ABSTRACT

A CURRENT OF MEXICAN NATIONALISM: ANDRES MOLINA ENRIQUEZ'S
THEORY OF MISCEGENATION BY AGUSTIN BASAVE BENITEZ ST, ANTONY'S COLLEGE
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THE THESIS DEALS WITH ANDRES MOLINA ENRIQUEZ'S PRO-MISCE-
GENATION THEORY, MOLINA (1868-1940), A SPENCIRIAN EVOLUTIONIST WHO BELIEVED RACE STRUGGLE IS HISTORY'S DRIVING FORCE, DEPARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT MEXICO WILL NOT BE A COHESIVE, PROGRESSIVE NATION UNTIL

ALL MEXICANS BECOME MESTIZOS - i, E,, THE PRODUCT OF RACIAL INTER-MINGLING BETWEEN SPANIARDS AND INDIANS, THUS, THE ANALYSIS OF THIS THEORY IS THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE THESIS,

IN ORDER TO ANALY'SE MOLINA'S THEORY WITHIN ITS HISTORICAL
CONTEXT, HOWEVER, THE PRELIMINARY SECTION OF THE THESIS BRIEFLY DES-CRIBES THE THOUGHTS OF THOSE MEXICAN INTELLECTUALS WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY PROCLAIMED ETHNIC HOMOGENEITY -VIA MISCEGENATION' THE KEY TO NATIONAL STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT, SIMILARLY, THE LAST PART OF THE THESIS PRESENTS THE IDEAS OF SOME OF MOLINA'S SUCCESSORS, THOSE WHO WERE IN FAVOR OF MISCEGENATION -NOT ONLY A RACIAL ONE BUT ALSO A CULTURAL ONE- IN POSTREVOLUTIONARY MEXICO,

THE FIRST AND LAST PARTS OF THE THESIS ALLOW , US TO SEE PRO-MISCEGENATION AS A CURRENT OF THE MEXICAN INTELLIGENTSIA'S QUEST FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY, THE CENTRAL PART OF IT -THE ONE DEVOTED TO MOLINA'S THEORY, UNDOUBTEDLY THE MOST IMPORTANT AND SOPHISTICATED

CONTRIBUTION IN THE FIELD- GIVES US A GENERAL PICTURE OF THE CONTRA-DICTORY NATURE OF THIS CURRENT OF THOUGHT, EVEN THOUGH IT IS CLEAR THAT A PERVASIVE MISCEGENATION MADE EVER MORE MEXICAN INTELLECTUALS ENDORSE THE IDEA THAT MESTIZOS ARE THE REAL PEOPLE OF MEXICO, THE ANALYSIS OF MOLINA'S WRITINGS SHOWS THAT HE ATTEMPTED TO PREDICT THE SUPREMACY OF MESTIZOS WITH A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK THAT LEADS HIM TOTHE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, INDEED, NO MATTER HOW MUCH HE TWISTED IT, SPENCERIAN EVOLUTIONISM DID NOT SERVE HIM (OR HIS CONTEMPORARY PRO-MISCEGENATIONISTS) TO PROVE WHITE-RACISM WRONG,

THE CONCLUSION is THAT MOLINA, AS MOST OF HIS FELLOW "MESTIZOPHILIA" SUPPORTERS, CHOSE TO HAIL THE ETHNIC GROUP THAT REPRESENTED AN EVER-GROWING MAJORITY OF THE MEXICAN POPULATION,
AND TRIED TO BUILD A SCIENTIFIC THEORY TO PROVE THE SUPREMACY OF THAT GROUP, BUT IN DOING SO HE HAD TO USE THE ONLY METHODOLOGICAL TOOLS HE HAD LEARNED AT THE POSITIVIST SCHOOLS OF PORFIRIAN MEXICO, THE RESULT IS A CONTRADICTORY THEORY THAT, NEVERTHELESS, SHEDS LI-GHT ON THE PATH TO NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MEXICO,

A CURRENT OF MEXICAN NATIONALISM

Andres Molina Enriquez's theory of miscegenation

By
Agustin Basave Benitez

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INTRODUCTION

The object o-f this thesis is to study the thoughts of Andres Molina Enriquez on what we may call "Pro-miscegenation Theory." In its broadest sense this theory's central idea is that miscegenation, or racial and/or
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cultural mixture, is desirable. More concretely, Molina's version departs -from the premise that the real people? of Mexico are the Mestizos,, who are of Spanish and American Indian ancestry. Molina Enriquez used findings from historical and socioethnic research to argue that Mexico cannot become a prosperous developed nation while the process of miscegenation is incomplete and the Indian and Creole minorities have not been fused with the Mestizo masses (i)„ For the purposes of this study, the author made a comparative analysis of Molina:'s work by collating ideas Molina adopted with their original sources. Likewise, the author has analysed Medina's arguments and made an assessment, of his contribution to the history of thought in Mexico.
Although Mexican pro-miscegenation thought existed before Molina and continued after his death, and despite the fact that Mexico is indeed a Mestizo country,, little research exists on this subject (2). Given this, the author felt the need to incorporate a brief account of some of the theories that existed prior to and after Molina.

(1) For the purposes of this thesis the words "race", "ethnos" and their derivatives are used as synonyms.
(2) A noteworthy exception to this is the magnificent (although tangential) study of the theories of several Mexican mestizophiles made by Luis Villoro in Los qjrandes momentos del in.d>jgejn_isnig___ejT_Jj^ii£P (Ed. La C a <=..;? Chata, Mexico, 1979)', pp. 175-223.

Molina's work contributed to and was enriched by these other efforts, and without such an account we would not be able to appreciate it in its context, and would underestimate its value. A brief chronological description of the attitudes adopted by Mexican intellectuals concerning miscegenation (1) has also been included in an effort to rescue a line o-f thought that has been neglected by specialists. There is no doubt that Molina's theory is the most important and sophisticated in the field,, but this does not mean that Molina's fellow intellectuals are not worthy of attention,
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This thesis deals essentially with an idea,, Therefore.,
we must first establish what sort of idea it is and situate it within a conceptual framework to enable us to understand its significance in the context of this analysis. For the purposes of this study., it should be borne in mind that the tendency to link miscegenation and what is essentially-Mexican is basically a response to the search to define national identity, In this sense, pro-miscegenation theories can be included in the category of nationalism. Having said that, however, the limits of these concepts must be defined. Despite the numerous definitions that exist for-th is versatile term, several eminent authorities on the subject agree that nationalism should be interpreted as the

(i) The reader should note that although recognition is given to the importance of the views of famous foreigners such as D.H. Lawrence, for example, on. miscegenation, this thesis is solely concerned with how Mexicans (and other Latin Americans) have reacted to this phenomenon.

process by wich a "nation" (1), or group, of people sharing

the same sense of national awareness, endeavours to create a

state, to contain and separate it. from other "nations". Some

authors stress the importance of the language aspect (Haves)

while others emphasize different aspects such as race

(Akzin), religion, traditions and other factors providing

unity (Kohn)j basing their explanations around the

standardization of culture generated by industrialization

(Gellner) or the Kantian idea of self-determination

(Kedourie). However, most authors, even those holding the

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most different of opinions have one common denominators

eurocentricity (2). In their studies on nationalism, even

researchers from the United States of America have followed

this tendency which explains why their theories are rarely

app1i cab1e to Latin Ameri c a C3).

In Latin America the process was the other wav rounds

(1) For the different concepts of nationalism see Louis L. S n y d e r , The Mean ing of _._Nat ional ism (G r e e n wood P r e s s ,, West port, 1977™.
(2) See Carl ton J.H. Hayes , Nat i on a 1 i sm - a re LJSL1_Q.Q (The Mac Mi 11 an Co., N.Y.,, I960), pp. 2-85 Benjamin Akzin. (FCE, Mexico, 1983) pp. 44-52 and
88-129; H a n s K o h n , Nat i on a 1 i sm -. its mean i n g an _d_ _hj:^t_or_v (D.Van Nostrand, N.Y. 1971), pp 9-10 and 46-49; Ernest Gellner, MgLtAons, ___an_d i Nationalism (Basil Black we 11 y Oxford, 1984). pp. 1-2 and 19-38; and Elie Kedourie, National ism { Hutchinson , London, 1985), pp.9 and 20-91.
(3) On the other hand, with exceptions like that of Arthur P . Whitaker's Nationalism in Latin America (Greenwood Press, Westpqrt, 1976) which analyses the quest to define what is essentially Argentinian, the few studies made on South American nationalism tend to concentrate
on militarism which is an unfamiliar phenomenon in contemporary Europe. For example, see L.A. Costa Pinto, Nac i ona 1 i smo y m i 1 i t ar i smo (S XXI, Mexico, 1974) and Ana Maria Bidegain de Uran , Nac ^ ional is mo „ - dqminacion en America... .Latina (Ed. LJ . de los Andes Bogota, 1983).

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the states were -formed first and efforts were made to create-the "nations" later. When the Spanish colonies gained their independence from Madrid they tended to keep the same territorial divisions as the Empire had done, Thus, the viceroya.lties became republics most of whose inhabitants had little feeling of any national awareness, The absence of a national culture of their own, poor standards of education and the isolation of the majority of the continent's inhabitants eliminated the possibilty of plans to unite Latin America and caused that the notion of - "nationality" could barely exist outside the minds of the elite (1). In such circumstances it was natural that. Latin American nationalist movements were different from any European movement (2), and attempted to define the element that., to a greater exten^T ? several European countries already possesseds national ictent ity.
This is what happened in Mexico. The europeani z at ion of Mexico's intelligentsia encouraged crude imitation., exalting the mexicanidad Whatever that meant™ while the
ant i -colonial and even the Pan--Latin American tendencies

(1) Anthony D. Smith in Theories of Natlonalism (Duck.worth, London, 1983), p. 175. and Benedict Anderson in imagined
C o m munities (Verso Editions and NLB, London,, 1985), pp. 50-65, copid,jcide on this point.
(2) According to Seton-Watson, there were three kinds of European movements: gradualism ("the old continuous nations")., integrat ionism, and separatism; Great Britain
and France, for example, fall into the first category-while Italy and Germany are in the second, and Hungary
and Rumania are in the third. See Hugh Beton-Watson, Nations and States (Methuen, London,1982), pp. 15-191,

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were still alive (1). Thus., the concern to find common

denominators and -Factors -for national unity attracted

increasing numbers of followers.. This is what enlarged the

Mexican pro-miscegenation school,, which attributed the

disorder and anarchy that prevailed in independent Mexico to

the population's racial differences which it fought to

er -adicate. This situation soon brought about the creation of \-S
a lasting nationalist movement which proposed miscegenation

as the essence of Mexican identity. Given this, it is rather

surprising that studies made of this type of movement in

Mexico have concentrated on the appropriately named "Creole

patriotism" -which rose and fell during the New Spain era and

left behind the phenomenon of the veneration of the Virgin of

Guadalupe- instead of devoting its attention to what could be

called "Mest i zo nat i ana1ism" -sub j ect of this thesis-, whi ch

is still alive today in more than one sense (2).

(1) See Ignacio Sosa, "De la patria del criollo a las ideas de nacion hispanoamer icana" , and Marcos Kaplan, "El nacionalismo en America Latina-Vicisitudes y perspectivas", E1 n.ac i on a 1. i smo ._en . Am,t r i ca Lat i n a (U N A M , Mexico,, 1984),, pp. 11-13 and 33-40. On nationalism as
the result of inequality between nations, see Karl W. Deu.t sc h , MaJJjDjiaJJ. ^IL^ (- Tn e Technology Press of the MIT,, John Wiley & Sons., and
Ch apman &' Ha 11 , N . V . , 1953) , and Hor ac e B . Dav i s , Io_ward
a M a r x i s t The or y.._o£ Nat^ional ism (Monthly Review Press, N.Y., 1978), pp 182-201 and 245.
(2) Nowadays, however, studies on nationalism in Mexico tend to focus'on the aspect of political struggle, as John Breuilly does in Jl§^^£?_§J._is^m and the States (Manchester
U. Press, 1985), p.3. For examples, see Rafael Segovia's view on revolutionary nationalism in "El nacionalismo mexicano: los programas politicos revolucionarios (1929-64)", in Lecturas de goliti.ca fngtxicana (El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico, 1981) ,pp .37-53, and Enrique Montalvo, El n a c ionalism o contra 1 a. n a c i c n (Grijalbo, Mexico, 1986). No recent efforts have been made to include all the concepts of nationalism

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The main bulk of- the thesis is divided into three parts under the following headings: "The origins of the Pro-miscegenation School", "Andres Molina Enriquez or the Mythicization of the Mestizo", and "The Outcomes the death or rebirth of mestizophi1ia". The first part describes the attitude of the colonial elite towards the Mestizo and covers a few of the pioneers of mestizophi1ia ("Colonial Mexico: miscegenation against the grain") 5 the attitude? of the liberals towards the Indian and racial problems ("Liberal Mexico: a good Indian is an invisible Indian"); and an analysis of the theories of three of the forefathers of mestizophi1ia ("Francisco Pimentels humanitarian genocide"; "Vicente Riva Palacio: a compromise between races"; and "Justo Sierras the Mestizo becomes bourgeois".) At the end of the first part, the author makes an assessment of the regime of Porfirio E'iaz with respect to matters concerning the Indian population ("Positivist Mexico: theory versus pract ice?. ")
The second part, which deals with Andres Molina Enriquez, is divided into two sections entitled "Life and Works the beginnings of an obsession" and "Critical Evaluation: a problem of packaging." The first section includes the , sequence of events in Molina's life ("Biographical Note") and a description of his work on mestizophi1ia during its three stages ("The Formation of

in one study as Frederick C. Turner did in The Dynamic
of Me x i c a n Nat i on a1i sm (The U. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1968,)

Molina's Pro-Miscegenation Theory"? "The Consolidation of MoUna's Theory"; and "Mo Una's Theory Revised,") The second section in this part contains a criticism of Moiina? s theory from the viewpoint of the theories which inspired him and of the contradictions in his methodology ("Classifying the Unclassifiable" and "The Heart of Medina's motivation.") This section concludes with a description of the aspects that, were* fruitful in his time or that are still relevant today ("The Germ and Fruit of Molins's Legacy.")
The third and final part of the thesis deals with the mestisophi1ia boom and ideologues of the Revolution ("Revolutionary Mexico: miscegenation becomes popular,") In it the theories on mest i soph i 1 ia of two of Molina.'s most important successors are analysed in the? sections entitled; "Manuel Garnia: the reincarnation of the Indian" and "Jose Vasconcelos; Mestizos of America unite!" This part ends with a glimpse at the presence of the new cultural mestizophi1ia contained in a few studies on Mexico ("Post-Revolutionary Mex i c o : t. h e death o r r eb i r t h of mest i z op h i 1 i a? ") Th e author's conclusions are included at the end of the thesis. The bibliography used by the author is generally comprised of the works written by the different thinkers named throughout this work, their biographies and the biographical material that situates each of them within the context of their times. As far as And res Molina Enriquez is concE-rned. official biographical documents such as his birth certificate, his academic records., appointment documents were used. Likewise,, the author studied material written about Molina, the works of writers that influenced him and

secondary sources providing infermat ion about the anthropological trends of his time. Although the author only mentions books and pamphlets written by Moiina in the section on his theory, articles written by him for publication in newspapers and periodicals were studied and used in other sections to explain his political attitudes and provide a better understanding of his thought. Most of Moiina*s work on his theory of mestizophi1ia, however, is to be found in his nan-journalistic writings and in particular in his most important work, Los qrandes problemas nacionales (Great Nat i on a1 P r ob1ems.) By 1ooking at Mo1i n a y s wo r k prior t o and following the publication of this book we can only gain a foretaste of, or appreciate small amendments made by Moiina. to the profusely detailed ideas contained in it. As for other information, there is apparently no Moiina archive,, With some exceptions, It has thus been impossible to locate his unpublished documents and correspondence.

(1) The only known collection of documents belonging to Moiina is owned by his grandson Alvaro Moiina Enriquez. Unfortunately this collection is a small one and has not been classified. It is identified in this thesis by the letters "AAME."

1. ORIGINS OF THE PRO-MISCEGENATION

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The concepts of miscegenation and Latin American-ness
are closely related, With perhaps the exception of the southern cone comprising Argentina., Uruguay,, and, to a lesser extent, Chile,, the region could indeed be referred to as "Mestizo America". Latin America differed from the Yankee melting pot, which not only opposed the mixing of whites with Indians (or whites with blacks) but even opposed immigrants from northern Europe mixing with other Europeans of Latin extraction. Instead,, the south of the American continent was an area of ethnic mixture, where people of very different races were gradually brought together. In fact, the extent of race mixture in Latin America, is hardly rivalled elsewhere in the war Id (1).
Despite the enormous qualitative and quantitative differences between the civilizations that inhabited the continent's tropical regions and the northern Indians, there was one decisive factor that was vital to the mixture of the Spanish and Indian races; very few women immigrated to the Iberian colonies in America (2).

(1) Magnus M o r n e r , R a c e Mi x t u r e in the H i s t o r y o f L a t_i n America (Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1967) p.l.
(2) According to Aguirre, 90"/. of the Spaniards who emigrated to Mexico were men, and 10% were women. BEE Gcnzalo Aguirre Beltran, "Los simbolos etnicos de la identidad nacional", contained in Ob r a P p 1 e. m i c a (SEP-JNAH. Mexico, 1975) pp.'121-123.

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As could be expected, this situation led to the union of Spaniards with Indian women., providing the origins of a new population (1). This later became a source of worry to the Imperial authorities. Unlike other empires., however, it is likely that Spain did not reject this consanguinity because of its lack of inhibitions concerning its own multiracial background. Moreover, although it was not the general policy, the Spanish authorities even came to officially encourage miscegenation. Barely 11. years after Columbus discovered America, Governor Qvando received royal instructions in Santo Domingo in 1503 that he was to encourage marriages between Spaniards and Indians so as to allow the Indians to become "civilized". Later, in 151 i ,> King Ferdinand, one of Spain's Catholic Monarchs, wrote to Viceroy Diego Colon instructing him to foster marriages between the two races to prevent concubinage, Three years later, Ferdinand issued a royal warrant that formally authorized mixed marriages, Bartolome de las Casas also favou r ed m i xed ma r r i ages and, in 1516, he pr op osed the "mixture" of children of Spanish labourers with their Indian

(1) It is important to mention that the black slaves also-contributed to Mexico's miscegenation,, especially in the coastal areas. For the purposes of this thesis, however. closer consideration is given to the Span ish-~India\n race mixture, For the black influence in Mexico,, see Gonzalo Aguirre Belt ran, La p p b la c i 0 n n e q r a
de Mexico (FCE, Mexico, 1972.)

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counterparts (1). Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros, Regent of Cast ills, was more practical when he gave orders the same year for Spaniards to marry Indian women who were the daughters of Indian caci qu.es. The purpose behind this order was to be able to use the future Mestizo offspring as a tool to wield political control in the colonies (2).
Despite its intervention, the Spanish crown did not alter the miscegenation process. And although the Catholic church approved marriages between Spaniards and Indians who had been baptized, it too was unable to do much (3). Irrespective of rules and regulations, race mixture proliferated largely thanks to unlawful relationships. The Spanish and Indian couples produced illegitimate offspring, who were soon subjected to pitiless discrimination. The terms "Mestizo" and "bastard 51 were soon used synonomously. During the second half of the seventeenth century segregation laws were introduced., but it was already too late — the number of Mestizos had multiplied at an overwhelming rate and their social conditions were in most cases deplorable. The Mestizo had entered the colonial period through the back door to take

(1) Bartolome de las Casas, "Memorial de remedies para las Indias", contained in Obras escoqidas (Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles Ed. Atlas, Madrid, 1958), p.7.
(2) Angel Rosen b I a t, La p ob 1 ac i 6 n in d_i..g en a v e 1 mes t i z a j e gn £mjjrj_ca (Ed. Nova, Buenos Aires, 1954), vol. II, "El mestizaje y las castas coloniales", pp. 19-20. Also see Morner, op.. _c it .. , pp. 25-26. and 39.
(3) Richard Konetzke, "La legislaciOn espsnola y el mestizaje en America"., contained in jLLjngLst_i_g_aj.e. en la nistor ia en Iberoamer ica (Institute Panamer icanc dv? Geografi'a e Historia, Mexico, 1961), pp. 59-40.

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his place alongside the rest of society's outcasts. Just as the Spanish conquerors had not been outraged by the idea of mixing their race with the Indian population,, they showed no indignation when there were confronted by the idea of bringing a human being into the world that only inspired them scorn (1).
The situation was the same in New Spain. Mexico, where miscegenation became widespread (2), embarked upon its process of racial synthesis with one exception — the formal engagement of Gonzalo Guerrero, a shipwrecked sailor, to the daughter of an Indian cacique from the Yucatan peninsula around the year 1512. This couple produced the first Mexican Mestizos, The rule, however, did not take long to be established. 'The semi-legitimate state of Guerr era's offspring (considered legitimate by the Indians and illegitimate by the Spaniards because they were the fruit of a pagan union) ended after the conquest when both sides came to consider all Mestizos as illegitimate. The example set by Hernan Cortes, who recognised four of his Mestizo children, was not enough to inspire the other Spanish settlers. Martin Cortes, who is the classic example of a Mexican Mestizo, the son of the Conquistador and the Malinche, who was declared legitimate by the Pope himself, ended up as an illusion for

(1) For a description of the Mestizos situation in the colonial period see Morner, op. cit. , pp. 35-90, Rosenblat, op. cit. , pp 61-64.
(2) The great development of the miscegenation process in Mexico with respect to the rest of Latin America is dealt with by Col in M. MacLachlan and Ja.ime E. Rodriguez 0. in Th_e__JFgjig_irig.......Q-f a Cosmic Race (U. of California), Los Angeles, 1980), p.3, and the statistics compiled by Rosenblat are contained op. cit., vol. I,
"La poblacitin indigene", pp. 137-320.

the common Mestizo. The new illegitimate hybrids, who faced the same practical disadvantages as the castes and had none of the legal advantages of the Indians, were those who fared worst in the clash between the two worlds (1).
The development of Creole patriotism, however, initiated
a process which would eventually alter the image of the Mestizo. After the conquest,, the descendents of Spaniards born in America were discriminated by the Iberians, who kept the best jobs and were at the top of the social pyramid. Gradually, the outrage of each of the Creoles merged to form a feeling of collective aversion towards Spain. As a result., the Creoles developed a school of thought to revalue their autocthonous customs, those which were, not of Spanish origins. Siguenza y G6ngora and Mier were responsible for the intellectual manifestations of this discontent in Mexico in their efforts to establish connections between Guetzalc6atl and Saint Thomas Apostle, and Tonatzin and the Virgen of Guadalupes the aim of their work was to demonstrate that New Spain did not have Spain to thank for Christianity (2). However, the catalyst that accelerated this school of thought was undoubtedly the violent criticism unleashed by European writers such as Buff on,, De Paw and Robertson during the second half of the eighteenth century against the New World and its inhabitants. The pride of the

(1) For a brief description of miscegenation in Mexico, see Rosenblat, pp. cit. , vol. II, pp. 33 and 54-66.
(2) For a description of this theory, see Jacques Lafaye, Quetza1coat 1 y Guada1upe (FCE, Mexico, 19S).

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Creole intellectual elite was hurt by this and it responded with a shower of arguments de-fending creel i zat ion and the Creoles* pre-Hispanic heritage. In Mexico, this heritage was very rich but, unlike Peru, there was nobody to rouse to rebellion on its behalf. This situation prompted Creole patriots to what has been described as a virtual expropriation o-f the Indian past for their own (1).

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The Creoles' adoption of the Indian past made them aware
of their identity crisis., as they felt obliged to defend a nation but were unsure of who represented it-•.'. On the one hand, the Creole intellectuals had to fall back on the Indians to justify their clash with Europe, while on the other, they felt they could not accept them as their fellow countrymen. The natural solution to their dilemma was to boast of the glory of the dead Indian past and to turn a blind eye to the plight of the Indians living alongside them. This arrangement, however, which the Creoles hoped would help them cut the historical umbilical cord that prevented them from putting themselves on a par with Spain, could not be sustained fgr long. Although it allowed them to claim a tradition of their own and to shake themselves free of the tag that they were the scum of Spanish society, who would only create another warped copy of Spain, it soon drew their attention to the shortcomings of their "spiritual miscegenation" (i). Despite their enthusiasm for the mythical Anahuac warrior, the New World Creole felt no affinity whatsoever with the ordinary Indians and even less

(1) David Brading, Los o r i!q e n e s. del n a c i o n a 11 ..sm_c__mg_x_i can g (Era, Mexico, 1983), pp. 37-42.

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with their culture. Nonetheless,, the -first although

incomplete step had been taken — 'why,, i-f the conquerors

acknowledged the distinguished background of the vanquished

race, could they not accept the offspring of a mixture of

both as the product of the new American continent? After-

all, it was obvious that it would be difficult to forge the

new motherland the Creoles had in mind if there was

antagonism between the two races.

This opinion was shared by Francisco Javier Clavijero.

Well ahead of his time, this distinguished representative of

Creole patriotism shaped an introduction to what would

eventually form the mestizophile school of thought in 1780=

According to him:

It would have been wiser if the Spaniards had married
into American families instead of bringing European women and slaves from Africa with .them, so as to have created a single nation in its own right (2)«

(1) Besides the need for legitimacy that led the Creoles to adopt the p re-Hispanic past as their own,- it is interesting to note that their daily contact with the Indians provided another source of "spiritual miscegenation 1 ', See Fernando Benitez, L.9..1_JELL JLO).§_C9Js mexi.canos (Era, Mexico, 1984),, pp. 241-242.
(2) Francisco Javier Clavijero, Historia an t i q ua d e M^ x j. c o (Pa r r ua, Me x i c o. 1958), vol. II, pp. 200-209. 11 i s interesting to note that Clavijero himself is a perfect example of the Creole identity crisis. This is clear from the way in which he uses words such as "Mexican", "national" and "Spaniard". See Lafaye, op.c i t.« op. 166-169.

The value of Clavi jero.'s comment lies not so much in his diagnosis as in his solution to the problem. The lack of mixed marriages cannot be attributed to the presence of European women precisely because there were very few of them who came to America., and there can be few complaints concerning the relations between American families and the Spaniards because they were already "close". Nonetheless,, Clavj. jero established an important precedents miscegenation provided a way of uniting society and creating a new nation,, and was no longer considered as a generous gift of civilization from the Spaniards to the Indians (Las Casas) or as an instrument to be used for political manipulation, (Cisneros) u Despite the "historical Mestizo awareness " of thinkers such as Alvarado Tezozomoc and Alva Ixt1ixochit1, it is difficult to know what the Indians or the Mestizos thought of racial fusion (1). There is no doubt, however, that the Creoles, who formed the dominant class in New Spain after the Iberians, bs?gan to notice the limitations of a divided land. Although Clavijero discarded miscegenation as a lost opportunity perhaps to conceal his rejection of the idea of a. Mestizo fatherland,, he paved the way for a new project. Thus, given the racial opinions of the time and the fact that the Mestizo represented the sole hope for national reconciliation, things began to look up for him,

(1) For an account of Mestizo historiography, see Enrique Florescano, Memoria mexicana (J.Mortiz, Mexico, 1987),
pp. 155-161. Unfortunately there are no comprehensive studies that continue the splendid work of Miguel Le6n Port ilia and his Vision de . los vencidos (UNAM, Mexico, 1984) on the colonial Mexico.

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2 • Liberal Mex i CD; a good Ind i an is an i.nv i sib 1 e In a i..an.*

Towards the end of the colonial period, despite the changes in historical perspective and the progress that had been made in the racial context, pro-miscegenation had still not matured. Fifty years after the publication of Clavijero:'s comments, the Creole fatherland that he, Eguiara y Eguren and other Creole patriots had attempted to define was becoming reality. The brief crossing of ways between the Creole elite £*.nd the Indian and Mestizo populations., who were united in their aversion for Spain, had sparked off an independence movement, which culminated in the supremacy of the Creole (1). Moreover:, the subject of miscegenation was not even considered in the ensuing ideological dispute., The conservatives felt that Spain should be taken as the desired model for life in Mexico and although even Lucas Alaman. admitted that the castes were "capable of both good and bad" (2),, they had little to say for miscegenation. The liberals,, who would lead Mexico's revolutions, considered the solution. lay in the theoretical egalitarianism that they believed in and thus eliminated the racial differences in one fell swoop. At the wave of a magic wand the Constitution had made the Indians disappear and had replaced them with a mass

(1) See Francisco Ldpez C a' m a r a , La genesis d e 1 a c o n ci e n c_i_ a 1 iber.a 1 en Mexico (UNAM, Mexico, 1977), pp. 140-146.
(2) Lucas Alaman,, Historia de Mexico desde los primeros movimientos que prepararon su i n d ep en d fin c i a e_n el a.no d__§ 1803 f hasta la gpoca presents (Jus, Mexico, 1968), p.
26. Originally published in 1849.

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of abstract Mexican citizens. Only a handful of foresight Ed people predicted that this legal determinism would end in failure. (However, they probably would have underestimated how long that would actually take.) Right from the proclamation of the first liberal Constitution in Cadiz in 1820, Jos6 Joaquin Fernandez de Lizardi, the famous "Mexican Thinker", had ridiculed the miraculous effects of legislation concerning the Indians' ancestral problems (i) and the renowned Indian deputy and school teacher, Juan Rodriguez Puebla, did the same with the 1824 Constitution, Rodriguez Puebla rejected the notion of constitutional equality and his request for special treatment for the indigenous populations drew attention to the gap that still divided Mexican society. "It does not matter how often 1 am told that I am descended from Spanish stock," he exclaimed, "how can I believe it when looking back through my past at my forefathers I am unable to find even one who did not suffer at the hands of the Spaniards?" (2)
With constitutional equality, some would argue, there
was no reason for miscegenation to exist. Why mix races if a homogenous situation had already been reached? That was what the new ruling elite felt, pushing the Indian past and Fray Servando's pre-Hispanic veneration of the Virgen of

(1) Jose Joaquin Fernandez de Lizardi, El i n d i o v la. i n d i a del pueblo de Actopan (Jose Maria Betancurt, Mexico, 1820), pp. 6-7.
(2) Juan Rodriguez, D i sen r s o (. . .) sosteniendo el dietamen de gue se apliquen al.Cg.leq.io de San Greqorio los bienes
del hospital que fue de natuarles (Imp rent a del .,_Sugjr_emo Gobierno, Mexico a. 1.824)..,-. pp . 8-9. Speech del.i.ver_ed_on
H October 1824.

Guadalupe to the backs of it<=; minH-. ;s.nrj reolacin thf=m €Mjf!QPej9f> t r end of liberal! sip NH i r h was cy * d u * 11 v t a k i. n q
o-f the .country. Bv rejecting the colon ial_.past__and i4)narin<|_._ native elements in its H»fin it ion of national identitVj independent Mexico staked its future* fnr the T -i beral cause?. For the nat- i on ' s founders "nationality and liberalism were ind^pH gn e and the same" f i) .._.. In the battle

to impose* different versions of this_panacea evervt^H(% 13 else pal or! intn i n=.irtrji -Pi^apnrei. Th«=> dust kicked ._uto. between escQceses and yprk inos (-freemasons) covered up the ethnic. problems of the young Mexican republic, where controversy was running rife. Thus many of the most renowned liberals of the first three decades of independence ended up showing contempt for the Indians and,, in the best of cases, considered them to be a burden that would have to borne for humanitarian reasons. There are several eloquent examples to illustrate this: Lorenzo de Zavala proposed educating the Indians or, in the case of the most rebellious Indians, he suggested following the examples set by the United States of America which would have involved forcing them "to leave the territory of the Republic" (2) 9 and Mariano Otero declared that while the Indians remained uneducated and "semi-wiId", they "would hardly be fit to be considered as a part of society." (3) And just to make the situation absolutely

(1) Jesus R'eyes Heroles, El liberal, ismo mexicano (FCE, Mexico, 1982), vol. II, p. 454.
(2) Lorenzo de Zavala, "Ensayo hist6rico de las revoluciones de Mexico desde 1808 hasta 1830". in Qbras (Porrua, Mexico, 1969), p. 550. Originally published 1831-32.
•(3) Mariano Otero, "Consideraciones sabre la situacisn politica y social de la Republica Mexicar.a en el ano de 1847", in Qbras (Porrua, Mexico, 1967), V cl. I, P, 130.

clear, Jose Maria Lu.is Mora took it upon himself to deny the Mexican nationality to those "short, repugnant remainders _-f the ancient Mexican people 15, and, most important 1 y.„ he made it explicit that although everybody was equal, the Creoles were "more equal" than the Indians or the Mestizos?
The white population is by far the dominant, class of the
day given its size, enlightenment and wealth. Likewise,
the exclusive influence it has on public business and
the advantages of its position over other sectors means that it must form the basis on which the quest to define Mexican identity must be founded. The whites must, establish the concept that will be formed of the Republic in the rest of the world (1).
There was no way of appealing this sentence. None of the Indians or Mestizos would dare to tarnish the Creoles' idyllic image of Mexico.
Rac ia 1 fusion cont inued to occur in this context, but
the distance between the parties involved was greater than ever. There were, nonetheless, a. few exceptions such as the plan for a Mestizo monarchy proclaimed in 1834 by the priests Carlos Tepisteco and Epigmenio de la Pisdra. Under their plan a congress was to be formed by the twelve most direct. male descendents of the last Aztec emperor of Mexico, Montezuma II. The congress was to be entrusted to elect an emperor. If their choice turned out to be Indian, he 'would have to marry a white woman, and if he were white he would have to marry a "pure-blooded Indian 'woman" (2). However,

(1) Jose Maria Lu.is Mora, Mexico y sus revoluc i ones (Porrua,, Mexico, 1965)., vol. I, pp 63 and 74. Originally
p Lib 1 i sh ed in 1836.
(2) See Moises Gonzalez Navarre, "El mestizaje mexicano en

el p e r i od o n ac i on a 1 " , in Re vista _____
Soc ioloqia, year XXX, vol. XXX, no. 1, Jan. -March 1963,

the mainstream began to swing towards xencphiiia and became obsessed with attracting European settlers. It was not long before the watchword was "the whiter the better". Between the years 1846 and 1848, while Mexico was at war, the Congress discussed a project to permit religious tolerance for foreigners. The idea behind that proposal was to make Vlmigration more enticing to the Nordic protestants of Europe (1). While the conservatives yearned for a European prince to govern their country,, the liberals, who continued to speak of legal equality for all and to condemn racial prejudice., battled for an alternative along the lines of Europe and the United States of America. Regardless of whether they were discussing monarchies or republics., centralism of* federalism, they agreed that the model was to be found abroad, and more specifically was to be found in the white nations. Not even the triumph of the most progressive theories appeared to improve the situations in Mexico the Indian was far too close to describe him in terms of Rousseau's noble savage. This goes to explain why it has been said that, the pre-reform Creoles bristled at the thought that democracy could mean government under a Mestizo such as. Vicente Guerrero or the participation of the Indian masses in the nation's politics (2). The slogan of the privileged classes of the day could \
well have been that a good Indian was an invisible Indian — and this attitude also applied to the Mestizos.

(1) Reyes Mercies, op. cit., vol. Ill, pp. 278-287.
(2) Charles A. Hale, El 1 iberal ismo mex icano pn la epoca____d_g Mora (S. XXI, 'Mex i co, 1985) , p. 306. It is worth mentioning that Hale supports my reading of the appreciation of the Mexican liberals' contempt ^cr anyth i ng I nd i an „ See op. cit. , pp . 221 -254 ,.

Nonetheless., the Indians re-fused to disappear and they showed their determination to -fight -for their rights. Their rebellions convinced the Mexican intelligentsia, which until then had looked down on them, that sharing republican citizenship with them had failed to create bonds of identity between the different ethnic groups and that no real feelings of national awareness existed. Publitf opinion was especially-shaken towards the end of the first half of the century by the caste war in the Yucatan which broke out just as the country was suffering the effects of an aggressive onslaught of expansionism from the United States. At the end of 1848? the newspaper El Monitor voiced the feelings of the

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inhabitants of the urban settlements in a reptort that said that the Indians would either have to be exterminated or made to disappear in the racial melting pot (1). In the same year? the Yucatan separatist Justo Sierra Q'Reilly published a book in which he called for the expulsion of the Yucatan's indigenous populations for not having "amalgamated" with the rest of the community (2). Afraid that the uprisings would escalate and affect their class interests, or because they sincerely wanted to prevent the country pulling itself apart in domestic skirmishes, the Creole ideologues changed course. And in 1849 it was the same Dr. Mora_, who thirteen years earlier had decreed the theoretical expatriation of the Indians, who gave the signal for a complete turnabout from his diplomatic mission in London by advising the

(1) Ibid. , p. 244
(2) Gonzaiez Navarro, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

government on:
the need to not only stop the castes uprising but to ensure that this could not be repeated. And the only means o-f achieving this is to -fuse all the colours and races in the republic to make one (1).
Perhaps because the damage inflicted on his -family by the hordes of Indians and Mestizos who followed Hidalgo had not been forgotten (2) Mora continued appealing for European immigrants who he now saw as a way to prevent the race becoming darker in colour as the process of mi secegenat ion pushed relentlessly on. There was no turning back. Although the Indians' belligerant JHfeduc ibi I ity had not been able to do much to free them from exploitation., without intending to they managed to stir up speculation surrounding the Mestizo as the typical Mexican of the future.
Thus, those who dreamt of & Creole Mexico were brought
down to earth and reality with a nasty jolt. Attitudes were gradually changing in as far as the existing anarchy was interpreted as a result of ethnic heterogeneity. The new generation, which had a better grasp of humanistic doctrine, had already manifested a different concept of the world in the voice of Gu.il ler'mo Prieto. Although the Indians continued to be considered as an "abject., repugnant race",, Creole perception made a complete turnabouts "We," lamented Prieto, "are foreigners in our own land." (3) It is difficult to

(1) Jose Maria Luis Mora, La qesticn diplomatica del Dr. Mora, (SRE , Mexico, 1931)., p . 151 . Commun iqufe dated 3i July 1849.'
(2) Hale, op, c i t. , pp. 26-27.
(3) Guillermo Prieto, "Zacatecas-VI Toltecas" , in GUI 1 .lerjng Prieto (Journalists of Mexico Club, Mexico, 1962), p.
293. Originally published 28 Nov. 1S43 in El Siglo XIX.

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conceive a more drastic change of perception.
Things changed even more when Prieta's generation assumed power: who would underest imatE? the blood that flowed in the veins of Juarez and Ocampo or the Rami'rez or Altamiranos of that time? The second great chapter in the history of Mexico was written by Indians, Mestizos and Creoles side by side as unprecedented equals under the leadership of a direct descendent of the Indian race. Of course, the Indians and Mestizos in question had been crealized and only retained the traces of their ancestors that could not be removed. However, this was more than enough for those times, which were still far from instituting cultural miscegenation,, That "abject and repugnant race" had produced a leader of great ability and dignity as well as some of Mexico's outstanding talents. It was only natural that mestizophi1ia would win support in this context. One of its followers was none other than Gabino Barreda, who introduced positivism into Mexico and created Juarez's system of education, which was to mould several generations of Mexicans. The words written by Barreda in 1870 on educational reform deserve to be quoted in full because they reflect one of the first official attempts at putting miscegenation into practice in Republican Mexico:
Another highly important aspect of social influence that could result from this fusion of having all the pupils
in a single school is the rapid elimination of race distinction or other differences of origin which prevail
in the Mexican people as everybody would be educated in
a like manner and in the same establishment. This will create links of brotherhood and will foster new bonds between families — this is the only way we can errase

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the disastrous divisions of race (1).
The change was greats with the reassessment of the Indian much respect was lost for the Creoles 7 purity. And if that were not enough, two years later the finishing touch was provided by 1 gnac io Rami rez , el Nigromante , who spoke of a cosmic race — "the man of the future," he said, "will not be able to boast of the homogenous nature of his origins because his blood will be African, Eskimo, Caucasian and Aztec ail at once." (2) By adhering to the national plan others would join in. It would not be long before Creole Mexico would only be able to raise, its head in secret.,

Franc.isc

The second republic had not yet been founded when the first se r i ous ,, d et a i 1 ed wo r k dealing spec i f i c a 11 y w i t h miscegenation was published. In the early second half of the nineteenth century., Mexico was still under French intervention when Francisco Pimentel (1832-1893), a philologist from Aguasca1ientes who was bcrn into the

(1) G a b i n o B a r r e d a , Cart a q .ye es t e i 1 us t r e f i . 1 6 sof o d i r i q i 6 a 1 C . Gob e r n ad o r _....... di el. .._. Es t ado d e Mexico, M a r i a n c Riva-Palacio explicando el Flan de Estudios de la Escuela Nacional Preparaton a (Tip og ra f i a E con6 m ica. Mexico, 1909), p. 51. Dated 10 Oct. 1870.
(2) Ignacio Ramirez, j^bjiajs (Ed. Nacicnal, Mexico, 1966), vol. I, p. 207. Extract from a speech read before the Geography and Statistics Society in 1872.

Creole nobility, wrote his work entitled Mempr ia sobre. Lag cau.sas que nan oriqinado la situacitin actual de la raza indiqena (1864) (Report on the Causes of the Current. Situation of the Indian Race). He dedicated this book to Emperor Maximillian "as a token of love and respect." Little can be said about Pimentel 7 s life without mentioning his ill-fated incursion into politics. After receiving an excellent education atv the hands of private tutors, Pimentel devoted himself wholeheartedly to the study of indigenous languages. It was a little later, while still young, that he collaborated with the Austrian emperor as his mayor of Mexico City. In addition to this post, Pimentel also accepted recognition of the title of Count of Heras which was conferred upon him. Following the triumph of the republicans,. Pimentel returned to his private life where he suffered economic and moral reprisals. Despite this uncomfortable situation., he managed to sustain the unique? mixture of liberal conservatism that he had had in common with the second empire. Over time, however. his international prestige as a linguist., which gained him membership to several scientific associations in Europe and the United States of America, allowed him to be readmitted to Mexico's cultural circles. Odd as it may seem, it was Altamirano who expressed his admiration of him and invited him to collaborate on his literary seminar entitled Ejl Renacimlento (The Renaissance). The Society of Geography and Statistics, which had expelled him for his role in the imperial government, also agreed to readmit him to its

circles. Likewise,, he was admitted as a member
. Hidalgo Lyceum,, where he sustained debates on controversial paints of literature with the institution "s director, Ignacio Ramirez. He remained detached from politics -for the rest of his life and devoted his time to his academic and intellectual activities. Although he wrote works on political economics and the history o-f Mexican literature, he never again matched the success of his famous Cua.drq comparat ivo cJe las lenquas ind i gen as de Mex leg (1862) (A Comparative Study of Mexican Indiagenous Languages.) (I)

It was Pimen t e 1 ? s ana1 vs is of the !n dian pop u1 ation \~>
that led him to propose miscegenation. He reasoned that the Indians' wretched situation was the result of the unfavourable conditions they lived in. He explained that the fact that the Indian was serious, taciturn,, gloomy., phlegmatic, cold, slow, long-suffering, servile and hypocritical and only possessed "virtues related to resignation", was "the natural result of the sad events that had educated him." He also affirmed that the Indian could be civilized because his chief anthropological characteristics-matched those of the Europeans. The key to success would be to educate him in the same way as white people are educated

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(1) For a description of Pi mental's life and work, see Francisco Sosa, " Noticia preliminar. v'ida y escritos de Francisco Pime'ntel", in Francisco Pimentel, Qta r as Completes (Tipografia Econtimica, Mexico, 1903), vol. 1«
pp. V-CX. It -is worth noting that Sosa was also a. mestizophile although his comments on. the Indians" attitude to miscegenation are both denigrating and unfair. See op ... c.it. , pp. XLIV-LIV.
(2) Francisco Pimentel , Memorial sob-re las causas que. jja_n or iqinado la situacion actual de la raza in«
Mexico y medios de remediarla (Imp r s nt a d e A n d rade v Escalante, Mexico, 1864), pp. 210-214.

Pimentel said there was one main resaon for why this

situation could not continue — it was holding back Mexico's

homogeneity and the establishment of common beliefs and

purposes. In other words, the plight of the Indians was

preventing Mexico from aspiring "to nation status in the

fullest sense of the word." In answer to the question that

could be posed concerning the analogy between the white man

and the Indian in Mexico, Pimentel had the following to says

The white man speaks Spanish and French? the Indian has more than a hundred different languages to express his ideas in. The white man is Roman Catholic or indifferent; the Indian worships idols. The white man
is a landowner; the Indian is proletarian. The white
man is wealthy? the Indian is poor and wretched. The descendents of the Spaniards have knowledge and all the scientific discoveries at their disposal; the Indians live in ignorance. The white man dresses according to the dictates of Paris fashions, using the most luxurious cloths; the Indian is naked. - The white man lives in cities in beautiful houses; the Indian is isolated in the countryside., living in pitiful shacks.. This is the contrast that Mexico presents — Humboldt was very right when he called this the land of inequality: there are
two very different peoples living on its soil, but worst
of all is the fact that they are two peoples who are each others enemies to a certain extent. (1)

This division and the lack of patriotic cohesion that

accompanied it meant that the Mexicans did not form a real

people, and explains why a foreign army had to bring peace to

the country.

On rare occasions has a more vivid picture of the

socio-racial reality of nineteenth century Mexico been

painted. Of course, Francisco Pimentel? s view is that of a
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Creole who, having been shocked by the Indian insurrections

in Sonora and the caste war in the Yucatan, tnought the

cause of Mexico's chaos was ethnic diversity.

(1) Ibid..-. « PP- 217-218

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Nonetheless, his analysis contained observations that went beyond his class consciousness. In his condemnation of the Hithusiasm to mount great material works be-fore attending to the human element that provides their -found at ions, Pimentel precociously spotted an error made by several Latin American governments. His criticism of the spectacular modernisation programmes which only benefited a small portion society is still valid today:
We want railroads while most of our population only knows how to walk; we want telegraph services which the Indian calls black magic; we want gas in our cities while nearly all our fellow count rymen use ocot i11o f or light; we want to expand our trade and there .are no consumers. (i)
Clearly the Count of Heras was no socialist, but despite his come down in the aristocracy., his fervent belief in JLuaisse_Z7^faj.n re was never questioned. Quite simply this was the common sense of a man whose aristocraticaI tendencies did not blind him to the obstacles in the way of creating a nation that was ethnically homogeneous. His reasoning was clear. If his country as such was to progress, the Indians would have to be "de-indianized." They would have to forget their language, their religion, abandon their communal lands and adopt the culture of the Creole., "This is the only way they can forget their worries and form a homogenous people alongside the white? population., and create a true nation. "(2) Up to this point there was nothing in Pimentel's arguments that implied a need for miscegenation. From them we could say that his aim was a culturally uniform country

(1) Ibid, p. 219.
(2) Ibid, p. 226.

which, of course, does not exclude racial variety. However., there was a serious obstacle in Pimsntel f s path - an educated Indian would be even worse than an ignorant Indian because he would be better equipped to vent his grudge against the whits man. So what could be done with the Indians? If they were eliminated that would be be inhumane and the very thought made him "pale with fright." No, what had to be done was to take the bull by the horns and bring the Indians closer to the level of education of the white population so that they could be considered as equals. This would ease the process of racial fusion in which the Indians would sooner or later be compensated for by just enough European immigrants, If they were well educated the Mestizo offspring of the? two would inherit the virtues and the vices -of their parents. Much more importantly., there would not only be mixing between whites and Indians but also between whites and Mestizos, who already formed a majority. Such mixtures would guarantee the gradual "whitening" of the Mexican population. Thus,, "the mixed race (...) would be an intermegiary race because in time the whole population would gradually become white," This., of course., was of great relief to Pimentel. However, pCtPhaps the thought that this "mixed race" might inherit the Indians'" stubborness along with other characteristics that would stall the " intermediary" period., don Francisco decided to defend the Mestizo. This was not difficult as he realised the Mestizos were strong since they had won the war of independence, That experience had also shown, according to him, that the Mestizo was happy, spendthrift, astute, confident and had better taste than the Indian.

enough to decide him as when all was said and done it was not a matter of chateing between the Mestizo and the Creole -- who had already won the battle — but between the Mestizo and the Indian. This led him to an obvious conclusions "the Mestizo can be corrected if he is controled in an atmosphere of healthy discipline? but where can we -Find- a tonic strong enough to bring the Indian up to the levels required by civilization? 11 (1)
It is interesting to look into who influenced Pimentel.
He based himself on Clavijero and Humboldt to emphasise the importance of the role of Indian education and quoted Alaman to back his rejection of racial or environmental influence on character. He maintained that neither race nor environment could curb the effect of the law, which could alter any trait of human behaviour. This interpretation of fate based on personal will,, however ? did not fit in very clearly with his obsession with European immigration as a. means of bringing about genetic change. Furthermore, it proved the feasibility of miscegenation which was supported by a fact that contradicted his faith in the omnipotence of the law. 'she four million Mestizos he estimated were living in Mexico showed that miscegenation was possible and guest ion the effectiveness of the segregation laws. However, none of the

(1) Ibid. , pp. 231-237.

ambiguities in his opinions concerning the Indians and Mestizos detract from the conclusions of his study as they were not his main concern. He was more interested in the-white -future of Creole Mexico. As he said 5
we want the word "race" to disappear from among us not only in theory but also in practice; we want the same customs and interests to prevail throughout the country.
We have already shown the way for this to be achieved --- immigration. (1)
As we can see, Pimentel cannot be accused of having been a hypocrite. it is very clear that the? "same interests'1 he proposed referred to Creole interests, and his wish for the word "race" to disappear did not mean that people would stop referring to the white race. Like his predecessors, Pimentel's mestizophi1ia was relative. For him the Mestizo was a Creole in disguise, a means to whiten the coloured population. The old dream to eliminate the Indians charitably, or to commit what could be called humanitarian genocide, had finally transformed into a theory. Pimentel decided that miscegenation was the best means to creoiize this sector of the population. With this formula Francisco Pimentel brought a stage of the pro-miscegenation trend to its conclusion.

