

LAS REFORMAS A LA LEY

Las reformas a la Ley Mexicana del Seguro Social, que se promulgaron el 28 de febrero de 1949, tuvieron dos propósitos fundamentales: perfeccionar la organización técnica-administrativa del Instituto, facilitándole nuevas bases legales para el registro y el control de los derechos de los asegurados y, mejorar las prestaciones, principalmente en el Seguro de Invalidez, Vejez, Cesantía en Edad Avanzada y Muerte, estableciendo un nuevo sistema para el otorgamiento de pensiones, al reducir el número de semanas de cotización que como mínimo debe acumular el asegurado para tener derecho a tales beneficios.

En efecto, hasta antes de estas reformas, era requisito indispensable para tener derecho al otorgamiento de una pensión de invalidez, de viudez, o de orfandad, que el asegurado hubiese cotizado un mínimo de 200 semanas y, para pensión de vejez, era necesario que acumulase cuando menos 700 semanas de cotización; habiéndose reducido estos términos de espera, a 150 y 500 semanas respectivamente.

Además, el artículo 8o. transitorio de dichas reformas ordena que a los asegurados inscritos antes del 28 de febrero de 1949 y que dentro de los dos años anteriores a esa fecha, tuvieran adquiridas por lo menos 50 semanas de cotización por el pago de cuotas, se les debe considerar como cumplido el tiempo de espera de 200 semanas que fijaba la ley original.

El primero de los propósitos que se persiguieron con las reformas a la Ley, se consiguió al realizar con buen éxito, merced a la valiosa cooperación de patrones y trabajadores, la Nueva Inscripción General, que proporcionó la información con la cual el Instituto ha logrado la superación de sus actividades.

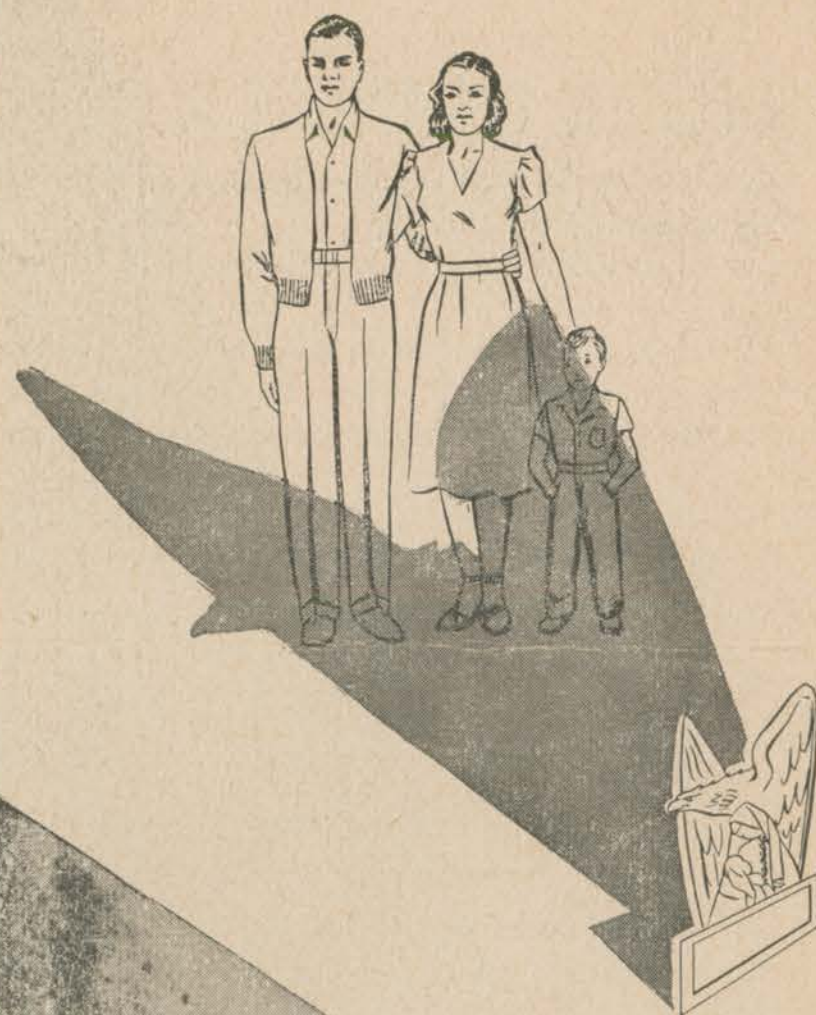
A la vez que las citadas reformas facilitan el establecimiento del nuevo sistema para el otorgamiento de pensiones, obligan al Instituto a expedir a los trabajadores asegurados, una certificación sobre los derechos adquiridos hasta el 28 de febrero de 1949, en el Seguro de Invalidez, Vejez, Cesantía en Edad Avanzada y Muerte.

Este folleto, al cual se le ha dado un formato especial para que sirva de guarda del Certificado de Derechos, tiene la finalidad de explicar a los asegurados, el significado de dicho documento, así como informarles sobre los principales beneficios que se derivan de la rama del Seguro de Invalidez, Vejez, Cesantía en Edad Avanzada y Muerte.



MEXICO, D. F.

INSTITUTO MEXICANO DEL SEGURO SOCIAL



**EL CERTIFICADO DE DERECHOS
EN EL SEGURO
DE INVALIDEZ, VEJEZ,
CESANTIA EN EDAD
AVANZADA Y MUERTE**

MEXICO

PRINCIPALES BENEFICIOS QUE OTORGA EL SEGURO SOCIAL EN CASO DE INVALIDEZ, VEJEZ, CESANTIA EN EDAD AVANZADA O MUERTE.

Pensión de Invalidez, al asegurado que haya acumulado en el Instituto, un mínimo de 150 semanas de cotización y sea declarado inválido por enfermedad o accidente no profesional.—(Artículo 67 de la Ley).



Servicios médicos, quirúrgicos y farmacéuticos, al pensionado inválido o anciano y a sus beneficiarios (esposa o compañera e hijos menores de 16 años), así como a la viuda y huérfanos pensionados.—(Artículo 55 de la Ley).



Prórroga de la pensión de orfandad, hasta la edad de 25 años, cuando el beneficiario padezca una enfermedad duradera, defecto físico o psíquico que lo incapacite para mantenerse por su propio trabajo, o cuando estudie en establecimientos públicos, si sus condiciones económicas familiares o personales lo justifican.—(Artículo 81 de la Ley).



Pensión de Vejez, al asegurado que habiendo cumplido 65 años de edad, haya acumulado en el Instituto, un mínimo de 500 semanas de cotización.—(Artículo 71 de la Ley).



En caso de muerte del asegurado o del pensionado, **pensión vitalicia a la viuda**.—(Artículo 78 de la Ley).



Una dote que se otorga por única vez al asegurado, hombre o mujer, que contraiga matrimonio y que haya cotizado un mínimo de 150 semanas a partir del 1.º de marzo de 1949.—(Artículo 90 de la Ley)

Pensión por Cesantía en Edad Avanzada, al asegurado que habiendo cumplido 60 años de edad, quede privado de trabajos remunerados y haya acumulado en el Instituto, un mínimo de 500 semanas de cotización.—(Artículo 72 de la Ley).



En caso de muerte del asegurado o pensionado, **pensión de orfandad a los hijos** menores de 16 años.—(Artículo 81 de la Ley).



Además, el Instituto está facultado para proporcionar servicios preventivos o curativos a los asegurados y a los beneficiarios, con objeto de prevenir la realización de un estado de invalidez, y procurar la recuperación de la incapacidad de trabajo del inválido pensionado.

QUE ES EL CERTIFICADO DE DERECHOS

El Certificado de Derechos es el documento que de acuerdo con el artículo 9o. transitorio de la Ley reformada, expide el Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, y en el que se fijan los derechos adquiridos por los asegurados hasta el 28 de febrero de 1949.

QUE CONTIENE EL CERTIFICADO DE DERECHOS

El Certificado de Derechos contiene fundamentalmente dos clases de datos:

a).—Los datos para la identificación del asegurado y

b).—Los derechos que le son reconocidos en el Seguro de Invalidez, Vejez, Cesantía en Edad Avanzada y Muerte, expresados por un número determinado de semanas y un grupo de salario promedio de cotización, al 28 de febrero de 1949.

Contiene, además, un informe complementario que no tiene carácter de certificación, relativo al número de semanas reconocidas por el período del 1o. de marzo al 31 de diciembre de 1949.

DATOS PARA LA IDENTIFICACION DEL ASEGURADO

Estos datos están constituidos por:

a).—Apellidos paterno, materno y nombre del asegurado y,

b).—Nuevo número de afiliación del asegurado.

El nuevo número clave que está determinado sobre bases técnicas, con el fin de garantizar una debida identificación del asegurado, para el registro de sus derechos y para el otorgamiento de las prestaciones, está formado de cuatro partes: correspondiendo a la primera parte, la cifra inicial, que representa el número de la circunscripción del Seguro Social en que el trabajador fué inscrito por primera vez; la segunda parte, está constituida por la segunda y tercera cifras, que se refieren a las dos últimas cifras del año en que el trabajador fué inscrito también por primera vez en el Seguro Social; la tercera parte, la componen las cifras cuarta y quinta, que representan las dos últimas cifras del año en que nació el trabajador, y las cifras siguientes, que constituyen la cuarta parte del número clave de afiliación, representan el número progresivo que correspondió a los trabajadores inscritos en la misma circunscripción y con idénticos años de inscripción y de nacimiento.

inscripciones del Seguro Social han sido de acuerdo con el orden cronológico de nacimiento, siendo así que a la primera inscripción en donde se implantó el Seguro Social, que fué el Distrito Federal, se le asignó el número 1; el 2 a la circunscripción de Puebla; el 3 a la de Monterrey; el 4 a la de Guadalajara; el 5 a la de Orizaba y el 6 a la del Estado de México.

Así por ejemplo, el trabajador Juan García Pérez, cuyo número de tarjeta de afiliación es 144-09-2820, su número de afiliación indica que se trata de un trabajador inscrito por primera vez en el Distrito Federal, en el año de 1944, que nació en 1909 y que dentro de los trabajadores que se inscribieron en el Distrito Federal, en el año de 1944 y que nacieron en 1909, le correspondió el número progresivo de serie 2820.

Otro ejemplo: el trabajador Salvador Sánchez Ramírez que tiene como número de tarjeta de afiliación 447-21-1203, su número de afiliación expresa que se trata de un trabajador inscrito por primera vez en la circunscripción de Guadalajara, en el año de 1947, que nació en 1921, y con número de orden progresivo de 1203, dentro de todos los trabajadores con iguales características.

DERECHOS RECONOCIDOS

Los derechos reconocidos en el Seguro de Invalidez, Vejez, Cesantía en Edad Avanzada y Muerte, están representados por un número de semanas de cotización adquiridas en un grupo promedio de salario.

Es de aclarar que en el número total de semanas reconocidas hasta el 28 de febrero de 1949, que aparece en el Certificado, están comprendidas también las semanas de cotización de los años de 1944 a 1947, a que tuvieron derecho los asegurados, y que acatando disposiciones legales, solamente se proporciona información detallada en el Certificado de Derechos, sobre las semanas de cotización según grupos de salario, reconocidas en los dos años anteriores a dicha fecha.

En resumen, los derechos adquiridos por los asegurados, están expresados en tres datos:

a).—Número de semanas de cotización reconocidas para el cumplimiento del tiempo de espera, que sirven para la determinación de la cuantía básica de las pensiones, según el grupo promedio de salario.

b).—Número de semanas reconocidas para computar los aumentos a la cuantía básica de las pensiones.

(La suma de estos dos números de semanas da el total de semanas reconocidas hasta el 28 de febrero de 1949, que, en ningún caso, es menor al número total de semanas a que tiene derecho el asegurado desde su primer ingreso al Seguro Social).

El número de semanas reconocidas para el cumplimiento del tiempo de espera, significa el número mínimo de semanas de cotización (150 fijadas por la Ley Reformada) para tener derecho, el asegurado o sus beneficiarios, a las pensiones de invalidez, viudez u orfandad, y para fijar según el grupo promedio de salario, la cuantía básica de estas pensiones, que es una cantidad base que se incrementa por cada semana de cotización que exceda a las primeras 150.

c).—Número de semanas reconocidas para aplicar la mejora a las pensiones por edad avanzada.

El número de semanas de cotización reconocidas para la mejora por edad avanzada, se determinó de acuerdo con la fecha de nacimiento que consta en la cédula especial de la Nueva Inscripción General de Patronos y Trabajadores. Esta mejora que se aplica exclusivamente a los trabajadores que fueron inscritos en el Seguro Social a una edad mayor de 30 años, manifiesta el espíritu justiciero de la Ley, ya que a estos trabajadores se les mejoran sus beneficios cuando menos en una tercera parte de los aumentos normales, para ponerlos en condiciones menos desventajosas en relación con los trabajadores jóvenes que tuvieron oportunidad de inscribirse en el Seguro Social a una edad temprana, mientras que los de edad mayor de 30 años, vieron menguados sus beneficios por el hecho no imputable a ellos, de que cuando ingresaron al trabajo todavía no existía régimen de Seguro Social en donde pudieran acumular mayores derechos para mejorar el importe de sus pensiones.

El grupo de salario en que se reconocen las semanas de cotización se obtuvo de acuerdo con el promedio que corresponde a los grupos de salario de dichas semanas, en los dos años anteriores al 28 de febrero de 1949; pero en beneficio de los asegurados, al fijar tal promedio, se concedió mayor valor a las semanas de cotización a partir del segundo bimestre de 1948, de tal manera que el grupo promedio de salario en que se reconocen las semanas de cotización en el certificado, es siempre el más favorable a los asegurados, para la determinación de sus derechos.

REGISTRO CONTINUO DE DERECHOS

Los asegurados pueden tener la certeza de que las semanas de cotización que han adquirido con posterioridad al 31 de diciembre de 1949, es decir, a partir del primer bimestre de 1950, van siendo registradas en forma individual, con toda oportunidad; pues precisamente los nuevos procedimientos implantados a partir de la Nueva Inscripción General, facilitan al Instituto esta tarea y garantizan el registro continuo de los derechos de los asegurados.



El registro continuo de los derechos de cada uno de los asegurados, se realiza mediante un moderno equipo electro-mecánico.

QUE HACER EN CASO DE INCONFORMIDAD

Si el asegurado, por cualquier circunstancia no está conforme con los datos que aparecen en su Certificado de Derechos, está facultado para formular las reclamaciones que considere pertinentes con relación a sus derechos, dentro de un plazo de cuatro semanas contado a partir de la fecha en que recibe el Certificado. Transcurrido dicho plazo sin que se hubiere presentado reclamación, el Certificado adquiere firmeza como base de derechos futuros.

Las reclamaciones que presente el asegurado, deberán referirse a datos concretos del Certificado, que se relacionen con el número de semanas de cotización reconocidas, con los grupos de salarios correspondientes y con la edad del asegurado.

Deberá proporcionar, además, los datos necesarios para el trámite de la reclamación, tales como el nombre del patrón a quien hubiere prestado sus servicios, las fechas de iniciación y terminación de cada empleo y los salarios correspondientes.

El Instituto comunicará por escrito su resolución al asegurado, y si éste no estuviese de acuerdo, tendrá el derecho de presentar su inconformidad ante el Consejo Técnico del propio Instituto.

EL SEGURO DE INVALIDEZ, VEJEZ, CESANTIA EN EDAD AVANZADA Y MUERTE

Este seguro es una de las ramas de protección de mayor importancia y trascendencia del Régimen del Seguro Social Obligatorio, ya que tiene como principal finalidad, proteger al trabajador contra la incapacidad general no originada por riesgo profesional; proporcionar a los trabajadores que han dejado sus energías y su juventud en el trabajo, los medios de atender a su subsistencia cuando por su avanzada edad no pueden obtener un salario, y, amparar a las viudas y garantizar a los huérfanos menores de edad, un refugio económico que los substraiga de la miseria y que les permita ser en el futuro hombres útiles a la sociedad.



Los más modernos sistemas de control, garantizan el registro de los derechos de cada asegurado en el Ramo de Invalidez, Vejez, Cesantía en Edad Avanzada y Muerte.

Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los Siglos XVII y XVIII. By Eduardo Arcila Farías. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1950. Pp. 324.

With this work its Venezuelan author has made a noteworthy contribution to both the economic literature of the colonial period of Latin America and contemporary Venezuelan historiography. The traffic in cacao between 1622 and 1789 serves as the principal theme of Arcila Farías, to such a degree, in fact, that one almost expects to see the word cacao in the title.

Much of the value of the study is inherent in the breadth of approach the author makes to his subject. In addition to the study of its movement from Venezuela to Mexico, cacao, the leading product and export of the former and a significant import for the latter during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is viewed in its over-all relationship to the economies of the two areas, in the evolution of commodity prices, in the distinctive system of its marketing, in its relationship to the Venezuelan supply of money, in its relation to general taxes and defense appropriations, in relation to the competition it knew from the cacao of Guayaquil in the Mexican markets, and in its relation to the general pattern of Spanish imperial legislation on economic matters.

For its authoritative tone and revealing detail, the volume deserves a place alongside such works as those of Haring (*Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*) and Hussey (*The Caracas Company, 1728-1784*). When, for example, Arcila Farías treats the complications of the Caracas-Guayaquil cacao competition and the organization of the cacao market in Veracruz, he calls attention to areas of economic history that have long awaited the archival probings of some researcher.

One of the great strengths of the work stems from the apparent thoroughness with which Arcila Farías exploited the archives of both Venezuela and Mexico. The wealth of documentation serves to reinforce the measure of respect the reader develops for the work. The maps, the clearly constructed graphs, and the numerous and lengthy tables are distinct assets. In addition to the aforementioned archival materials, the work is based upon printed documents, newspapers, and travelers' accounts, all of which are listed in the well-proportioned bibliography.

Despite such drawbacks as a tendency toward repetition, too much emphasis upon the province of Caracas at the expense of the rest of Venezuela, and too great a tendency to read realities out of legislative intentions, the Caracas historian has done a brilliant job of synthesizing mountains of seemingly heterogeneous materials. The reader who is interested in colonial commerce at large, as well as the specialist in the Caribbean area, will welcome this work.

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TEAR SHEET FROM CURRENT ISSUE

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Recent Publications in Economic History

Compiled by MULFORD MARTIN

- Anderson, Mary. *Woman at Work: The Autobiography of Mary Anderson as told to Mary N. Winslow*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951. Pp. 266. \$3.50.
- Aptheker, Herbert. *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. Preface by W. E. B. DuBois. New York: Citadel Press, 1951. Pp. 942. \$7.50.
- Arcila Fariás, Eduardo. *Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los siglos XVI y XVII*. México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 1950. Pp. 324.
- Arena, Paolo. *La Sicilia nella sua storia e nei suoi problemi*. Palermo: F. Agate, 1949. Pp. 589.
- Arnoult, Pierre. *Les Finances de France et l'occupation allemande (1940-1944)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951. Pp. 410.
- Ashton, Thomas S. *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*, University of Manchester Publications, Economic History Series, No. 2. Second edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951. Pp. 265. 16s.
- Astesano, Eduardo. *La movilización económica en los ejércitos sanmartinianos*. Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1951. Pp. 180.
- Baughn, William H., and W. D. Ross. *Changes in the Louisiana Manufacturing Economy between 1939 and 1947*, Louisiana Business Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 2. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1951. Pp. 83.
- Bliss, Horacio W. *Nociones de historia económica general*. Buenos Aires: Macchi Hnos., 1951. Pp. 424.
- Bollinger, Arthur. *Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des europäischen Textildrucks: eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung*. Wien: Springer, 1950. Pp. 212.
- Brown, Arthur J. Y. *The American Economy, 1860-1940*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1951. Pp. 208. 15s.
- Caizzi, Bruno. *Profilo di storia economica dal 476 al 1950*. Bellinzona: Tipogr. ed. Grafica Bellinzona S.A., 1951. Pp. 321. Sw.fr. 7.
- Cameron, Hector C. *Samuel Crompton*. London: Batchworth Press, 1951. Pp. 144. 15s.
- Candeloro, Giorgio. *Il movimento sindacale in Italia*. Roma: Edizione di Cultura Sociale, 1950. Pp. 214.
- Carr, Charles C. *Alcoa: An American Enterprise*. New York: Rinehart, 1952. Pp. 292. \$3.50.
- Carter, William. *A Short History of the Linen Trade*. Vol. I: *To the Time of the Industrial Revolution*. Belfast: Carter Publications, 1952. Pp. 25. 2s.
- Citroen, H. A. *European Emigration Overseas Past and Future*, Research Group for European Migration Problems, Publication No. 2. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951. Pp. 58. Gld. 2.50.
- Clark, John and Thomas. *The Trowbridge Woollen Industry as Illustrated by the Stock Books of John and Thomas Clark, 1804-1824*. Edited by R. P. Beckinsale. Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1951. Pp. 249. 25s.
- Cleland, Robert G. *A History of Phelps Dodge, 1834-1950*. New York: Knopf, 1952. Pp. 343. \$4.00.
- Cole, Arthur H., and others. *Measures of Business Change: A Baker Library Index*. Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1952. Pp. 444. \$7.50.
- Cole, G. D. H. *The Development of Socialism During the Past Fifty Years*, Webb Memorial Lecture Series. London: Athlone Press, 1952. Pp. 32. 2s.6d.

inheritors not merely of the Jesuit missions but also of Gálvez' opposition to them (208-214); this deeply etched vignette expresses the author's opinion of that « Dictateur »: « Gálvez n'a vu la Péninsule qu'à travers l'écran transparent d'un mirage désertique, créé par une mégalomanie inconsciente. Il pouvait bien critiquer l'œuvre des Pères Jésuites à l'aise. Mais qu'a-t-il réalisé lui? Une collection de décrets pour la ruine des missions. C'est tout » (213). Of Jesuit treasures in Lower California, he has this to observe: « La préoccupation dominante de Gálvez était de créer des revenus pour la real hacienda. Dans ce but une série de décrets allait dans son idée produire des trésors qui tiendraient lieu des richesses accumulées par les Jésuites. Celles-ci n'existèrent jamais que dans la lune » (211).

In the second volume, the author discusses Captain Fernando Rivera's loyalty to the Jesuit missionaries and Gálvez' requital of the same (16-17). When Serra reached Loreto in 1768, he found there a decree of Benedict XIV authorizing the Jesuit Superior to confer the sacrament of confirmation on the neophytes of his territory, since no Bishop ever visited it; with this document in his possession, Serra began the six year struggle to obtain the same authorization (302).

The author invites us to view the biography as a triptych: the center panel is the account of Serra's life in Upper California (1769-1784); the first side panel is the briefer story of his preparation for that apostolate; the last panel is the seeming defeat of the hero at the hands of persecutors. The life is not so much an account of the external activity as a psychological or character study of Serra, based on numerous documents gathered by the author, particularly letters of the Franciscan Missionary.

Rome.

E. J. BURRUS S. I.

BERNABÉ NAVARRO. *La introducción de la filosofía moderna en México.* — México (El Colegio de México) 1948, 8°, 310 p.

The introduction of modern philosophy in Mexico is here taken to mean that renewal, not only of the subject itself, but also of science and allied fields of knowledge in the latter half of the 18th century. At that period, a concerted effort was made to understand the scientific and philosophical ideas and principles of Francis Bacon, Boyle, Descartes, Feijóo, Buffon, Gassendi, Newton, Leibnitz, Copernicus, Kepler, Brahe, Benjamin Franklin and many others, and fit the truth found in them into the prevailing scholastic system, as well as reconcile real or apparent contradictions when encountered.

The present study is limited almost exclusively to the Jesuit philosophers and scientists, who are credited with initiating the movement and who through their students and writings continued to sustain it even after their expulsion from New Spain in 1767. This movement was not considered by its leaders as a violent break with the past, but rather a return to what was best in it in the light of a more profound study and of scientific progress. Fortunately, the past included an intense interest in the native culture.

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Every branch of knowledge was to profit by this small New World renaissance — from good taste in literature and oratory, objective historical investigation and presentation, to the physical sciences and speculative philosophy and theology. Hence, an interest in what Aristotle, St. Thomas and other eminent scholastic thinkers had written and thought, rather than in some distorted or diluted commentary. That same spirit fired its exponents with a desire for well-nigh encyclopedic knowledge, an enlightened attitude towards the classics, new and old, as most appositely expressive of truth, goodness and beauty; from this same receptive mentality sprang their interest in Greek and Hebrew to understand the Scriptures more perfectly, and in the modern languages to listen directly to the new philosophers and scientists.

To the Jesuit thinker Rafael Campoy are attributed the inspiration of the movement and its capable direction until younger members formed by him could take over. Its outstanding exponents were Fathers F. J. Alegre, Diego Abad and Javier Clavigero. Manuel Fabri S. I. furnishes the biographical data for the first two; Juan Luis Maneiro S. I., for the last, as well as information on the movement in general. The manuscript of Clavigero's *Physica Particularis* is analyzed for its scientific content and references to the new science (174-194, 224-234). The almost complete manuscript course of philosophy of Abad was studied in a similar fashion (150-174). Since no philosophical treatise of Alegre could be found (despite the fact that his course of philosophy is listed by every bibliographer from Beristáin to Medina), his letters, especially those to Clavigero, and his biography by Fabri, were studied for their references to the movement.

