appointments had served in Congress during their political careers. Evidently this was standard procedure as noted by Federico Gamboa, who in his autobiography asserts that all undersecretaries were deputies to the national congress, though some had never visited the regions they represented.⁸ Table 25 details the executive appointments received by Unión Liberal delegates.

Federal District Office

Public office in the Federal District implied national recognition because Mexico City had long been the administrative, cultural, and commercial center of the country. Ten delegates held Mexico City municipal office: six were born in the Federal District and were

TABLE 25

EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS HELD BY UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

1. Arellano, Felipe	Director General of Customs, D. F. 1893
2. Casasús, Joaquín	Ambassador to the U.S., 1905; General Secretary of the Pan American Union; Chamazal negotiations
3. Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	Minister of Gobernación (Secretary of Interior)
4. Escobedo, Mariano	Minister of War and Navy, 1876
5. Escontría, Blas	Secretary of Development, Colonization, Industry and Commerce, 1905-06
6. Escudero, Ignacio	Under-secretary of the Department of War and Navy, 1888-1892; functioned as minister in 1891-1892
7. García, Trinidad	Minister of Gobernación, 1877 Minister of the Treasury, 1879 Director of the Monte de Piedad (national pawn shop)
8. Limantour, José Ives	Minister of the Treasury, 1893-1911; Under-secretary of the Treasury, 1892
9. Macedo, Miguel	Under-secretary of Gobernación, 1909
10. Núñez, Roberto	Under-secretary of the Treasury, 1893-1911; <u>Procurador</u> for Mexico with Guatemala, 1890-1902; <u>Plenipotentiary Minister</u> to the Republic of Salvador, 1893; member of various commissions

TABLE 25 (cont'd.)

11. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	Minister in Belgium
12. Pérez Verdía, Luis	Plenipotentiary Minister to Guatemala
13. Pimentel, Emilio	Minister to Argentina
14. Ramírez, Francisco M.	Inspector-General of Rural Forces of the Federation (Rurales)
15. Sierra, Justo	Under-secretary and later Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, (1884-1911); Plenipotentiary Minister to Spain, 1912
16. Zamacona, Manuel	Minister to U.S., 1880 Under-secretary of Foreign Affairs, 1861
17. Zárata, Julio	Minister of Foreign Relations, December 12, 1879-September 22, 1880
Source: Appendix A	

also of the younger generation; the other four, hence, were of the older generation and from elsewhere. Most born in the Federal District served as regidor, or city councilman, early in their public careers. José Ives Limantour, famous for his fiscal wizardry, began his political career at the age of twenty-seven as a regidor; in this capacity he foreshadowed his political future by working with the city's treasury commission. In 1892 Roberto Núñez, at the age of thirty-three, was instrumental in the development of Chapultepec Park. Ignacio Bejarano also began working for the city government at an early age; in 1880, at the age of twenty-four, this regidor was in charge of statistics and city festivals. Eventually, Bejarano like Núñez and Pablo Macedo, became oficial mayor, or city manager; all had started on the ayuntamiento, or city council.

The Federal District also had a governor, sometimes called president, who was appointed directly by Porfirio Díaz and was independent of the city council, having much the same status as a state governor. Two out of the three delegates who served as governor of the Federal District were born elsewhere, though they were not without experience on Mexico City's ayuntamiento. The governor of the Federal District could appoint four prefects for the suburbs of Tlalpan, Tacubaya, Xochimilco and Guadalupe

Hidalgo, just as the state governors could appoint the jefes políticos.

Some delegates were on regional ayuntamientos, which I mention here as a comparison with the Mexico City pattern. Apolinar Castillo, for example, was thirty-eight years old in 1880 when he served as regidor on the ayuntamiento of Orizaba, while also a professor of chemistry. Eventually Castillo became governor of that state, before moving to Mexico City, where he died at age sixty. Table 26 provides the positions held by delegates in the Mexico City municipal government.

Jefes Políticos

It has been argued by some that the state governors and the jefes políticos were the principal elements in Díaz' system of control. The system of political chieftainship was established during Independence; heads of major administrative districts were called jefes políticos and districts over which they presided were called partidos. Though they could call upon the Rurales directly (the Rurales, Díaz' infamous constabulary were under the direction of Unión Liberal delegate, General Francisco Ramírez), jefes políticos theoretically were the absolute agents of the governors, by whom they were appointed and removed. Another important responsibility of the post was the administration of public lands,

TABLE 26

FEDERAL DISTRICT OFFICES HELD BY UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Delegate	Year Office Held	Office
1. Aspe, Francisco de P.		Regidor
2. Bejarano, Ignacio	1880 1896	Regidor Official Mayor of the Federal District
3. Camacho, Sebastián	1880 1894	Regidor (showed President Grant around Mexico City) Governor of the Federal District
4. Limantour, José Ives	1881	Regidor
5. Macedo, Miguel	1889-1899 1898-1899	Alcalde President of the Federal District
6. Macedo, Pablo	1898	Mayor of the Federal District
7. Nuñez, Roberto	1886-1888 1894	Regidor Official Mayor of the Federal District
8. Pimentel, Emilio		Regidor President of the Federal District
9. Rivas, Carlos		Governor of the Federal District
10. Velázquez, Eduardo	1895	Chief of Police, Federal District Prefect of Guadalupe Hidalgo

terrenos baldíos, within the partido; previously these lands were controlled by the ayuntamientos. The post of jefe político was abolished in 1914 and the principles of that decree were incorporated into the Constitution of 1917.⁹

Six delegates served as jefes políticos. Three, Arellano, Sanginés, and Evia, held a military rank of colonel or higher; the remaining three, Lomelí, García, and Castillo were civilians. All six had strong regional ties to the areas they administered: four out of the six were natives of the regions in which they held a post as jefe político, while a fifth, Agustín Sanginés married into the local elite of Chihuahua, where he held his post for four years. Sanginés appears to be the only one who held the position during the height of the Porfiriato, while the other delegates functioned as jefes políticos early in the period.

Jefes políticos were very important in the administering of the three federal territories which were directly dependent on the Minister of Gobernación, rather than a governor. Agustín Sanginés held this position of responsibility in La Paz, Baja California from 1894 to 1900; he also acted in the capacity of commandate militar. By marrying into the northern elite, Sanginés cemented his relationships to such an extent that accusations of illegal business activities only brought with them

change in post, instead of the court martial they deserved.

Table 27 gives the locations of the six Unión Liberal delegates when they acted as jefespolíticos, and is followed immediately by a discussion of governors, inasmuch as all, except Evia, eventually came to that post also.

Gubernatorial Posts

Sixteen delegates were governors of states at some point in their political careers (two more, Sebastián Camacho and Carlos Rivas, were also governors in a sense, but were discussed previously in the section on Federal District Office). Three of these, Felipe Arellano, Mariano Escobedo, and Trinidad García, held gubernatorial posts prior to the Porfiriato, while three others, Saravia, Sanginés and Arcadio Escobedo, were post-Porfirian governors. Because nine out of the fifteen were governors during the Porfiriato, this office is a possible source for looking at long-term trends and continuity among the nineteenth century political elite.

Governors were nearly always born in the state they governed. In terms of background, we know that eleven out of the sixteen were either hacendados themselves, or members of regional families who owned large estates. Most of these men attended regional educational institutions where they were trained as professionals: seven as

TABLE 27
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WHO SERVED AS
JEFES POLÍTICOS

Delegate	Birthplace	Location (Dates)
1. Arellano, Felipe	Sinaloa	Chihuahua (1869 & 1872)
2. Castillo, Apolinar	Oaxaca	Oaxaca (1871) & Veracruz (1878)
3. Evia, Domingo	Yucatán	Yucatán ¹
4. García, Trinidad	Zacatecas	Zacatecas (1867)
5. Lomelí, Sabás	Jalisco	Jalisco
6. Sanginés, Agustín	Oaxaca	Chihuahua (1888-92) Baja California (1894-1900)

¹Data on Evia's military background and tenure as jefe político were found in Lazaro Pavia, Ligeros apuntes biográficos de los jefes políticos...., tomo II, p. 46. I assume that he was jefe político in the Yucatán because of his familial ties to the area, though the location of his post was never listed.

lawyers, two as pharmacists, and one as an engineer. Only the engineer, Blas Escontría, traveled to the Federal District to receive his education, and this was due to the French Intervention which made living in San Luis Potosí dangerous for his entire family. No more than three out of the sixteen were professional soldiers (Escobedo, Escudero, and Sanginés).

Four of the sixteen were only interim governors; one of these, Blas Escontría, was later elected to the post. Escontría came to office after the death of both Carlos and Pedro Diez Gutiérrez, brothers who monopolized the governorship of San Luis Potosí for more than twenty years. Prior to them, another Unión Liberal delegate, Mariano Escobedo, had held that office. The fact that three Unión Liberal delegates were governors of San Luis Potosí indicates that it was an important political center.¹⁰

San Luis Potosí was also a wealthy mining state that served as the social center for the north central region. In the 1860's the regional elite institutionalized their social network with the opening of the fashionable "Lonja" society of San Luis Potosí. General Escobedo was governor of the state when the "Lonja" was inaugurated. In addition to Escobedo, Escontría and Pedro Diez Gutiérrez, other delegates belonged, such as Sóstenes Rocha and Francisco Castañeda.

In most cases one received the post of governor at the mid-point of a career, as with Escontría, or Emilio Pimentel. Pimentel, after having lived most of his public life in Mexico City, returned to his native Oaxaca in 1902 to assume the governorship, holding it until 1911; he died in 1926 in Veracruz at the age of sixty-nine.

Table 28 presents the gubernatorial experience of

TABLE 28

UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WHO SERVED AS GOVERNORS

Delegate	Birthstate	State Governed (dates)
1. Anaya, Ventura	Jalisco	Jalisco (1889-1890)
2. Arellano, Felipe	Sinaloa	Chihuahua (Aug.-Sept. 1872)
3. Castillo, Apolinar	Oaxaca	Veracruz (1880)
4. Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	San Luis Potosí	San Luis Potosí (1881)
5. Escobedo, Arcadio	Yucatán	Yucatán (Jan.-Feb. 1913)
6. Escobedo, Mariano	Nuevo León	San Luis Potosí (1860's) Nuevo León (1865 & 1866)
7. Escontría, Blas	San Luis Potosí	San Luis Potosí (1897-1902)
8. Escudero, Igancio	Mexico City	Durango (1884)
9. García, Trinidad	Zacatecas	Zacatecas
10. Güinchar, Miguel	Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes (1879)
11. Hornedo, Ricardo	Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes
12. Lomelí, Sabás	Jalisco	Jalisco
13. Peña, Praxedis de la	Coahuila	Coahuila (1909)

TABLE 28 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Birthstate	State Governed (dates)
14. Pimentel, Emilio	Oaxaca	Oaxaca (1902-1911)
15. Sanginés, Agustín	Oaxaca	Hidalgo (1913)
16. Saravia, Emiliano G.	Durango	Durango (1912) Durango (1914-1915)
Source: Appendix A.		

the Unión Liberal delegates. Data on gubernatorial elections and terms of office were not located. Again, as with federal office holding, the mechanics of state elections are unclear.

Summary

A common experience shared by the majority of the Unión Liberal delegates was congressional office, indicating that congressional membership was a standard by which the Porfirian political elite tended to identify itself. The fact that most delegates entered Congress prior to the 1892 Unión Liberal Convention shows that it was recruited from the already functioning political elite rather than being a group new to government. Congress was a clearing house for national politics; at any given time a large proportion of prominent politicians were active members, and on the other hand congressmen held other kinds of high office concurrently. Election to Congress was not a necessary first step in political office; rather, as shown above, some politicians came to it late and with an already established national reputation.

Compilation of the delegates' non-congressional office-holding quickly reveals that they were not all on the same track; no standard political career pattern emerges, even for delegates within a certain age group,

or for the more famous as opposed to the more obscure. We do glimpse regularities for certain subsets. City government was one way to launch a national political career. Judges tended to find their way to the top along a quite narrow path, using the lettered arts as a stepping stone instead of commercial activity. Governors were normally from the state governed, named to office around mid-career, and sometimes they had served previously as *jefes políticos*. High appointments of almost all kinds went to mature persons with previous experience. We would need complete sets--all Porfirian governors, all Porfirian judges, and so on--to be able to make categorical statements. But our sample seems to imply that there was a diversity of career tracks in the Porfirian system, corresponding to different interests and different institutions, and that each of these had its own normal course, which the president did not interfere with overmuch, though he certainly was free to favor certain individuals over others.

In other words, our sample implies that Porfirian politics did not include the creation of any tightly organized, nationally circulating cadre which would have ruled the country at the behest of the president alone, or in its own internal interest. Surely the *Unión Liberal* was not any such cadre. Consider the aspect of regional representation. The *Unión Liberal* itself was

overwhelmingly regionally based, with delegates standardly representing their natal states. The same is true for *jefes políticos* (except in federal territories) and governors; the latter were usually not only local, but influential and well-connected on the local scene. While the president must have somehow seen to it that those in office supported him, he was, whether by policy or from necessity, not free to name many outsiders to such positions. Even the Federal District, the embodiment of the nation, often had office-holders who were locally-born.

On the other hand, the pattern in Congress is quite different; of the knowns, twenty-three represented their natal state, and nineteen only non-natal states. This is not as extreme as if, for example, all the congressmen were from the capital or from states other than their own, but it is certainly significant that close to half of these partisan Porfirian congressmen were not from the region they represented. This distribution seems a strong indicator of the existence, after all, of a corps of national politicians mediating between the federal government and the various regions. It would be most revealing to know just how the outsiders come to office. Did the president or his chief advisers use influence to bring about the choice of their favorites regardless of the wishes of the region represented? Or did interests in the state concerned lack, at that particular moment, an

experienced, influential Mexico City-wise national politician, and actively shop about for one, the way a country man would look for a good city lawyer? I feel that the latter was very often the case. At any rate, it seems to me that the important thing which the outsider-congressmen was not that they were from another state, but that they had become Mexico City figures.

Almost all of the Unión Liberal delegates can be considered national politicians in the sense that they traveled a great deal between capital and home region. Those who persisted long in national office began to become residents of Mexico City, maintaining a home and property there, in addition to the home and property they might still have in their natal state. Over the years, some politicians spent far more time in the capital than at their birthplace, and no doubt they felt more at home there too. Nevertheless, the regional tie remained strong, and in most cases there was not deep involvement with any region other than the natal one. Rather than full circulation over the nation, there tended to be a shuttling back and forth from home region to capital, so that the capital was the main place of convergence. Even the congressmen representing non-natal states doubtless rarely left Mexico City. The overall picture, then, is one of normal internal recruitment inside all regions except the federal territories, with an

interacting corps of national politicians in the capital, recruited from the representatives of the individual regions. To what extent such a structure was new cannot yet be determined with any certainty.¹¹ The pattern does represent a change from the late colonial period, when there was a high bureaucracy circulating over the entire country, and the equivalents of the state governors, the intendants, were regularly outsiders; on the other hand high office in the capital itself tended to be dominated more by persons born there rather than in the provinces.¹²

The presence of the older generation in high political office in Porfirian times indicates a continuity from the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Either, as Zea and others have seen it, there was an active policy of reconciliation after a break, or, as I deem more likely, the continuity was a simple one and there may never have been a great schism. Authors like Zea have viewed the Porfirian elite as separated from the other sectors of society, whereas a closer look shows them integrated in many respects. Moreover, with the single exception of military service, which I have not considered under office-holding, the patterns are not noticeably different for younger men than for older. There seems to have been little change in recruitment or in the type of office held. The Porfirian political

elite appears to have been characterized by standard renewal processes and not to have undergone any major internal change, crisis, or disintegration.

Looking at the grand total of offices held by the Unión Liberal delegates, one must say that except as to Congress membership it does not seem overwhelmingly impressive. Few men ever held truly high office. Given the difficulties of research, some offices may have been omitted, but even so it is clear that the convention included some less important figures as well as some political stars. The question then is, were the obscure figures some kind of insignificant puppets? Or were they younger relatives of important men, or representatives of large familial or regional interests? Again the nation-wide recruitment of the group makes it hard to give an answer, but I believe from partial indications that they were mainly the latter, important through their connections if not for themselves, and that they are also typical in that there would be such figures in any political organization of the time.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peniche entered Congress along with five other Unión Liberal delegates in 1862: Zárate, Mañón y Valle, Arellano, Zamacona and Castañeda y Nájera; other congressmen at the same time included future president Porfirio Díaz, Gabino Barreda (founder of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria) and José Higinio Núñez, (Secretary of the Treasury in 1862 and father of Unión Liberal delegate, Roberto Núñez).
2. What is interesting here is that in 1886 José Ives Limantour was only thirty-two years old, and still some seven years away from assuming control of the Treasury. Limantour's political significance can be explained in part by the fact that his father was important in both politics and commerce, and that the family was considered one of Mexico City's five richest during the Porfiriato.
3. I have never come across any accounts describing the mechanics of Porfirian elections. Where were the polling places, was there voter registration, who conducted elections, who voted; I assume that the voting requirements were being male, literate, and a property owner.
4. Francisco Aspe's father-in-law was José de Emparán, jefe político of Veracruz. Emparán had worked with Emilio Pardo Sr. who represented Manuel Escandon; in 1856 the Escandon family organized the Veracruz-Mexico City Railroad. In his capacity as legal agent, Emilio Pardo Sr. negotiated with landowners for the railway's rights of way; some were cooperative, others were not. The jefe político of Veracruz, Emparán, was responsible for subduing disgruntled landowners who were harassing railway engineers in their endeavors. Successful in their joint assignment, it was Emparán who inaugurated the construction of the line. Later, in Mexico City fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Emilio Pardo Jr. married Enriquetta Aspe, one of Francisco's thirteen children. Thus we see how the Aspe family were well connected within the Veracruz-Mexico City commercial and political elite.

5. Rosters consulted included 1) the Diario de los debates, 3rd Congress, corresponding to the first period of the session, 1862 (Mexico: Imprenta de F. Díaz de León y Santiago, 1973 [sic]); 2) the Diario de los debates, 1888, 1891-92 (Mexico: Imprenta de "El Partido Liberal"); and 3) the Directorio de diputados y senadores al XXIII congreso general (Mexico: Imprenta y Encuadernación de Ireneo Paz, 1907 and 1908).
6. As in the case with congressional elections, I am unclear on the mechanics of the magistrates' elections. Were these national or district elections?
7. The seven cabinet members headed the department of Relaciones Exteriores or Foreign Relations, Gobernación or Interior, Hacienda or Treasury, Justicia y Instrucción Pública or Justice and Public Instruction, Fomento or Development, Guerra y Marina or War and Navy, and Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas or Communications and Public Works.
8. Federico Gamboa, Mi diario (Guadalajara: Imprenta de la Gaceta de Guadalajara, 1907), Vol. I, p. 301.
9. For a discussion of jefe político see J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Jefe Político in Mexico," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 4, March 1933.
10. For a discussion of San Luis Potosí politics see Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors.
11. The forthcoming work of Richard Sinkin, The Mexican Reform promises to provide an answer for the period of the Reform, at least.
12. Information on the late colonial period comes from D. A. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810 (Cambridge, 1971.).

CHAPTER V

DELEGATES IN BUSINESS

In examining the economic interests of the Unión Liberal delegates, we now turn to their involvement in haciendas, banks, and related business activities. We are not interested in providing a definitive listing of the delegates' business interests, but rather in identifying the kinds of enterprises they found attractive.¹

Materials especially rich as sources for the sections on haciendas and banking include Holm's Directory of Agencies, Mines and Haciendas, and the Banco Central Mexicano's Las Sociedades Anónimas, published in 1905 and 1908 respectively. Information on investments and properties came from the wills and inventories, usually drawn up at the end of one's life.² Thus materials favor the late Porfiriato, by which time nearly one fourth of the delegates are known to have been dead.

Those delegates still alive and doing business during the last years of the Porfiriato tended to make the Unión Liberal as a whole look like a very small, very strong and very rich group of men. This perspective, however, is at least as much a result of the methodology (in that as delegates die off, new names

are not being added to the sample) as it is of any extraordinary concentration of money and property exhibited in the business activities of the Porfirian political elite.