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Twenty years after the publication o-f Pimentel's Mem o '- i a
a new form of mest izophi 1 ia emerged. The republic had been restored, Juarez and the reform had made their impact on school textbooks and Porfirio Diaz's doctrines began to come into their own through Manual Gonzalez. A book was published against this background that did not take long to be considered as one of the classics of Mexico's history. It's name was Mfe x..i .£ g ...... a t r a . yj? s d e loss i q 1 o s (M e x i c o T h r o u g h t h e Centuries) and it was published in 1884. The author of this masterpiece was Vicente Riva Palacio (i 832-- 1996) anc! it was his second book. Riva Palacio was a famous general, politician and scholar., He was born in Mexico City and was a Mestizo descendant of Vicente Guerrero, his maternal grandfather. His career was very varied. He studied at San G r eg o r i o Co liege and the To 1 uc a. Lit e r a r y I. n st i t ut s wh i 1 e h i s father was governor of the State o 4t Mexico, but after a brilliant military career he left the legal profession and was made a general. Riva Palacio was chief of staff uncier Gonzalo Ortega and military leader during the French intervention on the side of General Ignacio Zaragoza. On the death of. Arteaga he was made chief general of the central army. His military feats against the empire included the siege and taking of To! uca and Zitacua.ro, and his involvement in the siege of Oueretaro. His political career was equally successful. He was made a parliamentary deputy three times and initiated this stage of his life as a substitute during

the 1856 Constituent Congress. During the French intervention he acted as governor of the states of Mexico and Michoacan,, and was given a cabinet post as minister of development. < (Incidentally, it was Riva Palacio who was responsible for erecting the first monument of the Aztec emperor Cuauhtemoc in Mexico City.) He was narrowly defeated by Jose Maria Iglesias for the post of president of the supreme court and could even have defeated F'orfirio Diaz for the presidency of the republic. As his popularity const i tuted a th reat he was ex i1ed to Mad r i d as Mexico's ambassador in Spain.
His fighting spirit and aggressive nature led him to spend time in prison. He was imprisoned several times and was finally given his freedom wh£?n Manuel Gonsalez came to power. It was while he was in the Santiago Tlatelolcc prison
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that he wrote Mjlxji cjg^^a,,.., t, t..r_a y & s _ d e __f ...l_os__ , s i q .1 o s.... i n which h e expounded his ideas on miscegenation. His favourite weapon was satirical journalism and he was well-known for his attacks on the government of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, which were published in the El Ahuizote newspaper. He contributed to almost all aspects of the arts, writing plays, comedy? poetry and short stories. He is considered to be the founder of the romantic novel using colonial themes and backgrounds. He w^s a member of the Geography and Statistics Society, the-Natural History Society amd several foreign intellectual associations. He was also president of the Hidalgo Lyceum. (1)

Vicente Riva Palacio*s approach to miscegenation as a Mestizo is -fundamentally different -from the approach adopted by his Creole contemporary, Francisco Pimentei. Rather than advocating change in the Indian, Riva Palacio wanted to see the creation of a single people with its own identity. For him, the colonial period marked the start of the process of race mixture which he hoped would lead to the creation o-f "a new race that would shape Mexican nationality," He also considered that emancipation from Spain would be achieved as a result of the development of racial fusion. "All attempts towards independence," he says., "failed while the process of race mixture did not produce a new, exclusively Mexican people," He? explained himself by adding that while there are different ethnic groups in a country there can be no feeling D-f national spirit because this is opposed by the idiosyncracies of each race and these cannot be counteracted by education. "The feelings,, thoughts., beliefs and desires of man are not only dictated by his origins — his race is also involved." There-fore, to achieve the harmony' and strength provided by patriotic unity,, the individuals who belong to a certain society must be subjected "to the same morphological and functional vicissitudes" and "the same epidemic dangers." In other words, they must belong to the same race. In Mexico, racial homogeneity can be achieved by

(1) For a description of the life and work of Vicente Riva Palacio, see Clementina Dias y de Ovando, "Pro logo", in Vicente Riva Palacio, Los cuentos del General « (Pcrrua, Mexico, 1968). This book is considered to contain the-best of his narrative work.

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making changes which the Indian, who was considered to totally lack genetic dominance, slowly introduced into the Spanish race through miscegenation. These changes, which "gradually became more and more marked, will shape the true Mexican in another couple of centuries-, and this will be the Mexican of the future who will be as different from the Spaniards and the? Indians as the. Italians and Germans are." (i)
As we can see, differentiation forms the essence of Riva Palacio's proposals. Strictly speaking, neither the Creoles nor the Indians are Mexicans because they are more like the Spaniards or the ancient. Aztecs and Mayans. For the first time, a clear link was drawn between miscegenation and what. can be identified as being Mexican, and the Mestizos were granted' the exclusive right to claim Mexican nationality. The implied reasoning behind his thoughts is very revealing. What, justification for its existence would Mexico have had if it was destined to shelter people who felt more at home in Europe or on an Indian reserve? If Italy is for the Italians and Germany is for the Germans., Mexico is for the Mestizos. The Mestizos, are the only people who can feel that Mexico is. their fatherland because nobody else can be distinguished from the inhabitants of Spain and the Anahuac Valley who belong to nations that are far removed from the Mexican nation both in sense of space and time. The criteria for

(1) Vicente Riva Palacio, "El Virreinato. Historia de la daminacidn espanola en Mexico desde 1521 a 1SOS", in Mexico a traves de los siqlos (B a I I e s c a y C i a , -1 e x i c c , 1384), vol. II, pp. 47i-472 a

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making the distinction continue , of course, to be based purely on race. In effect, the contribution of the pre-Hispanic element, which Riva Palacio considered to have-little to offer to the Mestizo from the cultural point of view, is based on this aspect. However, from the anthropological viewpoint and "in accordance with principles of the evolutionist school s i! Mexico's indigenous race is superior to the European race. There are several sources providing proof of the Indians' "physical superiority 15 which speak of their absence of useless "cutaneous appendages" which cover parts of the white man's body., their perfect teeth, the replacement of a canine by a molar, their lack of wisdom teeth, and the presence of an "extra" leg muscle in the Otomi Indians. (i) Riva Palacio thus displays a new concept of miscegenation. For him the Mestizo not only improves the Indians but also the Creoles, who can benefit from the Indian's superior evolution. In this way the proposed deal looks fairer and turns into an exchange; intelligence for anthropological strength,, Most, importantly., however, the burden of change now falls equally on the shoulders of both sides, which will have to surrender their existence to a new third party. Seen like this, the pact has became a sort of compromise between races. (2)
Riva Palacio ob v i ous1y b ased his an a1ys i s st ri c11y on

(1) Ibid, p. 472. It is worth mentioning that Riva Palacio thought the Indian race came originally from America.
(2) Riva Palacio also attributes the Spaniards with having contributed greater ease, of adaptability.. See op . c it.. ,
DD. 479-480.

evolutionism. He made explicit use o-f the work cf Darwin and Haekel, and used Spencer as his tacit reference. However,, his case is more complicated than it appears at first glance. Riva Palacio represented the Mexican intellectuals of the period of transition between early nineteenth century liberalism and late nineteenth century positivism, and was reluctant to leave what he called "the saintly and noble principle of universal fraternity" to one side to become involved in the jungle of social Darwinism. This explains his Krausism and ambivalence towards the anti-racist stance held by Renan (1) as well as his contradictory performance with respect to what would soon be the official doctrine of the par-Fir ist regime. Little remains of his arguments in favour of miscegenation thanks to his unnecessary sidetracking into the murky realms of .genetics,, which leads us to ask if the indigenous race was "totally devoid of genetic dominance" what good was their physical superiority to miscegenation? His tacit handling of the cultural aspect a1so suffered a simi1 a r fate. Ever yt h ing wou1d appea r t o indicate that for Riva Palacio miscegenation was a response to a need for divergeance and to the idea that a human group that is not ethnically different to others cannot justify its existence as a nation. This view., which Pimentel also held although to a lesser extent, did not come from romantic German nationalism but from stereotyped notions of what the European nations were, and the belief in racial instinct,

d) Ibid. , p. 471.

It led him to ignore,, or at least underestimate, the equalizing-diversifying role of culture. He had nothing to say on this subject and did not seem to question the prospect of a culturally European! zed Mestizo,, who would be indistinguishable from his former masters. In his defence. however., in accordance with his theory it could be assumed that the creation of a new race would bring about, the formation of a new culture. Nevertheless, .to be quits honest., his opinions did not greatly help the cause.
Where Riva Palacio scores is in his novel historical interpretation. According to him, while the number of Indians fell at the end of the sixteenth century due to epidemics and ill-treatment, and the Spaniards continued to reproduce at a normal rate, "the castes multiplied rapidly and began to feel they were united by bonds of misfortune and hope, which led them to form the nucleus of a future nationality." This growth was accentuated by the desire of the women of the "defeated race" to prevent their descendents being taken into slavery. However., the Spaniards detested the Mestizos beeause they:
were the powerful germ of a new people on earth which by accumulating virtues and vice from the different races they were descended from and by multiplying over time would eventually acquire the undisputed right to claim autonomy,, thus forming a new nationality in that land which so many races had seized from each other and which
in view of its geographical location and its wealth cf natural elements was destined to be the seat of an important nation in the American continent.
Since the Spaniards "acknowledged and confessed that the Mestizos had outstanding intelligence and showed great aptitude for science and the arts," they left them en the fringes of society and did their utmost to hold them tack.

This treatment made the Mestizo hybrids!
astute because they realised that only their cunning would help them progress in that society made up of two naturally antagonistic races, Each of the members of these races saw the Mestizo as their enemy and not as their blood brother (...)
It is not surprising that the viceregal government saw the Mestizos as cunning., scheming and untrustworthy, It is even more understandable that the Mestizos never "gave up thinking about claiming independence from Spain" while in the meantime they became even more "homogenous" with the Creoles. (1)
Riva Palacio's two great contributions were his revindication of the Mestizos and his historical treatment, of their plight. He sketched an ethnic interpretation of the history of Mexico in which the new protagonist was the hero. Thanks to Riva Palacio miscegenation cast off its character-as a Creole ruse and came into existence in its own right. The Mestizo had ceased to be a means and had become an end in himself; he had finally become a desirable element not because of his proximity to the white man but for what he was becoming. Likewise,, it was the Mestizo who began to dominate the historical scene by assuming the role of a patriot liberating an oppressed people. His defence was complete? the vices stayed with his progenitors and their virtues were accumulated in him:
The violent organization and historical conditions of
the colonial period had produced the moral defects in
the inhabitants of New Spain, but the national virtues
of the races were alive and germinating., and the patriotism of Pelayo and Cuauhtemoc were borne in the hearts of the new population. Likewise, the Latin steadfastness, selflessness and chivalry were represented in the new race. (1)

(1) jb. id ...... pp. 478-481.

Riva Palacio did not write in response to the indigenous question as Pimentel had done; he wrote as he -felt dictated to by his own -feelings. His historical interpretation of the Mestizo is perhaps a reflection of his own image as the heir of Guerrero's patriotism during independence and as an unequalled figure in the struggle for the restoration of the republic. Although the Mestizo of New Spain did not acquire his full independence in Riva Palcio's analysis as he was forced to borrow successes from the Creoles,, such as the canonisation of Saint Philip of Jesus and the success of Carles de Siguenza y Gongora,, so as not to feel that his was an "inferior race" (2), this 'probably stems from the fact that Riva Palacio did not reject the Creole elite of liberal and porfirist Mexico, His ideological affinity with the Creole intellectuals of the reform did not detract from his assessment, of the Mestizo. He may have felt that the Creole was a good a 11y, but it was the Mestizo and nobody e1se who embodied the spirit of the true Mexican nationality.

(U Ibid , , pp. 481.
(2) Ibidi, PP- 667-669

5. Justo Sierra; the Mestizo becomes bouraecis,.

Only five years separated the publication of Mex ica a traves de los siqlos and the war k wh ich wou. 1 d cont inu.e the trend of mest izaph i 1 ia.. Por-firio D£az had been in power for several years when an essay entitled Mexico ..social y pol it ico (Social and Political Mexico) appeared in the first editions of the Re v i s t a Mac i on a. 1 d e A r t e y C i en c i a i n i 389 . Th i s essay took up from where Riva Palacio had left off. The author of this work was Justo Sierra (1848-1912), who was a

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historian, scholar and teacher from Campechs?. He was the grandson of the Creole £..§.cjj:jujg Santiago Mendez who had sought independence for the Yucatan peninsula and son of the recently appointed representative of the separatist government in Washington, the famed legal expert Justo Sierra O'Reilly. Justo Sierra was born during the United States invasion and the Castes War. He spent his early years in Campeche and Merida before moving to Mexico City., where he entered the San Ildefonso College to study law. His early-fame as a w r :i. t e r c a m e a b out t h a n k s t o A11 a m i r a n o , w h o t Q o k him under his wing and opened the way for him in the acclaimed 1 i t e r a r y e v e n i n g s w h i c h w e r e a 11 e n d e d b y t h e -:r. o s t prominent intellectuals of that time. The guest list included figures such as Ignacio Ramirez? Guillermo Prieto, Manuel Payno and Vicente Riva . Palacio. During the first government under Porfirio Diaz,, Sierra joined with Teles-^oro Garcia, Francisco G. Cosines and Santiago Sierra to publish La Libertad, a "liberal-conservative" newspaper which reflected his political versatility. Sierra pronounced himself to ba

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in support of a strong government based on "order and progress" in the paper, At the end o-f the administration he was made substitute deputy -for the State o-f Sinaloa in the Congress o-f the Union, and he managed to perform his duties while continuing to give history classes at the National High School. By that time, his doctrinal stance was well de-fined: in his clash with Jos6 Maria Vigil he took the side of the emerging "scientific" group against the old guard liberals. He later occupied pasts as a Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice and as Undersecretary and then Secretary of Public Education and Fine Arts during the last decade of the porfirist regime. Towards the end of this decade he founded the National University. After Madero's triumph in the Mexican Revolution, Juste Sierra was appointed as Mexico's ambassad o r i n Mad r i d , where he died « Hi s sp1en d i d works cove r p r a c t i c ally eve r y s p h e r e o f t h e arts, A s a. hist o r i a n he r e c e i v e d s p e c i a 1 a c c 1 a i m f or his w o r k entitled Evo.l..ys.JL§.n pol i't 3.ca del_9J=ie]D_l,c__.m_ex i.cajno (The Political E v o I u t i o n of t h e Mexican P e o p 1 e ,.) This boo k w a s p u b 1 i s h e d i n 1910 and s o o n became a classic in Mexico's history. His intellectual fame spread far beyond the borders of Mexico as we can see from his correspondence with people such as Victor Hugo and Miguel de Unamuno. (i)
According to Sierra's theory the Indians were "incurably

(1) For a description of the life and work of Sierra, see Agustin Yanez, "Don Just a Sierra. Su vida, sus iceas y
su obra", in Justo Sierra, Qb r as C omp1e t as (UNAM, Mexico, 1977), vol. !, pp. 9-218.

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passive" thanks to having been oppressed and subjected to Spanish paternal ism, Sierra saw this as a collective problem:
Occasionally a powerful -form of individuality emerges
all of a sudden -From this inactive, uniform social mass
to show the moral strength it is still capable of. This individuality, however, lives and advances on another plane while the Indian world remains calm, monotonous
and silent.
Sierra felt the problem of the Indians was merely a problem of "nutrition and education." The Indians" diet makes them "good sufferers", but holds back their creativity; they can copy and assimilate but are unable to improve their situation. However, Sierra was not unduly alarmed about this because he termed the problem as "physiological and educational" and recommended that they should eat more meat and less chillies, and should learn about science. He believed that by so doing the Indians would change and added that he? believed that many of the Indians had indeed "changed"3
They have changed and have become Mestizos (...) The Mestizos are now correctly speaking the Mexican people
as they have a type of their own while still retaining a general type. This is becoming increasingly more noticeable. At one extreme, the Mestizos are closer to
the Indians whose customs and habits they conserve, and
at the other, they are closer to the exotic elements who
are predominantly white.
Sierra says that as the Indian is capable of change the fact that he does not practice "Malthusian principles" will probably be a good thing — "when to govern is to populate." He adds that proper feeding, education and in particular miscegenation will take care of the rest. The challenge was clear: "The Indians are seated and must be brought t~ tneir feet." He felt this would not be difficult because tha rapid

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absorption of races allows us to see "a time not too -far off in the future when almost. ail of the nation's inhabitants will be Mexicans". (1)
Unlike Pimentel, it is clear that Justa Sierra did not worry much about the fate of miscegenation. Like Riva Palacio he treated race fusion as if it were an inexorable fact. Nonetheless, in contrast to his two predecessors, his concept of the Mestizo is both ethnic and sociological. The categoric inclusion of himself in the "Mestizo family",, to which he attributes indigenous "customs and habits" that, he was far from possessing,, and his talk of white "elements" which were not "exotic" at all, makes his classification even more misleading. Racially, the Mestizo is an Indian who has undergone changes. This is probably what unsettled Sierra as the fear to Indians was probably passed on to him by his father, with whom he shared experiences during the Castes War. Socially., the Mestizo would appear to represent, the incipient porfirist middle class which he belonged to as an intellectual and politician,, If there were Indians or not in Sierra's past is irrelevant because his ideological and social attitudes compensate any blood differences., His indignation at the denigrating statements made by "foreign intellectuals" such .as Gustave Le Bon concerning the hybrid race, recreating the "prophecy of our incurable impotence" which encourages pessimism, was not in vain. As the Creole patriots had done a century earlier through the likes of Buffon, Sierra now took up the defence of everything Mexican.

(1) Sierra, "Mexico social y politico", op.. ..cjlt.. „ vol. IX, pp. 126-128.

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Looking back at Mexico's history,, he reminds us thst the independence and the re-form were "acts o-f immense energy of Mexico's bastard race." "The most energetic man who nas appeared in our short and tragic annals," he adds decidedly, "is Jose Maria Morelos, the great Mestizo." With these words, he refuted the attack on the Mestizo. (1)
Sierra., however, went even -further and he did not rest until he had set an important precedent in mestizophile thought: -for the first time ever the Creoles were accused o-f being conservatives and traitors to the -fatherland. He so-ftened the fcJow slightly? however,, when he spoke o-f the "wealthy Creoles" by saying they have:
c on st i tiled a p ass i ve c 1 ass -for wh i c h political d og m a has been the Mexican people's radical inability to govern themselves and the need -for intervention » and where there is love, if it exists at all, towards the Mexican fatherland, it only exists because of vanity and is not
a deep, active form of love.
His words lifted a taboo and he went on to say that the wealthy Creoles belonged to a "pseudo-aristocracy with no roots in the past" which devoted itself to spending its gains in the pleasure centres of Europe. He added that this class was "reduced by mixture" and "replaced by white men of different origins with other aspirations." According to him, Mexico owed nothing to this "passive class." On the other-hand, however, he said that the transformation of the Indian "will bring strength and greatness to our country because a whole race will have risen to the realms of civilization."

(1) IbidL,, pp. 128-130

Moreover., the progress that has already been made came about thanks to' the Mestizos., or "nee-Mexicans" , who historically speaking, have been our patriots and democrats;
Despite its mistakes, the vice o-f its youth and lack of education, the Mestizo f ami 1 y ,, which had to absorb thc? elements that had given birth to it., has been the dynamic, -factor in our history (...).
Thanks to this family and nobody else, "the Mexican nationality fara, d a se" in the not too distant future. Sierra saw that in order to accelerate this process and be able to pay off the debt. the "neo-Mexicans" ("who now govern the country") owed to the Indians ("our brothers in misfortune f o r m o r e t. h an a c e n t u r y ") ,, it w a s nee e s s a r y to " a c t i v a t. e t h e m i xtu re" b y fost eri ng i mm i gr at i on f rom Europe. He added t h at if m i s c e g e n a t i o n w e r e e n c o u. r a g e d .. all Me x i c o ? s s o c i o - e c. o n o m i c: problems and the "supreme problem of nationality" in parti c u1 ar wo u1d be r es o1v ed« (i)
As we can see, Sierra's ethnological analysis cannot be separated from the social question. His proposals undoubtedly sound like those that we could expect from a p o r f i r i s t i n t e 11 e c: t u a 1 w h o h a s a c q u i r e d a " m o d e r n " c o n s c i e n c. e and who proposes doing away with the remains of the old landowning aristocracy that originated during the colonial period™ L»ike Abac! y Oueipo, he stressed the importance of the emergence of a middle class comprised of small landowning Mest i zos. Hav ing sa i d that, however , h i s asp i r at i or.s went even further as he also said he wain ted to see

U> Ibid. , pp. 130-133, 140, 148, 152 and 167,

industrialization which would consolidate the preeminence of the urban centres, which were traditionally the preserves o-f the "nee-Mexicans." By basing himself selectively on Ricardo and . Mill, and rejecting his admired Spencer's maxim of "benevolent state activity'1, he examined the three main economic factors of nature, work and capital,, and played with relating the concepts of race and class to them (1). It is precisely in this form of his analysis that we can find the strongest and weakest points of his study. Although he was right in wanting to overcome the ethnic monism of his predecessors and to relate the race problem to social factors, he crossed too indiscriminately the boundaries of each of the two variables -race and class-. As a good evolutionist., Sierra was aware that Europe's industrialized societies never had problems of ethnic heterogeneity as Latin America had, .and its elimination would have to be the first step towards the advanced industrialization of the Latin nations. The whole matter boils down to a question of having two paints on one agenda and confusing them unnecessarily at times. The fact that the Indians, who he said could be redeemed by "eating more meat and less chilli" and by getting a better education, were going to be transformed into Mestizos, did not guarantee that they could be made to adopt city ways.and even less that their social status would be improved. Likewise, at the other end of the scale,

U) Ibid. , pp. 131-151.

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the development of the middle class did not automatically provide a safeguard for racial synthesis, In Mexico, it is true to say that there is a close link between the colour of one's skin and one's social status, but if miscegenation and industrialization were destined to absorb all the country's inhabitants, the proletariat would also have to be classified as "nee-Mexicans." Finally, Sierra's proposal in favour of encouraging immigrants from Europe to settle in Mexico to act as a catalyst for miscegenation is incongruent because-there was no need for colonisation since the "Mestizo family" had shown itself to be just as prolific and progressive. This proposal even contained hints of the ominous "national pessimism" produced by the "prophecy of our incurable impotence-" Justo Sierra did not contemplate these matters and this detracts from the value of his contribution to mestizophi1ia, which was nonetheless considerable. It would therefore be up to the next generation to get to the bottom of the problem and continue the good work.

6. Pos i t i vi st Mexico; theory versus practice. {1)

The generation that would take mestizophi1ia to its height in the twentieth century developed and gained form during the years under Porfirio Diaz. Paradoxically, Diaz

(1) As an example, see Moises Gonzalez Navarre,, ! 'E1 Po r f i r i a t o — v i d a social".. in H. i s t p r i a mod e r n a_dc Mexico (Ed. Hermes, Mexico, 1957), esp. pp. 134-184,

acted both as a hindrance and a help to the? trend. On the one hand, mestizcphi1ia was up against the era of institutionalised xenophilia, obsession with European immigration, social contempt -for the "indigenous ballast" and the political will to destroy it, using armed -Force if needs be. It was, thus, a time when it was fashionable to frenchify society, and when very few people seemed to be bothered by the military campaigns launched to wipe out the Yaqui and May an Indians,, On the other hand, however, the second half of the nineteenth century marked the high, point of mestisophi1ia. That was a time when the intellectual circles were spurred on by the images of the great. Indian and Mestizo leaders of the reform and their new Mestizo dictator, Porfirio Diaz. Likewise, they looked back into their p r e-Hisp an i c past and b eg an t o come to t e r ms wit h th ei r ethnic background, Although what happened in practice may appear to contradict the theory, the porfirist state-established the theoretical bases of indigenism and provided the climax of the pro-Mestizo current through those members of the intelligentsia who were unsmitten by European racist theories and adapted them to suit their needs, (i) One of the main symptoms of this was .the favourable response to Altamirano's call to establish a unique form of Mexican literature. Despite its late appearance — if we take the novel El periquillo sarn iento (The Scabby Parakeet) as the

(1) On this point, see Martin 3* Stabb, "Indigenism and Racism in Mexican Thoughts 1857-1911", in the Journal D-'
I n t e r ~ Ame r i c an St u.d i e.s , I, Jan. 1959, pp. 405-423,

pioneer of this genre — the Mexican novel became the base element -for the nationalist cultural movement. Literature written at the height of the porfirist period reflects the revaluation of the indigneous race and the acceptance of Mexico's racial condition. What is mo re, this tendene y wen t beyond the confines of literary works and in the last decade of the century the press expresed the same concerns/ (i) A process had started and there was no going back,
As we will see later on, the ambiguity and apparent contradictions of this period had a great deal to do with Dias's official doctrine. Barreda introduced positivism in 1867 and thus allowed France to "recover" Mexico after losing it under Napoleon III. (2) Augusts Comte did what. Maximillian had never been able to do. But the Comte dynasty did not last forever and there was soon a new English rival on the scene* contending for the posit ivist sceptre. The doctrine of Herbert Spencer gradually ousted Comte and even won over some of his supporters. In 1877,, the Gabino E<arreda Methodophile Association held a debate on .Darwinism,, the sociological version of which provided Spencer's bases of evolutionism., Th e so lap u r p ose of the d eb at e was t. o c on f i r m that Darwin's theories were widely accepted by the members of

(1) See Juan G6mez Quinones, Por f i r i o D ia z, 1os intelectuales y la Reyo.lLic.i6n (Ed . E1 Cab a 1 111 o , Mexico, 1981), pp. 61-84 and 130-134.
(2) The term "positivism" is used throughout this study in its general sense and covers the schools of Ccmte and Spencer.

the association with the no.table exception of barreda himself. (1) A year later Barreda was exiled for his opposition to porfirist policy and was sent to Berlin as Mexico's ambassador in Germany. This marked the end of Comtist supremacy. Although orthodox Comtians such as Agustin Aragtin still adhered to his doctrine as we can see from the pages of the Re yis t a Positiva in the decade before the Mexican Revolution, most. of the porfirist intellectuals claimed they had been social Darwinists for some considerable time. (2) The influential group of cientificos, which had been so important during Dial's regime, was basically made up of politicians of this type. As we will see later on, although Spencer's doctrine appeared to be less suitable than Comte? s to defend mest i zaphi 1 ia _, it is significant to note that even Limantour, a fervent supporter of the theory of survival of the fittest, ended up extolling Mexican miscegenation. (3) The new positivist group of the porfirist age was definitely very versatile.
The dispute sparked off by Francisco G. Cosmes in 1894 is a good example to show just how versatile that group was. Cosmes was a positivist who had worked on the editorial staff of the La Libertad newspaper.

(1) Roberta
siqlo XIX

Moreno,
(UNAM,

La

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po 1.emica
1984),

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(2) As an exapmle, see the ideas of Miguel Macedo and Manuei Ramos in 1877 in Leopoldo Zea? El p o s i t i y i s nvD__en M^joco (FCE, Mexico, 1984), pp. 166-178.
(3) Jose I. Limantour,, "La institute i6n del Homestead!i , in Re vji s t a Pos i t i. y a « 1 Feb. 1901, p. 63. On scientific racism,, see William D. Raat,, E.I pos i 11
Pa r firijito (SEP, Me x i c o , i 975) .

He was an ardent supporter of Diaz's "honourable tyranny" (I) and managed to cause a. scandal when he said Hernan Cortes was the father of the Mexican people and Cuauhtemoc was as Mexican as Socrates in a series of articles published in the El Partjdo Liberal newspaper. The case is worthy of attention. In his delirious contributions, Castries' showed that he was a fervent hispanophile and fanatically ant i-~indigenist. He even went as far as to say that "the modern Mexicans owe what they are, what they are worth, what

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they will be and what they will be worth in the •future" to the Span i sh c i vi1i zati on. He a1 so cont rasted the Span i sh civilization with "that almost worn-our source of our dubious indigenous ancestry, which represents the wretchedness of incurable servitude, mental weakness and barbarism („„.)" Although he waa forced to acknowledge miscegenation., he still maintained that!

there are two components in today's society: one cf them is apt for c i v i1i z ati an and desc end s fram t he Spaniards in. the blood or spirit., and the other, the
I n d i a n ;i i s t o t a 11 y u n s u i t. a b 1 e f o r p r o g r e s s »
Cosmes, thus, concluded that if we seek "triumph in the fight for existence", the intellectual elements and morals of Spanish origins,, which fortunately prevailed in the fusion, must be kept intact. The existence of the Indian., whose instincts meant he was considered to be "only marginally better than a beast of burden",, had to be prolonged out. of charity "for as long as possible", bearing in mind Spencer's warning that a society that preserves its weakest members

(1) On his ideas, see Zea, op. ci.t. , pp

artificially is condemned to extinction. Far Cosmes,, the Mestizo-Creole majority did not pose any cause for alarm because "intellectually and morally speaking we are all Spaniards although we have undergone some changes thanks to

our environment." (1)

What is surprising about Cosmes' sharp remarks lies not so much in his hispanicism as in the reaction they produced. Polemicists such as Del Toro, Ezequ.iel Chavez and Justo Sierra spoke out indignantly in reply and spread the controversy to other papers such as El Mon i tor Repub 1i cano,El Siqlo XIX, and PA,Si rm i_Q.__._.de i li. ii... j __ i Hgi g_a.r to name but a few. T heir-reply centred around the defence of Mexico's pre-Hispanic legacy and refuted the exclusiveness of Spanish influence on modern Mexican nationality. However, the shower of criticism that fell on Cosmes 5 who felt he was doing Cuauhtemoc a favour by calling him a "savage hero",' is the best indication of the high acceptance of the indigneous population and its culture by the porfirist intellectual circles. With the exception of Teles-Fora Garcia, who wrote the prologue for Cosmes:> articles,, few people dared to support Cosmes. Garcia, however, who by the way was Spanish by birth, was so inaccurate in his work that a mere fifteen years prior to the start of the Mexican Revolution he said that " indigenism has been dead and buried in history's graveyards for"centuries."
(2) Needless to say., when the revolutionary movement showed

(1) Cosmes? articles were compiled and published two years later. See Francisco G. Cosines, La do mi n a c i 6 n e s p arjgj_a Y_la P a t r i a Me x i c a n a (Imprenta del Partido Liberal, Mexico, 1896), pp. 4, 42-44 and 83-85.
(2) Ibid..'p. VI.

that indigenism was alive and kicking, barcia's reputation as a visionary was seriously damaged. Although the upper classes discretely welcomed Cosmes * remarks.. Mexico's popul at ion was experiencing a growing miscegenation, and the nation's intellectual elite began to accept the Indian half of the Mexican. Ant i-indigen ism , like mest i zophob i a , was becoming a very touchy subject, as Cosmes 11 controversy shows, Five years after the start of this dispute another well-known scientist claimed to support miscegenation. Justo Sierra had taken- the first step and now Francisco Bulnes, Sierra's colleague in misfortune, took the second., Bulnes., who was a famous iconoclast, had justly fallen prey to a wave of unpopularity along with Sierra in 1S84 when his parliamentary activities in favour of paying Mexico's foreign debt to Great Britain turned the student movement led by Carlos Basave and Diodoro Batalla against him, and resulted in the students at the National High School boycotting his engineering classes. (i) Bulnes, however., never avoided controversy and took the bull by the horns. The problem prompted him to write a book in which he explained his views on the race matter. In it he argued that there are three races in the world which are • differentiated from each other by the type of grains they consume,, He said two of these races — the rice-eaters and the corn-eaters -- were weak

(1) See Daniel Cosio Vi11egas, i! El Porfiriato - vida politica interior", first part, in Historia mode?rna de M£x_ico (Ea. Hermes, Mexico, 1970), pp. 771-798.

because they did. not eat enough minerals in their diet. The wheat-eaters, however, are the most powerful because of the nutritional properties contained in what they sat. He- said that this described the real problem -facing Mexico and that the ethnic problem £§ji_se was not as serious in itself. In other words, Bulnes said the Mexican people would progress if they ate well. He also said that the Mestizo in particular was especially apt for civilization because he possessed "very sound mental faculties", was liberal by nature, anticlerical and Jacobin. In other words, Bulnes thought the Mestizo was progressive. Like the Creoles and Indians., the Mestizo's defects largely stemmed from the Spanish influence and its irrational conservatism. Nonetheless., Bulnes recommended colonisation as the best solution to Mexico's problems saying that:
a large dose of immigration will kill us, turn us into slaves or regenerate us if we are worthy of living thanks to the remaining Celtic blood that flows in our hearts« which have been pierced by the archaic sentiment,
of cor r up t b a r Parian s.
Bulnes' solution c: an thus be r ed uc e d to t wo k ey i d eas s p r op e r nutrition and i mm i g r at i on. (1)
Although he reached a similar conclusion to Sierra., Bulnes' reasoning is not based so heavily on sociology. Biology comes into the picture again bringing with it his yearning for hitherto unsuspected "Celtic blood" and contempt for the "corrupt barbarians." Nonetheless,, the most unusual thing about his case is the fact that a staunch iconoclast

(1) Francisco Bu 1 nes., El B°r.v.emjl_......__d.js_. _las nacjjsnjgs 1 at i noamer i c anas (El Pensamient o V i v c< d e A m £ r i c s., Mexico, ?), pp. 9-42, 137-138 anc

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such as Bulnes could accept, although reluctantly, what would soon become the great Mexican myth. It is easy to imagine the effect his acknowledgement of the Mestizo's potential had on the thoughts of those who lapped up his ideas. If the most sceptical of the porfirist positivisits claimed to be in favour of miscegenation, who could possible object? Bulnes had loaded on the straw that broke the camel's back and began to permeate public opinion: mestizophi1ia, either open or dijpreet, proud or ashamed,, was becoming vox popul i . Even the newspapers caught onto it and by the start of the century a few of them identified miscegenation with nationality. Thus, in the light of the progress that had been made, it was clear that miscegenation would soon become dogma- (i)
Not everything was going well, however. The porfirist society was gradually becoming more polarized with the country's wealth in the hands of just a few while the Indian and Mestizo masses were drawing closer and closer to the depths of the most miserable poverty. Models for social behaviour and fashion looked abroad more than ever before for inspiration, and the image of Mexico in the western world was very similar to the image dreamt of long ago by the Creole liberals. Such was the thin air breathed by the new generation; Mexican intellectuals had broken through racial prejudice and had started to accept Mexico's ethnic reality.

(1) Gtimez Qui nones, op... cit... H p. 132.

and yet Indians and Mestizos suffered discrimination,, I-f th^ coexistence o-f "antagonistic" races had caused instability and injustice, the Mestizo,, who symbolised unity and patriotism, was now the only figure capable of taking Mexico off the path of deep-rooted domestic conflict. At least., that was the way a young man who followed the fate of mestizophi1ia interpreted the teachings of his masters. This young man was a new writer who was beginning to draw attention to himself because of his progressive ideas. Ovsr the years, this same young man would broaden and deepen the scope of mestizophi1ia, raising it to the status of an authentic., comprehensive theory. His name was And res Mo 1 in a Enr iquez .-

59

II. ANDRES MOLINA ENRIQUEZ OR THE MYTHICIZAT ION
OF THE MESTIZO.

1 • Life...and, Work; the beginnings o-f an obsession.
a) Biographical Note. (1)

In the mid-1830s in the rural Otomi region of Mexico the destiny of a man who would not be born until thirty years later was shaped. The union of a Creole man and an Indian woman on that occasion was more significant than the usual
*

relations of that type in the then century-old phenomenon of miscegenation, This marriage represented the mixing of blood that would weigh heavily in the consciousness of one of the grandchildren of the union as the grandson in question was obsessed with his genes and converted his inheritance into a commitment.

This is how the story goes if this grandson is to be believed. His grandfather was seFior Enriquez, the owner of a stagecoach service in Jilotepec, whose parents were? originally from the Spanish region of Aragon. He may also have had some? sephardic blood- His wife, ssnora de la Cabrera, has been described as a "pure-blooded" Otomi Indian.
(2) They had a daughter called Francises who married

(1) With the exception of the details contained in the footnotes in this section, the facts used were obtained from the following sources: Alvaro Molina Enriquez, prologue to Ant o1oq £ a. d e ...An d r es Molina En r i gueg (E d . Oasis, Mexico, 1969); Renato Molina E., "Conciencia de Mexico: Andres Molina Enri'quez", in Bo let in bibl ioqraf icg (SHOP , Me x i c o , 15 Aug . i 955) ; !i H i st o r i ad c r
i n d i an o fl , Pensamierito v obra de Andres Molina Enriqu.e z (SEP, Mexico, 1969).

(2) See Andres Molina Enriquez, La querra del Pacifi_cc (SEP-TGN, Mexico, 1937), p. 5. Molina's claim that
his maternal grandmother was a "pure-blooded Indian"
is difficult to prove because the parish records in

Anastasio,, who was the son of a captain cf a military garrison in Veracruz. The captain was o-f west Indian descent and was called Agapito Molina. The consequences of this union are worthy of mention: Juan Ignacio Enriqu.es and his wife opposed the marriage of their daughter to Anastasio» who was a lawyer in the state capital of Jalapa and who had become a notary public in Jilotepec after working as a minister of the supreme court. The reason for their opposition was that Francisca was very young and had spent most of her life in the Girls'1 School. For Anastasio, who was fourteen years older than his bride, this was his second marriage. To be able to marry him Francsica had to run away from school to force her parents to allow them to get. married. As generally happens in these cases, the couple got its own way and went. on to have five children: Everardo, Agustin, Cristina, Elodia and Andres, the child whose existence was so indelibly marked by his grandparents who had tried to prevent his bi rth.
An d r es E1i g i o d e la Lu 2 Molina En r i q us z was bo rn at 1i
p.m. on 30 November,, 1868 (i) in Jilotepec, his mother's

Jilotepec only specified the Indian origins of the christened child when both parents had been christened.
In any case? it is highly unlikely that a well-off Creole such as Juan Ignacio Enriquez would have married
an Indian woman, which means it was more probable that senora de la Cabrera was Mestizo.
(i) Birth certificate number 326,, Jilotepec, State of Mexico; registered 10 Dec. 1868. His christening certificate states that he was legitimate and is contained in book 60, page 552 of Jilotepec's parish records dated 1 Dec, 1868. His godfather was Enrique Molina-

hometown. Jilotepec, a. country town in the north of trie State o-f Mexico, played an important role in the life of Andr6s Molina Enriquez. It had also been an important ceremonial centre for the Toltec and Otomi Indians and greatly affected the image of Indian-Mestizo Mexico which was soon imprinted in the mind of young Andres. In 1867, 8,255 people lived in Jllotepec and most of them were Indian peasants. During the porfirist regime Jilotepec and its surrounding areas provided good examples of the injustices committed by the Creole landowners. (1) Although the Enriquez family owned a • hacienda. at Doxicho and did not suffer as the campesinos did, the Iibera1-progressive tradition of the rest of Molina? s ancestors -which included a state governor who supported E<enito G'uarez, a. republican g u e r r i 11 e r o a n d , m o r e c! i r e c 11 y ,, a former d i r e c t o r o f t, h e To1uca Insitute™ (2) contributed to his immunity to the lat. if unciium mentality. On othe other hand, Molina was not rich, and even though his family was from a good background he had to a pp1y fo r a sc h o1a rship to be able t o c onti nue his studies. (3) Andres was certainly no stranger to city life

(1). On Jilotepec, see Antonio Huitron H., J1.1.Q tepee (Jilotepec de Molina Enriquez Town Hall, State of Mexico., 1987). It is interesting to note that Molina also shared a popular belief that the Malinche is buried
in Jilotepec.
(2) Maria del Carmen Reyes, "Detalles sobre la vida y obra d e Andres Molina Enriquez", in Bo 1 et i n del . A_rgh_i_ vo Genera 1. del Est ado de ..._..,,MJ?jj_i..c o , (To 1 uc a , no. 9 ,, Sep., ••-•Qc t. 1981), p. 60.
(3) See "Certification made by the Political Chief of the District of Jilotepec on 2 June 1882 (...) that the child called Andres Molina Enriquez belongs to a local poor family that is unable to meet tne expense of school
fees."

A 2

and the person who said the he learned to speak an

11 indigenous language" before Spanish is incorrect (i) —

there is evidence showing that he never learnt to speak the

Indian languages. Nonetheless, it is clear that this did not

hold back his sensitivity in objectively seeing the

wickedness that existed in Mexico's rural areas and the

suffering of the Indians. The Rinconada de San Fernando

house where he lived in Mexico City was once described as

being "half ~.f arm and half-city" (2) and represented the
«

spirit of a man caught betwen two worlds in more ways than

one.

Andres was awarded a scholarship by the Jilotepec town

council to s t u d y a t t h e f a m o u s T o 1 u c a Lite r a r y a n d S c i e n t. i f i. c

Institute. It is not known, however, whether he was given the

scholarship on account of his own merits or because of his

father's political influences.(3) If we take into

consideration that his fi r s t images we r e o f

(1) Rafael Heliodoro Valle, "Andres Molina Enriquez", in And res M gJLji. n.a Emrj! 5Ly_e_z (C o 1 e c c i 6 n T e s 11 m o n i o s del E d « d e
Me x i c o, "To 1 uc a, i 979) ," p . 35 .
(2) Ricardo Cortes Tamayo., M Un sencillo recordator io de don An d r es Molina En r i q ue z " , in And res M.ql_j._na Enr-..i.quez , op_*_
c i t. , pp. 104-105.
(3) For details of this di sc rep anc y, see An t onio Hu i t r 6 n H„, "Lie. An d r es Mo 1 i n a En r i q ue z:1868-1940", in Lectu.ras
(. . .) de.._crQnist.as_..jHunicipa.les (special edition, i Aug. 1986), p. 5, and Paul Gustavo de Santiago G6mez, Tebricc
del nacionalismo mexicano" Andres Molina Enriquez", 1,
•in El Sol de Centr^o (Aguascal ientes, 23 March 1986). The latter affirms that Molina failed a few subjects which meant that his scholarship application was turned down in 1880 and 1882 despite the "fraudulent" efforts made by his father.

his maternal grandmother and his birthplace, his time at the Institute is the third as it must have had a bearing on his •future intellectual work too. The Institute was a bastion of ant i-conservatism -founded by Lor en 20 de 2a.va.la. and its -former students included names such as those of Altamirano and Ignacio Ramirez who was responsible for the establishment o-f the scholarship system that bene-Fited Molina. (1) It was during his time there that Molina became -familiar with the bases o-f pos i t i v i sm . Mo 1 i na qualified as a. 1 awyer i n 1901
(2) and gave his first law lectures the same year. In. other words., it was while he attended the Institute that he passed the test of fire and became a conspicuous supporter of the great Mexican liberal tradition, which he would make take on a new turn. While he was still a student he married Eloisa Rodea Miranda, at some point in the last decade o-f the century. She also hailed from Jilotepec and together they had two children, Andres . Augusto Napoleon, whose name reflects his father's inclinations and personality., and Jose Dolores Renato. (3) Once he had qualified and gained experience as a public scribe at his -father's notarial

(1) These grants were originally intended for poor Indian pupils. For mare details, see Ignacio M. Altamirano, "Biografia de Ignacio Ramirez",, in Ignacio Rami'rez, Qbras, op u cit. , vol. I, p. XXXI.
(2) Some sources affirm that Molina studied part o-f his law degree in Mexico City where he met people such as Jesus Urueta, Jorge Vera Estanol and Francisco Olaguibel. However, there has not been much investigation into this 'stage of his life. What does exist, nonetheless, is an official document dated 26 Aug. 10 and 14 Sept. 1901 that states he passed his professional examinations before the high court of justice for the State of
Mex ico.

(3) Very little is known about Molina's loves, but it is known that he had at least two other children — Victor
and Gabino — with Asuncion Garcia.

practice, he was made a judge in a court of first instance in Tlanepantla in 1902. It was probably while he held this office that he'became friendly with Luis Cabrera who was to play a very important role in his life. Both his work in the courts and as a scribe in Jilotepec in 1691, in Tclu.ca in 1893, in Sultepee in 1894,, in Tenencingo in 1998, and in Otumba and Tenango in 1899 (1) contributed to consolidate his aversion towards socio-ethnic inequality.
Towards the close of the century Molina founded and edited the La___._HoilOii-9L§ newspaper, started to write articles for the press (2) and published his first booklets. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Andres Molina Enriques had learned to combine his government respons i b i1i t ies w ith his wr i ting and thin k ing. Thi s was a skill that he demonstrated for the rest of his days. Although his career in the state government ran smoothly under General Villada, he did not receive the first great boost in his academic activities until his f i r s t bo o k Js-lL.^Ll.iiSJlQlSL. JiLJLki JsHSZ (Juarez and the Reform) was published in 1906. Thanks to its success, Genaro Garcia invited him to join the staff of the National Archaeology., History and Ethnography Museum to teach ethnology in 1907. Over the next few years he only left the'museum for brief periods of

(1) AAME.
(2) Molina also wrote editorials for a time. See Luis Cabrera, "Andres Molina Enriquez", in Obr.as. comp_letas
(Ed. Oasis, Mexico, 1975), vol. IV, p. 409.

generally because of some misfortune. (1) The first and perhaps most tragic of these absences came very shortly after-he had started work at the museum. Molina was a keen observer of porfirism and was concerned about the fate of the regime. He also understood that it was impossible to postpone arrangments for a peaceful transition of power. Like many other intellectuals who had been cast aside by the scientific group, Molina therefore decided to support General Bernardo Reyes as the eventual successor to Porfirio Diaz. He was very active in his backing of Reyes and even said that his most important w o r k , Los_ grandes .p
(Great Nat i on a 1 P r ob 1 ems) (1 909) was p ub I i shed t h an k s t o Reyes 7 help.. (2) Nonetheless. when the dictator dealt the final crushing blow to Reyes and his policies,, Molina decided to fall in with the ranks and., unlike his fellow Reyists, accepted the nomination, of Corral as candidate and tried to persuade the cientificos to accept the urgent need that existed for social reform. Likewise, he rejected Madero at

(1) It is believed that he also opened a legal practice in conjunction with Luis Cab r era. With respect to his post

at the museum., it is worth mentioning that he lectured
to scholars such as Miguel OthDn de Mendizabal. For

more details, see Horacio Labastida Munoz, Prologue to And res Molina Enriquez, La__gBvo 1 uc i 6n aqr ar i a de _M^jiic.o_;

< UNAM-M . A . Por r ua , Mex i co , 1 986) , vo 1 , I , p .
XX.

(2) Molina's support for Reyes can be seen in several of his

press articles. See Andres Molina Enriquez, "Lo que significa el reyismo", and "La ftirmula de solucirin momentanea del conflicto politico actual", inM^Jiicc j\[uey.o (Mexico,, 21 Sept. and 20 Nov^. 1909). On his
support for Reyes, see Molina, La R'evlucidn agraria.. vol. IV, p. 45-46.

•first and even rejected the principle of the Revolution. (1)

However, the popular movement grew and Medina seen became an

ardent and sincere revolutionary. He became so radical that

he considered Madero's political project was inappropriate

and reactionary. (2) He believed that since the Mexican

people had turned to violence,, the insurrection had to serve?

to e s t a. b 1 i s h d e e p c h a n g e s -in t h e a g r i c u 11 u r a 1 a n d

socioeconomic structures of Mexico, With this in mind and. as

he considered that the pact made between Madero and Francisco

Le6n de la Barra betrayed the real motives behind the peasant

u p r i s i n g , M o 1 :i. n a s e t t o w o r k o n t h e e 1 a b o r a t i o n a n d

p r oc1amat i on of t h e Te x c oco P1 an (1911), (3)

The p 1 a n w a s a s r e v o 1 u. t i o n a r y a s i t w a s r o ma n t i c „ 11.

did not recognize either the federal or state governments and

(1) See Andres Molina Enriquez, "Un buen consejo a las reyistas" and "La solucidn del conflicto revoluc ionar io" , in^JJ^^Jj-jsm^g (Mexico, 9 March 3.910 and
31 March 1911). A little later Molina accepted the? existence of four political forces which he felt should
h -a ve b ec ome p o 1 i t i c a 1 parti es s t. h e is p u r e- c on se r vat i ve " ?
the "p r og ress i ve conserv a t i ve'' H t h e ! ' evo1ut i oni st renewal" party and the "radical renewal" party,, They would have been led by Manuel F. de la Hoz , Rosendo Pineda, Carlos Basave and Madero or Vazquez G6msz respectively. See Andres Molina Enriquez, "La que Madero deria pedir", in JLL-_JLiemiLQ (Mexico, 27 Acrii 1911).
(2) Molina affirmed that he inspired Article 3 of the £an Luis Plan, that Madero visited him at home and that although Madero did not agree with his social reforms,,
he offered him a sen at o r i a1 seat. See An dr es Mo1ina Enriquez, Dj. c t amen ac e r c a d.e 1 a leg alidad de 1 as fug il? as gapatistas, " (9 Aug . 1923, BCN 5,6; 423} ~ and" ~La Revo 1 u^J:-^.P_g!L9£-S^O-.a-« PP « 143—146 and 169.
(3) The plan was promulgated 23 Aug. and Molina was arrested
• after its failure on 12 Sept. See Vol. I, book 4 of His tori a qrafica de la Reyolucion.. 1900^-_1940 , (edit e d D y Agustin Casasola), p. 33S,

suspended constitutional order handing over provisional control o-f the legislative and executive powers to its author. The plan also called for five decrees to be issued and these provide a valuable insight into Molina's thinking on subjects such as the breaking up of large properties? the freedom to import and export grain 5 the protection and gradual dissolution of rural communities and tribes? the elimination of political caciques; and the control of wages or daily rates. However. in spite of Pauline Martinez? collaboration and Zapata's alleged approval (1), the plan turned out to be a failure. The EJ.__Imp^arr^i^aji. newspaper reported that Molina Enriquez, who was "very well-known in intellectual and political circles", wanted "to blow up the barracks that the horsegu.ards at the Texcoco guarrison lived in", to free the prisoners and head off to attack the hac ien das . Alt h o u g h t h e p a p E? r s ensation a 1 i z e d the matte r a n d reported that a "multitude of peasant supporters" were initially involved, the truth is that nobody backed the rebellion and Malina was easily arrested, . (2) Moreover., communications secretary Manuel Bonilla shortly after said the T e x c o c o P1 an w a s " h i 1 a r i o u. s'' a n d that i t s a u t h o r , described by a "high-ranking government official" in one of the paper's articles as "a very strange man", would be

(1) Several sources affirm that Zapata knew of the plan and on e says that h e sup p o r t. ed it. Bee A . N . Mo 1 i n a En r i q LIE- z
(son) , El _aqrar ismo dhg la Revolucibn ; exegesis A c r i t i c a
y Iieen c a u z am i en t o , (Me x i c o ., 1953) p . 25 .
(2) Magana, who was a friend of Molina, says that if Molina was "so well-known as a thinker and idealist in the cultural centres, he wasn't among the peasants" which explains why he was "virtually on his own" in the Texcoco Plan. See G i 1 d a r d o Magana, ErrnJJ.jiriMD__Zaj2a t.a_ j£__e i. agr arism.g en Mex ico, (Ed. Rut a, Mexico., ' 1951). vol. II.
p . 50.

examined by "psychiatrists." Worst of all, however., was the fact that comments that the failed rebellion had been "truly laughable" were attributed to Emilio Vazquez. G6mez, the political leader that Molina had had in mind when he designed the plan, (i) It was also reported that Vazquez had said that the person who had engineered the plan should appoiogise for his folly. (2) The . fact that this newspaper. the conservative bastion of the? cientificos, made such bitter epithets about the plan was understandable. However, it was not so understandable that Molina had set out on an adventure that had guar -anteed him a spell behind bars right, from the
^i^ •

start. It was not until later that he would reveal his reasons —• the Texcoco Plan had been destined for political and military failure for the sake of ideological propaganda success. (3)
It is worth pointing out that it was not just the journalists who provided this ideological propaganda. This was one of the advantages Molina managed to get out of his time in prison., where he converted none other than Pancho Villa, and other leaders on Zapata's side, (4) In prison he also strengthened his revolutionary ideals and defended a

(1) Mo 1 i na • La Revoluci.tSn agr ar i a, vol. V, p, 86. Also see A.M. Molina Enriquez, op. c it. , pp. 43-44.
(2) See the notes and editorial dedicated to "La Revalue i<5n" by Molina En r i q ue z i n EL Imparcial (Me x i c o , 25 H 26s n d
30 Aug. 1911). It is worth mentioning that'Molina"s relationship with Vazquez G6mez lasted a long time as both his children married two of don Emilia's daughters. With respect to the accusation that he was suffering from demencia, Molina says that attempts were made to have him committed to an asylum. See Molina., La Revo1ue16 n _aq r a r i a, vol. V, p. 92,
(3) Ibid. . vol. V, p. 87.
(4) Ibid. , vol. V, pp. 92-95.

progressive stance in the journalistic debate on aqrarian *™ ™ re-Form with Wistano Luis Orozco. From his correspondence written in prison we can see that it was there that he became convinced of the triumph of the Revolution, (i) When he was released from prison in 1912 (2) he went. back to his teaching post at the museum and intiated the first staqe of i ~ tne !1__E££ojrjnads£ newspaper (1913). This periodical was sponsored by Cabrera. and his parliamentary group known as the " d \ P Vi.t a^LS^-^LgllQVLadQJiaSjJl More than twenty years later, during the second stage, jyUElefPjrmador was able to boast that it had been the only paper in circulation -during the coup. diktat directed by Victoria.no Huerta. (3) His later anti-hispanic feelings can perhaps be explained by the fact that his pos11 i on on th e n ewspap er earned him the ill-will of a group of Spaniards, at whose hands he was persecuted. (4) After the COUD. Molina was commissioned by Huerta to draft legislation and accepted a few government posts. This later made him a target of incomprehension of several critics.