Other important participants in the scientific renewal of their country are considered less extensively; so, the Jesuits Dávila, Parreño, Cerdán, Castro, Zaballos and Utrera; the last two are particularly influential, since as Superiors of the entire Province (the first in Mexico, the second in exile), their endorsement and encouragement of the movement assured its acceptance and success. The antecedents of the renewal are studied briefly, especially as set forth by Dr. Eguirra y Eguren in his introductory essays in the *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. Profoundly influenced by the movement and, in turn extending it were: López Portillo (pupil of the Jesuits, biography by Maneiro); Father Torrija y Brisar of Puebla, who was on the closest terms with many of its exponents, especially Clavigero; José Alzate, who received his formation from them; the Oratorian Gamarra, whose life and work are not given special consideration here, since they were being studied by the late G. Méndez Plancarte (242), whose guiding spirit and eminent competence are evident throughout this *Introducción*.

Exile in 1767 removed the exponents of the movement from classroom and conference hall; it rendered impossible for many years the publication of their writings in Mexico and the formation of more students. In Italy, however, enforced leisure enabled them to develop and perfect their ideas, enlarge them by exchange with foreign scholars, and especially the opportunity to publish their writings for a larger public than would have been the case in their native country. Proof of this

are the books by Maneiro, Cavo, Fabri, Márquez, Guevara, Abad, Landívar, Clavigero, Alegre and others, which in turn gave Europe a scientific and literary account of New Spain.

It is here that the book would have gained most, had it correlated the efforts of the Mexicans with the more general neo-scholastic movement inspired by Spanish, Italian, German and other Jesuits, who helped prepare the way for the Thomistic restoration beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Acquaintance with a few of the eminent authorities on this more inclusive renewal, such as A. Masnovo (*Il neo-tomismo in Italia*, Milano 1923), P. Dezza (*Alle origini del neo-tomismo*, Milano 1940), I. Casanovas (*Josep Finestres*, Barcelona 1931), and B. Jansen (*Deutsche Jesuiten-Philosophen des 18. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Stellung zur neuzeitlichen Naturauffassung*, Zeitschrift f. kath. Theologie, LVII, 1933, 384-410; and *Die Pflege der Philosophie im Jesuitenorden während des 17./18. Jahrhunderts*, Philosophisches Jahrbuch, LI, 1938, 172-215, 244-266, 436-456), would have enabled the author to study the Mexican contribution un-isolated from the broader contemporary movement.

Navarro is not satisfied to study the published works pertinent to his theme or even the manuscript writings of the principal exponents of this renewal, but consulted all the manuscripts on philosophy (some 250, mostly of the 18th century) in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City and points out the references in the more important of them to the new movement. He sums up his conclusions in a brief « tesis » (251): « La primera aparición y fecundación de las corrientes filosóficas modernas en Nueva España se verifica en una forma definida al principiar la segunda cincuentena del siglo XVIII... Amplísima y comprendida información de los sistemas filosóficos modernos... Se aceptan doctrinas modernas en campo propiamente de las ciencias físicas o experimentales: Física, Astronomía, Biología, Fisiología... Pero quizá lo más importante es la actitud ecléctico-asimilativa entre los valores positivos de la tradición y de la modernidad, con el humanismo greco-latino y cristiano impregnándolo todo ».

No claim is made of answering every question pertinent to the subject. With the exception of two slight references, no mention is made of the attempt of the Mexican Jesuits to learn what their brothers in other countries were thinking on these same themes. Did they receive no philosophical or scientific journals in Mexico, such as the *Journal de Trévoux*? Were the Mexican Jesuits not aware what Boscovich was teaching at that very moment in Rome, or what Kircher, already known to Eguiara y Eguren, had discovered? Had they studied ought of other outstanding Jesuit scientists in Europe and the missions? Did they, as the Peking Jesuits, carry on an exchange of scientific information with other scholars? One brief reference is made on such activity for Alegre while in Cuba, and, of course, more prominent mention is made of Clavigero's Italian Academy. One looks in vain for an integration of the situation in New Spain with the mother country which lagged so noticeably at this period in technical and scientific progress; this backwardness was at once a sign of its decline and a factor in hastening it. A study such as this should be provided with an adequate index. Use of Zelis' *Catálogo* for the exiled Mexican Jesuits would have enabled the author to fill in several lacunae and remove more than one question mark.

By its competent evaluation and careful analysis of the manuscript and printed writings of the outstanding thinkers of the latter half of

the 18th century in Mexico, Navarro's study becomes a solid contribution to the history of the culture of the nation. Books on education will have to take this renewal into consideration, if they are to give a true picture of an important sector of Spanish America.

Rome.

E. J. BURRUS S. I.

GEORGE F. KNELLER. *The Education of the Mexican Nation*. — New York (Columbia University Press) 1951, 8°, xi-258 p. — \$ 3.50.

Professor Kneller of Yale University has undertaken a herculean task in attempting to present an account of Mexican education from pre-Cortesian times to the present. Not satisfied with so vast a program, the author set out to investigate « the cultural and psychological drives of a nation of more than 25 million » — this involved the study of the social, economic, political and religious elements in the national make-up of the Mexicans. He strives to be more than historian and investigator of educational factors; he takes upon himself the role of adviser and even reformer of education in the nation.

Had he limited himself to a study of the present system of education in Mexico, drawing upon the considerable material of the *Memorias* as published by the Mexican Ministry of Education, we would now have a valuable picture and safe guide through the maze of the present day organization. Even as it is, this forms the worthwhile portion of the book where we obtain an explanation of the framework of modern education in Mexico, the system in function, the early years, the education of adolescents, the teacher and higher education, although his references to history are deficient and his failure to give clear-cut definitions disconcerting. Not once are we told what Professor Kneller understands by education. As for his opposition to foreign ideologies we are left in the same darkness; for what people, the Greeks not excluded, ever attained a worthwhile culture without the leavening of foreign thought? It was precisely the tragedy of the pre-Cortesian Indians that they were uninfluenced by foreign ideologies.

It soon becomes evident that the scholasticism which Professor Kneller thinks he must berate as one of the chief culprits of Mexican education is an unknown world and an uncharted sea to him; acquaintance with the content of scholastic text-books or the methods of intellectual formation employed might have made him more sympathetic. Scholasticism, among other features, demands a definition of terms, a clear statement of the question, and above all proof of what is stated; adversaries are to be given a hearing.

He finds occasion to speak about the Jesuits and their schools several times in the course of his book. Alegre or Decorme would have given him the essential facts regarding the external activity of the Order in Mexico, as well as its internal organization and a fairly complete idea of the content and method of its education. Instead we are presented the product of someone's imagination fed by his prejudice, always a poor counsellor and informant, as is evident from his statements in the last paragraph on page 32. The study of any good book on Mexican history, such as by Icazbalceta, Carlos Peyrera, Cuevas, Clavigero, Orozco y Berra, would have furnished a factual basis on which to build his educational structure. They would have also helped him to understand the conversion of the Indians.

INSTITUTO MEXICANO DEL SEGURO SOCIAL

CERTIFICADO DE DERECHOS.—SEGURO OBLIGATORIO DE INVALIDEZ, VEJEZ Y MUERTE

163183

De conformidad con lo dispuesto por los artículos 17, 18, 21 y 22 del reglamento de la nueva inscripción general y de la expedición de certificados de derechos de los asegurados, se expide la presente certificación relativa a los derechos adquiridos hasta el 28 de febrero de 1949, en el seguro de invalidez, vejez y muerte.

No. de la tarjeta de afiliación			APELLIDOS Y NOMBRE DEL ASEGURADO	Grupo de salario.	SEMANAS DE COTIZACION EN LOS DOS AÑOS ANTERIORES AL 28 DE FEBRERO DE 1949.												TOTAL
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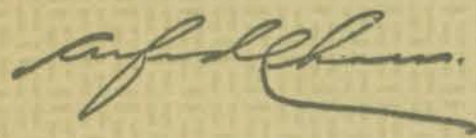
Número de semanas de cotización reconocidas para el cumplimiento del tiempo de espera.....	150
Número de semanas de cotización reconocidas para computar los aumentos, según el artículo 74 de la Ley.....	98
TOTAL de semanas de cotización reconocidas para los derechos adquiridos hasta el 28 de febrero de 1949.....	248
Número de semanas de cotización reconocidas para la mejora por edad avanzada, de acuerdo con la fecha de nacimiento que consta en la cédula especial de la nueva inscripción general.....	---
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Año en que ingresó el asegurado por primera vez a un trabajo con carácter de asalariado, según su declaración en la cédula de la nueva inscripción general.....	1942

El asegurado dispone de un plazo de cuatro semanas, contadas a partir de la fecha en que le sea entregado este certificado, para formular la reclamación que considere pertinente con relación a sus derechos. Transcurrido dicho plazo este certificado adquiere firmeza como base de derechos futuros. La reclamación debe referirse a datos concretos como son número de semanas y grupos de salario y el asegurado deberá indicar en su reclamación las fechas de iniciación y terminación de sus empleos, los salarios correspondientes y los nombres de sus patrones.

Información adicional respecto del número de semanas de cotización reconocidas del segundo al sexto bimestres de 1949.—Esta información no tiene el carácter de certificación.

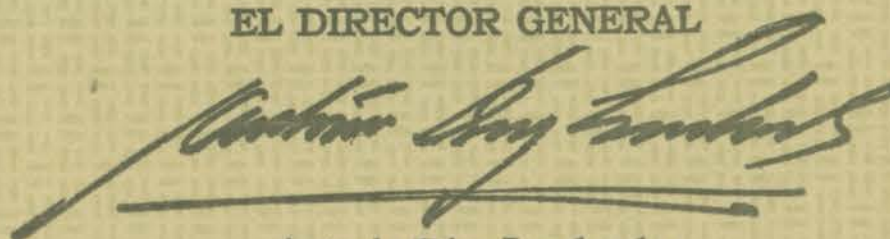
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EL SUBDIRECTOR TECNICO



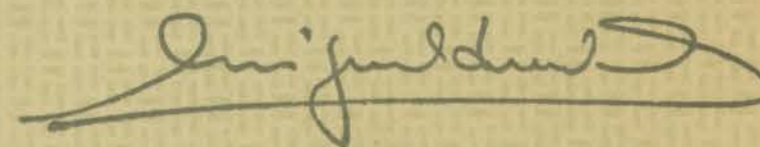
Alfredo Chavero

EL DIRECTOR GENERAL

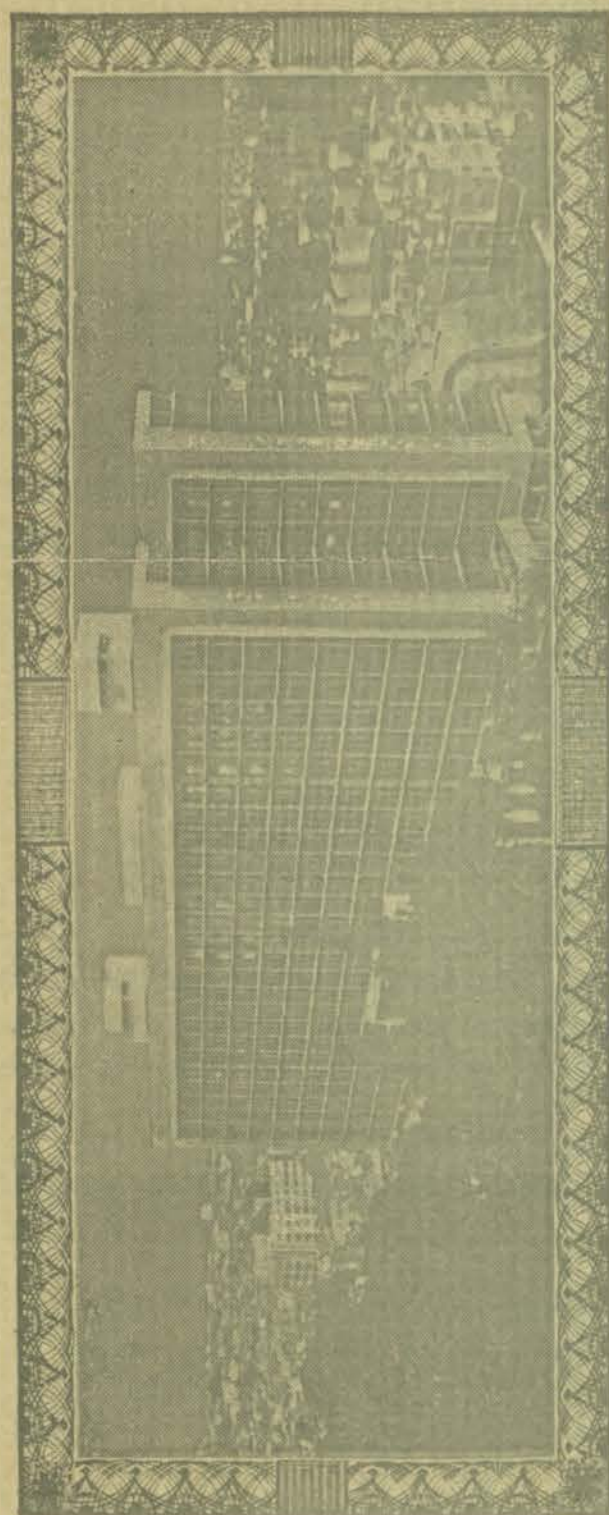


Antonio Díaz Lombardo

EL JEFE DEL DEPTO. DE AFILIACION



Miguel Huerta M.



REVIEWS

Juan de Mena, poeta del prerrenacimiento español. Por María Rosa Lida de Malkiel. (Publicaciones de la *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, I.) México, 1950: 589 pages.

Fortunately for Hispanic studies an increasing interest is being shown in its two great "transitional" centuries, the fifteenth and the eighteenth. Both are difficult. Preparatory studies and good texts are still lacking (for instance, who will edit the *Cancionero de Baena*?), but without adequate knowledge of these centuries our total perspective will remain hopelessly obstructed. Now comes an extensive study from the pen of a distinguished scholar, well known already by her studies on Juan Manuel and Juan Ruiz and excellently prepared to contribute further to an indispensable "examen rigurosamente histórico de la literatura castellana anterior al Renacimiento" (p. 30). In eight sections it covers the work of Juan de Mena, discussing first the *Laberinto*, then the *Coronación* and the shorter poems, then analyzing the mechanism of the writer's prose and the characteristics of the poetic language he created. This is followed by a purely linguistic study (vocabulary and syntax) and by a double excursion down the centuries, surveying the critical reaction to Mena's work and the positive manifestations of his influence. Against this elaborate background the conclusion finally places the figure of *Mena prerrenacentista* in new relief.

With a classical background probably unrivaled in the Hispanic field, the author traces the classical and medieval Latin sources, often quite unfamiliar ones, with dexterity and ease. Only a consummate understanding of this background makes it possible to perceive and explain precisely what is characteristic of Mena's writing: the complex superposition of various classical suggestions and their fusion in the creative imagination of the poet, a quotation from one source, a reminiscence from another, a glancing allusion from a third, transformed into something new and authentic. At the same time the author's keen professional eye for historical detail does not fail to note, for instance, that the commentary by *el Brocense* was a mere "trabajo de vacaciones" (p. 83). More important still is the author's constant esthetic awareness, always on the watch for a musical line (26; 122 f.), open to the beauty of Alberto de Aguayo's Boethius translation (27) and not seldom turning observation into felicitous phrases: medieval science is a "tesoro de mendigos" (180 f.), the commentary to the *Coronación* a "ventana abierta al taller del poeta" (533). With such perceptiveness goes a soberly balanced judicialness. Mena as an artist has never had such genuine appreciation, but his concept of Fortune is judged inferior to Dante's (24); in his description

of the winds, compared with Vergil, he is "mucho más pobre" (69); he shows at times a "curiosa flaqueza" (42) and is caught indulging in a "procedimiento algo pueril" (67). Entire pages (286 ff.) objectively point out the "muchacha materia muerta" in his writings and call him, at need, pedestrian and even ludicrous (290).

The essential quality of the *Laberinto*, its structure, is described as medieval, like that of the *Divina Commedia* and of many other works, from the twelfth-century *Anticlaudianus* through Boccaccio to Eneas Silvio, each providing the framework in which the great figures of the past and present appear "rigurosamente clasificados conforme al sistema ético en uso" (15). Equally essential in Mena and equally medieval is the emphasis on the theme of Fortune. With constant references to the commentary of Hernán Núñez and the modern studies of Post and Patch, the author shows Mena's concept to be closest to Boethius but altogether simple, "sin especial novedad ni profundidad" (24). This may well be too conservative a statement, and as to "novedad," Mena's pride in Man subjugating Fortune (st. 23 and 173) seems to be something more than "una nota en cierto modo peculiar suya." The geographic panorama of the world in the *Laberinto* (st. 34-53), in which Menéndez y Pelayo saw only a "larga y ampulosa digresión," is here definitely connected with the medieval *De imagine mundi*, repeatedly suggested by Núñez (and by him still ascribed to Saint Anselm), a source which Professor Post, bemused by the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, did not even mention. Post's thesis is faithfully reported (33 f.), but his parallel passages lose force when they are shown to occur in St. Isidore's *Ety-mologies*. The author's own parallels with the *De imagine mundi* are convincing (38 ff.), although they also may derive from Isidore (46). Perhaps the difficulty of access to the *Speculum* in this country (45) makes a definite check impossible for the time being and thus still leaves the question in some doubt. When finally solved it will contribute to a secure basis for the understanding of Mena's peculiar type of "imitation": his frequent simplifications, his unobtrusive adornments, which only an expert would notice, suggested by Ovid, Vergil, or Lucan.

The author's analysis of Mena's panoramic vision of the earth is admirable, but her judgment is perhaps too pessimistic: "una creación frustrada que adolece a la vez de las fallas de lo prematuro y de lo caduco" (42). Is it not possible to perceive a hopeful expectancy in these signs of the great curiosity that was presently to move the spirits of the great explorers? Mena's curious indifference to the objective exactness of the traditional data he used may rest on the unconscious expectation of his time that all such matters were soon to be tested and rectified. We further note in this section the successful identification of "Gabiano" as Julio Gabimano, and that of "Pluçio" as a Plutio mentioned by Gabimano (55 f.). A few pages earlier we were delighted by the author's treatment of the theme of the "Concordia del cielo," a masterly excursus through literature from Sophocles and Jesus ben Sirach to Luis de León and

Quevedo. The brief mention of the "problema de los inventores," one of the essential stages in the recovery of a historical perspective and typical of the emerging Renaissance, leaves the reader tantalized. We hope the author may elsewhere revert to this motif which, as she well knows, "desde la *General estoria* hasta la *Arcadia* de Lope . . . asoma infinitas veces en las obras más diversas" (58). Mrs. Malkiel properly declines to see in Mena a precursor of Copernicus (62),—indeed, as we have tried to show in a study shortly to appear in the Huntington homage volume, that time was still far off. Other small points in this section remain doubtful, for instance the origin of Mena's notion of the three wheels of Fortune (16), or that of the transparent palace of Fortune, which is not really explained by the crystal columns in Prudentius' house of Wisdom. We retain some misgivings also about the origin of the graphic comparison in st.54 f., evidently identical with a comparison in Francisco Imperial, yet not convincingly traceable to Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIII, 16–18.

In the second section, devoted to the shorter poems of Mena, including the *Coronación*, the *Razonamiento con la Muerte* and the *Coplas contra los pecados mortales*, the author, discussing the influence of Dante's lyrics, once more (96 f.) strikes a balance between the sweeping affirmations of Puymaigre or Menéndez y Pelayo and the negative attitude of Farinelli. On the important subject of religious parody (98 f.) there is a judicious emphasis on the lack of anticlericalism in a genre which is really the product of a close popular familiarity with religious worship and its vocabulary. Mena rises above mechanical "ritual parody," its coarsest form. With the Renaissance the "marco eclesiástico" preserved only an esthetic contrast value, and the "profane" content, a despairing elegiac love, typical of the dislocated century, became paramount, for instance in Encina's *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*. This is a brilliant interpretation, and we hope it may be further elaborated, but perhaps it should include the reality of a turbid fusion of religion and pagan sensuality, which appears to have been an integral part of the process and may still be felt in Encina. Equally subtle is the author's analysis of Mena's pessimism (99 f.), a personal bitterness curiously emerging at times from traditional elements. In the discussion of the *Coronación* and its commentary (104 ff.) the author seems to agree in the main with Miss Macdonald (see *HR*, VII). The *Coplas*, she finds, represent a dispirited "retroceso de la dirección renacentista" (110 f.), traceable to the fall of the great Condestable, protector of the *conversos*, and still powerful and admired a dozen years before, when the *Laberinto* was composed. All along, more Renaissance themes keep cropping up: Mena's sympathy with the humble (110, 118 f.), the theme of equality and democracy, which is rapidly sketched from Berceo to Calderón (118 f.), but the most important part of the chapter is the study of Mena's prose (127 f.), based this time on all three available texts and not simply on the "ma-lísimo romance," as Francisco Sánchez put it, of the *Comentario*. Of great interest for the little-known history of narrative art in Spain are the

notes on the fables inserted in the *Comentario*, undidactic in purpose and intended, as Mena put it, to "dar tiempo e sazonar." In this new, or relatively new, "novelar desinteresado," the author emphasizes the "sabrosas conversaciones" and a "realismo dramático nada común" (131), a decorative artistry and at times a "fina lengua equidistante de lo erudito y de lo vulgar" (134). This is all based on the author's perception of an "exigua diferencia" (136) between Mena and his Ovidian models. The analysis is notable for its sure touch as well as for its delicacy. Delicate also is the study of the fable of Salmacis, a Renaissance product in its "forma luminosa y goce sensual de la naturaleza," yet betraying a medieval flavor by a single word here and there (138). The discussion of the *Omero romançado* is brief, based only on the fragments reprinted by Morel-Fatio in 1896, while the recent edition by Martín de Riquer was still unavailable. We may welcome all the more the sketch, with substantial quotations, of Castilian artistic prose from Alfonso el Sabio through the *Corbacho*, Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara, Lucena, Alfonso de la Torre, F. Pérez de Guzmán, and Hernando del Pulgar to the *Celestina*. Against this background Mena's progress from mechanically decorative prose to an "ideal de prosa castigada" (147) based on an organic "dibujo sabio del período," and his proved ability to vary his style, make the attribution to him of the beginning of the *Celestina* appear "cada vez menos paradójica" (151 f.).

Now follows a detailed review of the technical elements in Mena's style. It may be doubted whether the frequent plurals of abstract nouns are necessarily or entirely of classical origin (160 ff.). Among the figures of rhetoric, asyndeton is well described as a "pomposo hacer girar los objetos ante el lector para que los admire en todas sus caras" (165). The repetition known as anaphora is called a "favorita de la Edad de Plata y de los eclesiásticos" (165 f.) and the tendency to heap synonyms is interestingly connected with the double titles of Golden Age comedias (167). Undoubtedly much can still be done here. There is, for instance, a reference to the "serie ternaria" (168), which is not followed up, but easily could be, in many writers, notably Cervantes. The periphrase, which in Mena is only an erudite conundrum, later became an esthetic process in the hands of Góngora (197 ff.). Most elaborate is the discussion of amplification (197 ff.), which is prolonged into a study of symmetry in its various forms and further ingeniously related to the structural qualities of the *copla de arte mayor*. Again and again we run into illuminating asides on Mena's Pre-Renaissance characteristics. None among these could be more significant than his growing awareness of the material world, his "ávidos sentidos, bien abiertos al mundo." Even though "Providencia" in the *Laberinto* (st. 54 f.) impatiently nudged him, he stood gazing on the panorama of this world "con ojos e seso así enbeveçido." Here he was truly a man of his time, a contemporary of Henry the Navigator, announcing the "corrector" of the *Celestina* "acostado sobre mi mano, echando mis sentidos por ventores" or Torres

Naharro consumed by his desire to "dar nuevo pasto a los golosos ojos." The word *goloso* itself seems to be in the Mena tradition (cf. 498 f.). But Mena, a bookish man after all and an introvert ("ni aun sé en qué mundo me vivo"), falls short in his perception of the variety of nature (223 f.), a perception which seems to have been the first stage of Man's long apprenticeship in learning to see his world.