Haciendas

When Porfirio Díaz usurped control of the government in 1876 the financially most powerful figures in the country were the hacendados, or the agriculturalists, who produced primary goods for the domestic market.³ Despite regional variation, the hacienda constituted one of the primary social, economic, and even political units of nineteenth century Mexico. Owning a regular, functioning hacienda was different than owning urban real estate or taking part in land speculation; these two latter categories of business will be discussed later in this chapter, while in this portion we will concentrate on the delegates who owned haciendas.⁴

Twenty-three delegates owned haciendas; this number represents nearly one-third of the Unión Liberal participants. Thirteen were born in the Central region (although only three of these were from the Federal District), five were from the Pacific region, four from the Frontier and one from the Gulf region.⁵ The data compiled in Table 29 suggest that there was a high correlation between 1) a delegate's natal state, 2) the state he

TABLE 29
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WHO OWNED HACIENDAS, FINCAS OR RANCHOS

Delegate	Generation or older y=younger	Natal State	State Represented in Unión Liberal	State Represented in Congress	Location of Property
1. Alcázar	o	Guerrero	Guerrero	Guerrero	Guerrero and Puebla
2. Castañeda, F.	o	Guerrero	Guerrero	Guerrero	Guerrero and Jalisco
3. Castillo	o	Oaxaca	Oaxaca	Oaxaca, Yucatán and Veracruz	Yucatán
4. Cházari	o	Chiapas	Chiapas	Oaxaca	Oaxaca
5. Díaz Gutiérrez	o	S.L.P.	S.L.P.	S.L.P.	S.L.P.
6. Escobedo, A.	o	Yucatán	Yucatán	Unknown	Yucatán
7. Escobedo, M.	o	Nuevo León	D. F.	Guerrero and Aguascalientes	Nuevo León and Tamaulipas
8. Escobedo	y	S.L.P.	S.L.P.	S.L.P.	S.L.P.
9. García, T.	o	Zacatecas	Zacatecas	Xochimilco (D. F.)	Zacatecas
10. Limón	y	D. F.	México	D. F.	México and Veracruz
11. Ilaven	o	Chiapas	Chiapas	Chiapas	Oaxaca
12. Macario, P.	y	D. F.	México	Unknown	Chiapas and Guerrero
13. Macías	y	Chihuahua	Chihuahua	Chihuahua	Chihuahua
14. Mallón y Valle	o	México	México	Unknown	Tlaxcala and México
15. Mendizábal	o	Puebla	Puebla	Puebla	Puebla
16. Peña	o	Coahuila	Coahuila	Unknown	Coahuila
17. Pardo	o	Sinaloa	Sinaloa	Chihuahua and Colima	Sinaloa
18. Rivas, C.	o	Sonora	Guerrero	Colima	D. F.
19. Rivas Gómez	y	Yucatán	Yucatán	Unknown	Yucatán
20. Saravia	y	Durango	Durango	Durango	Durango
21. Valenzuela, J.	y	Durango	Chihuahua	Chihuahua	Chihuahua
22. Velázquez	y	D. F.	Guerrero	Puebla	D. F.
23. Zamora	o	Puebla	Puebla	Unknown	Puebla

Source: Appendix A.

represented in Congress or at the Unión Liberal Convention, and 3) the location of his hacienda. Out of the twenty-three cases, eleven delegates were consistent across the board, while another eleven represented a combination of locations that indicated familial or business ties. In some cases the locations that indicated familial or business ties were in adjacent areas, such as Magín Llaven's Oaxacan hacienda located close to his natal state of Chiapas, or Macedo's properties in Tlaxcala, not far from his Mexico City home.

For only one delegate, Carlos Rivas, is there an apparently scattered picture: he was born in Sonora, represented Guanajuato at the Unión Liberal Convention and the state of Hidalgo in Congress, and owned a hacienda in the Federal District. Rivas' selection of a Mexico City property was logical, in that he was an established Mexico City resident since his participation in Maximilian's administration in the 1860's. Furthermore, his brother, Francisco Rivas Gómez, also a delegate, showed the typical consistency by owning a finca in his natal region, the Territory of Tepic, and representing that area at the convention, if not Congress.

The second characteristic of the twenty-three delegate-hacendados listed in Table 29 is that two-thirds, or fifteen, were members of the older generation.

Still another fifteen had professional training or experience.

An additional sixteen delegates were members of hacendado families; only six of these men were of the older generation. Like the twenty-three already described, these sixteen demonstrate the same high correlation among natal state, area represented in Congress or at the Unión Liberal Convention, and location of familial hacienda.

By way of comparison, the significant difference between the twenty-three who owned haciendas and the sixteen who were members of hacendado families was the age variable; owners were of the older generation, whereas the members of hacienda owning families, who were themselves not owners, were younger. Quite possibly they came to be owners at a later time. Table 30 identifies the sixteen "would be" hacendados.

Combined, the two groups (owners and members of owning families) equalled over half of the total membership of the convention. Clearly then, hacendados were well represented at the convention, if not personally, then by proxy through their younger relatives. This does not imply that there was a political consensus among the hacendados, especially towards the end of the Porfiriato. For example, Roberto Ipiña, brother-in-law of Blas Escontría and owner of the Hacienda Bledos in San Luis

TABLE 30
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES WHO WERE MEMBERS OF HACENDADO FAMILIES

Delegate	Generation o=older y=younger	Natal State	State Represented in Unión Liberal	State Represented in Congress	Location of Family Hacienda
1. Anaya	y	Jalisco	Jalisco	Unknown	Jalisco
2. Barrera	y	Puebla	Puebla	Puebla	Puebla
3. Bulnes	y	D. F.	Sonora	Morelos	Puebla and Tabasco
4. Caasús	y	Tabasco	U.L. Treasurer	Tabasco	Tabasco and Veracruz
5. Evia		Yucatán	Yucatán	Unknown	Tabasco
6. Ginchard		Aguas- calientes	Aguascalientes	Chiapas and Aguascalientes	Aguascalientes
7. Hornedo		Aguas- calientes	Aguascalientes	Michoacán	Aguascalientes
8. Lomelf	o	Jalisco	Jalisco	Jalisco	Jalisco
9. Martel		Unknown	S.L.P.	Unknown	México and Veracruz
10. Nicoli	o	Yucatán	Sonora	Yucatán, Sonora, Guerrero and Campeche	Yucatán
11. Peniche	o	Campeche	Campeche	Yucatán	Yucatán
12. Pérez Verdía	y	Jalisco	Jalisco	Unknown	Jalisco
13. Pilego Pérez	y	México	Tepic	Tepic	México
14. Rocha	o	Guajuato	Sonora	Puebla	Guajuato and S.L.P.
15. Valenzuela, N.	y	Tabasco	Tabasco	Unknown	Tabasco
16. Zárate	o	Veracruz	Veracruz	Veracruz, Campeche Puebla, Aguas- calientes	Veracruz

Source: Appendix A.

Potosí (valued at \$600,000 in 1907) in 1900 made the anti-regime pronouncement that "Don Porfirio has established a completely personal government, a true despotism."⁶ Five years later nevertheless, Escontría was appointed Minister of Development.

Several delegates owned haciendas which had been family mainstays for several generations. Eduardo Velázquez owned several ranchos in and around Mexico City; Mariano Escobedo's lands in Nuevo León had belonged to his family since early in the eighteenth century; and Ignacio Mañón y Valle's descendants still run the family estate in México.⁷

As owners, what did these men do for or at the hacienda, if in fact they even lived there? We know that Eduardo Velázquez did not live on his rancho Tlaltelolco; instead he rented it and a manor house called El Progreso, for \$1,650 pesos annually. The rancho was fully equipped with livestock, stables, corral, and brick ovens. Likewise, Manuel María de Zamacona, who acquired an expropriated ecclesiastical property in 1856 called El Rancho San Juan Bautista, permitted the place to be used from six in the morning until nine at night (except Sundays). In 1866 leaseholders were paying \$2,000 pesos a year for the use of these lands and the water.

Other delegates used their haciendas for industrial purposes, such as Joaquín Redo who owned El Dorado, a

sugar producing hacienda in Mazatlán, Sinaloa; it had also an iron and steel foundry in addition to the sugar mill.

And finally, if Magín Llaven did not live on his Oaxacan hacienda he assumed the responsibilities of a comisionista, or broker, selling his products such as beef and grain, to Díaz' brother-in-law, José Castellot, who owned a finca, San Jeronimo, also located in Oaxaca. They both transacted their business in Mexico City during the congressional session.

The ownership of several hacienda properties was not uncommon, as seen in data available for Ramón Alcázar, Francisco de P. Castañeda, Pablo Macedo, Ignacio Mañón y Valle, and Mariano Escobedo. Similarly it was common for these owners of multiple properties not to reside on the haciendas and to rent them out. They may very well have bought and sold properties according to the needs of their business.

The delegate-hacendados actively participated in the political life of their country, in addition to the myriad outside professional and/or business activities--twenty-one of the twenty-three delegates were congressmen at some point in their careers.

Table 31 identifies the properties with any known special characteristics, for the twenty-three delegates. By way of summary, the twenty-three are known to have

TABLE 31
PROPERTIES OWNED BY UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Delegate	Properties ¹
1. Alcázar, Ramon	Haciendas Chichimequillas and Oates (Guanajuato) Hacienda Jesús (Puebla)
2. Castañeda, Francisco	Hacienda Mesquite Gordo (Guanajuato) Hacienda Atequiza (Jalisco)
3. Castillo, Apolinar	Hacienda Ekal (Yucatán) sugar
4. Cházari, Esteban	Hacienda La Concepción (Oaxaca) sugar
5. Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	Hacienda Cárdenas (San Luis Potosí)
6. Escobedo, Arcadio	Hacienda Sta. Cruz (Yucatán)
7. Escobedo, Mariano	Hacienda Manulique (Nuevo León) Ranchos in Tamulipas
8. Escontría, Blas	Rancho de San Francisco (San Luis Potosí) valued at \$5,008.88 in 1905
9. García, Trinidad	Hacienda San Marcus (Zacatecas) maize, beans, barley livestock
10. Limantour, José Ives	Hacienda Orilla de Río Naranjo (Veracruz) precious woods
11. Llaven Magín	Hacienda (Oaxaca) livestock, cattle

TABLE 31 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Properties
12. Macedo, Pablo	Hacienda de Santa Teresa o Ixtafiyuca (Tlaxcala) valued at \$242,620 in 1919 Co-owner of La Peaña (Guerrero) valued at \$535,000 in 1919 Hacienda de Ahuetuetes (Villa de Guadalupe, D. F.) valued at approximately \$395,000 in 1913
13. MacManus, Tomás	Haciendas in Municipio de Zaragozas, Distrito de Hidalgo (Chihuahua)
14. Mahón y Valle, Ignacio	Hacienda S. Gaspar (Valle de Bravo, México) maize, barley
15. Mendizábal, Fernando	Haciendas San Pedro Coxtocan y Sta. María Coxtocan (Puebla)
16. Peña, Praxedis de la	Haciendas Nueva León, Compuertas and El Pilar (Coahuila) cotton and maize
17. Redo, Joaquín	Hacienda El Dorado (Sinaloa) sugar and mill
18. Rivas, Carlos	Finca El Peñón de los Baños (D. F.) purchased in 1895 and valued at \$205,314.72 in 1908. Finca formally belonged to Manuel Romero Rubic
19. Rivas Gómez, Francisco	Finca Cayetano (Tepic)

TABLE 31 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Properties
20. Saravia Brothers	Haciendas Atotonilco and Esten Yervanis (Durango) maize, beans, livestock
21. Valenzuela, Jesús	Hacienda Minas Nuevas (Chihuahua)
22. Velázquez, Eduardo	Rancho Tlaltelolco (Villa de Guadalupe, D. F.) rented out for \$1,650 yearly with corrals, stables, brick ovens and house called El Progreso
23. Zamacona, Manuel M.	Rancho San Juan Bautista (Puebla) acquired in 1856 when church lands expropriated--1866 he rented it out for \$2,000 per year

¹All property values listed in pesos.

Source: Appendix A.

owned thirty-five properties; six haciendas produced staples, such as corn, beans, livestock for domestic consumption. Another six produced agricultural products for export or manufactured goods; by product the latter six divide as follows: three were sugar producing haciendas, one henequen, one cotton, and one precious woods.

Banking

Thirteen Unión Liberal delegates were actively involved in the banking sector (this does not include the two delegates who were, at one time, ministers of the treasury). Unlike the hacendados, who tended to be older, the bankers were of the younger generation, being forty-five years or younger in 1892. Some younger delegates had already worked in banking prior to the 1892 convention. Joaquín Casasús, for example, wrote his book, La cuestión de los bancos, in 1885. In 1879, Tomás MacManus, at the age of twenty-five, operated the Santa Eulalia, a private bank in Chihuahua.⁸ Manuel Peniche, of the Yucatán, had been securing banking concessions in Congress since 1862, before a national super-structure existed. Banks were anomalies until the 1880's.⁹

Before the development of a national bank, there existed an informal network composed of agiotistas. Agiotistas were money lenders who provided the operating capital vital to the functioning of the nearly bankrupted

mid-century governments. Agiotistas tried to protect investments, either their own or of the families they represented, through the short-term nature of the loans; also they depended on the high rate of interest they could command from a floundering regime's desire for solvency. These transactions were negotiated through informal and personal networks.

Even with the introduction of banks, the informal system continued to function. Several delegates were creditors of others, as in the case of landowner Eduardo Velázquez, who carried the mortgage on delegate Esteban Cházari's Mexico City residence. The Sierras and the Casasús loaned one another funds, while Manuel Peniche carried one of General Escobedo's personal notes. Pablo Macedo's will shows him having over forty-thousand pesos out on loan, much of which was unsecured.

Major new developments in banking and finance occurred around the time of the Unión Liberal Convention. The government commercial code of 1889 encouraged the formation of corporations (sociedades anónimas), and among the first to take advantage of the new legal protection were the banks. Earlier attempts to institutionalize banking, prior to the founding of the Banco Nacional de México in 1882, failed. From 1882 until 1889 there were only six banks in all of Mexico. By 1907 that number had increased to five chartered banks in Mexico City alone,

and over sixty throughout the country.¹⁰

By and large those Unión Liberal delegates involved in the banking industry were important figures in it. Four delegates founded banks, among whom is Ramón Alcázar, delegate for his natal state of Guanajuato. When Díaz assumed power in 1876, Alcázar co-owned (with fellow delegate Francisco de P. Castañeda) the Company "Guanajuatenense-Zacatecana" that rented the Casa de Moneda de Guanajuato y Zacatecas from the Federal government (the Casa de Moneda was the regional mint). Minting was the logical off-shoot of owning gold and silver mines, and Alcázar owned several. By 1910 Alcázar was credited with the founding or direction of the following banks: Banco Central de México, Banco de Michoacán, Banco del Estado de México, Banco Mexicano de Trabajo de Guanajuato, the León branch of the Banco de San Luis Potosí, and the Banco Hipotecario de Crédito Territorial Mexicano. Alcázar, owner of three haciendas, was also a generous supporter of Porfirio Díaz: in 1910 he donated over fifteen-hundred pesos to a banquet honoring Díaz, making him one of the top ten contributors to this function.

Two banker-delegates were also active in life insurance companies and therefore will be cited in this section on banking. Antonio Pliego Pérez founded "Latina Americana," while Sebastián Camacho was President of "La Mexicana." La Mexicana was originally founded in

Chihuahua in 1887, in part with money from the Terrazas family, important landowners in that state. The following year, however, the society moved its headquarters to Mexico City in order to reorganize and go public. The company then reopened as a sociedad anónima with \$220,000 capital (divided into 4,000 shares worth 50 pesos a piece). In 1907 in addition to his responsibilities as president of La Mexicana, Camacho was also president of the Banco Nacional de México.

We cannot leave the topic of banking without mention of the fiscal abuses credited to the Porfirian political elite. The most notorious was the establishment in June, 1908 of the Caja de Préstamos and its succeeding administration through 1915. The Caja was designed to stimulate irrigation works and agricultural development in order to help the agriculturalists out of the financial crisis resulting from the falling market of 1907. The Caja loaned a total of 53,540,000 pesos to 96 individuals; by 1915 seven and a half million pesos were past due. The largest loan, (5,283,000 pesos) went to an agricultural and colonization company. Unión Liberal delegates who served on the Caja's Board of Directors included Roberto Núñez (then undersecretary of the treasury), Antonio Pliego Pérez, and Pablo Macdeo. The Caja was endorsed conceptually by both houses of Congress, and the gerente or manager of the new fiscal organization was

Manuel de Zamacona é Inclan, related closely by blood, to the Unión Liberal delegate of the same name. Joaquín Casasús, in his capacity as representative of the Banco Central Mexicano, was also included in this financial maneuvering. With the history of the Caja de Préstamos in mind, it is not surprising to find Antonio Manero in 1915 making the following statement:

The most powerful vehicles of the Científico group, by means of which they used and abused the public wealth for the creating of public misery, were and still are the Institutions of Public Credit, and among them very essentially the Banks of Emission.... The capital which by means of credit ought to have entered into circulation throughout the country was cornered by the Científicos themselves, who always made up the Boards of Directors and were the founders and administrators of the banks.¹¹

Table 32 details the banking activities of thirteen Unión Liberal delegates. Five of these delegates owned haciendas, while four others belong to hacienda owning families; the fathers of three more (Núñez, Camacho and Pardo) were professionals who had held cabinet level positions earlier in the century; in fact, Núñez' father was Juárez' secretary of the treasury. That the thirteenth of the group, Rosenda Pineda appeared in banking circles can be explained by his role as Romero Rubio's private secretary and liaison with Congress.

TABLE 32

UNIÓN LIBERAL MEMBERS AND THE BANKING SECTOR

Delegate	Position	Institution	Year
Alcázar, Ramón	Advisor	Banco Central Mexicano	1907
	Vice-Pres.	Banco Agrícola y Hipotecario	1907
	Advisor	Almancén Generales de Depósito de México y Veracruz	1907
	Advisor	Banco de Estado de México	1907
	Founder	Banco de Estado de S.L.P.	1897
	Founder	Banco de Jalisco	1898
	Founder & 1st Pres.	Banco de Guanajuato	
	Rep. in D.F. Advisor	Banco de Michoacán Compañía Bancaria de Obras y Bienes Raíces	1907
Camacho, Sebastián	President	Banco Nacional	1907
	President	"La Mexicana" Insurance Company	1907
Casasús, Joaquín	President	Banco de Londres y México	
	Lawyer	Banco, Agrícola y Hipotecario de México	
	Lawyer & Advisor	Almancén Generales de México and Veracruz	
	Founder	Banco Mercantil de Monterrey	1899
	Advisor	Banco de Hidalgo	1902

TABLE 32 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Position	Institution	Year
Castañeda, Francisco de P.	President	Junta de Vigilancia for Guanajuato	1892
	Partner	Branch of the National Bank of Mexico La compañía "Guanajuatense-Zacatecana"--- leased las casas de moneda de Guanajuato y Zacatecas	1876
Macedo, Pablo	V.P. & Lawyer	Banco de Londres y México	1909- 1910
	Director	Caja de Préstamos	
MacManus, Tomás	President V.P.	Banco Mexicano de Comercio y Industria Compañía Bancario de Obras y Bienes Raíces	1879
	Founder	Banco de Chihuahua	
Núñez, Roberto	Advisor & Administrator	Banco Nacional de México	1909- 1910
	Director	Caja de Préstamos	
Pardo, Emilio Jr.	Advisor	Banco Internacional e Hipotecario de México	1891
Peniche, Manuel	Founder In the name of Nicanor Ancona	Banco de Nuevo León Banco de Yucatán	

TABLE 32 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Position	Institution	Year
Peña, Praxedis de la	President	Banco de Coahuila	1907
Pliego Pérez, Antonio	Director	Caja de Préstamos	1909- 1910
	Comisario Delegate Founder	Banco de Estado de México Asociación Financiera Internacional "Latina Americana" Insurance Company	
Valenzuela, Nicolás	Advisor	Banco de Tabasco	1907

Real Estate

Altogether, nineteen delegates are known to have owned real estate other than haciendas. The category of real estate is divided between those who invested in urban property and those involved in rural property for land speculation. The concept of propietario, or property owner, included the individual home-owner, the urban landlord, and the land developer as well. While three delegates owned both urban and rural land (Escudero, Macedo and Rivas) the majority were urban property owners only. In general, urban property owners owned real estate where they resided, which included but was not limited to their own homes. Some, like Emilio Pimentel, who shuttled regularly between the capital and his home in Oaxaca, owned a residence in each city.