(1) Letters from Andres Molina Enriquez to Carlos Basave y del Castillo Negrete, dated 20 and 26 May 1912 and written in the Penitenciaria de Mexico prison. In them
he asks his friend to lend him 75 pesos to send correspondence from Zapata to Pacual Orozco. He also speaks of the imminent, triumph of the Revolution.AAME.
(2) In a curriculum vitae prepared by Molina himself a year before his death he affirms that he began his term as a political prisoner on 15 July 1911 and was freed en 2^ March 1912 (AAME) ., Neither of these dates can be relied
on if we take into account the letters that- h*3 <=.en+- +•<- **•* "•** *••* • • — '••• v*
his friend Basave.

(3) Molina,, La Revoluc i 6r\ aqraria , vol. V , p . 118.
(4) Alfonso Taracena, "Molina Enriquez., articulo 27" , ir-Anton i o Hu i t r 6n H . (comp i 1 er) , £tD^L!l^sJ^g_liii ina _Enjri_quez 3
1 a p r op i ed ad aq r a r i a en hex i c o (G o v e r n m e n t of t h"e~~~B t a -Tp
of Mexico, Toluca, 19B7), p. 248.

(1) His collaboration with Huerta also got him involved in

minor elections. Molina had already experienced the glory of

political campaigns — he served as an adminsitrator (syndic)

in Jilotepec in 1890; he won a local election to select

deputies in Utumba in 1910; and, after the announcement of

•^ the formation of the "Evolutionary Renewal" Party, he stood

as a candidate in the gubernatorial elections in the State of

Mexico in 1911. (2) On that, occasion, however, he aimed high

and announced that he would be standing for the office of

vice president of the republic as the official candidate for

the "Great Rep ub lie an L i b er a 1 Par t y « " The part, y :' s

presidential candidate was David de la Fu.ente. It is worth

mentioning that men such as the Catholics Federica Gamboa and

Eugenio Rasc6n, and the liberals Manuel Calero and Jesus

Flores Magbn also stood on that occasion in the hope of

overthrowing Victor iano Huerta and Au.reliano Blanquet's

military g o v e r n ment. (3) Molina and de 1 a F uen t e ? s manife sto

(1) His sup p or t of Hue r t a was in k eep i ng with his i d eas on the Mestizo dictatorship that Mexico needed and never-lacked criticism of the dictator, especially when he became convinced of the regime's conservatism. Bee
And res Molina Enriquez, "El Pacto de la Ciuda.de la" and
"La finalidad del gobierno del Br. Gral . Huerta 11 in EJL Imparoia.! (Mexico, 21 and 14 June, and 2 July 1913"}," Moreover, twenty years later., when Huerta had been condemned by the historians, Molina continued to defend
the general's positive points. See Molina, La
r evp 1 uc i 6n .a..g_ra_r_i^ 9 vol. V, pp. 132-142.
(2) AAME. Also see "Convocatoria Renovador Evolucionista" (for the formation of the party) in El Tiempo (Mexico,
20 May 1911), and "Dos de las leyes del Pueblo que expedira el Sr. Lie, Don Andres Molina Enriquez, si es electo Gobernador del Estado de Mexico (...) (Mexico, June 1911), BCN, 1-4, S3.
(3) For more information on these candidatures, see Manuel Son z a 1 e z Ram i r e z , La revolucidn social de M£x_ico (F C E ,
. Mexico, I960), vol. I, PP. 394-395.

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made it very clear that their aim was to prevent a reactionary victory and that their support -for Huerta was based on the fact that they also believed that only an authoritarian government could control the "revolutionary euphoria" and "make it fruitful." (1)
Molir.a Enriquez*s role in Huerta's regime, nonetheless,
was secondary. His time under the usurper only helped him to secure his future source of income — he worked in public office while continuing to produce his intellectual works. Re-started in local government for the State of Mexico,, and while he worked and elaborated on his theory in support of miscegenation he held the posts of assistant in the Government Secretary's Office in the General Government Secretariat (1900), head of development section IV in the same secretariat (1901), government secretary (1904) and member of the Boundaries Commission (1905). He later crowned his career when he was made government secretary general, and may have been put in charge of the governor's office in his ab sen c e (1917). (2) He was also a r en own ed i n t erim

(1) "Manifesto de las senores Oral, Ing. David de la Fuente y Lie. Andres Molina Enriquez, candidates del Gran Parti do Liberal Republicano para la Presidencia y Vicepresidencia respectivamente, dirigen a sus coneiudadanos, exponiendo su programa en demanda de votos en las pr6ximas elecciones" (Mexico, 19 Oct. 1913), BCN, 2-1, 91. The manifesto emphasises Molina's dictatorial inclinations and his contempt for electoral democracy.
(2) In his account of a trip made with Carlos Basave and Antonio Cortes to Mineral de Sultepee, Molina affirms that he- "once led this Government (of the State of Mexico)." See Andres Molina Enriquez, "Expedicion de estudio del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia y Etnografia al antiguo Mineral de Sultepec. Estado de Mexico", in Anales del Museo Nacional (...) (M exi c o, 2 4 April 1930).

magistrate in. the supreme court of justice in the Stats of Mexico and was appointed as a magistrate twice (1918 and 1938). It was while in the -federal executive power that he was given numerous bureaucratic posts: officer o-f the Agriculture Board (1911), director of the ' Institute of Ethnographic. Industries (1914), technical adviser to the Commerce and Industry Secretariat (1914), interim head of the Woods and Industry Board at the Development Secretariat (1916)5 representative of the Treasury Secretariat before the National Ag r i cult u r e Comm i ss i on (1916), c on su. 11 an t at t o r n ey of the A s s i s t a n t 0 f f i c e o f the Nation a 1 A g r i c u 11 u r e Commission (1916), the Water Boards of the Agriculture and De ve 1 op men t Sec r et a r i a t (19.17 } ? f o r Ag r i c u 11 u r e at t h e Treasury Secretariat (1919) and at the Interior Secretariat (1922), h e a d o f t h e L e g i s 1 a t i o n a n d T r e a s u i-- y F1 o 3. i c y Department (1920), representative of the Federal Treasury Probate D e p a r t m e n t (19 2 5) , e n g i. n e e r o n the R u r a 1 C o m m u n 11 i e s . National Land and Settlement £<oard at the Agriculture and Development Secretariat (1934) and economist at the same secretariat (1935). (1)
These p ost s in the main wer e on 1y oc c up i ed b y Mo i i na for short periods of time —- he held few of them for more than a year. To make ends meet he had to give classes in ethnology and devoted his energies to directing the ethnology

(1) AAME: Molina was also a tax agent for inheritances in the district of Tlanepantla _(1913),, Jilotepec's representative before the General Congress of Town Halls
of the Mexican Republic (1920), consultant lawyer at the Banco de Guanajuato (1918), and special course teacher
at the Public Education Secretariat (1929).

department at his beloved National Museum, His career in the legislative power was equally brief? he -first worked as an adviser to the Constituent Congress in the drafting of article 27 (1916), and then as an assistant consultant to the Interior Secretariat's Technical Commission in the Chamber of Deputies (1925). Perhaps the only lasting exceptions in his career were his jobs as legal compiler at the supreme court of justice, where he worked for almost ten years (1920-192.9), and as professor of history at the Training Institute for Teachers of Secondary Education, where he remained for another ten years (1927-1937). (1) Nonetheless,, despite his low posts in public office and his failure to excel in Mexican politics, at' his sixty-odd years of age Molina was a renowned character. Presidents and artists alike respected him and several of them were his friends. He was a welcome guest at the home of Obreg On, who was often invited to lunch at Mo1i n a ? s Ba1buena home along with the 1i kes of Em i1i o Fortes Gil, Narciso Bassols and Diego Rivera. (2) Calles appointed him as his personal adviser in the Interior Secretariat and, as we will see later, allowed him to defend his personal interpretation of the .1917 Constitution and in particular of article 27 in an official gazette. He also appointed Molina as chairnTan of the National Agriculture Confederation (1925). (His reason for this was probably to cut ground from under the National

(1) Ibid.
(2) Interview with Lie, Alvaro Molina Enriquez, grandson o-c don Andres (Mexico, 19 Dec. 1986). Also see Emilio Portes Gil, "Andres Molina Enriquez", in Andra.s Mcli-a Enriguez", op. cit. , p. 43.

Agrarian Party). (1) By this time there was no doubt about

Molina's intellectual prowess, and the days when his critics

had. said he was "mad" because of his daring and originality

had become a thing of the past, (2) Moreover, his fame as a

jurist and revolutionary ideologue had earned him £* permanent

place among the movement's veterans, which led many governors

to seek his opinion. (3) He had been very young when he was

admitted to the Mex ican Geography and Stat is-t ic:s See iety

(1902) and the Rli_i.ance._.....Scient ifique Un i verse 1 le of the

jfilJLg^L^LLQn^n^ ...des Homines, de S.c ien.c.e (1908) , and

if. this were not enough,, in his own lifetime he received

great international acclaim for his book Los qrande.s

p. rob 1 emas n ac i on a 1 es , w h i c h w a s d e s c r i b e d b y a profs s s o r i n

the United States of America as being on a par with the works

of Humboldt and Calder6n de la Barca, as one ——•——•--—-

(1) £<efore this he had left the National Agrarian Commission and had become the first vice-president of Ca lies' Confederation in 1924 during the presidency of Gildardc Magana. (His son. Napoleon,, was the Confederation's 1st Secretary). See the National Agrarian Confederation
p o s t e r post p o n i n g a co n v e n t i o n (M e x i c o , A u g . 1 9 2 4) , B C N , 3-5,- 325, And r 6s Molina Enriquez, "El Partido Nacional
A g r a r i s t a ha he c h o mas d a n o q LI e? las mis m o s
lat if undistas" , in El Democrat a (Mexico, 26 May, 1925)
and Santiago Gornez , pp...., ... c it . . V, in EJLJSp 1 d e _1 _ Cerr^ro (Ags, 8 June 1986).
(2) There is evidence that at the time of Molina 's early-writings there were rumours that he was mad. See., for example, Baltasar Sanchez Vega, El pens ami en to a_g_raj^_ic:-.
(U n d e r g r a d u a t e
thes i s i n Law , UNAM , 1 950) , p . 27 .
(3) AAME. In a letter dated 28 April 1931, the Governor of the State of Nayarit, Luis Cast i Ho Led6n. asks Molina
for his "intellectual coooperat ion" in solving a tax conflict between the state and the federation.

of the three most important works written on Mexico, (i)

We will add a personal description of Molina to this

account of his fame. Carles Basave y del Castillo Negrete,

who was his boss at the Loans Fund and his life-long friend,

described him as a solemn,, austere man, who was "always

serious and deliberate" in his acts. (2) And Ricardo Cortes

Tamayo who knew him well despite the great difference in

their ages, paints a clear picture of him:

we remember Andresito wells he .was of average build -•-
we thought he was very tall — strong, broad-shouldered,
with a thick well-groomed,, greying beard and a flowing moustache. He had a strong head a bit like don Justo's (...). He wore light-coloured clothes and was rarely-
seen in anything dark. He wore a wide-brimmed hat, which was rather bohemian and revolutionary (..„)« He carried a th i ck wa i k ing sti ck, which was common i n those times- (3)

His style went well with h'is discreet character. He never

1 eft Me x i c o and r a r e 1 y st rayed fa r f r am the Va 11 ey of Me x i c o .•

(4) His world was in the highlands which fed him

(1) AAME. The professor was Dr. Priestley of Berkeley U ni ve r si t y. It is wo r t h ad d i n g that there is a ver sion that this uni versi t y r efused to q i ve Mo1i n a the financial aid he sought to be able to write La
r e v o I u c i 6 n a .q r a r i a . This aid was finally provided by
the Mexican government. See Santaigo Gdmez, op, c i t __.
(2) Unpublished memoirs of Carlos Basave y del Cast ilia Negrete., p. 33.
(3) Cortes Tamayc, ojBLa—£iti» PP • 105-106. A compilation of testimonies on Molina can be found in Huitrdn, AjndrJ-s
Mo 1 i n a En r igue z , PJL^-JLi-Li s pp. 209-296.
(4) All the evidence would appear to indicate this. It is likely that he may have vistied the north of Mexico once when he went to Chihuahua in 1915. See Santiago Gbmea , op... cit. There is no evidence to indicate that Molina ever visited the south — he affirms that Gen., Cardenas invited him to the Yucatan but he turned the invitation down on account of his health. Bee Andres Molina Enriquez, "La gloriosa caruzada del Mayab", in Molina et. al._.., El e-jido en .... Yucatan (Ed . Me x i c a Nue vo , Mexico, 1937),'pp. 7-8.

and to which he gave the best of himself. This image conveyed in his work, which reached its climax during the second and third stages of El Re-formador H which became a forum for Mexico's Indians and Mestizos (1935-1937). The Molina Enriquez of the thirties had undergone several changes. He was now the Creoles" enemy and violently challenged anyone who dared cast doubt on his having -fathered article 27. (1) He was also a converted supporter of Lazaro Cardenas and got involved in a dispute with his friend Cabrera over his defence of Cardenas' agricultural policies. Molina defended the Indians and denigrated the Spaniards, and he was named as the leader of the struggle against the "Spanish colonial octopus" to achieve Mexico's economic emancipation (1933) in a special proclamation of Mexico's "Second Independence".(2) This was a Molina who shied away from his former admiration for the Hispanic culture and drew c1oser to i ndi genism„
By this stage Molina had little left to live. He said
he felt at ease for having managed to get the five volumes of his third and last book E sb ozo d e la h i st o r ia de 1os

(1) On his all eg at ions in t h i s context with Past o r Rou. a i x and Jose N„ Macias, see his comments in El .Universal (Mexico, 18 April 1921 and 23 Sept, 1937). By comparing
them we can see the changes Molina*s attitude underwent.
(2) See El Rgf grmador « second stage , (Mex i -co , i 5 Ju 1 y i 935) , p. 3, the date this happened on coincidentally was 16 Sept.., the anniversary of Mexico's independence. It is also worth mentioning that Molina felt great admiration
for Cardenas and this was evident from Cardenas was nominated as presidential candidate. Bee Molina. "La qloriosa cruzada del Mayab",, p.31, in which den Andres compared Cardenas with Harun Arraschid, and Molina's p r o 1 ogue to F . Pal omo Va 1 enc i a , Los ejicios -de Yucatan v_ ej jTgngqufen (Libreria de Pedro Rob r ado, Mexico. 1934},, pT" 1» which describes his early support of the general.

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primeros diez anos de la RexgjjujgJ.j6_n_ft_qraria -de Mexico d_e_JL9_10 a„ 1920 (Outline of the History of the First Ten Years of the Agricultural Revolution in Mexico from 1910 to 1920) into print (1932-1936). In relation to his other activities, his services as a thinker and defender of social justice had been recognised to a certain extent. Undoubtedly, he wanted to rest and take life easy for the remainder of his -days,. However, the civil service, which. he had served so well,, did not find him worthy of a pension. Just, before his seventieth birthday he? received a reply to a message that he had sent to his much-admired Cardenas. (The message probably never-reached the president's own hands.) Molina had asked for a pension of twenty pesos a day, as other teachers had been given, and after waiting nine months he received a note signed by a minor—ranking civil servant informing him that his request had been turned down. (1) The governor of his homestate. however., was wiser and offered him a magistrate's post. Thus,, Molina Enriquez returned to his homelands where he lived until his death. In the words of Luis Cabrera, it. "was as if he had deliberately wished to die in silence." (2) On 1 August 1940 Andres Molina Enr iqusz died in To1uc a.

(1) The request was made in an "ordinary message" (telegram) dated 3 Feb. 1938s it was addressed to Gen. Jenaro Amezcua, secretary general of the Revolutionary Union of Southern Agrarians by Victor Rendtfn, assistant director
for credit at the Treasury Secretariat on 19 Nov. 1936.
AAME.

(2) Luis Cab r e r a, op. cit., p, 409.

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b) ' The Formation o-f Molina's Pro-miscegenation Theory,

Malina Enriquez's first work was published in 1895 under title El evangel i o de una nujgya ref or ma (The Gospel of a New Reform). In it he proposed the elimination of inheritances as he said they were "the source of the unfair inequality existing between the capitalists and the workers."Above all, this work illustrates the idealistic impulses felt by Molina during his youth when hs was convinced that his doctrine would "change-? the course of human destiny" bringing about "the greatest and most beneficial" transformation "since that brought about by Christianity," The young Molina stoicly said he felt he could "bear all human pain and die on the cross like Christ if that would help mankind,,'1 (i) However,, the most important aspect of this work is that it already contains the makings of several of the constants of Molina? s later work, such as his positivist approach, which displayed unusual touches of a Tolstoy-style mystical Christianity., his desire for social justice which,despite his tendencies., rejected Marxism., his -desire for agricultural reform as a means of revindication and whose importance would make it appear as an end in itself, and, of course,, his mestizophi1ia, which was steeped in his obsession for racial uniformity.

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez, El___eyange-Li.Q... .. de una.._njJgya. ref or ma (Toluca, 1895), pp. 1-5. 16-17 and 41. MclinVs theory is that capital is produced as the result of each individual's instinct of self-preservation and is forme--; with society's help; when a person dies society should receive this capital through the State, which in exchange should not charge its inhabitants taxes wnile they live.

In Molina's positivism there are both signs of ideological development and doctrinal indigestion. Although he proved he had already mounted a basic platform along the lines of Darwin and Spencer on the framework provided by the Comtists theories,, typical of the first porfirist period., which allowed him to speak in terms of "selection" and "evolution", he also showed that he was capable of bringing down the very arguments of the evolutionists by affirming that "man is now no worse off than when Jesus Christ came to save him." (Clearly the idea behind his proposal to eliminate inheritances was to permit a fight for survival on equal terms.) In his quest for justice,, Molina showed his indignation with society for forcing the underpriviledged "to experience all the sufferings of a struggle which it is obvious they will lose right from the start" and makes them justifiably feel hatred towards the wealthy, Likewise., he also showed his contempt for "stupid socialist and communist ideas." (1) Meanwhile, Molina, the agrarian, felt benefit would be gained from his proposal as "land would be divided into smaller lots." Finally, Molina, the mestizophile, did not hide his desire t o rep 1 ac e the con ven t i on a 1 p r i n c: i p 1 e o f nationality by "the principle of ethnographic nationalities" and even went as far as to imagine a future in the "whole o-f mankind" would "form one single body," (2) However, it was \
Molina, the prophet, who lay .behind all these ideas in foresight of the "future cataclysm" that would emerge from
(1) Ibid- pp. 1, 15/16 and 23.
(2) Ibid-„ pp. 34-35.

the wretchedness and destitution of the people. (1)
Molina Enriquez's attitude towards the international question was of the utmost importance in his theory. Fourteen years prior to the publication of his book Los qrandes

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probl.emas n a c i qnaj.es he laid the cornerstone of what would become his theory of mestizophi1ia in the first outline of his thought which dealt with the link Between race and nationality. His notion of ethnographic nationality., or the impossibility of creating a multiracial nation, marked the prelude to his future theory in support of miscegenation. Although at the start Molina may have appeared to have-relegated this theory and have been more inclined towards racial s G? g r e g a 11 o n ,, it s o o n c r y s t. a 1 1 i s e d in h i s w o r k a s t h e sole realistic option open to Mexico. His dream of a world without frontiers was in fact a precocious extrapolation of what would not take long in becoming his creed: racial fus i on„
In 1898=, a year after he published a. booklet on Porfirio
Diaz which analysed the policies of the dictator's regime and its attitude towards the Monroe Doctrine (2), Molina Enriquez started up the La Hormiqa newspaper in Sultepee, The small paper, which claimed to be the cheapest in Mexico (two editions for one cent)., contained a mining section (sometimes in English),, church notices and times of masses., a list of saints' days, a section on prices in the different

d) JEMd^ pp. 21
(2) Not_as _ sobre la pol it ica ....del.
(Sul tepee, 1897).,

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markets (which lashed out at the high price o-*~ onions), and newsnotes and comments that ranged from the details c-f a street brawl to the latest escape of a young lady of the town with her sweetheart. Molina, who was the paper's "director
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and chief", used La Hormiqa as a personal plat-form to indulge in polemics. For example, in one edition he affirmed that "the poet is a harp that society makes sing", contradicting his friend Francisco M. de Olaguibel and supporting Victoriano Salado Alvarez, who had rejected Amado Nervous statement that literature is not the product of the writer's environment. He also criticised the larger Mexican dailies for looking down at L.§...,.,.H.9£.!lLl.£J..^ ar| d claimed that not a single line had been written that did not contain local patriotic or scientific interest" and that "given its size (the newspaper) was worth more than any of the rest".. (i) However, the most relevant aspect of l~a__JHo_!;imij3.a in relation to the development of Mo 11 na •"' s thought was that he endorsed h i s soc i a 1 undertaking in its pages and said that "the moderately well-off wo rking c1 ass. whi c h of cou r se i s n ot t he most educated class, is the most Lip right," He rebelled against xenophilia and indignantly reported that a German national publicly insulted the Me x i c an peop1 e and did not have to suffer the consequences. Most importantly,, however,, he divided national history into three periods: disintegration, transition and int eq r at i on, which c oin c id e

(1) See La Hormiqa (Suitspec, 11 and 14 Jan. 1898, vol. I, Nos. 7 and 10).

with the First republic., the Ayutla Plan, and the Tux-tepee Plan respectively. As a result of Mexico's "environmental, racial and current background" he argued that independent

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Mexico was in need o-f:

a military organisation with compulsory conscription as
a preliminary stage to introducing voiunatry enlistment
o-f all units of soc i e t y, wh i c h a re divided b y differences of race., This would lead to the domination
of a physical env -iron-merit that. has been naturally opposed to conscription.,
He added that this unification began in the second period and became established during the third., He said it was up to General Diaz to consolidate it and make sure it was extended to other "Spanish American nations" so that there would be "balance in America as there is in Europe," (I)
B h a r 11 y a f t e r w a r c:! s , i n 19 0 0 , M o 1 i n a d i s p 1 a y e d h i s f u 11 intellectual creativity. In a fascinating essay published by the Toluca Institute,, whose name by then had been changed to the Por f i r i o Diaz In st itut e (2), he d ivi ded t he hi st o r y of mankind into four stages. These stages were separated depending on the form of expression that prevailed during each of them. T h e f i r" s t s t a g e w a s c h a r a c t e r i s e d b y p a i n 11 n g and covered from the ancient Egyptians to the Greeks. The second s tags w a s c h afttt e r- i s e d b y s c u .1 p t u r e a n d ejeten d e d the Greeks fa the Middle Ages. This stage was followed by the architecture stage in the Middle Ages. The book stage

(1) La JHormiga, (Sultepee, 4, 16 and 22 Jan, 1898, vol. i, nos. 2, 12 and 17).
(2) Andres Molina Enriquez, "Esto matar£ a aquello", in Bgleti'n del Instituto Cientifico v Literario "J^:±LL!11P PiazJ.1. (Joluca, 5 March and 5 April 1900, vol. Ill", nos."
1 and" 2), pp. 1/5 and 19/23, respectively. Molina tcck
the title for his essay from Victor Hugo,

which emerged with the Renaissance and an end to theocracy and -feudalism. However, a new stage was approach ing i ''work
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will kill capital: the workers will kill the bourgeoisie; the phonograph will kill the printing press," as it marks the beginnings of its demise- "Like the middle classes., the labourers will dominate the world 1 ' when the phonograph, which will allow them to learn without having to know how to read, has spread the ''unifying ideal" o-f eliminating inheritances. Inheritance has hindered natural selection and is a source of degeneration. The "new Napoleon" who manages to eliminate inheritances will most likely be from the United States of America and will dominate the world. When the phonograph era. is upon us, property "will be distributed more effectively than now," the natural laws of supply and demand will triumph, there will be more brotherly love and music will r eac h i t s ma. x i mum heights.
What is interesting about this essay is what it reveals about 'its author, Molina adopted an eclectic approach and jumbled together bits of Spencer. Marx and Smith topped off with a touch of Tolstoy and Victor Hugo who he described as the last great exponents of the book stage,, along with Emilie Castelar. Above all his essay suggests that at the time he wrote it he probably knew about Marx's theory., although it is likely that he only had heard of it through secondary sources. The essay also shows, however, that he-only borrowed ideas related with the sense of justice from it and did not reject the notion of private property and market laws in any way. His primitive beliefs concerning the class struggle were always overshadowed by his belief i ~ the

struggle between the races., and he made that very clear.
In a speech given by Molina barely a month following the publication of his essay (I), he called the race struggle the driving force behind history and for the first time he made an explicit reference to the clashes between the different ethnic groups in Mexico. Although only the Indians and Creoles were recognised in their own right at that time as most people believed the Mestizos either i belonged to one group or the other,, both groups now began to figure in Molina's arguments. The Indians were considered to be conservatives and the Creoles were liberals. Nonetheless, by that time Molina showed that he was a mediator between the two. He defended the conservatives by arguing that the notion of patriotism did not exist in those times and emphasised the b o n d s o f b r o t h e r h o o d 1 i n king a 11 t h e M e x i c: a n people. At this stage he had still not su.pressed his romantic i n c 1 i. n a t i a n s a n d s o m e of these c o m e t. h r o u g h i n h i s arguments. (2) Despite this Molina began the twentieth century with two of the key characteristics of his future work essentially defined,, namely his social progress!vism and

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez "Discurso pronunciado el 5 de mayo de 1900'% in La .... G a c e t a del G c b i e r n o (Toluca, 9 May 1900).
(2) See as an example "Discurso ante la tumba del poeta Jos£ Bust i 11 os " ,, in La Gaceta del Gobi erne (Tel Lie a H 20 Ju.n e 1901). It is significant that he quotes Schiller in this speech.

his ethnic conception of historical evolution, (i)

In 1902 Molina Enriquez took another step forward. After

having reaffirmed his faith in. "that immense and beneficent

providence that Spencer calls selection" (2), he described

his concern for "the deep racial differences" existing in

Mexico in his speech of introduction before the Mexican

Society for Geography and Staisties. By then it was clear-

that the bold student from the Toluca Institute had become a

lawyer whose professional and intellectual experience was

reflected in his maturity. He repeated ideas that he had

expressed in Lj^J:i9XJllJl§ to the society members but explained

them with greater clarity and coherence. He pointed out that

when colonial order and cohesion broke down during the

independence., Mexico had been plunged in anarchy,

Fortunately s

the disorder of those times brought to light the race
p r ob 1 em ,, wh i c h sp lit t h e p op u 1 at i on in t wo „ Eac h s i d e rallied to defend its interests which implied integration on the one hand and struggle on the other (....), when two sides emerged, the clash was Wtween the
C r eo 1 es and the I n d i an s ., o r mo r e st net. 1 y sp ea k i n g between Indian blood and Creole blood. The ethnic*

(1) The obsession with uniformity, another of Mo Una's key characteristics, could also be said to have taker; shape
a the start of the century. His rejection of federalism which he called an i11ogi c a 1 im.itation that b r o k e up everything Mexican, is a continu^rion of this line of
t hough t. t o a c e r t a i n e x tent. See And r es Mo 11 n a Enriquez, "Cuales deb en s.er los bases de la legislaciin particular del Estado. Principles fundamentales de to-do trabajo legislative local", in Bo1et i n del In st i t u t g Cient i'f i_c_o_ _ry__ Li t e r a r i o " P p r f i r o D i a z " (T o 1 u c a , dec. 1901, vol.'lV", no. 10), pp. 289-292.
(2) Andres Molina Enriquez,. "Discurso pronunciado (...) en la solemne inauguracidn de las clases del Institute Cientifico y Literario del Estadc", in Bolet in del
JLn ^y_t..u.t Q Cientifico . y. Literario "Porfirio Diaz" (Toluca,, Jan. 1901, vol. Ill, no. 11), p. 215. This revelation, as we will see further on, was very important.

hybrids, wh o belonged to the C r so I e g r ou.p , h ad a i r sad y broken with one of the races they had to thank -for their existence and now proceeded to break with the Indians. Th ey at t ac k ed the Indians'1 r e i i g i on , wh i c h was a. m i x t u - e of -fanaticism and idolatry, and their old communal interests. In these circumstances, what remained of the viceroyalti.es, the clergy and the priviie ge'd took the Indians'" side. The Creoles became liberals and the Indians became religious conservatives. The liberals were the victors in this struggle and thanks to their
t r i u m p h a p o w e r t h a t was greats r than an y o f t h e IT; emerged in the country,, Integration made progress and at last it looked as if power would dominate the racial
d i f f e r e n c e s .

In spite of everything, the triumph had still not been

completed. The defeated race brought about the French

intervention and Mexico had to wait for it to be put down

before "the fatherland was finally established for the

fut u re." Th us, Me x i c o emb a r k ed up on the p or f i r i s t age wi t h

its political problem solved., This period was the "integral

period" of national consolidation. However, part of Mexico's

economic p r ob 1 em an c! t he ag r i c u 11 u r a i dispute, wh i c h wou 1 d

require technical measures., still had to be solved, (1)

Until then Molina En.riquez had still not said anything

about the need for miscegenation. His ethnographic analysis

of history appeared to be satis-ffed with the existence of a

dominant, authoritarian, concentrated power — another of his

constants — that was strong enough to control friction

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez, La cuestion del dia; la agjr i c u 11 u re __3iacJ1 Dnal (I m p r e n t a la E s p a n o 1 a , M e '• •• i c o 1902)-, pp. 44-37. For Molina the other half of the economic problem had been solved with the arrangement concerning the debt and the tax reforms of the reform, which explains why he devoted a large part of his sces-ch
to several concrete propositions to solve two aspects of the agricultural problems water and communications.

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between the different racial groups. Molina's association of the Indians with the conservatives and his failure to distinguish between the Creoles and Mestizos lead us to deduce that he felt he had more in common with the Creoles at that time. Despite his compassion for the Indians, this explains his respect for the Creole and the fact that he did not take a more drastic stance against him. Nonetheless., there is not much ground between his initial racial concept of history and his pro-miscegenation theory.
He covered this ground and more in 1906. To mark the hundreth anniversary of the birth of Benito Juarez a literary competition was held in Mexico City. Molina entered his book who.se original t i 11 e was La Reforma y Juarez (The Ref orm and Juarez). He w as awa r ded a prize for his work a1on q w11h Porfirio Parra and Ricardo Garcia branados. (1) The book was published the same year and was his first real literary work, In it he affirmed that Juarez and the reform had been merely pretexts for ex pounding an in t e r p r et at i on o f Me x i c o's history, and said that "once the conquest had brought about the intimate contact between the Spanish and the? Indians, the only way to form a true nation would be to fuse them." It was thanks to the Spaniards' iron rule that what had seemed

(1) The competition was held by the National Commission to Mark the Hundredth Anniversay of the Birth of Juarez« Entries were also submitted by men such as Gabriel Mancera, Victoriano Salado Alvarez and Pablo Macedo. There were three topics: the biography of Juarez, sociological study of the reform, and poetry about Juarez. Molina wrote on the second topic and received an accesit. Bee prologue to Porfirio Parra. Soc ioloqia de la Referma (Empresas Editori ales, Mexico, 1967), p. 7.

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impossible began to occur — the two enemy races who had be&n separated by an evolutional divide began to fuse. In view o-f: everything that had happened, the mixture of the two races was the best alternative open to Mexico; the Spaniards alone would not have been able to develop in a foreign environment and the Indians would not have been able to forge a civilization as advanced as the Europeans without the intervention of the Conquistadors. The only criticism that could be made is that it maybe would have been preferable to have delayed the conquest a few years so as to have given the Aztecs time to unite and form a single race and culture out of all the different Mexican indigenous groups. If this had happened the process of ethnic synthesis and the emergence of a new nation would have been easier* (1)
To Molina Enriquez,, however,, the circumstances that the Spaniards had been up against justified their course of action. They had acknowledged that education was no substitute for evolution and acted on this. They also provided the Indians with a legal framework and created a. series of sound laws. (2) Molina also affirmed that barring the Mest i zo Mar e1as s on 1y a Span i sh pr i nce cou1d have

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez , J u a r e z y la R e f ojrma (L i b r c -Me x Editores, Mexico., 1961), pp., 47-72.
(2) See Andres Molina Enriquez, S r e v e s i .
admin istraci6nde los Ayuntamientos del Estado de
(Casa Editorial La Idea del Siglo, Mexico, 1903), p. 32.
From this work on, Molina adopted colonial legal order
as a point of reference when he first used the argument that independence had transmitted the King of Spain's authority to the Mexican nation.

organised an orderly,. s t a b 1 e g o v e r n m e n t i n i n d e p e n d e n t Mexico. However, as this did not happen the scene was set for the emergence of the anarchy that characterised the "disintegration" period during which the Creoles, who had inherited the superiority of the Spaniards,, fought amongst themselves on the side of either the clergy or the government. Later, in 1854, Juan Alvarez defeated Santa Ana with the Ayutla Plan and this marked the start of the "transition" period,, D u r i n g t his p e r i o d t h e M e s t i z o s c a m e t o power in alliance with one of the Creole groups and tackled the Church,, which was the bastion of the other Creole faction. Finally, in 1876, General D£a;: implemented the T u x t e p e c P 1 a n w h i c: h cons o 1 i d a t e? d t h e M e s t i z o t. r i u m p h s o f • t. h e reform a n d t he r ® pub1i c, pav i ng the way f or the "i n teg r at i on '' period. This period was perpetuated by the "nationality" period, (i) Molina summed up as follows!!
Once the chicken has been formed it needs to leave the confines of its she 11 to hatch and become a fully-developecl bird. The ethnic group charged with
f o r m i n g t h e M e x i c a n n a t i o nal.it y w a s c r e a t e d b y m i v. i n g
the S p a n i s h r a c e w i t h t h e I n d i a n race. T h i. s m i x t u r e created Mestizos. Before the Mestizos emerged in their own right they had to overcome the obstacles in their
way. The independence allowed them to break out of
t h e i r s h e 11 s a n d t. h e d i s i n t e g r a t i o n p e r i o d c 1 e a r e d t. h e bits of shell that. remained in their way, laying the course open for the birth c-f a new nationality, (2)
There is no doubt that the Ayutla Plan was a watershed
in Mexico's hist o r y a s it p r" o v i d e d a ' 5 s t a r t i n g p o i n t f o r c u. r nationality." (3) After the implementation of the plan the Mestizos came to power with the great energy their Indian

(1) Mo1ina, Juarez, pp. 73-97.
(2) Ibid... p. 74.
(3) Ibid. , pp. 23-24.

blood gave, them to thank -for their victory,, Their evolution was retarded, however, because of their Spanish blcod. Although the Mestizos suffered the misfortunes of a hybrid race such as having inherited "Don Quixote's madness without any of Sane no's good sense",, they were? destined to eliminate the weaknesses of their races of origin and to preserve then-- advantages over the Indians and Creoles. It was clear just what these advantages were;
As t h e Mes 11 z os we r e 1 i n k ed to t h e I n d i an r ac e b y b 1 ood .,
as they possessed great energy, as they had no traditions of monarchy, as they had no religious traditions, as they had na aristocracy, and as they
for med a ma j o r i t y i. n t h e c our: t r y , t hey i mp r o ved t h e i. r living standards, were able to rightly call themselves true patriots and say they were the founders of the
M e x i c an n a t i o n a I i t y f r e e o f a 3.1 civil, r e 1 i g i o u s a n d traditional dependence, (i)

It is natural to wonder why the Mestizos had to turn to
the anti-clerical Creoles during the transition period when they had so many advantages, Molina did not waste much time in his e x p 1 B n a t i o n a n c! s a id that t h e Me s 11 z o s r' i n e x p e r i e n c e meant they were still not fit to rule. What they needed was the C r e o 1 e s * " a d m i n i s t r a t i v e science 11. h e a d e d b y C o m o n f o r t „ Nonetheless, this alliance was severely strained when the powerful predominantly Mestizo Constituent Congress gave the 1857 Constitution too racist a turn for the moderate Creoles.
(2) On top of this Miguel Lerdo de Tejada made a serious mistake when he failed to distinguish between the alienation laws for community property and commonly-owned property,.

(D Ibid. , pp. 114-115,
(2) Ibid. , pp» 101-133. According to Molina, the Mestizos intended to benefit from the distribution of the clergy's property.

which affected both the Church and the Indians, whose land was divided into lots that were so small that the only way to make a profit out of- them was to sell them off. Thus., the Creoles brake the alliance and the Ind i ans who had bsen affected supported their counterparts in the lower ranks of the clergy who had protected -them since the independence.
(1) The Three Year War broke out in the midst, of this isolation. With the cards stacked against them, the Mestizos would have been easily defeated had it not been for Ju.arez, who corrected Lerdo de Tejada's mistake by limiting the laws to church - o w n e d p r o p e r t y . T h i s m e a s LI r e a 11 r a c t e d e n o u g h support to ensure a Mestizo victory. Juarez's indomitable •will also brought about the final triumph of Colpulalpan through Degollado's effective although somewhat. limited military act i o n . T h :i. s t r i u m p h h e 1 p e d s t r e n g t h e n M e y-. i c a n nationality and all that had to be dons now was to show it off to the rest of the world. This was done? when Max imi11i an ' s Emp i re was finally defeated. (2)
M o 1 i n a E n r i q u e z ? s the o r y o f m e s t i :•: o p h i 1 i a w a s t h u s o n
the verge of 'ripening. He had made great progress in his work and had formed his basic idea. In this, his first, book,, he now affirmed that authoritarianism was insufficient to set a heterogenous Mexican society in order and that a nation could only be forged by er adicating racial difference. Besides calling himself a Mestizo in no uncertain terms and

(1) Ibid, pp. 123-146.
(2) Ibid, pp. 147-168.

trying to distinguish himself from the Creoles arc! the Indians (1), he said Spencer , Gumplowicz, Pimentel, Riva Palacio and Sierra had been his main sources•of inspiration. At this stage, he was also talking of the "grain zone" as a strategic' geographical centre and even went as far as to say-that he felt the Mestizo would sooner of later feel he was destined to be the "master of America." (2) There was contradiction, however, in his thoughts that he was never able to unravel which lay in the fact that while he acknowledged that there was no definite division between the different races., he insisted on applying general rules casuistically to twist reality to suit his rigid stereotypes. Although his thftOry did not clearly define his view of the agricultural problem at this stage, he had already brought the question of land tenure into focus through his treatment-of the history surrounding the race problem. What he still had to do was correlate it. specifically with the ethnic groups.

It only took Molina a few months to do this. During the presentation, of his draft of the waterways law he said the race problem could be resolved in relation to agriculture by: eliminating the differences which are the final remainders of the former differences between the races
and which divide the nation into the large country landowners, the haciendas, small estates with similar origins to the JTacien.d..a.s or created from haciendas that were split up, and communal lands (...) (3)

(1) IbidL. *. p. 123
(2) Ibid., pp. 31-46 and 113.
(3) Andres Molina Enr {quez, Proyecto de Ley de A.g.uas Federates para los Estadqs Unidos hexicanes- (Tip, Privately owned by Sociedad Agricola Mexicana, Mexico, 1906), p.24.

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Molina could not have been more explicit!: the different forms of land tenure corresponded to the different races. His theory on mest izophi 1 ia had. now been completed and he on i y had to dig a bit deeper to perfect it, and develop his •fundamental concepts. He did this in his book entitled Los q r an des p r ob 3. emas nac ion ales which w as p u. b 1 i s h e d i n b a o k 1 e t form by the El. ..._......!. i.emp.g newspaper « (1) Perhaps he had a p r emon i t i on of the fame h i s b oo k wou Id ac h i eve wh i c: h mad e h i m feel he had created "the clay model that would serve for a bronze casting of the definitive work in contemporary national history,," (2) Although it was unlikely that, the work that had yet to come would be the last on the subject, the ma s t e r d e s t :i. n e d t o c r e a t e t. h i s b r o n z e c a s t i n g w a s , o f c cu r se , And r es Mo 1 i n a En r i q ue z .

C) T h e C o n B o 1 i d a. t i o n o f M o 1 i n a ? s T h e o r y „

By 1908 Me x i c: o :1 s social and p o i i t i c a 1 e f f e r v e s c e n c e w a s running high and there were warnings in the air of the storm to come prior to Porfiro Dia.z's seventh re-election , which had b e e n n o t i c e a b 1 e from t h e p u b 1 i c a t i on of JssJ
Juarez . The times were marked by the biting attacks in the press mounted by Ricardo Flores MagOn and the "regenerators'', the bloody strikes at Cananea and Rio Blanco, the worsening of the clash between cientificos and reyistas (Demands Reyes' followers)

(i) I b Id JL 9 p. 31. Later, in 1909, Molina published excerpts from Los_ _gj.: a n des p r. o b 1. emas_ n a c: ion ales in the El Part ido jDg_moc_r A t ic o newspaper ,
42) Molina, Juarez., pp. 169-170.

the emergence of intellectual apposition groups, and the unusual Diaz—Creelman interview. These events created doubt about the invulnerability of the inveterate mythical peace of rule under Diaz, Meanwhile, Molina supported Bernardo Reyes' efforts to become Porfirio Diaz* successor and polished up his most important book in which he shaped his thoughts an mestizophi1ia once and far all from his office at the Nat i on a 1 Museum.
Finally,, in April 1909, he signed the prologue of Los
. qrand.es .problemas nac,i_gnaJLes . The book pa id cansiderab 1 e attention to detail (1), and to whet the reader's appetite, Molina set out the bases of his analysis in a "scientific note." According to Molina man needs oxygen and carbon to live because these .are the materials that produce energy in his organism. While oxygen is found in the air we breathe, i

carbon is on 1 y p r e s e n t i. n s u f i c i e n t qua n t i t i e s i n e d i b 1 e grains. From this Molina deduced that agriculture is of prime importance for society's existence, and the "•fundamental zone" of any civilization is the area where cereals a r e grown. In Mexico the "fun d amen t a1 z one" is located primarilly in the central plateau of the inland highlands. This region is the only part of the country where good-quality cereals are produced in quantities greater than those required by its inhabitants. Consequently this

(1) The following paragraphs only contain a synthesis of the contents of j=jgjjiL_gjrJa n d e s p r o b 1 em a s. n a c i o n a. 1 e s_ a n d a v o :i d
all comment and judgement that are not Molina*s own.

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area is the most density populated and power-fuI area in Mexico. This had such an effect on the lives of the Indians that numerous tribes from the north that came to live there evolved to a greater or lesser extent while they controlled it.
Their evolution, however, was relative, Mol ina gstfged
it by analysing ownership rights, which give an approximate indication of the level of development of any society. The scale he used ranged from a total lack of territorial ownership,, such as in nomadic societies, to the forms of private ownership which prevail in the most modern societies. The most advanced Me? x i c an I n d i an s we r e t h ose wh o 1 i ved i n t h e grain z one,, but even so, Mol in a. estimated that, they were barely halfway along the scale? when they were conquered by S p a i n ,, w h i c h w a s one a f t h e w o r 3. d ' s most p o w e r f u. 1 n a 11 o n s a t that time. Since the Spaniards were so much more advanced than the Indians it is only logical that integration began during the colonial period and not during the pre-Hispanic period. Land tenure played a very important role in this integration. The Spaniards' great legal instinct was second only to that of the Romans.; and they thought up and obtained a Ii2X§r_i.Di jjjli J£§r_~i.i bull f r o m the Pope to j u s t i f y the conquest and give the c r o w n r i g h t s o v e r- t h e n e w t e r r i t. o r i e s „ This led to a series of legal instruments for land division and created a new . social structure -- the Conquistadors, missionaries and their successors monopolised most rural land, but instead of making the land produce they saw i status symbol of their aristrocracy and lived cff incomes from mining or provided by the Church., r^cst c— the

immigrants in. Mexico belonged to the lower classes of Spanish society and they became small farmers or lived in settlements. The Mestizos.. who were the product of the mixture between Spanish men and Indian countrywomen, stayed on their ranches when they were recognized by their fathers or sought refuge in the lower ranks of the clergy when they were not. The Indians., who had been left with the poorest land, owned their land communally which was recognised by the Span i ards. As Mo1i na said, "all the soci o1og i ca1 aspects involved in the great problems of our development are rooted in the colonial period, which was our period of formation." (i)
Again Molina felt it was necessary to draw up another of
his scientific: notes to explain his concept of race., According to him, the influence of the environmental forces on what Haekel called the "internal formative? force" in his

History of ^reiat_ion produces racial groups in mankind. These groups expand within the confines of their geographical limitations and when they have grown sufficiently they start to undergo qualitative improvements through what Darwin called "selection." Once perfected, the races tend to expand beyond their natural confines and clash with other races. These clashes either herald the extinction of the race or its mixture with another. This explains why there are some states like Imperial Germany,, where the original race prevailed, and others like Great Britain where several races

(1) An d r 6s Mo 1 i n a En r i q ue z , Los•_ ..grand_es_.g.rob lemas ....JlA9JJ^~^Jjgjs (Era, Mexico, 1981)., pp. 73-99.

fused. Whatever the case "race" is understood as being "a group of people who have lived in the same conditions over a long time and have acquired certain uniformity in their organisation. This is indicated by certain unformity in their appearance." (i)
Once miscegenation had been legitimised,, Molina began
his description of the process of socio—ethnic change in Mexico. It showed that over time a slight mobility had emerged in the structure of the viceroyalty. The Creoles and some farming immigrants had gained limited access to the class of large landowners while the rest of the farmers of Spanish origins had gradually become Mestizos thanks to the g r owi ng race mix t u r e in rur a 1 a r eas. Me xice's i nde pend en c e consummated the phasing out of the stratification that had prevailed early on in New Spain,, After the expulsion of the Spaniards the Creoles monopolised the first rung of the social ladder and were divided into "Creole lords'5,., who took over the mines and land released after the sharing cut, and the "Creole c 1 e r g y " , w h o rep 1 a c e d t h e clerics t h a t. h a d b e e n expelled. The first group was divided into "conservatives" and "politicians or mode rat e s." T hey i mpr ove d t h e ir economic situation and became the nation's rulers while those in the second group, comprised of members of the clergy and lay assistants, made up the reactionary party., and moved up from the middle echesiastical I class to-the privile ^~qed class. The Mestizos became the owners of agricultural properties and

d) IbldL-j. PP« 102-104

left the ranks of the lower clergy to take advantage of the better options now open to them as office workers, professionals and "revolutionaries." The Indians filled trie-gap left by the Mestizos in the clergy, enlisted in the army, or stayed where they were as communal farmers and day-labourers. Finally,, a new group had appeared called the "new Creoles or liberals." This group emerged as a resu.lt of the arrival of non-Hispanic immigrants from Europe, whose origins were to than k f o r t h e i r 1 i b e r a 1 t en d en c: i es .
These racial groups formed the driving force in Mexico's history, which Molina explained along the lines set out in his study of the reform. However, by this time he had developed his early ideas and was in a position to explain some of his points more clearly. These included the alliance b et ween the politic: a 1 C r eo 1 es and t h e Mest i z os to c omb at t h e Church, which he attributed to the fact that their interests coincided — the groups which -were more monarchist than. Catholic wanted to impose their hegemony by diminishing the wealth of the clergy,, which they wanted to keep for themselves. The link between the two groups was Comonfort, whose intermediary position as a new Creole allowed him to attract support from both sides. Nonetheless, to appease the Catholics and the moderate Creoles, represented by Lerdo, they had to disguise their attack against the clergy and hand over the confiscated land to the liberal Creoles. This prejudiced the interests of the Indian owners of communal property and the Mestizos. The Church took advantage of their discontent and counterattacked the government with the help of Indian soldiers and clergy under the direction i<-;:

Creole clergy. Their action drove off the conservative Creoles involved in the struggle and won a position of neutrality for the new or liberal Creoles. Then Ju.arez, who was confused about the Mestizos., took the movement over and solicited help from the United States in his haste to find a solution, He handed over military leadership to the "immense1y b r i11i ant" Dego11ado who mounted two dec isi ve interventions. Degollado understood that power could only be held by whoever was in control of the grain zone and he prevented the reactionaries from consolidating their control of the capital., Likewise, when he saw that the Mestizos were seising the property that had belonged to the clergy he persuaded J u a r e z t o i s s u. e nation a 1 i s a t ion laws,, A11 h o u. g h a 11 these actions paved the way for the victory of the reform and the establishment of the first formal Mestizo government, they did not prevent the imposition of a Second Empire. However, as Sierra pointed out, the intervention was destined to fail because of its inability to grasp the significance of the r o 1 e o f the d i f f e r e n t r a. c i a 1 elements. T o t r i u m p h , t h e groups that opposed the Mestizos should have been brought together to repudiate the liberal reforms, as this would have harmed the interests of those who gained most from those reforms (the new Creoles) most of whom were French. France did not find either of these options acceptable and decided to allow Maximillian and his only allies., the conservative Creoles who now had nothing to do with the reactionary Creoles, fall. Thus, the demise of the empire showed the world "the strength of the Mestizo government.'' (i)

For Molina, this part of history. which covered the disintegration and transition periods., was axtremsley important. If the colonial period "had inclined towards the •fusion of all the groups" (2), independence increased the friction betwen the different racial elements when it broke with the rigid structure of the viceroyalty and pressed forward along the long path towards integration. "The greatest advantage of the republican form is to have created • civil equality which favoured contact, mixing and the fusion of the two races, opening the way for the creation of a single race." I. n sp i t e of ever y t h i n g , howeve r , t he r e i s still a clear division between the races which justified the us© of the "cer t a i n1y i ncomp1et e s n d def&cti v e'' b ut va1i d classification to describe the relation between the racial. groups and the social classes, (3) This classification prevailed d u r i. n g t h e i n t e g r a 1 period a n d w a s a d d e d t o t h a n k s to two events that occulted during the porfirist regime. With the cons o 1 i d a t i o n of Me s t i. z o r u 1 e , t h e r e v o 1 u t i o n a r i e s w e r e relegated to ''director 11 status and became civil servants,, military chiefs and official and rural "army" officers. The second event was the development of the railway and industry which attracted immigrants from Europe and the United States on a temporary basis. During this process., workers were divided into two g r o ups — sk i11ed and unski11ed wo r k e r s.