The following section, entitled *Lengua*, is mainly a study of Mena's vocabulary (233 f.). Rejecting with deadly suavity Menéndez y Pelayo's assumption that Mena deliberately introduced a flood of Latinisms to create a poetic speech, or the belief that he simply fell in with an unexplained but fatal historical trend, as well as Cejador's boorish charge of "emporcamiento del lenguaje," the author sees in Mena's language, as did Juan de Valdés, not one language superimposed upon another, as in Góngora, but a form of linguistic hybridism, in which unassimilated Latinisms jostle useless archaisms, the whole reflecting the still unreconciled mingling of medievalism and humanism in the early Renaissance. There is nevertheless a personal element in this mixture. Mena uses archaisms by choice (239), experimentally, as an artistic innovator, trying, for instance, to elevate vulgar forms through association with a noble content (241), or to renew vernacular forms by returning to them their original Latin meaning. To illustrate such cases with convincing quotations the greatest caution must be used. Indeed, in the present state of our lexicography, intuition must often take the place of knowledge (244, n. 12). Mena's efforts include the use, though not the introduction, of terms of sea and war (245 ff.), astronomy and optics (260), Gallicisms (248) and Italianisms (249) and, most of all, but far from exclusively, of Latinisms (251 ff.). Very few linguists could successfully attempt the analysis that now follows: painstakingly specific, vastly erudite, yet exquisitely sensitive. The author is aware for instance, that the word *sublime* (253) did not acquire its present meaning until the eighteenth century and that *magno* (255) probably had for Mena a poetic aura which it has now lost. The conclusion is twofold: the technical elements in Mena's speech are medieval, the poetic, ornamental vocabulary is of classical and Renaissance origin (261). Now comes a valuable excursus on the vacillating system of accentuation (276 ff.) and, finally, a study of Mena's syntax (291 ff.). In the nature of things, his syntax was much less easily influenced by Latin than his vocabulary, but shows the same dualism. The treatment of this section is relatively brief, for Mena's syntax does not compare in variety and subtlety with that of the *Celestina* or the sixteenth-century dramatists. There are a few references to sixteenth century prose-usage, as recorded in Keniston's standard book, but perhaps not enough. Only the analysis of the architecture of complex, often anacoluthic sentences, is broadly worked out. One small point may call for a remark. In the curious st. 16 of the *Laberinto*, the word *especular* ("los medios especulares") may properly be connected with Lat. *speculum* > *espejo* (cf. 261), because the idea of enlargement was

generally connected, not with *cristales*, but with mirrors, enlarging mirrors, the *miroers* of the *Roman de la Rose*, mostly made of steel. The history of the term (*espejo de*) *alinde* (Ar. *al hind*, 'steel'; cf. J. Casares, *Crítica efímera*, Madrid [1918-1919], I, 19 ff.) and its use by Álvarez Gato, the *Celestina*, Hurtado de la Vera, Villalón, Cervantes and others, clearly places the emphasis on enlargement.

The rest of the book, between a third and a half, is not directly concerned with Mena and yet, on due consideration, appears to be singularly appropriate. As a man, Mena is now but a shadowy outline. His biography, if ever enough material for it becomes available, remains to be written. Modern sensibility can find in only a few of his lines a touch of the mysterious suggestive power of a poet. Our own choice, besides the often-quoted "halcyon" lines, would be *Laberinto*, st. 164 "con crines tendidos arder las cometas," and we also find a curious fascination in "O virtuosa magnífica guerra" (*Laberinto*, 152) and in the "Gran disciplina/ De la poesía moderna abusiva" (*Claro-escuro*). But perhaps, as the author suggests (124), Mena never grew to his full stature and so remains in the general estimation little more than a laborious craftsman. Yet if the figure of the man is dim, the power he exerted is clear, and in these two final sections we can now follow the evidence it has left, both in the expressed opinion of other poets and writers and in the unacknowledged and perhaps more revealing testimony of imitators. What Mena wrote or what Mena was is probably less important than what he achieved in others. His own time certainly found in him an answer to its needs, witness the chorus of approval from his contemporaries (325 ff.). To Italians like Equicola he represented all Spanish poetry, and in spite of notes of hostility among *italianizantes* or *anti-cultistas*, his position at home as a patriarch of Spanish letters was hardly ever challenged. Lope admired him and Tirso actually put him on the stage, with full honors (376 ff.). In 1643, as we happened to notice in our reading, a character in an *entremés* of Quiñones de Benavente (cf. Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses*, II, 818) still swore "¡Por vida de Juan de Mena!" In a wide sweep through Spanish literature down to the nineteenth-century historians (399 ff.) the history of Mena's reputation may thus be followed. Specific evidence is then accumulated to show the indebtedness, mainly in vocabulary, of Cota, Juan de Padilla (427-453), all the practitioners of the *arte mayor*, Encina and many of the dramatists of the sixteenth century (470 ff.), Cervantes (514 ff.), as well as that of prose writers like Lucena, Fernando de Rojas (477 ff.), Guevara, and various epic poets. Many readers may wish that the passage devoted to Góngora (370-372) had been more fully developed.

The final section (529 ff.) centers interest once more on Mena as a *Prerrenacentista*. It does not take up all the Renaissance traits discussed elsewhere in the book, but reviews only a few, to point up some valuable distinctions. Criticism, of course, has left far behind the concept of a Renaissance "brote milagroso, en todo independiente de la Edad Media"

(p. 9) and in this study the author properly assumes a long interpenetration of Medieval and Renaissance attitudes, more prolonged in Spain than perhaps anywhere else. This concept calls for an exact appreciation of shadings, contradictions, and ambivalences. The points specifically reconsidered here are: the attitude toward the Classics, individualism, the notion of Fame, and nationalism. In brief the author makes it clear that to the medieval mind, to Alfonso el Sabio for instance, the Classics were simply sources of information, to be used like any medieval text. The Renaissance changed this purely utilitarian attitude to an esthetic one: the Classics are judged as poets and artists. Nothing could be more convincing than Mena's enthusiastic vindication of Homer as a sovereign artist, molding the story of Troy just as he wished it to be (531 f.). Renaissance individualism is already rooted in Provençal literature, blossoms in Petrarch. Similarly the idea of Fame (cf. *Laberinto*, st. 186), present already in the *Alixandre*, Fernán González, Juan Manuel, is only one of the "aspectos secundarios de la Edad Media, puestos en prominencia por el Renacimiento" (537). With regard to nationalism, the author notes in the term *España* a development from the idealization of the Gothic past to hope for monarchical unity soon to be realized (539), a hope which in Mena becomes an essential aspect of the *Laberinto*. The plural *las Españas* used by F. Pérez de Guzmán and Santillana, reveals, in the author's opinion, "hasta qué punto ambos están lejos de concebir la unidad política de España" (543), but as a matter of fact Mena also used it (*Cancionero del siglo XV*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, I, 150) and it might equally well be taken to show that, while perhaps expecting the coming of a unified and powerful Spain, they kept an enduring sense of the individualism of its parts. The important point in this survey of Renaissance characteristics is that here they are studied in their Spanish context, with their peculiar Spanish complexion. That, with a great many more facts to give it substance, is what we need to know about the Spanish Renaissance, before a true overall picture can be seen of the great rebirth of Western vitality which broke out in many Renaissances, separated by time and space.

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JOSEPH E. GILLET

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REVIEWS

Juan de Mena, poeta del prerrenacimiento español. Por María Rosa Lida de Malkiel. (Publicaciones de la Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, I.) México, 1950: 589 pages.

Fortunately for Hispanic studies an increasing interest is being shown in its two great "transitional" centuries, the fifteenth and the eighteenth. Both are difficult. Preparatory studies and good texts are still lacking (for instance, who will edit the *Cancionero de Baena*?), but without adequate knowledge of these centuries our total perspective will remain hopelessly obstructed. Now comes an extensive study from the pen of a distinguished scholar, well known already by her studies on Juan Manuel and Juan Ruiz and excellently prepared to contribute further to an indispensable "examen rigurosamente histórico de la literatura castellana anterior al Renacimiento" (p. 30). In eight sections it covers the work of Juan de Mena, discussing first the *Laberinto*, then the *Coronación* and the shorter poems, then analyzing the mechanism of the writer's prose and the characteristics of the poetic language he created. This is followed by a purely linguistic study (vocabulary and syntax) and by a double excursion down the centuries, surveying the critical reaction to Mena's work and the positive manifestations of his influence. Against this elaborate background the conclusion finally places the figure of *Mena prerrenacentista* in new relief.

With a classical background probably unrivaled in the Hispanic field, the author traces the classical and medieval Latin sources, often quite unfamiliar ones, with dexterity and ease. Only a consummate understanding of this background makes it possible to perceive and explain precisely what is characteristic of Mena's writing: the complex superposition of various classical suggestions and their fusion in the creative imagination of the poet, a quotation from one source, a reminiscence from another, a glancing allusion from a third, transformed into something new and authentic. At the same time the author's keen professional eye for historical detail does not fail to note, for instance, that the commentary by *el Brocense* was a mere "trabajo de vacaciones" (p. 83). More important still is the author's constant esthetic awareness, always on the watch for a musical line (26; 122 f.), open to the beauty of Alberto de Aguayo's Boethius translation (27) and not seldom turning observation into felicitous phrases: medieval science is a "tesoro de mendigos" (180 f.), the commentary to the *Coronación* a "ventana abierta al taller del poeta" (533). With such perceptiveness goes a soberly balanced judicialness. Mena as an artist has never had such genuine appreciation, but his concept of Fortune is judged inferior to Dante's (24); in his description

of the winds, compared with Vergil, he is "mucho más pobre" (69); he shows at times a "curiosa flaqueza" (42) and is caught indulging in a "procedimiento algo pueril" (67). Entire pages (286 ff.) objectively point out the "muchacha muerta" in his writings and call him, at need, pedestrian and even ludicrous (290).

The essential quality of the *Laberinto*, its structure, is described as medieval, like that of the *Divina Commedia* and of many other works, from the twelfth-century *Anticlaudianus* through Boccaccio to Eneas Silvio, each providing the framework in which the great figures of the past and present appear "rigurosamente clasificados conforme al sistema ético en uso" (15). Equally essential in Mena and equally medieval is the emphasis on the theme of Fortune. With constant references to the commentary of Hernán Núñez and the modern studies of Post and Patch, the author shows Mena's concept to be closest to Boethius but altogether simple, "sin especial novedad ni profundidad" (24). This may well be too conservative a statement, and as to "novedad," Mena's pride in Man subjugating Fortune (st. 23 and 173) seems to be something more than "una nota en cierto modo peculiar suya." The geographic panorama of the world in the *Laberinto* (st. 34-53), in which Menéndez y Pelayo saw only a "larga y ampulosa digresión," is here definitely connected with the medieval *De imagine mundi*, repeatedly suggested by Núñez (and by him still ascribed to Saint Anselm), a source which Professor Post, bemused by the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, did not even mention. Post's thesis is faithfully reported (33 f.), but his parallel passages lose force when they are shown to occur in St. Isidore's *Ety-mologies*. The author's own parallels with the *De imagine mundi* are convincing (38 ff.), although they also may derive from Isidore (46). Perhaps the difficulty of access to the *Speculum* in this country (45) makes a definite check impossible for the time being and thus still leaves the question in some doubt. When finally solved it will contribute to a secure basis for the understanding of Mena's peculiar type of "imitation": his frequent simplifications, his unobtrusive adornments, which only an expert would notice, suggested by Ovid, Vergil, or Lucan.

The author's analysis of Mena's panoramic vision of the earth is admirable, but her judgment is perhaps too pessimistic: "una creación frustrada que adolece a la vez de las fallas de lo prematuro y de lo caduco" (42). Is it not possible to perceive a hopeful expectancy in these signs of the great curiosity that was presently to move the spirits of the great explorers? Mena's curious indifference to the objective exactness of the traditional data he used may rest on the unconscious expectation of his time that all such matters were soon to be tested and rectified. We further note in this section the successful identification of "Gabiano" as Julio Gabimano, and that of "Plugio" as a Plutio mentioned by Gabimano (55 f.). A few pages earlier we were delighted by the author's treatment of the theme of the "Concordia del cielo," a masterly excursus through literature from Sophocles and Jesus ben Sirach to Luis de León and

Quevedo. The brief mention of the "problema de los inventores," one of the essential stages in the recovery of a historical perspective and typical of the emerging Renaissance, leaves the reader tantalized. We hope the author may elsewhere revert to this motif which, as she well knows, "desde la *General estoria* hasta la *Arcadia* de Lope . . . asoma infinitas veces en las obras más diversas" (58). Mrs. Malkiel properly declines to see in Mena a precursor of Copernicus (62),—indeed, as we have tried to show in a study shortly to appear in the Huntington homage volume, that time was still far off. Other small points in this section remain doubtful, for instance the origin of Mena's notion of the three wheels of Fortune (16), or that of the transparent palace of Fortune, which is not really explained by the crystal columns in Prudentius' house of Wisdom. We retain some misgivings also about the origin of the graphic comparison in st.54 f., evidently identical with a comparison in Francisco Imperial, yet not convincingly traceable to Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIII, 16-18.

In the second section, devoted to the shorter poems of Mena, including the *Coronación*, the *Razonamiento con la Muerte* and the *Coplas contra los pecados mortales*, the author, discussing the influence of Dante's lyrics, once more (96 f.) strikes a balance between the sweeping affirmations of Puymaigre or Menéndez y Pelayo and the negative attitude of Farinelli. On the important subject of religious parody (98 f.) there is a judicious emphasis on the lack of anticlericalism in a genre which is really the product of a close popular familiarity with religious worship and its vocabulary. Mena rises above mechanical "ritual parody," its coarsest form. With the Renaissance the "marco eclesiástico" preserved only an esthetic contrast value, and the "profane" content, a despairing elegiac love, typical of the dislocated century, became paramount, for instance in Encina's *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*. This is a brilliant interpretation, and we hope it may be further elaborated, but perhaps it should include the reality of a turbid fusion of religion and pagan sensuality, which appears to have been an integral part of the process and may still be felt in Encina. Equally subtle is the author's analysis of Mena's pessimism (99 f.), a personal bitterness curiously emerging at times from traditional elements. In the discussion of the *Coronación* and its commentary (104 ff.) the author seems to agree in the main with Miss Macdonald (see *HR*, VII). The *Coplas*, she finds, represent a dispirited "retroceso de la dirección renacentista" (110 f.), traceable to the fall of the great Condestable, protector of the *conversos*, and still powerful and admired a dozen years before, when the *Laberinto* was composed. All along, more Renaissance themes keep cropping up: Mena's sympathy with the humble (110, 118 f.), the theme of equality and democracy, which is rapidly sketched from Berceo to Calderón (118 f.), but the most important part of the chapter is the study of Mena's prose (127 f.), based this time on all three available texts and not simply on the "malísimo romance," as Francisco Sánchez put it, of the *Comentario*. Of great interest for the little-known history of narrative art in Spain are the

notes on the fables inserted in the *Comentario*, undidactic in purpose and intended, as Mena put it, to "dar tiempo e sazonar." In this new, or relatively new, "novelar desinteresado," the author emphasizes the "sabrosas conversaciones" and a "realismo dramático nada común" (131), a decorative artistry and at times a "fina lengua equidistante de lo erudito y de lo vulgar" (134). This is all based on the author's perception of an "exigua diferencia" (136) between Mena and his Ovidian models. The analysis is notable for its sure touch as well as for its delicacy. Delicate also is the study of the fable of Salmacis, a Renaissance product in its "forma luminosa y goce sensual de la naturaleza," yet betraying a medieval flavor by a single word here and there (138). The discussion of the *Omero romançado* is brief, based only on the fragments reprinted by Morel-Fatio in 1896, while the recent edition by Martín de Riquer was still unavailable. We may welcome all the more the sketch, with substantial quotations, of Castilian artistic prose from Alfonso el Sabio through the *Corbacho*, Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara, Lucena, Alfonso de la Torre, F. Pérez de Guzmán, and Hernando del Pulgar to the *Celestina*. Against this background Mena's progress from mechanically decorative prose to an "ideal de prosa castigada" (147) based on an organic "dibujo sabio del período," and his proved ability to vary his style, make the attribution to him of the beginning of the *Celestina* appear "cada vez menos paradójica" (151 f.).

Now follows a detailed review of the technical elements in Mena's style. It may be doubted whether the frequent plurals of abstract nouns are necessarily or entirely of classical origin (160 ff.). Among the figures of rhetoric, asyndeton is well described as a "pomposo hacer girar los objetos ante el lector para que los admire en todas sus caras" (165). The repetition known as anaphora is called a "favorita de la Edad de Plata y de los eclesiásticos" (165 f.) and the tendency to heap synonyms is interestingly connected with the double titles of Golden Age comedias (167). Undoubtedly much can still be done here. There is, for instance, a reference to the "serie ternaria" (168), which is not followed up, but easily could be, in many writers, notably Cervantes. The periphrase, which in Mena is only an erudite conundrum, later became an esthetic process in the hands of Góngora (197 ff.). Most elaborate is the discussion of amplification (197 ff.), which is prolonged into a study of symmetry in its various forms and further ingeniously related to the structural qualities of the *copla de arte mayor*. Again and again we run into illuminating asides on Mena's Pre-Renaissance characteristics. None among these could be more significant than his growing awareness of the material world, his "ávidos sentidos, bien abiertos al mundo." Even though "Providencia" in the *Laberinto* (st. 54 f.) impatiently nudged him, he stood gazing on the panorama of this world "con ojos e seso assí enbeveçido." Here he was truly a man of his time, a contemporary of Henry the Navigator, announcing the "corrector" of the *Celestina* "acostado sobre mi mano, echando mis sentidos por ventores" or Torres

Naharro consumed by his desire to "dar nuevo pasto a los golosos ojos." The word *goloso* itself seems to be in the Mena tradition (cf. 498 f.). But Mena, a bookish man after all and an introvert ("ni aun sé en qué mundo me vivo"), falls short in his perception of the variety of nature (223 f.), a perception which seems to have been the first stage of Man's long apprenticeship in learning to see his world.

The following section, entitled *Lengua*, is mainly a study of Mena's vocabulary (233 f.). Rejecting with deadly suavity Menéndez y Pelayo's assumption that Mena deliberately introduced a flood of Latinisms to create a poetic speech, or the belief that he simply fell in with an unexplained but fatal historical trend, as well as Cejador's boorish charge of "emporcamiento del language," the author sees in Mena's language, as did Juan de Valdés, not one language superimposed upon another, as in Góngora, but a form of linguistic hybridism, in which unassimilated Latinisms jostle useless archaisms, the whole reflecting the still unreconciled mingling of medievalism and humanism in the early Renaissance. There is nevertheless a personal element in this mixture. Mena uses archaisms by choice (239), experimentally, as an artistic innovator, trying, for instance, to elevate vulgar forms through association with a noble content (241), or to renew vernacular forms by returning to them their original Latin meaning. To illustrate such cases with convincing quotations the greatest caution must be used. Indeed, in the present state of our lexicography, intuition must often take the place of knowledge (244, n. 12). Mena's efforts include the use, though not the introduction, of terms of sea and war (245 ff.), astronomy and optics (260), Gallicisms (248) and Italianisms (249) and, most of all, but far from exclusively, of Latinisms (251 ff.). Very few linguists could successfully attempt the analysis that now follows: painstakingly specific, vastly erudite, yet exquisitely sensitive. The author is aware for instance, that the word *sublime* (253) did not acquire its present meaning until the eighteenth century and that *magno* (255) probably had for Mena a poetic aura which it has now lost. The conclusion is twofold: the technical elements in Mena's speech are medieval, the poetic, ornamental vocabulary is of classical and Renaissance origin (261). Now comes a valuable excursus on the vacillating system of accentuation (276 ff.) and, finally, a study of Mena's syntax (291 ff.). In the nature of things, his syntax was much less easily influenced by Latin than his vocabulary, but shows the same dualism. The treatment of this section is relatively brief, for Mena's syntax does not compare in variety and subtlety with that of the *Celestina* or the sixteenth-century dramatists. There are a few references to sixteenth century prose-usage, as recorded in Keniston's standard book, but perhaps not enough. Only the analysis of the architecture of complex, often anacoluthic sentences, is broadly worked out. One small point may call for a remark. In the curious st. 16 of the *Laberinto*, the word *especular* ("los medios especulares") may properly be connected with Lat. *speculum* > *espejo* (cf. 261), because the idea of enlargement was

generally connected, not with *cristales*, but with mirrors, enlarging mirrors, the *miroers* of the *Roman de la Rose*, mostly made of steel. The history of the term (*espejo de*) *alinde* (Ar. *al hind*, 'steel'; cf. J. Casares, *Crítica efímera*, Madrid [1918-1919], I, 19 ff.) and its use by Álvarez Gato, the *Celestina*, Hurtado de la Vera, Villalón, Cervantes and others, clearly places the emphasis on enlargement.

The rest of the book, between a third and a half, is not directly concerned with Mena and yet, on due consideration, appears to be singularly appropriate. As a man, Mena is now but a shadowy outline. His biography, if ever enough material for it becomes available, remains to be written. Modern sensibility can find in only a few of his lines a touch of the mysterious suggestive power of a poet. Our own choice, besides the often-quoted "halcyon" lines, would be *Laberinto*, st. 164 "con crines tendidos arder las cometas," and we also find a curious fascination in "O virtuosa magnífica guerra" (*Laberinto*, 152) and in the "Gran disciplina/ De la poesía moderna abusiva" (*Claro-escuro*). But perhaps, as the author suggests (124), Mena never grew to his full stature and so remains in the general estimation little more than a laborious craftsman. Yet if the figure of the man is dim, the power he exerted is clear, and in these two final sections we can now follow the evidence it has left, both in the expressed opinion of other poets and writers and in the unacknowledged and perhaps more revealing testimony of imitators. What Mena wrote or what Mena was is probably less important than what he achieved in others. His own time certainly found in him an answer to its needs, witness the chorus of approval from his contemporaries (325 ff.). To Italians like Equicola he represented all Spanish poetry, and in spite of notes of hostility among *italianizantes* or *anti-cultistas*, his position at home as a patriarch of Spanish letters was hardly ever challenged. Lope admired him and Tirso actually put him on the stage, with full honors (376 ff.). In 1643, as we happened to notice in our reading, a character in an *entremés* of Quiñones de Benavente (cf. Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses*, II, 818) still swore "¡Por vida de Juan de Mena!" In a wide sweep through Spanish literature down to the nineteenth-century historians (399 ff.) the history of Mena's reputation may thus be followed. Specific evidence is then accumulated to show the indebtedness, mainly in vocabulary, of Cota, Juan de Padilla (427-453), all the practitioners of the *arte mayor*, Encina and many of the dramatists of the sixteenth century (470 ff.), Cervantes (514 ff.), as well as that of prose writers like Lucena, Fernando de Rojas (477 ff.), Guevara, and various epic poets. Many readers may wish that the passage devoted to Góngora (370-372) had been more fully developed.

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primogénito de los Marqueses de Malpica. A esta pintura, que era muy visitada por todo género de gentes, añadieron un altar cercado de verjas de hierro, dotándole con fundaciones, los condes de Mérito, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y su muger Doña Ana de la Cerda, que alcanzaron del Sumo Pontífice Paulo III [1534-1549] un plenísimo jubileo para todos los fieles que visitasen ese altar el día de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora" (Sixto Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la mano*, II [1857], 86-91). Esta noticia revela un marcado interés en Toledo por Nuestra Señora de Gracia en la época de composición y publicación de *Processo*; ante ese altar pudo tener lugar la primera entrevista de los enamorados; y el Real Monasterio de las monjas de San Clemente el probable lugar donde fué encerrada la protagonista; entonces, tendríamos también un caso específico de la aplicación de "cabizmordidos" a los Agustinos Calzados.

No se conoce ninguna traducción de *Processo de cartas de amores*; la versión del señor Place es, pues, la primera a una lengua extranjera. La traducción inglesa sigue fielmente la letra y el pensamiento del texto español. Será valiosa no sólo para quien no domine el español, pues aclara pasajes difíciles del texto; en cambio, es dudoso el que a través de la versión inglesa pueda captarse la gracia y elegancia del conceptuoso estilo de Juan de Segura; hubiera sido pedir algo punto menos que imposible, y el indicarlo no significa el menor regateo de la excelente labor de traducción realizada.

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MANUEL J. ASENSIO

Tirso de Molina. La prudencia en la mujer. Critical Text of the Princes Edition in Parte tercera de las comedias del Maestro Tirso de Molina, 1634. With Introduction and Notes by Alice Huntington Bushee and Lorna Lavery Stafford. [Mexico City College Press], Mexico, 1948: lii + 172 pages.

This edition of *La prudencia en la mujer*, published under a grant awarded by the Hispanic Society of America, is one of the substantial contributions which appeared in 1948 on the occasion of the tercentenary of Tirso de Molina's death. No more suitable tribute to the dramatist could have been found than an edition of this, his finest historical drama. That it should have been two women who make the contribution seems particularly fitting, since in the austere monarch and mother of *La*

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Miss Bushee indicates as fundamentally her own work certain sections of the Introduction—I (Bibliographical Note), III (Sources and Historical Background), VI (Versification)—as well as the historical and literary notes. Dr. Stafford's part in the Introduction included: II (Date of Composition); IV (Dramatic and Critical History), V (*Comedias* of Related Theme). She also is responsible for the "preparation of the Text, philological and syntactical Notes and the present form of the Genealogical Tables." The reader will find, as well: a map of Spain in the time of Ferdinand IV; 8 attractive plates; and two helpful indexes, the first of persons and titles, the second of annotated words and material.