At the lower end of the spectrum of propietarios was Francisco Sosa, whose Sunday luncheons at number five, calle Juárez, Coyoacán, were frequented by members of the Porfirian political elite.¹² In 1917 the house and its finca were free and clear of obligations, as was Sosa's furniture, books and paintings. However, by the time he died in 1925 the property, valued at 14,205 pesos, was heavily mortgaged. Sosa, a bachelor, author and head of the national library, instructed his albacea, or executor, historian Alberto María Carreño, to sell the house, pay his mortgages and give whatever remained to his servants,

who had not been paid for several years. Impoverished, he was buried by the state.

In contrast, Joaquín Casasús owned ten houses and ten lots in Mexico City, valued at over one million pesos in 1916. Casasús' properties were exclusive; he rented them out with fine antique furnishings to foreigners or regional elite.

More typical of the trend manifested by Unión Liberal delegates was Ignacio Escudero, who owned four properties in the Federal District, purchased from the proceeds of his first wife's estate. These properties, valued at 105,286 pesos in 1904, earned 3,828 pesos annually. Similarly, in 1908 José Antonio Puebla, who identified himself as a propietario, had two properties in Mexico City, valued at 26,840 pesos. This amount represents only twenty-one percent of his 128,538 peso estate. (Puebla must have liquidated much of his property before he died, as the majority of this estate, some seventy-six thousand pesos, was left in cash in the Banco Nacional de México.)

Though Puebla lived in one of the two above mentioned properties, he received rent from both, indicating that one's personal residence could double as income property. Certainly this was the case for Ignacio Escalante, whose home at 69 San Andres Street also housed the offices of Taller de Escalante.

And if one dwelling house could have two functions, several could have one. Pablo Macedo, for example, owned a predio, or estate in Tlalpam, which had a manor house called La Garita. This was in addition to his Mexico City residence and his Tlaxcalan hacienda. Carlos Rivas, owner of one finca, one quinta and a house named La Quinta María de los Angeles, also had a Mexico City residence valued at 10,710 pesos in 1908.

In addition, Rivas and Macedo were also land developers. Rural land speculation became an increasingly profitable enterprise during the Porfirato primarily because of the expropriation of "wastelands," or terrenos baldíos. Although a law was codified as early as 1863, it was not until 1883 that a concerted effort was underway to survey and colonize large tracts of "underdeveloped" lands. Land companies established in the north were popular among Unión Liberal delegates. Macedo owned 3,620,532 hectares of land in Baja California, Jesús Valenzuela 6,954,626 in Chihuahua, and Manuel Peniche 2,188,174 in Sonora.

In 1891 Carlos Rivas founded the Sociedad de Terrenos del Territorial de Tepic, which was granted a federal concession to develop terrenos baldíos. The 1891 contract superseded one issued in 1888 to fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Felipe Arellano; evidently Arellano and Associates did not fulfill the original

contract to survey, map and colonize the Tepic lands.

Another who received a government concession was Alejandro Elquezábal, who in 1895 obtained from the Department of Development rights to construct an irrigation canal in Coahuila, from the River Sabinas, in the Monclova District, to the land he owned near Muzquiz, in the same district. To guarantee the completion of the obligations imposed by the concession, Elquezábal deposited in the Banco Nacional de México the sum of \$4,000 in paper of the public debt or \$2,000 in cash. As the concessionaire, Elquezábal was allowed the free importation of all machinery and tools required for the project; the capital invested would be free from taxation during a term of five years.¹³ Table 33 identifies the real estate owned by the nineteen delegates.

Mining

Eleven delegates were associated with the mining industry, though few considered themselves mineros, or miners. Trinidad García, a minero, owned La Esmeralda mining company, which consisted of five mines and adjoining property (El Ermitano, with 6 hectares of land; La Sangre de Cristo with 6; La de Trinidad, with 4; la de Caridad, with 2 and la de Luz y anexos with 4). Included in La Esmeralda was Canoas, a hacienda de beneficio or refinery, some houses, and all kinds of construction

TABLE 33
REAL ESTATE OWNED BY UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

<u>Part I: Urban</u>	
Name	Property
1. Bulnes	3 houses in D.F.; lived in one of them, owning another next door.
2. Casasús	10 houses & 10 lots in D.F. valued at 1,005,891 in 1916; personal house valued at 355,980.
3. Castañeda y Nájera	6 houses in D.F.
4. Castillo	1 property in D.F. with house under construction; property rented out for 660 annually; purchased in 1896.
5. Escalante	69 San Andres; home and office.
6. Escontría	6 properties in S.L.P.; (2 lands; 3 houses, including <u>un solar</u> ; valued at 13,270 in 1905.
7. Escudero ¹	4 properties in D.F. earning 3,828 annually; in 1904 they were valued at 105,286.
8. Luelmo	5 properties in Veracruz purchased during Reforma at discount (paid 6,000 for 9,750 worth of goods).
9. Macedo ¹	15 properties in the D.F. valued at 518,666.45 in 1919 (1 predio in Tlalpam and La Garita; 2 lands in Tlalpam, one has 165 lots in it; 3 D.F. lots; 8 D.F. houses).
10. Núñez	6 D.F. houses, one valued at 80,000 in 1910.
11. Pimentel	1 house and 1 lot in Oaxaca; 1 Mexico City house.
12. Puebla	2 D.F. houses valued at 26,840 in 1908.

TABLE 33 (cont'd.)

Name	Property
13. Rayón	Property owner in Guerrero-- no inventory.
14. Rivas, C. ¹	1 Mexico City residence, valued at 10,710 in 1908; the Quinta María de los Angeles.
15. Sosa	1 home with finca in Coyoacán valued at 14,205 in 1925.

Part II: Rural

1. Arellano, Felipe	Colonization project in the Terri- tory of Tepic, 1888.
2. Escudero, Ignacio ¹	Colonization project in Michoacán.
3. Macedo, Pablo ¹	3,620,532 hectares of land in Baja California.
4. Peniche, Manuel	2,188,174 hectares of land in Sonora.
5. Rivas, Carlos ¹	Sociedad de Terrenos de Terri- torial de Tepic, 1891.
6. Rivas Gómez, Fran- cisco	Investor in Sociedad de Terrenos de Territorial de Tepic.
7. Valenzuela, Jesús	6,954,626 hectares of land in Chihuahua.

¹owned both urban and rural property.

Source: Appendix A.

goods and tools, valued at 21,000 pesos. By 1892 García had owned these properties, located in and around the partido de Sombrerete, Zacatecas, for at least twenty

years, and was then looking for some capital to renovate and reopen them. He was financed in this venture by the Sociedad Mercantil Viadero, which consisted of the Viadero brothers, Leopoldo and José; one lived in Zacatecas, the other in the Federal District. When García contracted the 15,000 loan, Mexican production of gold and silver was increasing significantly: in 1893-94, 864,234 pesos was exported from the country, while by 1902 that figure rose to 9,315,275.¹⁴ We do not know if García sold or retained his mine by the time he died in 1906, but I assume that the refinancing was a success, inasmuch as by 1908 the mine employed 100 men. Though this was not a small enterprise, it was not as large as the nearby Candelaria mines which employed 350 workers, or American Smelting Securities Company which had 250 employees.

Neither García nor his family were new to mining. In fact, his father or uncle, Francisco García Salinas, was credited with resurrecting the industry by terminating one of the state's bust cycles in 1831, when he used government funds to finance the draining of mines in the Cerro Proaño region, near Fresnillo. It is not possible to determine what the García family owned in that area, though in 1835 one Trinidad García was 3rd alcalde in Fresnillo and later, in the 1860's, Unión Liberal delegate Trinidad García was jefe político of the same partido or district. Francisco García was not the only one to

contribute to the improvement of the Zacatecan mining industry. Trinidad, a trained pharmacist, himself invented a method for extracting sulfur from copper; he perfected this method at his Esmeralda mines which contained copper and lead in addition to gold and silver.

Mine owners and management did not have to live near the mining sites. García contracted the 15,000 pesos loan in the Federal District, where he had primarily resided since 1876; he had served in Díaz' first cabinet and had regularly been in Congress, representing the Federal District since the 1880's. Prior to moving to the capital he held regional office, serving first as secretary and later governor of his natal state, Zacatecas.

Not all those involved in mining were as experienced as Trinidad García. General Ignacio Escudero, for example, who in November 1892 had, at the age of fifty-six, 44 years, two months and five days of active military service, became the president of the Tres Mariás Mining Company. The business owned two mines, San Pedro and Tres Mariás, in the mining area of Pozas, municipio de San Luis de la Paz, Guanajuato. Escudero, appointed for four years by the board of directors, was to represent the company in all judicial and governmental matters, having special powers when necessary.

Tres Mariás was a growing concern that added the

Minervia Mines and annexes in 1893. In his capacity as president, Escudero hired one Jacinto Acosta of San Luis de la Paz to oversee Minervia, and Ignacio G. Rocha as consulting engineer and director of the Tres Mariás facilities. (It is difficult to know if these two were related to Unión Liberal delegates, Miguel Acosta and Sóstenes Rocha.) While Escudero was performing these managerial functions as president of Tres Mariás, he was coincidentally undersecretary and acting Minister of the War Department. Evidently Tres Mariás Mining Company did not survive until 1908.

Carlos Rivas and Joaquín Casasús are included in this section, although they were not miners, or even mine executives. As businessmen they balance the discussion by showing investors' response to the industry. In 1908 Rivas had 6,790 pesos invested in three mines, holding two hundred shares of la Compañía Minera y Beneficiadora de San Antonio y Anexos, worth 3,000 pesos; and fifty shares of Compañía Minera de Dolores, worth 3,750; and finally twenty shares of La Compañía de Minera de San Vicente y Anexas in Temazcaltepec, valued at 40 pesos.

Joaquín Casasús had a significant number of mining investments in his portfolio when he died in 1916 in self-imposed exile in New York. No doubt the disruptions to the industry caused by the 1910 Revolution explain in

part the stocks' unspectacular worth. Table 34 details Casasús' investment in addition to the interests held by the other ten delegates.

TABLE 34
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES IN THE MINING SECTOR

Name	Remarks
1. Alcázar, Ramón	Owned San Rafael Protectora in Guanajuato; also mine in S.L.P.
2. Arellano, Felipe	Owned Chihuahua mines of Las Yedras, 1860's & 70's.
3. Casasús, Joaquín	Invested in Compañía Explotadora de Minas (3,025 shares @ 1 peso); Compañía Minería Ignacio Rodríguez Ramos (160 shares @ 43.56); Minera Blanca y Anexos (1,300 shares, worth \$51,610 or 39.70 per share (in 1912 Blanca was worth 70.50 per share); Minera de Santa Ana y Anexos @ 120.75 (1912 it was worth 210 each); he held 44 shares valued at 5,313; Minera de Unión y Concordia valueless; Minas de Ora de Cerro Colorado, valueless.
4. Castañeda, Francisco de P.	Owned La Purísima, hacienda de beneficio; employed 75, located in Marfil, Guanajuato.
5. Escudero, Ignacio	President La Tres María, Guanajuato.
6. Elquezábal, Alejandro	Owner of Compañía Minera de la Paz, 1898 in Chihuahua.
7. García, Trinidad	Owned Esmeralda; employed 100 in 1908; Zacatecas.

TABLE 34 (cont'd.)

Name	Remarks
8. MacManus, Tomás	Owned Minera de la Concepción, Michoacán.
9. Peniche, Manuel	Owned Zumpancuahila, Guerrero, 1898.
10. Peña, Pradexis	Owned San Patricio, Chihuahua.
11. Rivas, Carlos	Investor.

Transportation

Unión Liberal delegates who participated in business and industry were attracted to the financial possibilities engendered by the revolution in the transportation industry. Members of the older generation, such as Alcázar, Camacho and Castañeda tended to be involved in the railway boom, while younger delegates, such as Macedo and Casasús followed newer trends, investing in asphalt and tramways respectively. Table 35 identifies the participation in transportation by eight delegates.

TABLE 35

UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES PARTICIPATING IN TRANSPORTATION

Delegate	Remarks
1. Alcázar, Ramón	Rio Verde, S.L.P.; Cuernavaca Line in Morelos

TABLE 35 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Remarks
2. Camacho, Sebastián	La Compañía Limitada del Ferrocarril de Sonora, 1874.
3. Casasús, Joaquín	President, Mexico City Electric Tramway, 1900.
4. Castañeda, Francisco	La Compañía Ferrocarril de Celaya, 1880.
5. Castillo, Apolinar	Director and Manager, Mexico City Street Car Company, 1895.
6. Macedo, Pablo	Compañía de Pavimientos de Asfalto, 1898.
7. Peniche, Manuel	Representative of Yucatán Railway in Mexico City.
8. Valenzuela, Jesús	Compañía Carbonifera de Piedras Negras, railway builders.

Source: Appendix A.

Commerce

As used here, commerce includes wholesale and retail of manufactured or processed goods, such as agricultural implements, dry goods, and hardware. Three of the six delegates who engaged in commerce owned dry goods companies in regional areas, whereas Alcázar and Company imported machinery. Agustín Sanginés, the fifth delegate in commercial activity, administered the military bakery in Baja California; he sold government goods to the public. Ricardo Hornedo is included in this section because as a

comisionista he bought and sold goods produced on haciendas. None of the merchants, save Hornedo, had his business in the capital. Table 36 lists the six delegates and their commercial enterprises.

TABLE 36
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES PARTICIPATING
IN COMMERCE

Delegate	Remarks
1. Alcázar, Ramón	Alcázar and Stallforth Co., Guanajuato.
2. Castañeda Francisco	Agricultural implements, Guanajuato.
3. Hornedo, Ricardo	Comisionista, Mexico City.
4. MacManus, Tomás	Merchant, dry goods, sewing machines, Chihuahua.
5. Luelmo, Pedro	Bookseller, stationier, fancy goods, furniture and hardware in Jalapa, Veracruz.
6. Sanginés, Agustín	Bakery in Baja California.

Summary

An examination of the delegates' business interests, including the study of inventories of entire estates, tempts one to try to calculate their wealth. The vaguely defined categories and stated opinions of many observers have caused as much confusion as enlightenment. For example Elizabeth D. Trowbridge wrote:

The Díaz government was not of the rich class (italics mine). They /the rich/ hardly entered government but were willing to give their support for peace. Only a few directly associated with government.¹⁵

This author believed that had "the rich" participated directly, they would have been careful to avoid the abuses which eventually threatened their existence. The question remains, who were "the rich?" Considering the importance of the hacienda system to the national economy, it is natural to associate "the rich" with this sector. There were, however, vast haciendas and small ones, profitable and unprofitable ones. As Jan Bazant demonstrates in Cinco Haciendas Mexicanas, it is highly difficult to measure hacienda profitability, even where there is voluminous documentation on a given enterprise, information about revenues and sale prices is unsystematic.¹⁶

Should we identify the rich with the old guard included in Las Familias Mas Antiguas de México, or with the new commercial elite arriving from abroad?¹⁷ Difficulties with documentation arise here also, as in the case of the haciendas. Besides, there are other factors to be considered in attempting to calculate overall wealth, especially since the true bearer of wealth was the family, not the individual. In this study of the Unión Liberal delegates difficulties are compounded by the sources, which tend to emphasize the later Porfirato and prominent men over less important Díaz supporters.

Therefore, at this point, it would be premature to address directly the question of whether the Unión Liberal people are really of the "very rich." For the moment let us be content with observing that over half either owned haciendas at some time during the Porfiriato, or were of families that did. This alone puts them at a certain level. There remains the basic questions of whether wealth was acquired as a result of political activities or was a part of a general drive toward prominence on all fronts at once, and, also, whether the wealth was old or new. We have seen that at least some haciendas and mining interests had already been in the family for two generations or more. Haciendas in the families of younger, non-owning members point in the same direction, and the fact that owners are mainly older may be an indication of normal inheritance patterns of already existing family properties. That half of the twenty-three owners made the hacienda their primary business also hints at the property aspect as basic and lasting rather than as simply a product of political favor, at least in these cases. Further than this I cannot go until systematic large-scale economic research produces something approaching an identification and ranking of Mexico's greatest fortunes during the period. Similar surveys for earlier periods in the nineteenth century, as well as exhaustive genealogies of prominent

Mexican families across the entire century, would be requisites for making blanket statements about new versus old wealth.

With banking and finance, one is much more inclined to suspect that political influence produced the board memberships. Yet of the thirteen delegates engaged in banking, nine were connected with hacienda interests (five as hacendados, four as members of hacienda families), so that it seems just as likely that their financial activity was an offshoot of their or their families' economic strength in the agricultural sector. Since the very existence of organized banking was a new phenomenon, we can say that at least the form was new, even if the capital itself may not have been recently acquired. In general, the Unión Liberal members showed a willingness to enter new or timely branches of economic activity, including new forms of transportation and communications as they arose. They combined newer types of enterprise with older ones, especially where these were then profitable, like henequen and sugar. Doubtless the same could be said of the entire class of Mexican investors, so the Unión Liberal membership hardly stands out as something distinct on these grounds. The one type of activity that smacks of political influence is speculation in the empty northern regions, where the federal government seems to have played a greater role than in the rest

of the country--yet it remains to be seen if such speculation was not commonplace among wealthy Mexicans of the time.

An important feature of the hacendados and members of the hacendado families is that they tended to own land in their natal regions or adjacent areas, indicating significant ties to these areas, which for the most part were located outside of Mexico City. These delegates demonstrate strong identification with regional concerns by simultaneously owning land in certain areas and representing them in political organizations (i.e., the Unión Liberal Convention) and public office. Only five delegates out of the fifty-four mentioned in this chapter are not known to have served in public office.

A final characteristic of businessmen is that out of the fifty-four, thirty-six held professional titles. Thus even among those delegates who tend to make their primary business concerns the hacienda, there was diversification to the extent that they were also professional and political beings. Both the stars and the rank and file show a propensity for variety; only an issue of degree differentiates one from another.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a detailed discussion of business sectors see González Navarro, La vida social; Francisco R. Calderon, El porfiriato: La vida economica; and José Luis Ceceña, México en la órbita imperial: las empresas transnacionales.
2. The earliest will examined, written in 1871, belonged to Manuel Castañeda y Nájera, father of a Unión Liberal delegate. The date of this will was an exception, with the majority of the wills being written after 1897.
3. González Navarro, La vida social, p. 187.
4. Included in the hacienda category are fincas and ranchos. The distinction is generally one of size, which often is determined by the location of the property.
5. It is interesting to note that the Gulf region, an important agricultural region, over-represented in relationship to the size of the area's population and over-represented by journalists, sent only one delegate-hacendado to the convention. On the other hand, the four delegate-hacendados from the Frontier region equal eighty percent of that area's delegation.
6. As quoted to me in the notes of John M. Tutino, taken from a private copy of the Ipiña family history.
7. Of course this could have become a family estate since the Revolution, but the hacienda's pre-Portirian history was indicated in an interview with a surviving family member.
8. The bank Santa Eulalia, founded by Tomás MacManus' father, a Scot immigrant in 1875, was Mexico's first commercial bank to survive. In 1888 it became Banco Comercio de Chihuahua. See Walter McCaleb, Present and Past Banking in Mexico (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1929), p. 60.

9. In the 1880's it was a world-wide depression that motivated political and commercial interests to institutionalize the banking system.
10. Percy F. Martin, Mexico of the XXth Century, 2 vols. (London: Edward Arnold, 1907), vol. 1, p. 154.
11. Antonio Manero, The Meaning of the Mexican Revolution, p. 49.
12. Vicente G. Quesado, Recuerdos de mi vida diplomática, misión en México, 1891 (Buenos Aires: Librería de J. Menéndez, 1904), p. 39.
13. Mexican Herald, October 6, 1895. For a detailed discussion of the abuses wrought in the name of terrenos baldíos, see González Navarro, Historia moderna de México, El porfiriato: La vida social, pp. 187-193.
14. Ricardo García Granados, Historia de México desde la restauración de la República en 1867 hasta la caída de Huerta, Tomo I (México: Editorial Jus, 1956), p. 439.
15. Elizabeth D. Trowbridge, Mexico Today and Tomorrow (New York: Macmillan, 1919), p. 98.
16. Jan Bazant, Cinco haciendas mexicanas: tres siglos de vida rural en San Luis Potosí, 1600-1900 (México: El Colegio de México, 1975).
17. Ricardo Ortega y Pérez Gallardo, Historia genealógica de las familias mas antiguas de México, 3 vols. (3rd edition; México: n.p., 1908).