U) IkidjLj. PP- 102--117
(2) "ibid. ... p. 97.
(3) Ibid^i p. 105

These groups were composed of Mestizos and Indis.ni respectively. So in the year 1909 the different races wen divided into the following social classes:

Foreigners

Creoles

Upper or
pr i v i 1 e> -ged
classes Mesti z os

Ind ians

U,S.Americans

Europeans

New lords Moderates

r ii e r g y

Di rectors-
Professionals
0 f f i c: e w o r k e r s
Army
„ S k i 11 e d I a b o u. r e r s
Low-ran k ing c1e r g y

C o n s e r v a t i v e s

Middle Mestizos S m a 11 1 and owners
classes and farmers

Sold iers
Lower- Indians Unskilled labourers
classes Communal landowners
Day labourers

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Molina -felt there were serious irregularities in trvjs structure as the existence of solid lower classes and a broad middle class meant these groups could put up resistance to the oppression of the privile qed classes. But this was not the case because only "five categories of the lower classes., three of which are comprised of Indians, bear the colossal weight of the twelve upper, or privileged, classes." As a result:

For now our society is disproportionate and top-heavy.
From the thorax up it has the body of a giant and from
the thorax down it has the body of a child., The weight
of the upper part is so great that the body as a whole
has problems in keeping itself upright and it could even topple over. its feet, are getting weaker every day. (i) Indeed this was one of the matters left over from the integration period — the economic problems originating from the faulty structure? of Mexican society had yet to ce solved. The hoarding wealth b y t h e m i n o r i t y , the un eq ua 1 d i st r i b u11 on and inefficient use of most of Mexico's territory, the oppression suffered by the farming communities and the
v

stagnation of industry, which was a result of the lack of a domestic market, were the consequences of racial heterogeneity and the socio-economic heterogeneity this in turn produced. Society had to be balanced by achieving racial integration and imposing social justice if these problems were to be solved. (2)

(1) JLPJUii..« PP- 304-305. Molina does not explain the sequence of the groups in social struct LITE- on the previous page.
(2) Ibid., pp. 305-322.

What Molina had said up this paint implies that tha

racial groups -fitted in with speci-fic characterizations to a

certain extent. We can see from the following quotation that

Molina had no doubts about thiss

The Creole is generally of upper class blood. Typical Creole su r n arnes are Esc an d on , 11 u r b a , Ce r v an t es , L an d a ,
Cor t i n a , Cue vas , d e 1 a Tor re, R i n.c 6 n . P i men t e 1 , Ru 1 , Terrenos, Moncada, Perez, Galvez, Icaza etc. The Creole
is generally fair-skinned like the people in the south,,
or olive-skinned, Olive-skinned is defined by the Academy as a colour between fair and dark with dark eyes rather than blue eyes. He is proud and is more f r i v o 1 o u s than serious- H i s o v e r a. 1 i a. p p e a r a n c e i. s delicate and refined. Generally he is a Man of the World,, polite, educated and refined. His gestures are elegant and he is pleased by honours and likes courtly
man n e r s„ He p a i nt s c oat s of a r ms on his c a rri ag es and calls himself "decent." (I)

In contrastj"the moral characteristics of the pure-blooded

Indians stemmed and still stem from their servile submission?

those who have been incorporated are hypocrites,, the subdued

Indians are sineere and the Christian Indians are

semi-idolatrous." The following was said of the Mestizos:

The Mestizo is plebeian, His typical surnames are Perez ,, H e r n a n d e z ? F lores etc. H e i s d a r k •••- s k i n n e c! b u t
for the women this colour is said to be brown-skinned. Their s k in is d a r i-;: e r" t h a n t h e s kin of t h e s o u t h e r n Europeans but not as dark as the pure-blooded Indians,
The coastal Mestizo is coffee-coloured. His hair is usually dark and unruly:, and his beard is sparse and black. His body is.thickset and strong. He is serious and has a strong, melodious voice. The Mestizo, who has
a 1 w a y s been p o o r ., i s r u d e , s u s p i c i o u s , r e s 11 e s s a n d ——

) Ibid.., p. 106. The reader should note that the Creole described here is the typical Creole lord. Mo1 ina associated other surnames with the new Creole, such as Barren, Robert., Dupont, Durst, Lanz, Henkel , Lancaster,, Comonfort. Likewise he used different adjectives to describe them and these included the words "hard-working, sober, thrifty, cautious, calculating, extremely envious. Educated., sociable and wise." See ~£ii-t t P • * * ~ •

1 t'-ltl

impetuous. However,, he is also stubborn,, loyal, generous and patient- Nothing portrays him better than the word "chinaco" which the "decent people" use to describe him. "Chinaco'1 comes from the word "ch inacat 1" which can be translated literally as meaning "shabby."
He enjoys the sensual pleasures. He is not as elegant
as t h e Creole lords nor as given to 1uxur y in his spending habits as the Creoles who later on are called
"new Creoles." He is simply a spendthrift, (i)

Although the Mestizo was the result of the union between the Creoles and the Indians, he yearned for separation and to triumph over these groups for whom he felt mutual aversion. The Mestizos felt repugnance for Catholicism and the? Creoles' "feelings of authority" just as they did for the Indians' idolatry and " w r e t c h e d s e r v i 1 i t; y » { ' T h i s e x p 1 a i n e d w h y t h e y fought with a "mixture of 'anti-religious, egualitarian, \
vengeful,, i c o n o c 1 a s tic f e r" v o u r '! t o f r e e t. h e m s e 1 v e s o f t h e i r shackles and why they turned to "liberalism and aspired to the c o m f o r t that, w o u 1 d p e r m it the m t o i m p r o v e t h e i r r a c e . This was obvious to Molina and he said that the phenomenon could be -described as "something as clear,, certain and easy to prove historically that there is no need to study it in depth in this study." (2)
Non et h e1 ess, afte r this we c ouId be 1eft won d e ri ng
e x a c11y of what did the a d van t ages offe r ed by th e Mest iz o consist that made Molina consider him as the element that was to be responsible for giving -form to the new Mexican nationality. The answer to this question lay in the Mestizos' energy which came from his "anthropological background and selective strength" on the Indian side. ————• ————

(D Ibid..., P. 110.
(2) IbicU, pp. 108-110

Molina said that the Mestizo was not "a new race" but -formed a part o-f the Indian race as an element that had undergone changes because of the mixing with Spanish blood. Riva Palacio correctly said that the Indians were physically-superior to the other races., which showed that they went back to "very early times and are made? up o-f units of very powerful racial strength." He also said that this strength made them superior to the whiteman, Proof of this lies in the fact that they were able to adapt, without any trouble to the most inhospitable areas of Mexico where the Conquistadors did not dare go. On the other hand,, the Spaniards were drained of their energy in America and met their downfall in Europe. The idea behind t h i s w a s t. h a t a 1th o u g h t. h e w h i t e race was superior in terms of "action" as a result of its mor"e advanced evolution,, the Indians were superior in terms of "resistance" which came from their more advanced selection.

Molina explained this strange distinction with another
of his scientific notes-, saying that evolution is always a consequence of selection., which can either occur on an individual or collective level. In-dividual evolution ensures the survival of the fittest individuals within any particular group — as in the case of overpopulated China, These individuals adapt to their environment while collective evolution measures the survival of the strongest group out of several groups by perfecting the individuals in it, and Molina cites the case of beligerant France as an example. Tne geographical isolation of the Mexican Indians meant they belonged to the first category as they adapted to their

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environment better than any other people in America, This explains why they are not famed -for their physical beauty '--~ their culture and are noted for their strength to resist physical hardship. They passed on their strength in its full force to the Mestizos because just a small number of Spaniards and Creoles had mixed with countless Indian women. Furthermore, the Mestizo men continued mixing their blood with that of .the Indian women, leading to the gradual absorption of the Indian. This explains why the Mestizo came to prevail and dictate what the shape of Mexican nationality would be. (1)
Molina felt this situation implied that the Mestizo had
not always been destined to wield power. During the transition period his political predominance was strengthened when the nationality law was passed. This law was passed "reluctantly" by the Creole Lerdo de Tejada but failed to balance society by establishing a middle class of small landowners as had been intended. Although the law permited the Creoles and even the Mest :i. zos to se i ze Ind i an property i t did not divide up property owned by the Church. If that had been done as the Mestizo Ocampo had wanted, "the peace that characterised the times of Po rf i r i o D i a z an d fi11s us wi th pride could have been peace for all time." (2) In any case., there, was peace and with it came the man responsible for it thanks to his "inspired, happy and fortunate policies." That

<D Ibid. , pp. 333-354
(2) Ibid., pp. 118-131

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man was Porfino Diaz, the great Mestizo, who was successful because he managed to triumph over all the different sides and racial groups. He concentrated Mexico's political power and exercised it by handing out favours and by being firm., which he determined according to the "amount of steel in each race." Thus, this man who had "deep knowledge of the Mestizos" gave them posts in public office, backed their corruption and alloted them excessively large budgets, He also gave his revolutionary friends posts in the cabinet,, the senate and diplomatic: missions where they mixed with Creoles. He turned the office workers and professionals into civil servants, the farm workers into soldiers, and the bandits formed rural batal lions. Unfortunately., neither the treasury nor industry could support all the Mestizos and there are still many of them today who disturb the peace with their passionate protests in penny dreadful-type newspapers which spread their "vague., disorderly » confused aspirations." Nonetheless, although General Diaz identified himself with the Mestizos and saw his own "ilk, race,, nationality and the future" in them., he also saw the need to bestow f avours on the Creo1e 1ords, whose opin i ons were aired in- El Tiempo (1)? and the Creole clergy, who were repesented by El Pais. He also felt he had to punish all these groups just as Louis XI or Richelieu would have dons when he thought it was necessary- His iron fist thus guaranteed political order and his regime could be described as "the viceroysIty

(1) The reader should remember that Molina published excerpts from j=j3S__g_r.a.ndes problemas nacigng.les in
"Creole" daily.

adapted to the circumstances." As a result of having successfully brought the different racial groups together under his government.. Diaz has been described as having carried out a task hitherto "unprecedented in the history of mankind." (1) Diaz., however, was always faithful to his friends and protected the Creoles' property. This act constituted the first major problems that affected all of Mexico. A train journey through the grain zone showed just how unproductive the broad expanses of land belonging to the a n d 9 b a s i n g h i m self on 0 r o z c o and J o v e 1 1 a n o s ,
Molina said that the hiacji^erida represented a. form of unfair,, unproductive "rural feudalism" kept alive by the "pride and vanity" of the landowners. On the h_a CJL. e rjLd_a_§ ., he said the dictatorial owners "give orders., shout, hit, punish, imprison., rape, a n d e v e n k i 11" w i t h o u t. h a v i n g t o s u f f e r t h e legal cons e q u e n c e s o f t h e i r a c t s . He added that the hac ien_o_a s w e r" e a was t e o f t h i s i m p a r t a n t r e g i o n w h i c h wo u 1 d h a v E produced enough grain to allow the population to expand if it had been populated by small farmers. As always., the victims of the evils of the outdated large land holdings were the Indians and the Mestizos., who occupied the lowest rungs o~
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the social ladder.
In this situation the only feasible option was to divide
the hac ien das up and sell them. Molina proposed that laws should be drafted to tax property and provide incentives fcr voluntary division. As a last resort he proposed forcing t!~e

d) Ibid., pp. 132-147.

expropriation and compulsory division of the land on the death of -the owner. Although the last proposal may sound as if it breaches the right, to own property privately., we should remember:

in our country, all restrictions on the ownership of private property that aid the formation, constitution
and consolidation of our nation shall be constitutional
and 1 e g i t i m a t e as 1 o n g a s t h e y d o not s e n d p r i v a t e? 1 a n d ownership under. (1)

However,, for the division of large properties to serve this aim,, the plots of land had to go to the Mestizos as any other outcome wo u 1 d have d i s t u r b e d t h e r- a c i a. 1 b a 1 a n c e a ~ h i e v e c! b y Porifiro Diaz and would have worsened the social situation because it would have "shifted the nation's centre of gravity" from under the feet of those who have sustained it "through" their c 1 o s e n e s s t o t h e 1 a n d s the i r i n d e p e n d e n c e a n d the i r energy„" (2)
The second s e r i. o u s n a t i o n a 1 p r o b i e m s t e m s 4- r o m t h i s situation . In an attempt to prevent the privile qed class comprised of foreigners and new Creoles using their wealth to take over the Jl^JLiJLQJ^s seised from the Creole lords the Mestizos had to be given the purchasing power they did not possess. Failing this,, the benefits gained from the division of the land would be "immensely offset by the swelling of the upper classes,, the distance put between them and the lower classes, and by the lack of weight in the middle classes." This would cause "poverty" which history has shown is "the

d) Ibid*-- P- iao -
(2) IbidL, pp.151-199

leprosy that eats away at us." (1) This reeant that a system of land loans had to be established to give the Mestizos access to the land in question,, and Moiina also made a legal analysis of this situation. However,, without water land is worthless,, so Molina included the prob 1 err; of irrigation in his, study as the third great national problem. Water is not an abundant resource that can always be counted on in Mexico and given this, he applied the arguments on which he based his w a t e r w a y s 1 a w t o s o 1 v e t h e p r o b 1 e m o f i r r i g a t. i o n i n t. h e grain zone. (In it^js strictest sense, the grain zone is the "basic grain-growing area that provides Mexico's general foodstuffs" because beans are also cultivated there.) (2) With land for small-scale farming at their disposal, loans to purchase it and water to make it yield, the Mestizos were now equipped to take over the nation.
T h e f o u r t h g r e a t n a t i o n a 1 p r o b i e m c o n c e r n e d t h e population. Molina paid special attention to this problem and studied it in great detail from the way Mexicans hold their jtpjrt. _i_l_ jjas a t m e a 11 i m e s t o the w a y t h e c o n s u m p t i c:.' n capacity of each of the racial groups created a. chronic crisis in the t.orJLiiL§. industry. He explained that this ail affected the distribution and structure of the population and is reflected in society's warping. He said that the "absurd Creole" immigrant did not provide the solution to the problem because as well as fostering unfair discrimination against

t» PP- 17S and i99
.- See P-E-i cit ' s pp< 200~ 23b

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the Mexican people in their own land,, he had shewn himsel^ be unsuitable because of the problems of adapting to Mexico's harsh conditions -faced by other races, Molina felt, that the Mexican people had everything they required to be able to develop, defend themselves and triumph in the inevitable clash with Mexico's nflffrhern neighbours in the United States when the process of miscegenation has been completed. He said the Americans owe their prosperity to the-: richness of their territory and are 'weak because they are ma.de up of elements that are evolutionally advanced and who reject mixing with race s wit h a d v an c ed s e1ecti vity. He es t i mated that when Me x i CD'S p o p u. 1 a t i o n had g r o w n in a r o u n c! 5 0 y e a r s time to same 50 million inhabitants, (i) it would send droves of wo r k e r s to t h e U n i t e d £ t a t e s.• T hese worke rs wo u1d b e different t o t h e p e o p 1 e o f t h a. t n a 11 o n , W h e n t h e miscegenation process has reached its peak;
as will u n d CD u b t e d 1 y happen., o u r p o p u. 1 a t i o n .„. w h i c h w i 11
be comprised of people who are superior to the Indians
who currently go to the United States., will then make-: their power and acts felt with greater intensity (...)
The futu r e h o1ds many sur pr i ses for us. (2)
The fifth and final national problem is political and
was so important for Molina that he made out.another of his scientific notes for it. Molina also developed the ideas expressed in his other explanations in his treatment of this specific problem. In this case he tried to show that the fatherland is an organic extension of the family. He felt that over time this extension which stems from the family's

U) Ibid- * p. 356.
(2) I, b i. jj.., pp. 352-353. Mclina goes into this print mere in OjE_-__cjLJLi f PP- 278-356.

"unity of origins, living conditions and activities" would be equated with "the physical characteristics, customs, language,, certain conditions related to the state of evolution,, and the desires, aims and general tendencies" which in turn would generate "unity of the ideal." In short, he described the fatherland as "the unit of common ideal" and added if the fatherland is to exist there nnu.st be homogeneity. The clash between the "two different groups" must be reso 1 ved by p r. o d LI c i ng one s i ng 1 e g roLIp wh i ch can develop its own social cohesion." (i)
Molina considered Justo Sierra's definition of the fatherland as "the home and altar" was "too deep although correct." The altar symbolized the common ideal and the home represented the people and their territory, In Mexico, the home was not solid because the Indians" communally-owned property lacked the roots that ind i vidual ly-owne.d property-had. Li kewi s e, t he 1 a r ge p ro pe r t ies o wn ed by C reo i e individuals lost these roots because of the "extension of rights." He c o n s i d e r e d it w a s m o r- e sen o u. s . h o w ever , n o t t o have an altar becau.se this implies a lack of unity with respect to origins., religion, physical characteristics,, customs, language, evolution, desires, aims and aspirations, As a result of this there cannot be a common ideal., As a

IkidN' PP. 359-370. According to Molina the clash between the two "different groups" depends on "the social cohesion coefficient" of each. If one or both come apart in the clash,, the fragments will keep the cohesion that' its group had and will absorb or will be absorbed depending on the size of its coefficient.

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group in itself, the Indians totally lacked unity while the Creoles had common ideals, although they considered Spain and not Mexico was their -fatherland. On the other hand, the

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Mestizos were united in both senses and this explains why they did not betray their country in history as the Creoles had done. In view of this., Molina considered that land division and the improvement of living standards as proposed would consolidate the home aspect. "When all the republic's inhabitants have a home, they will have to defend it and none other if we find ourselves at war against a foreign power." The creation of an altar, howflter , presupposes that the factors related to the ideal have been united,, and we should study each of these factors, (i)
First of all, Molina continued his speculation and said that unity of origin would exist once the "adopted" members of the Mexican "family",, or the Creoles, had been "dissolved" and "merged" to form a part of it., He said that the Creoles would naturally try to prevent this happening at all costs and would call on the help of some of the "lost Mestizos'5 and foreigners. This would meean Mexico running the risk of becoming another Cuba or Poland. In order to rule out this danger, the Mestizos would have to neutralise the Creoles 11 foreign inclinations using Theodore Roosevelt's arguments f r

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m ZbJ§-^IDSJlL£JlD_'.Ideal..... This wou 1 d involve using f o r e i g n capital to finance agricultural reform and would attract

(D Ibid. . pp. 375-396.

powerful interests in support of their efforts to shape the Mexican nation. Secondly, he said that the bases of religion had already been established and only needed to be strengthened. All the racial groups were Roman Catholic in their own way which meant that only the" Mest izos •" liberal tendencies would have to be surmounted -for there to be religious uniformity. The question of physical appearance was the third aspect on Molina's list and he said there would be uniformity when the Mestizo had become generalised., adding that it. wou Id help to tell them that "their ap p s a r an c e w i 11 be improved and more refined when they have obtained their well-deserved standards of welfare." The -Fourth question dealt with customs., the dreadful influence principally from

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the United States which undermined Mexico's moral values and affected e a t i n g h a b i t s ;i w a y s o f d r e s s ing and 1 i f e in g e n e r a 1 . However, since the Mestizos had more weight than the American invaders., Molina expressed his confidence that they would be able to impose their "pure and healthy" traditions sooner or later. " (i)
To achieve unity in language -— the fifth point —•, "our beautiful 'Spanish language" must be taught to all the Indians and -must be defended against foreign influences, Molina"s sixth point., evolutional unity implied the promotion of Indian and Mestizo development and the holding back of the Creoles., He said, however, that it was unfortunate that the

d) Ibid. 5 pp. 396-409.

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'fusion of the racial groups would bring about the loss of some of Mexico's finest culture in its early stages, but that the homogeneity produced by the fusion would accelerate long-term progress. Molina saw this as the only alternative open to Mexico because by now the •« Creole belief in the substitution of education. for evolution, as Elysee Reclus proposed in Los Primi t1 y gs , was an outmoded f a 1 se impress i on of real ity. Finally,, his last point concerned the unity gf
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desires, aims and aspirations. He said that unity would come from one person alone — the Mestizo. "The Creole is worth little as a c o n s t. i t u e n t f actor of nationalit y b e c a u s e h e i s weak" whereas the Mestizo, who possesses the best, traits of the Indians ,, '' c: o u 1 d n o t b e a more p o w erf u 1 o r s t. r o n g e r '' a s his rise to power has demonstrated. (1) He went on to say that the remaining C r e o 1 e s a n d I n d i a n s w o u 1 d h a v e t. a b e "adapted" to the Mestizo so as to be able.to "form a true strong, powerful nation with one life and one soul" with the back ing of the country's whole population. (2)
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As we can see., for Molina all the factors of unification leading to the creation of a common ideal would come from the f u s i o n o f t h e d i. f f e r e n t e t h n i c g r o u p s , c u 1 m i n a t i n g i n t h e creation of a single race in Mexico, As with "any work undertaken in the future for the good of the country" the fusion would be produced by the "continuation of the Mestizos

(1) According to Molina.,, "There are exceptionally few Mestizos who do not have great aims." .Ibid. ,
(2) Ikidj.., PP" 409-424,

as the prevailing ethnic element providing Mexico's oolitical leaders." So why the Mestizos? ho Una's answer to this is that they comprise the largest., strongest, most patriotic group in Mexico. (1) Once the home and the altar had been est ab 1 i sh ed nobody won Id complain about his lot or envy wh a t anyone else had because the "notion of patriotism" would be

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e^MT/body will be a member of the same -family with the freedom to exercise his right of action united in the fraternity of the common ideal and obliged by this
f r a t e r n i t y t o e q u a 1 1 y d i s tribute t h e p r c -c it of t h e common inheritance, and to display mutual toleration for
d i f f e r e n c e s o r i g i n a. t i n g from this profit.

Molina felt that once everybody thought like this,, "when class d i f f e r e n c e s a n d d i f f e r e n c e s i n 1 1 v ing s t a n d a r d s t h a t. have set our people at odds with each other, have disappeared.," when we have . managed to make domestic development thanks to our own efforts and without foreign influences (as recommended by Spencer and as .Japan did), in short, when "the Mestizos have completed their work," Mexico will be great. "Then there will be a Mexican fatherland." (2)
The fatherland must be preserved and to do that it must
be able to defend itself both materially and mor all y-sp ea k ing. Mo 1 1 n a. d r e w up a st r at eg i c military pi an to ensure Mexico's material defence. On the subject of moral defence, he proposed maintaining development, unity and

idi* PP- 357-359.
(2) Ibid.,, pp. 424-427

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the "strength of spirit" of love towards the? fatherland, (1) He was equally precise in his recommendations for Mexico's foreign policy. For matters outside the confines of the continent,, he said that the most sensible course of action would be to accept the Monroe Doctrine and support the United States and the rest of the continent. In affairs gene-rated within the continent itself he said the best policy was non-intervention. Here Mexico's qecpolitical situation had the advantage of being "morally healthy" given that its relations with a powerful country such as the United States allowed it to understand weaker nations like Guatemala, and vice versa. In other words, he felt that Mexico's relations with its neighbours should be based on "friendship and generosity" towards its Guatemalan brothers and on "dignity and friends h i p r ' t o w a r d s U n i t e d States- He added t h a t t h e? r e was no reason for aggression towards the United States as each n a t i o n '''' h a s a s o u i t h a t a 1 w a y s fo o w s d o w n to id e a 1 s o f superior justice" and it puts this before its material interests. Moreover., in consideration of its sheer size, Mexico is not and will never pose a threat to its northern neighbour. (2)
This e x p 1 a i n s t h e e s s e nee. o f M o i i n a ' s the o r y o n mestizophi1ia as he described it in his book Los_qranges groble ma s____ jxacjijiinj.J^es „ For A n d r e s M o i i n a E n r i q u e :•: t h e conditions that were necessary for the great transformation

U) Ibid. , pp. 428-431
(2) Ibid. , pp. 434-448

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to take place already existed:

It is high time we form a nation •— the Mexican nation
— in the proper sense of the word, and we must ensure that this nation has absolute sovereignty over its destiny and is lord and master of its future. (1)

The Revolution would illustrate the truth behind his words

In short, the die had been cast.

d) Mo 1 i n a ? s Th ear y Rev i sed .

Los.,., grand es __ p r ob 1 e m as n a c i g n a 3. e s was not exactly a

publishing success. (2) and Madero's book La__.m Sj=i

(The President ial Succession) definitely had

more impact on intellectual and political circles.

Nonetheless. Los grandes problemas became gradually popular

as agrarian refor^Ft progressed and as foreign academics -as

will be noted later- praised it in their words about Mexico.,

This should not be considered a surprise: the book turned out

to be prophetic in more senses than one.

(2) Testimonies available coincide on this. In his speech on the reconstitution of ejjjdos given in the Chamber of Deputies (3 Dec» 1912), Cabrera said Los qrandes P^rP^J^iB^^-Jl^^^^^^-^^ was a book that hardly anyone had read and he said this was because it was "extremely heavy" and it contained few quotations from foreign authors. According to Cuadros Caldas the book was withdrawn from circulation on orders from Porfirio Diaz.

See Cabrera, "Discurso ...'•', in Ob r as. .c omp 1 et as , c i. t._ , vol. I, p. 141, and Julio Cuadros Caldas, Mexico soviet (Santiago Loyo ed., Puebla, 1926), p. 9.

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Molina's hopes grew with the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. However,, when he thought the movement was coming to its end without having found a solution to the nation's great problems., his desperation led him, as we have said, to insurrection and imprisonment. While he was in prison he was given a booklet by his friend Carlos Basave in which Wistano Luis Qrozcoj who had been a source of inspiration and teacher to him, attacked his project for agrarian reform,, saying that it constituted an attempt on the freedom to hold private property. From his prison cell, Molina set to writing a response to Orozco's criticism, which he ent it led.JPj.Jj5so;fi.a de fnis ideas sabre Jief^armas aqrarias (The Philosophy of My
Ideas On Agrarian Reform)- In this 'work, Molina reiterated
his "radical" opinion that "property exists for society" and not the other way round. This undoubtedly was the most revealing statement in Molina' s booklet. Although Molina was only really i nvo1ved in an aqrari an argument and sa id he had based his proposals on the project to "germanize" Polish Prussia, he did not lose sight of his main objective which was to bring about Mexico's "social and economic transformation so as to create an organic nationality with greatness and strength, wealth and good fortune,." (1)
Molina i n t e r r u p t e d h i s w r i t ing for s e v e r a 1 y e a r s CD r.

(1) An d r es Mo i i n a En r i q ue z , F i 1 oso.f i a d e ...m.^s._JL djeji- s__sob- re reformas aqrar ias. Con testae ion al__f o 3, 1 e t o d e 1 S r_._
Lie . D. W i st an o Luis Or o z c o (signed in the Me x i c o Penitentiary 30 Oct. 1911; booklet printed in Guadalajara), pp. 5, 10 and 15. "Great social change," said Molina, "cannot be brought about by one person. As
my intelligent friend Carlos Basave says, the main thing is to "open the way" so that the current itself car; form the channel later."

account of the Revolution.. Although he did not abandon his journalistic and academic activities completely, his bureaucratic duties absorbed a great deal of his time. Finally in 1920,, he made his reappearance with ths publication of C1 as if i c a c i 0 n d e la s ciencias _ f jjudamg. uta. je s (Classification of the Fundamental Sciences). This book was published thanks to his "good friend",, the "wise rector" of the N a t i o n a 1 U n i v e r s i t y o f M e x i c a, Jo s e Vase o n c e I o s . I n i t M o 1 i n a e n d o r s e d h i. s p o s i t i v i s t f a i t h b y i n c I u d i n g a compilation of the doctrines of Comte and Spencer, and their s c i e n t i f i. c c 1 a s s i f i c a t i o n s , a n d g a v e hi s o w n o r d e r" a n d nomenclature for the basic sciences. (i) At about the same time h e w r o t e a n a r t i c 1 e i n w h i c h he r e p e a t e c! h i s r e j e c t i o n of immigration. This article contained signs of the turn his thoughts would soon take and in it he stressed that "the Mestizos are r e a11 y Ii 111e more than Indi a n s who have undergone a few changes." He also referred to Cuauhtemoc as a heroe and called Cortes a villain. (2) Two years later,, he expressed his uncensored ideas on a legal analysis that had b een mad e of t h e i 917 Con st i t u. 11 on in a r a r e b u 1 i et i n published by the Interior Secretariat, which was headed at
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that time by Plutarco El£as Calles. In his articles, letters and interviews, he declared that the Constitution was imposed

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez, C las if icac ion de. 3, as c i en_c_ias (Antigua 1m p r e n t a d e M u r g LI i a , M e x i c c ,
1920), pp. 3 and
(2) Andres Molina Enriquez, "El problema de la coloniza-nacional", in Rev i st a de EC: ongmj: a^ Rural (Me x i c o ,
pp., 27-38.

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on society by a minority and i-F the Spaniards really had been the beneficiaries o-f the great Roman legal instinct., then Mexico as "the most difficult land on earth to govern" was Spain's beneficiary because representatives of the whole spectrum of human evolution lived among its people. (1) In 1924, in a speech given to mark the death of Zapata, Mo 1 ina displayed awareness of a "geoethnic" distinction which.

•t although it was given little importance in his opinion of the

country., acknowledged that northern Mexico was predominantly Creole and the south was Indian while "a perpetual racial struggle'1 was being waged in the centre. This meant that instead of speaking of national problems it was more accurate to speak of regional problems.. (2) After a few years of silence, Molina published a booklet in 1929 which manifested the impending onset of his future campaign against the university. He described the institution as being behind the times and said it was incapable of feeling the peoples" "palpitations." This prompted him to propose the creation of a system of primary education for teaching language under the term "school of expression." This proposal gives us an

(*) JJJlgJLgJLLD-- d e * a Secreta.ria d e G o b e r n a c i 6 n , vol. ! , no. 4 (Imprenta de la S.G., Mexico., Sept. 1922), pp* 12 and 85 •'
(2) Andres Molina bnriquez, Aspectos de la cuest i 6r\ _ag_r_ajr_ia (excerpts from the official speech given in Iris Theatre
on behalf of the National Agrarian Con-federation, Mexico, 10 April 1924). In this speech Molina affirmed that the northeners were concerned with political problems because of their ethnic characteristics while
the southerners were concerned about agricultural problems, in an apparent allusion to Madero and Zapsta.

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insight into his reevaluat ion of his -former low concept of education and shows that he now saw education as tne means to instil awareness of the differences of race and nationality in Mexico's children, (i)
Nonetheless Molina? s scanty intellectual production during the two decades following the publication of Los qrandes prgblemas nac ion ales added very little to the theory of meet izophi 1 ia that he had developed in it. He made no major changes to his theory as it was presented in 1909 until the 1930s when his thinking underwent a marked polarization. The new version of his rnest izoph i 1 ia began to take shape in the first volume of his t h i r d a n d final boo k La
aqrar ia (The Agrarian Revolution}., published in 1932. The following are a few of his new ideas: he said the world was divided between two cultures corresponding to the East and the West. These culture are differentiated by their form of writing, taking into consideration both the visual and phonetic forms. He also reaffirmed his belief that the cause of the differences between the racial groups was their form of evolutionary selection, which hs said occulflffed Either on an individual or collective level, (2) He said that the Mexican Indians originally came from Asia and that America would have to act as the bridge between East and West. It is significant to note that he repeated his belief that the

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez, La reforma urgente de la escuela £IlJj!}JJLL§ elemental ^ % un n.uevc t ipo _g_e
un iversidad para los estados (Rev i st a d e C i a n c ia s
• 'Economicas y Sociales, Mexico, 1929), pp. 13 and 5-9.
(2) Molina, j-a_JRevolnci6n aqraria, vol. I , pp. 11-29.

different people o-f the world do not share a "common path 11 nor a single goal in their course towards "civilization" while he insisted that the Spaniards were "more- advanced" than the peoples they conquered. (1) He denigrated Cortes and the? Conquistadors -for having taken advantage o-f the peaceful nature of most of the Indians to exterminate them and spoke of the " indiani zat ion" o-f the white immigrants thanks to environmental factors, the black influence and the formation of castes. Finally., he affirmed that the process of miscegenation,, which resulted -from the "meeting of two cultures",, tended to come down more an the Indian side than on the Spanish side giving examples such as the land ownership system., language,, handc.rafts, the paintings of Diego Rivera, the music of Julian Carrillo and the architectural forms designed by the Spanish but interpreted and executed by the Indians in their own style. References to Jilotepec a 1 s o a b o LI n d e d i n h i s I i s t. (2)
In the second volume., also published in 1932., hoi in a analaysed the history of Mexico during independence, basing himself selectively on Pereyra and Bulnes. He said that independence should be celebrated, and will be celebrated when the process of miscegenation has been completed,, every 6 November as it was on 6 November 1813 that the Mestizo Morelos declared Mexico's independence from Spain. Hidalgo, a "Creole to the end" (although Molina ——•-•—————
<D Ibid. , pp. 31-60 and 74-75.
(2) Ibid. pp. 61-81, 107-128 and 129-152.

sometimes daubted this because he was not convinced by the portraits made of the priest)., had not wanted to separate Mexico from Spain as he -feared that the Indian masses who belonged to his army might take over the country. This explains why he never mounted an attack on Mexico City. Mexico's history would have been very different if independence had culminated with the Mestizos and Indians seizing Spanish and Creole property to gain the "economic. strength they need to feed the people 15 and form a new nationality. However,, nobody took any notice of Morelos, who proposed land red i. s t r i b u t ion t o g i v e p o w e r t o t h e M e s 11 2 o s and allow the castes to blend in with the general population and who had never complained about the Spaniards' religion or their political system. This gave rise to article 13 of the P1 a n o f 1 g u a 1 a ,, w h i c: h p r o m i s e d r e s p e c t for i n d i v i d u a 1 s a n d their property --- including for the Spanish and the Creoles. Because of t h i s d i s p o s i t i o n ., t h e a r t i c i e has b e e n c a 11 e d root of "all the evils that befell the nation after the independence." (1) Molina showed that he was loath to go into detail on the most tragic chapter of Mexican history and 1i m i t ed h imself to j u stifying the 1os s o f haIf of M exi c o t o the United States, saying it had been inevitable, Likewise,, he repeated his admiration for the United States and said the Mexicans owed their protection from Europe to the Monroe Doctrine. (2)

CD Ib.l.d ^» vol. II5 PP- 30-35 and 54-59,
(2) Ibid. , pp. 89-106.

From his analysis of the re-farm and the French intervention it was clear that Molina altered his racial classification of some famous historical figures? he now refered to the "Creole army of Sant.a Ana" and to Comonfort as a Mestizo and said most of the men who prepared the 1657 Constitution were Creoles, Moreover, he said the Constitution was "individualist par ex c e11en ce. '! (1) Finally, Molina rejected the "racial matriarchy" that Spain claimed it exercised over the "Indo-Hispanic nations" and compared the Indians to a plant onto which the Spaniards were grafted. However, after time it was the plant that had to adapt to the graft to form the "units of a new race,, a new heart and a new culture" of the Mexican nationality. (2)
The third volume of his book appeared in 1933. After quoting R o u. s s e a u ~ s s o c :i. a 1 c o n t r a c t t h e o r y (h e d e s c. r i b e d Rousseau as a "late eighteenth century French philosopher"), Molina said because individual liberty was respected in the East slavery had never existed there and this meant that a classic analaysis of the region's history was not applicable in the West, This explained why the Mexican Indians, who he said were from the East and were therefore devotees of liberty, fell f o u 1 t o t h e "acts o f t e r rib I e v i o I e n c e a n. d merciless ferocity" committed by the Conquistadors ,; and why

(D Ik-leU? PP- 107 > i10 and 117-118. He also said the Creoles made "Class Laws" in their own favour against.
the Mestizos and Indians. As an example, he cited the amga.ro trials. See op. c i t. . p. 146.
(2) Iliidj., PP. 147 and 154.

they preferred death to being taken into slavery, (I) Although he accepted that a. minority of natives practised human sacrifices and cannibalism, he painted out that most of the pre-Hispanic religious practices were "peaceful and political" in comparison with the "agressive, intransigent,, fierce" Catholicism practised by the Spaniards. (2) The Indians were not infe ri a r t o t he Sp an i ards, as an err oneous interpretation of the theory of evol u.tion that supposed there was "only one common course towards development that all human groups had to follow" would have once had us believe. M o1i n a affirmed t hat t he the or y of evo1ut i on wa s "fundamentally accepted as still being correct", but that people were n o w a wa r e t h a t th ere was m or e t h a n one pat h t o development ----- even in terms of the economy ••— and acknowledged that "industrialism" is not a stage of higher evolution. This showed that the conquered peoples' plan for civilization was just as valid as the plan the Conquistadors had had. (3) Finally., with respect to the role played by the racial g r o u p s i n t h e h i s t o r y o f M e x i c o ,, M o i i n a i n s i s t e d t h a t the Creoles only sought to subdue the Mestizos and the Indians. Since there were very few Creoles and they were

< 1.) IMdU-i vo 1 . 111 M PP - *6-24 .
(2) I b i d. ,__L PP- 64-6.6. Molina lamented that a nation?.! church did not emerge during the independence.
(3) Ibid. 1 pp. 34-36.

tied to their Spanish background, it was obvious that creolization could not be "the main aspect o-f the nation" because the Spaniards had always been behind the Creoles as the "disseminators o-f disorder,"' For instance, they were responsible for the preparation of the French intervention and had it not been for the protection provided by the United States through Pair. sett, the French would have penetrated even further . (1)
The history of the agrarian r a volution finally began to burgeon in 1934 when Molina:'s fourth volume was published. By then Molina was working on an ana lays is of the porfinsta regime., which he described as "favourable and monumental." He said Diaz discovered "the definitive formula for the national governments," in other words, an "Indian Mestizo" dictator

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who united the Indians and Mestizos, "rooted out the c^
and made "little politics and much administration." Diaz was wise to ha v e r e s o r t e d t o e 1 e c t o r a 3. f r a u. d ' ' t o k e e p t h e Mestizos in power" because if the elections had been democratic " t h e C r e o 1 e m i n o r i. t y w o u 1 d h a v e o c c u p i e d a 1 1 t h e public posts by taking advantage of loopholes in the law." z's downfall was the result of the abominable influence of the Creoles., who managed to entangle him in a "net woven with the charms of a. new Delilah,," the Creole Carmelita, Later, his old age made him betray his own people when he passed the vacant lands legislation, reestablished the university (and appointed the hispanophile Justo Sierra as rector), and was

(D Ibid., , pp. 44-T-53.

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responsible for the elimination of Ca-jeme and Yaqui Indians.
(1) His betrayal peaked when the new Creoles, who now belonged to the cienti-f icos group, put paid to the aspirations of the Mestizo candidate to the presidency, General Bernardo Reyes. Mo1 ina described Reyes as "the greatest state governor of all time." Finally, it was the accumulation of the effects of all these acts that sparked off the Epic Revolution. The Creole lords, who by then had slipped into oblivion.; decided that the time was ripe to make their comeback backing Madero. The United States supported Madero thanks to Dias's decision to reject, its request to use Bahia Magdalena to defend President Zelaya of Nicaragua and this brought about his subsequent downfall. (2) Molina, however., decided to leave the consequences of the Revolution for his next volume,, which was published two years later. For the time being he felt satisfied with what he had written as it had helped:
the components of our nationality to shape their new race, allow their hearts to swell with pride and speed
the crystallization of their own culture by allowing them to discover the solution to their organization
p r ob1ems fo r th e mse1ves. (3)

In 1936, when Ca r d en i sm was at rt s height. Mo1ina

(D Ibid., vol. IV, pp. 12-24 and 177. On Diaz's mistakes and the start of his regime's disorder, see op... cit. ,
pp. 63-127.
(2) On Gen. Reyes, the causes of the animadversion of the United States and the transition -from the regime under Porifiro Diaz to the regime under Madero, see OJD , cit. ,
pp. 45-49,53-61 and 129-176.
Ib i d., pp. 9-10. Molina adds, it is necessary to do away with "the error that we are a Spanish nation" and
' therefore Latin which Limantour tried to usa to catch Mexico up. See o.p..._cj._t_..j, p. 133.

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•finished work on the fifth and final volume of La revalue i.6n aqraria. As a finishing touch he decided to make "a sensational confession" and (like Marx) expressly acknowledged that evolutionism was wrong to believe that there was only one path towards progress. In this book he also claimed to raise ethnology to the highest levels of advanced science,, way above the realms of history,, (1) Next he went on to give his version of the development of the "two great hegemonies of the western world" —- Great Britain and the United States — and the emergence of economic imperialism. He* quoted Lenin, whom he described as "an exceptional author 15., and said it was impossible to erase "the idea that a great part of any fortune is stolen" from the minds of the people. In this international ocean "there? are no longer people with absolute sovereignty," and he noted that Mexico had reached its time of revolution,(2) The Revo 1 ut i on was star ted by t.he Cr eo 1 e Fr anc i sco I - Mader o who
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thought he could bring it to its climax with the approval of the United States. However, Pascual Drozco, unleashed a new movement which ironically ended in a putsch staged by the felicista Creoles, who were not content with the agrarian turn taken by Madero's movement. Fortunately, the coup d"etat brought Victoriano Huerta to power. Huerta was a Huichol Indian who never felt he was inferior to the Creoles or foreigners. He was on the verge of structuring a
(1) In fact, Mclina said he had made an "ethnological outline" that was concealed behind the apparently historical nature of this work, which was intended to
" create "a universal model." See op. cit.,
9— i •"> j. *- «
dU, PP- 13-61.

a dictatorship that could have been even more effect i ve? than Porfiro Diaz's when he was ousted -from power by the United States because of his racial background. Following this,, the "triple Mestizo" Emiliano Zapata joined -forces with the Mestizo Francisco Villa to defend the Indians and the Mestizos. Villa had "a magnificent physique and represented the potential of the men forging the Mexican nationality." He soon became? "the greatest figure of the Revolution." (i) The winner turned out to be Venustia.no Carranza who was recognised by Woodrow Wilson because he; was the only white candidate in contention,, Although Carranza revised his agrarian reforms and made them more radical because of pressure from the Indians and Mestizos, they never fulfilled their potential because he entrusted them to men such as Luis C a b r e r a , who, a 1t h o u g h the y w e r e gifted,, w e r e C r e c 1 e s f i r s t and foremost. As such they were incapable of hating the latifundiu m s y s t e m a s s t r o n g 1 y a s the 1 n d i a n s a n d t. h e Mestizos. The sides were clearly defined with the Creoles and "Creole Mestizos" backing Carranza while the Indians and Mestizos flocked to support Villa and Zapata. Although the Mest i z o i n 1 f Lien c e t r i ump h ed with r esp ec t to article 27 of t h e 1917 Constitution in discovering the synthesis of western private property and eastern patriarchal property in the? preeminence of the nation over the individual, this did not

(1) On the Revolution from Madero until the Aguascalientes Convention,, see op. cit. , pp. 63-153.

detract importance from the fact that 2
the Revolution (.,„•) has not finished because the Indians and the Indian Mestizos, who have been paralysed by their incomprehensible inferiority complex,
have not managed to free themselves from the apparent social superiority and perverse political action of the Spaniards, Creoles and Creole Mestizos, (1)
There is no room for speculation in La revo.luci 6n aqraria, which contains three basic changes in Molina's attitudes 2 he-abandoned his mestizophile balance and, became hispanophobic almost to t he poi nt o f be i n g indig e n i s t $ he end ors e d c u11 ura 1 miscegenation,, which he had skirted around before, and he broke with evolutionism in favour of a multilineal concept of human development,. He also made minor changes to his original scheme in this book — he divided the previously monolithic group of Mestizos into two sections -— the Indian Mestizos and the Creole Mestizos,, This split was made on. the basis of the type of blood that predominated in them,, Likewise, Mo1ina n ow said th at Mex i c o p1 ay ed a fu11 r cIe i n the international context since foreign action,, which was given secondary importance in Los ,qr arujes .pi-oblemas nac ion ales , a f f e c t e d t h e c o u. r s e t a k e n b y M e x i c o „ u f c o u r s e , the variations mentioned were not chosen at random. To redress the balance in favour of the Indians (it could be? arugued, however. that the former balance favoured the Creoles) Molina had to attack the Spanish culture,, reassess the pre-Hispanic culture,, and discard the scale of

(1) On Carranza's regime, the World War and the final conclusion,, see op. c i t. , pp. 155-193. Note that Molira acknowledged that Carranza' s foreign p o 1 i c y v,= a s w o r t h y
of merit, and he placed him on a par with Juarez in this
context.

evolution that had focused on Europe. The division of the Mestizos into different classifications is a subtelty of his methodology that served the same purpose. As a finishing touch, his inclusion of the extranat iona.1 variable provided room for the reappearance of the Spaniards 7 debasement and illustrated the universality of the race struggle. Despite all these changes, the essence of Molina's original theory on mestizophi1ia had been left untouched, He continued to argue that the process of miscegenation had to run its full course before a true Mexican nation could emerge, He also continued to insist that the Mestizo or Indian Mestizo was the only representative of what, was essentially Mexican.
Molina analysed his tendencies in greater depth in the
rest of his works written during the last ten years of nis life. In 1935, in his contribution to the Seventh American Scientific Congress, he confessed that the only means he could find to free the Indians from the pressures of western culture was to raise their "mental influence" sufficiently "so that they can confront the mentality of the whiteman." (The word "indigene" had been dropped . from use by then as apparently it was said to have been of Creole origins.) He? added that "the mental unification of the Indians" would provide "the key to the secret of their salvation and the starting point for the final stage in the creation of a new culture" which must be the Mexican culture "and possibily the culture that will -dominate the whole continent." In the same document he said that since the American Indians were of Asian origins, they think through sight like the Chinese and not through their hearing like the Europeans.

proposed replacing the Indians' phonetic: writng with a visual system based on the roots o-f different symbols used cy th.a indigenous groups. He also proposed hiring the services of a Japanese teacher -for this purpose. (1) This illustrated Molina? s new stand in favour of rescuing the pre-Hispanic culture, which he had despised so much, to the detriment of the Spanish culture. (By this stage he even rejected "Spanish" as the official name of the language and asked -for it to be called the "national language.") And the quotation at the beginning of his docuement in which he reaffirmed his own racial awareness in rather racist terms is even more significants "If you are not of Indian Mestizo blood, don't touch the Indians; y ou wi11 not un de rsta n d them and no ma 11er what you try to do for them, you will only end up harming them instead of doing them good." (2)
Later that year Mclina showed that the change in his assessment of the Hispanic and Indian cultures was not det ach ed f r om a change i n h i s own v i ew of h i mseIf. In his book L_a__jg^e£.rj*_^^ (The Pacific War), which dealt with the debate hee sustained ten years earlier with Rafael Nieto, the prologue, signed in May 1935, included a definition of his new image of himself in the phrase "the Indian in me." This phrase followed a declaration of his Otomi ancestry and a statement that said he was "educated in

(1) An d r es Mo 1 i n a En r i q ue z , Una nueva .esc r it Lira c QjH!^-n__p_a_r_a ios _in_cj_i_os (Talleres Graficos de la Naci6n, Mexico, 1935) "9 "pP- 9-11 .
<2) Ibid., pp. 3-4.