The "Bibliographical Note," which brings up to date in condensed form Miss Bushee's "Bibliography of *La prudencia en la mujer*,"¹ lists 25 items in all: 19 editions (1 of the seventeenth, 1 of the eighteenth, 8 of the nineteenth, and 9 of the twentieth); 2 translations (1 Italian and 1 French, dated respectively 1858 and 1863);² and 4 *refundiciones*. This edition of Miss Bushee and Dr. Stafford, the twentieth to be made of *La prudencia*, is the first to present a critical text of the *princeps* of 1634, though Mr. William McFadden, in putting out his edition of 1933, made use of it, as well as of the Guzmán and Hartzenbusch texts.

There are problems in connection with the volume of the *princeps*—biographical, textual, and bibliographical—which should in time find partial solution. It is perhaps worth while summarizing them here in order to recall them to the attention of Tirsian scholars who are nearer the archives than are the editors of this study or its reviewer. *La prudencia en la mujer* was first printed in the *Tercera parte* of Tirso's

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works (Tortosa, 1634) by Francisco Martorell at the expense of Pedro Escuer, "mercader de libros de Zaragoza," a volume which carries *aprobaciones* of Tortosa, dated September 13, 1633 and of Barcelona, Dec. 21, 1633. Of the fifteen copies of the *Tercera parte* that have been located, some are dedicated to "D. Antonio de Vrrea y Enríquez, Marqués de Almonazir, Conde de Pavías, meritísimo virrey y Capitán General del reyno de Cerdeña"; others to D. Ivlio Monti, "caballero milanés, único patrón del dueño deste libro. . . ." One copy, found in the B. N. of Madrid, even carries on the title page the name of Vrrea, while the inner *dedicatoria* is to Monti. This *dedicatoria*, quite enigmatic in tone, is signed by Don Francisco Lucas de Ávila, affirmedly Tirso's nephew, but possibly Tirso himself. Therein the nephew states that he is publishing his uncle's old manuscripts, after having made "nuevas añadiduras." Moreover, in dedicating the book to Monti, he adds: "Tempestades y persecuciones invidiosas procuraron malograr los honestos recreos de sus ocios [i.e., of Tirso's]; y yo sé de alguna borrasca que, a no tener a V. S. por Santelmo, diera con él a pique." Thus the *Tercera parte* is almost as much of a *rompecabezas*³ as is the well-known *Segunda parte*.

³ Some of the questions involved may be stated as follows:

1) Who were D. Julio Monti and D. Antonio de Vrrea y Enríquez? The archives may possibly be silent on the name of D. Julio Monti, but they should easily yield up information on the identity of the second name. When was Vrrea Virrey de Cerdeña? Did he perhaps die around 1633-34, while the book was in press, and did Tirso then have to give it a new patron? Or was the book first dedicated to Monti, as Miss Bushee has suggested (*Three Centuries* . . . , p. 63), and later to Vrrea y Enríquez? In this whole connection, it should possibly be remembered that Tirso's *Las quinas de Portugal* is a glorification of the house of Enríquez and that his *El celoso prudente* (*Cigarrales de Toledo* [Madrid, 1621]) has for its very admirable protagonist, Don Sancho de Vrrea, of an Aragonese family that was closely tied with the Alagóns and (through them) with the Pimentels—both names that have significance for Tirso and his works. (See *PMLA*, LXXX [1948], 1180-86.)

2) Should one see in the aforementioned *borrasca* (where Monti played Santelmo) a reference to Tirso's difficulties with the *Junta de reforma* in 1625? Or could this allusion be to some conflict of less official nature, one that took place between the dramatist and the literary colony of Madrid, perhaps around 1623? Its context seems to suggest this, for the whole quotation is found between two paragraphs in which Tirso is apparently referring to certain detractors who have accused him of lack of originality in his plots.

3) Should the *aprobaciones* of the *Tercera parte* and its place of printing (Tortosa) be considered evidence that Tirso (or perhaps Francisco Lucas de Ávila) was in northeastern or eastern Spain sometime during 1633-34? Cotarelo (*NBAE*, IV, lv) wrote some years ago, "En los años 1633 a 1635, no sabemos por donde anduvo Tirso"; then he recalls the fact that the *Tercera parte* was put out in Tortosa as possible evidence that the dramatist was in that section of Spain.

Father Manuel Penedo, pointing to later evidence adduced by Señora Blanca de los Ríos and by Father G. Placer, evidence which proves Tirso was in Madrid on February 10 and May 31, 1633 and again on Feb. 20, 1634, reaches other conclu-

Dr. Stafford, on the strength of evidence that she herself had gathered, somewhat hesitantly placed the composition of *La prudencia* between 1619 and 1623. Later, having seen the manuscript study of R. L. Kennedy, "*La prudencia en la mujer* and the Ambient that Brought It Forth" (*PMLA*, LXXII [1948], 1131-96), she summarized briefly its conclusions, by way of addenda to hers, in the following terms (p. xxii):

"By striking parallels in allusions to characters and to social and political events contemporary with the early years of the reign of Felipe IV, Dr. Kennedy places the *terminus a quo* of the play as March 31, 1621, date of the accession to the throne of this sovereign, the *terminus ad quem* as March 13, 1623, and the probable date of composition between April 8, 1622, the seventeenth birthday of the boy king, and mid-June of this same year."

The section of the Introduction entitled "Dramatic and Critical History" of *La prudencia en la mujer* is divided into two parts: 1) The Play on the Stage; 2) The Play among the Critics. Dr. Stafford is to be complimented on their completeness. It will surprise no one that *La prudencia* should have been reprinted during the age of romanticism by Durán (1834), nor that a play entitled *Doña María de Molina*, by Mariano Roca de Togores, Marqués de *Molins*, should have appeared in 1837. On the other hand, this reviewer noted with keen interest that Roca de

sions (*Estudios* [1949], 768): "Si la impresión de la *Parte tercera* en esta ciudad tarraconense (1634) obligó la presencia de alguien para llevarla a cabo, la sospecha ha de recaer sobre el sobrino del autor y editor de sus comedias, Francisco Lucas de Ávila, un motivo más en favor de su real personalidad." In weighing the pros and cons of such evidence, it should be noted that since the *aprobaciones* of the *Tercera parte* are dated Sept. 13, 1633 (Tortosa) and Dec. 21, 1633 (Barcelona), the dramatist could presumably have made the trip there after May 21, 1633, the date when his presence is last attested in Madrid, and September 13th of that year, when the first *aprobación* is dated. However, one may query with Father Penedo whether its printing in Tortosa necessarily implied a visit on Tirso's part to that city—or, for that matter, on Francisco Lucas de Ávila's. Could not such a business transaction have been attended to through "Pedro Escuer, mercader de libros de Zaragoza"? Was Tirso perhaps carried to Zaragoza by the duties of his order in 1633?

4) One must ask, nevertheless, why Tirso failed to print the *Tercera parte* in Madrid? Was it merely that it was easier in Aragon than in Castile to find a printer? Why did the *Tercera parte* come out before the *Segunda*? Was the *Tercera parte* originally intended for the *Segunda*, as Cotarelo has argued (*NBAE*, IV, lvi-lvii)?

5) Did Francisco Lucas de Ávila exist, or is the name merely a disguise for Tirso? We now know—thanks to a document which was discovered in Cuenca by Srta. Carmen Lázaro and published in *ABC* by Sra. Blanca de los Ríos on Aug. 8, 1946—that Tirso, needing some one to represent him at court before the Papal Nuncio in 1640, delegated as his agent one *Diego de Ávila*, "vecino de la villa de Madrid, agente de negocios del Duque de Albuquerque. . . ." What is more, he gave him full authority to act for him. Was this Diego de Ávila related to Francisco Lucas de Ávila, or is it pure chance that their last names should be identical?

Togores, when commenting on Tirso's play in 1840, was "carried away by the exposition of the moral and social principle that the conciliation of opposing interests by the touchstone of a tactful diplomacy, is the only salvation of a state." In other words, this Spaniard of the nineteenth century felt in *La prudencia* something of the political purpose which this reviewer believes to have been the conscious aim of Tirso in writing it.

In her study of the play's versification, Miss Bushee finds a direct relationship between the blocks of incidents that go to make up the drama and the changes of meter involved. After putting in tabular juxtaposition the episodes that constitute the action of this *comedia* and the strophes in which each is written, Miss Bushee draws certain conclusions as to what would seem to be Tirso's practice in matters metrical. If study of the dramatist's other plays of this same period should prove that the dramatist customarily "utilizes his versification as a vehicle not only to indicate change of setting, but also to trace the movement, development, and consummation" of his plots, then we shall have made a real step forward, not only in our knowledge of this dramatist's versification and plot structure, but also very probably in that of others'.

For the critical text which this edition offers, every scholar will feel grateful. A few errors have crept in: the order of lines 1616 and 1617 has been reversed. Verse 2663 should evidently read: "Voyme, sólo por no oýros." One may be virtually certain that vv. 865 and 866 should be attributed to Juan, not Enrique. There are a few changes in punctuation which would make for better reading: p. 14, v. 252, replace comma after *castas* with semicolon; p. 79, vv. 2293-2312 should form one long sentence, with vv. 2301-04 inclusive in parentheses or between dashes; pp. 79-80, vv. 2313-36 represent another long sentence in which vv. 2321-28, because they have no syntactical connection with what precedes or follows, should be placed between dashes; moreover, *devoción* (v. 2330) should probably be followed by a colon rather than a semicolon. One should note, as well, the following errors in the Introduction: p. xxv, l. 5, the phrase, "the latter's mother" should read "the latter's wife"; p. xxv, ll. 7-11, are inaccurate, since it was not the "Church" which exiled Tirso and restricted his literary efforts to pious fields, but instead the royally appointed *Junta de reformatión*. In the Notes, p. 144, *no* should read *nos*, "Solo los médicos nos pueden matar"; p. 152 (in comment on vv. 2293-2664), the word *council* should be *counsel*; p. 154, the date of doña María's regency, through a typographical error, is given as 1925 instead of 1295.

Miss Bushee, in her Preface, states with characteristic modesty: "The present study does not presume to offer itself in the guise of a critical edition in the generally accepted sense of the term. Interest has been concentrated primarily upon the historical character of the play and upon Tirso's thought and expression as evidenced in its dramatic reconstruction." And indeed the stress of the historical is everywhere evident, more

particularly so in that section of the Introduction entitled "Sources and Historical Background" and in the Notes. Miss Bushee, warm in her praise of the dramatist's skill, states (p. xxiii) that Tirso has shown a master hand in "salvaging the most essential details out of the chaos and confusion of events and personages recorded by history." The net result of his methods of condensation and simplification are, she finds, "a faithful portrayal of the turbulent reign which follows the death of D. Sancho IV"—an opinion which coincides with that reached by Morel-Fatio in his earlier study of the sources of this play. Certainly the detailed analysis which Miss Bushee has made of the various historical characters found in *La prudencia* confirms this conclusion. Moreover, the rich parallels which the editors were able to find in the *Siete partidas* (and elsewhere) for incorporation in their Notes make evident Tirso's deep knowledge of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

But the dramatist's very real fidelity to the facts and spirit of the medieval days he was portraying does not preclude another interpretation which would tie this play to the time in which it was composed. In the study of 1948, mentioned above, I argued that Tirso, on penning his work, consciously searched the pages of history for a telling lesson to his own age, and that, under guise of a historical drama, he presented to his audience a mirror for princes in dramatic form,—one which was anything but favorable to young Philip IV and the men who directed his policies. By way of summation, I declared (p. 1134):

"In this mirror the dramatist has, with consummate skill, managed not only to reflect an unworthy predecessor of Philip's who was cursed with many of the same shortcomings as was this monarch but at the same time to portray the perfect ruler who, though faced with almost insuperable problems on taking over the regency, yet managed to overcome them by her prudence and tempered justice. Moreover, most of these problems . . . offered astounding similarity to those which confronted the sixteen year old lad, who, on March 31, 1621, was called to the throne in one of Spain's most critical hours. In other words, Tirso, while limning his two contrasting portraits against the dark background of their age, has not merely portrayed María de Molina and her unworthy son in their milieu of medieval anarchism; he has, *at the same time*, consciously reflected both characters and conditions of those early years of Philip IV's reign."⁴

Tirso's task was unquestionably made the easier by the close spiritual

⁴ It is this conscious contrast of two monarchs—the one wise, clement, and energetic; the other rash, vengeful, and lacking in purpose—which we believe gives a dramatic unity to *La prudencia en la mujer* that some critics have felt to be missing. Dr. Stafford declares that *La prudencia* is a "dramatic chronicle" rather than "a historical play" (p. xliii). Had we the sequel, *Los dos Carvajales*, which Tirso promised in the closing lines of *La prudencia*, one may suspect that the lack (pointed out by her) of a central and directing action to propel the plot would then not be noticeable.

ties which the Spain of the seventeenth century sustained with her historic past. The dramatist, thumbing the pages of history to find a lesson for his own time, looked back to days when the noble María de Molina was regent for one who was to become known to history as Ferdinand, *el Emplazado*. He found there, in the diptych of mother⁵ and son, portraits fashioned to his purpose. As he read, he must have marvelled. "Que de choses dans cette histoire de sept années propres à émouvoir des Espagnols, que de sujets dignes d'exciter leur intérêt, d'exalter leur loyalisme!"⁶

RUTH LEE KENNEDY

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Cancionero antequerano: 1627-1628, recogido por Ignacio de Toledo y Godoy. Publicado por Dámaso Alonso y Rafael Ferreres. C. S. I. C., Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, Madrid, 1950: xxxix + 536 pages.

Cancionero antequerano is the title that has been given by the present editors to the four volume verse anthology compiled by Ignacio de Toledo y Godoy in his native city of Antequera during 1627 and 1628. From the four volumes they reproduce the hitherto unedited portions of the first three, consisting of sonnets, *poesías de arte menor*, and *canciones*, altogether 283 poems out of a grand total of 701.

Antequera was at the time one of the most important literary centers in Spain, a fact which made the garnering of poems relatively easy. Nevertheless, instead of making an artistic selection of the best material that was available to him, Don Ignacio, who was devoid of any genuine critical acumen, indiscriminately copied good, bad and indifferent pieces. He observed a formal unity in putting together compositions in each of the verse forms mentioned, but within these divisions, arrangement whether by author or subject matter (religious, amatory, satirical, and occasional poems) is rather helter-skelter.

His anthology is particularly important because of the insight which it furnishes us with respect to the *Escuela Antequerana*, and, specifically, because of the wealth of new material on a minor but fairly respectable lyricist, Luis Martín de la Plaza. It represents a third stage in the poetic evolution of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the first two being represented by the *Flores de poetas ilustres de España* of

⁵ In those same years in which he was writing *La prudencia*, he also sketched lovingly the portrait of Isabel the Catholic. In *Antona García*, the heroine falls in love at sight with her queen, and it is her admiration and love for her sovereign which are the motivating forces in her loyal defense of Castile. Sr. A. Castro (*España en su historia*, pp. 274-276), has pointed to "el hecho asombroso de que España lleve siglos intentando desandar lo andado y volver a los tiempos de los Reyes Católicos." This *espejismo*, noted by Sr. Castro, undoubtedly extended to other admirable monarchs, such as María de Molina.

⁶ Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne*, III (Paris, 1904), 29.

Espinosa (1605), and the *Flores* . . . of Calderón (1611). Though significant in itself, the collection is the least valuable of the three. The large number of anonymous poems in this as well as in other manuscript anthologies indicate that the product was frequently more prized than the producer.

There is a marked tendency to follow conventional patterns and procedures which, barring few exceptions, are characterized by a display of ingenuity rather than lyrical inspiration. In amatory compositions much of this conventionalism is the heritage of Petrarchism, but there was no longer any need of drawing immediately upon Italian models since in the span of three quarters of a century, starting with Boscán and Garcilaso, the Petrarchistic tendency had come to be thoroughly assimilated and was regularly incorporated into the poetic expression of the epoch. Hence the relative infrequency of direct Italian imitations in this *Cancionero* as compared with those in earlier collections. Moreover, the Spaniards were producing at the time talented poets of their own, Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Góngora, in part the heirs of this same tradition, who were better than their Italian contemporaries and who could and did serve as models for their compatriots, Góngora very noticeably so. Recognition of the poetic genius of Camões also made him a favorite model for imitation.

The volume has been edited with great care and completeness by Professors Alonso and Ferreres. In addition to the poems, many of them annotated, some copiously, it contains an ample critical and descriptive prologue, biographical notes, and two indexes. With such an admirable and thorough example of fine editing before him the present reviewer has been hard pressed to find much information to add.

Quite a few critical and biographical facts have been assembled on Martín de la Plaza, but in view of a revaluation of his poetic output which is now made necessary as the result of the material which the *Cancionero* adds to his repertoire, it might have been à propos to include a number of bibliographical references to round them out. Several relate to the problem of his sources: Morel Fatio's review of the *Flores* . . ., *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, XLIV (1897), 174, another review of the same by Eugenio Mele in *Rassegna Pugliese*, XII (1897), J. P. W. Crawford's "The Notes Ascribed to Gallardo and the Sources of Espinosa's *Flores de poetas ilustres*," *MLN*, XLIV (1929), 101-103, Carolina Michaëlis' "Investigações sobre sonetos e sonetistas portugueses e castelhanos," *RHi*, XXII (1910), 565-569 (which indicates six Camoenian sources), and my own "A Decade of Notes on Spanish Poetry," *SP*, XXXII (1935), 47-49. There is a somewhat extended discussion of the poet in A. Marasso's article, "Luis Martín de la Plaza. Apuntes para un estudio," *Humanidades*, I (1921), 247-286. In addition, we may point out that the Martín sonnet "Alma que suelta de tu frágil manto" (op. cit. p. 17), an appeal to the soul of a departed friend, Luis de Figueroa, to look down upon him from heaven, seems to have been inspired by

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¹ *HR*, I (1933), 271-283; *Three Centuries of Tirso de Molina* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 29-44.

² The absence of a German one is surprising, especially in view of Adolf Schaeffer's warm praise. See *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas* (1890), I, 342.

works (Tortosa, 1634) by Francisco Martorell at the expense of Pedro Escuer, "mercader de libros de Zaragoza," a volume which carries *aprobaciones* of Tortosa, dated September 13, 1633 and of Barcelona, Dec. 21, 1633. Of the fifteen copies of the *Tercera parte* that have been located, some are dedicated to "D. Antonio de Vrrea y Enríquez, Marqués de Almonazir, Conde de Pavías, meritísimo virrey y Capitán General del reyno de Cerdeña"; others to D. Ivlio Monti, "caballero milanés, único patrón del dueño deste libro. . . ." One copy, found in the B. N. of Madrid, even carries on the title page the name of Vrrea, while the inner *dedicatoria* is to Monti. This *dedicatoria*, quite enigmatic in tone, is signed by Don Francisco Lucas de Ávila, affirmedly Tirso's nephew, but possibly Tirso himself. Therein the nephew states that he is publishing his uncle's old manuscripts, after having made "nuevas añadiduras." Moreover, in dedicating the book to Monti, he adds: "Tempestades y persecuciones invidiosas procuraron malograr los honestos recreos de sus ocios [i.e., of Tirso's]; y yo sé de alguna borrasca que, a no tener a V. S. por Santelmo, diera con él a pique." Thus the *Tercera parte* is almost as much of a *rompecabezas*³ as is the well-known *Segunda parte*.

³ Some of the questions involved may be stated as follows:

1) Who were D. Julio Monti and D. Antonio de Vrrea y Enríquez? The archives may possibly be silent on the name of D. Julio Monti, but they should easily yield up information on the identity of the second name. When was Vrrea Virrey de Cerdeña? Did he perhaps die around 1633-34, while the book was in press, and did Tirso then have to give it a new patron? Or was the book first dedicated to Monti, as Miss Bushee has suggested (*Three Centuries . . .*, p. 63), and later to Vrrea y Enríquez? In this whole connection, it should possibly be remembered that Tirso's *Las quinas de Portugal* is a glorification of the house of Enríquez and that his *El celoso prudente* (*Cigarrales de Toledo* [Madrid, 1621]) has for its very admirable protagonist, Don Sancho de Vrrea, of an Aragonese family that was closely tied with the Alagóns and (through them) with the Pimentels—both names that have significance for Tirso and his works. (See *PMLA*, LXXX [1948], 1180-86.)

2) Should one see in the aforementioned *borrasca* (where Monti played Santelmo) a reference to Tirso's difficulties with the *Junta de reformatión* in 1625? Or could this allusion be to some conflict of less official nature, one that took place between the dramatist and the literary colony of Madrid, perhaps around 1623? Its context seems to suggest this, for the whole quotation is found between two paragraphs in which Tirso is apparently referring to certain detractors who have accused him of lack of originality in his plots.

3) Should the *aprobaciones* of the *Tercera parte* and its place of printing (Tortosa) be considered evidence that Tirso (or perhaps Francisco Lucas de Ávila) was in northeastern or eastern Spain sometime during 1633-34? Cotarelo (*NBAE*, IV, lv) wrote some years ago, "En los años 1633 a 1635, no sabemos por donde anduvo Tirso"; then he recalls the fact that the *Tercera parte* was put out in Tortosa as possible evidence that the dramatist was in that section of Spain.

Father Manuel Penedo, pointing to later evidence adduced by Señora Blanca de los Ríos and by Father G. Placer, evidence which proves Tirso was in Madrid on February 10 and May 31, 1633 and again on Feb. 20, 1634, reaches other conclu-

Dr. Stafford, on the strength of evidence that she herself had gathered, somewhat hesitantly placed the composition of *La prudencia* between 1619 and 1623. Later, having seen the manuscript study of R. L. Kennedy, "*La prudencia en la mujer* and the Ambient that Brought It Forth" (*PMLA*, LXXII [1948], 1131-96), she summarized briefly its conclusions, by way of addenda to hers, in the following terms (p. xxii):

"By striking parallels in allusions to characters and to social and political events contemporary with the early years of the reign of Felipe IV, Dr. Kennedy places the *terminus a quo* of the play as March 31, 1621, date of the accession to the throne of this sovereign, the *terminus ad quem* as March 13, 1623, and the probable date of composition between April 8, 1622, the seventeenth birthday of the boy king, and mid-June of this same year."

The section of the Introduction entitled "Dramatic and Critical History" of *La prudencia en la mujer* is divided into two parts: 1) The Play on the Stage; 2) The Play among the Critics. Dr. Stafford is to be complimented on their completeness. It will surprise no one that *La prudencia* should have been reprinted during the age of romanticism by Durán (1834), nor that a play entitled *Doña María de Molina*, by Mariano Roca de Togores, Marqués de Molins, should have appeared in 1837. On the other hand, this reviewer noted with keen interest that Roca de

sions (*Estudios* [1949], 768): "Si la impresión de la *Parte tercera* en esta ciudad tarraconense (1634) obligó la presencia de alguien para llevarla a cabo, la sospecha ha de recaer sobre el sobrino del autor y editor de sus comedias, Francisco Lucas de Ávila, un motivo más en favor de su real personalidad." In weighing the pros and cons of such evidence, it should be noted that since the *aprobaciones* of the *Tercera parte* are dated Sept. 13, 1633 (Tortosa) and Dec. 21, 1633 (Barcelona), the dramatist could presumably have made the trip there after May 21, 1633, the date when his presence is last attested in Madrid, and September 13th of that year, when the first *aprobación* is dated. However, one may query with Father Penedo whether its printing in Tortosa necessarily implied a visit on Tirso's part to that city—or, for that matter, on Francisco Lucas de Ávila's. Could not such a business transaction have been attended to through "Pedro Escuer, mercader de libros de Zaragoza"? Was Tirso perhaps carried to Zaragoza by the duties of his order in 1633?

4) One must ask, nevertheless, why Tirso failed to print the *Tercera parte* in Madrid? Was it merely that it was easier in Aragon than in Castile to find a printer? Why did the *Tercera parte* come out before the *Segunda*? Was the *Tercera parte* originally intended for the *Segunda*, as Cotarelo has argued (*NBAE*, IV, lvi-lvii)?

5) Did Francisco Lucas de Ávila exist, or is the name merely a disguise for Tirso? We now know—thanks to a document which was discovered in Cuenca by Srta. Carmen Lázaro and published in *ABC* by Sra. Blanca de los Ríos on Aug. 8, 1946—that Tirso, needing some one to represent him at court before the Papal Nuncio in 1640, delegated as his agent one *Diego de Ávila*, "vecino de la villa de Madrid, agente de negocios del Duque de Albuquerque. . . ." What is more, he gave him full authority to act for him. Was this Diego de Ávila related to Francisco Lucas de Ávila, or is it pure chance that their last names should be identical?

Togores, when commenting on Tirso's play in 1840, was "carried away by the exposition of the moral and social principle that the conciliation of opposing interests by the touchstone of a tactful diplomacy, is the only salvation of a state." In other words, this Spaniard of the nineteenth century felt in *La prudencia* something of the political purpose which this reviewer believes to have been the conscious aim of Tirso in writing it.