CHAPTER VI

DELEGATES' FAMILY TIES AND FINAL YEARS

Family ties grounded the social network of the Mexican elite, facilitating the economic and political careers of its members. To study the individual in any depth requires an examination of the familial context. The discussion of family ties is divided into two parts, marriage and bloodlines, and is followed by the section on the delegates' final years. These topics are included in one chapter not only because they are drawn from the same types of documents, mainly wills and pensions, but also because they both relate to the issue of continuity. In other words both topics, family ties and final years, deal with basic demographic data of the delegates' mature lives.

Marriage

Data on the marriage patterns of thirty-three delegates were collected primarily from marriage certificates, included as a matter of course in the wills and inventories of Unión Liberal delegates. From the wills it appears to have been common to name the wife as albacea, or executor of one's estate, indicating that

women were potentially significant in the management of one's properties. Table 37 breaks down the data on marriage by the number of times married: thirty-two delegates married at least once, while one delegate, Francisco Sosa, never married at all. The four delegates who married a second time were widowers. Unión Liberal delegates did not divorce, nor were any married more than two times. Data on thirty-seven delegates were unavailable; from what is already known, it is probable that the majority of these delegates married at least once.

TABLE 37
SUMMARY OF MARRIAGE PATTERNS AMONG
UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Married once	28
Married twice	4
Never married	<u>1</u>
Known	33
Unknown	<u>37</u>
Total	70

Source: Appendix A.

As seen in Table 38, the delegates for whom there are data are evenly divided between those marrying women from their natal region and those who married women from

different regions; in thirteen cases the regional origins of the wives are unknown.

TABLE 38
SUMMARY OF REGIONAL ORIGINS OF SPOUSES
FOR UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Same region	10
Different region	12
Region unknown	<u>13</u>
Total	35

Going beyond the numbers, we see that of the twelve who married women from different regions, there are at least five cases in which the regional differences are misleading. Francisco Aspe's wife, Dolores Emparán, though born in Cuba, was the daughter or niece of José de Emparán, jefe político of Veracruz, Aspe's natal state. Agustín Sanginés, representing Chihuahua at the Unión Liberal Convention, married the daughter of one of that state's ex-governors. Sanginés, an army officer, was stationed in Chihuahua from 1889 until 1904, when he was transferred to another post in northern Mexico.

Likewise, Apolinar Castillo married the daughter of a local family of the area of his adopted residence; originally from Oaxaca, Castillo moved to Orizaba, where

he was a professor of chemistry. His wife, Concepción Santos Prado, lived in the nearby town of Chalchimula, Puebla, where her family were landowners. And then, Joaquín Casasús, originally from Tabasco, married a resident of his adopted home, Mexico City.

Ignacio Escudero's second marriage illustrates the same pattern. Escudero, who represented Sinaloa at the Unión Liberal Convention, was a widower when he married María Vega y Osuma, originally of Sinaloa. Almost a decade before his second wife was born, Escudero, an army officer, served in the state by protecting it from a French invasion. In 1884 he represented the state in the senate. In 1890 the state of Sinaloa presented Escudero with an award for the services he had rendered in its defense. In 1896, five years after the death of his first wife, he married María Vega y Osuma, thirty-nine years his junior. Witnesses at the wedding included the then governor of the state, Francisco Cañedo, and a one-time governor, Mariano Martínez del Castro.

Table 39 provides the names and birthplaces of the thirty-three delegates and their wives; this number represents approximately half of all Unión Liberal participants.

Another characteristic of the marriages besides common regional origin was the large age difference between bride and groom (especially marked in cases of

TABLE 39
REGIONAL ORIGINS OF UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES
AND THEIR WIVES

Delegate and Wife	Birthplace
1. Felipe Arellano Felicitás Milán	Sinaloa Unknown
2. Francisco Aspe Dolores de Emparán	Veracruz Havana, Cuba
3. Francisco Bulnes María Teresa Irigoyen de la Vega	Mexico City Chihuahua
4. Luis Caballero Isabel Escobar	Michoacán Unknown
5. Sebastián Camacho Loreta Pizarro	Veracruz Unknown
6. Joaquín Casasús Catalina Guillén Altamirano	Tabasco Mexico City
7. Rafael Casco Dolores Madrid	Tlaxcala Unknown
8. Apolinar Castillo Concepción Santos Prado	Oaxaca Puebla
9. Esteban Cházari Amelia Fenochio	Chiapas Unknown
10. Vidal Castañeda y Nájera Clotilde Espinosa de Monteros	Mexico City Mexico City
11. Pedro Diez Gutiérrez Esther Gusmán	San Luis Potosí Unknown
12. Alejandro Elquezábal María Galán	Coahuila Coahuila
13. Ignacio Escalante -----Jens Leonor Emparán	Mexico City Unknown Guerrero
14. Blas Escontría Guadalupe Salín	San Luis Potosí Mexico City

TABLE 39 (cont'd.)

Delegate and Wife	Birthplace
15. Ignacio Escudero 1st Wife María Vega y Osuma	Mexico City Unknown Sinaloa
16. Trinidad García Luz Valdes	Zacatecas Unknown
17. José Ives Limantour María Cañas de Buch	Mexico City Mexico City
18. Pablo Macedo Concepción Velázquez	Mexico City Mexico City
19. Ignacio Mañón y Valle Catarina Lorada	México Unknown
20. Roberto Núñez Josefina Prida y Arteaga	Mexico City Oaxaca
21. Emilio Pardo Jr. Enriquita Aspe	Mexico City Veracruz
22. Emilio Pimentel Amparo Jordan	Oaxaca Unknown
23. Antonio Pliego Pérez Amparo Villalva	México México
24. José Antonio Puebla Josefa Reyes	Mexico City Unknown
25. Francisco Rayón Carlotta Cabañas Dolors Tejada	Guerrero Guerrero Michoacán
26. Carlos Rivas Leonor Rivas	Sonora Cousin
27. Francisco Rivas Gómez Delfina Varela	Tepic Tepic
28. Sóstenes Rocha Guadalupe Ramírez	Guanajuato Guanajuato

TABLE 39 (cont'd.)

Delegate and Wife	Birthplace
29. Agustín Sanginés 1st wife Teresa Villalva	Oaxaca Unknown Chihuahua
30. Justo Sierra Luz Mayora Carpio	Campeche Mexico City
31. Francisco Sosa	Bachelor
32. Jesús Valenzuela Juana González	Durango Unknown
33. Eduardo Velázquez engaged to Carlotta Ricoy	Mexico City Mexico City

Source: Appendix A.

second marriage). Only in those cases where delegates married in their twenties did they do so with their chronological peers. Otherwise, as the grooms aged, the difference increased. This trend is substantiated by the data on first and second marriages given in Table 40.

Representative of an elite marriage marked by a large age difference was the eighteen-year age spread between Blas Escontría and his wife Guadalupe Salín--she was nineteen, he thirty-seven when they married. His parents, Manuel Escontría and Guadalupe Bustamente, were part of the San Luis Potosí landed elite (also, his maternal grandfather, Anastasio Bustamente, was president of Mexico briefly in 1832). Guadalupe Salín,

TABLE 40
AGES FOR UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES
AND THEIR WIVES

Part I: First Marriage			
Delegate	Delegate's Age ¹	Wife's Age	Difference
1. Núñez	22	21	1
2. Limantour	26		
3. Rayón	27	22	5
4. Casasús	28	28	None
5. Macedo, P.	33	17	16
6. Castillo	34	22	12
7. Velázquez	34		
8. Pimentel	35		
9. Escontría	37	19	18
10. Rocha	45	17	28
Part II: Second Marriage			
11. Sanginés	38	24	14
12. Rayón	46	25	21
13. Escalante	47	23	24
14. Escudero	60	21	39
Part III: Date of Marriage Unknown			
15. Aspe			5
16. García, T.			7
17. Bulnes			10

¹Males in ascending order according to age at marriage.

Source: Appendix A.

on the other hand, was the daughter of a Spanish merchant family. Although his wife stated that she contributed nothing of the 205,000 pesos that comprised their initial

cache, she eventually owned property in her own right in San Luis Potosí.

If a large age difference was the rule, there were exceptions, such as Joaquín Casasús' marriage to the daughter of his mentor, Ignacio Altamirano, famous Mexican statesman and poet. (Eventually Casasús organized a very exclusive intellectual club called the Society Altamirano.) Both bride and groom were twenty-eight when they married.

Marriages marked by a large age difference indicate that elite marriages represent an alliance between two established men, the groom and the father of the bride. The topic of marriage also introduces the relationship of women to the Porfirian political elite; women represent family just as the men do. Hence, formal marriage contracts were not unusual; they listed the property that each contributed and described a formula for its division should one partner die before a will was drawn.

The wife's contribution to a marriage could be substantial, as in the case of Josefina Prida y Arteaga, who married Roberto Núñez in Mexico City on May 1, 1881. The wedding must have been a significant social event. The groom was the fourth of nine children born to prominent, life-long Mexico City residents, José Higinio Núñez and Juana Castañares. The bride was the daughter of Francisco Prida, a Spaniard who coincidentally was an intimate of Porfirio Díaz. Prida came to Mexico, married

into an important Oaxacan family (the bride's mother was the Marquesa de Arteaga) and established himself as an active entrepreneur. By the time they were married, the Pridas were Mexico City residents. Also at the time of the marriage, Roberto Núñez claimed to have contributed nothing to the conjugal resources; like his father, he was a professional. Furthermore, his will reveals that his ultimate status as a millionaire was in fact derived from his wife's dowry, plus the property she inherited upon her father's death.

José Ives Limantour and his wife María Cañas also enjoyed complementary social benefits; they topped off the Limantour wealth with the Cañas family prestige (Cañas' Spanish lineage in Mexico predated Mexican Independence) to secure their respective places in the forefront of Mexican and European haut mode. No doubt María's closeness with Carmen Romero Rubio de Díaz (they were childhood playmates) did not hurt the couple's attractiveness. After their marriage José indefatigably pursued stature in financial and intellectual circles, while his wife indulged their aristocratic pretensions; in 1908 she organized the publication of the Genealogical History of Mexico's Oldest Families.

To what degree do the Unión Liberal delegates intermarry? Given that regional origins play a significant role in the selection of a spouse, one expects to find

cases of intermarriage among delegates who moved from the regional capitals to Mexico City. This prediction is borne out by the fact that Francisco Aspe's daughter married Emilio Pardo Jr. Both sides of the family had important connections in Veracruz, though they resided in the Federal District. Pablo Macedo married a local woman, who was the sister of fellow delegate Eduardo Velázquez. And Joaquín Casasús' daughter, Evangelina, married Justo Sierra's son. Both families, originally from the Yucatán area, were ultimately long-time Mexico City residents. This analysis is limited because it does not take into account the innumerable possibilities that exist through tracing the spouses' families. Given what we do know, it appears that the Unión Liberal delegates intermarried mainly to the degree that they shared regional ties or origins, which is perceptible though slight. However, marriage was only one way in which the Unión Liberal delegates were related, as discussed in the next section on bloodlines.

Bloodlines

Because familial networks are partially identifiable by surnames, we know that the seventy Unión Liberal delegates were born into no more than sixty-eight families. Thus the discussion of bloodlines begins with sibling relationships. The two sets of brothers who participated

in the Unión Liberal Convention were Miguel and Pablo Macedo, representing Michoacán and México respectively, and Carlos Rivas and Francisco Rivas Gómez, representing Guanajuato and Tepic respectively. The Rivas brothers were older than the Macedos. Francisco Rivas, born in Tepic, married the daughter of a local landowning family, the Varelas. If Francisco was intellectually inclined, being a teacher and author, Carlos, the elder brother who resided in Mexico City, was active commercially and politically. The brothers worked together, however, pooling their resources as seen in the notarial contract for the land development company, La Sociedad de Terreno del Territorial de Tepic; both brothers invested, though it was Carlos who took the leading role as the company's president. When Carlos died, he appointed his brother, rather than his wife albacea of his estate.

The Macedo brothers, born and raised in the Federal District, were the sons of a Portuguese merchant who originally settled in Jalisco. They coordinated their activities in much the same way as the Rivas brothers; Pablo, the eldest, was very energetic politically and commercially, while Miguel preferred local government to national office and academics to business. Like the Rivas brothers, they too pooled their strengths, when, for example, Pablo as President of the Banco de Comercio y Industria, retained Miguel as the bank's attorney. In

both the Rivas and the Macedo cases, the greater prominence went to the older brother, especially on the national political scene.

Other important brother teams, such as the Limantours, were represented at the convention by only one sibling. José Limantour, the Unión Liberal delegate, was appointed Minister of Finance in 1893; his brother, Julio, was the partner in the banking house of Hugo Schere and Company, also serving on the board of directors of several banks and important industrial firms. In addition, Julio was the son-in-law of the Mexican national hero, Ignacio Mariscal. Documents found in the Limantour correspondence at the University of Texas indicate that the brothers worked closely to manage familial interests.

The Casasús brothers were represented at the Unión Liberal by Joaquín, though Carlos, as the son-in-law of Molino Oligario, was also a significant political actor. Molino Oligario was the ex-governor of the Yucatán, and later Minister of Development, in addition to being, by the end of the Porfiriato, the largest single landowner in that area.¹

Other important families represented by one brother at the Unión Liberal Convention include the Zárates of Veracruz, important in intellectual and political circles as was their father. And finally, the Díez Gutiérrez brothers, represented at the convention by Pedro,

monopolized the governorship of San Luis Potosí for more than twenty years. Evidently the fraternal phenomenon, hermanimiento, did not go unnoticed during the period:

The system was general: there were governors of states who gave the succession not to their friends or distant relatives, but to their blood brothers. Aside from the spirit of the constitutional reform having been cheated in this way, it created irresponsible rule by a puppet.²

Responsibilities that usually fell to the older brother included looking after dependent relatives, sisters and the like. Vidal Castañeda y Nájera, an eldest son (though there was some accusation that he was illegitimate) was appointed executor of his father's estate, which included the management of what remained of his great uncles' properties (Don José Sanchez, a priest, and Don Manuel Hermosa) as well as the financial support of his unmarried half-sisters.

Naming patterns emphasized family continuity. Thus José Ives Limantour, Felipe Arellano, Ramón Alcázar, Rafael Casco and Carlos Rivas were named after their fathers, and all but Limantour had sons or nephews named after them. Clearly there were more delegates who were not named after their fathers--if these families were like others in the Hispanic world before and after them, they probably had a whole set of several first names that they tended to give to the children generation after generation.

There are data on the number of children for eighteen

married delegates; of these, ten delegates had five or more children. Two delegates, Sóstenes Rocha and Emilio Pimentel, are known to have had illegitimate children. Both acknowledged these offspring, giving them their family name and recognizing them in the will. Emilio Pimentel's daughter, María, resided in Oaxaca, where her father was governor from 1902 to 1911. Though Pimentel left his illegitimate daughter 10,000 of his 115,442 peso estate, the majority of his property was divided among his nephews, with whom he lived during the final years of his life. Table 41 specifies the number of children the eighteen Unión Liberal delegates had. According to the division of properties listed in the inventories, children were treated equally, there being no apparent preference given to males over females or to older over younger, though minors had guardians, called tutores. Nieces and nephews were often mentioned in wills, especially in cases where there were no offspring. This discussion of heirs leads into the third aspect of this chapter, specifically the final years of Unión Liberal delegates.

Final Years

On March 5, 1894 in the city of San Luis Potosí, Pedro Diez Gutiérrez, age 55, became the first Unión Liberal delegate to die; in 1945, Tomás MacManus was the

TABLE 41
NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Delegate	Number of Children
1. Aspe	13
2. Bulnes	2
3. Caballero	3
4. Casasús	7
5. Castañeda y Nájera	none
6. Castillo	5 (one was mentally ill)
7. Escalante	3
8. Escontría	9
9. Limantour	3
10. Núñez	9
11. Pimentel	1 (illegitimate)
12. Puebla	none
13. Rayón	5
14. Rivas	none
15. Rocha	7 (three were illegitimate)
16. Sanginés	5
17. Sierra	6
18. Valenzuela	5

Source: Appendix A.

last, being then ninety-one years old. By dying in provincial cities, neither delegate followed the pattern established by twenty-two others who died in the Federal District. Since only four of the twenty-two were born there, we can see in this fact how powerful Mexico City was in drawing residents from the provincial centers.

The transition from provincial beginnings to the national capital was generational in some cases. Julio Zárate, one of those dying in the capital, was the

grandson of a Veracruzano sugar hacendado and the son of a prominent Jalapan lawyer. Although his younger brother Eduardo, also a lawyer, resided in Jalapa as late as 1894, he too died in Mexico City. Julio lived in Mexico City throughout the Porfiriato (though he wrote local histories of his natal state). When he died in 1917, the family's hacienda in Veracruz had already been in the possession of one Guillermo Pasquel for more than a decade.³

Luis Caballero is an example of one of the ten delegates known to have died in a provincial capital. A respected jurist, President of the Michoacán Supreme Court and professor of law at the University of Michoacán, Caballero had a consistent relationship to the Federal District, even to the extent of seeking medical treatment there during his terminal illness. He returned to Morelia, however, before he died, to be surrounded by family and friends.

Of the ten delegates dying in the provinces, six died on their haciendas or in the capital city of their natal state; three died in Veracruz, two in the port city, and one in Jalapa. The tenth, Tomás MacManus, Chihuahuan landowner and banker, died in retirement in Cuernavaca. This is reflected in Table 42. Six delegates died in foreign countries. Two were in diplomatic assignments: Justo Sierra, Minister of Spain, died in Madrid in 1912; Luis Pérez Verdía died in Guatamala City

TABLE 42
THE LOCATION OF DEATH FOR
UNION LIBERAL DELEGATES

Federal District	22
Provincial Areas	10
Hacienda	2
Capital city of natal state	4
In retirement	1
Passing through	3
In foreign country	<u>6</u>
Known	38
Unknown	<u>32</u>
Total	70

in 1914. The other four who died abroad were in voluntary exile. On May 25, 1911 in Ciudad Juárez, José Ives Limantour resigned his post as Minister of Finance, while simultaneously turning the Mexican government over to Francisco Madero, and left for France. Likewise, the second in command at the treasury department, Roberto Núñez, departed, dying in Paris shortly thereafter, in 1914. Limantour, on the other hand, lived in France in quiet opulence for the next twenty-four years.

The exile, former Ambassador to the United States, Joaquín Casasús, died in 1916 in New York City, where he

was practicing law. Pablo Macedo died in Madrid in 1918. All four who died in exile, Limantour, Núñez, Casasús, and Macedo, had personal estates valuing eight hundred thousand pesos or more; they were all of the younger generation.

Twenty delegates are known to have survived the fall of the Porfiriato. Aside from the four cases mentioned above, one other delegate also went into self-imposed exile and then returned to Mexico City for the final years of his life. Francisco Bulnes, accustomed to traveling since he made his first trip to Japan in 1874, fled during the 1914-15 upheavals between Carranza and Obregon, in which he openly criticized the former. Bulnes left when Carranza was made President.

In contrast to those five delegates, who appear to behave just as Escobedo and Romero Rubio had in an earlier generation, when they left Mexico with ousted President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, most delegates lived their final years in a normal fashion. Francisco Ramírez, head of the Rurales forces, resigned his post July 29, 1911. From that time until he died in 1920 he received his military pension of 4,927.50 pesos per year, having served in the military for fifty-three years, nine months and twenty-one days. Agustín Sanginés, a member of the younger generation of delegates, was a personal friend of

Obregón. His active military service continued until 1918, when he retired, receiving a government pension of 4,580 pesos annually until his death in 1924.

Francisco Aspe began his retirement in 1897 at the age of sixty-two; he continued to cash in his insurance policies until he died in 1917, leaving a modest estate of about seven thousand pesos. Likewise Miguel Macedo, brother of the discredited delegate, continued to reside and teach in Mexico City. He assumed responsibility for his brother's estate (approximately three quarter million pesos) after Pablo died in 1918.

By and large, delegates died of natural causes or disease. Data on forty-three, summarized in Table 43, show that seventeen died in their sixties, thirteen in their seventies, followed by nine fifty-year olds. The forty-three known cases represent over sixty percent of the entire convention. Dying at a rate of at least ten percent a year, beginning in 1894, thirty percent of the delegates were known to be dead by the beginning of the 1910 Revolution. Should this number be increased with additional information, it still leaves a significant number of delegates surviving into the new regime. Essentially, what the known cases demonstrate is that the Revolution did not disrupt the patterns exhibited by the majority of delegates. The summary table preceeds Table 44 which details the data on death.