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the western or European culture with all its cruel prejudices which have made a system out of depredation and a religion out o-f violence." Despite this, he said "infinitesimal atavisms" had allowed him to be more influenced by the "balanced, peaceful and refined -delicacies of eastern culture." He had not followed the progress made by Japan since the days of his youth in vain in the hope that the strength of that country would save the Asian people from the "western imperialist barbarians." However, like other Mestizos, Molina's tendencies allowed him to swing between eastern and western cultures, which were the main source of "national misfortunes" throughout history. Given this, he-proposed the following?
In other terms , we as ind i vidua 1 s s our cou.nt ry as a nation, and ou r ca n 11n ent as a whole f r om A i aska t o Tierra del Fuego does not and should not belong to the western or European culture nor to the eastern or Asian culture — we must shape our own culture halfway between
the two. This should be a new culture' that must form
the culture of the American continent in which Canada
and the United States are the economic forces and Mexico
and the non-Spanish Indian Latin countries shape
c u 11 u r e «,
To justify his Pan-Americanism, he said "there is no task more baneful" than that of preaching the union of Latin America under the hegemony of Spain,, which said it would support England in its intentions against the United States,. Molina added that anyone who supported this had not understood that if the citizens of the United States ever wielded economic control over America,, Mexico would dominate with its cultural strength, (i)

(1) And res Molina Enriquez, La qu.erra del Paci (SEP-Tal leres Graficos de la NaciCn, Mex-

M D 1 i n a * s concern for the c r e a t i a n o f- a n e w c u 11. u r s w a s
as new as it was important. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to infer that his new cultural mestizoph11 is detracted -from his belief in ethnic superiority,, Quite the contrary. His opinions on race were reinforced in La Reforma. aqrar._ia and it is safe to say that "the new culture" he refers to is a natural consequence of the creation of the "new race." This line of reasoning was expressed in his unfinished work T r a t a d o d e E tno 1 o qi a (T r e a t i s e o n E t h n o 1 o g y) w h i c h w a s n e v e r published and was probably written in the mid-1930s. In it he rejected polygenesis,, explained the beginnings of the different races,, and suggested that man's origins could be traced back to the discovery of grains and cereals and the? inclusion of these in his diet, giving him the strength to stand up straight. Following this, Molina stated that for any group of human beings racial unity implies that they share the same mentality,, which creates "bonds of reciprocal connection" and leads to the creation of a nationality.of their own with its own cultural characteristics, (i) If this were not enough,, in La qloriosa cruzada del Mayab, his agrarian criticism of Cabrera published in 1937 along with documents written by Palavicini and Gonzalez Aparicio,, he defended the e1ido as a provisional form of land tenure and forerunner of small land ownership that was necessary to destroy the hac iendja system,, basing his arguments on the f

(1) See Andres Molina Enriquez, "Tratadc de ttnolcgia, in Alvaro Molina Enriquez (prologue and compilation!.,,
A n t o 1 p q i a .._de_An.d res Molina E n r i q u e z , cit . , pp. 5 6 - 1- 2 ,

that this system awoke the powerful energy that lay latent in the Indian blood that was inclined towards ccnrimunal land ownership as in Asia. (1) Obviously the new Mo line -found that culture di,d not exclude race but complemented it and is a result of it.
Finally, in what was to be the last stage of his intellectual work., Molina Enriquez revived his old agrarian platform,, E1, ,, , Re f pj- m ado r , on i August 1935, beginning a "second age." His aim in doing this was very clear and each edition carried the warning that the newspaper was written from the Indian and Mestizo Indian point of view as they "are not currently represented by the nation's press." In. fact, the newspaper went beyond being indigenist in its tendencies and at times was even racist. Gf course it goes without saying that it was anti-Spanish •••-•••- it branded Creole
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indigenists such as "our friend" Manuel Gamio as false.. called the preface of the "Great Indian" Altamirano "the best novel in the world and of all time," and said the worst thing about the San Rafael paper monopoly was not so much the fact that it was a monopoly but the fact that it was Spanish. Likewise., it copied all.sorts of attacks on the Spanish as if it were a manifesto that had promised to respect the lives and interests of all foreigners except those born in Spain.
(2) Molina also used the paper to wage a campaign on the

(1) Molina jstj-jali s JLL..eiido ^n Yucatan, pp. 14-22,
(2) See the articles and editorials of El Refo_rma_dor (Mexico, 15 July and 15 August 1935., and 1 March 1937).'
The "best novel" for Molina is Maria, by Jorge "

university which he called "mediaeval" and "elitest." In an obvious reference to Vase one elcs he accused the inst itu.t icr. of adopting a "slogan which,, for the ideology of the young.. affirmed Mexico's racial reincorporation to Spanish decadence and suppressed the existence of Indians throughout the whole continent." (I) With respect to international affairs. El Reformador both open1y f1i rted with f aci sm whi1e reject i ng it as a foreign ideology,, It. was moderately pro-Yankee) and declared that it opposed Great Britain.,- the "number one world enemy," and its subject Spain. It said that if British imperialism were to disappear "all the rest of the world's problems would be resolved into the bargain." (25
Despite his extremist views, Molina conserved his most important principles in his post as editor,, which, by now were marked with his characteristic: pro-Indian bias. The paper's epigraphs were more than eloquent: "NEW RACE - .NEW HEART •-- NEW CULTURE" (printed in capital letters in the newspaper);; "In the long-term the Indian-blooded anvil will be capable of more than the hammer of Spanish blood 11; "the spark does not fly from the chain that hits the ground — it comes from the flint that resists it." His idea that "nationality and the fatherland both imply the existence of an ideal for the children of a particular country and cohesion in the defence of their interests" was repeated without having undergone any

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez, "La supresion de la Un i versidad, r-1 r,^.£,-M.-,-naHni-- C Me* 1-'i r-n IS Ann 1 Q'^S > ID fc.J. rx€^iCJr rn <S w vj r V » t c^ ^ \ A w. w y 4. -«J rn w\ \»j « 4. / •«.» -^J _.- u
(2't See the articles and notes in El Reformador (Me^iicc:, 15 Oct. 1935 and 1 March 1937).

distrbuted because it was the Mexican people "who h nothing" and those who do, have? thanks to "the continuance

significant change?. (1) Where there was a contrast f however,, was in his clear and rather strange tendency towards racial segregation. However., his racism was basically a reaction to inequality and was intended to act as a stabilizer. Molina, who always understood the importance o-f social equality as a racial catalyst, now gave his pro-miscegenation preaching second place,, stressing the redemption of the Indians because he believed "the union between Spaniards and Mexicans for racial reasons" was absurd while wealth was unfairly-distributed because it was the Mexican people "who have of

the conquest's plundering-" This was a turn in tactics for Molina s who on a more practical level., decided to give the redistribution of wealth everything he had instead of continuing to describe the advantages gained from the resulting homogeneity- Contrary to how this may look at first sight., Medina was far from giving up his theory of mest izophi i ia and was in fact strengthening it through his denial that the economic inferiority of the Indians and
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Mest i z os was c on g en i t a 1 . (2) In an ef f o r t to b r i n g t h em up to the standards of the rest of the population he formed the "National Organization for the Indians of the Republic." (The "General Constitutional Bases" of this organization dealt "only with pure-blooded Indians and the Indian

(1) Andres Molina Enriquez, "La mist ificaci6n del Ant GA (I *•• i--j «• •** mnpr * * * 3 ai isnio con fines poiiticas", * in ••—»•»•—•••••-••—>•••.»-«•••••••,•••••..•»««..—.—„„.,..,.. El R^-formador
(Me x i c o, 1 Mov• 1935).
t2) Andres Molina Enriquez, "Los Causantes c"e la Mise^is.- r, n El ReJiojiaiadar (Mexico, 1 Sept. 1935).

Mestizos who have the obvious physical characteristics of the-Indian or who have an Indian mentality, and whose blood is predominantly Indian" rather than Spanish or of any other nationality. (1)
The illusion of redemption did not last for long. In
1938 El Reformador published its last issue and the Indians and the Indian Mestizos again found they had nobody to represent them in the national press. Andres Molina Enriquez would only live another two years and almost prophetically he decided to return to die in' his home state. He thought, he would be able to live more peacefully there, Py this stage his work was complete and ready to provide guidance for w'hoever decided to shape the Mestizo fatherland once and for all, creating a home for the single-,, true Mexican national ident ity.

2. - Cr it ica 1 Eyaluat ion ;.. choosing the p.ackaq ing .

a) C1 assifying the Unclassifiab1e.

Andres Molina Enriquez*s contribution to the ideological record of the Mexican Revolution has. been emphasized by some
(1) "Mental guidance" as a compensating factor for the Indians' "physical characteristics 1' 1 (which he did not possess) was d ed ic at ed by Molina t o hi mse1f, as we will
see later on; see the note on this subject in E_i Refermador (Mexico i Jan, 1936). To illustrate the passion with which Molina was involved in his racial ctUfsade, during the "third stage" of the newspaper ne boasted o4~ having managed to get Lazaro Cardenas to declare that his government gave "prefe-ential" representation to "the Indians and the Indian Mestizcs";: see e 1 _Ref^onador (Mexico, 2 April 1937,)

writers: Frank Tannembaum and Gu.il iermo Bonfil

\ffQB grand eg prob 1 ennas nac i on a 1 es the mast important serious

study ever made of Mex i co ' s soc i a 1 p rob I ems ; An i ta Brenner

and Luis Chavez Orozco said it was as important as Rousseau's

Le Contrat Social was for the French Revolution; Luis Cabrera

displayed great perception when. he affirmed that "Molina

:Enriquez represented for the agrarian revolution what ('Maria Luis Mora. represented for the war of Reform," and said Molina's book was "the most important document prior to the Revolution in both the social and economic aspects"; Los q r an d es p r ob 1 em as n ac i on a 1 es was described by .Juan Comas as the most influential work of the post-revolutionary era and by Agustin Cue Canovas as "the most noteworthy sociological study ever produced in Mexico," Los granges probl.emas nacionales was even considered as "the Bible of the Revolution," Victor Alba called Molina a "clairvoyant", and this was qualified by Arnalc'o Cord ova who said that, along with Madero, Molina was "the greatest ideologue of the Mexican Revolution" for ha v i n g c r e a t e d t h e m o v e m e n t ? e ' ' t r u E political theory." (i) In addition to this praise his

(1) See Frank Tannenbaum, F'eac e by Re v o 1 ut i on (Columbia U „ Press,, N.Y., 1966), p. 118; Guillermo Bonfil Data 11 a, "Andres Molina. Enriquez y la Sociedad Indianista
Mexicana. El Indigenismo en visperas de la Revoluc6n",
in Anales del • I. N.A.H.XVI11, 1965, p. 22S; Anita Brenner, The Wind That Swept .Mexico (IK of Texas Press-, "Austin,, 1971)., p<27? Luis Chavez Orozco,, prologue to grandes problennas nac ionales (Problemas, Agricolas Industriaies da Mexico, Mexico, 1953), p. 5; Cabrera, "Andres Molina Enriquez", .c JLL.^ ? P - 407, and "VeintE a.nos
despues. El balance de la Revoluc i On", in Qbras
completas, ci.t.... vol. Ill, p. 664; Juan Comas. "Razas, mest i z a j e y c1ases sociales en I a cbra de A. Mo 1i na
Enriquez ~ 1909",. in C u a d e *- n o s A me r i c a n o s . 2.
March-April].966? p, 153; Agustin Cue Cancvas, prologue t o Juarez v la ...Rejf_or_nva ;. c i t... ? p .. 5 j Victor AI b a u j~^.§ ideas soc i a 1 es c_on t e m p o r a r: e a s an. Hs.x_i_co (F , C „ E , ,, Mexico, I960), ;• . 119? Arnaldo Cirdova, prologue to LOS grandgs problefnas nac ion ales (1981 edition, c..i.t.. from here on referrred to as LbPN) pp - 23 and 58-~'9, There are also numerous articles published in the Mexico City press which praise Molina in one way or another. For
see Alfonsc Fabila, Andres Medina Enriquez, apdstci
El Universal Ilustrado, (9 March 193-i);
"Nuestra cultura. Sociologia max ic ana",
(3 Sept, 1939); Teodoro Hernandez. ."
socid'logo mexicano", in La Prensa (9 Aug
Gonzalez Aparicio, "Don Andres Molina
IMacional (13 Aug. 1940); Alfonso Enriquez, articulo 27", in the journal
- -———— (footnote continued.)

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1943) , L n c i o M a n d i e t. a y N u. r, e z f " L o s a n tecedentes d e 1 articulo 27 c on st 1 1 uc i on a 1 " , i n El Universal (2 Oct. . 1946); Jesus Romero F lores, "El Lie. And res Mo 1 in a Enriquez, y el estudio de nuestros prablemas", in the El Naciqnal s u pplement (13 M a r c h i 9 4 9) ; S a 1 v a d o i-- 0 r" t i :: Vi dales, "Don And res Molina Enriquez", in El Nacional (13 April 1953)? Manuel Gon-zalez Ramirez, "Un precursor revolucionar io" , in Nov_eda.d.e.s (21 Aug. 1953); Alfonso F r a n c i s c o Ramirez, ' ' A . M o 1 i n a E n r i q u e z ' ' , i n El Un i versa. 1 (18 Sept, 1956); Andres Merest rosa , "La nota cultural",, {' 2 8 N o v „ 1 9 56) ? R o h e r t o C a 1 v o R a m i r e z , y
la re-far ma liberal y Don Ben i to Juarez", in E_x_c j? 1 s i o r (2 0 M a r c: h 1 9 5 8) ? R o m a n B a d i 1 1 o , "El p a d r e d e^ 1 a r e? -f o r nn a a g r a r i a ' ' , in El_.i. i jjac.i..ona_l ij . (3 Aug. 1 9 5 8) ; Sal v ad or A z u. e 1 a , "Una a n t o 1 o g i a d e M o 1 i n a E n r i q u. e z ' '• ? i n .£|ji.._yjnJ.j/G_r s a_l (2 Dec. 1959); Rau.1 Lemus Garcia, "Andres Molina Enriqu.ez" in El Dia (14 March 1980). Finally., it is worth adding that there is evidence that Jose C. Valdes prepared a piece of work on Dr. Mora, Flores Magdn and Molina Enriquez- This work was never published. See Abelardo I p a r r e a G a 1 a i a ,, IJ.§.Slii§_i§.r.SL _ !i§ _ _.I^_.__ELi!.-i. ' Mexico, 1982), p. 109.

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recognition reached far beyond the intellectual circles of

his home state. After his death his remains were laid in the

Rotunda far the Famous Men of Toluca, a -statue to his memory

Mas erected in the local chamber of deputies and a bust of

Molina Enriquez was placed in his birthplace, which is now

officially called "Jilotepec de Molina Enriquez," (1)

Although Molina's work is often quoted,, very little- of

it has been studied. Moreover, most of what has been written

has concentrated on Molina as a forerunner of the agrarian

reform which- earned him the title of "the classic among the

classics of agrarian ism" (2), and it was only recently that

(1) The town's former name, "Jilotepec de Abasolo" was changed at the request of Lie. Antonio Huitrdn. See Pjrgposic iftn gue__d i r;_iqe,,. ...e 1........ C . cronista municipal de
JLU 9JsJr.EL§c:_4_._i!l^.iL'L£L9_...L.-.ji...i.i '• G°^ » $® •'• & fr-' c- c' E' ^*•-;; l cc ? Jilotepec, 12 July 1985) and decree number 106 by which
the state legislature made the change official in Ga.c_eta
del Gg_b i er.no (of f i c i a 1 newspaper of the govt, o•*•"• the State of Mexico,, vol. CXL11, no. 35, Toluca, 18 Aug., 1986). It is curious to note that although the federal congress "froze" mea .sures in 1985 to inscribe Molina's name in gold letters in the chamber of deputies, the then president of Mexico., Miguel de la Madrid, entitled
one of his own books Los qrandes prcblemas nacjj^ri-ajjgs de hoy, which just goes to show the high level of political prestige Mclina's work enjoys today.
(2) Chavez Orozco, pj3_. c it... Diaz Soto y Gama called him "an authority on the subject" and Barba Gon'zalez said he was
the "great champion of the agrarian reform!i ,: while Gonzaiez Navarro put him in first place as an agrarian ideologue and Huitrdn said he was the person who system!zed agrarian law. See Antonio Diaz Seta y Gama,
La r e v o 1 u c i 6 r. a a r a r i a del s u r y E m i 1 i a n c lap ata,._su. c aud i11g" (Me xic o, 1960), p. 57 ; S i1van o Barba Gonz a1 az, j_a__lucha por la, tierra (e d . del M a q i s t e r i o , M e v i c o ,, 1963), p. 75? Noises Gonzaiez Navarro, "La ideologia de la Revolucidn Nexicana", in Historia Mexicana^ vol. X. April-June 1961, p. 631; and Antonio Huitrsn H,, prologue to And res Molina Enriquez, precursor z? _la reforma aqraria (U.A.E.N., Taluca, 19590, p. 15,

a new -facet of Molina as an ideologue of author i tar ian IE~: has been appreciated. His work in this field has situated him in the "genius" category. (1) However, as €a theorist of nationalism,, .or mest izoph i I ia as the answer to the national identity crisis, Molina is still sunk in oblivion. (2) It is very significant that this situation illustrates both M o 1 i n a ' s success and h i. s fail u. r e . 7 h e r e i s a b s o 1 u t e 1 y n o doubt that his agrarian and presidentialist ideas transcended the intellectual circles to become aceepted facts whi1e in the best of cases his theories on mestizophi1ia still belong to a fair extent to the realms of myths. Perhaps the fact that mest i zoph i 1 ia. has not been the object of much study is a symptom of the pragmatism that shakes the history of ideas for a few moments at a time.
Molina Enriquez was much more than a mere ideologue of
the agrarian reform or the presidentialist regime. He was surpassed by Wistano Luis Orozco in those fields and was preceded by the p or f i r i a n soc io1og ists a nd po1i t i cian s. W h at made him different,, however., was his concern for shaping a nationality that was truly and uniquely Mexican in order to bring an end to internal divisions. For Molina the problem of r u r a 1 land t enu re and th e q ue s t i on of politic a 1 1e a dership

(1) Cdrdova, op.... cJLJLij. pp. =2-54.
(2) There are two short exceptions: the chapter dedicatee to Molina in Noises Gonzalez Navarre's book Sccioloqia e Mst£O-3 eH Jlt.iLi.£5 ^ E1 Colegio de Mexico, Mexico, 1985),
pp. 40~52~, and the booklet on Molina and Vasconcelos by David Brad ing "Social Darwinism and Romantic Idealism An'dres Molina Enriquez and Jose Vasconcelos in the Mexican Revolution",, in Prophecy an_d Myth (Mexico-History Centre of Latin American Studies, Cambridge, j pp. 63-80.

were just the means to achieving the unification of a Mestizo •fatherland and his agrarian proposals probably would not have been so vehement if the ha cendados and their labourers had been Mestizos. Likewise, he probably would not have given so much importance to his dictatorial urges if the ethnic differences had been eliminated through miscegenation. He wanted to establish a massively powerful government, so as to keep the Mestizos in power and benefit the Indians through them. This would also have enabled him to divide the haciendas into smaller properties, The intention behind giving the land to the Mestizos was to put them on an equal footing with the Creoles and bring about the culmination of the miscegenation process,, He wanted to see this Mestizo nation because for him racial unification was the demiurge of the u n i f o r m 11 y r e q u i r e d i n a c o h e s i. v e n a t i o n ,, 'a n d w o u 1 d g i v e rise to a culture in its own right. In short, -what Molina wanted was for Mexico to emerge with a "new heart 1 ' that would make it a fairer., stronger and greater country.
Luis Cab r era,, who was better known and understood than
Mo 1 i n a ,, k new t h, i s ve r y we 11 . A11 h oug h i t was Mo 1 i n a , t h e agrarian, who had most influence and who the authorities said was the brain behind article 27 of the Constitution (i),

(1) In the controversy concerning MoUna's influence in drafting article 27, the fact that he was its author has been questioned. It has not been doubted, however, that
he inspired the article. See Gabriel Ferrer Mendiolea., Historic del £2J19JLg-S2 Const ituyente del 19l6-i9j.7
(I . M . E . H . R . M . Library, Mexico, 1957),, pp.
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the Ayala Plan and the Law 'o-f- January 6, Cabrera did not lose

sight o-F the -fact that -For his -Friend both the agrarian

re-Form and the Revolution had been merely steps towards his

goal o4= establishing a great Mestizo nation:

The basic idea around which Molina Enriquez's spirit and heart turned, and to which he devoted his e-F-Forts as a thinker and intelligence as a writer, was that o-F making Mexico great. And that could only be achieved thanks to
the vital strength o-F the Mexican Mestizo (...) (1)

In -Fact, Molina thought that -For Mexico to become great the

process of misecegenation had to be completed and this

explains why he so wanted the di-F-Fere.nt racial strains to be

brought together: the Indian was not so -Far removed -From the

Mestizo and would soon be absorbed by him. However, there

was a wide social, economic and cultural gap that separated

the Mestizo and the Creole, preventing them coming together

and mixing. Molina thought the best way to recti-Fy this

situation was to implement the agrarian re-Form, giving the

land to the Mestizos and elevating them to the landed

classes. (2) In order to initiate this re-Form, as with any

(1) Cabrera, "Andres Molina Enriquez", cit.. pp. 406-409.
(2) Contrary to how it may appear at -First, Molina was always a staunch supporter o-F small property ownei-snip thanks to his evolutionism. Even during his Cardenist period when he de-Fended the e-Iido as a u.se-Ful tool -For destroying the hacienda and necessary -For the development o-F the Mestizos and the Indians, he continued to consider small -Family-owned property as the desired 1-ong-term goal. Numerous rs-Ferences were made by him in this context; as examples -From di-F-Ferent stages in his li-Fe, sse Andres Molina Enriquez, "El aspsctc •Fiscal del problema agrario", in E_l Indecendiente (Mex ico, 17 Sep t. 1913); "Si la Revc1uc i 6n es 1? Revolucidn. la caz ss la paz'% in La Convencidn (Aguascalientss, 28-30 April and 3-6 May 1915); the interview "Come zc? -iuzc;a el agrarismo en el paiz y cone debe resolverse este problema", in Excelsior (Mexico, It Sept. 1924); and t'7E article written ir. 1937 "L,:.\ gloriosa cruzada del Mayab", in El Ellso 3.Q YucatAn. , pp. 5---31, His iT.ain agricultural ir.-rjenczs were

other that prejudiced the interests of the Creoles, it was necessary to have a source o-c dictatorial power, Agrar ian ism and authoritarian ism were, thus, two basic requirements -^or ahaping a Mestizo Mexico. This sums up the logic behind Molina's mestizophilia.
It may be rather exaggerated ^y although ^ not at all surprising to say that it was the -Form in wnich Mclina put his message across and not the substance o-F what he had to say that contributes to the lack o-F knowledge about his work and opinions on miscegenation. Those who have tried to study his writings will be more than -Familiar with the problems this task implies and very -Few people have experienced the sensation o-F triumph that is always present when someone has discovered that he can explain Molina's thought in detail. The complications did not arise solely out o-F his literary style, however, Although his style is as Jesus Silva Herzog warns "pro-Fuse and di-F-Ficult and tedious to read at times", or "abominable" and "-Frankly poor and o-Ften pedantic" as David Grading and Arnoldo Cdrdcva (1) describe it, the problem in reading Molina's works largely stems -From the -Fact that he was not success-Ful in bringing together all the elements that go to -Form his complex theory o-F mestizophilia. From his style we can sa-Fely judge that he.did not have mucn

Jovel lanes and Orozco,, who supported small property ownership: see Gasoar Melchor de Jovellanos,, In-Forme la'.i.ey a^aria (Institute de estudios Politicks, MadrTdT~1955)T" and Wistano Luiz Orozco, Leqislacidn .^
_ i!.iri*orudanci* .SSbllg lE2LL§H2-S t?*J,d*q* (Imp. de El Tiempo, Mexico, 1925).,
. (1) Jesus Silva Herzog,, E_l pensamient.8 econdmicCj. social ^ :cn de M^\'n.co: 18].()•- 1964 (F\C^E,,, '"~~ "'
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Darwinism"., ci2., ^ P

1 £3.7

to say -for syntax. Although it is relatively easy identify the general outline of his theory, it is up to the reader to supply the missing conceptual links and de-first ions if he is to grasp the underlying arguments, (i) However,, it goes without saying that these problems do not detract from the substance of his theory. Medina was well aware o-f what he wanted and if he contradicted himself, as we will see later on, it was not because his ideas were in disarray but b e c a u s e h i s d o c t r i n e w a s i n a d e q u a t e .
And that leads us to ask just what his doctine consisted
of. There is no doubt that And res Molina Enriquez was a self-styled p o s i t i v i s t . H e b e c a m e h e a. v i 1 y i n v o 1 v e d i n positivism when he was a student at the Toluca Institute. He studied f r o m C o m t e to S p e n c e r a n d a d o p t. e d t h e i r v i e w s o n evolutionism and social Darwinism. (2) It is difficult to explain just how deeply he studied their works — at times he gives the i m p r e s s i o n t. h a t. h e w a s u n f a m i 1 i a r w i t h e 1 e m e n t. a r y facts such as those on evolutionism in Spencer's Spc.ial Stat ics just ten years be-fore the publication of On_ the Or i q i n of t_he SjliiLLejs •— (3), but there is no doubt that he

(1) This is very probably the reason why Jose Ltfpez Port ilia y Rojas (who d i sag reed with Mo1i n a ? s ag r ar ianism) referred to the "very famous and very boring Molina Enriquez" in a letter to his daughter, Blanca Ldpez cie Portillo de Basave (dated 13 July 1913, BCN 5-2, 392).
(2) These two terms are generally used as synonyms although strictly speaking the first referj^ to Spencer's doctrine in general and the second to the part c^ it establishing the struggle for survival as the driving force behind human society.
(3) See Molina, Clasif icac 16n dp las c_i.gncias

knew them alright.. Molina,, who was a man or his times., found Spencer's theory more in keeping with Mexico's political circumstances and he came to -form part of the school of Mexican positivism that prevailed during the years o-f the D i a 2 regime. Li k e h i s c o 11 e a. g u e s f M o 1 i n a 1 o o k e d f o r a variation c-f his Spencer i an beliefs that he could use- to justify the need to put order be-fore liberty, which in Mexico could only c o m e -f r o m t h e c o e r c i v e e r a d i c a t i o n o f a n a r c h y .
(1) Spencer? s theory divided social evolution into two stages — the mill t a r y s t a g e an d the i n d u s t r i a 1 s t a g e , H e. said that the endemic con-flict in the "barbarian" societies was produced by fear and reverence -for power and the only way to obtain the cooperation needed -for development was to impose a rigid centralist hierarchical system or, in other words, a dictatorship., Progress could only be ensured if there was discipline., and only when the stage o-f anarchy and violence was over could society embark on the industrialization stage,. The English sociologist concluded saying that by then there would be voluntary cooperation and the state would have to give way to individual liberty. (2) Thus, by moving away from Comte's "libertinism" Molina found what he was looking for and more: he -found a theory that was linked to bath Darwin's new discoveries and offeree an

(1) On Mexican Spencer i an ism, see Leopold a Zea,
JZLQ Mexico (F.C.E.? Mexico, 1984),
30 3 -3 09.

(2) A concise explanation of this process is contained in David Wiltshire, The Social arid Pol iticaj. Thin King cf Herbert Sgencer (Oxford U. Press, Ox-ford, 1978?, i?s- , p'p7~202--203 , 211-213 and 218-249.

organic "scientific" explanation of man's eve I Lit ion . Naturally the attraction of such a theory was impossible for a man who was so involved in the overwhelmingly "scientific" atmosphere to resist,
With S p e n c e r * s c omfor ting sup po r t a.n d Just o Si a r ra c1ose
at hand it was natural that Molina did not hesitate in saying that "until our fatherland is definitely constituted" it was absolutely necessary for Mexico to have an autocratic government. (1) 0 n1y t h u s c ou1d t he m o 11e y g r ou p of antagonistic racial strains, who were only too ready to confront each other,, be united by ethnic fusion. As the Creoles marginated the Mestizos and the Indians, disrupting the country and holding back the miscegenation process,, there was no other alternative but dictatorship,. This situation explains the advantages Molina saw in the viceregal system and the excellence he attributed to the porfirian system,,
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which,, by concentrating power in the hands of a Mestizo,, had not only prevented national disintegration but had also encouraged race mixture,
It was precisely on the subject of race mixture that Spencer? s theory fitted in with and served to justify tyranny in a society as backward as Mexico's. However? it was also on this subject that Molina"s selectivity came through;; ha only took what he thought suited his mestisophi1ia from Spencer. He did not accept Spencer's individualist

(1) Molina,, LGPN, p. 434.

corollary of this (1) and did not apply his principle

concerning the evolution of mi 1itar ism through to

industrialization. With respect to Spencer's individualist

theory there is no doubt that Molina always gave society

priority over the individual and always tended more towards

Comte's increased social control than Spencer's fanatical

support for socio-economic laissez faire. (2) On the second

point it could be said 'that the periods of disintegration,

transition and integration used by Molina to divide the

history of independent Mexico cease to correspond exactly to

the evolutional duality in question (and even less to Ccmte's

trilogy, as we will see further on when he started using the

Mestizo triumphs instead of industrial development to measure

progress. (He ignored the pre-Hispanic and colonial period

entirely.)

As we can see Molina could not be accused of having

(1) Arnaldo Cdrdova appreciated this, in Cdrdova, o_Q_._c_i_t_.., p. 26. We can speculate, however, that if as some people say, contrary to its aim, evolutionism contradicts individualism, then Molina had a better understanding of Spencer than even Spencer himself. See Wiltshire, oo, cit., pp. 2 and 256.
(2) For a comparative analysis of this aspect of Comte and Spencer's ideological views, See John C. Greene, "Biology and Social Theory in the Nineteenth Century: Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer", in Marshal Clagett (ed.), Critical Problem* in the History of Science {"!"he
U. of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1959), pp. 428-431^ Comte and Spencer's arguments are contained in Augusts Comte, Cours de Philosoohie Positive (J.B. Bailliere et fils, Paris, 1864), vol. IV, pp. 383-441, and Herbert Spencer, "Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosoohy c-M. Comte", in The Classification of the Sciences (Williams and Norgate, London, 1664), pp. 40-41. It is interesting to note that Molina was closer to Ccmt= i^ his concept of love — and not interests — as fe oasiz of a social unit.

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allowed himself to be influenced by other doctrines* A i though he was basically Spencerian, his tendencies were neither exclusive nor unconditional, (i) As a good positivist Medina never abandoned Comte and showed preference for his theories in certain respects, such as for his classification of the sciences. (2) Molina:'s ecclesiastic tendency, which went beyond the limits of positivism., often landed him in problems, F o r e x a m p 1 e 3 E s t e v a R u. i z , w h o s u p p o r t e d re-election., made one of the first and most perceptive c r i t i c i s m s- o f M o I i h a a s e a r 1 y a s 19 0 9 w h e n h e a c c u s e d h i m o f not being familiar with "the cosmic laws.," (3) The? contradiction he implied Molina was guilty of was based on the fact that an evolutionist should want. Mexican society to evolve towards ethnic uniformity,, which implied a change from a state of heterogeneity to homogeneity.. According to Spencer, who always stressed the biological aspect of evolution,, prog r e s s c o u. I d o n I y be a c h i e v e d the o t h e r w a y round, starting from a homogenous state moving towards to heterogenic state, and said that social differences would only be eliminated when society was close to decadence, (4) However, Spencer made no mention of race differences and Molina affirmed that the English philosopher was un-fami 1 iar

(1) j n fact, few of Spencer's supporters adopted his doctrine in full. See Wiltshire, op,, c i t., , p. 256 *
(2) See Molina, CJLasijfjLcac i on de las ciencias , p p . 2 '0 - 21 .
(3) R.A. Esteva Ruiz, "El progreso y la democracla". in La ReeljBcci6n (Mexico, i & Oct. i 909) .
(4) See Herbert'Spencer, "The Principles o- bociclcgy". in A System o f_ _S yjrfc h e tj. c P h i 1 o s a p h y (W i 11 i a m s a n d M o r g.-1 e , Lond^"n"7"Ts76) , Vo 1 . IV-1 , p v 468 .

with the state of a-f-fairs in Latin Arrerica since his ccin ions were based on soc i et i es t. h a t had •-; eve r f ac ed s r ob 1 ems of ethnic division. (Molina made an implied but nonetheless explicit complaint about Spencer in this sense in Los qrandes prob lemas nacion ales.) (i) This explains why Molina was not overly distressed by this discrepancy. On the contrary, he seemed to accept the justification discovered by Leopoldo 2ea concerning the Spencerians of the porfirist age in the sense that Mexico had to seek homogeneity before embarking on its quest for heterogeneity. (2) In any case, Molina? s silence on the matter indicated that he had net the slightest intention of neglecting his main task of converting ethers to miscegenation to squabble over doctrinal trivialities., For him,, diversification would come in its own good time and the prob 1 em was not insurmountafo 1 e .,
NtBdt h e i e s s t h i s s i t u a t i o n raised the foil o w i n q questions where did Molina get the idea frcm that a nation needed r a c i a I h o m o g e n 3. e t y '? T h i s i s a n e s p e c i a 1 1 y r e 1 e v a n t question because it was a subject that exposed him to criticism for his eclecticism and was something that did not fit in with the scheme of evolution. Did Molina's theory 'stem from a stereotyped interpretation of the ethnic map of Europe,, like Pimentel's and Riva Palac ic 7 s, or did he use a different doctrinal source? The answer to ,both these questions can be summed up in a name: Pasquale Stanislao Mancini. Strange as it may seem rlolina took what in 1901 came to be known as "the-

(1) Mo 1 i n a , LbfN >
(2) lea, ciLi._ JULL^. .<

theory of ethnographic nationalities" from Mancini,, (!) How he came across him so early cannot be explained especially considering that the most widely known views in Mexico when Molina was young were those of Darwin, Spencer, Haekel, etc., and Mane in i was relatively obscure. (2) However., he appears to have been familiar with them and adopted them in essence, Mancini was a nineteenth century Italian jurist who suggested using nationality as the basis for international law., arguing that the nation was the political successor of the empire,, Mancini? s notion of nationality covered the aspects of national territory,, race, tradition,, language and religion,, which he said were the elements he felt constituted national awareness. (3) However, Mancini's most interesting aspect was his defence of the right of self-determination and his affirmation that ethnarchy was the perfect state of the nation* He also foresaw the possibility of several races sharing the same territory and said that in these cases the on 1y way t o sh ape a si n gI e n at i on a1i ty wou1d be for the different strains to mix and form just one. (4) Does this sou n d fam i1i ar ? The d i sp1easu re that Molina c aused t he "pure" p os i t i vist s w as n o t r e a11y su r p r ising„ Th ey wer e horrified when they saw that he^fbout to invade their chaste

(1) Molina, "D isc u r so p ron un c i ado (...) en 1 a so1emn e inauguarcitfn de clases% p. 215.
(2) See Roberta Moreno, op v cit..„ pp. 18-22.
(3) On Mane i n i ? s theory, see G i useppe Car 1e, "Pasqus1E Stanislao Mancini e la teoria psicclogica del sentimentc nasionale", in Att_i__dg..]. la R ...... Ace ad em la d e i . L i n c e i , s e r i e qu.arta, volume VI (Tipografi'a della R . A . L . , Rcma, 1389),
pp. 548-567.
(4.) Pasquale Staislao Mancini, Delia Ma z ion a 1 it a_^ccr^ f on d am^n±j3__^e.L_^J^Lllg__d§JJ.___aentl (Tipogr-^ia Eredi Botta, Torino, 1851), pp. 31-43.

scientific circle *tt* German romanticism •.."'.... ' ... :_ which [' clearly infusfclft .'.'_' Mancini's internationalism.
In spite of everything, Mancini served merely as a starting point for Molina. He was his catalyst and provided the justification he needed for his mest izophi 1 ia, and he did not hark back to him for the rest of his work. He used another source for hi s h i s t. a r i c a 1 i n t e r p r e t a. 1 1 o n a n d t h e influence it had on him grew towards the last decade of his life. This influence was the theory of race struggle. Although he only quoted this theory on one occasion to prove his idea that history is the result of the acts of great •figures, it is likely that it was Ludwig Gumplawicz who was responsible for influencing Molina in this respect, although Mo 1 i n a never admitted i t. i n s o m a n y w o r d s . (i) G u m p 1 c w i c z w a s a Polish sociologist who reduced social Darwinism to the ethnic plane. He affirmed that the inevitable struggle between different races would be transformed into a struggle between different classes and parties over time. He was an observer of events in Europe and believed in polygenesis. He-claimed that all societies started out with racial heterogeneity and became united as they became more developed. (23 The main essence of Gumplowicz's theory can be summed up as -Follows:
The struggle of the different races to dominate an wield power in all its forms,, either violent or latent
is the driving force of history. (3)

(1) Mo 1 i n a , jJui|ure_z ? p . 24 .
(2) On Bump low fez," see Harry E. Barnes and Howard Beckei Social Thought .fr_gjTLjaigj^^±jg^j£lyi£e (D.C. Heath and ic LJ.S.Af™ 1938) , vol. I, PP- 713-/16.
Lud w i g Gump 1 ow i c z , j-3_lM£tU;_^§__L" a.?^§
A ires, 1944) ,, p. 211 -

These words could easily have been written bv Mclina, However, as Molina was probably only familiar with parts of Gunmplowicz's work indirectly, or maybe disagreed with his historial arguments and palygenetic stance., he did not use Gumplowicz to defend himself against the purists. What is clear, nonetheless, is that Molina adopted the idea of racial conflict as the driving force behind history and used it as his cornerstone,.
The i n f 1 u. e n c e o f G u m p 1 o w i c z o r a n y o t h e r o f h i s contemporaries on Molina is more significant than it may appear to be at first sight as it provided the roots of the controversy s u r r o u n d i n g M o 1 i. n a ? s M a r x i s t t. e n d e n c i e s . 3 o m e people even found the subject worthy o-f unnecessary deep discussion. (1) None of the authors of the preface to Los qrandes p rob 1emas na-C ioni aJ,es skirted round the matters Chavez 0 r o s c o said that if w e w e r e t o c h a n g e t h e t. e i-" m '' r a c: e { ' f or "class" there was no doubt of Marx's influence in the book,, while Hiriart said that he felt the concept of class went back to earlier times than Marxism. Neither of them, however, grasped that the real source of Molina's historical analysis was, as Cordova said,, to be found in the theory of race struggle. (2) As it would be simplistic to call Molina

(1) See James. L. Hamon and Stephen R, Miblo.. P.';-g.c ursor.es de

Ji..J2£.:^^ 1975") ™ "pp. "iio~i"i9".
(2) Chavez Orozco,, j2£LjL™.™.^J:±..i ? P« 6 5 Hu.ir.berto Hiriart L'rdanivia, preface Lo s_ srDb
(INJUVE, Mexico, 1964}., p. 10; CSrdova, CB_
35-36. See banzalo de la Cruz Reyna. J^r^§j^j
eL eero AajrajlLQ (Law thesis.
PP *

a "typical nineteenth century liberal," (1) there is no doubt that he was a long way from being a Marxist either wittingly or unwittingly„ Although it is likely that Molina became •familiar with basic Marxism in his youth,, he probably aid not study Marx or Lenin seriously until the 1930s when "he quoted •from them and showed e v i d e n c s o f h a v i n g s t u d led t h e m in hi s book La revo .lye i 6n agr ar; i_a . In this book he changed his use of terminology. (2) In it, he noted that the doctrines of Marx and Engels were read in French in Mexico during the par-Fir ist regime and that there had even been some "positivist communists." He alleged to have been influenced by -socialists but, different to his earlier works, .La revalue.! On .agrar.i.a c o n t a i n s c o m m e n t s t. h a t b a c k t. h i s u p ., s LI c h as his complaint t h a t u t h e M e s t. i :•: o s w i n p o w e) r w i t. h revolutions and the Creoles always want to take it away from them with elect ions* !i Nonetheless his handling of the concepts of infra- and superstructure, and his appraisal of Marx, who he accused of ignoring the ethnic quest ion, did net provide any indications of having stemmed from scientific socialism,, which he continued to reject with the same vehemence as in his earlier works. (3) The very first of his works, which called for the eradication of inheritance, contained nothing to show that his ideas were the product of

(U That was what James D. Cock croft called him in Int e 1 1 ec t ua . . 1 ... ... Precursor s ._gf ._ __the Mexican
1900^1973 (U. of Texas Press, Austin,, 1968), p. 76,
(2) This decade also saw the consolidation o-f the Soviet. regime, the emergence of the New Deal, the rise of Cardenism in Mexico,, and the increased popularity o-f Marx's and Lenin's theories.
See Mo 1 in a, L-a^Jiej/oJLlicj^^ esp .
30-35; vol. ' V, p. TI? vol. II, p. 43.

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the proposal made in that vein in the Communist Manifesto.

(1) Despite this, it could be said that the whole of

Molina's work contains indirect superficial signs of

socialist influence. These signs, however, -did not fallow

the same style as used by the popular unorthodox Henry George

and probably came from the theory of the race struggle

insofar as the Marxist influence is to be found. (2) In any

case it is clear that both theories are mutually exclusive

and Molina never strayed away from the limits of his field •—•

he had his own s p e c ia 1 homo__ethnic us t o offse t the homo

_ec o.n om_i c us . Nevertheless the problem was really rather more

complex and stem m e d f r o m M o 1 i n a •' s t h e o r y o f m e s t i z o p h i 3. i a , o r

more precisely from his JlQmo__§jt_bHJjrj^j§ with whose help he

intended to create a race of Mestizos to provide the

basis for the development of a new Mexican society..

However, as this race was a hybrid, a few scientists

of that time insulted the Mestizos saying that they were

sterile. B e c: a u s e? o f t h i s t h s y q u e s t i o n e d h o w t h e - — - - - - -——

(1) In La_: revolution_ aq r a r i a , vo 1 . IV , p . 33 ? Molina confessed that the theory of El evangelic de una nueva reforma did not come from the strategy proposed by Karl
Mar x .and F r ed e r i c k En g e 1 s i n The. Commun i st Man if es to , as
may have been' infer red but was inspired by the "German philosopher" (sic.) Nordau. This affirmation can be corroborated by consulting the Austro-Hunqarian Max
N o r d a u * s. S pen c e r i a n a r g u m e n t a g a i n s t i n h e r i t a n c e i n Corryer\ t i onal___LiJLi__.o.f___0jjl'...........Civilization (W 111 i am Heinemann, London, 1395), pp. 244-255, (This POCK also influenced Ricardo flores Mag6n; see Iparrea .go..........c.i.t ._._
p. 49).
(2) Irving L. Horowitz, in tine introduction to Ludwig GLimplowicz,, Out_Lill§^___Q±___JP£ i,P.l°ay. (Paine Whitman Publishers, N.Y., 1963), pp. 39-44, he affirms that Marx influenced Gumplcwicz. On socialism and land tenure recommended by George and diametrically oppcssd to
M o 1 i n a ? s a g r a. r i a n i s m ,, s e e? Hen r y G e o r g e , Pjlg.5.r.£-;.s.s and Poverty (C. Kegan Paul 8< Co., London, lS9i*, pp. 295=386.

j srj™

responsibility for the format ion of a -fatherland could be placed in the hands of such a race, which would have to multiply its numbers before- all else. Fortunately the Mexican Mestizos' rapid multiplication did not take long to dispel, this slanderous opinion. And if there was any doubt left, Darwin, who had approved of hybridism., could always be consulted, (i) If his opinion were not enough., hybridism had also been supported by Ernest Haekel, a German proponent of Darwin., from whom Mo1 ina took his anthropological bases such as the1 carbon theory and' the "driving force theory."
(2) Haekel, who claimed there- was continuity between Lamarck's theory of inherited characteristics and Darwin's theory of se 1 ec t. i on , mad e i t c 1 ea r t h a t -f e r t i 1 i t y was transmitted in hybridism and that hybridism was also the source of new species., unlike selection, Molina, nonetheless., lost more than he gained on that point -•-• although Haekel supported race mixture he had a terr ibis-impression of non-Caucasian races, which., of course, included the Mexican Indians and their Mestizo descendants., (3) This began to give shape to one of Molina'-s inevitable contradictions. The fact that Molina had been inspired by a forerunner of German racism largely explains his dilemma as

(1) See Charles Darwin, CJn_trie_Origin of t h e _ Sp_ gc_i e s (John Murray, London, 186-0), pp. 276-277.
(2) Haekel is considered as a resolute defender of Darwin's ideas. See M a r v i n Harris, T h e Rise of Ari t h r gj^J._DO i£ajl Theory (Rout ledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969), c . 294,
. The theories adopted by Molina can be seen in Ernest Haekel, JllfL-hLL ^k°ry_gf..... Great i on (Henry S. King ?• Co,, London, 1976), vol. I, pp. 316-349.

he had placed al1 his hopes in a being that even hs at t

had to consider as being a member of an "inferior race." (1)

The -fact that the Mestizo was capable of reproduction

and could form a new race, however, meant that he was a long

way -Prom being "scientifically" condemned to inferiority. In

•fact, Spencer, who had also doubted the hybrid's fertility,

categorically stated that societies composed of mixed races

ware destined to anarchy because of their inadequate

organization. He took none other than the mythical Mexican

Mestizo as an example of this and said:

The half-caste, inheriting from one line of ancestry proclivities adapted to one set of institutions, and from the other line of ancestry proclivities adapted to another set of institutions, is not fitted for either.
He is a unit whose nature has not been moulded by any-social type, and therefore cannot, with others like himself, evolve any social type. Modern Mexico and the South American Republics, with their perpetual revolutions, show us the result. (2)

It would be difficult to imagine an intellectual drama of

greater intensity than that which faced Molina Enriquez as

Spencer mercilessly destroyed the bases of a theory that had

been mounted on him. It is ironic that Molina's doctrinal

champion turned out to be his worst enemy, However there is

no need to exa#@rate Molina's dilemma. Although it is true-

that he was not the only mestizcphils to face these problems

. (3) perhaps nobody had analysed mestizophilia as deeply or

(1) See Molina, L5PN., p. 110.
(2) Spencer: "The Principles of Sociology", cit.. p. 592.
(3) All the positivist mestizophiles had the same problem, and not only in Mexico'. Hals says that the intellectual self-denigration in Latin America reached its height during the oositivist era thanks to the adoption of diacriminatorv doctrines. See -Charles Hale, "Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930", irlne Cambridge History pf Latin America (Cambridge L\ Press. Cambridge^T986), vol. V, p. 400.

suffered as much as he had. His problem was obviously structural: he had to base his claims in favour of a coloured race an. t h e D r i e s d e s rg n e d t c 1 e q 11 i m i z e t h e imperialism of a white race. Obviously Spencer's contempt for miscegenation was not directed at the Europeans or the North Americans, who he said were the product of a happy mixture of different Caucasian groups, but at the people who came from a mixture of "very different" races, (See what he had to say•on the subject of the contamination of Spanish blood by Indian blood.) (1) In his scale of evolution, the? Mayan and Aztec Indians were very fortunate to have received the title of "advanced savages" in relation to the other American races., and he considered them to be on a par with the Ancient Egyptians, How could it be possible that a hybrid society, formed from these "uncivilized tribes who had to be p e rm anen11y sub j ec t ed to ' ' c ompu1si v e coo oe r a t i on" t o prevent chaos „ could be capable of evolving enough to enter-the industrial age? (2) This contempt, of course, was net exclusive to Spencer, The Belgian "anthropologeclogist" Elie Roc 1us summed up the opinion held by other nineteenth century western evolutionists of the American natives in his book,, which greatly influenced Molin-a. His frank, eloquent summary reads as follows:

(1) This is the same idea used by Le Ben that bothered Juste Sierra so much. It consisted of spying that the mixture
of very different races only provoked degeneration. 9es Gust aye Le Eon, Les__IOIB ....p_syc h o 1 o q i q ues_ d e 1 r" e v o U-11 e r-
des j?.eu files (Ancienne Libraire Germer Bailliar-= 2t I
Paris. ~1894) , pp. 45-52.
See Spencer, "The Principles of Soc i elegy, C_L^_ 574-578.

on les dedaigne comme n'etant qus des p-eupies en-;: antE. „
on les meprise comme n'ayant que les rudiments de ^intelligence et de la moral ite., (i)
If there had only been a single path of evolution for all the different races in the world., they ecu.Id have been compared with each other and classified as either primitive or civilised,, exploitable or civilizing (guess which races were destined to be colonized and which were the chosen races to lead them to their siavation., according to this eurocentr ist ic view.,,,) This line o 4- reasoning is almost complete in itself. One step more and it could have been desc r i bed as r ac i st.
It is worth r e m i n d i n g t h e r e a d e r , h owe v e r , t h a t r a c i s m
was only fostered during the nineteenth century as its roots go back fu.rther « In this, sense it was perhaps desirable to fall a step short. This period left a legacy of an essentially static: non-evolutionist conception of race., whose most famous representative was Cuvier. The main tool at that time was comparative anatomy, which is a strictly racist attitude which prevailed during the first half of the century and reached its height in the 1860s. (2) It was at this time that the terms "anthropology" and "racial determinism" became almost synonomou.s when the Count of Gobineau published h. in-famous essay H which bo?came one of the leading works on

(1) J.J. Elie Roc Ins, Les primitifs (G. Chamerct, Paris, 1885) , p . 393 • & oc * us ? s x •T»pc«r t ance i n re 1 at i on t o European thinking can be seen in Barnes ?< BecKe^-, op^CLijLi ? vol. H, PP- SI 9-820.
(2) See George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture and Evolution,, (Ccllier-MacMillar-i, N „ V . , i96S).
13-41.'

racism. (1) However,, -from then on ? the eighteenth century-theory o-f environmental determinism on which Buffon and others had based themselves, began to gain strength and gradually won the the previous school of racist thought round to the idea that races are far from being immutable and are the product of the environment. -For obvious reasons, Spencer and Molina adhered to this tendency. Both were aware that evolutionism could not work if the races were considered to be immutable.
Nonetheless, the fact that races were susceptible to changes produced by the effects of the environment did not
I

cancel out the possibility of labelling races as being either superior or i nf er i or ., even if just far shart per i ods o-F time. For Herbert Spencer, the characteristics of each race became orga n i c o v e r the d i f -f e r e n t g e n e r a t i o n s t h r o u g h ' genet i cs. (2) G iven thi s, the rac i st i ab e1 i s not so inappropriate for Spencer, although he may have? been affected by a touch of "ethnoenvironmental" determinism. As the environmental factor is a constant for any race. Medina.

(1) See Harris, SBj-^citj., pp. 103-105. It is worth pointing out t hat a 11 h oug h Gob i neau b e 11eved in manoq enesi s, he •felt that once the races had been created by the environment and other factors ethnic differences would become permanent. See M.A. de Gobineau,
_ _ !A__. _^.-^-^_^__ d^s____r_ac_e_s_______ huma i nes (Librairie d e hi r m i n DTdoT^F7eres7 Paris, 1853),, vol. I, pp. 197-236,
(2) Herbert Spencer,, The Principles of Psychology (L o n g m a n ,, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1855), pp. 523-530. Also see Spencer, "The P r i c i p 1 es of S o c i o I og y " , cit^
pp. 590-591.

like Sierra, based himself an the principle of the three elements that Taine said determined man's society ---- race, environment and time. (1) Even so his situation was extremely complex! he still relied on a mestinophcbe who fervently defended the? supremacy of the white races. (2 ;• Obviously this complexity was not solely related to Spencer. All o f the s o - c a 11 e d '' ' s cientific" g r o u p w h o influenced Molina to some extent or another -••-- Gumplowicz, Haekel, Rod us., etc. -•- opposed hex-; i can mest i zoph i 1 ia because of their belief that dark skin was unquestionably linked to barbarism. (3) Molina was able to and in fact did try to disprove these theories to provide a basis for his own, but he was d e f i n i t e 1 y i. n a m u c h w e a k e r d o c t r i n a 1 p o s i t i o n t h a n ., for example?,, his Yankee counterparts, i/Jhile Molina accomplished eclectic feats to adapt these European doctrines to his Mestizo Mexico,, in the United States, where racism had already m u t i 1 a t e d Me x i c a n t e r r i t o r y ,, social D a r w i n i s m f i 11 e d in perfectly with the white imperialism of Fiske and Strong, and made a good job of providing a "scientific" explanation for what w a s c a. lied " o b v i o u s fate" and R o o s e v e i t '' s f e r v o u r

(1) See H i p p o 1 y t e T a i n e „ H i s t o ire . d e 1 a Li t.t^ej^j^t.u.re Anqlaise.1 (Librairie de L. Hachette et (Die., Paris., 1863)", "vol. 1, PP» XXII-XXXIII.
(2) Spencer's attitude to racism and environment a!: determinism are described in Wilts! re, op. c:it. , op, 209-213. On the spread of these ideas in Europe„ see Harris, oj2_JL-JLit._«., pp. '84 and ss., and Pier re L. Van den Berghe, Race an d R a cjLsm (John Wiley & Sons, N, V f . 1967), esp. pp. 11-18.
(3) For more details, see Stocking, op. c 11. , pp. 131-132,

for expansionism, (i) Although there were thinkers in Euroc-e?