In her study of the play's versification, Miss Bushee finds a direct relationship between the blocks of incidents that go to make up the drama and the changes of meter involved. After putting in tabular juxtaposition the episodes that constitute the action of this *comedia* and the strophes in which each is written, Miss Bushee draws certain conclusions as to what would seem to be Tirso's practice in matters metrical. If study of the dramatist's other plays of this same period should prove that the dramatist customarily "utilizes his versification as a vehicle not only to indicate change of setting, but also to trace the movement, development, and consummation" of his plots, then we shall have made a real step forward, not only in our knowledge of this dramatist's versification and plot structure, but also very probably in that of others'.

For the critical text which this edition offers, every scholar will feel grateful. A few errors have crept in: the order of lines 1616 and 1617 has been reversed. Verse 2663 should evidently read: "Voyme, sólo por no oýros." One may be virtually certain that vv. 865 and 866 should be attributed to Juan, not Enrique. There are a few changes in punctuation which would make for better reading: p. 14, v. 252, replace comma after *castas* with semicolon; p. 79, vv. 2293-2312 should form one long sentence, with vv. 2301-04 inclusive in parentheses or between dashes; pp. 79-80, vv. 2313-36 represent another long sentence in which vv. 2321-28, because they have no syntactical connection with what precedes or follows, should be placed between dashes; moreover, *devoción* (v. 2330) should probably be followed by a colon rather than a semicolon. One should note, as well, the following errors in the Introduction: p. xxv, l. 5, the phrase, "the latter's mother" should read "the latter's wife"; p. xxv, ll. 7-11, are inaccurate, since it was not the "Church" which exiled Tirso and restricted his literary efforts to pious fields, but instead the royally appointed *Junta de reforma*ción. In the Notes, p. 144, *no* should read *nos*, "Solo los médicos nos pueden matar"; p. 152 (in comment on vv. 2293-2664), the word *council* should be *counsel*; p. 154, the date of doña María's regency, through a typographical error, is given as 1925 instead of 1295.

Miss Bushee, in her Preface, states with characteristic modesty: "The present study does not presume to offer itself in the guise of a critical edition in the generally accepted sense of the term. Interest has been concentrated primarily upon the historical character of the play and upon Tirso's thought and expression as evidenced in its dramatic reconstruction." And indeed the stress of the historical is everywhere evident, more

particularly so in that section of the Introduction entitled "Sources and Historical Background" and in the Notes. Miss Bushee, warm in her praise of the dramatist's skill, states (p. xxiii) that Tirso has shown a master hand in "salvaging the most essential details out of the chaos and confusion of events and personages recorded by history." The net result of his methods of condensation and simplification are, she finds, "a faithful portrayal of the turbulent reign which follows the death of D. Sancho IV"—an opinion which coincides with that reached by Morel-Fatio in his earlier study of the sources of this play. Certainly the detailed analysis which Miss Bushee has made of the various historical characters found in *La prudencia* confirms this conclusion. Moreover, the rich parallels which the editors were able to find in the *Siete partidas* (and elsewhere) for incorporation in their Notes make evident Tirso's deep knowledge of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

But the dramatist's very real fidelity to the facts and spirit of the medieval days he was portraying does not preclude another interpretation which would tie this play to the time in which it was composed. In the study of 1948, mentioned above, I argued that Tirso, on penning his work, consciously searched the pages of history for a telling lesson to his own age, and that, under guise of a historical drama, he presented to his audience a mirror for princes in dramatic form,—one which was anything but favorable to young Philip IV and the men who directed his policies. By way of summation, I declared (p. 1134):

"In this mirror the dramatist has, with consummate skill, managed not only to reflect an unworthy predecessor of Philip's who was cursed with many of the same shortcomings as was this monarch but at the same time to portray the perfect ruler who, though faced with almost insuperable problems on taking over the regency, yet managed to overcome them by her prudence and tempered justice. Moreover, most of these problems . . . offered astounding similarity to those which confronted the sixteen year old lad, who, on March 31, 1621, was called to the throne in one of Spain's most critical hours. In other words, Tirso, while limning his two contrasting portraits against the dark background of their age, has not merely portrayed María de Molina and her unworthy son in their milieu of medieval anarchism; he has, *at the same time*, consciously reflected both characters and conditions of those early years of Philip IV's reign."⁴

Tirso's task was unquestionably made the easier by the close spiritual

⁴ It is this conscious contrast of two monarchs—the one wise, clement, and energetic; the other rash, vengeful, and lacking in purpose—which we believe gives a dramatic unity to *La prudencia en la mujer* that some critics have felt to be missing. Dr. Stafford declares that *La prudencia* is a "dramatic chronicle" rather than "a historical play" (p. xliii). Had we the sequel, *Los dos Carvajales*, which Tirso promised in the closing lines of *La prudencia*, one may suspect that the lack (pointed out by her) of a central and directing action to propel the plot would then not be noticeable.

ties which the Spain of the seventeenth century sustained with her historic past. The dramatist, thumbing the pages of history to find a lesson for his own time, looked back to days when the noble María de Molina was regent for one who was to become known to history as Ferdinand, *el Emplazado*. He found there, in the diptych of mother⁵ and son, portraits fashioned to his purpose. As he read, he must have marvelled. "Que de choses dans cette histoire de sept années propres à émouvoir des Espagnols, que de sujets dignes d'exciter leur intérêt, d'exalter leur loyalisme!"⁶

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Cancionero antequerano: 1627-1628, recogido por Ignacio de Toledo y Godoy. Publicado por Dámaso Alonso y Rafael Ferreres. C. S. I. C., Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, Madrid, 1950: xxxix + 536 pages.

Cancionero antequerano is the title that has been given by the present editors to the four volume verse anthology compiled by Ignacio de Toledo y Godoy in his native city of Antequera during 1627 and 1628. From the four volumes they reproduce the hitherto unedited portions of the first three, consisting of sonnets, *poesías de arte menor*, and *canciones*, altogether 283 poems out of a grand total of 701.

Antequera was at the time one of the most important literary centers in Spain, a fact which made the garnering of poems relatively easy. Nevertheless, instead of making an artistic selection of the best material that was available to him, Don Ignacio, who was devoid of any genuine critical acumen, indiscriminately copied good, bad and indifferent pieces. He observed a formal unity in putting together compositions in each of the verse forms mentioned, but within these divisions, arrangement whether by author or subject matter (religious, amatory, satirical, and occasional poems) is rather helter-skelter.

His anthology is particularly important because of the insight which it furnishes us with respect to the *Escuela Antequerana*, and, specifically, because of the wealth of new material on a minor but fairly respectable lyricist, Luis Martín de la Plaza. It represents a third stage in the poetic evolution of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the first two being represented by the *Flores de poetas ilustres de España* of

⁵ In those same years in which he was writing *La prudencia*, he also sketched lovingly the portrait of Isabel the Catholic. In *Antona García*, the heroine falls in love at sight with her queen, and it is her admiration and love for her sovereign which are the motivating forces in her loyal defense of Castile. Sr. A. Castro (*España en su historia*, pp. 274-276), has pointed to "el hecho asombroso de que España lleve siglos intentando desandar lo andado y volver a los tiempos de los Reyes Católicos." This *espejismo*, noted by Sr. Castro, undoubtedly extended to other admirable monarchs, such as María de Molina.

⁶ Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne*, III (Paris, 1904), 29.

Espinosa (1605), and the *Flores* . . . of Calderón (1611). Though significant in itself, the collection is the least valuable of the three. The large number of anonymous poems in this as well as in other manuscript anthologies indicate that the product was frequently more prized than the producer.

There is a marked tendency to follow conventional patterns and procedures which, barring few exceptions, are characterized by a display of ingenuity rather than lyrical inspiration. In amatory compositions much of this conventionalism is the heritage of Petrarchism, but there was no longer any need of drawing immediately upon Italian models since in the span of three quarters of a century, starting with Boscán and Garcilaso, the Petrarchistic tendency had come to be thoroughly assimilated and was regularly incorporated into the poetic expression of the epoch. Hence the relative infrequency of direct Italian imitations in this *Cancionero* as compared with those in earlier collections. Moreover, the Spaniards were producing at the time talented poets of their own, Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Góngora, in part the heirs of this same tradition, who were better than their Italian contemporaries and who could and did serve as models for their compatriots, Góngora very noticeably so. Recognition of the poetic genius of Camões also made him a favorite model for imitation.

The volume has been edited with great care and completeness by Professors Alonso and Ferreres. In addition to the poems, many of them annotated, some copiously, it contains an ample critical and descriptive prologue, biographical notes, and two indexes. With such an admirable and thorough example of fine editing before him the present reviewer has been hard pressed to find much information to add.

Quite a few critical and biographical facts have been assembled on Martín de la Plaza, but in view of a revaluation of his poetic output which is now made necessary as the result of the material which the *Cancionero* adds to his repertoire, it might have been à propos to include a number of bibliographical references to round them out. Several relate to the problem of his sources: Morel Fatio's review of the *Flores* . . ., *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, XLIV (1897), 174, another review of the same by Eugenio Mele in *Rassegna Pugliese*, XII (1897), J. P. W. Crawford's "The Notes Ascribed to Gallardo and the Sources of Espinosa's *Flores de poetas ilustres*," *MLN*, XLIV (1929), 101-103, Carolina Michaëlis' "Investigações sobre sonetos e sonetistas portugueses e castelhanos," *RHi*, XXII (1910), 565-569 (which indicates six Camoenian sources), and my own "A Decade of Notes on Spanish Poetry," *SP*, XXXII (1935), 47-49. There is a somewhat extended discussion of the poet in A. Marasso's article, "Luis Martín de la Plaza. Apuntes para un estudio," *Humanidades*, I (1921), 247-286. In addition, we may point out that the Martín sonnet "Alma que suelta de tu frágil manto" (op. cit. p. 17), an appeal to the soul of a departed friend, Luis de Figueroa, to look down upon him from heaven, seems to have been inspired by

Franklin, and Emerson, and four chapters of socio-economic history of the nineteenth century; and ends with consideration and comparison of William James and George Santayana. The book is perhaps the only definition of its own genre. Appearances to the contrary, it is neither a collection of miscellaneous essays, since it has chronological order and some unity of problem and theme; nor a history of American philosophy, since it omits a number of leading figures while including a good deal of tangential material; nor an intellectual history, since it excludes the sciences, literature, and the other fine arts. Notwithstanding this uncertainty of identification, the book has merit for its wide scholarship, its suggestiveness in regard to sources and speculative notions, and its generally sympathetic treatment of a culture foreign in place and kind.

The discussion of Puritanism as a "style of life" and a "technique of salvation" is detailed and fresh. On Edwards there is a good deal of the person, the mysticism and idealism, and the contrast between the gifts of the man and his dislocation in time. Such figures of the late eighteenth century as Paine, Woolman, Jefferson, and the authors of the *Federalist* are neglected in favor of Franklin, whose "practical morality" is taken as a sample of the American enlightenment. The nineteenth century is treated mainly from the standpoint of social, economic, and political processes, but there is some compensation for this in the lengthy discussion of William James, which emphasizes his intellectual development, his radical empiricism, and his philosophy of religion. Pragmatism tends to drop out of this account; Peirce has one page, and Dewey is hardly mentioned. Late idealism and twentieth-century realism and positivism are omitted. The consideration of recent times is therefore limited to Santayana's late views on matter, essence, and Christianity, with a further statement in the Introduction on current "disillusionment and skepticism about the validity of the conception of the world implied by capitalism, the Protestant Reformation, and political liberalism": despite which negatives, American thought of the immediate present is said to have "tremendous vitality."

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Introducción a la Metafísica. ANGEL GONZÁLEZ ALVAREZ. Mendoza, Argentina, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1951. Pp. 339.

This volume by Angel González Alvarez, former Professor of the University of Murcia and now teaching at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, contains original contributions. The teachers of metaphysics have, for the most part, had to have recourse either to a purely historical approach, or to one which is merely systematic, and thus have been limited in their ex-

planations. The originality of this book lies in developing, in different parts, both systematic and historical approaches to the subject. Further, its prominence results from there being no similar textbook in Spanish published in recent times.

The book is divided into four parts: I—The Concept of Metaphysics, containing "Evolution of the Concept of Metaphysics" and "The Systematic Problem"; II—"The Possibility of Metaphysics"; III—"The Method of Metaphysics"; and IV—"The Sources of Metaphysics."

At the end of each chapter are included well chosen excerpts. One of the most interesting parts is that dealing with the contents of metaphysics. Another is the bibliography in Part IV, Chapter 2.

This *Introducción a la Metafísica* deserves attention because it approaches the subject from a new angle (systematic as well as historical). And it is suggested that professors and students alike will profit from it.

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Fuentes del Pensamiento de los Estados Unidos. ANGÉLICA MENDOZA.
México, D. F., Colegio de México, 1950. Pp. xvi, 277.

This examination of the sources of American thought begins with three chapters on the antecedents and early phases of philosophy in New England, with standard emphasis on Puritanism and special attention to the Cambridge Platonists; continues with three chapters devoted to Edwards,

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TOWARD A THEORY OF SPANISH AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

BY RICHARD M. MORSE

1. The Viceregal Period and Its Antecedents

The purpose of this essay is neither fully to analyze the political experience of Spanish America nor to construct a mature theory which will comprehensively illuminate it. The histories of these eighteen countries are, taken singly, too fragmentary and, taken jointly, too uncorrelated to permit of so systematic a project. In this as in most areas of New World studies the elements for conclusive synthesis are still unavailable. Therefore a heuristic device will be used, which will be to examine certain formal European notions in the hope, not that they will concisely epitomize Spanish American political experience, but that they may be "played off against" that experience—contrapuntally, perhaps—in a way to evoke corresponding themes.

Professor Northrop has done something of this nature in collating Lockean philosophy with United States political history. As is suggested in the "Note" that concludes this essay, he perhaps oversimplifies the case; but a summary of his argument will be useful here as a point of departure. Professor Northrop asserts that Locke's atomistic conception of the sovereign individual squared neatly with British North American conditions of life. Until the twentieth century the United States was a laissez-faire state: not an active intervenor assuring distribution of limited resources among the needy many, but a passive guarantor of private claims to the new continent's ample wealth. Unlike their North American counterparts, nineteenth-century British Conservatives—with their traditions of noblesse oblige and of a state religion—inclined toward paternalistic social-mindedness and away from Lockean atomism, unbridled laissez-faire and unqualified obeisance to rights of the sovereign individual. British Liberals, who held closer to Lockean ideals, eventually yielded before a socialistic Labor Party. Locke, by this reckoning, was therefore less congenial to his homeland than to the trans-Atlantic England which was colonized during the century into which he was born, and in 1776 the colonists' fealty to him was, for urgent cause, consummately affirmed.¹

The question now to be raised is: Are there other European philosophies which might be comparably correlated with Spanish American political history?

¹ F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York, 1946), chaps. III, IV. See also Merle Curti, "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1783-1861," *The Huntington Library Bulletin* 11 (April 1937), 107-151.

Spanish American preceded British colonization by more than a century, and thus belongs to an era that antedates not only the Lockean rights of man but also the Bouisset- and Hobbes-type apology for the absolutist national state. It is the Catholic kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, who symbolize Spanish America's political heritage.

Isabella in a sense prefigures the divine-right monarch. Her thwarting of the nobles and of the Cortes wherein they formed an estate; her royal agents and administrative reforms that centralized the government; her replacement of feudal levies with a modern army; her use of the faith to further political unity—all have been cited to identify her as a precursor of the Hobbesian autocrat. Yet it must be remembered that for three centuries after Isabella's death the Spanish empire retained, in comparison at least with the burgeoning capitalist countries, many hall marks of the medieval, hierarchical state.

The "common law" of Isabella's Castile was the *Siete Partidas*, drawn up c. 1260 and promulgated in 1348. Though tinctured with Roman law, the *Partidas* were less Roman rules for conduct than medieval-type principles of conduct that approached being moral treatises. As late as the nineteenth century Dunham found that:

. . . if all other codes [than the *Siete Partidas*] were banished, Spain would still have a respectable body of jurisprudence; for we have the experience of an eminent advocate in the royal tribunal of appeal for asserting, that during an extensive practice of twenty-nine years, scarcely has a case occurred which could not be virtually or expressly decided by the code in question.²

The *Partidas* assumed the nuclear element of society to be, not Lockean atomistic man, but religious, societal man: man with a salvable soul (i.e., in relationship with God) and man in a station of life (i.e., having mutual obligations with fellow humans, determinable by principles of Christian justice). The ruler, though not procedurally responsible to the people or the estates, was bound, through his conscience, to be the instrument of God's immutable, publicly ascertainable law. The *Partidas*, in fact, specifically excoriated the tyrant who strove to keep his people poor, ignorant and timorous and to forbid their fellowship and assemblies.

As mistress of the hierarchical Castilian state whose governance was largely by immanent justice and specially ceded privileges (*fueros*), Isabella found constant occasion to make inter- as well as intra-national assertion of her spiritual authority. Unlike Aragón—from whose border the Moorish menace had been lifted in the thirteenth

² S. A. Dunham, *Spain and Portugal*, 5 vols. (London, 1832-1835), IV, 109.

century and whose rulers were therefore indifferent to the Reconquest—Castile directly confronted Moorish Granada until 1492. Furthermore, it was Cisneros, the Queen's confessor, who largely animated the African campaigns against the infidel Turks and Moslems. And it was with the Castilian sovereign that the expeditions which claimed dominion over millions of pagan Amerinds were initially associated. In her major foreign ventures, therefore, Isabella's policy reflected not only politico-military vicissitudes of statecraft but also spiritual responsibilities in the face of non-Christian multitudes. After Columbus had assigned three hundred Indians to forced labor, it was as the imperious agent of the Church Universal that Isabella demanded: "By what authority does the Admiral give my vassals away?"

If Isabella, in her enterprises to the south and overseas to the west, symbolizes the spiritualist, medieval component of the emergent Spanish empire, then Ferdinand, whose Aragón was engaged to the east and north, represents a secular, Renaissance counterpart. His holdings (the Balearics, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples) and his Italian and Navarrese campaigns confined his problems of rule, alliance and warfare to the European, Christian community. Isabella presented the unity of spiritually intransigent Christendom to infidel and pagan. Ferdinand was committed to the shifting, amoral statecraft of competing Christian princes in maintenance and expansion of a domain which, within its Christian context, was diversely composed.

Ferdinand ruled under transitional conditions which precluded resorting for authority to Isabella's Thomistic sanction or to statist apologetics. Managing with sheer personal verve and cunning, he was, in the fullest sense, Machiavellian. Indeed the Florentine, who regarded religions as instruments for political centralization and who denied that Italian well-being depended upon the Church of Rome (*Discourses*, I, xii), called Ferdinand "a new prince" who had become "the first king in Christendom" by great and extraordinary actions, "which have kept his subjects' minds uncertain and astonished, and occupied in watching their result" (*Prince*, XXI).

Spanish conquistadors, colonizers and catechizers, then, carried with them to American shores this dual heritage: medieval and Renaissance, Thomistic and Machiavellian. Through a close study of the letters of Cortés and the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* of the missionary, Sahagún, Luis Villoro has projected the conquest as a two-way revelation. To the Indian were revealed a triumphant "universal" Church and its militant temporal agent, the Spanish crown; to Europe were revealed civilizations, fauna, flora and geography of a vast New World, which crumbled agelong sureties and

challenged the imagination. The Indian, that is, was seen bifocally: through the eyes of the self-assured knight-errant or proselytizer and through those of the freely inquiring humanist. At the unspanned hiatus between these outlooks Villoro pitches the Indian's four-century tragedy.³

For half a century after Isabella's death in 1504 Spanish New World administration hovered between medieval and Renaissance orientations. Were men of other races, even though their hierarchical status might be politically and socially inferior, to be accorded equality as salvable souls and safeguards against exploitation? Or was amoral expediency, perhaps reinforced by the Aristotelian concept of "natural slaves," to determine their lot?

In the case of Negroes, Isabella in 1503 revoked permission to ship Christianized slaves from Spain to the Indies; but Ferdinand condoned the traffic in 1510, and, soon after, direct levies from Africa commenced. In the case of Indians, wide-ranging polemics, dating from Isabella's reprimand to Columbus, sought to fix the extent, if any, to which forced labor could be exacted of them. For decades royal decrees on the subject were a history of statement and reversal. Finally the "New Laws" of 1542-3 (modified in 1545-6 and 1548-51) definitively declared Indians to be free persons and vassals of the crown, canceled the judicial authority of their immediate overlords (*encomenderos*) and imposed on the latter a full scale of obligations vis-à-vis the Indians. In other words, to safeguard the Indians' Thomistic status in society, the king was forced to curb exploitative *encomenderos* who, in earlier times, would have been feudal lords more concerned than he with that status.⁴

Another question was: Would medieval exclusivism be maintained in matters of trade with and emigration to the Indies? Isabella's monopolistic contract with Columbus and her denial of emigration, except with special license, to all but Castilians and Leonese was the

³ Luis Villoro, *Los grandes momentos del indigenismo en México* (Mexico City, 1950), 15-88.

⁴ The historic debate (1550-1) between the humanitarian "Protector of the Indies," Las Casas, and the erudite humanist, Sepúlveda, epitomized the issue as to whether the Spanish empire should continue to expand by force and enslavement. Though the disputants hardly objectified such nebulous abstractions as medieval and Renaissance outlooks, Las Casas' view that Indians should be treated *ab initio* as catechizable souls coincided with subsequent official theory. For conflicting interpretations of the debate see: Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949), 109-132, 187-189, and Edmundo O'Gorman, "Lewis Hanke on the Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* XXIX (1949), 563-571.

first answer. Ferdinand, however, extended privileges to his own subjects, and Charles I (1516-56) went much further. Of the latter's vast, pluralist, polyglot empire Spanish Europe was but a segment. Charles spoke Spanish with an accent, brought a Flemish court to Spain and played the Machiavellian cosmopolite to bring a modicum of unity to the congeries that was his realm. He even went so far as to have his delegates to the Council of Trent oppose the papal party in an effort to conciliate the Protestants. In administering overseas Spain he allowed emigration of Germans, Flemings, Italians and others of his subjects. For its economic development he enlisted aid from newly risen international commercial capitalists of northern Europe—the Welsers, the Fuggers, the Ehingers.

On the accession of Philip II (1556-98), however, the realm became somewhat less heterogeneous with the dismemberment of Bohemia, Hungary and Austria, while Philip's arduous campaigns in the Netherlands were dramatic proof of his uncompromising, militant, profoundly felt Catholicism and Hispanicism—qualities sharply intensified by the great Catholic reassertion of the period. Machiavelli went on the Index (1557), and insurgent Lutheranism restored Spain to its medieval rôle as the universal Church's knight-in-arms against the forces of darkness. It was under Philip that the structure of the Spanish American empire assumed the cast which, for purposes of this essay, it kept until c. 1810. That cast I describe as dominantly Thomistic, with recessive Machiavellian characteristics. (I use the terms "Thomistic" and "medieval" for contrast with northern Europe's emergent capitalist societies of 1500-1800, and not to designate a residual facsimile of the thirteenth century.)

In the 1570's, by extending the Inquisition to America and by declaring Church patronage inalienable from the crown, Philip set his governance definitively within a larger framework of divine law, imbuing his own and his agents' directives with spiritual purpose. No entry was left for the atomistic tolerance that England, despite its state religion, had already begun to evince. (England seen through Spanish perspective takes on characteristics of the United States seen through the English one—see the Northrop discussion *supra*.)

The crown considered the political and social hierarchy to be energized at every level and in every department. As Indian peoples were absorbed, for example, they were not indiscriminately reduced to a common stratum. Certain of their leaders retained prestige in the post-conquest society, and many low-born Spaniards raised their own status by marrying caciques' daughters. Unlike prim New England meetinghouses, moreover, the Spanish baroque church showed the

Indian's craftsmanship (and, by the eighteenth century, his artistry); to his people it made a lavish visual, auricular, ritual appeal, while its saints tacitly re-embodied his native gods. English colonists mobilized militarily *against* the Indian; Spaniards, apart from the actual conquest, mobilized socially, politically, economically, religiously and culturally *to assimilate* him.

To be sure, the social hierarchy had its anomalies. Creoles (American-born whites or near-whites) rarely received the prestige and the economic and political opportunities that were officially assured them. Mestizos, mulattoes, Indians and Negroes, on the contrary, occasionally found a social fluidity that they could not officially have expected. Broadly speaking, however, a man's status was defined somewhat fixedly by his occupation and by his place and condition of birth. Transferral from one status to another (*e.g.*: an Indian who passed from mission to *encomienda*, a Negro from slave to free status, or a mestizo to the creole nobility) generally entailed official sanction and registration.