TABLE 43
SUMMARY OF AGES BY YEAR OF DEATH
FOR UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES

Died in:	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's	80's & over	Total
1894-1899	1		1	5 ^a			7
1900-1904				4	3		7
1905-1909			3	1	3		7
1910-1914			4	2	1		7
1915-1919			1	3	1		5
1920-1924				1	3		4
1925-1929				1	2		3
1930-1934						1	1
Later						2	2
Known	1	none	9	17 ^a	13	3	43
Unknown							<u>27</u>
Total							70

^aThree of the delegates in the sixty-year old category were placed there as a minimum age of death (i.e., I know what year they died, but I did not have birthdate, so I estimated sixty as a likely minimum death age.) For specifics see Table 44.

TABLE 44
CHRONOLOGY OF UNIÓN LIBERAL MEMBER DEATHS

Name	Year	Age	Location	Cause
1. Díez Gutiérrez, Pedro	1894	55	S. L. P.	
2. Nicoli, José Particio	1895	60 ^a	D. F.	
3. Mendizábal, F.	1896	60 ^a	Puebla	
4. Rocha, Sóstenes	1897	65	D. F.	Natural
5. Valazquez, Ed- uardo	1897	34	D. F.	Gunshot in the head
6. Llaven, Mágin	1898	60 ^a		
7. Peniche, Manuel	1899	65	Veracruz	
8. Lomelí, Sabás	1900	64	Guadalajara	
9. Castillo, Apol- inar	1902	60	D. F.	Natural
10. Escobedo, Mari- ano	1902	76	Tacubaya	Natural
11. Casteñada y Nájera, Vidal	1903	70		Natural
12. Güinchard, Miguel	1903	63	D. F.	
13. Escudero, Ignacio M.	1904	69		
14. Zamacona, Manuel	1904	78	D. F.	
15. Puebla, José Antonio	1905	79	D. F.	Natural

TABLE 44 (cont'd.)

Name	Year	Age	Location	Cause
16. García, Trinidad	1906	70/ 75	D. F.	
17. Escontría, Blas	1906	58	D. F.	Natural
18. Arellano, Felipe	1907	74	D. F.	
19. Rivas, Carlos	1908	64	D. F.	Natural
20. Escalante, Ignacio	1909	59	Jalapa	Natural
21. Rayón, Francisco	1909	52	D. F.	Natural
22. Pardo, Emilio Jr.	1911	62	D. F.	Natural
23. Valenzuela, Jesús	1911	56	D. F.	Natural
24. Núñez, Roberto	1911	53	Paris	
25. Sierra, Justo	1912	65	Madrid	Natural
26. Aspe, Francisco P.	1914	79	D. F.	Natural
27. Pérez Verdía, Luis	1914	59	Guatemala	
28. Pineda, Rosendo	1914	59	D. F.	
29. Caballero, Luis G.	1915	64	Morelia	
30. Casasús, Joaquín	1916	57	New York	Natural
31. Zárate, Julio	1917	73	D. F.	
32. Macedo, Pablo	1918	67	Madrid	
33. Rivas Gómez, F.	1919	66	Nayarit (Tepic)	Natural

TABLE 44 (cont'd.)

Name	Year	Age	Location	Cause
34. Ramírez, Francisco	1920	77	D. F.	
35. Saravia, Emiliano	1920	63	N/A	
36. Bulnes, Francisco	1924	77	N/A	Natural
37. Sanginés, Agustín	1924	74	D. F.	Natural
38. Sosa, Francisco	1925	77	Coyoacan	Natural
39. Pimentel, Emilio	1926	69	Veracruz	Natural
40. Macedo, Miguel	1929	73	D. F.	
41. Escobedo, Arcadio	1930	86	Mérida	
42. Limantour, José Ives	1935	81	Paris	
43. MacManus, Tomás	1945	91	Cuernavaca	
^a Estimated.				
Source: Appendix A.				

Summary

The characteristics exhibited by the Unión Liberal delegates with regard to marriage and bloodlines indicate that their familial structure followed the usual Hispanic patterns in all respects. The large age difference between bride and groom, the regional affiliation of spouses, the naming of children and the roles played by the elder brother, were all long-standing patterns of behavior, especially visible in prominent families but common to all. Recognition and care of illegitimate children was also consonant with earlier patterns. We can assume that if the families shared standard structural characteristics, they probably also functioned in a standard manner, acting as a single unit for economic and political as well as social purposes. We can further assume that allied families acted in the standard manner, not only intermarrying but loaning one another money, securing each other positions in the world of business and politics, and acting as godparents. Thus the Unión Liberal delegate families connected to even wider networks. In fact, my research shows them putting more emphasis on relations with local regional elites and to the broader Mexico City elite than on relations with each other.

Finally, it appears that the Mexican Revolution did little to disrupt the patterns of old age for the subjects

of this study. The fact that some delegates went into exile is comparable to the action of members of the older generation (already dead by the end of the Porfiriato) who followed Lerdo de Tejada into exile when ousted by Díaz in 1876. Clearly the older generation--Rocha, Escobedo, Romero Rubio--was not destroyed politically at that time. It appears that the Revolution likewise did little to destroy their younger counterparts, though I have yet to find evidence that they ever returned to high political office as the earlier exiles did.

FOOTNOTES

1. Allen Wells, "Family Elites in a Boom and Bust Economy: The Molinas and Peons of Porfirian Yucatán," unpublished paper delivered at the American Historical Association, December 28, 1978.
2. Daniel Cosío Villegas, Historia moderna de México: El porfiriato, la vida política interior, parte primera, p. 577.
3. The sons of regionally oriented Luis Pérez Verdía and Luis Caballero, moved to Mexico City to practice law while their fathers remained committed to the natal region.

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS

The present study originally began with the notion of using the Unión Liberal membership to test the hypothesis which suggests that late Porfirian politics were dominated by a well-defined, tightly organized clique whose outlook on life and mode of behavior was in strong contrast to those of their predecessors or contemporaries. This hypothesis was negated. Each chapter of this study shows the delegates in a different dimension to be just the opposite of unusual, specialized, tightly nucleated or newly recruited. In examining the subjects of the study, we see normal procedures, continuity with the past, diversification of activity, and a wide spread rather than narrow uniformity. Let us review the conclusions from the preceding chapters in this light.

Chapter II demonstrates that the Unión Liberal delegates span all the years of mature life, ranging in age from less than thirty to sixty-six, with little or no bunching in any one age group. The evenness of the age spread implies steady, continued recruitment with no sharp break in personnel. The presence of the older generation in high political office in Porfirian times

indicates a continuity from the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Likewise, the delegates come from a representative set of regions spread across the whole country. The capital, and the gulf as an economically flourishing region, were slightly over-represented. Here, the over-representation appears to be a normal reflection of social and economic strength. Furthermore, the delegates' educational background, including preparatory school in most cases and professional college training in a great many, is both normal for prominent Mexicans and unchanging from older to younger, except that a set of military men, already prominent before the Porfiriato, stand out somewhat from the rest. These military men were of the older generation, born in provincial areas and lacked professional education, as compared to those in the lettered arts who were by and large from the younger generation, born in the central region and college educated.

The Unión Liberal delegates, like nineteenth-century professionals anywhere in Spanish America could and did specialize along certain paths, attaining a true expertise, yet never to the exclusion of a wide range of other activities. This is consistent for both the lettered arts and the military. In Chapter III we see how professional activity was carried out: a broad spectrum of related activities were combined with each other and with economic

enterprises in an assortment of conventional ways. The law predominated, and many of the figures could rightly be considered professional politicians and bureaucrats, but only in a framework that expects all types of prominence to converge at the top.

In Chapter IV, a review of delegates in public office, the absence of a narrow path is again evident. Various tracts existed, running along standard lines of recruitment. Advancement from one office to another appeared in regular patterns, and along lines of seniority. The later figures hold the same kinds of offices in similar sequence as earlier ones, showing another strain of unbroken continuity.

The business interests of the delegates, outlined in Chapter V, show how Unión Liberal delegates were no mere salaried bureaucrats, but rather had a solid economic base, either personally or through familial ties to the hacienda system. As with professional and public careers, business life was characterized by diversity of activities; options in business ranged from individual to multinational corporate enterprise.

To illustrate systematically the multiplicity of occupational roles, Table 45 gives the known relevant activities of all seventy delegates. In this context we cannot be concerned with the degree to which a delegate participated in one or another activity, but looking simply

TABLE 45
SUMMARY OF UNIÓN LIBERAL DELEGATES' KNOWN ACTIVITIES

Delegate	Number of Activities	Profession				Public Office					Business								
		Law	Academia	Published Works	Journalism	Publishing	Military	Congress	Judiciary	Executive Appointment	D.P. Office	Jefe Politico	Governor	Haciendas Owned by Family	Banking	Real Estate	Mining	Transporta- tion	Commerce
Acosta	0																		
Alcázar	7		x											0	x		x	x	x
Alvarez	3	x												of					
Anaya	5	x	x						x										
Arce	0																		
Arellano	10	x		x	x		x	x	x				x	of		x	x		
Aspe	2																		
Barrada	2																		
Barrón	5			x	x			x						of		x			
Buñes	6		x	x	x			x						of					
Caballero	4	x	x					x						of	x				
Camacho	5		x					x						of	x				
Casas	12	x	x		x			x	x					of	x				
Casas	1							x						0	x				
Castañeda, F.	6							x						0					
Castañeda y Najera	5	x	x					x						0					
Castillo	9	x			x			x						0					
Cházari	3							x						0					
Díez Gutiérrez	5	x	x					x						0					
Elizabetbal	3	x						x						0					
Escalante	2					x		x						0					
Escobedo, A.	2							x						0					
Escobedo, M.	5							x						0					
Escontría	6		x					x	x					0					
Encudero	7					x		x	x					of					
Evis	3							x						0					
García, A.	1							x						0					
García, T.	7		x					x						0					
García Yañez	0							x						of					
Gilchard	3							x						of					
Hornedo	4							x						0					
Jamet	0							x						0					
Linantour	9	x	x	x	x	x		x						0					

TABLE 45 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Number of Activities	Profession					Public Office					Business								
		Law	Academia	Published Works	Journalism	Publishing	Military	Congress	Judiciary	Executive Appointment	D.F. Office	Jefe Politico	Governor	Haciendas	Of-owned by family	Banking	Real Estate	Mining	Transportation	Commerce
Llaven	4	x			x		x	x				x	x	0						
Lombardo	3	x			x			x						of						
Lomeli	5	x					x	x												
Luelmo	3																			
Macedo, M.	7	x	x	x				x						0	x	x			x	
Macedo, P.	9	x	x	x				x						0	x	x				
Manon y Valle	5	x						x						0						
Manon y Valle	2	x						x						0						
Martel	2	x						x						of						
Mendizábal	3	x						x						of						
Nicolí	5	x	x	x				x						of						
Nghez	7	x						x						of						
Palencia	1	x						x						of						
Paleucia	7	x	x	x				x						of						
Pardo	7	x						x						0						
Pena	5	x						x						of						
Feniche	9	x	x	x				x						of						
Pérez Verdía	8	x	x	x				x						of						
Pimentel	8	x	x	x				x						of						
Pineda	3	x						x						of						
Piñero Pérez	3	x						x						of						
Puchla	2							x						of						
Ramírez	2							x						of						
Rayón	2	x						x						0						
Redo	2							x						0						
Rivas, Carlos	7	x						x						0						
Rivas Gómez, F.	5		x	x				x						0						
Rocha	7		x	x				x						0						
Sanginés	4		x	x				x						of						
Saravia	5	x	x	x				x						of						
Sierra	7	x	x	x				x						0						
Sosa	6							x						0						

TABLE 45 (cont'd.)

Delegate	Number of Activities	Profession										Public Office						Business					
		Law	Academia	Published Works	Journalism	Publishing	Military	Congress	Judiciary	Executive Appointment	D.P. Office	State Politics	Governor	Haciendas	of-owner	of-owner	of-owner	by family	Banking	Real Estate	Mining	Transportation	Commerce
Valenzuela, J.	8	x		x	x	x	x	x											x	x		x	
Valenzuela, N.	3				x	x		x	x	x													
Valdezquez	4			x	x	x		x	x														
Zamacona	9	x	x	x	x			x	x														
Zarate	7	x																					
Totals		30	21	20	19	12	9	56	11	10	9	6	16	22/17	13	20	9	9	6				

at the number of activities, one sees clearly that more prominent men participated in more activities, less prominent ones in fewer. The difference, then, between the more and less prominent men is one of quantity, not of quality. Anyone approaching prominence takes on much the same set of roles.

The majority of delegates, seventy-five percent in fact, engaged in three or more occupational activities. At the upper end of the spectrum, prominence can be defined by the case of Joaquín D. Casasús, who participated in no fewer than twelve out of the eighteen activities cited. At the other end there were five delegates on whom no information was found. There is no reason to think that the unknowns are any different from the rest; continued research in the scattered home regions of the delegates would doubtless reveal relevant activities for all. On the other hand, since my material concentrates on the capital, we can be sure that no substantial amount of national office holding nor any cases of truly prominent men escaped notice, inasmuch as activities converged or were recorded in Mexico City.

Another dimension of standard procedures is seen in the marriage patterns of Unión Liberal delegates, studied in Chapter VI. The age spread between spouses and the social types married are normal within the Hispanic context. Most marriages seem to have reinforced regional

affinities, since there is a high correlation between spouse and natal region or residence. Evidence of intermarrying among delegates' families is extremely weak. It is of course possible that some secondary regional networks are overlooked here. As illustrated in Chapter IV, there were important regional centers, such as San Luis Potosí, or Mérida, where there could very well have been some organization into familial enclaves. But considering that the capital is the point of interaction among the delegates, it is clear that there was no tightly interlocking marriage network among them.

Another significant characteristic of the Porfirian political elite which has emerged from this study is the region-to-capital structure. The professional, political, and business interests of delegates had them shuttling back and forth between home region and Mexico City, often becoming quite full members of the capital milieu, without ever losing their roots in their home region. This facet of the delegates' lives is one more part of their normality, since many branches of Mexican life have had this structure over the entire time from the colonial period to the later twentieth century.

The delegates' commitment to home region can be seen in several ways. Birthplace and education ground the regional networks, further reinforced by marriage patterns which as we just saw, demonstrate a strong regional

coherence. Economic life betrays a similar commitment, as hacendados tended to own land in natal regions, and so does political activity, since delegates often held office in their home area and represented it at the convention or in the national congress. A governorship of the home state was the high point of some political careers.

Regional roots were counterbalanced by the draw of Mexico City. Professionals gravitated to the capital for their advanced training, and many then stayed to practice there, counting on their fathers or brothers to back them up in the home region. Likewise, those who concentrated in the political sphere found much of their work in Mexico City, where many spent most of the rest of their lives. A higher proportion of delegates died in Mexico City than was born there. And finally, profits created by economic activities in the hinterland often found their way into Mexico City insurance companies or banks.

For Unión Liberal delegates the capital-countryside traffic was largely restricted to a path between home region and the capital. Few held office in regions unrelated to their own, with the exception of the sparsely occupied northern federal territories. The same is true with economic activities and with marriage patterns. The involvement is usually either at home, in the capital, or possibly on the undeveloped fringe. Little indication

appears of a general flow out from the capital back into the country as a whole. Some of our delegates, it is true, were coming to be more members of the capital circles than regional figures, and as influential capital residents they sometimes represented states other than their own in Congress. All in all, however, the flow seems somewhat unidirectional, with an accretion toward the capital.

Throughout the present study I have given my attention to the whole Unión Liberal membership as a group rather than concentrating on any special subset. Indeed, one of the purposes of this procedure was to see if any well-defined, tightly knit subsets would stand out from the mass. With the partial exception of the old pre-Porfirian military figures, already dealt with, no such tight subsets emerged. One can, however, come at the question from the other direction. Let us take the following nine men whom the literature often identifies as the core of the "científicos": Bulnes, Casasús, Limantour, the Macedo brothers, Pimentel, Pineda, Sierra, and Zamacona.¹ What do we find? All were in fact Unión Liberal delegates. There were similarities among them, to be sure. Eight were of the younger generation. All participated in Congress, and seven held executive appointments. None were career military officers nor *jefes políticos*. Eight were published authors, academics,

and trained lawyers. These common attributes, however, do not separate them from the larger body of the Unión Liberal membership, nor probably from Mexicans in political life generally, at that time or earlier. The common traits I have enumerated merely put them in the lawyer-politician-intellectual spectrum which, as we have seen, covered most Unión Liberal delegates who were not mainly military figures or hacendados. When we search for signs of clique formation, we find very little. The only known familial tie is the marriage of Sierra's son to Casasús' daughter. No obvious business connections have emerged. The known ties then, come down to the obvious and well-known ones of having participated in the same regime at the same time and having done some joint publication.

This study demonstrates that the Unión Liberal delegates followed ordinary courses of action in many important aspects of their lives, with little sign of tight nucleation or specialization, but I do not intend to negate the possible existence of networks of various kinds that fail to appear in the types of compilations I have made, or of significant commonalities unique to the group (or new with it) in areas I have not investigated. As to a specific intellectual stance on the part of the delegates, my work does not speak to that question except for establishing that their intellectual production fit well into an older generalist mode. I do however, agree

with the findings of Raat and others that the Porfirian politicians had no well-defined or deep-going positivist ideology; my own findings give a parallel message for their social, economic and career activities.

As to hidden connections, I do feel that the kind of basic evidence presented here precludes a maximum clustering or clique formation of Unión Liberal delegates, or by extension among later Porfirian national politicians. Elite groups of nineteenth-century Chile and Argentina, for example, banded together in tight clusters which had a great many dimensions but can be seen clearly in marriage, property-holding and employment.² One possible explanation is that the Porfirian politicians might not, in the main, have belonged to the country's very richest and most established families, and that their connections were with such families rather than with each other. To test such an hypothesis, we need work for Porfirian times comparable to Doris Ladd's for the early part of the century--an exhaustive listing of the membership and holdings of Mexico's wealthiest and most influential families.³

In any case, I do believe that there are lines of influence and types of connections which are not seen in the kind of research I have done, but which are an integral part of the overall patterns of upper-level Porfirian political activity. My work has laid bare the

strength of the regional base of the Unión Liberal delegates, but without more knowledge of the regional context, one cannot say much about how a region generated its national representatives. Only studies that are regionally based, giving us an overall picture of an individual region's society, economy, and politics, can give the answer. (Such studies would also contribute directly to country-wide or capital-centered investigation, since national politics was carried out by figures originating in every corner of the nation.) Once a region had generated some candidates, how and to what extent did national government circles influence choices? Who took the initiative? Did the region continue to assert itself as an active force in a politician's career once he won on the national scene? We need the most detailed knowledge we can acquire about the mechanics of elections and appointments, for both local and national office, from the nature of voting constituencies and formal requirements to some sense of backroom decision-making.

Actual records of informal decisions, plans, and agreements are not likely to exist in bulk, whether in the political or the socioeconomic sphere. But when we have complete information on any given aspect, we can see the trend and deduce the intention. Recent research on nineteenth-century Latin America points to the family as the center of many kinds of decision-making; it was the

unit which was the true holder of property and position, allocating functions and connections to its individual members as part of an overall strategy. If Porfirian politicians fit into this scheme, and there are certainly indications of it, then we cannot grasp the thrust of much of their activity until we have the whole familial context. Nothing could be more illuminating than complete studies of the families of a good number of Porfirian politicians, including career patterns, marriages, and holdings for every family member over two or three generations. Such research would allow us to refine considerably the conclusions drawn here.

Of course there must also have been political-economic manipulations over and above the family context. My research to date has shown a minimum of direct business dealings between Unión Liberal delegates. However, nothing precludes the possibility of Porfirian politicians allocating complementary economic domains to each other. For example, if we do not find them congregating on the boards of the same railroads and banks, yet it is possible that if we knew the complete membership of all the boards we would find one high regime politician on each, and that the distribution pattern was not random. Complete listings of properties and directors in any specific branch of the economy could demonstrate

conclusively the existence or nonexistence of such deliberate complementary allocation of functions.

One mandate emerging from this study is to compare the results of research on the Unión Liberal delegates with data on national politicians of earlier and later periods. I have used general knowledge of long-standing practices in Spanish American countries to show the delegates as fitting into a broader temporal context. Only point-by-point comparison with similar phenomena in other times, especially those immediately before and immediately after, can tell us the degree of continuity (either in pattern or in personnel), the direction of trends, or exactly what were the special characteristics of the Porfiriato.