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who did not believe? in or who actively opposed racism, Molina seemed to have been determined to disregard anything that had to do with it.
In -fact j, the range of European ideas in the seventeenth'
and eighteenth centuries also included humanist options, and besides the option of discrimination., the weir-known idea of the "noble savage" which portrayed man as pure and unsullied by civilization and therefore theoretically useful as a unit of human measurement was applied to the problem that the existence of the "savage" has always represented for the western mind* (2) Molina knew of these options and he also knew that in the midst of the evolutionists" euphoria and nineteenth century racism the defenders of racial equality 'were making headway. In Francs Durkheim was working in this field as was Mill., the positivist, in Great Britain, Reriarvs classic essay was also published against this backdrop; in which he refuted ethnographic criteria and called it obsolete in terms of the definition of a nation, (3) In any case., Molina did not even have to look to these ideas for support

(1) Social Da r w i n i sm a 1 so se r ved t h e an t i -• i rnp e r i a 1 i s t i c Yankees who wanted to protect the ''purity" of then-race. See Richard Hofstadter, Social __ Darwinism .in

5 (Ll • D ^ !~' f~ n n s y 1 v a n i a P r e s s ,, Phi ade 1 phi a , i 945) , pp . 146™ i 66 .
(2) See John. W . Burrow,, E v p 1 u t i o n and 5 o c i e t y (Cambridge L! « Press ,, Camb ridge, 1 970) , pp . 3-4 .
(3) For more on the racial egual itar ians mentioned, see Harris, O£.«_™_sJJLi j PP- i0i anci 464-470. The essay mentioned is of course Ernest Renan's speech given in the Sorbonne entitled Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? (Calmann Levy Editeur, Paris., 1882).

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(1) because he had the work of a man who provided him with a

better -Framework than Spencer -Per his mestizophilia. That

man was none other than Auguste Comte. Unlike Spencer, Comte

did not "biologize" sociology and thus avoided the temptation

to explain progress in terms of the product of conflict on an

individual or racial level. He aid not speak cf "universal

brotherhood" and did not predict the transformation of the;

species in one "individual." (2) However, perhaps Mclina's

reticence to accept Comte's ideas, or anyone else's for that

matter, stemmed from his deep attachment to the idea which

with Spencer, who was a follower of Malthus rathe*- tnan

Darwin, brought to fame to social Darwinism. This idea

consisted of the belief in the everpresent purifying struggle

between individuals and peoples for survival. (3) After all,

biology and ethnology for Spencer and Molina were the

sciences by another name, and people who did not base

(1) Molina's work contains signs of contradiction with respect to the breadth and vaiety of Mis reading. Valades, hcwsvsr, suggested that Molina was a "half-educated'' man, see Jos^ C. 'Valad^s, Histor ia general de la Revolucidn Mexicana (SEP-Sernika, Mexico, 1985)., pp. 58 and 162-163. In any case, it is clear that he was able to read in French and to a Issser ex.tent in English in his search for sources,,
(2) See Greens, oo. cit. , pp. 422-427,, and Edwai-d Evans-Pritehar c! „ A History of Anthropological. Thought (Faber and Faber, London, 1981), pp., 51-52. Although Comte coincides with Spencer on the influence of tne environment and not race, his conviction in the basic equity of man is deeper. Given this, it was s'u-^^icient for him to study the course run by the European societies towards the positive state to define the mooe! that would benefit all of mankind sooner c<- later. See Auguste Comtey Cours d* Phi^osoohia Positive (Bachelier Imprimeur-Librairie, Paris, 1842), vol. VI, pp. 87^-373,
(3) On the influence of Malthus,, see Burrow,, op,....cit..., c.
183. it should be noted that Scsncer also flirtsd with the idea of race struggle: see Greene,,
437-441.

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themselves on science were losing out of the greatest value of the positivist age •••-- scientific discipline,
Despite the existence of several points of incompatibility, Medina worked things out so as to remain loyal to "science" and laboriously dodged Spencer's attacks on his mestizophi1ia. On the one hand, there was no other option open to him than to accept that the Mestizos just like "•all hybrids reflect the fa u 11 s a n d defect s o f t h e p r i m i t i v e races." However,, he comforted himself in the confidence that social welfare and even education,, which he had despised so much, would allow the Mestizos to evolve successfully., On the other hand, he s k i 1 1 f u 3.1 y r e f u t e d S pence r ' s a c c u s a t i o n that the Mestizo was inherently politically unstable by arguing that no race is naturally revolutionary and that the Mexicans 7 violence was a response to social oppression, (i) However, neither this adaptation not? his theory cleared the way completely and there were still several doctrinal stumbling blocks that had to be dealt with. One of these obstacles was identified by Humberto Hiriart who failed to understand why a positivist should say that "religion is the mortar of nationality if that stage has already been superseded." (2) Although .Ccmte outlined three stages of human development,. corresponding to the theological stage, th* metaphysical stage and the positive stage, Molina's hopes that the aspect of religious unity would be

(D Molina, JLGP,. , pp. 109 and 420-421.
(2) H i r i a r t,, op „ _ cj._tm.»_.. p ., 31 „

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"the most important of all those comprising the ideal."
To a certain extent, this was like taking a step backwards as Mexico was at the metaphysical stage,. and -in the best, of cases, to entrust the cohesion of the father land to Catholicism implied a continuance of the monotheistic regime in a society that having overcome polytheism would have to fight for "mankind's religion." (2) On this point M of course, Molina could have reasonably argued that he was not using Comte's evolutionary criteria in. his analysis. The problem was that all the positivists, including the supporters of Comte, Spencer. etc., agreed that it was not scientific to resort to religion. Although Spencer came to Molina? s aid in a rare, fleeting occasion when he contradicted Comte by justifying religiousness as an inborn tendency in man,, both philosophers soon joined forces against Molina with their cat egor i c condemn at i on of c on ven t. i on a 1 religion. Although Spencer refuted Comte? s backstepping to ch an nel religion towa rd s a kn own and finite being such as mankind, he also acknowledged^ that the "sytems of dogmatic theology" hindered the development of social science. (3) In the face of this, Molina — an "idealized" Catholic to the end? — (4) chose to ignore the contradiction and as always

(1) Molina, LG F'N, p. 400.
(2) See A u g u s t e C o m t e . Pi scours sur 1? esprit positi--
(Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, 1974), pp.
%J / — wJ S »

(®) Spencer, "Reasons for Dissenting 1- 1, c. it. , p . 41 and
"Principles of Sociology",, c i t. , p. 294.
(4) AS we can see from his work, Molina was greatly
influenced by Tolstoy-style Christianity in his yc-uth . This may explain why he allows us to glimpse his cwn "idealised" version of Catholicism., See Me 1 in a,, LGPiM..
p. 402.

did not appear to have been disturbed by it.
However, his calm was deceitful, Molina was becoming gradually more aware of his incongruity which was accented after the publication of Los.... q.randes.^ p.rpbj, em as..... nac.i on a 1 es b y his conversion to a s t r an g e c ombin at i on of revo1ut i an ary evolutionism. Later on, in.' the last few years of his life, he discovered t he an swe r t o this awk wa r d sit ua t ion. The change that this implied, which went virttially u.nnoticed by-scholars of his work,, (1) was extremely radical and well deserved the "sensational confession" he announced in the final volume of La revaluei6n acraria. In short, his new opinion evolved around the idea that the industrialization process i n Eurap e a nd e1sewh er e was mer e1y a m a n ife s t a ti on o f the western v e r s i o n o f h u. m a n d e v e 1 o p m E? n t, a n d t h a t the r e w a s no suich thing as advanced or backward societies in the world only "different, peoples that live and fight in accordance with their circumstances and their own abilities." (2) Molina did not beat about the bush. Nobody could have asked for greater proof of his break with Spencer and his kind. Although Molina spent forty years preaching the word of Spencer, these had not passed in vain. Moiina insisted on refuting Spencer with "bio-organic-" analogies which did not contradict his evolutionism (3) and said that the resulting

(1) Perhaps the only person who noticed the change was Abelardo Villegas in his article "Andres ^Mclina Enriquez, un ciantifico del agrarismo" in Cier.cia (Mexico,, vol. 31, no. o., Sept H D D
137-138. V111eg as, . h owever, did not i d en t ify t he sen rc e
of the change.
(2) Mo 1i n a, La R evaJJ^SJ^-n. a q r a r i a, vol. V, p . i SO .
(3) See OP . c.it^ > vol. Ill, p. 35. As we already KT •-•:,.-. organic analogies were Spencer's seal.

inertia led him to a contradictory rut i IE attempt. at conciliation. This was a complete turn about- for him. Nc matter how much he wished to soften the attack on his former mentor, he had gone straight for his throat. Moreover;, in this new phase, the discipline that Molina had previously. been admired for became shameful? if his only stigma before had been his conservatism,, he now criticized the new Creoles in retrospect for having justified their arrogance in the "Spencerian language of the day 11 and underhanded ly cursed positivism by condescendingly saying it was a Creole doctrine that went very well with the M pretensions of scientific smugness" of the new Creoles. (i) Molina's dilemma was solved. He no longer had to swim against the current to protect rnest i zophi 1 ia ,
However, we must explain where the new Molina found his arguments that would have made Spencer turn in his grave., Fortunately, in contrast to the vague origins of the racial backgound in his theory,, there are no doubts about his nsw source. Franz Boas, a naturalised American anthropologist, founder of the d oc t r i n e of c u 1 t u r a. 1 r e i a 11 v 11 y ,, was 1 a r g e 1 y responsible for influencing Molina. (2) According to Boas" doctrine there was more than one course for man's evolution, This meant that there was nothing to be gained from comparing different races with each other to decide which were supericr or inferior,, He also said that racist determinisms '..sere

U) I b i d..._, vol. IV, pp. 26-27.
(2) Some people prefer to call it "histories particularism.'5 See Harris, op. cit., p. 250.

fallacies because.he felt racial development was conditioned by history and not by sthnic characteristics. Boas, who opposed the biological apricrism, made a distinction between the concepts of culture and race., and freed cultural inheritance of any genetic charge made against it. He-maintained that the environment only had limited affects or. culture and rejected Taylor's cultural "absolutism" and Spencer's social Darwinism. (1) However,, it was clear that not all these ideas, which M o 11 n a p r o b a b 1 y r e -• r e a d i n B o a s ' series of lectures published between 1911 and 1912 by the National li n i v e r s i t y o f M e x i c a (2 } ,, w e r e u s e d b y M o 1 i n a i n h i s selective schema, In fa ct f m u11 iI i nea 1 ev o1u t i on wa s th e only idea he adopted for his awn use. If he had adopted Boas' o p i ni on c on cer n i n g t he i r r e1eva nce of ra c e tc cu11 u re and his contempt f o r rn a n ? s e t h n i c d i fr, e n s i o n f h e w o u 1 d h a v e had to kill off his beloved homo ethnicus, which besides being s t r- a n g e r t h a n h i s p o s i t i v i s t convict i CD n s , p r a v i d e d a n alternative to fill the gap left by Spencer and support the weight of his theory of mest i zoph i 1 la „ This was not possible, however,, a s the n e w s t a g e i n M o 1 i n a ? s t h o u g h t demanded r- e v e r s e d r a c i s m t h a t c 1 a m o u r- e d for the c o n s e r v a 11 o n

(1) On Boas and his doctrine,, see Stocking, op, cit... pp. 195-133 and 264. The general lines of cultural relativism were already traced in an essay written in 1896E Franz Boas "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology",, in his book Race v Language and Culture (The MacMillan Co., N. Y., . i955) 5 pp. 270-260..
(2) Franz Boa s, Curse__de .antropoloqia general (b oo k i ets pub 1 i shed by the Nat i ona 1 Lln i vers i ty of Mex ice , Mex i:: ~ , 1911-1912). The second of these lectures includes the passage quoted by Molina to back up hie environmental determinism (the mention that Boas made of th-= physical changes undergone by immigrants ir. the United I~atesj;
see Molina., La_ _£ e; y p 1 u. c i 6 n a q r a r i a , vol

of important remains of social Darwinism., Although Moi:na never became an indigenist in the strictest sense of the word (1), he now delved into indigenism and wanted the Indian and the Indian Mestizo to have the opportunity to taK.e revenge on the Creole. The time w a s rip e to se11i e o1d sco res. The race struggle would not come to an end just because the white population was at a disadvantage for the first time. Unfortunately, Molina's break with Spencer and his colleagues came too late. By then he neither had the time nor the will to reconstruct the theory on the base Boas had provided and decided to leave it intact in the hands of his enemies. In any case,, his recapitulation is as praiseworthy
«

as it is radical. Perhaps* as we will see later on. it. had
something to do with his temperament. What is clear., nonetheless., is that when he finally decided that evolutionism was the least suitable means for developing his mestizophi1ia? he seemed to feel he had been .relieved of a great burden. A long time had passed since he could last write openly about his "temperament" and his "poet's sou.l" ("and as an artist and poet:." he exclaimed in an article written in 1909., "I can say without boasting that I have

(1) » "™ t Bonfil, —— —— ;> ^op. MM,i..»»..m-n>»^«««^-'•""**"•"*• cit., • pp. 228-229. If indiqenism "• is the nan-Indian policy's as Aguirre Be It ran y Bar re says, with respect to the special treatment the indigenous
p op u. I at i on h as t o be gi ven with i n the n at i on a 1 c on t e :••; t , then Molina is not an indigenist just because he saw the Indians as merely another group or because he tried to join himself to them in his second stage against other-sec t o r s of t h e p o p u 1 a 11 o n . See A g u i r r s Bel t r a n ... '' L n postulado de politica indigenista'1, in Qbr

« M _»•«•. !•••• > U. J .__ _ ' ."•„ t '. t T—.

Lff *Utf rfV* %» W.V *l If*'* ••»* •«" —-' ——— I W • ————1-mm.mui.i-iT-11 T 1MT———n-i . I..I ...I

cit pp. 24-25., and Mar ie-Chantal Barre, X3J.^_I
i nd i n^r LS^jE5—_ V- mov ^ m ^ en-t:os i nd i cs (3, XXI, : v1e T9B5")T~PP- 19 and 23 "

always been mad.") (1) since then his sections nad fed -E, secret idealism that ha could not admit to in the light cf science. Nonetheless this came; through on occasions when his subconscious betrayed him as it did when he admitted to his preference for "Spanish chivalry" as opposed to Anglo Saxon
V

pragmatism« (2) The relief he felt when he managed to break free of his ^'scientific" bonds should not come as a surprise because contrary to popular belief there was vigorous romantic blood under Molina's thick positivist skin. His To 1 st.oy-1 i ke sp i r i t, h i s my t h i c i 2 at i on of the Mest i zo and h i s feelings of patriotic honour in particular,, which led him to rebel against the triumph of the strongest and to shout "if we have to go it had better be soon" from the depths of his soul with poo r1y disgui s s d r e si g na t i a n , b e t r aying h i s romantic n a. t u r e „
If we are always the final losers in everything, we will wander through the centuries like the Jews., without a land or home? but the name of Mexico will always be on
our lips and its memory will live on in our souls. (3)
Who but a romantic idealist. could have subscribed to Roosevelt's ideology of.My country, right or wrong 7 without any qualms? And who could have put up with being called mad

(1) Andres Molina Enri'quez, "Como te iba yo die ier.do. . . " in La Defngc.r.a.cia (Toluca, 20 March 1909). The articJe is a kind of love letter in which Molina links colours and feelings (green ~ hatred, red ~ ambit ions ? violet ~ mysticism, blue " ideals., pink - dreams). For more on
his poetic inclinations. see Andres Molina Enr iquez . !1 De rodillasl", in La Gaceta del Gobierno (Toluca,, 16 Sept,, 1893).
(2) Molina, LGJPN, p. 407.
<3) Ikidk, pp. 432-433.

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for any length o-f time,, as Herbert. Spencer said he was. (1) No contradiction can last for aver and there are no thinkers that would put up with it.
This marks the end o-f Molina's intellectual labyrinth,
From what we have said so far, the reader can appreciate how wrong it was for someone who personified eclecticism to be judged as an "orthodox social Darwinist." (2) To label a thinker who defies all c issif icat ions by arguing purely and simply that he is nothing more than a positivist in general and more specifically a Spencer i an is an unacceptable oversimplification. The only adjective that suits Molina is " mest i z op h i i e . n H i s mest i z op h ilia i s t h e on 1 y p o i n t n e neve r waivered on. Like .& Molina changed to stay just as he was- Everything he did? he. did in the name of miscegenation., and he was able to defend himself from charges of doctrinal incongruence by using Machiavelli to argue that the end -justifies the means when a nation is being forged., The only thing left to see now was whether the means justified t h e e n d ..

(1) See Spencer, Jhe___Study ......of .Sociology (Henry S. King & Co., London!, 1973), p. 204. Roosevelt's theory which Molina was so enthusiastic about is contained in
T h e o d or e Roose ve11, American Ideals and other Essgyg (G-P. Put n am ' s son N.Y., 1987), esp. pp. 14-37.
(2) For more on who made this mistake, see Stabb, op. c it. , p. 407.

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b) The Heart of Mo1i na's moti vat i on

So what could prompt, a Mexican who was so overwhelming ly influenced by theories that. unavoidably led to contempt for the Mestizo to choose the Mestizo as the sole symbol of Mexican identity? Molina's case was very different to that of any of his mestizophile predecessors. However H he probably possessed a little of each of them as he was the product of the descending line of the school they all belonged to. Pimentel y Riva Palacio and Sierra wer.e his mentors for the idea that Mexico could not be a real nation while the process of miscegenation was incomplete,: Thanks to their influence Molina also decided that stability, originality and modernity had to be the desired results of m i s c e g e n a t i o n » H o w e v e r ,, M o I i n a w a s i n a u n i q u e p o s i t i o n i n relation to h Is predecessors and successors? of all of them, he had the least appropriate means of ana lays is to defend mest izophi 1:!. a while it was he who embraced the subject with the most energy and provided the most sophisticated theory, The explanation for why this should have been so was very personal. As Molina lived in a country in which race mixture was an overall phenomenon that was on the increase, he merely responded to what he saw around him. The reason behind his mestizophiiia was the fact that as gradually less and less of the population could claim to be of pure Indian cr Spanish descent and as the process of miscegenation appeared to be irreversible the most logical conclusion was tc promote the Mestizo as the symbol of national identity in ethnicist here that prevailed. However, this rather

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conclusion was converted in passionate partisanship when the* correlation between race and class mads Molina blame racial differences for the social injustices that were, committed * Molina had witnessed the effects cf this wicked correlation at first hand in porfirist society during his notarial and legal career and saw that the situation was worst in the rural areas. This j§_QJijrJ:JieJ._d alienated Mexico's coloured majority from having a say in the ethnic problem and ended LID enraging them.,
Up to this point,the problem was simple,, but it began to
get more complicated when we see that Molina's irritation did not prevent him f r 6 m v i swing t h e s o c i a 1 sit u a t i o n i n M e >•: i c o from the perspective? of social Darwinism which naturally inclined his opinion in favour of the Creoles. This provided the beginnings of his dilemma and we do not have.to dig very deep to discover that another more profound motive was . involved; the bloody conflict between his logos. and his ethos. Although it may seem rather simplistic, why did the race struggle that Molina was so obsessed with break out inside him? tearing him between his rational preference for the Creole and his sentimental preference for the Indian,, or. in other war d s ,, b e t w e e n h i s 3 p e n c e r i a n e d u. c: a t i o n a n d h i s desire to see justice done ? His contradictions, however, were merely the result of the argument in which positivist reasoning gradually lost ground to what Medina's own grandson described as "a highly reactive ethos" (1) and which Pastor-

CD Alvaro Molina Enriquez, op. cit. . p. 13.

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Rousaix rather severely attributed to Mo Una's "personal temperament",, which:
means his thoughts and acts are dictated by the prejudices/ likings or dislikes rooted within hijn. This means his ideas? which are always subordinate to his feelings, are developed by making facts and events fit
in to support them. (1)

Although "the facts" at first refused to support some of the feelings he felt for the Indian,, they later imposed themselves. (2) This explains why his mestizopni1 la. which never was anything else, started off inclined towards the Creole and ended up in passionate defence o+: the Indian, This last point is worthy of more attention,, and we cojuld ask what it was that made Molina succumb to such passion. To understand it we must probe the depths of Molina's mind. Molina's problem was his need for affiliation and his search for personal identity , which was inextricably-mixed up with his overwhelming quest for national identity., As long as the Jj3C}O.s and stjnos were at odds within him he could not avoid the powerful existential impulse that. constantly compelled him to take sides in a reflexion of his idealized view of Mexico. Although he felt more Creole than Indian in his early booklets,, time inclined his emotions

(1) Pastor R o LI a i x , j3jBQJSSjjjjL_^i6j_lo£^
__ L21Z (PR I ., Me x i c o , 198^"; ~ p .'
1 1 •-'•»• TT a

(2) As an eloquent example of his early weakness for the Indian, see the fiery challenge he made to the governments of independent Mexico on account of their discrimination.- See Molina, LGPN , pp.. 206-20"?. His •Final inclination towards the Indian is contained is his
m e m o r a n d u m to t h e ; National Muse LI m (2 9 N o v ., i 9 3 E') i n which he proposed "that the Indian should be considered as the dominant aspect of our nationality rve-SDanish"; AAME .

towards the weaker side. Five years be-fore his death, ne?

wrote:

Although my health and heavy beard have given my -face, which looks half-Arab and half-Jewish, a Spanish loci: to
it,, in my heart of hearts I feel I am a purs-blooded Indian because of the mixing of my ancestors -from Arag6n and Andalucia with Indians, (My maternal grandmother was a purs-blooded Gtomi Indian)., I am an Indian at heart and Indian because of my culturej I am just another of the many Otomi Indians that hail from
the place I was born in (Jilotepec, State of Mexico.)
(1)

His physical appearance and ancestry in any case are i

irrelevant; with or without his Otomi grandmother, in his own

mind's eye his skin had taken on a darker hue to blend in

with the majority of the Mexican people., (2) But why did it

take so long for his Indian Mestizo view of himself to

surface? The answer to th is lies in the simple reason that.

the image of a bronzed Mexico could not be used by him

without making one of his famous doctrinal changes and this

took place in three stages: 1) with evolutionist ideas

firmly in his head, Moiina felt obliged to class the Indians

as i n fe r i o r in keep i ng wi t h the 1ead i n g sc i en t i fi c

authorities of the time; 2) compassion made him creative and

because he could not come right out in favour of the

idigenous culture, he stuck to the dubious hypothesis

(1) Moiina,, preface t o L a q u e r r a d e 1 Pa c i' f i c o , p , 5 .
(2) The photographs and testimonies coincide with the Creole selfportrait he mentions: if he had been dressed accordingly Moiina could have passed unnoticed in Spain,,
The testimonies were obtained from interviews carried
out in Mexico City with his grandsons Alvsr'o Moiina Enriquez (19 Dec. 1986) .and Luis Moiina Enri'quaz (14 April 1988) and with two other people who knew him p e r son ally, B1 an c a Basave (20 Dec . 19S6 } ar> d An t on i •::: Huitrtfn (29 Jan. 1987).

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concerning the dark-skinned peoples' superior for?- o^: "individual selection? 3} as this weak pretext was insufficient to back his growing emotional charge, which may have been incited by the memory of -former Spanish offences, he finally decided to set the doctrinal obstacles aside that prevented him from fully acknowledging and calculating the worth of the Indians, In other words.. he had to renounce either his defence .of the Indians or evolutionism if his passion was to'be brought into line with his reasoning., and the chain b r o ke a t t h e wea k est 1i nk» Boas ap p eared just at the right moment to ease Molina? s change of colour.
Bes i d es r eso1vi ng the p rob 1em of c on t r ad i ct i on that Molina had faced f Boas' amendement also at last allowed him to reassess the value of the indigenous culture in relation to the Spanish c u .11 u. r e „ H o w e v e r ;, i n M o 1 i n a :' s h a n d s t h e harmonizing spirit o f c u11 ur a i r e1 a t i vi t y ac qu i r e d a hi nt cf revenge. in his final work, Molina showed that his admiration for the "beautiful Spanish language" was a thing of the past and proposed calling the language spoken in Mexico "the national language." Moreover, he showed interest. in pre-Hispanic script for the first time and stopped referring to the "great Spanish legal instinct" and the right of reversion (1) speaking instead k of the "plunder c-^ the conquest 'and the Indian influence in colonial architecture.

(i} Note that in 1929 Molina was still basing himself legally on the power to revert the concessions the Spanish crown ha-d in New Spain. Andres Molina. Enriquaz,
C gndi c: i_PlL- _.jurJ- d i c a del Hospital de J e s as (d o c u m e r t. addressed to the president of the republic, Mexico, Oct.
(2) 1929); AAME.

In this sense, the best examples of this contrast can be-:- sec;-" by the difference in Los „ gr ancles ^ rob 1 emas nac i on ales and L_a r evo 1 uc i 6 n aq r a r i a . In Los;, a,r ancles__p r p b 1 e _m a s n a c i o n a 1 e s h E based his defence o-f the Indian exclusively on the strong points of the Indians' physical constitution, as Riva Palacjo had done, while in Js=^_J5l§J/9lj^j^jl!I_jg^Iia£j^ he gave the cultural aspect consideration after totally ignoring it in his other-book. Likewise, he new said that the encounter between the two cultures had given way to the predominance of the Indian culture. This change announced the next great turn that would take place in the history of mestizophi1ia. (i) However, j u s t a s h a d h a p p e n e d w i t h his d e p a r t. u r e f r c m unilineal evolutionism, Molina's new cultural mestisophi1ia came too late. The delay and Hoi ma's reminiscences which made it difficult for hi?r, to adapt to the new doctrine show that he w a s r e 1 u. c t a n t to a p p r e c i a t a the i n d i g e n o u s c u 11. u r e a t times in its own context,; making fall back on the oriental links with the nat i ve pe opIes of A m er i c a. (2) In an y c a se, however, it was finally the cultural factor that tilted the balance in fa v o u. r o f the India n „
Despite the relevance of these extremes we should not
lose sight of the principal role played by the Mestizo in our analysis of the Indian-Creole conflict that was being waged in Molina's mind. The Mestizo was a constant and acted as a conciliator between his antagonistic progenitors.

(1) See Mo1i n a, La R e v o1uci 6 n a q r aria, vo1. I, pp. i 29-i 52.
(2) Molina was always an admirer of the eastern world. Maria del Carmen Reyes, op. c i t. p. 31,

Mestizo 'was also the image that never ceased to haunt Molina. The Mestizo was the wise dialectical solution to the conflict. From start to finish, M o 1 i na discovered two very different Mexicos that were antithetically attracted to each other. One was the sad Mexico of the Indian and the other-Mas the triumphant Mexico of the Creole, Nonetheless, since the Indian Mexico was weak and the Creole Mexico was cruel and stateless, Molina began to envisage a third. This vision was the ideal Mexico and belonged to the Mestizos. In a very-broad concept, the process of miscegenation ceased to be the vehicle imagined by P intent el to. "creolize" the Indians and provided the means to " iridianize" the Creoles as E_l Ref or mad or had hoped to do during its second stage without distorting the Mestizo.(l) Unlike Riva Palacic-'s view in which the Mestizo fell directly between the Indians and the Creoles, Molina's Mestizo did not acquire a personality of his own and -finally apppeared as an Indian that had undergone a few changes,. Right from the first signs of friction in La R e f o r m a y Jua r ez up to the aggravation of the racial strife in the writings of the thirties, the Mestizos shone out as partial mediators who were attacked together with the Indians by the Creoles' and who only began to recover at the end. The reader should not find it strange that Mclina's

(1) Although his concept of the good Mestizo varied, Molina never ceased to consider himself as "the most fsithfu'.! representative of the Mestizos" in Mexico, as he said in 1928). (At that time he thought and felt "with the Latin heart and soul of the Spanish graft." See Ar.dres Molina Enriquez, "Los Estados Unidos,
la guerra mundial del Pacifico", In Excglsio- (Mexi-zz-, 16 Jan,, 1923).

work is a battle -field in mare than one senss- in which trs side that seemed to have won was really the loser. After reading the string of abuse that the author used to describe-his hybrid in his fruitless desire to defend him, we can almost hear the Mestizo ask -For mercy,
In passing, we should add that Moiina's personal reasons
for mestizophilia w e r e a s u n u s u a .1 a s h i s t h e o r y . H o w e v e r ., because of this and to provide a. better perspective it is important t o b e a r i n m i n d t h a t. fas c i n a t i o n wit h p s y c h o 1 o g i c a .1 subject iveness meant. Molina and the other Mexican m e s t i z o p h i 1 e s w e r e less o ta j e c t i v e i n d e a. 11 n g with t h e s u b j e c t. that was their chief concern. Although comparisons may be hateful, at times they are very necessary,, The Argentinian,, Jos& Ingenieros (1877-1925), who was also a sociologist and defender of social justice, arrived at a conclusion that was totally opposed to M o 1 i n a ' s e v e n t h o u g h t h e y s t a r t e d o u. t using the same bases -•- the ideas of Darwin, Spencer, Gumplcwicz* etc. In a book published a year after L.o§ g r an d e s p r o b 1 .e mas___n_a c 1.0 riaj^e s . I n g e n i e r- o s said t. h a t Argentina's greatness was based on the fact that it was a white country which had been "rid or almost rid of inferior races."(l) With an ease that any Spencerian mastizophi!e would have envied, Ingenieros took the doctrines that Medina had had to- twist tc suit his purposes through to their (1) Jose Ing e n i e r o s , La evol^cjLdn sociolaqica arqentina (L i b e r e r i a J . Men en d e z ., Buenos A ires , 19 i 0) . p „ i 02 (Also sea pp. 21-52 and 85-105). For more on Ingenieros' ideas,, see Ricaurte Soler, El . posit i_vj._smo
D (Innprenta Nac tonal, Panama. 1959), pp. 97-146.

natural consequences. Referring to brazil,, he E;
a country in which most people are either black or Mestizo, there can be no hope of achieving hegemony over countries in which blacks are regarded with curiosity 11 and in which there are "only scanty remains" of the Indian populations. However,, the Brazilian journalist and writer, Euclides da Cunha (1866-1909), thought very differently. Da Cunha was another of Molina's contemporaries and shared his doctrinal views although he had never been in contact with Molina.(i) Three years before the public a tio n o f L a R e f o r m a y J u Ar _e z D a C u n h a reached the conclusion that in countries with as marked racial differences as Mexico and Brazil, the Mestizo was the nucleus of nationality. (He said that in a book that is considered to be the "Bible of the Brazilian nation, M) Unlike Molina, however., and given Brazil's greater ethnic heterogeneity, da Cunha was in a position tc choose between several types of Mestizo and thus minimized his violation of the a n t i - h y b r i d p r i n c i p 1 a s b y a ccepting t h a t. m i x t u r s w a s generally harmful as the blacks living in the coastal areas had s h o w h . N e v e r t h e i e s s s he a d d e d that the I n d c -- E u r o p e a n sertane jo was an exception tc this., (2)
There is no need to explain that this comparative

(1) During positivism's heyday in Latin America thers was no contact between positivists in Mexico, Brazil and
A r g en t i n a , See A r t u r o A r d ao , !i Ass i m i 1 a t i on an d Transformation of Poisitivism in Latin AiTierica"j in
Jo u r n a 1 o f t h e H i s t o .ry__o f Ideas (vo 1 . X X IV , n c , 4 ,
Oc DCt. t. -Dec ., . 1963 i •-• co) .' , t p H . . 516. -> A » .
(2) Euclides da Cunha, Os Sertoes (Laemmert & C. Editore=, Rio de Janeiro, 1903}., pp. 615-616 (alsc SEE D;: , 65—214). On da Cunha's • ideas and racist thought in Brazil* see Thomas E. 5k idmore,' Black into l>Jh. it_e (Oxford

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/ p,, ess, N.Y., 1974), pp. 38-123.

analysis did not set out. to induce the fallacy that to be a meetizaphile it was enough to live in a racially-mixed country. Racism is o b v i o u. s 1 y n a t e x c 1 u s i v e to societies w i t h greater ethnic uniformity just as such societies are not mestizophobic. To illustrate this there is no need to look an*y further than Mexico, However, so as not to give a one-s i ded ve r s i on of r ac i a 1 t h i n k ing i n Lat i n Ame r :i c a , h e r e are two examples — first, in 1909, in Bolivia., which was racially mixed., the first, edition of famous book written by Ale ides Arguedas was published. In it Arguedas said that miscegenation was the only -c actor that explained the reason for Bolivia's b ac k wa rdn ess. Second 1y, in Chile, where t he influx of white immigrants diluted the scanty number of Indians in the north of the? country, Nicola's Palacios defended the " A r a u c a n i a n. - G o t. h i c ''. M e s t i z o i n i 9 0 4- s a y i n g h e was the typical representative of the Chilean people. (1) We are not trying., however,, to generalise in one sense and what we want to suggest is that the probability of a th inker-study ing miscegenation is directly related to the degree of difference existing between the different racial strains and to the degree of development of the process of miscegenation in his society. To explain this, using PercgrulID'S accuracy,. there is an extremely good recipe for making mest i zoph i les ,, using two ingredients! subjective hope for total ethnic

U) See Ale ides Arguedas," Pueblo enfermo (Ed. Ercil la, Santiago de Chile, 1937),, esp. p. 264, and Nice las Palacios, La raza chilena . (Imprenta i Litografia Alemana, Valparaiso, 1904), esp. pp. 1-12. A concise description of racial thought in Latin America in the period in question is contained in Hale,, "Political arid Social Ideas", crLs.> PP• 400-409.

Uniformity and the objective existence of invincible racial heterogeneity (which does not yi e1d t o s s g r eg a t i o n a n d\or genocide.) This recipe is virtually in-fallible and is potent enough to overcome any form o-F intellectual adversity when a third ingredient is added to it. This ingredient is the historical, palpable 'feasibility cf -fusion. It is safe to say that the? fertility of the field of mesf. i zoph i 3. i a in Latin America stemmed largely from this common denominator which is the only factor that explains the fact that people as different as Brazil's Giiberto Freyre and Peru's Jos& de la Riva Aguero agreed when they said that miscegenation was the national essence of their countries. The Brazilian Mestizo came from three sources and was Indc-Negro--E.uropean while the Peruvian Mestizo came from the "legitimate cross between Spaniards and Indians," (15 If that was what happened to people who responded to the process of race mixture relatively late, it makes it more logical to suppose that the same motivation was felt by Andres Molina Enriquez, the greatest exponent of mestisophi1ia in a country considered &y the mainly indigenous region of South America to represent a successful example of miscegenation.(2)
Besides the historical and demographic parallels that

(1) See Giiberto F r e y r e , I nt e r p r eta c a o. do b r a. si j. (1 i v r a r a i Jose Olympic Editors., Rio de Janeiro, 1947),, esp . p.
A» •-> *•• •-• WV i , "| w .3 » i n • H w-» J o s e d e la Riva A g ~f u. e r o •, ' ' R e c t i f i c a c i 6 n necesaria: profesion de peruanismo integral 11, in .Qj^ra.! cc)m£Llet.£i^ (Pont if icia -U- Catdlica del Peru, Lima, 1966) ? vol",. "v," esp,, p. 413.
(2) See Jose Maria Argueda.s, "El complejo cultural en el Per a" , in Formacidn de una cult u r a ..__Ji§^io_n.=J.
. _ < s • X X ! ' Mex i CD ' 1 975 - * SSP • PP ~
~gr e a t e s t p r o g r e s s made b y the p r o c e s$ o f mi s c e g e n a 1. 1 o n i n Mexico compared to South America was documented IP the
f i r s t p a r t of this bo o k „

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can be drawn between Mexico and Peru,, and despite the difference of time that their respective miscegenation processes took, there .is one basic similarity between the two — they both correlated race and class, It is not just a coincidence t h a t the a 1 1 e g a t i o n s in P e r u i n f a v c u r o f s c c i a 1 justice also emerged racked with an intense ethnic charge, as we can see from the indigenist claims o-f Gonzalez Prada, Mariategui and Haya de la Tor re. (i) Just like Sierra, Molina Enriquez and many other Mexicans,, leaving aside their i.deo logical differences far a moment,, all had problems in e x pressing t h i s c: o n c e p t '. j. a 1 b i n o m i n a 1 which is h a r d t o s p 1 i t. in the history of Mestizo America. Nonetheless, with respect to Molina there was the danger that the extrapolation of the priorities that many of his Mestizo American, colleagues gave to the socio-economic factor and the impassibility of resisting the temptation to give Molina's thoughts unlimited validity could cause an erroneous interpretation of his work. Scholars,, for example, agree that Moiina played with concepts of race and class, and this could make us think that he only used the race aspect to mask the social aspect, That was not the case., It is true, however,, that if we remove the ethnological structure of his pro-miscegenation theory and add a few other changes,, as the Peruvians did, we would have a coherent sociological analysis. Molina was a social fighter and he dedicated a large part of his life — ————— -•---••-•
(1) A full description of this and other currents of South American thought mentioned in this analysis is contained
in Albert o 1 u m F e 1 d e , .In dice cri'tica de la 1 itaratu.ra
(Ed- G u a r a n i a , Me x i c o , 1 9 5 4) , v 3 1 , I.
e'sp . PP- 241-360.

and intelligence to the er adication of brutal injustice in \^ Mex i c an soc i et y . It i s i og i c a 1 t h s r e-f o re t h at h i s w r i t i n q s contained a critical examination of society,, However,, to affirm that his digressions used racial terminology to explain phenomena with extra-racial origins is going too far. What cannot be separated is not n.ecessar i 1 ly indifferen^iable and the boundaries of Molina? s theory were well-defined in this respect.,
M o 1 i n a d i d n o t p r o p o s e a c 1 a s s 1 e s s soc i s t. y . W h a t h e wanted w as a n a t i o n w i. t h o u. t c a s t e s . T h e f a c t t h a t c 1 a s s differences existed was the natural result of differences in aptitudes, which i s f u 13. y j u s t i f i e d b y s o c i a 1 D a r w i n i s m 5 however, the arbitrary evil socio-economic predestination of the Indian and t he Me s t iz os rouse d hi s t emp era m en t« T o a certain extent,, Mo 1 in a was more anxious to see racial justice done than social justice. His efforts were directed against. the inequality of opportunities and he aimed to convert the fatalism of Indian -failure into the determinism of Mestizo triumph. Although this liberal stance could be converted from "socioethnological" (this word was coined by Molina) (i) language to strictly sociological terms, meaning is bound to become distorted in the conversion since the terms used in the race-class context will disappear when the Mestizos have formed a signle race and have permeated all levels of society. There is no doubt that Molina wanted to see a fair society structured with more balance. However, this would be a by-product of the emergence of an omnimestizo nation along

(i) Molma, JLSENj. P" -'^

with other desirable resi-ilts such as c ones ion and

patriotism. E -f f o r t s wo u 1 d h a v e t o c o n c e n t r a t e c n t h e

planning of ethnic homogeneity because class differences

were only tolerable when they were not combined with racial

differences., and not vice versa. Molina made this very

clear 3

If the national population were homogenous and if the people belonging to the group that administers justice and those who have to suffer the wrongs of that -justice because of wild outrages., were all from the same race, the'^wrong done would not be so serious because all the elements of the same race would feel they belonged to the same family,, which shows sympathy for its other members. Although these feelings may deviate they are persistent,, and the members of this family feel sympathy towards each other. However., in our country., where differences of race provoke fierce antagonism;. there is a marked ill will felt by the Creoles towards the Me s t i z o s a n d t h e I n d i a n s 3 a n d b y the M e s t i n o s a. n d the Indians towards the Creoles., And as the Creoles,
who a r e b e 11 e r e d u. c a t e d |(s h a p e t h e a t m o s p h e r e in w h i c h
our .governments work, as soon 'as a government is
est ab1i she d the C r sole s for m a hi gh er g r oup t o d i sps n s e justice., This group uses justice as a terrible scourge against t h e 1n di an s and Mest i zos. (1)

Although this allows us to deduce that racial strife is not

the only c a u. s e o f t h e e x i s t e n c e o f s o c i a 1 c 1 a s s e s -•• --• e a c h

individual's struggle for survival also counts — the above

combined with Medina's repeated reference tc "impLilses of the

blood 11 leads us to suppose that while a country is ethnically

heterogenoLis,, racial instinct irrationally shapes the main

factor of the nation which is adopted by the socio-economic

structure and determines ideology. (2)

(1) Andres Molina tnriquez, " El programa ds paz y insticia"? in E_l jmparcial (Mexico., 28 June 1913).
(2) Also see the articles (quoted) by Molina, • "Lo qua signifies el reyismo", "La formula ce sc-luciir. momentanea del conflicto politico actual 1' 1 and "Ls finalidad del gobierno del Sr. Gral. Huerts."

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Even so the matter was not as simple as it appeared t ~-
be. In Molina's theory his explanations of causes, which were always vague,, were numerous and intertwined. To start off with., we could say that the desired objective of the culmination of the miscegenation process was not so much an end in itself? what Molina sought was obviously not some form of aesthetic ethnic uniformity but the creation of a modern,; developed nation based on the "ethnic energy" released by the fusion of the races., (i) In that sense, he proposed his plan for agrarian reform-, inspired by a project to "germanize" Polish Prussia which proved counterproductive for Bismark.,
(2) as a means to achieve the "meet i zation" of the Creole,

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which in turn was another means to obtain political stability. I. n t h e 1 c n g -•• t e r m t h i s w o u. Id p r o v i d e t h e s e 11 i n g for the creation of his dream-land. (3) However., from reading Molina's theory it is clear that he was obsessed with the race factor/ or the "Aztec club" which Lu.is Cabrera so shrewdly distinguished in the agrarian dispute they were both involved in. This was also a sign of the corrobcration of his ethnicist obsession by the man who knew him best, (4) As

(1) On the idea of "ethnic energy" as the force behind social change., see Andres Moiina Enriquez, "Cuadro-prqgrama de las necesidades y asp i r ac i ones del
pais v del modo de satisifacer unas y otras" , in M_^x.ic_o nuevg'(Mexico, 21 Sept- 1909).
(2) On" the prolect that inspired Molina and its unf ortu.nate results, see Norman Davis, God's Playground (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991). vol. II, pp. 112-138.
(3) See-? Andres Molina Enriquez, "El aspects ju.riaicc del problem* agrario", in E.I Independiente (Mexico, 9 Sept. 1913).
(4) See Luis Cabrera, ''Tu Quoque., yrutus", in compl.et.as., cj/U.- vo1 • IV >

it was impossible for Molina to take -facial measurements or calculate the amount of pigment in the skin o^: famous figures in history, he sometimes used cultural criteria to make his ethnic distinctions. However, his main source for making such distinctions was physical appearance and this explains his intense curiosity about Morelos' portrait and the reason why he included photographs of heroes in' the first edition of L,a_ r e vo Lye, .i a n aq r a r i,a.
Nonetheless, from any point of view, the race question occupied a permanent position in Molina J s thought., and,, with the exception of a -few insignificant i_ap_suis ? nis comments on race were consistently in keeping with his anthropological d ef i n i t i on of the t er m and wi th th e close 1 i n k h e d rew between r ac e an d t he f athe r1an d. Despite his ad m i 11 a n c e t hat the "father lan d a n d r a c: e c: a n a I m o s t b e c o n f u s e d w i t h e a c h other", he had a clear idea of what race wass
£^ y t h e s a m e p r o c e s s o f e v o I u t i o n t hat a fa m i 1 y g r o w s a n d becomes a fatherland,, it forms a races in that process
the race is the material result and the fatherland is
wh at we c ou 1 d c all the mo r a 1 r esu It. (i)
For Molina, the fatherland cannot exist without race because racial unification produces community cohesion ---- the alta*-- — which together with the territory —- the home -•-• forms the fatherland,, What was not defined here is what the fatherland is, not what race is. Medina's msstizophi1ia can be confused with many things but his quintessential ethnic variable

cannot.

(1) Molina, LGPN, p. 370. Here Molina. endorsed his concept of race as the "grouping of human units with identical morphological characters which are derived from thei-- equality and the continuity of the general conaitions ::•-"
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Where Molina gets into problems is with his racial generalisation. He decreed that;
all the Indians are passive, insensitive -and sullen? all
the Mestizos are full o-f energy, perseverance and are serious; all the Creoles are bold, impetuous and
f r iv0ious . (1)

A i t h oug h Molina ac k n ow 1 ed g ed t h at i t was d i f f i c u It to distinguish races that have been mixed and that it is futile to separate groups which in any case -farm a single group, he dared to hazard a. racial census that his political enemy 01 ag u i b e 1 had n o d i f f i c u 11 y i n r ef ut ing. (2) Un h a.p p y w i t h this situation., h e d e v o t. e d s e v e r a 1 p a g e s t o h i s e t h r. i c: charactertypes and went into subtle detail. He finally arrived at a geographical classification of the Mestizo as "insolent" in the north, "arrogant" and " "boastful" on the coast,, and "cunning" in the grain zone. There are several we a k point s i n h i s c 1 a s s i f i c. a t i o n which r a n g e f r o m c a 1 1 i n q the Creoles., who were of French origin, "blond northerners" to sweeping statements such as saying that :: if our Indians" are generally ugly it is because they live in wretched conditions,, (3) Behind these strange confusions, of course, lies his unfortunate insistence on exalting the Mestizos using a doctrine that denigrated them, Only in the light of
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his obstinancy can we understand that although he believed that only the Mestizo's "will power" was superior to that of the Creole as the Creole had "greater perception.

(1) Molina, LS :> P
JJbid...,
cTrTt :L

1 909) .
(3) " 41? U2 and 4 °5 "

(2) JJbid..., PP' 344, 35S-359 and 427. Francisco Olagu ibel ? -~. cTrTt :L c i s m is contained in La .reel ecc ion i M e .- •: i c o , 2 D c t. ,

better comprehension ? greater strength of ir
powers of expression and are more competent!i , Molina claimed that to entrust the -future of the nation to someone who was not Mestizo was "little short o-F treason." (1)
The manifestations c-f this contradiction, of course,have their history. In his desperate quest for Mestizo virtues., Molina, with Riva Palacio:'s help, became convinced that the only evolutionist glimmer of hope for the supremacy of his hybrid,, which he always saw as a modified form of Indian., lay in the "res i 1 i enc:e " of h i s ancest r a I r ace . For rnyster i ous reasons., he attributed the "strong,, burning, resolute love of the fatherland" felt by the Mestizo tc their Indian background (2) and he clung obstinately to both ideas., Thus, armed with strength and patriotism,, the Mestizo received Molina's blessing to confront the Creole., whose refined European character -••-•• we must not forget that Mclina lived during the porfi rist age •-•-••• meant that he was weak and stateless. However., other arms such as intelligence,, culture and even beauty unexpectedly came into the fray making the battle unfair. At this point the Creole came over as an evil turncoat who was ready to make a victim out of the patriotic but in s i q n i f i c 'a n t Mestizo, D e s p i t e his i m m i n e n t . d e f e a t , Molina decided to defend the Mestizo through to the bitter-en d , filling t h e sc en e with c on t r acl i c t i on s .
However, the mestizophile spirit does not. cive in easilv
and in his determination to save the Mestizo, Mclina locked

(D IfeicU< PP- 416 and 395 '
(2) Ibidj., P- ^ 19 and 393 -

(to prominent -figures in history „ Although he refused to see history as the end product of the acts of great men, at times he s u c c u m b e d to weak n es s an d wa s t e mp te d b y a Car1y1e-s ty1e "heroic epic" (1) and towards the end of nis days he even went as far as to dream of a kind of superman along the lines of Nietzsche, (2) . T h i s t r & n d o f M o 1 i n a : ' s w a s rn a n i f e s t e d i n his ulterior concept of the "real university"., which he r omant i c a11y i mag i n ed as a places
where worthy professors who are totally devoted to study
a n d m e d i t a t i o n p 1 c t t h e f • u. t u r e o f o u r n a t i o n a 1 d e s 11 n y just as the priests ana sorcerers of times loncjsinee past plotted the paths of the stars from atop their towers while furious attacks broke out underneath them
as a result of the frantic unrest of the masses, (3)

Perhaps Molina had this idea in mind as he tried to plot the sublime destiny of the Mestizos from the top of his ethnographical tower and shaped his interpretation of Mexico's history for that purpose, Molina was always loyal to the theory of race struggle and he vindicated the beaten Mestizo by assigning him a liberal role while leaving the conservative role to his Creole rival? as always,, the-Indian's role was passive and his nature made, him more inclined to support his liberal brother. If the Mestizo had been put down by sociology, then history would come to his

rescue.

This casuistic analysis is conclusive. Morelcs, Guerrero, Gtimes Farias., Qcampo, Degollado, Gcnzalez, Qrtega,

(1) This is how his grandson describes the atmosphere that Molir.a gives to history. See Alvaro holina Enr i-zuez ,.
op . 9 11_•. j P • 1 '' *
(2) See""M"oTina., Juarez, pp. 24-25, and "Desde muy al
F1 i':'pf ormador (Mex i co , 2 Ap r i 1 i 937) .
(3) MoTin"a\ La_j:: e f Q r m a u r g e n^t e , p. 14.

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Escobedo,, Corona,, Riva Palacio., Diaz and "many others who lacked little to achieve the heights of history achieved by these others'5 ranked among the Mestizo greats. The traitors to the nation were, of ecurse, the CreoIes. Mo11na made an ex cathedra ethnic: evaluation and went as far as to fall back on prosody when he had to, as in the case of Porfirio Diaz, w)0it Mestizo background he reafirmed by referring to the way he pronounced some words. (1) In general,, however, he seemed to have been satisfied with the heroes" portraits and his unusual gift to be able to calculate the composition of people's blood. He flaunted this talent with his claim that Zap at a had' "fifteen per cent black blood" in his veins. (2) To protect himself from scathing criticism from Esteva Ruiz? who w o u 1 d p o i n t o LI t t h a t t h e r e h a v e b e en both g o o d a n d b a d men in Mexico's history belonging to all three racial groups (3), Molina took precautions to defend his generalizations -•- he converted Juarez? an Indian.. into a d.e facto Mestizo and. as he was unable to do the same with the Creole Lerdo ds Tejada, he accused him of having betrayed the liberal cause,,
(4) Over time,, when his radical nature pushed him towards the Indian Mestizos,, he unabashedly exonerated 2avala;i the "misceqenator" ,, for his "denationalization" and formally

(1) Molina, LGPN, pp. 423 and 133.
(2) Molina,, k*LJi§:m^ val • v? P- 147 «
(3) See:? R.A. Esteva Ruiz, "El progreso del retraces^: el proqrama etnico de la unificaciin de onqen", in La (Mexico, 2 Oct. 1909).
(4) cDlna, uj.re^, PP

commended the Indian Victoriano Huerta. (1) ; he-se? adjustments allowed Molina to con-firm his racial stereotypes, (The 'only exception to the rule was his praise? -for Lirriantour . a Creole.) (2)
Mo 1 ina * s methodol ogy was ext reme 1 y rnet i c:u. I cus f or assessing these characters and he made it so versatile that not even Calero,, a Creole, was safe., after Molina adjusted some of his turns of phrase substituting strange words such as "Jacobin" for "Mestizo. (3) MeI ina also devised a subdivision for the Creoles so that the presence of unmistakable Caucasians in the liberal ranks would not spoil his conclusions. Thus., the fact that Comonfcrt and the L e r d o s we r e p r o m i n e n t c: h a r a c t e r s w ho had p a r t i c: i p a t e d i n t h e reform is explained by the necessary but provisional alliances that the Mestizos made with the new Creoles and the moderate Creole lords, and not with the Creoles as such. These Creole factions were stronger than the Creole clergy and conservative Creole lords. However, as this classification was not -flexible enough for his liking, Molina ended up creating a less sophisticated but mere practical form of classification — he divided the Mestizos into "Indian Mestizos", which covered tne good Mestizos, and "Creole Mestizos", which he used for bad Mestizos, This

(1) Mo 1 i n a , i^jLJELEXSJ^^ > vo 1 . Ill, pp. i 04- i 'OS an d vol. Vs, pp. .1.40-142. It is worth mentioning that he bases his historical anaJ^j/sis rather curiously on a book written by a conservative his^anoph i le r Carles Perevra, JBirj3ye_h _i st o ria.de .....Am 6 r i c a (M. Aguil ar, Madrid,
(2) Molina, LJ3F IN , P- 142.