The multiplicity of judicial systems underscored the static, functionally compartmented nature of society. The fact that they—like the several hierarchies of lay and clerical administrators—constantly disputed each other's spheres of influence only served to reaffirm the king's authority as ultimate reconciler. Nuclear elements—such as municipalities or even individual Indians—as well as highly placed officers could appeal directly to the king, or to his proxy, the viceroy, for redress of certain grievances. The king, even though he might be an inarticulate near-imbecile like Charles II, was symbolic throughout his realm as the guarantor of status. In Thomistic idiom, all parts of society were ordered to the whole as the imperfect to the perfect. This ordering, inherently the responsibility of the whole multitude, devolved upon the king as a public person acting in their behalf, for the task of ordering to a given end fell to the agent best placed and fitted for the specific function.

In the economic realm, Spanish mercantilism lacked the enterprising free play of the state-guided commercial capitalism of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. The very anatomy of the economy showed the impress of medievalism: primary dedication to extractive pursuits; confusion between bullion and real wealth; dogged (but ineffectual) prohibition of foreign and even intercolonial trade; a multiform, burdensome tax structure; monopolistic merchant- and craft-guilds (*consulados* and *gremios*); lack of credit and banking facilities; use of the simplest forms of partnership (*comenda*, *societas*); scarcity of currency (and in outlying areas the use of pre-Columbian tokens, such as cacao beans); commercial exchange

through annual fairs; municipal price control.

The Spanish empire, to be sure, could scarcely avert contagion from the post-medieval world in which it existed and for which it was in part responsible. The Jesuits, who had received extensive privileges overseas for the very purpose of bolstering the empire's moral and religious base, were outstandingly versed in modernism. An "enlightened" Bourbon regime expelled them in 1767 less for their reactionary perversity than for their shrewd, disciplined commercial activities and their faith-defying "probabilist" dialectics.

Spanish American bullion was a lodestar for foreign merchants. Introduced as contraband or else covertly within the Spanish system itself, the wares of Dutch, French and English were temptingly cheap, well-made and abundant. They, like the fiscal demands of the mother country, were a constant incentive for creoles to organize local economies from which bullion and exportable surplus might readily be factored out. The calculating acquisitiveness of capitalism, if not its institutions for unlimited accrual, was frequently in evidence.

Moreover, Indian and Negro burden-bearers were, unlike the medieval serf, never fully identified with the historical and cultural ethos of their masters. For this reason they suffered more from the emergent exploitative psychology than, perhaps, post-medieval peasants who remained bound to the land. The African received no comprehensive protective code until 1789. And the very laws that assured the Indian status in return for fixed services could in practice be perverted, rendering him servile to an *encomendero* or a royal agent (*corregidor*). Indeed, the existence of Thomistic guarantees for the common man can be confirmed only by examining Spain's New World experience in selected eras and locales, or by comparing it en bloc with other European ventures in the Antilles and North America.

Yet however strongly such "recessive" Machiavellian, proto-capitalist or secularistic traits might erupt, the underpinning of the empire—social, economic, political, intellectual—bore a rubric of the earlier era. Eighteenth-century Bourbon reforms (the notable ones being those of Charles III, 1759–88) did little to alter this generalization. Some reforms—like the intendant system—were superimposed on the old structure, caused added confusion and were revoked. Others—like the Caracas Company, a more modern and enterprising trade monopoly—found harsh opposition because their services entailed strict enforcement of regulations which a more adaptive, personalistic regime of local control had traditionally winked at.

The hierarchical, multiform, pre-capitalist Spanish America of 1800 was ill prepared for the ways of enlightened despotism, still less for those of Lockean constitutionalism.

2. The Republican Period

That the heterogeneous Spanish American realm was for three centuries relatively free from civil strife and separatist outbreaks must largely be explained by a steadfast loyalty to the politico-spiritual symbol of the crown. Even the sporadic Indian revolts of the eighteenth century were directed not against the Catholic sovereign and imperium but against malfeasance of local agents. Daniel Valcárcel says of Túpac Amaru, the Inca scion who led an abortive uprising in 1780:

And when the decision to fight is made, the cacique already has in his spirit a clear purpose to achieve: he must eliminate the evil functionaries who with their venality and greed for riches corrupt the wise laws of the monarch, run against the precepts of religion and ruin the life of the Indians, *cholos* and mestizos. His rebellion will be more apparent than real. . . . Túpac Amaru is the most distinguished champion of His Majesty; fidelity is his principal virtue. A fervent Catholic and vigorous monarchist, his attitude is wholly normal for a mestizo of the 18th century in indirect contact with the new ideas of the era of the Enlightenment.⁵

Not until 1809, during Spain's Napoleonic interregnum, did local juntas appear overseas. Yet even then their autonomy, in expectation of a legitimist restoration, was provisional. Only when the ad hoc "liberal" Cortes, established in unoccupied Spain, tried to reduce Spanish America from viceregal to colonial status did the independence campaign, championed by a few firebrands, gather momentum.

Ferdinand VII was restored in 1814. But in the face of the independence movement, his character and policy discredited both himself and the Church, whose support he retained. For Spanish America the Thomistic keystone had been withdrawn. Efforts to supplant it, on a continental basis or even within regional blocs, were vain. No creole caudillo and no prince of European or Inca lineage could command universal fealty or age-old spiritual sanction. A Thomistic sovereign could not be created *ex nihilo*, and Spanish America's centrifugal separatism was for the first time unleashed.

Another idiom than the Thomistic is therefore needed to be played off against the republican experience. Hitherto the most satisfying analyses have been those that attribute Spanish American instability to the imposition of French-, British- and American-type constitutions upon peoples whose illiteracy, poverty, provincialism, political inexperience and social inequalities rendered ineffectual the mechanisms of constitutional democracy. This somewhat negative view, however, does not fully draw one into the fabric of Spanish American

⁵ D. Valcárcel, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru* (Mexico City, 1947), 180.

politics. If postulates of the Enlightenment were not relevant to that milieu, how, in a positive sense, may we comprehend it?

The answer this essay proposes is that at the moment when the Thomistic component became "recessive," the Machiavellian component, latent since the sixteenth century, became "dominant."

This circumstance was sensed by Keyserling, the perceptive (if unnecessarily occult) philosopher-voyageur: "... in the undisciplinable revolutionary and the unscrupulous *caudillo* of all South American States survives the son of Machiavelli's age."⁶ A Venezuelan cosmopolite in a novel by Manuel Díaz Rodríguez (1902) remarked on a similarity between his country and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy:

Are not our continual wars and our corruption of customs . . . the same continual wars and depraved customs of the Italy of those times, with its multiple small republics and principalities? There were then in Italy, as among us, brutal condottieri and rough captains, exalted overnight, like the first Sforzas, from the soil to the royal purple.⁷

Machiavelli was born into an "Age of Despots." Italian city states had lost their moral base; they no longer shared a common Christian ethos. The pope had become one of many competing temporal rulers. Machiavelli perceived that the mercenary "companies of adventure" of his time, unlike national militias, were undependable since they lacked any larger loyalty. They could be used to further intrigues of statecraft, but not to wage open and steady warfare. The Italian was effective only in duelling and individual combat.

Like Machiavelli, the Spanish American nation-builder of c. 1825 had to contend with nucleated "city states," the rural masses being passive and inarticulate. The absence of any communities intermediate between such nuclei and the erstwhile imperium had been revealed by the autonomous urban juntas of 1809-10. Only the somewhat arbitrary boundaries of colonial administration defined the new nations territorially. Only virulent sectionalism could define them operatively. The Church, once coterminous with the State, had become the intruding handmaiden of a hostile sovereign power (Spain). For lack of a politico-spiritual commonalty, sources and directions of leadership were wholly fortuitous. The consequent emergence of opportunist caudillos—as of Italy's city tyrants—deranged the predictable interplay of hierarchical class interests.

The Spanish American who held to constitutionalism and avowed the existence in fact of a state-community was swept away before

⁶ H. Keyserling, *South American Meditations* (New York, 1932), 103.

⁷ Manuel Díaz Rodríguez, *Sangre patricia* (Madrid, n.d.), 169.

winds of personalism. Mexico's Gómez Farías, vice-president under Santa Anna, was a statesman who, despite his energy and dedication, would not infract "the principles of public and private morality," before which, wrote his contemporary, Mora, vanished "his indomitable force of character." Why did he not cast out the treacherous Santa Anna? "Because the step was unconstitutional [:] . . . a famous reason which has kept the reputation of Señor Farías in a very secondary place at best and caused the nation to retrogress half a century."⁸

A similar case was Rivadavia, Argentina's first president and proponent of bourgeois democracy and economic liberalism. His plans and principles had been no match for provincial *caudillismo*. The exiled statesman wrote sadly from Paris in 1830 (shortly before the personalist tyranny of Rosas):

In my opinion what retards regular and stable advance in those republics stems from the vacillations and doubts that deprive all institutions of that moral force which is indispensable to them and can be given only by conviction and decision. It is evident to me, and would be easy to demonstrate, that the upheavals of our country spring much more immediately from lack of public spirit and of cooperation among responsible men in sustaining order and laws than from attacks of ungovernable, ambitious persons without merit or fitness and of indolent coveters.⁹

Machiavelli's writings are the handbook *par excellence* for the leader who could cope with "lack of public spirit and of cooperation among responsible men." Just as Lockean precepts were more congenial to the British-American than to the European scene, so the Florentine seemed to write for the New World. For the latter's detailed counsels regarding personalistic rule were of secondary importance to European monarchs who would soon find sanction in the traditions, panoply and universal acceptance of a Divine Right.

The embryonic nature of New World political forms, the lack of state traditions and state mysticism, were observed by Hegel (c. 1830):

In South America . . . the republics depend only on military force; their whole history is a continued revolution; federated states become disunited; others previously separated become united; and all these changes originate in military revolutions. . . .

. . . As to the political condition of North America, the general object of the existence of this State is not yet fixed and determined, and the necessity for a firm combination does not yet exist; for a real State and a real Govern-

⁸ José María Luis Mora, *Ensayos, ideas y retratos* (Mexico City, 1941), xx, 184.

⁹ Bernadino Rivadavia, *Páginas de un estadista* (Buenos Aires, 1945), 137 (letter to a politician of Upper Peru, 14 March 1830).

ment arise only after a distinction of classes has arisen, when wealth and poverty become extreme, and when such a condition of things presents itself that a large portion of the people can no longer satisfy its necessities in the way in which it has been accustomed so to do. . . . North America will be comparable with Europe only after the immeasurable space which that country presents to its inhabitants shall have been occupied, and the members of the political body shall have begun to be pressed back on each other.¹⁰

Another European, Carlyle, in an essay on Paraguay's Francia (1843) described with certain envy the free-acting caudillo, unfettered by traditions of the national community: "Such an institution of society, adapted to our European ways, seems pressingly desirable. O Gauchos, South-American and European, what a business is it, casting out your Seven Devils!"¹¹

Locke and Machiavelli both wrote for peoples who were without an organic, pre-existing state. The former, however, addressed an articulate, relatively homogeneous bourgeoisie that was free to ascertain and pursue private interests, economic and otherwise; the latter addressed the leader who with craft and foresight was to unite an inchoate, inarticulate populace whose only claim was that it be not too heavily oppressed.

On nearly every page of Machiavelli appears practical advice which almost seems distilled from the careers of scores of Spanish American caudillos. Of crucial importance is the leader's commanding physical presence. In time of sedition he should:

. . . present himself before the multitude with all possible grace and dignity, and attired with all the insignia of his rank, so as to inspire more respect. . . . [For] there is no better or safer way of appeasing an excited mob than the presence of some man of imposing appearance and highly respected. [*Discourses*, I, liv]

Among countless leaders and incidents one recalls the moment when Bolivia's ruthless Melgarejo, with six men, entered the palace where his rival, Belzu, was celebrating a coup d'état. The intruder, icily calm, shot the President, then with imperious presence faced and overawed the mob in whose throats the shouts of victory for Belzu had scarcely died away.

The personalist leader must be physically disciplined, skilled in warfare, and "learn the nature of the land, how steep the mountains are, how the valleys debouch, where the plains lie, and understand the

¹⁰ G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (London, 1894), 87-90.

¹¹ Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols. (London, n.d.), IV, 316.

nature of rivers and swamps" (*Prince*, XIV; see also *Discourses*, III, xxxix). This is almost a page from the autobiography of Páez, who knew Venezuela's vast *llanos* (inland plains) like the palm of his hand, a knowledge that confounded the royalists in 1817 and later earned respect for him as caudillo of the new republic. Writing of an assault against the Spaniards, Páez recalled:

Necessity obliged us not only to fight men but to challenge the obstacles opposed by nature. Counting on these, we proposed to turn to our advantage the impediments that gave the enemy surety and trust in his position, for to no one would it occur that in that season cavalry troops could sortie from the lower Apure to cross so much inundated terrain and especially the many streams and five rivers, all at the period of overflow.¹²

This telluric, earthbound quality so vital to Spanish American leaders was matched in Argentina's Quiroga and San Martín, Uruguay's Artigas, Mexico's Pancho Villa, Venezuela's Bolívar, Peru's Santa Cruz and innumerable others. Their guerrilla warfare was a far cry from the chessboard strategy and diplomatic power alignments of Europe.

Space does not permit analysis of the host of Machiavelli's dicta empirically confirmed by caudillos. It remains, however, to emphasize that he was concerned not merely with leadership per se but with state-building. His ideal was a republic with "laws so regulated that, without the necessity of correcting them, they afford security to those who live under them" (*Discourses*, I, ii). Significantly, the most difficult time to preserve republican liberties is when a people, accustomed to living under a prince who binds himself "by a number of laws that provide for the security of all his people" (cf. Spanish colonial experience), recovers "by some accident" its freedom. Such a people

. . . ignorant of all public affairs, of all means of defense or offense, neither knowing the princes nor being known by them, . . . soon relapses under a yoke, oftentimes much heavier than the one which it had but just shaken off. [*Discourses*, I, xvi]

Government, to be created in such cases *ex nihilo*, is most expediently organized by a single leader of strength and sagacity. Yet "it will not endure long if the administration of it remains on the shoulders of a single individual; it is well, then, to confide this to the charge of the many, for thus it will be sustained by the many" (*Discourses*, I, ix).

If at length a republic is established, that very fact certifies a

¹² José Antonio Páez, *Autobiografía*, 2 vols. (New York, 1946; re-issue of 1869 edition), I, 132.

fundamental "goodness" and certain "original principles" conducing to its "first growth and reputation." To maintain republican vigor and repress "the insolence and ambition of men" those principles must find periodic reassertion through "extrinsic accident" or, preferably, "intrinsic prudence" (*Discourses*, III, i). The Machiavellian leader, therefore, is to be bound by *original principles* (environmental, human and customary components) generic to the nascent nation-community.

Writing in about 1840 the Argentine socialist, Echeverría, diagnosed and prescribed for his country's political chaos in identical terms. He found it impossible to organize a people without a constitution rooted in "its customs, sentiments, understandings, traditions." If the sole credentials of a nation-building legislator are those bestowed by electoral victory, his official acts will be no more in the public interest than the activities of a private business man. The indwelling fact of commonalty is not externalized in a manner that automatically informs such a legislator. Eschewing solutions of other nations, he must himself actively sound out the "instincts, necessities, interests" of the citizens and, through laws, reveal to them their own will and communal identity. Only on this preliminary basis of wise and public-minded paternalism may one hope for an eventual "faculty of perpetual communication between man and man, generation and generation—the continuous embodiment of the spirit of one generation in the next."¹³

The general cast of Spanish America's "original principles"—its "instincts, necessities, interests"—is inherent in Keyserling's perception of a ubiquitous *gana*—or loosely, "urge." By this he meant a raw, telluric spirit: formless, unchanneled, diffuse, self-sustaining; lacking past traditions or future hope. Sarmiento had expressed himself similarly almost a century earlier in describing the nomadic yet earthbound life of the pampas, having a morality unto itself and calling Asiatic comparisons frequently to mind. And in 1821 Bolívar, criticizing Colombia's lawmakers, wrote:

These gentlemen believe that Colombia is filled with dullards who sit around the firesides of Bogotá, Tunja, and Pamplona. They have not troubled to notice the Caribs of the Orinoco, the herdsmen of the Apure, the seamen of Maracaibo, the boatmen of the Magdalena, the bandits of Patia, the indomitable citizens of Pasto, the Guajibos of Casanare, and all the savage hordes from Africa and America who, like deer, run untamed in the solitudes of Colombia.¹⁴

¹³ Esteban Echeverría, *Dogma Socialista; Edición crítica y documentada* (La Plata, 1940), 206–212.

¹⁴ Harold A. Bierck, Jr. (ed.), *Selected Writings of Bolívar*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951), I, 267–268 (letter to F. de P. Santander, 13 June 1821).

Not only the peons and gauchos but the bourgeoisie has shared in this New World atomism, as evidenced in Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience* (1849):

Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or moral, but only his body, his senses. It is not armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest.¹⁵

The meaning of *gana* in relation to the pampas, the Chaco, the *llanos* or Mexico's arid northland—or to jungle-dwellers of Panama and the Amazon—is perhaps clear. But is there a counterpart among the nucleated, tradition-bound communities descended from highly organized Aztec, Maya and Inca civilizations?

Some writers assert that these areas are still distinguished for elaborate functionalism, for concentrated and well integrated communalism; whereas it is in Portuguese (and British) America that one finds "gangliated" rural settlement and, until recent times, a locality group structure remaining in the "neighborhood" stage.¹⁶

That Brazilian settlements, rural and urban, were not by and large as cohesive as those of Spanish America is true. Yet the compactness of, say, the Andean *ayllu* (rural Indian community) is misleading. Once the conquerors removed the ruling Inca, the tribes and nations of his empire:

. . . dispersed like the beads of a necklace whose thread has been broken. Each community returned, politically and economically, to the pre-Incaic stage. Thousands of communities, isolated, strangers each to the other, could thus be conquered one at a time.¹⁷

The Indian was turned earthward by the Spaniard, made an instrument of production for a vast imperial community which, despite its proselytizers and Indianist legislation, the Indian could not feel himself purposefully a part of. When in the 1920's Mariátegui applied Marxian analysis to the Peruvian scene, he reformulated it to make allowance for this "earth-consciousness" of the Indian.¹⁸

¹⁵ *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, 20 vols. (Cambridge, 1906), IV, 376.

¹⁶ F. J. de Oliveira Vianna, *Instituições políticas brasileiras*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1949); T. Lynn Smith, "The Locality Group Structure of Brazil," *American Sociological Review*, IX (February, 1944), 41-49.

¹⁷ Luis E. Valcárcel, *Ruta cultural del Perú* (Mexico City, 1945), 143-144. See also Charles Gibson, *The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru* (Austin, 1948), 88-100.

¹⁸ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima, 1928).

How is it, then, that Spanish American caudillos or governments have in certain countries and eras, achieved political stability in the face of this New World brand of social and moral centrifugalism? I define three essential modes of stability, which are categorized here merely for schematic purposes and with the understanding that the "pure" type never occurs. By way of further analogy I suggest a correspondence between these types and the three "legitimations of domination" which Max Weber distinguishes in his essay, "Politics as a Vocation."¹⁹

The first mode of stability is furnished by the Machiavellian leader who asserts himself by dynamic personalism and shrewd self-identification with local "original principles," though without ever relinquishing government, as Machiavelli would have wished, "to the charge of many." The system remains subordinate to the man and unless a suitable "heir" is available, which happens infrequently, it falls with him. Here we perhaps have Weber's charismatic leader with the personal gift of grace, who flouts patriarchal traditionalism and the stable economy, whose justice is Solomonic rather than statutory, who maintains authority "solely by proving his strength in life." One recent writer, Blanksten, holds that the caudillo and charismatic types correspond.²⁰ George S. Wise, on the other hand, claims that the "stratagem and chicanery" of at least one caudillo (Venezuela's Guzmán Blanco) revealed an insecurity and lack of purpose precluding the oracular, prophetic qualities that he attributes to charismatic legitimacy.²¹ Weber's specific consideration of the condottiere type leads me to feel, however, that charisma need not invariably imply "anointment."

The charismatic leader may be dedicated to molding the self-perpetuating traditions of a state-community—for example, Bolívar's vision of federated Andean republics, Morazán's Central American union, the constitutionalism of Mexico's Juárez and perhaps the quasi-theocracy of Ecuador's García Moreno. Or, which is more usual, he may set about exploiting the country as his private fief. In the decades after independence such a caudillo would win the army's allegiance (or create his own plebeian militia), then assert control over the several classes by blandishment, personal magnetism or

¹⁹ H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (ed.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London, 1947), 78ff.

²⁰ George I. Blanksten, *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 35-36.

²¹ George S. Wise, *Caudillo, A Portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco* (New York, 1951), 161-163.

threat of force—the method depending, in the case of each segment of society, on “original principles” and the leader’s own antecedents. Examples are Argentina’s Rosas, Mexico’s Santa Anna, Guatemala’s Carrera, Paraguay’s Francia. (Venezuela’s Páez seems to fall between the two sub-types.)

Toward the end of the century the exploitation of new sources of mineral and agricultural wealth, together with a strong influx of foreign investments, gave caudillos more dependable leverage for control. Though force and personalism did not go in the discard, financial resources and the protective favor of foreigners allowed the leader to govern by “remote control.” He adopted bourgeois *bon ton* and even paid lip service to constitutionalism. Such men were Venezuela’s Guzmán Blanco, Mexico’s Porfirio Díaz, Guatemala’s Barrios.

Intensified economic activity might also give rise to a second type of state: a modified version of *laissez-faire* democracy. This development, which Weber calls legitimation through bureaucratic competence and public respect for rational legal statutes, has been rare in Latin America, even in hybrid form. Argentina affords an example. In that country after 1860, and especially after 1880, the pampas experienced a torrential land rush, occasioned by a world demand for meat and grains and by improved methods of husbandry, transportation and refrigeration. Though the lion’s share of the benefits accrued to an oligarchy of large proprietors, many immigrants took small homesteads in the northern provinces; moreover, the expanding economy created niches for articulate, middle-class city dwellers. Argentines were, relative to Latin America, homogeneous and white. A growing nucleus identified its interests with the stability and prosperity of the nation-community, even though the positions of highest socio-economic authority were already pre-empted.

Given Argentina’s economic direction and momentum, it remained for a series of statesmen-presidents merely to encourage and guide its development, in tolerable conformance with the Lockean Constitution of 1853. Eventual malfeasance in high office led, not back to tyranny, but to the emergence in 1890 of the Radical (liberal, middle-class) Party, to free suffrage and the secret ballot, and finally to Radical control of the presidency (1916–1930). Twentieth-century Radical leaders, however, reined back certain socio-economic forces from a natural course by acquiescing in the continued entrenchment of the landowning oligarchy. Only then did thwarted urban classes fall prey to demagoguery of an ominous breed—and to Juan Domingo Perón.

A third solution for anarchy has been a full-scale implementing of the Machiavellian blueprint. A personalist leader emerges (as in the first case), but goes on successfully to create a system, larger than

himself, that is faithful to "original principles." In Spanish America such a system is larger than the leader, to frame a paradox, only when it *recognizes* the leader to be larger than itself. This statement has Thomistic implications, and the more successful Spanish American constitutions have translated into modern idiom certain principles under which the viceroalties enjoyed three centuries of relative stability.

This solution, insofar as it reinvigorates the body social by setting its classes, or "estates," into centrally stabilized equilibrium, is a neo-traditionalism reminiscent of Weber's third category: "the authority of the eternal yesterday." Of Mexico's present Constitution—brought into being in 1917 by Carranza, a shrewd, opportunist caudillo—Frank Tannenbaum has written:

By implication, the Constitution recognizes that contemporary Mexican society is divided into classes, and that it is the function of the State to protect one class against another. The Constitution is therefore not merely a body of rules equally applicable to all citizens, but also a body of rules specially designed to benefit and protect given groups. The community is not made up of citizens only; it is also made up of classes with special rights within the law. What has in fact happened is that the old idea of the "estates" has been re-created in Mexican law. The pattern of the older Spanish State, divided into clergy, nobility, and commons, has been re-created in modern dress, with peasants, workers, and capitalists replacing the ancient model. This is not done formally, but it is done sufficiently well to make it evident that a very different kind of social structure is envisioned in the law, even if only by implicit commitment, than that in a liberal democracy. . . .

The Revolution has certainly increased effective democracy in Mexico. It has also increased, both legally and economically, the dependence of the people and of the communities upon the federal government and the President. The older tradition that the king rules has survived in modern dress: the President rules. He rules rather than governs, and must do so if he is to survive in office and keep the country at peace.²²

I have reserved any mention of Chile until now because its history usefully illustrates our three political types as well as a twentieth-century variant which has yet to be considered. Like its sister nations, Chile fell after independence into anarchic factionalism. A revolution of 1829–30, however, brought the conservatives into power; at their head was Diego Portales who, as a business man, was atypical among Spanish American nation-builders. Portales appreciated more keenly than most the need for disciplined, predictable conditions of life and

²² Frank Tannenbaum, *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread* (New York, 1950), 101, 118.

was more empirical in perceiving that liberal slogans and mechanisms were meaningless within an aristocratic, agrarian society. His views were reflected in the centralized, quasi-monarchic Constitution of 1833 which, by recognizing Chile's hierarchic social anatomy and at the same time guaranteeing status and justice for the component members, lent the government a supra-personalist sanction. Portales himself did not become president, but wisely designated a military hero, General Prieto, whose prestige, aristocratic bearing and benevolence, traditionalism and religiosity further enhanced the office with an aura of legitimacy.²³ None of Chile's presidents was overthrown for sixty years, while the Constitution lasted nearly a century.