A major technical problem is that of achieving comparability of data. For example, in James Cochrane's study of the Díaz Ordaz cabinet members,⁴ we see that 81 percent of the group attended school in Mexico City, as against only nine percent who attended regional institutions. For the Unión Liberal delegates, on the other hand, regional schooling had the edge: 27 percent attended school outside the Federal District, 24 percent within it. Given the nature of the membership and the source distribution, there can be little doubt that in fact the predominance of the regional education was even greater among the unknown 49 percent. Comparison of this

aspect of the two groups thus seems to imply a continuing and ever more pronounced trend of in-migration of political figures to Mexico City. However, it is also possible that a sample of seventy-some regime-oriented congressmen in the Mexico City of the Díaz Ordaz time would show a distribution more like that of the Unión Liberal delegates. On the other hand, if one took all cabinet members of the last two decades of the Porfiriato, one might find that the predominance of a Mexico City education already existed at that level.

During the course of the present study some related projects of life-data collection and compilation have been going on. I have looked forward to the results of these studies, which concentrate on Mexican national politicians of both the mid-nineteenth century⁵ and the post-Revolutionary period. One major study of this type has just appeared, Peter H. Smith's Labyrinths of Power, which analyses data for three-thousand office-holders from 1900 to 1976. Because the book's publication comes just as I am terminating my study, and because of the work's great complexity, I am not yet prepared to carry out a systematic comparison of Smith's findings with my own. My first impression, however, is that some aspects of his findings are highly consonant with mine, although expressed in a very different fashion. This is true, for example, of his treatment of the educational background of his

subjects. While Smith speaks of higher education as a kind of prerequisite to political success and I do not, in both studies the vast majority of the group examined have undergone higher education. Likewise, Smith makes much of the urban-rural distinction. This is not at all the same as my distinction of capital and region. His findings and mine in these respects do not relate to each other in any way, either confirming or contradicting. In Smith's sense, I presume that all my subjects are urban.

As with the Cochrane study mentioned above, an immediate difficulty in comparing Smith's work and mine is the use of varying categories of analysis. For example, Smith divides his people into upper and middle; essentially he is treating as two what I have treated as one.⁶ In the matter of regional distribution, Smith shows a wide spread of regional origin superficially not unlike my own, but it appears that he may not have defined the regions by exactly the same system which I used, so I prefer to examine the question thoroughly before working out the precise trends.

In any event, one cannot simply hold the results of one study up against the other for comparison until the categories are reconstituted for comparability. I am hopeful that it will be possible to reconstitute, from Smith's mass of raw data, groups and categories of

analysis that are quite strictly comparable to mine. If this should not prove feasible, there is also the option of expanding my research base in the direction that is necessary to match the group choice and categorization of his and other studies. In either case, it should prove possible to go a long way toward defining and tracing the trends in Mexican national political organization and the behavior of politicians over the course of an entire century.

I do not wish to anticipate the results of such a synthesis, but on the basis of the present study and my cursory examination of Smith, I do have certain expectations. Of course, there will prove to be characteristics which are special to the Porfiriato, but I also expect that the Porfirian period will fit into major long-term trends and currents in ways that have little to do with positivist ideology or deliberate presidential policies. In political as in intellectual life, the Díaz regime was not characterized by the unprecedented doings its enemies once proclaimed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Breymann, "The Científicos," Positivism in Latin America, p. 91.
2. For a discussion of role and function of family in Chile and Argentina see Diana Balmori and Robert Oppenheimer, "Family Clusters: Generational Nucleation in Nineteenth-century Argentina and Chile," Comparative Studies in Society and History (forthcoming).
3. Doris M. Ladd, The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826 (Austin: University of Texas, 1976).
4. Cochrane, "Mexico's 'New Científicos'," Inter-American Economic Affairs, p. 63.
5. I.e., Sinkin, The Mexican Reform.
6. In fact, at one point, page 43, Smith actually says that it might have been better to treat the upper and middle-class categories as one.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

The ensuing biographical sketches serve two functions: they organize the data by individual and they substantiate the study by providing specific bibliographic references. The sequence of information presented below follows the format of the chapters, specifically giving the following: delegate's name (state represented at the Unión Liberal Convention); birthplace and date; education; professional activities; business interests; family ties; and date and location of death. Delegates on whom no data were available are cited only by name and state represented at the 1892 Unión Liberal Convention.

Bibliographic materials are listed under "source" and follow the abbreviations detailed in the beginning of the study; materials not abbreviated are treated in regular footnote style. All citations refer to delegate under discussion unless so noted.

Acosta, Miguel M. (Delegate for Zacatecas).

Alcázar, Ramón (Delegate for Guanajuato). Born: 1843, Guanajuato. Professional activities: Director, National Museum, 1902. Public offices: Senator for Guanajuato. Business interests: Haciendas, Chichimiquillas and Otates in Guanajuato and hacienda Jesus in Puebla; banker; mines in Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí; railway interests in San Luis Potosí and Morelos; importer; industrialist.

Family ties: Father, Ramón Alcázar, delegate for Michoacán to the 1857 Constitutional Convention; son, Ramón Alcázar.

Source: AH-UNAM 44741 and 35404; ANG/Vicente de P. Velasco, 1879, item 42, p. 119; Casasola Efemérides, 1902, p. 264; Cockcroft; Cuenta relativa al banquete, 1910; DDS 1907 and 1908; Holmes, p. 184, 272, 278, 320; Leduc; Los hombres del centenario; México, 1891; SA, p. 262; 301.

Alvarez, Emilio (Delegate for Puebla). Born: Puebla. Education: Puebla (birthplace and education assumed to be Puebla because he represented that state at the convention and had a law practice there too). Professional activities: Law practice in Puebla. Public offices: Deputy (lived at Hotel Guillow when in Mexico City to attend Congress); Attorney General, 1898.

Source: ANG/José María Velásquez, 1882, item 75, p. 224; AN de Puebla/ Patricio Carrasco, 1896, p. 139; DDS 1908; Guía, 1898, p. 591.

Anaya, Ventura, a.k.a. Buenaventura Anaya y Aranda (Delegate for Jalisco). Born: September 20, 1857, Lagos, Jalisco. Education: Graduated Guadalajara Law School in 1878. Professional activities: Lawyer; professor, Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia, Mexico City. Public offices: Interim Governor of Jalisco (after the assassination of Ramón Corona), 1889-1890; Agent and later President of the Supreme Court of Jalisco. Family ties: Father, Jesús Anaya; mother, Higinia Aranda; Anaya family haciendas in Jalisco. Died: 1898 in Lagos, Jalisco.

Source: Holms, p. 289 (for José de J. Anaya); Moisés Vega y Kegel, Lagos y sus hombres; Porrúa.

Arce, José E. (Delegate for Guerrero).

Arellano, Felipe (Delegate for Sinaloa). Born: 1833, Mazatlán, Sinaloa. Education: 1903 at age seventy obtained title of lawyer in Chihuahua. Professional activities: Military (fought with Díaz in 1872 and 1876); published La Nueva Era in Ciudad Juárez, 1880's. Public offices: Delegate to constitutional convention, 1857; General Administrator of Customs, Mazatlán, 1863; jefe

político of the Canton Arteaga, Chihuahua, 1869; alternate Deputy, 1871; 1876 entered Congress as Deputy for Chihuahua, eventually became Senator for the state; also Senator for Guanajuato; General Administrator of Customs, Ciudad Juárez, 1880. Business interests: Felipe Arellano y Socios, government concessions in Territory of Tepic, 1883-1891; mines and commerce in Las Yedras, Chihuahua, 1860's-1870's. Family ties: Wife: Felicitas Milán; son, Felipe Arellano, Mexico City lawyer still practicing in 1947. Died: October 28, 1907, Mexico City.

Source: AN-UNAM 2478; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 186, item 118, 119, 120; Tomo 227, item 385; Alegato de buena prueba (TXU G972D6 Ser. 10, Vol. 11, no. 13); Almada, Diccionario chihuahuenses; Eustaquio Buelna, Apuntes para la historia Sinaloa, 1821-1882, pp. 45, 136; DO, June 10, 1891 and June 30, 1891; DDS 1907.

Aspe, Francisco de P. (Delegate for Veracruz). Born: 1835, Veracruz, Veracruz. Professional activities: Corredo titulado. Public offices: Senator, 1891, 1895, 1907, and 1908; member of the Mexico City ayuntamiento or council. Business interests: Comerciante. Family ties: Father, Alonso José Aspe; mother, Ana Arriola; wife, Dolores de Empáran (daughter of José de Empáran), born 1840 in Cuba; 13 children; son-in-law, fellow Unión Liberal Delegate Emilio Pardo Jr. Died: June 19, 1914 at 79 years in Mexico City.

Source: ANG/Eduardo Escudero, 1895, Tomo 1, item 7; AJ/1146517; DO March 30, 1891; DDS 1907, 1908; El País, July 6, 1905.

Barreda, Joaquín de la (Delegate for Puebla). Born: 1848, Puebla. Public offices: Represented Puebla in Congress, 1888. Family ties: Barreda family were Pueblan land-owners.

Source: ANG/Sabino Palacios, 1892, item 16, p. 41; Debates, 1888.

Pejarano, Ignacio (Delegate for Durango). Born: 1856, Mexico City. Education: Seminario Colegio de México, 1868; graduated with a degree in liberal arts (history). Professional activities: Authored Actas de cabildo de la ciudad de México, 1550-1561; journalist and publisher of

El Estado Municipal Libre, 1876-1888. Public offices: Represented the Federal District and Sinaloa in Congress; regidor, 1880, and oficial mayor, 1896, of the Federal District; organized Mexico's exhibitions at the St. Louis and Paris World Fairs.

Source: AH-UNAM 1351; Casasola, Efemérides, 1900, p. 79; La Libertad, January 21, 1880; Paz, Porfirio Díaz: Leyenda-histórica; Manuel A. Woorich interview at Condomex, Mexico City, April 1974.

Bulnes, Francisco (Delegate for Sonora). Born: 1847, Mexico City. Education: El Colegio del Profesor Higareda, 1864-65; Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros, graduating as a civil and mining engineer. Professional activities: Engineer; author (see published works); professor at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria and Escuela Nacional de Minería. Public offices: In Congress over thirty years as both Deputy and Senator; member of various federal commissions (i.e., to draw up banking laws; mining codes, 1884 and 1892; commission on public credit; monetary commission, 1894). Family ties: Father, Manuel Bulnes, born Mexico City the son of a Spanish immigrant; mother, Mariana Muñoz Caño; uncle was a merchant who settled in Tabasco, where he became an important landowner; wife, María Teresa Irigoyen de la Vega, born in Chihuahua, 1857; two children. Died: Mexico City, 1924.

Source: AH-UNAM 44838; AJ/1566592; Bravo Ugarte, p. 67; Francisco Bulnes, The Whole Truth about Mexico; DDS 1908; Holms, p. 337; La Libertad, January 22, 1882; George Lumas, Francisco Bulnes: Su vida y sus obras; Mestre; Porrúa; Martín Quirarte, ed., Páginas escogidos; Villaseñor.

Caballero, Luis G. (Delegate for Michoacán and Secretary of the Unión Liberal Convention). Born: Morelia, Michoacán, 1851. Education: Graduated in law from the Colegio de San Nicolás, Michoacán, 1875. Professional activities: Law practice in Morelia; Professor of Philosophy, Colegio de San Nicolás; Professor of Constitutional Law, Universidad de Michoacán. Public offices: Juez in the districts of Tacámbaro, Zitácuro and Maravatío; Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Michoacán; represented Michoacán in Congress (living at the Hotel Francia while in Mexico City). Family ties: Wife, Isabel Escobar; three children. Died: Morelia, June 26, 1915, impoverished.

Source: DDS 1907, 1908; Porrúa; Jesús Romero Flores, Diccionario michoacano de historia y geografía.

Camacho, Sebastián (Delegate for Durango). Born: 1823, Jalapa, Veracruz. Education: Trained engineer and assayer of metals. Professional activities: Published Mexico City daily, La Libertad. Public offices: Represented Jalisco in the Senate; regidor, 1880 and later, 1894, Governor of the Federal District. Business interests: Received government concession to build railway in central Mexico, 1870's; President, Banco Nacional, 1907; President of "La Mexicana" insurance company. Family ties: Father, Sebastián Camacho, born 1791, Veracruz, lawyer, poet, writer; wife: Loreta Pizarro.

Source: AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 31, p. 65; ANG/José del Villar y Marticorena, 1876, 2nd semestre, item 26, p. 38; ANG/Vicente de P. Velasco, 1879, item 34, p. 93; Almanaque Bouret, 1897; Beals; Enrique Cordero y Torres, Diccionario biográfico de Puebla; DDS 1907, 1908; Guía, 1898, p. 63; La Libertad, January 11, 1880 and January 5, 1881; Los honores del centenario; Pletcher, Rails, Mines and Progress; SA, part IV, p. 14; The Mexican Herald, October 10, 1895 and October 12, 1895; Villaseñor.

Casasús, Joaquín de (Treasurer of the Unión Liberal Convention). Born: December 23, 1858, Frontera, Tabasco. Education: Instituto Literario de Mérida; law school in the Federal District; graduated 1880. Professional activities: Large international law practice in Mexico City until the Revolution when he and office relocated in New York; catedrático Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia and Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros; President and founder of the Escuela Nacional de Comercio; author and translator (see published works); journalist. Public offices: Juez in Teapa, Tabasco, 1880; entered Congress by 1886, Deputy and Senator for Tabasco; Secretary of the Pan American Union, 1901-1909; Ambassador to the United States, 1905; Chamizal negotiations. Business interests: Banker; Mexico City real estate, investor. Family ties: Grandfather, José Casasús y Fotosaus, Tarragona, Spain; father, Francisco Asis Casasús Echazarrita; mother, Ramona González, of Campeche; his brother, Carlos, was related by marriage to the Yucatecan landowner and político, Olgario Molinero. Carlos owned several haciendas in his own right located in Veracruz; wife, Catalina Altimirano; seven children, one of which, Evangelina Casasús married

Justo Sierra's son, Manuel Sierra; father-in-law, Ignacio Altimirano, famous Mexican statesman and intellectual.

Source: AJ/1031918; AJ/1216147 (the will of brother Carlos Casasús); ANG/Ramón E. Ruiz, 1898, 1st semester, item 105, p. 674; Alberto María Carreño, Notas para una biografía del licenciado Joaquín D. Casasús; Alberto María Carreño, Joaquín D. Casasús: homenajes postumos; DDS 1907, 1908; El País, August 10, 1908 (or 1905); Holms, for Casasús family, p. 337, 351; Mestre; Felix Palavecini, Los grandes de México; Porrúa; Fernando Solís Camara, Biographical Sketch of Sr. Lic. Joaquín D. Casasús; SA, p. 301; Isidro Vizcaya Canales, Los orígenes de la industrialización de Monterrey.

Casco, Rafael (Delegate for Tlaxcala). Born: Tlaxcala (probably). Public offices: Deputy in Congress, 1891, 1907 and 1908. Family ties: Wife, Dolores Madrid; son, Rafael Casco, Jr., lawyer who attended school in Guanajuato, Hidalgo and Tlaxcala.

Source: AH-UNAM 29699; Debates, 1891, p. 232; DDS 1907, 1908.

Castañeda, Francisco de P. (Delegate for Guanajuato). Born: 1839, Guanajuato. Education: Attended San Ildefonso, 1856. Public offices: Represented Guanajuato in Congress. Business interests: La Purísima, mine or hacienda de beneficio, Marfil, Guanajuato; hacienda Mesquite Gordo, District of Pénjamo, Guanajuato; banker; seller of agricultural implements in Guanajuato; partner of La Compañía del Ferrocarril de Celaya a León, Guanajuato.

Source: AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 6, p. 38; ANG/Ramón E. Ruiz, 1898, 1st semester, item 85, p. 581; Ang/Vicente de P. Velasco, 1879; item 42, p. 119; ANG/Vicente de P. Velasco, 1880, item 4, p. 7; Holms, p. 186, 275.

Castañeda y Nájera, Vidal (Delegate for Michoacán). Born: Mexico City, 1833. Professional activities: Director, Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia, 1872; secretary, El Colegio Nacional de Abogados, 1875; director, Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1880-1900; as a lawyer, he administered urban property belonging to the estates of his father and two uncles; Attorney General, 1883. Family ties: Grandfather, José Castañeda; grandmother, Josefa de Nájera; father, Manuel Castañeda y

Nájera, lawyer; mother, Dolores González Escalante; Vidal was one of fourteen children; brother, Lauro Castañeda y Nájera was an army officer; wife, Clotilde Espinosa de Monteros; brother-in-law, Alfredo Balbot, in 1857 introduced gas lights to Mexico City; one Lic. Francisco Castañeda y Nájera, merchant in Michoacán, died 1876. Died: May 9, 1903 at 70 years in Mexico City.

Source: AJ/514670 and 831242; Contesción: Vidal Castañeda y Nájera (TXU GZG378.72 ES68 no. 1); Corona Funebre (dedicada al Sr. Lic. D. Francisco Castañeda y Nájera, muerto en Michoacán, 1/27/1876; DO 1891; El Siglo XIX, January 6, 1892; Estatutos del Nacional Colegio de Abogados de México (TXU G868.73 M68); Octavio González Cárdenas, Los cien años de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, p. 42; México, 1891; Peral.

Castillo, Apolinar (Delegate for Oaxaca). Born: July 23, 1840, Oaxaca. Education: Studied pharmacy, Oaxaca. Professional activities: Professor of Chemistry, Oaxaca, 1870, and later in Orizaba, 1875; journalist; publisher. Public offices: Regidor, ayuntamiento of Oaxaca, 1869; Deputy for Juchitán, Oaxacan legislature, 1871; jefe político y comandante militar, Oaxaca, 1871; President of Orizaba, 1877; jefe político of Cordoba, 1878; simultaneously elected Deputy for Orizaba and Senator for Veracruz, 1878; Governor of Veracruz, 1880; Senator of Yucatán, 1896 or 1898; also represented Nuevo León in Congress. Business interests: Owned sugar hacienda Ekál, located in the Yucatán; land development in Michoacán; director and manager of Mexico City Street Car Company; Mexico City real estate. Family ties: Father, Evaristo or Francisco Castillo; mother Juana Ramírez, born 1894 in Oaxaca; wife, Concepción Santo Prado of San Andres Chalchicomula, Puebla; five children (one was mentally incompetent); father-in-law, José Santos del Prado; mother-in-law, Luz Arcos. Died: March 30, 1902, Mexico City.

Source: AJ/484238; ANG/José María Velásquez, 1892, items 95, 99 and 100; Casasola, Efemérides, 1900, p. 79; DO 1891; El Dictamen Público: Diario Veracruzano Independiente de Información, April 2, 1902; Guía, 1898, p. 64; Holms, p. 363; La Libertad, January 27, 1881; Mestre; Porrúa; The Mexican Herald, October 11, 1895.

Cházari, Esteban (Delegate for Chiapas). Born: 1844 in Chiapas (birthdate estimated from son's attendance at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria in 1891 at fourteen years of

age; also Cházari entered Congress by 1878). Professional activities: Authored discursos, or discussions for the National Society of Geography and Statistics. Public Offices: Entered Congress 1878 representing Oaxaca. Business interests: Owner of sugar producing hacienda, La Concepcion, in Oaxaca. Family ties: Wife, Amelia Fenochio.

Source: AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 226, p. 261; AJ/479509 (the will of Eduardo Velázquez); Constituciones generales, 1878 (TXU GZG972D6, Ser. 10, Vol. 8); Holms, p. 310.

Diez Gutiérrez, Pedro (Delegate for San Luis Potosí). Born: 1839 in Rio Verde, San Luis Potosí. Professional activities: Part-time law practice. Public offices: Senator from San Luis Potosí, 1891; Minister of Gobernación; Governor of San Luis Potosí. Business interests: Hacienda Cárdenas. Family ties: Mother, Agustina López Portillo de Diez Gutiérrez; brother was lawyer, Brigadier General and ex-Governor of San Luis Potosí, Carlos Diez Gutiérrez; wife; Esther Gusman. Died: 1894 in San Luis Potosí.

Source: Cockcroft; DO March 30, 1891; Holms, p. 330; La Lonja, p. 119; Mestre.