(3) Seee iLa.* PP • 385-390

added the -final touch to his constant ethnic digressions with r esp ec t to Me x i c o* s famous histor i ca1 c h aract e r s. Nonetheless, we are left with the suspicion that Molina le-ft out the most important "scientific note" of all his work on this subject. When all is said and done, neither the grain
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zone nor individual selection explained what form c^ chromosomal influence motivated man to become involved in a bitter race struggle which above all else would determine his life.

None of this ,, h o w & ve r y p r e v e n ted M o 1 i n a f r om c r o wn i n q
his nationalist theory with his dissertation on the fatherland. In this dissertation he included an inevitable "note". Molina used a strange combination of the theories of Haekel, Spencer,, Schoppenhauer and Sieves mixed with Roman Law and the Lord 7 s P r a y e r f w i. t h o u t hiding his Ho b b e s i a n v i e w of man's nature and his patriarchal notion of the sexes, to explain in plain terms that the fatherland is an extension cf the family. (1; What he never clearly explained was whether he really felt that the constitution of the fatherland is a forecast. derived from a historical determinism or is a purpose deriving /from the desire for justice. Likewise, it is difficult to distinguish the causes of the effects, especially in the case of the unification of the ideal, for which ethnic homogeneity sometimes appeared to be conditioned by the presence of the factors for cohesion that :;. t generates. Likewise, after repeating time and time agai-

Ibijli, PP- 359-370

that race implies nationality and then can-firming this with his assertion that the advent of a race involves the emergence of patriotic -feeling., he twisted everything round and said "these feelings may disappear,, the -fatherland may disappear while the physical characteristics will persist."
(1) There is also another source of confusion in his version of formative process o-f the father land ? which concerns the bipolar ity o f the a11 a r an d th e home. The ideal wou1d i n effect stem from the distribution of laneU which Cbrdova said was the final' stage of the only great national problem, (2) In his last contribution to his already considerable conceptual confusion, Mo 1 in a forgot to colH&ct the final chapter to t h e p r e c e d i. n g one s i n_Los, grandles p.r cb 1 emas nacionales.__He obviously wrots this chapter apart from the others, leaving the connection of concepts as important as "nationality" and "fatherland 15 up to the reader's discretion, These are the limitations of Molina? s theory on mestizoph iI ia„ His theory expressed his coherent clear desire in a contradictory; vague justification. He was torn between t he en ds and th e means and on1y m an a g ed t o pa r t ia 1 Iy solve the problem too late. He never got over his confusing racial obsession. This prevented him escaping from the two worlds he found himself in to discover his Garden of Eden , He left his readers to judge just how desirable the Mestizo paradise would have been, or at least how to prevent a return

(1) Ibid^, p. 371=
(2) See C 6 r d ova , o£_t__£iLi ? P • 25 .

1 •-/ —

to racial heterogeneity. As he had done with many ether-matters, he left his readers to fill in the blanks.

c) T h e G e r m ah ci F r u it of Mo 1 i n a :' s Leg a c y ,

There is little . doubt that the value of Molina's contribution of mestizophi1ia to Mexico's history would have been greater had it not been burdened with doctrinal problems. In -*:: act after reading his work it is difficult not to lament that he lived during the positivist era. In any case the fact that Moiina, who was so deeply attached to his circumstances, managed to overcome beliefs that had been instilled in him at sixty-odd years of age can be considered as a point in his favour. Likewise,, many aspects of his work have been described as outstanding without any need to polish them, and although it is a paradox, the age in which he lived and which caused his intellectual unrest was also the source of several of his most interesting ideas. In fact — and it must be said — Molina Enriquez personified the transition from the porfirist age to the Mexican Revolution better than anybody else. As Cordova writes (i>, the fact that Molina was the first person to criticize the porfirist age using the same scientific language' as Diaz's own supporters is the most obvious manifestation of the uncomfortable confusion he felt

(1) See Arnaldo Cbrdcva, La_id go 1 oq £ a d ^. __.l^Jigiy_gJjucj: _6 n Mexicana (Era, Mex ico, 1984), p. i25. : '

concerning this metamorphosis. With one -foot rirmlv i~ porfirist Mexico and the other in revolutionary Mex ico, Mol ina had to be uncomf or tab le during the widen ing of the historical gap. However, it was he who dec ided to make it wider and, despite his difficult position. he stoically con-Fronted the accelerated pace of life at that time, Mol ina acted as a bridge between the two different ages and we must admire the continuity of his ideas during sc many difficult years. This continuity allowed him to come through unscathed and permitted Molina to foretell the emergence of the Revolution and even to predict some of the characteristies of the post-Revolution Mexican political system (1).
His demand for an introspective form of unxenophobic patriotism, which unleashed the race's "inner organic energies", his final rejection of foreign investment (this was the first aspect he hesitated on), (2) and, of course, his proposition tnat a supreme power could solve the "socioethnological" conflict are all tastes of his foresight concerning the tendency of several post-Revolution governments to promote nationalism as the driving force behind endogenous development. As we have already said, he

(1) See Brading "Social Darwinism", cit.. p. 71. Molina's prophetic talents were also recognized in an unfortunate disparaging opinion voiced by one of Molina's and the Mexican Revolution's slanderers; see Daniel Cazes. Lrs (Grijalbo, Mexico, 1973), pp.34-40,
(2) Molina's preference for endogenous almost isol at ion ist development is cleary expressed in his praise of Japan;
his rejection of xenophobia and his belief that it w.--s unpatriotic "to murder a foreigner"; sss Molina, LGPN,
pp. 424-427. His opposition to foreign investment 11 described in Andres Molina Enriquez, "La capitalizaoidn interior" in Boletin de la Secretari'a de S?S3rrr.cic!r (Mexico, vol. I, Sept.-Dec. 1922), pp. 385-3S6.

also predicted the establishment of a president as the p
of the Mexican political system. Obviously, it is difficult to specify exactly to what extent Melira's theory of mestizophi1ia influenced the men who shaped Mexico's new political order but there is no doubt. that several ideas bearing Mo 1 i n a " s un m i st a k ab i e h a 11 ma r k we r e i n f 1 u.en t i a I ., at least in the setting up of the National Revolutionary Party. (1)
M o 1 i n a , the p r o p h e t, h o w e v e r f b r o u g h t the f u 11 g 1 o r y !~! 4"
his work to fruition through his contributions to culture,, Independent of the crystallization of his form of thought in relation to the state. which is a subject that goes beyond the realms of this thesis,, (2) his work prefigures the so-called r e v o 1 u 11 o n a r y c u 11 u r a 1 n a t. i o n a 1 i s m m o r e t. h a n anybody else's, Through his mestizophi1ia,Molina laid the foundations for the consideration that Mexico ought to cease looking b e y o n d its f r o n tie i-- s f o r the t h e o r e t i c a 1 f r a m e w o r k for the Revolution,, which inspired the greatest artistic: movement ever seen in this part of the world, and,, as Villoro said made a myth of the Mestizo (3) (which in turn made a

(1) On the inclusion of phrases such as "strengthen consciousness of nationality using ethnic and historical factors 1' 1 in the documents related to the setting up of
the P.N.R., or on the recommendation to go into greater-depth on the concepts of ""race 51 and "environment" , see Luis Javier Gar ride, El. partido de la Rgvcluci^n ill^.i^£lSEl^Li:..^M^ < SEP -S.X X I, Me x i co, i 996) , :: p , 100—115. Mo 1 i h a r' s influence in the new p a r t y i s
c c r ro b or a t ed if we t a k e Mo1i n a ' s p ro xi m i t y to C a 11 a s into c o n side r a11on.
(2); With the exception., as we have just seen, of what could be called political culture.
(3) See Villoro., op. cit., p. 182),

myth out of the Indian) . Given this, schools c-F the stature of the muralists' school raised the plastic arts to heights that were undreamed of unti 1 then, motivated by their desire
- for originality and attracted by the myth o-F the Indian Mestizo. In his rejection of Mexico's cultural independence,, Molina made the -Following prcph8)(in 1909:
If our painters painted their own people (...) instead
o-F exotic types (...) they.would be more original, would make more progress and would contribute to the consolidation o-F our beauti-Fu.l -Features in general. (1)
His struggle adopted an unusually strong tone and displayed opposition to any -Form o-F cultural invasion:
There are -Fools who although they are Mexicans pretend
not to speak their own language and prefer to use some other language that they only hal-F-picked up abroad. The Creoles in this capital city leave the theatres where
our own culture -Flourishes and excels to the Mestizos
and -Fill others in which second-rats -Foreign companies present shows in Italian, French or English. (2)
These words were the -First indications o-F the development o-F a "culture o-F our own." Even though it is not clear at this point exactly what he meant by this, Los orandes oroblemaa nacionales can be considered as a declaration o-F Mexico's cultural independence.
While other people were obstinately preoccupied with the emancipation o-F Mexican . culture,, Molina moved ahead of his time and formed a series of ideas that made up a trend that would appear in many other ^zrms. His theory went beyond tr.e confines of art and his concern that Mexican waiters were "losing the originality that they could have had i-F they had

(1) Molina, LGPN P- 404.
llj. P < 409.

allowed their talents to develop freely, instead o-f prefer ing to produce slavish imitations of foreign works" (1) was soon resolved with the arrival of the novel of the Revolution. Music followed suit., and if that were not enough, Moiina's inner desire to see Mexico probe itself to discover its "new heart" began to come t r u e d u. r ing the p o s t ~ R e v o 1 u t i o n e r a . Molina could also be considered as the initiator of t he-inferiority complex that later attracted the attention of several followers of this current. In that respect., first of all he confirmed t h e r e a 1 i t y of t h e t i rn e s :
The fact is that the generally accepted opinion in our country is that we ars a nation made up of social units
that are less knowledgeable,, .do less and deserve less
than the units belonging tc the other nations of the earth. (2)

Later he traced the: roots of ma.l inch isrno back to the. isolation of the colonial period. (3) Finally, he called mal inch isgiO "the curse that befell our history of independence" and never ceased to consider it as a result of the et h n i c p rob1 em, (4)
So. where did Medina's prophecies and and where did his
role as an ideologue begin? It is impossible to say for sure. However.. if we remember his friendship with Disgc Rivera and. his frequent discussions with Manuel M« Pores and other artists, and consider" the fame his work achieved ir Mexico in the twenties and thirties, then we can safely say

(1) IbidLi, P- 410.

,u., ... _^ f

(2) J_bidL < P • •-••»• --• *
(Z) Mol i"n a , LfL-flgXgJJrlg, x 6 R a.q r a r i a , vo i . Ill, pp
Also see .og ^._cit. , vol IV, p. 85.

14) Ikisli' VQl " ^* p " i42 '

:hat he was at least partially in If us-nced by the 'evolutionary cultural beam. It goes without saving, r;f lourse, that this movement already existed before Molina and :ontinued a-fter him,, but., in any case, it was he who managed to provide? a logical explanation -for something that was TI e r e 1 y an i n c: o m p r e h e n s i b 1 e i m p u 1 s e to m a n y p e o p 1 e . T h i s m a d e nim a -forerunner to a certain extent. The -fac-: that he did lot leave any -famous disciples who had studied under him does not mean that there were weaknesses in his teaching or intellectual activities. Molina influenced more people than we can imagine, including Jose Vasconcelos., (i) the most independent of Mexico's mestizophiies„ Ule must not -forget that Vasconcelos was the Maecenas o-f mural ism and was also Dne of the most conspicuous people involved in the cultural movements sparked off by the Revolution,, No one can deny the influence that Molina? s mest i zoph i 1 i a had on the <--ebirth of r u 11 u r e i n M e x i c o -•

However, the answer contained in the previous paragraph zould lead us to ask another question: did Moiina's influence die with him? This is a very good Question because there are many signs that could lead us to a false :onclusion. The -fact is that although very little has

(1) In his debate with Crater in 1919, Vascor.celos "quotes Molina Enriquez with respect" on the subject of !"" c 1 i n a J s theory of mest i zoph i 3. ia. See Salvador Azuela, "Una antoloqia de Molina Enriquez", in Huitr6n? Andres Molina
En r i quez .H £JjLs. f P - 224 .

been written about Molina's work this does not ~esn to say that he did not make a great impression on many Ms;;ican and •foreign scholars. According to Braci ing., Molina's influence can be seen in later wr i te r s sueh as Eric UlcIf, Fr ancois Chevalier and Enrique Florescano, (1) He also influenced other -foreigners at different times, such as Ernest Gruening, Nathan L. Whetten and,, to a greater extent, Charles C. Cumberland. (2) Indeed, Medina's ideas were well received beyond Mexico " s -f r o n t i e r s ,, alt h o L;. g h s c m e t i m e s t h i s w a s d u e t o somebody else's work. "Tfcis is the case of Frank Tannenbaum, whose profound influence on all sorts of analysts of post-revolutionary Mexico is well known. What is net so well known,, ho w e v e r , i s t. h a t T a n n e n b a u m * w h o w a s a g r e a t a c! m i r e r j
o-f 'Molina, was also one o-f his first converts to mes t izophilia. In h i s boo k M ex_ijr D. .;............ t h e s t r u q cil e_ f o_ r „„ jp.e ace and bread, in which he prophecized on the supremacy of the Mestizo, s e v e r a 1 p a g e s w e r e v i r t u a 1 3. v t a k e n w o r d f o r w o r ci from Moiina (3) Even though Tannenbaum's "anonymity

(i) Brading, "Social Darwinism", cit., p, 64,
(2) See Ernest 5 r u e n i n g , __Jjj?lLijLg. and Its Heritage (S t. a n 1 s v Paul & Co., London, 1928), • esp. pp. 111-167; Nathan L. Whetten „ liiur iy^.__Jl§L21L£J£ ? (The U. of Chicago press,:
f^j C "'qoi, 1.964), esp- p. 114 3 and Charles C. Cumberland, Mexican' rev o 1 t^t. 1.9 .Q _L_g_e n e s is _ u n d e r M a d e r o f U . of T e x a s Fv'elST'^itln'r™ 1974) esp, pp. 3-29.
(4) "The mestizo". says Tannembaum, "has arisen from the strife betvsjeen European and Indian to rule the p resent srene" see Frank Tannenbaum, Mexico; the struggle for piaf e~ aDdJbr.pad (Jonathan Cape, Lend o n , 19 6 5) , e s p , p .
^__ . _-.^ ^ ^^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ _^ _^ M o i i n a ' s mestizophili a i s a 1 E o evident in Tannenbaum, Peace by Revolution, cit . •< po .

theory stopped him -from acknowledging the intellectual leadership of the revolutionary 'Molina, (1) nothing prevented him from using Molina " s mest i zoph 1 1 la as his guide. Thus, thanks to Tannenbau.m » the theoretical life of Medina's theory-was prolonged for a while.
It is ironic,, however, that a man who was so immersed in
his country s h o u 1 d h a v e r e c i v e d mare r e c o g n i t i o n f o r h i s w o r k abroad. Molina was not really very found of the exogenous variables in his analysis of Mexico. In his cosmcvis ion , especially during his first stage, international factors did not count for much in the formation of a Mestizo father land ,. In fact, h s d i d n o t s? v e n s s e m t o t a k e t h e o u 1 1 y i n g p a r t s o f Mexioo into consideration., For him, Mexico, the republic., was Mexico, the state and city-, with a little more added on — his vision was similar to that of the former Anahuac Valley five cent u. r i e s o n . A t t i m e s it i s nee e s s a r y t o k n o w the outside world and its history to be able to learn from past mistakes. In this respect, one fact sums up Molina •-••-•• he not only never lived outside Mexico, he also tried to make it illegal for other Mexicans to do so, (2) This notion of > a t i o n , h; o w e v e r , w a s r a d i c a 1 1 y c h a n g e d o v e r t i f n e a n d m e t its demise in the thirties after England and Spain were blamed for all of mankind's » ills. Nonetheless, even during that period he presented Mexico's ethnic groups as the

See
(2) In a r> " "ar t i c 1 e written in 19 0 V , M o 11 n a m a d e a v proposal to legally prevent Mexicans form living afoac!.
Bee Molina, "Cuatiro-programa.."

architects of their own destiny. He never, of course, ruled out the possibility of an invasion prompted by the inevitable racial strife; he was more sceptical of out'side interference? and associated danger to the acts of certain groups of Creoles whose fusion;
has created a Scyla and Charybdis situation for Mexico
— 'although it managed to escape the danger of a European Scyla intervention,, it is still exposed to the danger
of an American Charybdis,, (1)
'And although the "national ship" had still tc ascaos from a monster that did not figure in Greek mythology --•••- an Asian invasion — he said there was nothing to fear if there was solidarity among the American nations., (2)
This point contains another of th~> great contributions
of Molina's mest i zoph i 1 i a -••••- although so'mewhat buried under contradiction. This contribution is perfectly feasible and is also potentially extremely attractive. However, before describing it we must elffhiiHate all the doubts surrounding it. Molina,, who was a fervent Pan-Americanist. greatly admired the United States of America which had a profound influence on him. This feeling coupled with the reality of the Mexican people's geopolitical misfortune confused Molina on the attitude tc adopt towards hex ice's powerful neighbour. In 1909 he appeared -Fickle on the subject w^.en ha first of all predicted an ethnic conflagration and even said that a Mestizo Mexico would "not only resist the inevitable clash against the North American people but would defeat

(1) Moiina,, LSPK,, p ,. 3S5) .
(2) See Molina "La doctrina Monroe de Occidents", Jl,A*i—•*-•»"*"••*'*""•"""* « u«? r r a '*** del ****** Pacjf ico , pp. 2 S -~ 2 9

them." Later he feared that there would be a -full-scale military invasion and even went as far as to envisage the American flag flying out si de the Na11a n aI p a1a cs. Fina 11 y, he took everything he had said back and stated that Mexico would never be hostile towards the United States because it trusted i. n the hone s t y a n d u p r i g h t n e s s t hat, a c c c r d i n g t o Molina,, characterized Yankee foreign policy. (i) Later, in the dispute he had with Nieto in 1925, he affirmed that if the Creoles leaned towards the west and the Indians towards the east,, the Mestizos looked to the north because of the gratitude they felt towards "the powerful benevolent nation" that had helped them "in all their revolutions for freedom," He also added that Latin powers such as Spain and France were aoMs s s i v e tow a r d s L. a t i n A m e r i c a , f o r g o t the even t s o f 18 4 7 , and proposed that Mexico should be responsible for drawing up the "western Monroe doctrine" so that the whole continent would support the United States in a future war against Asia. (2) F i n a 11 y , i n 19 3 2 , h e e n d o r s e d h i s f r i e n d 1 i n e s s t o w a r d s the United States and absolved it darwinistical3y of its sin of expansionism by blaming the Creoles,(3)
To explain Molina's attitude we need to go back in
time. In 1898, Molina was a young thirty-year-old
intellectual who watched the impressive display of Yankee--
power in astonishment. Like any self-respecting

(1) Molina, L G PN, pp.' 352, 432 and 446.
(2) Molina, "La doc.tr ina Monroe de occidente", op, 3:,-:- Molina', L^..^SJ^oJj,-^l^_^.^:.aj2.ii a,, vol. II, pp., 29-95,

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social Darwinist , the young Ma 1 in a admired anyone whc managed to impose his author ity on somebody else ,, 1 ike it or not . That is what appeared to have happened to Molina. However., in contrast to his mixture o-F admiration and resentment -For the Creoles' duality as winners and explorers, realool it ik tilted the balance in -favour o-F his 4=irst -Peelings. As -For the rest, the liberal tradition that he undoubtedly inherited and interpreted in his own way was -far -From instilling anti-American -Feeling in him. Thus, the expansionist target o-F '98, which was one o-F the -Few international events that made an impact on him., had more e-F-Fect on him than even the First World War or the Russian Revolution;, and led him to praise Roosevelt and propose a pro-American -Foreign policy. However, the most valuable aspect o^ this case is that his dabbling with Pan-Americanism did not prevent him -From developing his mestizophilia and introducing the emergence o-F a new culture synthesis destined to be "tne true -Flag o-F the whole continent" in Mexico. (1) The idea, which is -Far -From implying cultural imperialism, was integrationalist and very suggestive:
American continent appears to have been put on the
earth to resolve the ccn-Flict o-F the divergence o-^ two already -Formed cultures or, in other words, thG incomprehension c-F the eastern culture and the western rulture, by providing new guidance and procedures. (2)
It is clear that Molina was not disguising the subjection o-F Maatizo America before the superpower as the new culture would emerge there and not here "because the United Statss,

(1) 1*? i d . JL vol. IV, P"
(2) % bjL_d_*. : VOl. I; P" -'-^

which is essentially western,, will not be able to
culture. We, however., can create this new culture by contributing our easts r n g u. i d an c e t o wes t. e r n c u. 11 u r E- » ! ' (i) Finally, just to r u. 1 e a u. t a n y d o u b t s a b o u. t h i s p a t r i o t i s m f Molina made the interesting prediction that the Mexican revenge on those who were responsible for reducing Mexico's territory will be taken by Mestizo immigrants in the. Unite-d States, who "will undermine the soundness of that country" thanks to their"facial unityv (2)
At this point it is convenient to digress a little,, Molina's newly defined proposition of cultural synthesis and his other ideas that we have looked at in this thesis as his living legacy,, and the germ and fruit have been included for obvious reasons because of their relation to his theory of finestizophi1ia. However.. the reader should note that his other intellectual contributions have been excluded from this analysis because of the -specialized theme of this thesis and not because they are unworthy of mention. In addition to the praise from scholars of other aspects of Molina? s work, Molina also deserves recognition for having ventured into many fields and for having contributed innovative ideas. He was the author of several articles on economics,, (3) and

(1) Molina, preface to La guerra de1 Pacifico, pp. 6-/.
(2) Molinai, j-GP N, p. 353^
(3) See Andres Molina tnriquez, " Valor eccntimico de la fun c i 6n 1 eg i s 1 at i va!E , " Hay que r eest ab 1 ecer i,~, normal iclad de la tr ibutac i tin" , "El peso sn.exica.no como moneda de c i rculac i 6n universal" and "Las disidencias C; G
la Conferencia de .Londres y la estructura peculiar de
lo^ pueblos', in El Economista (Mexico, IB April, 3 Ncv,
and I "DSC. 1932, and 1 Sept 1933), pp.'3-4, 130/260 a~d S 5 0 . r s s p e c t i v e I y . On the o t h e r h a n c , m o r e c- n n i -s interesting intermediary position in tnis field, wnic~- rame about after his rejection c- M;?.rxi-=-~ =r-; ± r; i •-

testimonies -From one o-F Mis -Friends sav that Mol ina was

"instinctively" ahead o-F his time in some economic strategies

he suggested. (1) There is also evidence that his creative

interests spanned diverse topics such as tourism anc

political science. This came through ir. his desire to create

a bank to develop tourism and his writings on the subject c-F

dividing the state powers into --Four, based on Naploleon's

state council. (2) There is, o-F course, plentiful evidence o-F

his most praiseworthy concerns which earned him a higner

place than that given to other mestizophiles o-F his time wno,

like Francisco Escudero and otner members o-F the Mexican

Indianist Society continued in their determination to

maintain the status quo: Molina was sincerely concerned -For

the helpless and this turned him into a sort o-F negotiator

•For those less -Fortunate than himsel-^ during the last years

b-F his li-Fe. (3)

——— .—.————— (-Footnote continued.)

prediction o-F the disappearance o-F the capitalist system
can be seen in And res Molina Enriquez., "C'on-Ferencia ante
la Con-Federacidn de Cameras Industriales", La Raza (mexico, 20 and 24 May 1922).
(1) This -Friend was Carlos Basave^ Memoriae, cit. . p. 31.
(2) See Andres Molina Enriquez, "El camino de la paz'% in E_l Indeoendisnte (Mexico, 19 May 1913). The creation o-F the" tour ism bank was proposed in an undated communique that was not addressed to anyone; AAME.
(3) To appreciate the contrast between Molina arc; the members o-F the Indianist Society, see Bon-Fil, "Andres •Molina Enrioue? v la Sociedad Indianista Msxicana"., cit., pp. 218-221. Moli.na's work as a negotiator can be seen -From the letters he sent Cardenas, in which he asked -For measures to be applied in -Favour o4= tne helpless, (In one o-F them he proposes the creation o-F the "Indian Department.") Likewise, he received ancthzr let^er -From a person in prison asking -For MiTi to intercede on his pehal-F. See the letters -From Andres Molina Enriquez to Lazaro Cardenas (Mexico,, 23 Nov.. 19"?4) and to Luis I. Rodriguez, Cardenas'
g. p.,,.. |.- —, -r --K.\. ^ f y \ (Mps"4rn | I ts' .\ 1 &. *-' , •»• "*4 ? De-"" iv c. _ . .». ^9^4^ ,•-...«, *.,,.-_, an-i 4--<,^ ^. _ * ",-.?+•• v... _

This alone would have been sufficient to bring honour to
his name.
However., for the purposes of this thesis there is no need to go into the thoughts of Molina. the activist.. what we are interested in here is Molina-, the thinker;, and more specifically his ideas on mestizophi1ia. Given this we must close this review o f t h e f r u i t s o f his t h e o i-- y w i t h a g I o b a 1 assessment of the theory itself. If we look beyond the doctrinal contradictions that fragment and upset the order of his theory and consider it as a whole, we may asks what is left of it? There is no doubt that his views today on racism sound old-fashioned but there is no doubt that the ethnic factor has been and continues to be a vital aspect of the historical and sociological analysis of Mexico, despite Molina's current discredit. The fact that the atrocities committed this century in the name of racial anthropology made any form of ethnographic: consideration taboo should not prevent us from acknowledging the importance of the race-class correlation that still exists in Mexico, without falling foul of sterile taxonomic limitations. If we set aside Mol ina's racial determinism. and h-is "scientific 1 '1 inflexibility., there< are many valid, useful elements in his' scheme that p e r m i t u. s to ma k e an a n a 1 y s i s o f c o n t e m p o r a r y Mexican society. The marked heterogeniety and the racial prejudices were still undeniably a drawback to social
_______ .... _ ~~ •-•• -• (f c o t note continued.)
Am*dor Reyes, who was in prison, to Molina (Jilotepec, 4 'vi^rr \| ^M.' V -It-*--

"1 934) .; A.G.N., files 444. i\i and 545.3711 1-,

mobility in Mexico, although to a lesser extent t previously. Although it was recognised' that prejudice mere than heterogeneity had to be eliminated the detailed evaluation that Molina made c-f the ethnic situation in Mexico still constitutes a necessary source for reference -for anyone trying to understand the situation, since the unpleasant segregationalist effects of the three classic racial groups were often portrayed as being involved in aesthetic rivalry

which unfortunately kept the racial classifications of the \ colonial period alive, even though they were only related to social and cultural factors, As for the rest, how many Mexicans., intellectuals or otherwise, would currently disagree with don And res' key idea that Mexico is and must be a nation of Mestizos? very few, I am sure,- (1)
Likewise, if we consider history from the cultural point
of view, which Molina himself adopted in the -final stage of his work,, his theory acquires unusual strength. The struggle between c u 11 u r e s ••-• - n o t b e t. w e e n d i f f e rent r aces — t. o o k D 1 a c a and is currently taking place in Mexico regardless of how much the dominant western culture manages to conceal elements from other cultures, and this situation has survived quite
»

admirably during more than four and half centuries of oppression. In that time the Indians 5 struggle to -defend themselves from the bitter attacks mounted by the Creoles is and has been very real ar:d is not a "soc loethnoioc 1C al " masquerade. Finally, on the subject o-F the social background

1) W e w ill anal y s e the current sit u a t i o n c o n c e r: ~: i r j mestizophi1ia in Mexico further on in this thesis.

of Molina? s approach, we could say that the sociological base of his mestizophilia is parti c u1a r1y v a 1u a b1e bec ause 11 provides a complete understanding of porfirist society- It is also valuable if we are to tackle the imbalances that ail modern M e x i c an so c i e t y fro m t h e p o in t o f • su p p o r11ng t he preeminence of the social aspect over the individual aspect, If "de-racial izing" Molina. ? s theory distorts it f don And res would have known how to forgive this. After all, he knew that once ideas have been formed they have a.life of their

own .

All this and more can be extracted from Molina? s theory
by polishing up the material contained in his mestizophiiia» This wealth largely springs from the fact that he was a man who stood at a crossroads on the vertex of time where two eras crossed paths. This made him a "disconcerting" (i; but nonetheless fertile author. Molina was neither a typical porfirist nor a typical revolutionary. He was an evolutionist with a touch of social unconformity thrown i r, for good measure,, He neither felt at ease nor ill at ease with the two eras he lived in. His only deep concern was to see that the nec ess a ry c h an g e s w ere implement e d t o- a 11ow
• Mexico to advance towards the new Mestizo Mexico.. Again it. was Luis Cabrera who understood him:
He would have been a porifirst if General Disz had understood the proDlsms of land tenure during the latter
par f of his regime. Likewise,, he would have supported
• . * Huerta if Huerta's regime had- t-ound a purpose fcr renovation (.«.,• f --.•

(1) The description comes from Gonzalez Ramir«z, op.. c i t A « r- 137.

(2) Tabrera, "Andres Molina Enriquez", c_i t^., 2, 40 1 ',

Contrary to how it may look on -first read ing,, Mol ina "'s theory did not imply that he was an opportunist or a traitor. I-f one thing was clear, it was don Andres' intellectual honesty and the deep love he -felt -for Mexico. Precisely because o-f this Molina was a revolutionary. He understood that there was no other way that the country could be changed, and this made him set himself above the di-4-ferent •factions and the squabbles between caudi 1 loa. This stance allowed him to produce a rather contradictory theory o-F mestizophilia that was nonetheless rich and -fascinating, and which is still worth recovering.
Perhaps it was this situation that allowed him to glimpse the dual purpose of his work in 1911. In October c-f that year, -from the con-fines o-f his prison cell, Mciina discovered the key to both his past and his -future:
I can unashamedly ccn-fess that in most o-f the battles I have caused I have been the loser. Nonetheless, I have been able to draw public attention to the problems the transformation involves and have made the country con-front them with determination. 14= I don't do anythino else noteworthy that makes my -fellow countrymen call me a patriot, I think it is only -fair that this at least is 'recognized. I don't aspire to more because?, like Deqollado, I believe that I will not recieve any-other rewards while I live -from my contemporaries but
the imorisonment I have to su-f-fer together with the indi-f-ference and oblivion I will have to su-f-fer in the •future. (1)
Molina had premonitions o-f his triumph because he knsw that despite all his doctrinal contradictions his meetizophilia would keep the Mestizo dream alive. Likewise,

(1) Molina, "Filoso-fia de mis ideas", p. 6.

he sensed his failure as he? was able tc predict the long years during which the sad mixture of race and cl^ss against which he had fought would prevail throughout Mexico, Nonetheless, anyone who feels that Molina's was a lost cause should remember the prophetic gift he and a few others of his kind possessed. Armed with his Creole faith and his Indian patience don Andr&s Molina Enriquez is still waiting to see Mexico make the Mestizo myth come true so that he can retire and rest in peace.,

III. THE OUTCOME: THE DEATH OR REBIRTH OF MESTIZOPHIL_IA.

1. Revolutionary Mexico: misceqenat ion becomes oooula'-, (1)

Andres Molina Enriquez initiated what could well be

considered an age of unprecedented development o-f

mestizophilia.. From the publication of Los orandes problemas nacionale* on and thanks to the influence of the Mexican

Revolution the link between miscegenation and nationality

progressed towards its -final enthronement. The introspective nature of the Revolution undermined the obsession with

•foreign models and put an end to the chimera o-F a Creole

Mexico. At this stage there were only two alternatives left — Mexico would either be an Indian nation or a nation of

Mestizos. In spite of the indigenist. euphoria that

momentarily -fostered the illusion o-F a return to a pure form

of ore-hispanicism, the reality of the times asserted

itsel-f. The three centuries of Spanish domination had

permeated as deeply as the influences of pre-conquest life

and there was clearly no use in envisaging a one-sided Mexico

(2), History was there and challenged all those who refused

(1) Of the extensive bibliography on the Mexican Revolution there are twc academically sound, recent works th=.t situate this section in its historical context. See

[|4stor_ia de }a Revolucidn Mexican* (El Colegio c'e *«icat Max i co, 1981-1982) and Alan Knight, Tha Mwwican Revolution (Cambridge U. Press, Cambridge. 1986;.
There Jere,, of course, indigenist mestizophilas and peonle who disagreed with the oldest forms of racism. However, these groups were minorities. As examples,, ses Ppdro Lamiq (Crater), "Criollos, inciios y mestizos", in Mad(=rn por uno da *u* fntimoa (Of, bid. Azt9ca, Mexico, 9*^9*0, "pp. 16-113, and Alberto M. Corr&ro, El D*jjLLL=' neq/'P (speech given to the Mexican Geography a-.c "c%ttTsticz Society^ 26 April 1910)*

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to accept Mexico's syncretism with all
avalanche of the Revolution^ began to -fall on them with its overwhelming force.
In these circumstances it was logical that the ethnic problem would be? a source of concern to the ideologues of the Revolution. When Macierc assumed the presidency in 1910, h>=» devoted several pages of La__sue e SA An .p. re si d_ejig_i_a JL__de .1 9 1C? (The Presidencial Succession of 1910} to the lamentation of the brutalities of the profirist era against the Yaqui Indians and proclaimed the Indians tc tae a "sister race." (i) From then on there were few people who shunned the subject. A week before the date set for the outbreak o~ the •Revolution.,, following the lynching of a Mexican in the United States, Ricardo Flores Magdn reprimanded American capital is?!: i'n his article entitled f^gjgJl§_Lac j^_n f R eq en e r a 11 o n) f o r having encouraged racial hatred. Although he declared he had been "freed from race principles 51 in his accusation he could not conceal his indignation concerning what he described as a "mob of white savaq; es who viciously hurled themselves on a •>*-> poor Mexican." (2) A short time later in his famous article directed-at Hadero, Luis Cabrera affirmed that the causes of
the discontent were not "exclusively racial" but singled out
preference for foreign customs and habits as one of the main tMBUrcec of the nation's discontent. (3) Evidently, Mexico's

(1) F r a n c i s c o I . M a d e r o „ La suces i 4q_j3jrgs i.denc,i.a 1 de 19j_g E d . Epoca, Mexico, 1985), pp. 200-201,, 261 and 349.
<2) Ricardo Flores Mag6n, "La repercusidn de , un
linchamientoM in Regjgngra£i£n (Era, Mexico. IvBS),, pp. 252-256. Art icle~pTiblished 12 Nov. 1910 =
t3) Luis Cabr^r-, "La solucibn del con-f 1 icto", in CJbr_§_s
Comp let as. clt..,., vol. Ill,' PP- 205-233, Article
pub'l ished ' 18:T9""Apr i 1 1911.

21 /

introversion was on the increase. The reject ion of foreign models went hand in hand with contempt for anyth ing that contradicted popular wish, and in Goth cases the enemy was typically white. What Mexicans felt as their own and what was popular was identified witn the Indians and more increasingly with the Mestizos. The irresistible attraction for this was so great that many intellectuals of that time succumbed to it. Likewise, many members of the new generation of intellectuals also felt' the call through the influence of their teachers. (1) In that sense the Aguascalientes Convention was the apotheosis» A renowned observer of the time said the convention was "more nationally representative (...) than all the congresses that we have had since the independence to date" since its "members reflected the ethics and ideology of miscegWption more effectively."
(2) Although there is always somebody who is ready to disagree, Antonio Goto y Gama was almost shot dowr. for having made a show of internationalism and -^or having been disrespectful to the Mexican flag — patriotism was the reigning feeling of the day along with a greater attachment to (or the discovery of) bopular Mexican tradition.
The above 4 of course, does not mean that the Revolution
was completely free of the remains of Creole ideology. In

(1) On "i"he first indigenist teachers and mestizophiles, = = = Josefina Zoraida Vazquez, Nacionalismo v educaciOh en Mexico (El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico, 1979), pr, 143-146.

(2) Carlos Basave del Castillo Negrete, Notas para la "*" ^/«+-nr_ia^de la Convencidn Revoluciona""ia tl""" --•-• TMaxico", l"?^?") , P- 26.

the midst of this p re--c on st itut ion a I . convent i on ist era a book was published that claimed to be based on the Drinciclss of the Revolution bi.it excluded anything connected with the Indians from what was : ' n a t i o n a 1 " a n d d e c r i e d t h e M s s t i z o s f o r being the "forced product of a physiological kiss, devoid c-*1
love" of the rival races. (1) By these times c reel ism had
won over a new supporter who was none other than Martin Luis Guzman. Gu.zman had no qualms about backing an out-of-date cause. His words could have been written by any o^ the worst of the nineteenth century racists:
The indigenous mass is a burden an;:: a nuisance for Mexico and it would be hypocritical to accuse it c-f- 'being a dynamic governing -factor.: In normal peaceful life., just as when life is abnormal and turbulent, tne Indian has only one function ----- he is like a faithful
dog who blindly obeys his master^s•commands.
Even so Guzman at least included the Mestizo alongside the Creole "master" as part of the "sociably governing" classes,
(2) The reason for 'that was that at that time there were very few anti-indigenists who would have gone as ^zr as to have been mestizophobes. The hispanicists. like the indigenists, thought up ways of seeing the Mestizo as one of their own kind. Even the " lat inists" ,, who insisted on considering " lat in--ness l! as the essence of what was Mexican, Accepted the Mestizos, A rather strange booklet published at
•'* "T

'.that time provides a good example of this. It called the

(D This was Carles Trejo Lerdo de Tejada,. • f

. . . i : .--..«-* +• ^"i rA .-*% t*1 ' (T fV\ P*> \--' *"1 .O !*"\ O) £?."] K* "J /T3 ; £?;
n » r- t r-i n A i T <:= m n " "*" r"i Cl O Q& r 9, T. O U L; S i, ^ »IP » >• t- -s K - >l c- : " ~ l *" t% __,_,.,______ J*j" ^ ^L. JL VJJf .:..5!*I.. JLn Jn-.*.*y ' ' 't^.^L-^«J'J7^^M^-^L114tM»»»t-'^"-^"-————..»-...»».•....»•.»•.••...."*————'•'-•
Estrella, -Havana, 191.6), esp. pp. 229-231,
Martin Luis bLizman,, La__S^I?r.§.LL§——Sl§...±!^.21^...i::^i-HJlLlis,B ^L-fc*udson - ^ '*""" a -~: n ^ n i n a s (C i a . G e n e r a 1 d e e d i c i o n e s , Mexico, 1959)",pT"2Crr The -first' work^^ whi
<quot e,-. was o r iginally p ub 1 i sh e d in 1 y i •:•.

Indians "degenerates because of their drunkenness and stupid in the company of idiots." After rapping out a ss^iss of epithets in a similar vein, the author wondered why the Indian was so distrustful and asked: "what evi1 fate can have intervened to alienate the Indian and make him fear a shameful alliance with us?" Even so, by challenging the "evil fate", the author gave his approval for the people of that "likeable race" to "come with us and join ir. the banquet of civilization", . and accepted that "Spanish and Indian blood" flowed in the veins of the Mexican people. Finally, he expressed pride that this blood had given him "the spirit of El Cid and Cuauhtemoc." (1) As we can see, sven though the Indian was still despised, the Mestizo was being gradually accepted.
Thus, independently of the reluctance of the Creole dream, mestizophilia was gaining ground quickly. The failure of the porfirist regime and its foreign tendencies, the powerful influence of popular movements such as those headed by Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa which mainly attracted Indian camoaaino* and Mestizos, and the gentle winds o-^ justice and revindication of the Revolution all conspired in favour of mestizophilia. The result was a curious mixture of redeeming romanticism and progressive realism which compelled Mexico to cast its mask aside and proudly shew the

(1) See Joss Cantu Ccrro, Patria y Raza (Escuela "i=, Salesiana, Mexico, 1924), pp. 27-51. The zcntsr.tz zf
the booklet include a speech which the author, v^o was a Mexican priest, gave on 12 Oct. 1919.

world its real -face. Old cliches were broken al lowing Mex'i^c to reveal its hidden countenance -For the -first time ever. Al 1 this happened thanks to the determination c-F the Mexican people) to see themselves as they were without succumbing tc distortion in mimicry o-F something else. The trend -Followed by the muralists, the novels o-F the Revolution and typical music were merely the artistic re-Flection o-F this awakening of collective awareness and the shaking o-F-F o4= the inhibiting complexes that had masked the real Mexico. Tne result was an antithesis o-F nineteenth century Mexico as the blooming o-F the Revolution made the" country make a complete turnabout. With it, the country's intellectuals became obsessed with the quest -For their own roots. (A marvelous example o-F this is how Diego Rivera went as 4=ar as to mix his paints with juics •From the agave cactus.) (1) Although what was "Mexicc^s own" was identi-Fied with what was "popular" in the predominant Indian classes, the result, o-F course, was the emergence c-f an eclectic cultural movement. Artists painted Indians using European techniques, jurists looked back to Spanish legislation o-F the Indies, and musicians at last made "Mestizo" music. Mexico was -Flooded by a torrent o-f symbiotic creativity. As one -Foreign observer commented: "I-F the Revolution -Followed a plan its aim was to create ?. nation." (2) We could add that its aim was to create a

(1) On the cultural nationalist movement -Following the Revolution. see Carlos Monsivais, "Notas sobre la rultura mexicana en el siglo XX, in Historia general dp M^'"<^o (El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico,, 19E1;,. vol. II.
^\ " lT 377-1 548.
(2) FranK Tannembaum, "Algunas re-Flexior.es sen--? la p»vclucion Mexicana". in Ross* op. cit. . p, "-'/.

Mestizo nation.
The circumstances were ideal -For mestizoohilia to reach
its climax. The situat ion at home and the intel]ectual •influences •from abroad in the -Form of growing anti-racist humanism paved the way. With only one internationalist exception of note (1) the publications of the age exuded fervent patriotism. However, unlike the waves o-F patriotism that had rocked independent Mexico as a con$@Ajence o-F the plundering o-F 1847 and the French intervention which had responded to outside intervention, tne revolutionary spirit looked inwards. For a lack of a -Foreign enemy to close the ranks on and'show off Mexico's varied, abstract unity to., the new intelligentsia occupied itself in defining factors of cohesion that would unite the country once they were captured in the ideology of the Revolution. This tims in history called for definite expression to be given to g.ll aspects of Mexican life, and thanks to popular enthusiasm and. the establishment of the prevailing homogen iety., miscegenation was the only feasible factor cf ethnic identity. Following Molina's lead, Luis Cabrera gave his seal of approval in 1931:

I entirely agree that unfication should be sought from Mestizo sources because the Mestizos form the majority,
are the most homogenous, offer the best conditions fcr procreation and are the most resili*nt peoole in our climate for the growth of the population. (2)

(1) Rafael Nieto, MA* all*—dg——la—Pa^ri,* (Ardr^s Betas s ' Hijo, mexico, , 1922). Nieto's internationalism, which was based on Marxism, was chiefly ^ounded on an sczr.cri: analysis.
(.2) Luis'Cabrera, "El balance de la
a, cit^., vol. Ill, p.

Cabrera, however ,, was the last to present mest i ~DP~ 111-? -ro~> the evolutionist point of view, which had been unable tc ta:-•:s advantage of the doctrines which had accompanied the revolutionary process. There is no doubt that the emergence of more ad _ hoc schools of anthropology in justification of the Mestizo, and the fal1 of posit ivism (thanks to the work done by the young IntellectuaIs who founded the Atene o de]a Juventud) eased the task of the up-and-coming supporters of mest i zoph ilia. If th is situation was able to develop albeit against the grain of the n ineteenth century racist thinking, there was even greater reason to believe that it would flourish now that it had its own theoretical framework. It would fourish and bear fruit and- Manuel Gamio and Jose Vasconcelos would see to that,

2. Manuel Garnio: the reincarnat ion of the Indian.

Manuel Gamio (1893-1960), an anthropologist and sociologist, was born in Mexico City to wealthy parents of Spanish descent from the region of Navarre. He commenced his long academic career in a series of private schools and after having completed his studies at the National Preparatory College he was admitted to the School of Mining. A short time later, however, he decided to leave the school to wcr'- on his father's estate in Veracruz. While he was there, close rnntact with nature awakened his interest in indigsnis matters. Following the failure of his father's businesses h was first admitted to the National Museur tc stv-' ar chaedcgy and later to Columbia LlniversLtv'

where he received a master's degree ana a doctorate in anthropology under the supervision of Franz Boas. His professional career was closely related . tc several revolutionary governments. He started out as inspector general of archaeological monuments and then as director of anthropology under Carranza. During the Calles administration he was undersecretary for education until he was suspended from his duties as a result of his efforts to combat the corruption of the Pu-ig Casauranc team. Later he was appointed as director of the Inter-American indigenist institute and he held this post from the final year of the CArdenas administration until his death. He was also director of the International School cf American Archaeology and Anthropology, and the magazine Ethnos, which he founded. On Ethnos he worked alongside Miguel Othdn de Mendizabal,, Lucio de Mendieta y Nunez and others. Although h» was a story writer,, his interests covered a wide range of topics ranging from criminology to physics. His most important . works were La ooblacidn del valle de Teotihuacan (1920) (The Population of the Teotihuacan Valley), which is a great anthropological study that he presented as his doctoral thesis, and For -lando Patri* (1916) (Shaping the Fatherland), which contains his sociological analysis of Mexico and is a classic on the subject. His treatment of the p-oble^ c-= emigration from Mexico to the United States also met with success and he published a second volume of sociology entitled Hacis un Mexico nuevo (1935) (Towards a New Mexicz.j, He belonged to several American and Eurosea^ sci.^nt :.-!•: aaaociaticns and received -honorary doctorates- ^rcr t-^

University o-f Columbia and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) . He is considered to be the -Father cf mod e r n an t h r op o 1 eg y i n Me x i c o , (1)
Gamio ' s interest in miscegenat ion was closely connected
to his obsession with social hamogen*,«t y , To him most of tne Latin American countries were not real ly nations because unlike Germany, France or Japan , they lacked ethnic unity and . cultural identity:, He saw Mex ico as being made up of different "fatherlands" in which the Indians were marginated by the white population . Given this, Gamio said the "advanced and happy fusion of races forms tne most important solid basis of nationalism." (2) For the Mexican nation to be formed he said the "indigenous class" would have to be redeemed .so that it could mix with the white population. He believed that no race was any better or worse than any other and although he felt the Indians "were four hundred years behind the times" he said they had "intellectual aptitudes that were equal to those of any other race." For him the problem revolved around the fact that Mexico's politicians governed with only the interests of the dominant social group in mind. This group was predominantly white. Likewise, they paid little attention to tne anthropological and sociological aspects of government. Consequently the laws governing Mexico were only extralogical copies that ignored the Indians. In other words, "the origins, form and substance" of Mexican law

(1) More biographical information is contained in Angeles r-_rT-*d"ic..r L3L*r* I *«* »»•* ». w " Gamio, * Manual —————— -L -m Gamio: —— ia-rUHr_i_i ___ una _ _ _i_ lucha _^- -r i_ n sin irir ___ final _i_i ———!LJr\:A!r.
izs; 1988).
Manuel Sarnie, For-iando Patria (Por-oa
MV j "Y /-I-'-

were foreign, just like the 1857 Constitut ion. What waz needed was to give more importance to the Indians and bring them out of their wretchedness, bringing them closer to the level enjoyed by the Creoles. The rest would f ollow i- due course as "the passage of time and the economic improvements in the Indian class will .contribute to the ethnic fusion of the population." Cultural integration would thus emerge •Forming a real Mexican fatherland. (1)
As we can see, in the strictest sense of the word., Gamio
was the first indigenist to belong to the mestizopnile school. Unlike his predecessors his interest in Indian welfare in relation to Creole welfare or the welfare of the nation as a whole, was the most important aspect of his crusade in defence of miscegenation. It is true to say that he also sought the elimination of the Indians but that can be explained because he felt their fate could not have been any worse. In this context we couiz say that what Gamio really wanted, was for the Indians to be reincarnated as Mestizos and not for them to disappear altogether. Likewise, his obsession with homogen^ty was an effect and not a cause of his notion of ethnic, inequality as the source of injustice. It was primarily the idea of wrong being done that concerned him.,
There is no doubt that there was a strange mixture of proud compassion for the unfortunate part o-e the Mexican p@or:1:-' . '.• Heath his desire for unification:

(i) Tbid., PP* 13-39. Cultural fusion would also help thiz F*t h n i c f us ion.

•--• i.

Poor and sorrowful race! In your breast 1 is !-. iicen tra strength of the Tarahumara roughness which uproots cedar trees on the mountain,, the exquisits attic of t^e holy people of Teotihuacan, the astuteness of the Tlaxallcn family and the unruly valor cf the bloody Mexican,. Why don't you. stand tal 1, take pride in your past end show
the world your Indian ancestry? (1}
Underneath al1 the rhetorical questions Garnic expressed his concern which was both sincere and discouraging. Garr.] c showed that he was both romantic and pragmatic, and finally arrived at the conclusion that "Indian ancestry" would not eliminate the causes of his misfortune. Behind the Mestizo mask, however,, he said that the Indian could sneak intc the banquet of the modern age of urban industrialized Mexico that emerged after the Revolution. This meant that the objectives o-P miscegenation no longer involved the elimination of the Indians as Pimentel had wanted and no longer sought the prevention of white betrayal as Molina Enriquez had wanted., but were chanelled towarcs gaining access for the Indians to the new society. (2)
Gamio also made another contribution which may even have been more important. Fifteen years after the belated introduction made by Molina Enriquez concerning the cultur?. •. variable in mestizophilia, Gamio converted art into the cornerstone of his analysis. He departed from the premiss that "nobodv is either 'excluded or favoured ir. art" anr: affirmed that:

(1) Ibj.a., PP" 21-22. This paragraph was originally writter- ^pTTjr^n article by Gamio published in the Moc.err Mexico •journal in 1907.
(2) "Needless to say, the Creoles would alsc have to disappear* in this context in the melting pot so a^ t = orevent the continued existence of two rac^s zonti-ui-.c.
the duality of those who exploit anz t^.oze w!-z jr-.v.;. sxploited

When the middle class and the Indi ans z •- a re the z-ame criteria in art, we shall have been culturally rsdseTSc:
as national art will exist and will crevice one o-F t'"- •firmest bases -for nationalism.