Portales, alone among his Spanish American contemporaries, brought to fulfillment the policy of "the compleat Machiavellian." As the century advanced, however, a leavening took place within the system he had fathered. A law of 1852 abolished primogeniture, infusing new blood and interests into the landed oligarchy. Mineral exploitation in the north and the activities of German immigrants in the south posted new directions for economic change and opportunity. The consequent desire for more effective economic competition provided a rallying cry for enthused liberals emerging from the new (1843) University. So too did growing dissatisfaction with the constitutional ban on public exercise of non-Catholic religions.

At length the Chilean élite, larger and more diversely composed than in 1833, revolted against centralized, one-man rule by ejecting President Balmaceda from office in 1891. This élite then governed through its congressional representatives, and the fitfulness of public policy for the next thirty years reflected the jostling of private economic interests.

As in Argentina, however, the modified laissez-faire state could not indefinitely subsist if it was to victimize the increasingly self-aware lower classes, such as, in Chile's case, the copper and nitrate workers. The little man eventually found his champion in President Arturo Alessandri (1920-1925, 1932-1938).²⁴

²³ Ricardo Donoso, *Las ideas políticas en Chile* (Mexico City, 1946), 64-114; Alberto Edwards Vives, *La fronda aristocrática en Chile* (Santiago, 1936), 39-47.

²⁴ The dictatorial interregnum of Carlos Ibáñez (1925-1931) can be considered as Chile's nearest approach to the first, or pure caudillo type of rule. His advent is partially explained by the post-World War I collapse of the world nitrate market, which impaired the mainspring of parliamentary, laissez-faire government and left Chile (since Alessandri had not yet given shape and momentum to his social democracy) in its primordial anarchy. Ibáñez, though sometimes referred to as a "man on horseback," effectively used modern technocratic methods and was not a caudillo of the old stamp—to which his re-election in 1952 bears witness.

Alessandri's and subsequent administrations represent an attitude toward government that has in this century become universal throughout Spanish America. It has in varying degrees infiltrated the three earlier systems, or combinations thereof, wherever they exist. Essentially, it is a recognition of the need to build into public policies a dynamics for socio-economic change. This need stems from two inter-related phenomena: first, the urbanization and industrialization of hitherto extractive economies; second, the growing self-awareness and articulateness of the citizenry at large.

The Spanish American leader, whether dictator or democrat, is fast adopting a broader, more sophisticated view of how modern political power must be won, maintained and exercised. He also knows that, regardless of any nationalistic rhetoric to which he may be committed, he must import more and more blueprints and technical solutions from abroad. Such solutions, however—whether socialism, fascism, exchange control or river valley authorities—take on a new complexion as they flash into amalgam with conditions of life wholly different from those by which they were engendered. Not only is the receiving ethos broadly speaking *sui generis*, but in a strictly technological sense the particular juxtapositions of ancient and modern in Spanish America are quite beyond the experience of any of the capitalist countries. Therefore slogans of foreign systems ring far differently upon Spanish American ears than their originators imagine.

In fact, Peru's *Aprista* movement and Mexico's forty-year-long "Revolution" attest that Spanish America is starting to generate its own credos. Sometimes, as with Perón's *justicialismo*, they are heartlessly cynical rhetoric. At best they designate, as did our own New Deal, a piecemeal pragmatism, uncommitted to the mysticism or fixed morality prescribed for the New World by Hegel. Yet the fact that Spanish America is by tradition accustomed and by economic necessity forced to rely heavily on official planning, intervention and protection has on occasion led its statesmen to a "total view" (to be distinguished carefully in nature and intent from a totalitarian view). From such views flow social, economic and cultural agenda which, however imperfect of execution, uniquely contribute to an understanding of man-in-community.

Co-existent, indeed, with Spanish America's atomism, or *gana*, is a sense of commonalty, however latent, deriving in large part from its Catholicity (in the ingrained, cultural sense) and from its agrarian, Negro and Indian heritage. Native to this commonalty is an ethic upon which the hyper-rationalist logos of the industrial world seems able to make only limited and conditional encroachments. The prediction is sometimes heard among Spanish Americans that this logos

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will in the long run exhaust itself; that their descendants will be freer to weave certain principles of a pre-Machiavellian age into the new patterns of an entering one; that the promise which erratically flashes in the travail of twentieth-century Mexican democracy is yet to be realized.

3. A Note on Portuguese and British America

The theme that has emerged from our analysis of Spanish American government is that the sense of moral community imparted by Spain to its New World colonies lost its staying power in the early nineteenth century and could no longer yoke the amoral, anti-traditional atomism of the American hemisphere. It is logical to ask whether a similar process occurred in other American areas. The following remarks on Brazil and the United States, while suggesting this to be the case, are too sketchy to be conclusive and will chiefly serve to place the Spanish American experience in broader perspective.

The course of Portuguese colonization differed from that of the Spanish in many respects. The mother country was more restricted in resources and population, politically more centralized, more strongly commercial and agricultural, less militantly religious. Brazil itself lacked the densely settled, highly civilized Indian peoples of Spanish America and, for the first two centuries, its abundant supply of precious gems and metals. These factors inhibited the growth of a multiform politico-ecclesiastical hierarchy with sophisticated urban centers of radiation. Political control and initiative were more fully diffused among slave-owing seigneurs of the sugarfields and among hardy municipalities of the poorer backlands. Even so, Portugal's empire bore enough similarities to Spain's to make the two comparable for present purposes. Both participated in a quasi-feudal, pre-capitalist, Catholic ethos.

The transition to independence, however, was another matter, for the Portuguese king, João VI, fled overseas to Brazil upon Napoleon's invasion of his country. When summoned home in 1821 by the Portuguese Cortes, he left his son, Pedro, in Rio de Janeiro as Brazilian Regent. The following year the latter declared Brazil's independence, and the transition was relatively peaceful; for since he was of the royal line accredited by the creoles, Pedro's accession to the new Brazilian emperorship went unchallenged.

The benevolent, paternalistic reign of João's grandson, Pedro II (1840-1889), convincingly demonstrated the stabilizing effect of the transferral of the ruling lineage to the New World. These years were, within Latin America, a political golden age. Using the "moderative

power" of the conservative 1824 Constitution, Pedro II counteracted the separatism and political inarticulateness of his nation by careful manipulation of elections, ministries and policy changes. Yet he never originated policies or intervened in the affairs of the two political parties. Joaquim Nabuco described him as merely making "soundings on either side of the channel being navigated." His power was rigorously exercised:

1st.) within the Constitution; 2nd.) in accord with the fictions and uses of the English parliamentary system, which were even observed by our parties themselves; 3rd.) in constant obedience to public opinion and sentiment.²⁵

Beneath the parliamentary trappings one senses Thomistic vestiges. Pedro's legitimacy was unquestioningly recognized by the people, while he in turn felt morally, if not procedurally, responsible to them. So it is the republican coup d'état of 1889, rather than independence (as in Spanish America), which most clearly defines the post-Thomistic watershed. The presidential regime which supplanted the Emperor was, to be sure, more stable and constitutional and less a prey to disruptive localism than the Spanish American governments of two generations previous. Yet its slogans were those of a somewhat cynical positivism, and it signalized the triumph of city over country, of materialism over traditionalism, of industrialized coffee over patriarchal sugar, of European fashion over native custom. In the conscience of the new bourgeois generation that destroyed the paternal symbol one writer discovers a gnawing "complex of remorse."²⁶

For the United States Professor R. G. McCloskey has already shaped a perspective comparable to my own for Spanish America, one which refines the analysis of Northrop referred to at the start of this essay. McCloskey maintains that the American Constitution and Jeffersonian democracy drew upon "a diverse array of abstract doctrines, semireligious convictions, and economic motivations." This tradition enshrined economic freedom for individuals and Lockean sanctity of property rights without discarding the humane, Christian values derived also from Locke and from England's seventeenth-century leftist Puritans.²⁷ Just as in colonial Spanish America, moral rather than economic man was society's nuclear element.

²⁵ Joaquim Nabuco, *Um estadista do Império*, 4 vols. (São Paulo, 1949), IV, 108.

²⁶ Luis Martins, "O patriarca e o bacharel," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo) LXXXIII (1942), 7-36. For the anti-traditionalist spirit of the early republican period see Gilberto Freyre, "O período republicano," *Boletim bibliográfico* (São Paulo) I, 2 (1944), 61-72.

²⁷ Robert Green McCloskey, *American Conservatism in the Age of Enterprise* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 1-8.

An eloquent expression of this tradition is Calhoun's *A Disquisition on Government*.²⁸ Showing nostalgia for a monarchy in which a king's interests are hereditarily identified with those of his subjects to form a kingdom-community, Calhoun affirms society to be organic and "man so constituted as to be a social being." A constitution:

. . . must spring from the bosom of the community, and be adapted to the intelligence and character of the people, and all the multifarious relations, internal and external, which distinguish one people from another.

Not from the will of a "numerical, or absolute majority" but from that alone of a *concurrent majority* may "the sense of the community" be taken. Only when the vox populi proceeds out of natural communities and through the permanently empowered "appropriate organ" of each one will anarchy and despotism cease to threaten, private and public morals become one, all elements of the nation-community achieve a "disposition to harmonize," and the people's voice become God's. With few changes Calhoun's principles become Thomistic, or those of modern Mexico.²⁹

The Civil War is, symbolically at least, the watershed corresponding to Spanish American independence and the exile of Brazil's Emperor. It marks the dominance of industrial and monopolistic over mercantile capitalism, and the eclipse of Calhoun's agrarian, patriarchal South as a determinant in national policy. The moral, humane, Christian component of Locke becomes recessive; the Lockean sanction for atomistic economic individualism—which had been less strong in the earlier period than Northrop suggests—becomes dominant. McCloskey writes that "a new conservative rationale develops on the moribund body of Jeffersonian liberalism."³⁰ He develops his case by examining three representatives of the late nineteenth century: William Graham Sumner, who as a sociologist urged "the frank espousal of a social norm based on material utility"; Stephen J. Field, who as

²⁸ John C. Calhoun, *A Disquisition on Government* (New York, 1854).

²⁹ Like Argentina's Echeverría, Calhoun espoused a Machiavellian rather than an artificial social-contract theory of how governments are formed: "It would thus seem almost necessary that governments should commence in some one of the simple and absolute forms, which, however well suited to the community in its earlier stages, must, in its progress, lead to oppression and abuse of power, . . . unless the conflicts to which it leads should be fortunately adjusted by a compromise, which will give to the respective parties a participation in the control of the government; and thereby lay the foundation of a constitutional government, to be afterwards matured and perfected. Such governments have been, emphatically, the product of circumstances. And hence, the difficulty of one people imitating the government of another." (*Ibid.*, 79.)

a jurist argued "that democratic freedom and economic freedom are one"; Andrew Carnegie, who as a captain of industry, and despite his vaunted humanitarianism, felt that capitalism and democracy "cannot be disjoined."³¹

Henry Adams had received his mind-set by the 1860's and could never to his own satisfaction address these new conditions of post-bellum democracy. Of that period he later wrote:

The system of 1789 had broken down, and with it the eighteenth-century fabric of *a priori*, or moral, principles. Politicians had given it up. Grant's administration marked the avowal. . . . Darwinists ought to conclude that America was reverting to the stone age, but the theory of reversion was more absurd than that of evolution. Grant's administration reverted to nothing. One could not catch a trait of the past, still less of the future. It was not even sensibly American.³²

With Lincoln Steffens, however, born a generation after Adams, we find a mind from the Far West, cast in the flux of the new period and with the self-confidence to cope with it. Steffens shrewdly perceived the disparity between constitutional morality and the structure and exercise of power to be no different in Europe than in the United States. The French, however, do not face the moral dilemma of American democracy because they "have not called good or right the evil that they have done, and so they have that charm which I felt always in 'bad men' in America, in the 'honest crooks' in politics and business."³³ Lincoln Steffens' lesson to America, to the Americas, is that a meaningful political morality issues only from American experience, that it is a lived morality and that it must be recognized as being lived.

Columbia University.

³⁰ McCloskey, *op. cit.*, 15.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

³² Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Cambridge, 1918), 266, 280-281.

³³ Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York, 1931), 705-711.

PORTE PAGADO

SUPLEMENTO

AL NUMERO 12 DEL PERIODICO OFICIAL DEL ESTADO DE FECHA 11 DE FEBRERO DE 1954

PERIODICO OFICIAL

DEL GOBIERNO DEL ESTADO LIBRE Y SOBERANO DE SAN LUIS POTOSI

Director: LEON FLORES — Palacio de Gobierno

RESPONSABLE	Registrado como artículo de 2ª Clase	Las Leyes y disposiciones de la Auto-
LA SECRETARIA	en la Administración de Correos el 14	ridad son obligatorias sólo por el hecho
DE GOBIERNO	de mayo de 1925	de ser publicadas en este Periódico.

AÑO XXVIII ♦ SAN LUIS POTOSI, S. L. P., 12 DE FEBRERO DE 1954 ♦ NUMERO 12

PODER LEGISLATIVO DEL ESTADO

ISMAEL SALAS, GOBERNADOR CONSTITUCIONAL DEL ESTADO LIBRE Y SOBERANO DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, A SUS HABITANTES SABED:

QUE EL H. XL CONGRESO CONSTITUCIONAL DEL ESTADO SE HA SERVIDO DIRIGIRME EL SIGUIENTE

DECRETO NUMERO 95

EL H. XL CONGRESO CONSTITUCIONAL DEL ESTADO LIBRE Y SOBERANO DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, DECRETA LO SIGUIENTE:

ARTICULO PRIMERO.—El Gobierno del Estado Libre y Soberano de San Luis Potosí, concede a la Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí, en concepto de subsidio anual, la cantidad total que corresponde al mismo Estado por concepto de su participación en el impuesto especial en la venta de la gasolina y demás derivados del petróleo, según decreto del Congreso Federal expedido el 28 de diciembre de 1953 y publicado en el número 49 del Diario Oficial de la Federación, de fecha 30 de diciembre del mismo año.

ARTICULO SEGUNDO.—El presente Decreto entrará en vigor desde la fecha de su publicación.

Lo tendrá entendido el Ejecutivo del Estado y lo hará publicar, circular y obedecer.

Dado en el Salón de Sesiones del H. Congreso del Estado, a los once días del mes de febrero del mil novecientos cincuenta y cuatro.

Dip. Presidente, RAFAEL CAVADA ANDRES.—Dip. Secretario, FRANCISCO RODRIGUEZ C.—Dip. Secretario, CANDELARIO MARTINEZ B.—Rúbricas.

Por tanto, mando se cumpla y ejecute el presente Decreto y que todas las Autoridades lo hagan cumplir y guardar y al efecto se imprima, publique y circule a quienes corresponda.

Dado en el Palacio del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado, a los once días del mes de febrero de mil novecientos cincuenta y cuatro.

El Secretario General de Gobierno,
Lic. PEDRO PABLO GONZALEZ

ISMAEL SALAS

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL
AUTONOMA DE MEXICO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE SERVICIOS ESCOLARES

INSTRUCTIVO DE INSCRIPCIONES

PRIMER INGRESO
A
FACULTADES Y ESCUELAS
PROFESIONALES

1956

INSCRIPCIONES:
DEL 6 AL 18 DE FEBRERO

IMPORTANTE PARA LA ELECCION DE CARRERA

La Universidad ha publicado una "GUIA DE CARRERAS" que describe las que se enseñan en la Institución.

Escoja la más adecuada para satisfacer sus inclinaciones y posibilidades.

De venta en el mostrador de Información y en las Librerías Universitarias.

Precio: \$ 3.00

CUOTAS ANUALES

	Derecho de Inscrip- ción	Examen médico	Colegiatura anual
Para las siguientes ca- rreras:			
Auxiliar de Arqui- tectura, Obreros en Artes Plásticas y Es- cuela de Música y niños en Escuela de Música.	\$ 20.00	\$ 6.00	\$ 40.00
Trabajador Social. Enfermera y Parte- ra. Maestro en Artes Plásticas. Aspirante a Músico.	20.00	6.00	85.00
Para las demás carre- ras profesionales.	20.00	6.00	180.00

INDICE DEL INSTRUCTIVO

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— Exámenes de salud	4
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DOCUMENTOS NECESARIOS PARA TRAMITAR LA INSCRIPCION

1 Deben llenarse dos formas:

Solicitud de inscripción.

Datos estadísticos.

— Deben llenarse a máquina o en letras de molde.

— Se obtienen en las mesas de información.

2 Cinco retratos:

— Tamaño credencial *rectangulares* (no ovalados).

— Al reverso de cada uno debe escribirse el nombre completo del solicitante.

3 Certificado de estudios legalizado:

Para ingresar a la Escuela Nacional de Música, o a la Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas:

— Certificado de enseñanza primaria.

Para ingresar a la Escuela Nacional de Enfermería y Obstetricia, o a la Escuela de Trabajo Social:

— Certificado de Enseñanza Secundaria con el sello oficial de la Secretaría de Educación Pública.

— Los estudiantes que provengan de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria N° 2 no requieren el certificado anterior.

Para ingresar a las demás Facultades o Escuelas profesionales:

— Los estudiantes foráneos que provienen de los Estados, deben presentar certificados de Enseñanza Secundaria y Preparatoria legalizados por el Gobernador del Estado.

— Deben presentar solicitud de revalidación de estudios de Preparatoria.

— Los estudiantes que provengan de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria o de escuelas incorporadas no necesitan presentar el certificado ni la solicitud anteriores.

4 Acta de nacimiento:

— Original del Registro Civil, o

— Copia certificada.

5 Carta de buena conducta:

— Expedida por el plantel de donde procede el solicitante. (Excepción, los procedentes de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.)

6 Certificados médicos:

— Catastro torácico.

— Examen del Centro Médico Universitario.

EXAMENES DE SALUD

Para comodidad de los solicitantes, se han multiplicado los lugares en que pueden efectuarse los diversos exámenes médicos y se permite llevarlos a cabo en el orden que se prefiera, *sin necesidad de hacer ningún pago previo.*

Todos los días hábiles a partir del 2 de enero

Catastro torácico:

- Donceles N° 39, planta baja.
Señoritas: de 9 a 12 horas.
Varones: de 12 a 19 horas.
- Estacionamiento Sur de la Rectoría, desde el 4 de enero:
Varones: de 9 a 12 y de 18 a 19 horas.
Señoritas: de 12 a 13 y de 17 a 18 horas.

Examen médico:

- Clínica de Yucatán N° 71.
Varones: de las 8 a las 10 horas y
de las 16 a las 18 horas.
Señoritas: de las 10.30 a las 12.30 horas.
- Escuela Nacional Preparatoria 1 (San Ildefonso 43).
Varones: de las 19 a las 21 horas.
- Ciudad Universitaria. Escuela de Comercio.
Señoritas: de las 9 a las 12 horas.
Varones: de las 9 a las 19 horas.

Entregar 2 retratos.

SOLICITUDES DE INSCRIPCION

Plazo: *Del 6 al 18 de febrero de 1956.*

Horas: *Lunes a viernes: de las 9 a las 19 horas. Sábados: de 9 a 13 horas.*

Lugar: *Edificio de la Rectoría en la Ciudad Universitaria. Sala de Inscripciones en la Planta Baja.*

Entregar en una de las ventanillas de
“RECEPCION DE DOCUMENTOS”:

- Solicitud de inscripción con todos sus datos.
- Certificado de estudios: Bachillerato completo.

RECIBIRA

el solicitante, una ficha que le indica el *día preciso* en que deberá presentarse para saber si se aceptó su solicitud.

IMPORTANTE:

Vea en la última página las facilidades que se otorgan al solicitante a la presentación de su ficha. Consérvela para evitarse molestias posteriores.

Precisamente el día fijado, presentar su ficha en la ventanilla de "Registro", con la siguiente documentación.

- Hoja de datos estadísticos exactamente anotada.
- Constancia del catastro torácico.
- Constancia del examen médico.
- Tres retratos rectangulares.
- Carta de buena conducta.
- Acta de nacimiento o copia certificada.

RECIBIRA el estudiante:

- Una "orden de pago" con su número de cuenta.
- La tarjeta para credencial que deberá llenar y firmar con tinta negra.

PAGOS Y CREDENCIALES

Con su "orden de pago", acudirá a la TESORERIA DE LA UNAM, (entrepiso de la Sala de Inscripciones).

CUOTAS ANUALES

	Derecho de Inscrip- ción	Examen médico	Colegiatura anual
Para las siguientes ca- rreras :			
Auxiliar de Arquitec- tura, Obreros en Ar- tes Plásticas y Es- cuela de Música y niños en Escuela de Música.	\$ 20.00	\$ 6.00	\$ 40.00
Trabajador Social. Enfermera y Parte- ra. Maestro en Ar- tes Plásticas. Aspi- rante a Músico.	20.00	6.00	85.00
Para las demás ca- rreras profesionales.	20.00	6.00	180.00

Con el comprobante de haber pagado, presentarse en la ventanilla de "CREDENCIALES", y entregar:

- Comprobante de pago de la TESORERIA DE LA UNAM.
- La tarjeta para su credencial.

(El estudiante recibirá un volante para recoger su credencial en la Escuela correspondiente).

NOTA: Al hacer el pago correspondiente, el estudiante presentará en la Tesorería su comprobante de haber pagado su cuota para el examen médico, en el caso de haber hecho este pago previamente.

REGISTRO EN EL PLANTEL RESPECTIVO

A partir del 20 de febrero, podrá el estudiante acudir a la Delegación de la Dirección General de Servicios Escolares, en el plantel al que ha quedado inscrito para:

— Recoger su credencial.

— Formular su horario.

El día 5 de marzo, se inician los cursos

ADVERTENCIAS IMPORTANTES

Siga cuidadosamente los pasos que indica este instructivo.

No hay inscripciones condicionales.

Los documentos mencionados en este instructivo deben reunir *todos* los requisitos señalados.

Deben ser presentados por el solicitante *precisamente* en las fechas señaladas en las fichas respectivas.

Los solicitantes deberán presentarse *personalmente* para cada etapa administrativa de sus gestiones, así como para sus exámenes médicos.

Algunas normas que señala el *Artículo 25* del Reglamento General de Inscripciones:

Las inscripciones para cualquier Facultad o Escuela estarán limitadas en cada plantel de acuerdo con las recomendaciones de su Consejo Técnico respectivo, teniendo en cuenta el cupo de sus locales, laboratorios, etc.

La selección de estudiantes será proporcional al número de solicitudes de las diversas procedencias escolares.

REVALIDACION DE ESTUDIOS

Documentos y trámites necesarios:

- Solicitud debidamente llenada.
(La forma especial puede obtenerse en las mesas de Informes).
- Certificados de estudios legalizados.
- Los estudiantes extranjeros deben presentar su documentación legalizada por el Cónsul de México en su lugar de origen, y la aceptación por parte de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.
- Anuarios o planes de estudio de la Universidad en donde cursaron los estudios cuya revalidación solicitan.
- La documentación en idioma extranjero debe acompañarse con una traducción oficial, mencionando la intensidad y extensión que abarcan las materias.

NOTA: El pago de los derechos por revalidación se hará simultáneamente con los otros pagos (inscripción, examen médico, colegiatura, etc.).

SOLICITANTES PROCEDENTES DEL EXTRANJERO

- Deben cumplir con todos los requisitos generales de inscripción.
- Deben haber tramitado satisfactoriamente con anterioridad su revalidación de estudios.
- Carta de presentación de la Embajada o del Consulado de su país, para la UNAM.
- Carta de solvencia económica de una Institución Bancaria o Comercial de su país.
- Documentación de la Secretaría de Gobernación que acredite su admisión a México en calidad de estudiante.
- Los solicitantes de habla no española serán sometidos a un examen de español.

TRAMITES DE INSCRIPCION (Escuelas Profesionales)

- Documentos que presenta el solicitante.
(Documentos que recoge el solicitante.)

1	EXAMENES DE SALUD	2	RECEPCION DE DOCUMENTOS	3	REGISTRO
	— Catastro torácico. — Examen médico. — 2 retratos rectangulares. (Constancias).		— Solicitud de inscripción. — Certificado de estudios. (Ficha).		— Datos estadísticos. — 2 constancias de examen de salud. — 3 retratos rectangulares. — Carta de buena conducta. — Acta de nacimiento. (Orden de pago y tarjeta para credencial).
4	PAGOS	5	CREDENCIALES	6	REGISTRO EN EL PLANTEL
	— Inscripción. — Examen médico. — Colegiatura. (Comprobante).		— Comprobante de pago. — Tarjeta de su credencial. (Volante).		Recoger credencial. Formular el horario.

Inicio de cursos: 5 de marzo de 1956

INDICE DE CARRERAS

GRUPO 1 (Sólo requieren educación primaria, además de los documentos y trámites generales que señala este Instructivo).