Elquezábal, Alejandro (Delegate for Coahuila and Convention Secretary). Born: Saltillo, Coahuila in 1864. Professional activities: Saltillo law office. Public offices: Deputy and Senator representing at various times Coahuila and Guerrero. Business interests: Landowner and developer in Coahuila, receiving a government concession in 1895 to build an irrigation canal from the River Sabinas, in the Monclova district, state of Coahuila, to certain lands owned by Elquezábal near Muzquiz, in the same district; President of the Compañía Minera de la Paz, 1898. Family ties: Wife, María Galán (father or uncle was Porfirian Governor of Coahuila, José María Garza Galán).

Source: AH-UNAM 6755; ANG/Ramón E. Ruiz, 1898, 1st semester, item 37, p. 198; Cosío Villegas, VPIFS; The Mexican Herald, October 6, 1895.

Escalante, Ignacio R. (Delegate for the Federal District). Born: 1851 in Mexico City. Professional activities: Publisher. Business interests: Owner of El Taller de Escalante, an important Mexico City printing and publisher firm. Family ties: Father, Francisco Escalante; mother,

Josefa Riesgo; wife, Leonor Empáran; three children. Died: Jalapa, Veracruz, January 18, 1909.

Source: AJ/666136; Porrua.

Escobedo, Arcadio (Delegate for the Yucatán). Born: January 12, 1844 in Mérida. Public offices: Interim Governor of the Yucatán, January 15, 1913 to February 26, 1913. Business interests: Owner of the henequen producing Hacienda Santa Cruz, in Tixkokob, Yucatán. Died: January 26, 1930 in Mérida at the age of eighty-six.

Source: México, Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Catálogo de construcciones religiosos del estado de Yucatán, p. XLVIII; Holms, p. 363; Mestre.

Escobedo, Mariano (Delegate for the Federal District and President of the Unión Liberal Convention). Born: January 16, 1826, Galeana, Nuevo León. Education: Primary and/or preparatory education received in Nuevo León. Professional activities: Military service began as a Private in 1846 when the United States invaded Mexico; he returned to civilian life directly afterwards. Escobedo's career as an officer did not commence until 1855 when he fought in support of the principles of the Plan of Ayulita; thereafter he was in active duty until his death in 1902, though field service was between 1846 and 1876. Highlights from his distinguished military career include command as Captain of forces in San Luis Potosí, Nuevo León and Zacatecas in the 1850's; at his own expense, he fought nomadic Indians in the north; during the Reforma, called in its day, the Three Years War, he fought with Vidaurri in Zacatecas and Jalisco; imprisoned by Tomás Mejía; during the French Intervention he fought at the battle of the 5th of May in Puebla; in 1863 imprisoned again, escaping to Orizaba where he joined Díaz and helped organize the Eastern Army; he was a Brigadier General when he returned north to organize the Northern Army, defeating the French at Santa Gertrudis and the Battle of San Jacinto. Juárez made him Chief of Operations; he captured Maximilian in Querétaro; President of the Supreme Court of Military Justice, 1882-1902. For a detailed listing of military service see Gustavo López Gutiérrez, Escobedo: Republicano democrático benedictino de Chiapas, 1826-1902 (Tuxtla Gutiérrez, 1968). Public offices: Governor of Nuevo León, 1865 and 1866; Governor of San Luis Potosí, 1868; Minister of War and Navy in Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada's administration, 1876; Deputy in the 1880's representing Nuevo León and Aguascalientes. Business

interests: Owner of Hacienda Manulique Nuevo León; various ranchos in Tamaulipas; conducted hacienda business and investments from San Luis Potosí and San Miguel Allende, Guanajuato. Family ties: Father, Manuel de Escobedo, born in Nuevo León, 1874; mother, María Rita de la Peña. Died: May 22, 1902 in Tacubaya, a suburb of the Federal District.

Sources: AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 31, p. 535, Tomo 74; AJ/901471 and 905749; AM XI/III/1-72 (3 tomos); ANG/Daniel T. Castañeda, 1898, 1st semester, item 16, p. 23; Gustavo López Gutiérrez, Escobedo: República democrática benemérito de Chiapas, 1826-1902; La Longa, p. 25; Leduc; Mestre; Fletcher, Rails, Mines and Progress; Porrúa.

Escontría, Blas (Delegate for San Luis Potosí). Born: February 5, 1847 in San Luis Potosí. Education: Preparatory in El Seminario de San Luis Potosí; studied engineering in Mexico City, graduating El Colegio Minería de México in 1872. Professional activities: Engineer; Director of the Instituto de Científico of San Luis Potosí, 1886. Public offices: Entered Congress as Deputy in 1876, representing San Luis Potosí; Governor of San Luis Potosí, 1897-1902; Minister of Development, Colonization, Industry and Commerce, 1905-06. Business interests: Investments, especially in banks; owner of urban real estate in the city of San Luis Potosí. Family ties: Father, Manuel Escontría; mother, Guadalupe Bustamante; maternal grandfather, Anastasio Bustamante; wife, Guadalupe Salín, married 1884; nine children; father-in-law, Rafael Salín, born in San Sebastián, Spain; mother-in-law, Martina Cigorrafa, also Spanish. Died: January 4, 1906 in Mexico City.

Source: AH-UNAM 44556; AJ/515265; Beals; Cockcroft; Cosío Villegas VPIPS; Ipina family history; La Longa; Leduc; Mestre; Peral; Porrúa; The Mexican Herald, August 26, 1898.

Escudero, Ignacio M. (Delegate for Sinaloa). Born: 1836 in Mexico City. Professional activities: July, 1853, Sergeant of the Lanceros regiment; January, 1856, Teniente under Comonfort; March 1858, Battle of Salamanca; March 20, 1858, Battle of Santa Ana Acatlán; April 11, 1859, Battle of Tacubaya; 1862, fortified Mazatlán; 1866, Quarter-Master of the Occidental Army and Chief of the Vanguard; 1867, Major General of the division in Jalisco; 1871 (November 22), head of the Plan of Moria revolt in Culican, Sinaloa; 1877, Comandante Militar and Chief of the Federal Forces in Tepic; 1879, Comandante Militar of the Federal

District; September 17, 1881, decorated for efforts during the Reforma; 1882, celebrates 30 years of uninterrupted service; 1890, the Governor of Sinaloa gave him a diploma for services rendered during the Intervention (1864-1866); October 1891-November 1892, Oficial Mayor (undersecretary) and acting Minister of War. Public offices: 1884, Senator for Sinaloa; 1891-92, Undersecretary and acting Minister of War. Business interests: Mexico City real estate; President of the Tres Marías mining company, 1892-1896; land speculation, Lago de Cuitzio, State of Michoacán. Family ties: Father, Antonio Escudero; mother, María del Carmen Rebollo; wife #1, Dolores Revueltas (died 1891); seven children, María Porfiria Esther, Ignacio, Hilario, Domelita, José Sebastián, Maximo Agustín, María de los Dolores; wife #2, María Vega y Osuma (born 1875, Sinaloa). Died: 1904.

Source: AJ/751714; AM XI/III/1-73 (3 tomos); ANG/Herminio Arteaga, 1892, 2nd semester, item 7, p. 15; item 97, p. 181; 1893, 2nd semester, item 121, p. 147; 1894, 1st semester, item 76, p. 83; Almanaque Bouret, 1896, Cosío Villegas, VPIPS, DO January 2, 1891 and June 30, 1891; Mestre.

Evia, Domingo (Delegate for the Yucatán). Professional activities: Colonel in the military, 1848-1862. Political offices: Jefe político.

Source: Holms, p. 337; Lazaro Pavia, Ligeros apuntes biográficos de los jefes políticos..., tomo II, p. 46.

García, Amado (Delegate for Tlaxcala). Public office: Represented Tlaxcala in Congress in 1888.

Source: Debates, 1888.

García, Trinidad (Delegate for Zacatecas). Born: May 28, 1831, Sombrerete, Zacatecas. Education: Trained as pharmacist in the Federal District. Professional activities: Professor and Director (1904) of the Escuela de Sordo-Mudos; author (see published works). Public offices: Jefe Político, Fresnillo, Zacatecas, 1867; Deputy, 1869-1904; Secretary of State and Governor of Zacatecas; Minister of Gobernación and Hacienda, 1877-1880; Director of the Nacional Monte de Piedad (national pawn shop). Business interests: Owner of Negociación Minería La Esmeralda. Family ties: Uncle or father, Francisco García

Salinas, Governor of Zacatecas, 1830's, uncle or father, Trinidad García, alcalde, Fresnillo, 1835; wife, Luz Valdez, born 1838; son, Genaro García, lawyer, born 1865. Died: February 2, or 18, 1906 in Mexico City.

Source: ANG/Herminio Arteaga, 1893, 2nd semester, item 84, p. 106; ANG/José del Villar y Marticorena, 1878, 2nd semester, item 70, p. 195; Enciclopedia de México; Grande empresa de minas.....(TXU GZG868.73 m681. Vol. 10); Mestre; Porrúa; Villaseñor.

García Yañez, Manuel (Delegate for Tlaxcala).

Guinchard, Miguel (Delegate for Aguascalientes). Born: 1840 in Aguascalientes. Public offices: Governor of Aguascalientes, 1879; entered Congress as Senator for Chiapas in 1882 before his gubernatorial term was finished; later was Deputy, representing Aguascalientes. Died: December 21, 1903.

Source: La Libertad, January 27, 1881; Mestre; México, 1891; Porrúa.

Hornedo, Ricardo (Delegate for Aguascalientes). Born: Aguascalientes. Public offices: Represented Michoacán in Congress; Governor of Aguascalientes. Business interests: Comisionista (seller of hacienda goods); Hornedo family owned haciendas in Aguascalientes. Family ties: Father is assumed to be Francisco G. Hornedo, 1847-1890, one-time Governor of Aguascalientes.

Source: AJ/1777019; ANG/Daniel T. Castañeda, 1900, 2nd semester, item 3, p. 3; Cosío Villegas, VFIPS; Debates, 1898; Guía, 1898, p. 668.

Jamet, Manuel (Delegate for Tabasco).

Limantour, José Ives (Delegate for México). Born: December 26, 1854, Mexico City. Education: Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1869-1871; Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia; graduated, 1875. Professional activities: Lecturer of political economy, 1876, Escuela Superior de Comercio; Interim professor of international law, 1878, Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia; author (see published works); editor of La Libertad; published El Foro, a Mexico City law journal. Public offices: 1881, Regidor for Mexico

City; Deputy for the Federal District, 1886; Undersecretary and then Minister of the Treasury, 1893-1911. Business interests: Family owned haciendas in the state of México and Veracruz; urban property owner in Mexico City. Family ties: Father, José Ives Limantour, French merchant and businessman; Mother, Adela Marquet, also French; brother, Julio Limantour, wealthy businessman and banker, married to Elena Mariscal, the daughter of Mexican hero and statesman, General Ignacio Mariscal; wife: María Cañas de Buch; three children. Died: Paris, 1935.

Source: AH-UNAM 1364; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 12 and Tomo 191; AJ/631839; AJ/631847 (will of brother Julio Limantour); ANG/Alberto Lombardo, 1878, 1st semester, item 6, p. 18; item 9; Limantour/Correspondencia; Alegato de buena prueba (TXU GZ345.4c894 Ser. 3, Vol. 1, no. 2); Almanaque Bouret, 1896; W. B. Aston, The Public Career of Don José Ives Limantour; Bazant; DDS 1907, 1908; Carlos Duico, Limantour; José Ives Limantour, Apuntes sobre mi vida pública; Ricardo Ortega y Pérez Gallardo, Historia genealogica de las familias mas antiguas de México; Porrúa; SA.

Lombardo, Alberto (Delegate for Guerrero). Born: 1844, Mexico City. Education: El Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1856; attended law school in the Federal District and San Luis Potosí. Professional activities: Mexico City law practice and notarial service; journalist. Public offices: Represented Guerrero in Congress. Family ties: Father, Francisco Lombardo, lawyer, jurist, professor, Minister of the Treasury and Foreign Relations, born 1799 in Hidalgo; Francisco Lombardo signed Mexico's act of independence from Spain; brother, Manuel Lombardo.

Source: AH-UNAM 1366; 15618; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo I, items 28, 55, 56, 97, 98; Tomo VI, p. 41; ANG/Alberto Lombardo, 1878-1898; Limantour/Correspondencia, July 4, 1886; Almanaque Bouret, 1897, p. 213; El Foro, March 2, 1878; La Libertad, January 13, 1880; Leduc (for Francisco Lombardo).

Lomelí, Sabás (Delegate for Jalisco). Born: Toluatlán, Jalisco, 1836. Professional activities: Brigadier General, December 23, 1881; Governor Corona made Lomelí head of the state's military, 1896; jefe político in Jalisco; Governor of Jalisco. Died: Cuadalaajara, 1900.

Source: Cosío Villegas, VPIPS; Mestre.

Luelmo, Pedro (Delegate for Veracruz). Born: 1830 (Birth-date is an estimate based on Luelmo's purchase of ecclesiastical goods in Veracruz during the Reform period). Professional activities: Lawyer or public official. Business interests: Bookseller, stationer, fancy goods, furniture and hardware in Jalapa, Veracruz.

Source: Bazant; México, 1891.

Llaven, Maqín (Delegate for Chiapas). Born: 1838, Chiapas (birthdate estimated from son's entrance into law school in 1888). Education: Preparatory in Chiapas; law school in Tabasco or Chiapas prior to 1877 when he was writing for local newspapers. Professional activities: Colaborador, or contributor to Tabascan newspaper. Public office: Represented Chiapas in Congress. Business interests: Live-stock hacienda in Oaxaca. Family ties: Son, Victor Manuel Llaven, attended Instituto de Ciencias y Artes del Estado de Chiapas and later the Instituto Literario de Hidalgo; 1888 entered first year of law school at the Instituto Literario de Hidalgo.

Source: AH-UNAM 1920 (for Victor Manuel Llaven); ANG/Manuel Briseño Ortega, Minutas, 1897-1900, p. 14-18; Francisco G. Santamaría, Datos, materiales i apuntes para la historia del periodismo en Tabasco, p. 45, item 57.

Macedo, Miguel S. (Delegate for Michoacán). Born: June 8, 1856 in Mexico City. Education: Graduated Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1874; graduated Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia, 1880. Professional activities: Professor of penal law and other courses at the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia; author (see published works); editor, La Libertad. Public offices: Deputy; Undersecretary of Gobernación, 1909; alcalde on Mexico City council, 1889-1899; President of the Federal District, 1898-1899. Business interests: Lawyer for the Banco Mexicano de Comercio y Industria. Family ties: Father, Portuguese merchant; brother, Unión Liberal delegate, Pablo Macedo. Died: July 14, 1929 in Mexico City.

Source: AH-UNAM 15741 and 46512; Beals; Mestre; The Mexican Yearbook 1909-1910; Miguel S. Macedo, Mi Barrio; Porrúa.

Macedo, Pablo (Delegate for México). Born: February 21, 1851 in Mexico City. Education: Preparatory education at the Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1858; trained as a lawyer at

the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia, 1866-1871. Professional activities: Private, international law practice (clients include the Banco Nacional de Mexico in 1892); Professor of Political Economy and later Director of the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia; Director of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1908; author (see published works). Public offices: Deputy; Mayor of the Federal District, 1898. Business interests: Director, Compañía Fundadora de Fierro y Acero de Monterrey, 1907; Director of the Caja de Préstamos, 1908; Vice President and lawyer, Banco de Londres y México; President, Banco Mexicano de Comercio y Industria; owner of 3,620,532 hectares of land in Baja California; owner of urban real estate in Mexico City. Family ties: Father, Portuguese merchant; brother, fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Miguel S. Macedo; wife, Concepción Velázquez; no children; brother-in-law, fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Eduardo Velázquez. Died: Christmas day, 1918 in Madrid, Spain.

Source: AH-UNAM 1302 and 15300; AJ/1053128; ANG/Ramón E. Ruiz, 1898, 1st semester, item 31, p. 167; item 92, p. 610; item 157, p. 1038; ANG/José María Velázquez, 1892, 2nd semester, item 20, p. 69; item 30; item 110; Beals; Cossío, José L., Monopolio y fraccionamiento de la propiedad Rústica; DDS 1907, 1908; Mestre; The Mexican Herald, October 8, 1895 and January 7, 1898; The Mexican Yearbook 1909-1910; Porrúa; SA, p. 281; Villaseñor.

MacManus, Tomás (Delegate for Chihuahua). Born: Chihuahua, 1854. Public offices: Deputy in state legislature; between 1900 and 1910 represented the following states in the federal legislature: Chiapas, Durango, Nuevo León and Querétaro; from 1913 to 1915 was a federal Senator. Business interests: Owned hacienda in Municipio del Valle de Zaragoza, District of Hidalgo, Chihuahua; operated Banco Santa Eulalia, 1879; owner (with father and brother) of dry goods store in Chihuahua. Died: In retirement in Cuernavaca, 1945.

Source: ANG/Daniel T. Castañeda, 1897, 2nd semester, item 29, p. 69; ANG/José María Valásquez, 1892, item 98, p. 177; Almada, Diccionario chihuahuenses; DDS 1907-1908; Holms, p. 252; Walter McCaleb, Present and Past Banking in Mexico, p. 8.

Mañón y Valle, Ignacio (Delegate for Mexico). Born: 1836 in the state of Mexico (birthdate is estimate based on Mañón y Valle's presence in Congress, 1862). Public offices: Congress, 1862. Business interests: Owner of

Hacienda Brito in Huamantla, Tlaxcala, which produced maize and wheat; one Manuel del Valle owned S. Gaspar, a hacienda in Valle de Bravo, state of México.

Source: AH/UNAM 11849; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 197, p. 13; Holms, p. 301; interview with Antonio Mañón, hacienda La Pila, Toluca, México; Antonio Mañón is grand-nephew of Ignacio Mañón y Valle.

Martel, Jesús (Delegate for San Luis Potosí). Public office: Deputy.

Source: Debates, 1888.

Mendizábal, Fernando (Delegate for Puebla). Born: 1836 in Puebla (birthdate is estimate based on subtracting sixty years from date of death). Professional activities: Occasional law practice. Public office: Senator of Puebla, entered by 1880. Business interests: Owned haciendas San Pedro Coxtocán and St. María Coxtocán, both in Puebla. Died: 1896 on the hacienda San Pedro Coxtocán.

Source: Holms, p. 319; Rosalie Evans Letters from Mexico, p. 180.

Nicoli, José Patricio (Delegate for Sonora). Born: 1835, Yobain, Yucatán (birthdate is estimate based on subtracting sixty years from date of death). Professional activities: Mexico City law practice; cofounder of the Instituto Literario y Científico de Sonora; author (see published works). Public offices: Represented the Yucatán, Sonora and Guanajuato in Congress, entered as Deputy, 1876; Secretary of State for Sonora, 1879. Died: Mexico City, 1895.

Source: Almada, Diccionario sonorense; Enciclopedia de México; Mestre; Porrúa.

Núñez, Roberto (Delegate for Aguascalientes). Born: December 1, 1859 in Mexico City. Education: Graduated from the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1874, after having attended preparatory in Tlaxcala, 1870-1873; received law degree, 1878. Professional activities: Mexico City law office. Public offices: Promotor fiscal, District Court, Hidalgo, 1878; juez, District Court, San Luis Potosí, 1879; juez, second correctional court of Mexico City, 1880;

jefe de la secretaría de beneficencia, Ministry of Gobernación, 1881; Deputy, 1882-1911; regidor, Mexico City, 1886-1888; undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance, 1893-1911; Procurador for Mexico before the Comision Mixta de Reclamaciones Mexico-Guatemala; Ministro plenipotenciario before the Republic of Salvador, for the signing of a peace, commerce and navigation treaty; secretary of the commission to reform the commercial code. Business interests: Advisor to the Banco Nacional de México; Director of the Caja de Préstamos, 1909; owner of urban real estate. Family ties: Grandfather, Col. Francisco Núñez; grandmother, Filomena Gongórra; father, José Higinio Núñez; mother, Juana Castañarez; wife, Josefina Prida y Arteaga (born Oaxaca); nine children, father-in-law, Francisco Macario de Prida Palacios (born in Madrid, Spain); mother-in-law, Josefa Arteaga y Mantecón Pacheco, Marqueza de Arteaga (born in Oaxaca). Died: December 27 or 30, 1912, Paris, France (left Mexico with Díaz on the Piranga, May 31, 1911).

Source: AH-UNAM 1436, 15650; AJ/868212; Torsten Dahl, editor, Linajes en México, Tomo I; DO 1891; Los hombres del centenario; Mestre; The Mexican Yearbook, 1909-1910; Porra.