Pre-Hispanic art was as good as Spanish art and tne sharing o-F criteria shou* ret imply ths adoption o-F western aesthetic

* models, contrary to what had occufted in the past. National

art should be the harmonious product o-F the uniting q-F twc peoples. (1) In this sense it was the Creole who would have to take the iniciative 4=or obvious reasons — Gamio said that instead o-F europeanizing the Indian, "we must indiar.ize ourselves a bit so that we can oresent him with a -form 0-*= our civilization watered down by his own (...}" With t he-exception o-F the language aspect — without being direspect-Ful to the regional languages Sarnie thought Spanish must be the national tongue — (2) the goal had to be to seek an "intermediary culture" that would be "consolidated once the ethnically homogenized population " understood it. Meanwhile, criteria would have to bs adopted to help the Indian conserve his art while he adopted western science. (3) The race-culture relation is very important i-F we are tc understand Gamio's theory. Although his thought belonged to the tradition which proclaimed the supremacy o-F racial mixture, -from Gamio- on the mestizcphile current tco:< on a": irreversible turn -- -^cr the -First time cultural —-^—--•——••

(1) Ibid., cp- 39-41.
(2) Ibid,, PD" 109-111. Reigion could be added as another exception, although it is not very clear i-^ t!-:e •religious syncretism o-f the "Catholic-pagans" wcula prevail (al33 see pp. 85-92).
3) J^i^'« PP" ^ ^'^ ^' ^ ^^ "scienti^ic=' and "commercial" criteria, see the article -From Am^r ice Indi'=LSD^ (Oct. 1942) included in the appendix -4= the tc?tion^ment.ioned o-P FoMando Patri*. pp. 192-201. —m-i*cegenation had been proposed. ' Moreover, %•-. is ^c-T 3-

miscegenation looked as i-f it would be an important catalyzt for ethn ic fusion in i;he future. No matter hew much gsnst ic •Factors continued to constitute the demiurge c-^ homogenization, the exchange had new moved onto a cultural plane. Although the Indian civilization had produced some displays of art, Gamio said the problem was that:

it is a backward civilization in relation to modern science, which is producing better practical results to
the production of material and intellectual welfare, which is a principal tendency in human activitieSu (1)

The Indian had art but lacked science and this constituted the crux of his misfortune. His situation was no longer considered to be a symptom of racial inferiority, but was the result of cultural imbalance. This imbalance exists everywhere and prevents the peoples affected by it from achieving "integral perfection" due to a "compensation law."
(2) Using this argument, Gamio explained miscegenation's strong points and resolved his two main contradictions. On the one hand he reconciled his Herder-style romanticism with his Anglo Saxon pragmatism while on the other he satisfied his two chief influences which consisted c-^ the cultural relativism learned from his teacher,, Franz Boas., and tne habits o-f evolutionism that the positivist teachers of the por-Firist age had instilled in him.

(1)__LbisL. , P" 96.
(2) Ibid., PP< 104-106

Although these contrasts man if estec! t^s-mse 1 ves in practical ly all of his work, his clearest irn age was contained in For.janclo , Patr_ia and Ha ~ i a un Me x i cj= _nueye =. I-his relativist optimism boosted _ his spirit in For jar dig F^atr ia., j-ja^ia,, un .Mfe;-; icg nuevo was riddled with evolutionistic pessimism, which was probably the rssu.lt of h is disenchantment with Calles. While Gamio saw the Mestizo appear with "pristine purity" as the "first harmon ious product of the conquest" in one i i) ,, in the other he said that miscegenation was "far from eugen ic" which axplained why the product "emerged flawed and with a lack of speed„" (2) Although readers can detect the influence of see ial Darwin ism in all his works it is interest ing to note that its i nfluence increased over time instead of decreasing. In Hacia...,.un Mexico ...nuevg , wh ich was pub 1 ished almost tw&nty years af ter For 1, an cf o .... P a t.r.i a ? Gam i o' s h a n d 1 ing of c o n •:: e p t s s u c h a s "selection" and "adaptation", and references to the "inevitable law cf evolution" are clearer. However, we must remember that the references to the Indians' evolutional inferiority were not made on racial grounds. Gamio rather paradoxically believed in the impossibility of cultural miscegenation without the base of racial homogeneity as ths provider of racial equality, (3) He felt this situation was merely due to a delay in the Indians' cultural development

(4) Ib id . , P . 66.
(2) Ma"nu@i bamio, Ma^jjLJAD-JMllAc,P,.PJ-ieyo (INI, Mexico, Iv8/) ,
o. 34.
(D Th<^ i? the impression that reading his work creates wUthouclh he affirmed in a short passage that it was not 7'^n<=«;:[ble to achieve cultural miscegenaticn without ,_|%<l,r-o through racial miscegenation. but that it wcv.lz be"a"v@ry difficult, long process. Ses qp< cj,^. , -, a±,

which caused his socioeconomic downfa11: The Indian de-fended and continues to de-Fend his cultural inheritance and this keeps him in trie lower social strata since his culture is antiquated and inefficient.,
and no matter how interesting and picturesque it may be
it cannot compete with European culture in the social struggle. (1)
Thus, Gamip -felt that the level of culture in Mexico was "inversely proportional to the amount of Indian blood" in the veins of its inhabitants (2) and said that the solution to this (Gamio rarely speculated) was racial fusion and the synthesis of modern culture with the "useable characteristics of the decadent Indian culture." (3)
By this stage in his thinking Gamio was obviously discenchanted. His praise for pre-Hispanic art gave way to the insistence that Indian science and technology were outdated,, and he even proposed that "kindred" European races
*

should be encouraged to (Emigrate to Mexico to act as a catalyst -for cultural development (4) and insisted that the Indians were a backward race. This could lead us t= wonder how this evolutionary stance could be harmonized with Boas' relativism? The answer is simple — as scientific and technological knowledge., which generates material welt-being., evolve unilaterally in an upward direction, Gamio felt

(1) Ibid., p. 147,
(2) lbj,ji&, p. 134
(3) Ibid., p. 228.
(4)- I bid. 4 PP« 44-46. Later ne specified that tne Iberians,, BaTkans'y Italians and even the Syrian Lebanese wo^.ld be romai, See Manuel Gamio, Conaideraciones sobr? si
M"*m4. indioana (Institute Indigenista Interamericp.nc.
xico^ 1966) * PP< 167-169. This book was originally published in 194G.

entitled to speak in terms at" backward and developed societies; on the other hand, he said art and religion, ethical or political manifestations were the result c-F "merely conventional, emotional and sentimental" activities which had ups and downs throughout history. (1) Although Gamio did not make this distinction clear, he obviously based himself on it -For the purposes of his theory. Nonetheless, he took care to state in no uncertain terms that superior races did not exist and repeated his rejection o-F the "aesthetic tyranny" o-F power-Fu.l races which tried to impose their standards -for beauty (2), and he even went as -Far as to imagine a cosmic race o-F his own in his next book. (3) It is \
interesting to note that although this new work crowned his campaign -for Indian modernization with his suggestion that "rural Taylorism" should be adopted, the Second World War •Forced Gamio to show his romantic side and Fuelled his desire to see the' "re-emergence c-F the Indian cultures" in harmony with western culture." (4) The repugnance in Europe ^or racism seemed to bring back his indigenist vehemence and prompted him to de-Fend the aut:.3ctonou.s cause. Like Herder,, he also proposed that the -Folklore o-F each nation should be respected. (5)

(1) Gamio, M&xico jr=ie_v_S, p. 61.
(2) I6td_i; p. 183.
(3) Gamio, i^?p*id*raciona*. p. 13'^.
(4) j^id.4 pp. 84-86 and 193.
(5) I^TcC , 3- 229" It is worth mentioning that despite his n"roo"osal -For world harmony, Gamio did net alter his •Former opposition to forming a part o-F "an international •Federation" in which he -Felt the stronger netzcrs wD'_. Iz subjugate the weaker nations. See Gamio., M^xicc

There was, however, one fact or in C-anio J s po=i-ir- <-*.•=••>- never varied — his aversion fnw=»rH« ,,-.-,, 4- -,+.. __ _ __ H --. -i __ * :., j. _ c. •.. i .._.i : ~. c'.i ; G lilS desire -for originality. In this context. ~ S TM-: ^.-V^H h ra considered as a -forerunner /after Molina Enriaue^ -^ H-h» cultural national ism of the Mexican R«vVh <•?-, ^- « i L.-o -.,•-:..-

— •w, . ~. _ .1. ^ , , ,. ™. .1 • •. Ur I ; --W- j. J, t i wl *

Gamio sharply reprimanded "ridiculous foreign-lovers" *nrj their "dissident culture" which ne 5aid belonged to "pedants and idiots." He extolled the virtues of mural ism and the "Indo-European" music of Manuel M. Ponce, and called -for the 'creation of national literature. M s T« -i-.-,r-i- *-- n ^- H -,.-,.^ '' ' J. : J . \^. u« i_ ^ :_. [j r.-' [; ^ ^J l ~/ ; r^lt F^ S^ "centrist" attitude that characterized the resoiutior c-^ Gamio's contrasting tendencies (he even preferred to be -ncwn as a "Mexicanist" rather than an indigenist (2)) took a back seat when he dealt with the subject o^ national culture. Gamio was middle-class and established a correlation between race and class as Molina Enriquez had cane, sjt-hni-i-'h *-* i« analysis was not as far-reacninc as Molina^s. bami^ considered that only the middle-class Mestizos were canabi-- Of producing Mexican art (3) and blamed the etnnic, social and cultural imbalances caused by Spanish domination for the Absence of a true national identity. Fortu.natelv. ne added the Revo 1 ut i on c or r ec t ed th. i •=• s i tuat i on , '• 4 •

i) Garni c, Forjando Patna, pp, 48-52, 97-99 and 113-US. Also see Gamio, Mexico n.ueyc, pp. 1S4-185.
) Gamio, For-jando Patria , p . 153. G a m i o' s u r g a f o r balance and harmony does not just come through in his mestizophi1ia but also in his rejection of socialism and capitalism, his integral educational method and even in his conception of the "ideal woman."
PP. 141, 159-161 and 119.
oa. c i t. ^ pp. 93-101.
- PP- 167-170.

Although there was still a<lot of ground
"a powerful fatherland and a coherent ? defined nationality 1 ' were formed , Garni a had fulfilled his intentions by proposing a plan of action. "Fusion of the '--sees,, convergence and fusion of cultures, linguistic: unity and economic balance among the social elements" would be required because these were the pieces that made up the Mexican jigsaw. (1) Nobody was excluded from the mammoth task of fitting them all together -— the Creole assignee an important role to the white population and the indigenist made the Indians the object of redemption,, Both,, however., would have to disappear. In post-revolutionary Mexico --•-• and soon in all of Latin America •••--- there would only be room for the Mestizo.,

i..g..gs. of..... America, unite .!..

The Derson who hoisted the flag for the unification of Mestizo. America was 3os& Vase once los (1882-1959) ? the controversial philosopher and teacher from the state of Oaxaca who managed to confuse so many of his supporters and opponents all V.& » Vasconcelos was born into a middle-class Creole famiiv and he lived his childhood under the influence of his mother's religious spiritualism. The family lived in the border town of Piedras Negras where his father had temnorarv emr ioyment as a customs officer. He received his early -^chccling in Eagle Pass, where he suffered Yankee

r;.,, .j ,.., \ 3. 183. This is written in capital letters in
-i- (•-; C;? t e • '• t

discrimination against the Mexican population at
and continued his education at a series o-£
different parts of Mexico his family lived in., He finally graduated as a lawyer and practised his profession during different stages of his life, He founded the famous Youth Athaeneu.m together with Alfonso Reyes and Pedro Henriquez Urena, and created the Popular University. The Revolution forced him to abandon his academic plans for a short time while he joined up with Madero? s supporters,, and he played an important role as an ideologue of the Anti-Re-election Party, He briefly occupied a post at the National Preparatory School before being suspended from duty by Carranza. Later he was
made Minister of Public Instruction under the convention
government of Eulalio Gutierrez. He spent his time in exile travelina •«• throuch •« the United States and Europe., * and on his return to Mexico he was appointed to the post of rector at the National University during the interim government under De ia Huarta (Vasccncelos devised the motto and emblem a-the National University,,) Shortly after that., ObregOn made him Secretary of Public Education. It while he was in that post that he carried out the most productive work that Mexico has ever seen in the educational field, He set up schools, established literacy programmes, promoted culture and became a patron of mural ism and the nationalist cultural movement in general. At the end of the Qbregon administration ne re^iqned f-'om his cabinet post because he opposed the nomination of Plutarco Elias Calles to the presidency. He Stood as a candidate in gubernatorial elections in Da/-.sea but
Wit' . , : -| , +. 4- 'i es <= 11 r- f~ p •=£ <^ A •*-1 s? r t r i o = "*- -~ P; • v- --. r-, —.- :.•• >-. --^ ~; —. • • •*•• *•-

i 1 u - A t^ »Li U. u er»» • n . u v- ! u . j. (_ „ _ _ ._ „.„,_— >... . x_, _>_»._..

America, and dabbling witn journal ism s.r-c i itsrature.. he-accepted to run as a candidate in the prssidencial elections and challenged Calles in the famous ballots of 1929. Embittered by his defeat, he became ens of the staunchsst conservative critics of thp* M^x-" r-a^ •"••-••• i -• •>- •>• •- -• ~> .--,,,-i-p,,,, •-,,-. H m- '•—.-. .». _.. -w. . i »... v... j. a. .„. ... -..„ c. 1. A. —• y .—• w '.... i (I --.i : '_*j devoted himself to his writing. He ended his javs as director of the Mexican Library. His intellectual works were chiefly phi losoph ical and the most famous were Estg)t_ic_a (1935)(Aesthetics), and his autobiographical works which included £!__ jJiiss s__cr_i o.U o (19 3 5) (The Creels U lyses) , which many people consider to be the best novel o-<~ the Mexican Revolution. His essays, La._ra_=^._c_6^mjj%a (1925) (The Cosmic Race) and .lQ.d,0,1.05.1'.a (1926) (Indology) are also wel 1-known» He also wrote short stories and historical works. He was declared to be the "master of youth" in Central and South America, was admitted as a found ing member of the National College and the Mexican Language Academy, and was vice ; president of the International Federat ion of Philosophical Societies. His friends (and enemies) were the most important members of the Spanish and Latin American intellectual circles, and he kept excellent relations with Romaine Roliand. (i)

(i) it is rot 'surprising that the best biography on Vascorcelos is'still his own despite -him having been "the mos*- "biographical" 'Mexican of the century" as Enricue Krauze said in "El regreso de Ulises% Car.as_..de laJiistoria (J.Martiz, Mexico, 1983), p. 108, vJhat has been written about Vasconcelos,however 5 with a rew notable -=«reptions, only contains rehashes of glorifying or deniaratory arguments about him. As an example, Joaquin" — -v !••• *mj IH! All Cardenas ',,/ v..*. I IM* '••«• I * *•*!. ^ff Noriega, • "" • — — jf , "***""""•""'—*——-'—————— _ arqfeta (Ed, PAC, Mexico, 1985), and the L'.nt-ortuante account of hi* life .by Joss? Joaquin Bianuo, B£_.^.^^2j* c^los ,, (FCE, Mex i CD , 1983)

The -first sign o-f Vasconcelcs' msst i zoDh i 1 .i c was contained in h is wo.r k ent it led Es_tu_d iqs __ In.d,cs_tan,i_c_gs (Hindustani Studies). In this book he maintained that Mestizo races were the only races that could create great civ^tzations ano\ cited the mixture o-f Aryans ana Dravidians in India as an example. He also predicted that great artistic creations that would make contemporary European art pale into insignificance would flourish in the region close to the equator "because it is heat and net cold that conditions all true human homogeneic progress." (1) Howevsr, it was in La raza cdsmica that Vasconcelos fully developed his theory of the same name. In that work he affirmed that "the different races of the world will tend to mix gradually until they form a new type of human being made up cf each of the di-f-Ferent races that currently exist." Of course, he said that the seat of this racial synthesis would be located in Ibero America, adding that people of black, red, yellow and white skin would form a "universal fifth race" which would be the fruit and improvement of all the former races.
(2) Unlike the United States, Latin America would not restrict itself to repeating the exclusivist models cf the mother country and would creat a civilization "made with the genius and blood o-F all the people of the world, w^.ich will allow it to be able to live in brotherhood and adopt a truly-universal vision."

(1) Jo=4 Vasconcelos, "Estudios Indostaniccs" in Ob:-as Qpmnlata*. vol. Ill, (LIMUSA, Mexico,, 1959), =o. 99-^',. Originally published in 1919.
(•2) Jo@6 Vasconcelos, "La raza cdsmica'% in Obraa ComclDU.c, vol. II (LIMUSA, Mexico, 1958), pp. 90 j. anj 919.

The cap ital o-f the new rs.ce -c^ld te c a]. 1 e %• "Universopol is" and it would be located an ths Anazen >-iv-:=?:•- in the heart of the tropics. 1^ the white-nan hz.c managed to triumph over cold cl imatolcgical conditions then •-:is science would combat the heat,. When this has happened "ths whole of mankind will -flock to the tropics and .the -Final civiliz5ti.cn will return to the tropics." (i)
Vasconcelos based h is propnscy on two thsor iss, One was
hi* "law of the three soc i a 1 stages", which maintained that man's evolution is divided into three stages. The -first stage was the "material" or "warrior" period; the second was the "intellectual" or "political 15 period, and the final stags was the "spiritual" or aesthetic" period. According tc this law. man will gradually free h imself of need as his main incentive
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which will final 1y be rep laced b y pleasure. The cosmic ra ce will be shaped during the third stage and by then man will no longer be guided by material or intellectual mot ives and will obey a spiritual instinct, He will reproduce following the dictates of a "mysterious form of eugenics based on aesthetic: taste" which will eliminate all the ugly and stupid people, The final civilization. will therefore be composed c-f a superior race created by "selection by taste<" In this way "life based on love? will be expressed in forms of beauty,."
(2) The other theory he used was the interpretation of recant European and American history as the result o- tr^ clash between the Latin and the Saxon, Aftsr the

pp. 926-936.
. 909-912 and 916-919,,

down-fall of the Roman Emp ire., Spain emeroed as tn& bast i c^ i;-" Latin culture. However, it began to be overtaken by Enqia~d •Following the de-Feat of the Aramada. Now that the das:- har crossed the Atlantic, he said the people. o-f Latin America continued yielding territory to the United States because of their discord:
The race that dreamed o-f the world as its empire, the
al leged descendents o-f Roman gloryy fel 1 -foul to th& childish satisfaction o-f creating petty nations and sovereignties ruled by princes and inspired &y souls that saw a wall in every mountain range instead of seeing the peaks.
To be able to triumph over the Saxons, Latin America wcu.ld have to be united. Although the Saxons were very capable an:/ had a great advantage they made the mistake o-f exterminating the Indians. The Latins,, however ,, assimilated tnerr; and this made them worthy of being responsible for the "divine mission" o-f carrying out "history's ulterior objective o-f merging peoples and cultures." (1)
Like that of some of his predecessors., Vasccncelos' mestizophilia was also relative. He never concealed his tendency towards hispanicism, even during his best times which were prior to 1929. In fact, nis concept o-F the pre-Hispanic world was so low that he had to turn to the myth o-F Atlantis to avoid insulting the Indians. He showed he was incapable of putting the Conquistadors on the same level with the people they conquered and presented the autccnton.ous population as the remains of the fabulous Atlantes, whc degenerated in "the stunted Aztec and Incan empires" and whc "4-,-»4"»-(lv S» t-r *^ '-"•*••*.•

unworthy o-c their ancient, superior culture."

(1) IbJJ^' PP' 909-9_12 and 916-919,

(1) In this way he justified the admission of t-:& red-skinned peop le to the cosmic "-ace net -For what tnev were but -for what they once had. been. He accepted tnem ju.s.% as aristocrats who have come down in the world are accepted:
No matter what people say,, the red-skinned races,, the Atlantes who produced the Indians, have gene to sleep
•for millions of years and will not reawaken. In history there is no going back because it is -Full of changes and innovations. No race comes back; each has its mission which it carries out be-Fore it disappears.
To'make his theory more "coherent he announced the down-Fall of the white races:
The days of the pure-blooded whites, who are today's conquerors, are counted just as tncse of their •fore-fathers were. By -Fulfilling their destiny c-F mechanising the world,, they themselves have unwittingly laid the bases -for a new period in which all the peoples
o-F the world will -fuse and mix. (2)
Nonetheless,, besides not attributing a mission to the black races, Vasconcelos did not clearly explain which race was responsible for the task o-f miscegenation and just said that the red-skinned and white-skinned races had already completed their missions. What he implied was that the task o-^ miscegenation belonged to a "sub-race" made up o-F a cross between the Caucasian and Latin peoples which has still to
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make its contribution because it was marginated -from the task o-F scienti-fic advance by its white brothers. In the light cf this Vasconcelos left nothing -for the Indians but to wait for the creation of the Latin civilization to take them to the

promised land.,
As we can see^ Vasconcelos' mixture was not very evenly

(1) jbicL., pp.907-909.
f2) "ibid...,, p. 917.

balanced. No matter how Mediterranean he KZ.V nave c-^en,, it was sti11 the whitsman who would, call the cards» Vasconceios showed little caution in his a-^f irmation that Latin America "owes what it is to white Europe" and oredicted that Caucasian -Features would predominate in the ultimate race.
(1) In his essay Vaseoneslos obviously t^ ied to make an effort to harmonize his hispanophilia with miscegenation,, but the delicate balance resulting -From "this crumbled when the resentment of his -frustrated political career embittered the second half of his work from the 1930s en. From that point jj& raz* cdamica became a "wretched little essav" and the chosen land of America became a "sluggish continent" inhabited by "second-class races." His work was full of *nti-"indig#nism, and he said that without tne Spanish influence .Mexico would have been a "collection of tribes that were unable to govern themselves"; that the only legacy left t;y the Indian was his savageness ; and tnat Molina Enriquez
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and Gamio were puppets of the ymithsonian and Carnegie institutes* (2) Thus Ulyses' astonishing talent for diatribe destroyed everything in its path and made it clear that his new pro-iect for a nation was clearly written in the most rancid Creole tradition, which unfortunately did not "turn New Spain into a better Spain than peninsular Spain." The marginab%4Nto^ non-whites/ the sin he had formerly accused the United States of,, now constituted the example the Mexico

JUliSL, PP. 926-927.
Saa Jo@e Vasconceloa, "La tormenta", in
Maxico, 1983), e@p. pp. 531, 626, 674 snd 795. Originally published in 1937.

should have followed. (I) By this time there were barely any traces left of the pro-Mestizo Vasccncelos. There is no doubt that it is a great shame that mestizophi1ia should have lost one' of the greatest minds ever to come out of Mexico in this way.
From the above, there is one question that must be asked; what prompted Vasccnceios to formulate his theory of universal miscegenation? He was not motivated by fear of the Indian uprisings like Pimentel, he did net feel the urge for differentiation that. Riva Palacio had • felt, he did not have any desire to strengthen any social class as Sierra had had., he did not yearn for cohesion and justice as Molina Enriquez had, and he was not concerned with redeeming the Indian and homgenizing Mexico as Garni a was. However, there was one powerful argument that helped to persuade each and every one of the m e rn b e r s o f t h e m e s t i z o p h i 1 e s ~. h o o 1 a n d t h i s a r g u m e n t centred on the irreversible reality of miscegenation. This common d e n o m i n a t o r ,, w h i c h i. n f 1 u e n c e d h is predecesso r s t. o differing degrees., had a profound and explicit influence on Vaseonce 1os« He was generally known for being a romantic but he showed unusual pragmatism in this respect. In .Lnd.S..L9Si.§ he affirmed:
It is too late to attempt a change of practice; we can
on 1v bravely follow the adventure of miscegenation and strengthen our efforts through our powers of reflexion
and our knowledge, leaving the, still unfathomable?

(1) Jos© Vasconcelos, "Breve historia de Mexico 11., in Qbras vol. IV. (LIMUSA, Me* ice.
3 487-- 1489. Originally published in 193S<

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mean ing of its mission intact . (i)
In other words, Vasconcelos recommended that we m a k e the bsst of an unavoidable situation . The Vasconcelos who wrote tnese #
words, however, had not yet become the "Creole Ulysses" and could still lament that he had no black blood in his veins and was still proud of having a small amount of Indian blood." (2) His intelligence had still not yet been con-Fused. However, this is the Vasconcelos that interests us here. This Vasconcelos accepted the majority presence of the Mestizo and tried to convert him into the mythical axis of Latin American integration. And this was because the purpose of his prophecy was to make the cosmic race a myf-: and make the myth into a magnet, to attract, unificaticr:. ^is theory could be summed up in the -following call: Mestizos of America, unite!
Vasconcelos' intellectual influences, which were so complicated in his philosophical work, were relatively simp]e in his work on miscegenation. Although he quoted Mendel and Leclerc du Sablon to back up his scientific assumptions and boldly tried to show that Spencer ard Darwin nad not influenced him, there are clear traces of pre-athaen:iar, positivism in his thinking. His law of the three social states contained the same form of uni lineal progressivism as
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the French thinker, Augusts Comte, although his spiritualism

(1) Josd; Vasconcelos, "Indologi'a" in Obras Comolatas. vol jT;~""(-it., p. 1188. See the same idea in the &oci- that
e" wrote together with Garni 3 Aspects of Mexican iz_atiQD (The U. of Chicago Press, Chice.gz,
ao .'" The influence c^ Gamio. and Molina Eni-'iQv.sz cr Vq«;roncelcs can be seen in this last Pool- (see ezp* pp.

q-?-93 and 96-97) . lcsq "Indologia", c^? , p. 10b'9,

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was very different. And his image =f tns cosmic man zmaci- .3 of Nietzche's blond beast no matter how c-+=tsn he exc 1ainsd that his cosmic man would be a "totem" and would be different to Nietzche's superman. (1) The fifth race, in any case, would be formed by selection, and love and aesthetics would pave the way for the elimination of inferior beings, allowing the species to be perfected. Does that not sound discretely like Darwin or Spencer?
Of course., this did not mean that the theory in question would be entirely evolutionist. The influence of other masters on Vasconcelos, such as Bergson, is evident:: the notion of taste as a behavioural guiae is obviously

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intuitionist as are many of the arguments stemming from it. What happened is that Vasconcelos and several of his contemporaries who were educated during ths porfirist regime had not totally been able to wipe this -^rom their minds as thinkers of t-he Revolution. Despite his Plotinian neoplatonism and his crusade against positivism, the young philosopher was unable to shake himself free of his Barreda-style education,,
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Nevertheless, this does not undermine Vasconcelos' contribution to the school of mestizophilia one bit. Even though his theory of the cosmic race, which appeared to lack a purpose of social justice, meant he was not as advanced ?.E Molina Enri'quez and Samio, Vasconcelos took a step forward and elevated the Mestizo to universal status. The national hybrid^ -- he took Latin America to mean "the nation" —- -z

(1)

longer had to suffer to consider themselves the ecu a Is of the "pure-blooded 11 -foreigners as they were setting the examc Is that should be -followed. (1) The imperial ist ic intention tc transplant the European mcdsl in the "new" continent had been reversed because "America did not sit in the wings for five thousand years for such a weak objective." (2) Here and in other parts, the prophetic tone is suitable for ant!.:..3lonialism. Before 1929, Vasconcelos was rsally an ideologue of the cultural emancipation of Latin America. Another of his merits was the fact that he did not only urge innovation in art but also in all aspects of knowledge* "It is precisely in the differences," he stressed, "that we can •Find the way; if we limit ourselves to copying others, we will lose; if we discover and create, we will triumph." And he added: "Each race, that emerges needs to forge its own philosophy, the deu* ex machine of its success." (3) He waged his struggle against mental colonialism,, against the limitation of doctrines which would only be a source of self-contempt in Mestizo America. He was eloquent about Mexico and said that its history was nothing more than thz? successive super imposition of cultural layers that do not mix, (4)' which explains his urge for originality that produced the idea of universal synthesis.

(1) Like Gamic, Vasconcelos subjected "internationalism" to national integration (in this case, they referred to sub-continental integration) because he felt it wcu.ld consummate the triumph of the powerful nations. See Vasconcelos, "La raza cdsmica", cit.. p. 912.
(2) Ibid., P- 919.
(3) ILl^* PP" 91? *^ .,
. (4) Vasconcelos, A*D*cto3, cit* ,, p

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The theory o-*: the cosmic race r:ay sound rather rash today but at the time Vasconcelos published it it represented the rational effort o-f one o-f the most creative Latin American intellectuals to in it iats a cultural trad it ion of the region's own. It is lamentable,, however, that again his political frustration and innumerable controversies caused by it prompted him to embrace the most self-denicrat ing fcrm of anti-indigenism and hispanicism,• and the urgency for arms for the ideological debate made him abandon the creation of his own arsenal in favour of hiding himself in the trenches of the most anachronic form of conservatism. However, he must be congratulated in spite of his hispanicism for having encouraged the swelling o-c the ranks of mestizophilia. After all, his original genius was not dimmed by his subsequent aberrations.

4" Pr^t-revplutionarv Mexico: the Mexican under the maoni-Pvinc olass.

La ra?a cdsmi_ca. was the motto of the ethnocentrist era
of the mestizophiJs school in Mexico and was preceded by thz increasing incidence of the cultural variable in the works of Molina Enriquez and Manuel Gamio. Western racist tnought had a gr<=at de^l to do with this and it was not long befc^s it e"nl"3de'"i in the phenomenon of Nazi Germany anc died in tne Second Uorld War. However, the new school created cut z^ th= *vc'iut:icn'B introspection and the burst cf i

gave rise to was responsible -For the demise cf racial mestizophi.l ia in Mexico. Besides the emergence c-F brand new tendencies in art, literature and music, the age -Fol lowing the Revolution witnessed the beginnings o-F a movement that sought to investigate what being Mexican meant and attempted to discover its distinctive characteristics. In particular, this movement devoted itself to discovering the reason -For the nation's under development. This turn by the Mexican people upon themselves (the process o-F sel-F-discovery went beyond the con-fines o-F the intellectual circles and attracted the attention o-F national -Film makers and. musicians) was one o-F the least perishable -Fruits o-F the 1910 civil war. Since then gallons o-F ink had been used up in the quest to identi-Fy what was Mexican and constituted a continuation o-F the mestizophile current. In this movement,, however, racial miscegenation lost its 'Former importance and was no longer considered as a goal. Miscegenation passed into the history books as irrelevant except -For its aesthetic implications. Thinkers o-F this age were primarilly concerned with
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philosophy and psychology. Although Ezequiel Chavez, a mestizophile, had theorized on the character o-c the Mexican people, " he was a post-revolutionary- philosopher with inclinations towards psychology and he was responsible -For inaugurating the new age. '!)

(1) Fzequiel A. Chavez., "Ensayo sobre los rasgos distintivos
. . __.: i-. J T •! .—i *<*."•«# r** n JTt *"-i •*«• a r* 4** /"*t #.*• M f?i 1 r* *t *.- «*s.— 4» .r-. L- :v. .p-i • ^ "—-*.*.,-."

to bs "pounded
miscegenat'ion to be culminate;

Samuel Ramos. who was a d isc iple c.-^ Cazc and Vasconcelos, published his. work E_l........ .p e.r f i 1 del h o mbre y 1 a cultura en M&xico (A Profile o-F Man and Culture in Mexico) in 1934 and unleashed the disquiet. In Adler/s vein, ne maintained that the Mexicans suffer from. an inferiority complex which stems -from their feel ing of childish impotence in the face of Europe's overwhelming presence. Independently of his theory, however, it is important to note that the thoughts on Mexican-ness began by t a king a step backwards (although this may have been case of t a k ing one step back to to be able to take two forwards.) Ramos was indeed a europeanist and had nothing to say for the indigenous culture. He saw the Indians a? people who were naturally passive and indifferent. What was. worse, however, was his rejection of cultural miscegenation and his affirmation that the contribution made by the autochtonous culture had been destroyed by the Spanish Conquistadors and that "the cultural sediment of the Creoles represented the strongest part .of Mexican character." (1) His attitude was extremely clear',- We must . accept that our cultural perspectives are confined within the European context (...) We- have European blood., our language is European, our customs, moral codes, and vices and virtues were passed down tc
us by the Spaniards. (2)
According to him. the Indians had not left any traces behind them, not even in their genes. Ramos, who flirted with Spongier's idea o-c racial strife and even admitted that

(1) Samuel Ramos, ^1 oar-Pi 1 del hombre y la cu.ltura er. Mexico (E.C. Austral., Mexico, 1985), pp. 28-36.
(2) l^idl* PP' 63-69.

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"superior races" existed ,, -Felt he kjas part 3-F t!-;E "=.=:••?.- isn race to which we belong." Although it may nav = Icokec az i^= the colpur o-F his skin was getting darker at- times, he -ailed the Mexicans "coloured people" (could this have been a sign o-F Moorish in-Fluence?), and his statement that "our race is a branch o-F the European race" (1) was very clear. Nonetheless, the -Fact o-F having had to write while still under the in-Fluence o-F the -Final remaining racist ideas explains wny Ramos arrived at the disconcerting conclusion that Mexican culture was not original and came 4=rom Europe. He shrilly exclaimed that "in order to turn our backs on Europe. Mexico has embraced nationalism ... which is a European concept."
(2) There was ho way out.
Sameul Ramos' great legacy, however, lay in the -Fact
that he managed to awaken a sense c-F vccaticr among experts on Mexico and was responsible -For having triggered o-F-F this controversy: The publication o-F his book and his pro-Fessorship, like Jose? Gaos', were to tnank -For the emergence o-F the Hiperidn Philosophical Group in 1949. This
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group devoted its e-F-Forts to the study o-F Mexico and what was Mexican. Under the title Mexico v lo mexicanc (Mexico and What is Mexican; the group published a collection o-c wor^s edited by -Lecpoldc Zea in which Al-Fonso Reyes. Zea, Jorge Carridn, Emilic Uranaga, Jos^ Moreno Villa and Salvado*-- Reyss Nevarez oarticipated. (3) Meanwhile, other intellectuals

(1) Ibid., PP- 106-109 and 133.
IERL 35 *"d 94-96.
Tns publisher was Porrua y UbrecOn.

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continued the quest along d i-F-rerent IIHSE-, . Tr.& philosophical-psychological approach allowed tns ethn ic obsession to be overcome once and -for al 1 by subst itj% ing culture in its place. However, despite this, cultural miscegenation was considered as either something inevitable or something that was on the verge o-F being consummated., depending on whether this was seen pessimistically or optimistically. As a consquence, the new mestizophile school lost the sense o-F direction that its predecessors had possessed. It was no longer considered necesssary to draw up plans to culminate the ultimate synthesis. !=or some,, the Mestizo origin was as much a part o-F the past as something that the Mexican people remember to -^orget. Thst was how Octavio Paz -Felt, who said the -Following in his -Famous essay written in 1950:
The strange lingering o4= Cortes and La Malinche in the imaginations and sensitivity o-F present-dry Mexicans reveals that they are more than mere historical -Figures:
they are symbols o-F a secret con-Flict that we have still
not resolved.

However, ^'az also said that despite the clear duality o-F their origins, the Mexican people do not accept that they are hybrids:
the Mexican does not want tc be either Indian or Spaniard,, He does net want to be descended "=rom them either, He rejects them. He does not see himsel-F as 3 Mestizo but more abstractly as a mar. He is ncbcdy's
son. (1)
The Mexican people's voluntary orphanhood thus c-scame an identitv crisis with an unknown ending.
Zsa voiced a di-F-Ferent opinion tni-'sz years

C"- +• -\ v i o Paz, ^1 laberinto dw la scl»dad
, P. 78-79.

later. He was optimistic .about cultural misce-Qsnat i on and said he -Felt its progress had oeen and would -i-e inexorable •For the good of Mexico* In. contrast to the negative image given by Ramos,, Zea affirmed that the "Mestizo soirit has produced a new -feeling of security, superiority and efficiency." Likewise., he explained that even if the Mexicans continued to be influenced by western culture they were no longer copying it. "Western culture, which up to yesterday was -False,," he said,, "is becoming essential to and part of our culture." This change was partly due to the acceptance o-F the indigenous roots which subtly and surreptitiously -Fed Mexican culture. Although there are unequal proportions in the mixture,, Mexican culture is a hybrid product:
The Mestizo culture which is now beginning to shape itsel-F is western. This cannot be denied but despite this it is different and unmistakable. This distinction
is orovided by the part that the Indian has contributed
and it was the Indian who gave it that spirit or way of fee^J.inq that life, -as we have seen, is Mestizo life., a
life born of the white man and the Indian woman that emerged thanks to an accident. (1)

Although Paz did not pay any attention to the solution to Mexico's syncretism, Zea did not think it was problematic. He not only saw the cultural mixing as a desirable process but did not see any obstacles in its way. He did not feel there was anything wrong with saying that miscegenation was the product of two as^WNfrical contributing -^actors. The

(1) Leopoldo Zea, Conciancia v ocaibilidad del mevizanaypcs en <aayas sobre Mexico v lo mexicar.o (^'o r r ua ,, ^e x i c c .
974) , PP. 96-99. The quotes are taken ^-o^ the seco-- ^
work .

supporters o-f a Mestizo Mexico coul d now rest: the advert o-the "Father land which they had -fought so hard ^or was c loss at hand.
For Santiago Ramirez, however,, the matter was mc'.-"'= complex. As any good psychologist would have done (ne was a •follower of Freud) he traced the source of the Mexican people's complexes back to their relationships with their parents. He said that as the Mexican is a Mestizo originally born o-F a Spanish -Father and an Indian mother,, he -Feels liH? a prisoner trapped between his mother's Indian world which is passive and -Full of stigmas and the violent, unobtainable world o-F his -Father, and this situation is to blame -For his emotional imbalances. However,, Ramirez did not propose mestizotropical therapy; this ailment would have to be treated using .another remedy, (1) Two recent studies on the Mexican people also adopted a similar attitude and it is worth mentioning them to round o-F-F this crief review of some of the most representative studies of this kind. One o-F them, prepared by a Marxist who does not prescribe to the-more usual interpretations of this ideology, was rot satisfied with mal::. gning miscegenation and even "-ejected the existence of a "typical Mexican", which he interpreted as a

"completely -False problem that is only worthy of interest as /
part of the constitution of the dominant political culture" whose only end is to. legitimize exploitation. According to this thsorv (which can Be used for dialectical ly softening the excesses that had occuWed in literature on Mexican-ness

(1) Santiago Ramirez, El mexicano - osizolocia de? sue motiva'cig.nes (Enlace-Grijalbo, Mexico, 19S6;, cp.. 48-65.

even though it is somewhat exajjft-ated) the solution -Fo'- Mexico is socioeconomic. In his interpretation., the "-Famc'-'s anphibian of miscegenation" served only as a metaphor to incite. (1) The other study in question is tne most
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important work o-F the new current on miscegenation. however, it also shares the optimism o-F those who believe that the Mexican cultural synthesis is "advancing towards its -Full maturity" and is eliminating mimicry and inferiority complexes as it progresses. "Miscegenation, which is a consummated -Fact", the author affirms, "is also a process that still has to reach completion." However, the author's words indicate that the process will crystallize without having to con-Front any -Further major drawbacks. (2)
In short, there are two essential variations in the incipient Mexican neo-mestizophilia. The -First consists o-F basing the approach to cultural miscegenation at the expense o-F the -Former concern -For the racial aspect. The second is the perception of cultural syncretism as something as real as incurable, or as a beneficial process that is on its %ay towards its culmination without any intervention which implies the loss o-F the prescriptive character o-F the ethno-mestizophiles. This second version is understandable to a certain extent: these students c-F Me?; i can-ness were able to observe the situation -From a better angle, Howev?:--, it is obvious that cultural -Fusion has net made? the z?.me progress as racial -Fusion did as it was based on the

(1) Roger Bartra, La iaula de la melarcolia (En lacs Gri^albo, Mexico, 1987), pp. 21-22 ana 29-32,,
(2) Aqustin Basave Fernandez del Valle, Vocacidn v ssti1c He Mexico (Limusa, Mexico, 1990), pp. 591 =r^ 609' "

confidence in the inertia of racial mizcscer.at ion. However, this does not justify the hopes for progress with respect to cultural miscegenat ion» Finally, the relegat.icn of the subject of miscegenation to a secondary level by contemporary

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Mexican thinkers has still to be explained. Miscegenation was at least given prime importance in the works of Molina Enriquez, Gamio and Vasconcelos but nowadays it barely accounts for a few paragraphs contained in studies on Mexican characterology. Is this a symptom shewing that tne debate is finished and that the clash between two worlds has finally given birth to a new nation that is different to how it was before? Or is it a sign of obstinate reluctance on the part of Mexican intellectuals who have chosen to consider this conflict as something that haz been resolved and who shield themselves behind the mysteries of the .Mexican Janus?

CONCLUSIONS.

Anyone who analyses the sen DC! o-F mest i zcpn i1ia in any depth is bound to be amazed bv its :. 11-assorted coherence. Thinkers belonging to the most varied range o-F tendencies coincide on the subject o-F mestizophilia and very o-^ten this is the only point that many o-F them have in commonu Creoles and Mestizos, liberals and racists, positivists and romantics all arrive at the same conclusion: that miscegenation -forms the essence o-F what is Mexican,, Thus it is impossible to disregard the idea that many o-F these thinkers who started o-F-F -From such di-F-Ferent stances were in -Fact heading towards a preconceived goal. In other words, that their conclusion was also a premise. What makes these europeanized. intellectuals opt -For. race mixture, which was so despised in their much-admired Europe? Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran sums up the answer very eloquently: wnile the Europeans were concerned with achieving unity so as to be.able to protect
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the "purity" o-F their lineage,

Mexican innovation was concerned with precisely the Deposits; the only uniqueness open to Mexico lay i.n mixture,, < 1)

This was not a matter o-F personal obsession as it was obvicus that there would have to be some other common characteristic between the Bravos and the Suchiates, who all called themselves Mexicans.
We must add, however, the -Factor o-F Meztizo———————— ——
(1) AdUirre Beltran, "Oposicidn de raza y culture en =••:. pensamiento antropoldgico mexicano", i

self-percept ion with in the Mexican intellectual• c i r-1es, which acted as a catalyst. Bear ing this ir. his mind., tne modeler became his own model or,, as Lu.is Villcro said, the Mestizo turned out to be the "impulse and the end", ana it was the Indian who became what he had been:
When the Mestizo looked at himself he saw his own project reflected in the eyes of the Indian. The Mestizo only became aware of his own ideals when he noticed the Indian standing there alone an?! apart in isolation. The Mestizo discovered himself by trying tc help the Indian,, (1)

Apart from being the only feasible option, the Mestizo was therefore the person who had been officially made responsible for Mexican "uniqueness." His situation was like that of being a judge and party to a fair cause at the same time. In addition to the objective rationality of Mexican mestizophilia, the subjective feelings of enthusiasm felt by the thinker who considered himself to be Mexican in one way or another also came into play..
There is no doubt that the most fascinating case cf this
was Andres Molina Enriquez. Nobody else had to bear a doctrinal burden that was as overwhelmingly against him as he did and despite this nobody else took mestizcphilia tc such intellectual heights as he did. In spite of his contradictions, Molina's theory of mestizophilia manages tc integrate "socioethnology", history, politics and law ir. a single system. He race struggle theory makes him join t^e "conflict school" of Social Sciences (together with system Marx, Spencer and Gumplowicz) (1); but inste^c. 3-^

(1) Villoro, oo. cit.. pp. 181-183.

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merely conforming to the adaptat ion of such theory to his purposes, Molina also formed his own conceptual structure. In this structure, we must add, his complex ethnological analysis is worthy of admiration nowadays and we should resist the temptation of claiming that it was just a form of camouflage that hid a sociological analysis. It is no wondsr that somebody who lived immersed in the biological era should have believed in the pre-eminence of the race question. Likewise, there is nothing to prevent us -^rom admiring his contribution in its historical context. After-all, we already know that even nowadays any respected analyst o-f social conditions in Mexico must include the different ethnic groups in his research repertoire.

It does not require much intelligence to see that the correlation between race and class that Molina and his contemporaries attacked so hard still exists to. a considerable extent in modern Mexicc.(2) The Revolution, :it is true, diminished racist taboos and eased the way up the social ladder for non-Creoles. However, there is no dou.pt
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that the presence of Indian characteristics in Mexico's people is still inversely proportional to the socioeconomic

(1) Like them, Molina interpreted mankind's future as the result of a conflict — between races, in this case •-••- which would end with the advent of the ideal society.
(2) In spite of the difficulty of measuring, there is one study which shows the race-class correlation in Mexico with statistics. See Josg E. Iturriaga, La estructura social y cultura de Mexico (FCE, Mexico, 1951), =p, 123-124.

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standards they enjoy. The ethnic composition o- the c1 asses in Mexico represents a "racist sed imsnt" wnich,, in the words o-F Abelardo Villegas, "exercises great in-Fluence in aesthetic-erotic judgement." (1) There is no need to say who the loser is .in this case.
This sums up tne oustanding account -For Mexican mestizophilia. The obsession with biological sociology has thank-Fully been overcome -Firstly because we row knew that the ethnic variable per se- cannot be used to explain human phenomena and secondly because the dynamics o-F racial mixture have shown that there is no longer need -^or racial mestizophilia. However, due to the sad race-class link cultural miscegenation was unable to make progress in the racist era. Th#%*. aesthetic paradigms are still being spread in Mexico, even though they go against tne grain o-F our o-F-Ficial indigenist system o-F education (2). These paradigms denigrate most o-F our population. Furthermore, the absence o-F real cultural synthesis, which had caused the exaltation o-F a dominant western culture and the margina%*MJWM o-r a clandestine Indian sub-culture, is largely responsible 4=or the -Fact that nowadays the concept o-F "Indian" is associated, at least in the urban centres, with a pejorative image (3), It is absurd that social inertia concerning cultural archetypes that denigrate its Indian ————————
(1) Villegas, po . c 11,., p. 135.
(2) See Alan Kright "Racism, revolution, and Indigenismg? Mexico. 1910-1940", in Richard Graham (ed.), ThfTldw* 2f_^lC"_lJ?.. f-*ti" Amaric*.——1870-1940 (U. o4= Texas Press/ Austin, 1990), pp. 98-102.
(3) For more on this point, see Aguirre Beltran, "Los simbolos etnicos de la identidad nscional"., = n. 7 , ., pi. 119-120,

roots should reign in a sec iety that is overwhelming! y B*-.? khow ingly Mest i zo (1) .
Those who have examined Mexican identity a-F^irm that,
•for good or -For bad, the process o-F cultural miscegenation has almost run its course. But can we use the term "miscegenation" to describe something that ha.s been a wicked superimposition o4= cultures? Would it not be more exact to say that in that -Field,, 4=ar -From permeating the other social strata, the Indians have heroically kept themselves alive despite the onslaught o-F in-Fluence -^rom the Spanish,, French

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and United States cultures which have invaded Mexico? In •Fact;, Mexican culture in many senses is clearly western and only surreptitiously Indian. Or, as Al-Fonso Reyes put it: the Mexican spirit is -Found in the colour which the Latin water, as it came to us, acquired here in ou\- home
as it -Flowed during three centuries bathing the red clay
o-F our earth . (2)

This is very true; although the water has turned a reddish tinge it is still Latin. Spanish spattered with a touch c-c Nahuatl. Christianity with a lingering aroma o-F copal resin. Barroque diluted by -Furtive Mayan symbolism. Time conceived as running a straight course over sporadic cyclical pirouettes. C'ragmatic individualism which quells glimpses of a display o-F collective will. Thus the as\,##gtry o-F Mexican syncretism is irreversible in some

(1) Nowadays it is common -for the "Mex ican current" , as Aguirre Belt ran says, to consider itsel-F tc be Mest i zz.
See gp. cit...,
C?) Al-^onso Reves, La X en la -Frente (PorrOa v Obrec^r, Mexico, 1952), p. 92.

compensated -for as a whole.
Despite everything, the vitality o-F ths p"-e-Hispanic substrate has to be admired. Downtrodden -For several centuries and asphyxiated by the higher levels, the remains o-f the Indian cultures survive and are crouching behinc- the modern age, emerging -for orielF moments with great vigour. This is the "deep Mexico" spoken o-F by Guillermo Bon-^iil Batalla. This is the Mexico that also ventures into culture and turns Creole purity into a mere 'chimera ^ Even society has shown that -from the moment Spain and Anahuac began their •fate o-F living side by side, Mexican culture could no longer be a European transplant in America as culture in the United States was. In the south o-F the Rio Brave continent the •future was much more complicated: Mexican identity would have to be shaped out of latin water and red clay.
So what could be done? It was obvious that a civilization that was truncated in the sixteenth century could not be -Fully incorporated into the twentieth century. Nor was it a case o-F inventing a new language or a new religion. However, the historical lesson had been learned and it was acknowledged that instead o-F whitening the people,. what had to be done was to "mestizize" culture (1) so that nothinc would prevent the hidden side o-F Mexico's -^ace being

(1) This does not mean that culture should adjust itsel-F to the race, but that an impositively as\#M@#-ical culture, besides being un-Fair, is unable to generate solid ^a-*--i--,na'i 1 t %..\ t*, «*.—*** **•* ** awareness. As -For the rest, . it is '•-sl^vAr,-'- •«»«.— •*-,-,..... note the -Following coincidence: in the economic contact,
(-1 ^R^aAdfrv, -"J / ^V^^W J »' the absence o-F harmonious develcc^er-*- whi-!-., . — cauzss deep social • imbalances, is the r\^in characteristic o-F underdevelopment.

shown and this would enrich seme aspects c--*= trz c cosmovision. Above al 1 , what had to be dons vjaz to progress towards the maximum question o-c social justice: the -^Ece c.4= the Indian had to be rescued -From secrecy and bs revindicated be-Fore the eyes c-f their own people as well as strangers, ^cr this to be done, the aesthetic/cultural plans with western origins which caused inferiority complexes would have to PE4 altered. However, a solution would also have to be sought to the problem of the Mexican identity crisis and to provide miscegenation with sy##*wry so as tr renew a culture, that, if the truth be told, has not adapted itsel- to Mexican reality nor is known -For its creativity. Just as 8on4=il Batalla had wanted, the west had to be seen -from Mexico and not the other way round. To do that:
The only way out, which besides being the only solution
is also arduous and di-4-icult, is to dig out historical
will •from "deep Mexico" to shape and begin our own clan
o-f civilization, "'!) ^

The result, however, would not be a "pluricultural nation" (that is what Mexico has been although rather disproportionately since the conquest.) Ths resulting nation would be unique , new and ai-F-ferent to what all its predecessors were, This is what Bon-Fil was proposing without realising it. (2) Racial miscegenation in Mexico began beyond anybody's will. Cultural miscegenation ended u= as virtually everybody's concern. Such is the magic c-^ mestizophilia. —•-
(1) r^.i"!'!ermc Bon-fil Batalla, Mexico oro-Funoc (SEF/C1ES-S, Mexico, 1987), p. 223.
(2) What Bcr-il really wanted to see was rzt cultL'-al miscegnation but its -Fair s'/aadfry" See cc . =it, , 22, 73-96 and 229-237.

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