Palencia, Francisco (Delegate for Colima). Born: 1843, Jalisco. Public offices: Represented Colima in Congress.

Source: Debates, 1891-92.

Pardo, Emilio Jr. (Delegate for Zacatecas). Born: 1850 in Mexico City. Education: Graduated Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia, 1871. Professional activities: Mexico City law practice; professor of business law at the Escuela Nacional de Comercio, 1899, and professor of selected cases at the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia; author (see published works). Public offices: Represented the Federal District in Congress; Magistrate in 2nd and 5th Sala, Federal District Court, 1891; Minister in Belgium. Business interests: Director of the Banco Internacional e Hipotecario de México, 1909-1919. Family ties: Father, Manuel Pardo; mother, Rosaura Sabariego; wife, Enriquita Aspe; father-in-law, fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Francisco de P. Aspe. Died: January 9, 1911, Mexico City.

Source: AH-UNAM 1140 and 2770; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 49, p. 11; AJ/1146517 (the will of Francisco de P. Aspe); ANG/Herminio

Arteaga, 1891, item 7, p. 10; ANG/Eduardo Escudero, 1895, Tomo I, items 5, 6, 8, and 9; ANG/Alberto Lombardo, 1897, item 26; DDS 1907, 1908; Mestre; Porrúa, SA, p. 283; Villaseñor.

Peniche, Manuel (Delegate for Campeche). Born: August 22, 1834, Mérida. Education: Finished legal education in 1850; 1859 graduated as agrimensor or land surveyor. Professional activities: Mexico City law office; historian (see published works); journalist. Public offices: Regidor on Mérida's ayuntamiento before moving to the Federal District; entered Congress by 1862, eventually becoming Senator for the Yucatán and Campeche. Business interests: In the capital Peniche represented Yucatecan railway and banking interests; several Peniches owned sugar plantations in the Yucatán; owned 2,188,174 hectares of land in Sonora. Died: 1899 in Veracruz.

Source: ANG/Daniel T. Castañeda, 1898, 1st semester, item 16, p. 23; Almanaque y Guía de Foresteros, 1874; Cossío, Jose L., Monopolio y fraccionamiento de la propiedad rústica; Holms, p. 364; Mestre; Porrúa; SA, p. 115.

Peña, Praxedis de la (Delegate for Coahuila). Born: 1844 in Coahuila (birthdate estimated from data in the will of his son, also named Praxedis de la Peña, who died in 1926 at the age of fifty). Public offices: Interim Governor of Coahuila, 1909. Business interests: Owned El Pilar, Nuevo León and Compuertas, cotton and maize producing haciendas in Coahuila; President of the Banco de Coahuila; Vice-President of the Banco de la Laguna; interest in San Patricio, a mine located in Chihuahua; various industrial interests (e.g., La Compañía Industrial Jarbonera de la Leguna). Family ties: Wife; Concepción Valdes; Peña was a cousin of Ernesto Madero; son, Praxedis de la Peña.

Source: AH-UNAM 2027; 16262; AJ/1439921 (the will of his son, 2 tomos); Holms, p. 256 and 287; Los hombres del centenario; Stanley Ross, Madero, the Apostle of the Mexican Revolution.

Pérez Verdía, Luis (Delegate for Jalisco). Born: April 13, 1857, Guadalajara, Jalisco. Education: Attended law school in Guadalajara; graduated in 1877. Professional activities: Occasional law practice; Professor of History, University of Guadalajara; historian (see published works); publisher of La República Literaria. Public offices: Deputy in Jalisco state legislature and federal Congress;

magistrate in Jalisco; Plenipotentiary Minister to Guatemala; Mexico's representative to the IV Interamerican Conference, Buenos Aires, 1910. Died: August 15, 1914, Guatemala City.

Source: ANG/Herminio Arteaga, 1891, item 7, p. 10; Cosío Villegas, VPIPS; DDS 1907, 1908; Ignacio Davila Garbi, "La Historia de Pérez Verdía" in Historia Moderna, April-June, 1954; Joseph Robert Juárez, Conflict and Cooperation between Church and State: The Archbishopric of Guadalajara during the Porfiriato, 1876-1911; Mestre; Porrúa; Pedro Serrano, Hispanistas Mexicanas, Tomo I, p. 58; Villaseñor.

Pimentel, Emilio (Delegate for Oaxaca). Born: Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca in 1857. Education: Studied law in Oaxaca. Professional activities: Mexico City law practice; catedrático in administrative and constitutional law at the Escuela Nacional de Comercio, 1899; author of studies in geography and astronomy. Public offices: Deputy for Oaxaca; Minister to Argentina; regidor and later President of the Federal District; Governor of Oaxaca, 1902-1911. Family ties: Father, Gabriel Pimentel; mother, María Velasco; wife, Amparo Jordán, who died within a year of their marriage; 1 illegitimate daughter, María Pimentel de Esperón (married to José Esperón), living in Oaxaca as of 1926. Died: March 10, 1926 in Veracruz.

Source: AJ/1548095; DO May 15, 1891; Los hombres del centenario; Mestre; The Mexican Herald, January 7, 1898, and August 12, 1898; Porrúa.

Pineda, Rosendo (Delegate for Oaxaca, Territory of Tepic and Vice President of Unión Liberal Convention). Born: March 3, 1855, Juchitán, Oaxaca. Education: Preparatory and legal training in Oaxaca. Professional activities: Private secretary to Manuel Romero Rubio; occasional law practice. Public offices: Deputy for Oaxaca. Business interests: Council for the Banco de Londres y México. Died: Mexico City, September 13, 1914.

Source: DO January 2, 1891; DDS 1907, 1908; Mestre; Porrúa, Villaseñor.

Pliego Pérez, Antonio (Delegate for Tepic). Born: 1854, state of México. Public offices: Represented Territory of Tepic in Congress. Business interests: Pliego Pérez

family were long-time landowners in the state of México; Director of the Caja de Préstamos, 1909-1910; comisario for Banco de Estado de México; Delegate to the Asociación Financiero Internacional; founder of "La Latina Americana," an insurance company. Family ties: Wife, Amparo Villalava of México.

Source: AH-UNAM 41037; ANG/José María Velásquez, 1892, 2nd semester, item 52, p. 153; DDS 1907, 1908; Holms, p. 301 for Pliego Pérez family; interview with Esther and Rosita Pliego y Alvaron; Los hombres del centenario; The Mexican Yearbook, 1909-1910.

Puebla, José Antonio (Delegate for Colima). Born: 1825, Mexico City. Public offices: Senator for Michoacán. Business interests: Proprietario or urban landowner worth \$129,528 when he died. Family ties: Father, Policarpo Puebla y García from Spain; mother, Josefa Victoria, also Spanish; wife, Josefa Reyes; sister, Concepción Puebla, married to Francisco de la Fuente; niece, Emilia de la Fuente married to Francisco Herrasti. Died: December 13, 1905, Mexico City.

Source: AJ/704776 (2 tomos); DO January 2, 1891.

Ramírez, Francisco M. (Delegate for Coahuila). Born: 1841, San Miguel el Alto, Jalisco. Professional activities: Lieutenant of the Cavalry, National Guard, January 1861; Capitan, November 1864; Commander of the Auxiliary Squadron of the Army, October 1866; Lieutenant Colonel of the Cavalry, October 1876; Colonel of the Cavalry, August 1876; Permanent Colonel of the Cavalry, October 1881; Brigadier General, 1884; Chief of the Rural Forces of the Federation; resigned June 6, 1911. Received government pension of 4,927.50 pesos annually until he died in 1920. Public offices: Congressman. Died: January 13, 1920, Mexico City at 78 years.

Source: AJ/704776 (the will of his close friend, fellow Unión Liberal delegate, José Antonio Puebla); AM/X-III/2-601 (3 tomos); DDS 1907; Mestre; The Mexican Yearbook, 1909-1910; Porrúa.

Rayón, Francisco (Delegate for Baja California). Born: 1859, Chilpancingo, Guerrero. Education: Enrolled in the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1874. Professional activities: Lawyer. Business interests: Comerciante; owned property in Guerrero. Family ties: Father, Susano

Rayón, propietario from Guerrero; mother, Carmen Ramírez or Antonia Gatica; wife #1, Carlotta Cabañas, born 1863, Guerrero; five children; wife #2 Dolores Tejeda, from Avio de Rosales, Michoacán. Died: August 2, 1909, Mexico City.

Source: AH-UNAM 50074; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 49, p. 441; AJ/9581212 and 692128; ANG/Daniel T. Castañeda, 1897, item 16, p. 32.

Redo, Joaquín (Delegate for Sinaloa). Born: Before 1844, Sinaloa (origins based on the assumption that Joaquín Redo was the father of Diego Redo, Governor of Sinaloa, 1909 and later). Public offices: In Senate by 1888, represented Chihuahua and Colima. Business interests: Owned El Dorado, sugar hacienda in Mazatlán.

Source: Almada, Diccionario chihuahuenses; Beals; Debates, 1888; DO April 25, 1891; Holms, p. 333; Ireneo Paz, Los hombres prominentes; Villaseñor.

Rivas, Carlos (Delegate for Guanajuato). Born: 1844 in Guaymas, Sonora. Education: Graduated law school in 1865. Professional activities: Brigadier General, 1861. Public offices: Governor of the Federal District; Senator for Hidalgo, 1891. Business interests: Owner of the hacienda El Peñon de los Baños; owner of cotton factory La Constancia Mexicana, located in Puebla; gerente, or manager of La Sociedad de Terranos de Tepic, a land development company, founded in 1891. Family ties: Father, Carlos Rivas; mother, Domilita Gómez; brother, fellow Unión Liberal delegate Francisco Rivas; sisters, Ana Rivas de García Mijares and Concepción Rivas de Díaz Rugama; wife, Lenor Rivas de Rivas, a cousin. Died: Pneumonia in Mexico City in 1908 at the age of 64.

Source: AN-UNAM 15231; AJ/120442 (6 tomos); AM XI/III/2-340; AN de Puebla/Patricio Carrasco, 1896, 1st semester, item 61, p. 127; Beals; Cosío Villegas, VPIPS; DDS 1907; Mestre.

Rivas Gómez, Francisco (Delegate for the Territory of Tepic). Born: 1853, Tepic. Professional activities: Taught Greek at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1884. Business interests: Finca, S. Cayetano, located in Tepic. Family ties: Father, Carlos Rivas Gongóra; mother, Domilita Gómez; brother, fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Carlos Rivas; wife, Delfina Varela of Tepic. Died: November 27, 1919, Tepic.

Source: AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 47, p. 45; AJ/120442 (6 tomos); DDS 1907, 1908; Holms, p. 344; La Libertad, January 17, 1880.

Rocha, Sóstenes (Delegate for Sonora). Born: November 28, 1831, Mineral de Marfil, Guanajuato. Education: Educated in Guanajuato until he entered El Colegio Militar, 1851; specialized in engineering. Professional activities: Teniente de Ingenieros, 1853; Capítan, assigned to Mazatlán, 1854; Caballeria, 1853-1861; Brigadier General, 1866; Division General, 1871; Comisio de Servicios en Paris, 1876-1880; Comision de la Junta de Ordanza, 1880; Director of the Colegio Militar, 1880-1883; in commission of the Secretary of War and Navy; served in several other commissions, 1883-1897; total 51 years, 4 months and 5 days service. Public offices: Deputy for Puebla, 1884. Family ties: Father, Colonel Francisco Rocha, aide to Manuel Doblado; mother, Dolores Hernandez; wife, Guadalupe Ramírez, born 1859 in San Miguel Allende (she received 12,000 pesos annually when Rocha died in 1897); four children from marriage; three illegitimate children prior to marriage. Died: March 30, 1897, Mexico City.

Source: AJ/404203; AM XI/III/1-178, caja 148; ANG/José María Velásquez, 1892, item 13, p. 18; Almada, Diccionario chihuahuenses; Bazant; Bravo Ugarte, p. 73; Holms, p. 188 and 267 for Rocha family; La Libertad, January 1, 1880; La Lonja; Paz, Porfirio Díaz: Leyenda Historica; Porrúa; Jesús Frausto Rodríguez, Sóstenes Rocha; Lamega Sanchez, Generales de Ingenieros, p. 81; Juan Manuel Torrea, La vida de una institución gloriosa...., p. 143.

Rosas, Felipe (Delegate for the Yucatán and Secretary of the Unión Liberal Convention).

Sanginés, Agustín (Delegate for Chihuahua). Born: 1850 in Teotitlán, Oaxaca. Professional activities: Military; January 4, 1872, Lieutenant of the Cavalry; May 11, 1872, Captain of the Cavalry; March 5, 1876, Squadron commander; June 20, 1877, Chief of the Auxiliary Cavalry; July 25, 1884, Lieutenant Colonel of the Auxiliary Cavalry; December 7, 1885, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regular Cavalry; November 7, 1889, Colonel of the Auxiliary Cavalry; December 13, 1889, Colonel of the Regular Cavalry; March 8, 1909, Brigadier General of the Regular Cavalry; April 1914, Division General. Public offices: Jefe político, Chihuahua, 1888-92; jefe político, Baja California, 1894-1900; Governor of Hidalgo, 1913. Business

interests: Bakery in La Paz, Territory of Baja California. Family ties: Father, José María Sanginés; mother, Pascuala Calvillo; wife, Teresa Vallalva (born in Chihuahua); five children. Died: September 14, 1924, at the age of 74 in Mexico City.

Source: AJ/1178986; AM 156 XI/III/1-187; Almada, Diccionario chihuahuenses; La Libertad, January 13, 1880.

Saravia, Emiliano G., a.k.a. Saravia y Murúa, Emiliano (Delegate for Durango). Born: 1857 on the Hacienda de San Pedro Mártir, Durango. Education: Instituto Juárez, Durango. Professional activities: Occasional law practice; editor of a Durango newspaper. Public offices: Represented Durango in Congress, 1888. Business interests: Sarabia Brothers owned Atotonilco and Esten Yervanis, haciendas in Durango that produced maize, beans and livestock. Died: 1920.

Source: Holms, p. 258; La Libertad, January 15, 1880; Porrúa.

Sierra, Justo (Delegate for Campeche). Born: January 26, 1848 in Campeche, then part of the Yucatán. Education: Primary in Mérida until 1861; transferred to El Colegio de San Ildefonso, Mexico City where he finished his studies, obtaining a licentiate in 1871. Professional activities: Mexico City law office; Professor of History at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 1878-1899; founder of the National University in 1911; author (see published works); journalist and editor. Public offices: Represented Sinaloa in Congress; Magistrate of the Supreme Court, 1893; Undersecretary and later Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, 1884-1911; Plenipotentiary Minister to Spain, 1912. Family ties: Father, Justo Sierra O'Reilly, writer and jurist; wife, Luz Mayora Carpio; six children. Died: 1912 in Madrid, Spain.

Source: AH-UNAM 15265 and 24885; AH-UNAM/ENP, Tomo, 147, p. 114; Tomo 2, p. 181; Almanaque Bouret, 1896; Cosío Villegas, VPIS; DDS 1908-1909; El País, August 16, 1906; Porrúa; Martín Quirarte, Gabino Barrera, Justo Sierra y El Ateneo de la Juventud; Villaseñor; Silvio Zavala, Tributo al Historiador Justo Sierra.

Sosa, Francisco (Delegate for Campeche). Born: April 2, 1848 in San Francisco de Campeche then part of the Yucatán.

Education: Primary and secondary studies in Mérida.
Professional activities: Professor; Director of the National Library; author, poet, and biographer (see published works); journalist and publisher. Family ties: Father: José Domingo Sosa; mother, Manuela Escalante; no wife--bachelor. Died: February 9, 1925 impoverished in Coyoacan, a suburb of the Federal District.

Source: AJ/1221429; DDS 1907, 1908; La Libertad, January 1, 1880; Mestre; México, 1891; Porrúa; Francisco Sosa, El episcopado mexicano.

Velázquez, Eduardo (Delegate for Guerrero). Born: 1863, Villa de Guadalupe Hidalgo, a suburb of Mexico City. Professional activities: Journalist. Public offices: Represented Puebla in Congress; Perfect of Guadalupe and Mexico City's Chief of Police, 1895-97. Business interests: Owned ranchos in the Villa de Guadalupe and urban properties in Mexico City; private money lender. Family ties: Father, Francisco Velázquez; mother, Clementina Estrada; brother-in-law, fellow Unión Liberal delegate, Pablo Macedo; engaged to Carlotta Ricoy, daughter of Carlos Ricoy and Modesto Pardo. Died: September 24, 1897 from gunshot wound in the head.

Source: AJ/479509; Beals; Cosío Villegas, VPIPS (pp. 683-688 for details of the event surrounding Velázquez' death); The Mexican Herald, October 13, 1895.

Valenzuela, Jesús (Delegate for Chihuahua). Born: December 24, 1856 in Guanaceví, Durango. Education: Instituto Científico y Literario de Chihuahua; also attended the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria; law school in Mexico City, receiving degree in 1877. Professional activities: Author and poet (see published works); journalist; published La Revista Moderna de México, 1898. Public offices: Represented Chihuahua in Congress. Business interests: Hacienda Minas Nuevas, Chihuahua, assumed to be part of the 6,954,626 hectares of land he also owned in the state. Family ties: Father, Jesús Valenzuela; mother, Martina Sanchez; wife, Juana González; five children. Died: May 20, 1911, Mexico City.

Source: AH-UNAM 9952; AH-UNAM/ENP Tomo 74; AJ/749875; ANG/José María Velásquez, 1892, item 60, p. 83; Almada, Diccionario chihuahuenses; Cossío, José L., Monopolio y fraccionamiento de la propiedad rústica; Holms, p. 250; La Libertad, January 1, 1880; Márquez Montiel, Hombres celebres de Chihuahua.

Valenzuela, Nicolás (Delegate for Tabasco). Born: 1851, Tabasco (birthdate estimated on assumption that his father was Policarpo Valenzuela, born 1831 in Tabasco; also his daughter's marriage in 1903). Professional activities: Journalist. Business interests: Director, Banco de Tabasco. Family ties: Assumed to be son, possibly nephew of Policarpo Valenzuela, who has been described by Carleton Beals in Porfirio Díaz, Dictator of Mexico as the "Terraza of the south."

Source: Agrícola Nacional de Tabasco, October 8, 1911; Beals; Cossío, José L., Monopolio y fraccionamiento de la propiedad rústica; Holms, p. 341 for Valenzuela family; Los nombres del centenario for Policarpo Valenzuela; SA, p. 191; Francisco J. Santamaría, Datos materiales i apuntes para la historia del periodismo en Tabasco, 1825-1935, p. 113, item 210.

Zamacona, Manuel M. de (Delegate for the Federal District). Born: September 13, 1826, Puebla. Education: El Colegio Carolino and legal education at the Seminario Palafoxiano; both schools were located in Puebla. Professional activities: Lawyer; Professor of History, Escuela Nacional Preparatoria; Director of the Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios para Mujeres, 1899; poet; journalist; publisher. Public offices: Deputy in Congress by 1862; Magistrate of the Supreme Court; Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, 1861; Minister Plenipotentiary and Minister of the United States, 1880. Business interests: Landowner in Puebla. Family ties: Zamaconas were important landowners in Puebla. Died: May 29, 1904, Mexico City.

Source: AN de Puebla/Patricio Carrasco, 1896, 1st semester, item 62, p. 138; item 113, p. 193; Archivo Juzgado Civil, Puebla. Circular. Año de 1860; General Pleno, Roll 42, Museo de Anthropología, Microfilm; Bazant; Bravo Ugarte; DDS 1907, 1908; Octavio González Cárdenas, Los cien años de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 14; Mestre; Peral; Porrúa.

Zárate, Julio (Delegate for Veracruz). Born: April 12, 1844, Jalapa, Veracruz. Education: El Colegio de Carolino de Puebla. Professional activities: Historian (see published works). Public offices: Entered Congress by 1862 and served throughout the Porfiriato, representing the following states: Puebla, 1862; Campeche, 1912; Federal District, Veracruz and Aguascalientes; Minister of Foreign Relations, 1879-1880; Magistrate of the Supreme Court by 1902. Family ties: Grandfather owned hacienda

in Jalapa; father, Manuel Zárate, lawyer and intimate of President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada; brother, Eduardo Zárate, lawyer, professor, journalist and Deputy.

Source: Constituciones generales, 1878; Cosío Villegas, PIPS: Debates, 1862; DDS 1907, 1908; Mestre; Leonardo Pasquel, La generación liberal veracruzana, p. 363; Porrúa; Villaseñor.

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