DE ARTES PLASTICAS

Maestro en Artes Plásticas.

Cursos de Obreros:

Dibujo publicitario.

Relieve en metales.

Talla en madera.

Grabado.

DE MUSICA

Profesor en canto.

Profesor instrumentista.

Profesor concertista.

Profesor en solfeo.

Profesor en canto coral.

Profesor en investigación folklórica.

GRUPO 2 (Requieren también educación secundaria, además de los documentos generales).

DE ENFERMERIA Y OBSTETRICIA

Enfermera.

Partera.

DE TRABAJO SOCIAL

Trabajador social.

GRUPO 3 (Requieren educación secundaria y preparatoria, además de los documentos generales).

(Los estudiantes que provienen de los Estados, requieren certificados legalizados por el Gobernador respectivo. Los del extranjero, legalizados por el Consulado de México en el país respectivo. En ambos casos se solicitará Revalidación de Estudios).

DE ARQUITECTURA

Arquitecto.

Auxiliar de Arquitecto.

DE CIENCIAS

Biólogo.

Matemático.

Físico experimental.

Físico teórico.

Actuario.

Astrónomo.

Doctor en:

Matemáticas.

Física.

Biología.

Astronomía.

DE CIENCIAS POLITICAS Y SOCIALES

Licenciado en:

Ciencias Diplomáticas.

Ciencias Políticas.

Ciencias Sociales.

Periodismo.

Carrera Consular.

DE CIENCIAS QUIMICAS

Ingeniero Químico.

Químico.

Químico Farmacéutico Biólogo.

Químico Metalúrgico.

DE COMERCIO

Contador Público y Auditor.

DE DERECHO

Licenciado en Derecho.
Doctor en Derecho.

DE ECONOMIA

Licenciado en Economía.

DE FILOSOFIA Y LETRAS

Maestría y Doctorado en:

Filosofía.

Psicología.

Letras Clásicas.

Lengua y Literatura Modernas.

Lengua y Literatura Españolas.

Historia de México.

Historia Universal.

Historia de las Artes Plásticas.

Geografía.

Maestro especializado en Arte Dramático.

Maestro en Ciencias de la Educación.

Maestro en Biblioteconomía.

Maestro Archivista Paleógrafo.

DE INGENIERIA

Ingeniero de Minas y Metalurgista.

Ingeniero Civil.

Ingeniero Mecánico Electricista.

Ingeniero Topógrafo y Geodesta.

Ingeniero Petrolero.

Ingeniero Geólogo.

DE MEDICINA

Médico Cirujano.

DE ODONTOLOGIA

Cirujano Dentista.

DE MEDICINA VETERINARIA Y ZOOTECNIA

Médico Veterinario Zootecnista.

Mayor información en la "GUIA DE CARRERAS",
anunciada en la página 2.

NOTAS DEL INTERESADO

Geografía.
Historia de las Artes Plásticas.
Historia Universal.
Historia de México.
Lenguas y Literaturas Españolas.
Lenguas y Literaturas Modernas.

Maestro especializado en Artes Plásticas.
Maestro en Ciencias de la Educación.
Maestro en Bibliotecología.
Maestro Archivista Paleógrafo.

DE INGENIERIA

Ingeniero Geólogo.
Ingeniero Petrolero.
Ingeniero Topógrafo y Geodesta.
Ingeniero Mecánico Eléctrico.
Ingeniero Civil.
Ingeniero de Minas y Metalurgia.

DE MEDICINA Y SALUD

Médico Cirujano.

DE ODONTOLOGIA

Cirujano Dentista.

DE MEDICINA VETERINARIA Y ZOOTECNIA

Médico Veterinario Zootecnista.

Mayor información en la "GUTA DE CAMERAS".
anunciada en la página 2

DE COMERCIO

Comercio Exterior y Aduanas.

Presentando la ficha que recibió en la ventanilla de "Recepción de documentos", el solicitante tendrá acceso a:

— Alberca universitaria, de las 9 a las 13 horas.

— Campos deportivos:

(Basquetbol, frontones, beisbol, softbol, pista y campo), de las 9 a las 13 horas.

— Funciones de cine en el Auditorio de Ingeniería, de las 10 a las 13 horas.

Equislogismos

CUANDO se habla del divino tesoro de la juventud, por lo común se trata de la inducción mágica que lo irreversible produce. La oportunidad creadora dejada pasar sin asirla por los escasos cabellos de su monda y lironda cabeza; el tiempo, en fin, cuyo misterio discursivo no ha sido capaz el hombre de fijarlo en una posesión absoluta porque por más que lo viva quedan intersticios vacíos. Como todas esas remembranzas es la de la juventud. De ahí que se esté dispuesto a proyectar sobre los jóvenes todo lo que los adultos no son y ni siquiera fueron durante su juventud. De ahí que "a priori" se diga de los jóvenes mil lindezas a las que éstos corresponden haciendo mil barbaridades, sumergiéndose en el ocio y la apatía, sobrenadando en la fácil corriente de la opinión común y asoleándose en las doradas playas del acomodo y la burocracia estudiantil. No; si se viera con ojos críticos y serenos, lo que se enturbia con evocaciones de tiempo perdido, se advertiría hasta qué punto la potencia latente de la juventud, permanece intocada, desviada, o mal usada en los jóvenes. Hasta qué punto, pues, sólo se advierte en ellos una posibilidad de ser y no un ser que es y vive.

★ ★ ★

POR eso confortan los raros momentos en que los jóvenes cristalizan esa potencia. Tal es el caso de los jóvenes universitarios de Guanajuato. Adviértase en el siguiente párrafo, tomado de una carta de la Sociedad de Alumnos de la Universidad de Guanajuato, como cristalizan esas potencias cuando en su concentrada solución juvenil cae el cristal de un problema humano. Se trata de una carta dirigida a Miss Autherine Lucy, estudiante frustrada, apedreada, de la Universidad de Alabama. Ni siquiera está muy redactada; pero, ¿cuándo la emocionada voz de la solidaridad humana, si tiene ecos de protesta, ha sabido encontrar formas cadenciosas y perfectas?

★ ★ ★

“ESTIMADA compañera”, de ese modo directo y sencillo comienza la carta. Oigámosla, recojamos su virtud juvenil: “A través de la prensa nacional nos hemos informado de los acontecimientos que en su contra se han realizado en esa Universidad. Por lo tanto nuestra Unión Universitaria, preocupada por su problema así como por todos los que atañen a los estudiantes de cualquier lugar, del mundo, desea hacer de su conocimiento, que quedan abiertas las puertas de nuestra casa de estudios para usted, y tenemos la seguridad de que las de nuestro país, cuya forma democrática no la rechazará en ningún momento. Previendo que su deseo profesional no lo pudiera realizar en esta institución, por no tener en nuestro plan de estudios la carrera de su preferencia, le ofrecemos encontrarle cabida en cualquier otra institución de nuestro país, ya que estamos convencidos de que las restantes universidades se solidarizarán a nuestro ofrecimiento y nos ayudarán a resolver lo mejor para su interés. Así pues, la Universidad de Guanajuato y sus estudiantes le expresan su fraternal simpatía y le reiteran su invitación a asistir a sus aulas, en las que todos los colores son respetados y en ello reside nuestro orgullo... a nosotros sólo nos interesa el color de la conciencia”.

★ ★ ★

NO hay insultos, no hay palabras altisonantes. Sólo un contenido orgullo de ser mexicanos, es decir, ciudadanos de un país que no cree en razas de primera y segunda, y que fué por ello el primero en declararse contra la esclavitud. Sólo un sencillo acto de tender la mano, criolla y blanca, india y cobriza, de barro y mestiza, que si poco ofrece no se siente humillada al estrechar una mano negra y combatiente como la de la señorita Autherine Lucy, de Alabama, Estados Unidos.

NOVEDADES, México, D. F.

7 de agosto de 1957.

COLOR DEL CRISTAL

Por RAC

SE espera como resultado del año geofísico internacional un conocimiento mayor del mundo en que vivimos. Y está bien, es alentador, y el esfuerzo y el costo se justifican plenamente; pero muchos no podemos abandonar una vieja carga de intereses, intereses en ocasiones —tantas— desacreditados ante los portentosos descubrimientos científicos y ante los casi omnipotentes poderes políticos. Conoceremos mejor el mundo que habitamos, pero ¿nos conoceremos mejor a nosotros mismos? ¿El intercambio internacional de los científicos llevará noticias también sobre la vida diaria de los hombres comunes? ¿Sabremos algo de sus esperanzas, de su humildad y de sus rebeldías? ¿A cada descubrimiento científico corresponde la inteligencia de una nueva manera de trato para

la mayor dignidad de cada hombre?

Todos los soberbios poderes públicos, el soviético, el británico, el norteamericano, etcétera, protegen la investigación científica, acogen los descubrimientos extranjeros y aun los substraen para su beneficio. Pero, ¿acogen y aprovechan igual los ejemplos morales que reafirman la dignidad y la libertad de cada hombre? A un trabajador húngaro, a un intelectual, a un joven negro de Alabama, les importa menos el satélite artificial —yanqui o soviético— que el respeto a su libre opinión sobre el señor Kadar, que el respeto a su dignidad cotidiana de ser humano. Bajo el kadarismo se puede obtener un premio Nobel de física, pero ¿se puede obtener libremente un puesto sindical? ¿se puede, bajo él, expresar una opinión sobre el ejército soviético acuartelado en Hungría? Bien lo de conocer mejor el mundo, siempre que una maravillosa cortina de niebla científica no nos oculte los caminos de la dignidad y la libertad del hombre, el apasionado y sufrido habitante de este mundo.

COLOR DEL CRISTAL

NOVEDADES, México,

Por RAC

10 de agosto de 1957.

HA llegado a México un folleto, editado por la Universidad de Santo Domingo, con los discursos —12— del "Homenaje de los Estudiantes Universitarios al Generalísimo Trujillo" que se rindió el 3 de diciembre de 1956. El ofrecimiento, en el primer discurso, lo hizo el señor licenciado Virgilio Díaz Ordóñez, rector de la Universidad. El rector describió el acto como "un impresionante símbolo de lo que es la compacta solidaridad existente entre un Conductor Supremo y una Comunidad agradecida". Agregó: "Si sobre los 112 años de la República sus manos predeterminadas (las del general Trujillo) han puesto en la frente de la Patria la corona del más esplendoroso renacimiento total de la nación, sobre los 413 años de nues-

tra Universidad su mano de Maestro —en el más humano, profundo y alto sentido real del vocablo— ha puesto no un renacimiento, sino una vida nueva y distinta, nueva y diferente, nueva y diversa, nueva y múltiple, como para recrear, con un espíritu que nunca había existido antes, esta Universidad que fue y será siempre símbolo irrecedero de dominicanidad íntegra, joya secular de cultura y faro inextinguible, orientador del destino de un pueblo". Y declaró para concluir: "queremos corresponder a vuestra genial e infatigable capacidad de crear, con nuestra humilde pero inagotable capacidad de agradecer". El estudiante de Filosofía José A. Keller Mena, en su discurso dijo refiriéndose al general Trujillo: "Es el la encarnación y síntesis

de la concepción filosófica del perfecto gobernante, poseedor de esa intuición maravillosa que es característica de esos grandes hombres de Estado, de los que cada siglo da uno... uno de esos seres privilegiados y excepcionales en los que parecen fundirse en armónica síntesis, la prudencia y la nobleza de un Washington, el dinamismo creador de un Bolívar y las virtudes y excelencias de todas esas cumbres de la humanidad que llamamos genios". Los siete estudiantes siguientes, representando a las facultades universitarias, ratificaron elocuentemente al señor rector y al estudiante Keller Mena.

Literatura laudatoria, para no llamarla de otro modo. Y la "lambisconería" nuestra, ante ella palidece.

Las Actitudes de Mr. Dulles, Juzgados por D. Isidro Fabela

No Vedado, 16 VIII 1953.

Por considerar de grave importancia para la política internacional presente y futura, las recientes declaraciones del secretario de Estado de los Estados Unidos, señor John Foster Dulles, NOVEDADES entrevistó al conocido internacionalista don Isidro Fabela, quien contestó así a nuestras preguntas:

—¿Conoce usted, señor licenciado, el telegrama de la Prensa Asociada publicado el último domingo...?

—Lo conozco y me causó verdadero estupor por su falta de tacto y carencia de sentido político y diplomático; como se desprende del telegrama textual de la Prensa Asociada.

A pregunta especial que le hiciera el diputado demócrata Winfield Benton, mister Dulles contestó:

—«Usted dice que el propósito del Departamento de Estado, es hacer amigos. Déjeme decir esto: ni por un minuto pienso que el propósito del Departamento de Estado sea hacer amigos. El propósito de éste es cuidar los intereses de los Estados Unidos. Que hagamos amigos o no, no me importa».

—Yo creo que nunca en la historia diplomática universal se ha hecho una declaración semejante en ningún país, ni por ningún estadista. El canciller de la gran potencia, por respeto al pueblo norteamericano y a su ilustre Presidente,

no debió jamás decir tal brusquedad que estamos seguros no aprueba el señor general Eisenhower, quien nunca sería capaz de manifestar que no le importa hacer amigos; ya que, al contrario, sus nobles propósitos como Primer Magistrado de la nación más poderosa del orbe, sí le importa, estamos seguros, hacer amigos en el mundo entero. Por eso se reunió con nuestro estimado Presidente Ruiz Cortines en Falcón y en Sulphur Springs; y por eso fue a Panamá, porque desea estrechar su amistad con Iberoamérica; deseo que no tiene mister Foster Dulles.

—Si al secretario de Estado no le interesa hacer amigos, ¿cuál cree usted que sea su interés?

—El interés de dicho señor es puramente material. Defender las riquezas de sus plutócratas, es su único interés. El notable patrimonio del espíritu que es la amistad, eso no le importa.

—¿No cree usted, señor licenciado, que el propósito primordial de dicho canciller, sea ir contra el comunismo?

—Es evidente; pero no se lucha inteligentemente contra el comunismo, haciendo enemigos, sino al contrario, sumando amistades y simpatías por todo el mundo. Y no es eso lo que hace el jefe de la diplomacia norteamericana.

No, los cancilleres del tipo del señor Foster Dulles están más indicados para otros menesteres, muy ajenos a la diplomacia, que es el arte de decir las cosas con la cortesía que exige, no sólo la decencia más elemental, sino el interés de su propio país.

—Ante la actitud de mister Foster Dulles, ¿no le parece a usted extraño el silencio del gobierno de Washington?

—Desde luego considero inexplicable que después de esas declaraciones que encierran un desprecio olímpico para todas las naciones de la Tierra, el señor Foster Dulles permanezca en su puesto en la cancillería de Washington, pues eso parece indicar que el Partido Republicano, al cual pertenece, está de acuerdo con sus ideas.

—¿No reaccionaría de alguna manera el Ejecutivo de la Unión, contra el criterio de su secretario de Estado?

—Yo creo que debiera reaccionar el Presidente-héroe, contra su principal colaborador; digo principal colaborador, porque para los Estados Unidos el hombre que dirige la política internacional de ese gran país, que es, de hecho, quien encabeza al mundo libre contra el comunismo, tiene una influencia decisiva en los actos de su Gobierno; y con sus rotundas frases el señor Foster Dulles parece decir que su nación se basta y sobra para defenderse del comunismo. Y ese no es el sentir del pueblo norteamericano, ni de todos y cada uno de los miembros de su Gobierno. Y sin embargo, sigue en su puesto probablemente muy ufano y orgulloso de su poderío personal.

—¿En qué cree usted, que base su conducta el señor Foster Dulles?

—En su soberbia personal y en el apoyo que le presta el señor Presidente Eisenhower. Dicho personaje se siente tan poderoso que quizá crea, lo que creía el rey Sol, al decir: «El Estado soy yo».

Así parece, dada la claridad y rotundidad de sus gruesas palabras. Y en eso está equivocado. El Estado norteamericano lo componen millones de ciudadanos, que por su bondad, su cultura, su eficiente trabajo, su enérgico carácter y su espíritu de equidad y justicia, lo que desean es ser queridos y estimados por todos los demás pueblos de la Tierra.

Al señor Foster Dulles no le importa que lo odien, pero la inmensa mayoría de la nación, que cada día tiene en su seno más y más hijos que anhelan superarse a sí mismo para engrandecer a su patria, de fijo no estarán de acuerdo en que el mundo los odie.

—¿Por qué, señor licenciado?

Porque todos lo sabemos; en ese extraordinario pueblo estadounidense por la intensiva y extensiva cultura que se imparte por todos los ámbitos de su territorio, cada día hay más hombres justos, más hombres de espíritu cristiano, que no sólo piensan en hacerse el bien ellos mismos y hacerle todo el bien posible a la tierra en que nacieron, sino también a la humanidad entera. Y por eso estamos convencidos de que ese pueblo no podrá compartir nunca, en el fondo de sus rectas conciencias, con la tristemente célebre frase que pasará a la historia de la diplomacia universal, como un baldón para su autor:

—«Ni por un minuto pienso que el propósito del Departamento de Estado sea hacer amigos. El propósito de éste es cuidar los intereses de los Estados Unidos. Que hagamos amigos o no, no me importa».

—Ante tan insólitas declaraciones, ¿cuál cree usted que sea el sentir de los comunistas?

—Los comunistas deben estar encantados porque han de pensar que el señor Foster Dulles, lo que ha conseguido con su gesto despectivo hacia la humanidad es enajenarse la buena voluntad de gentes y gobiernos en el mundo entero. Pero naturalmente que las personas de juicio sereno no se harán comunistas, por sólo ese hecho, pues saben que el señor Foster Dulles no representa la opinión nacional de los Estados Unidos.

—Finalmente, el señor Foster Dulles debe saber que la colaboración del mundo libre contra el comunismo no se compra con dinero, sino con el corazón de los pueblos, y los pueblos repudian a las naciones fuertes que los tratan con desprecio.

—Una última pregunta, señor Fabela: ¿En este incidente internacional, cuál será la actitud de demócratas y republicanos?

—El Partido Democrático de los Estados Unidos, que no ha tenido las características imperialistas de los republicanos, sino esporádicamente, cuenta con una arma formidable contra sus contrarios republicanos, al demostrar al pueblo, con hechos palmarios, que ese partido ejecuta actos oficiales opuestos a la política demócrata que es de atracción humanitaria a la que sí interesa hacer amigos por todas las formas posibles, precisamente diferentes a la táctica comunista del hierro y el fuego.

Y en cuanto a los republicanos ya sabemos que ellos llegaron al poder sostenidos por los potentísimos plutócratas de Wall Street, cuyo lema es dominar el mundo con la diplomacia del dólar. De manera que no dejará de tener adeptos el secretario de Estado, entre sus propios correligionarios. Sin embargo, el más imperialista de los republicanos, seguramente no estará conforme con la forma grosera con que el representante de su política internacional expresa sus ideas de hegemonía política y económica en el mundo entero.

Déclaration en douane

Adressort

Adressland

Tulldeklaration¹.

MEXICO DF, MEXICO

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Nom et adresse du destinataire — Adressatens namn och adress.

SEÑOR DON MANUEL CALVILLO
COLEGIO DE MEXICO

Stockholm

le 21/11 1958
den

Expéditeur — Avsändare

Nordiska Kristallmagasinet

Adresse — Adress

Kungsgatan 9

Lieu d'expédition — Avsändningsort

Stockholm, Sweden

Pv. tr. Sth.

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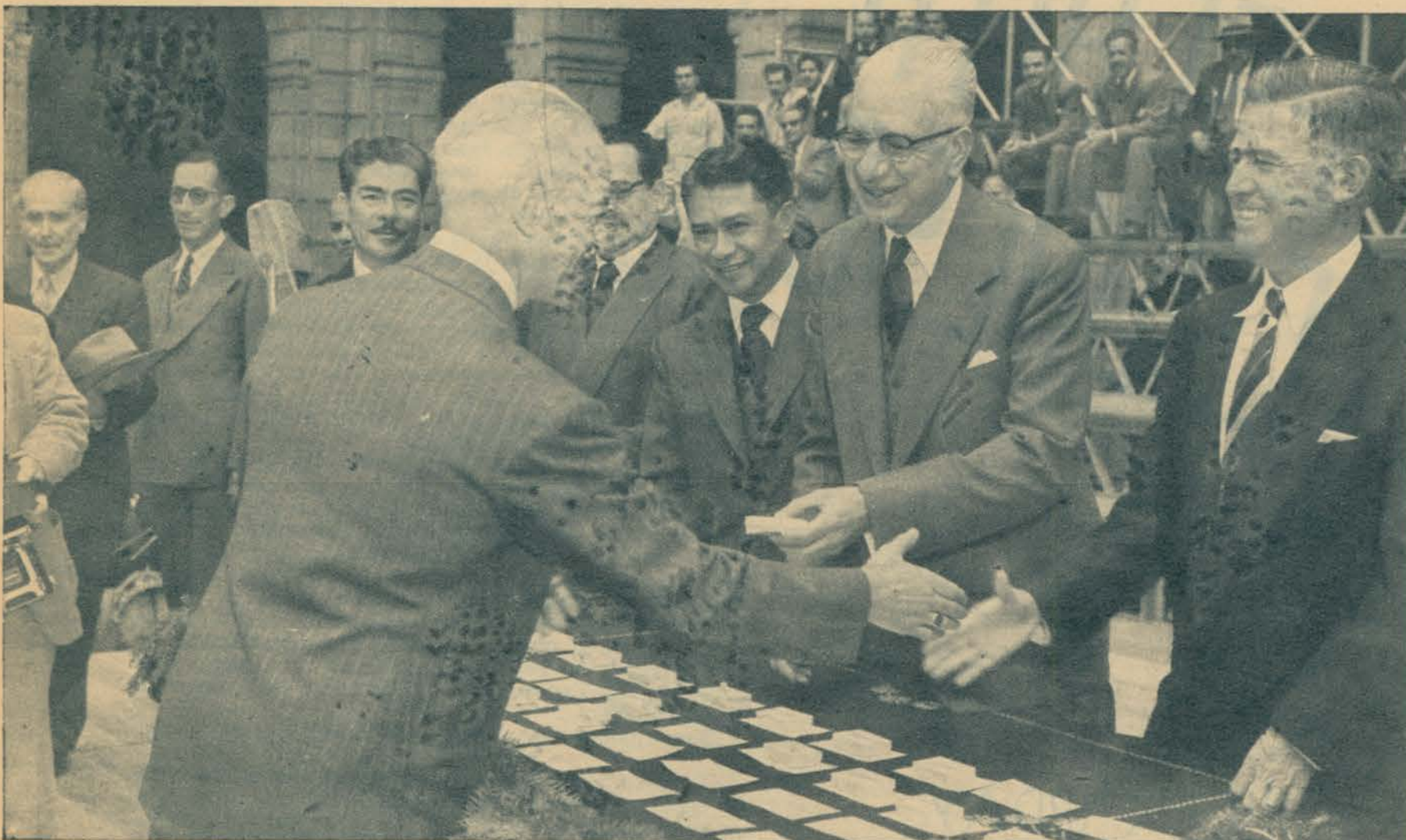
I tulldeklaration förekommande uppgift om värde har icke någon betydelse med avseende på försändelsens postbehandling och kan ej heller med laga verkan åberopas mot vederbörande postverk vid möjligen uppkommande ersättningsanspråk.



HE AQUI A LOS FUNCIONARIOS de la Secretaría de Hacienda que ocuparon el presidium durante la ceremonia en que se conmemoró el CXXXIII aniversario de la consumación de nuestra Independencia y en la cual se hizo entrega de medallas a viejos trabajadores de esa dependencia. Son ellos, los Subsecretarios don Rafael Mancera Ortiz, licenciado Antonio Armendáriz y el Oficial Mayor, licenciado Raúl Noriega.



EN UNA DE LAS TRIBUNAS se hallaban presentes el ilustre Maestro don Julián Carrillo, su hija, Dolores Carrillo y los señores Adolfo Sheridan, Gustavo F. Aguilar y Ernest Gastan, Consejero Comercial de la Embajada de Francia.



UNO DE LOS ANTIGUOS TRABAJADORES de Hacienda recibe su medalla de manos de don Rafael Mancera Ortiz, Subsecretario de Hacienda. Acompañan al alto funcionario el licenciado Raúl Noriega, Oficial Mayor de esa dependencia y el señor Roberto López Rojas, funcionario del Sindicato de la propia Secretaría.

EXHORTO DON RAFAEL MANCERA ORTIZ A LOS TRABAJADORES DE HACIENDA A LABORAR POR MEXICO

Festival en el Palacio Nacional Para Rendir Homenaje al Himno Patrio y a la Bandera Nacional

Por EDMUNDO ROCQUER

"Compañeros trabajadores:

"En esta ocasión en que nuestra Secretaría conmemora el Centenario del Himno Nacional y el CXXXIII aniversario de la consumación de nuestra Independencia, considero una atingencia de los organizadores de esta ceremonia el haber fijado en ella la entrega de medallas a los antiguos trabajadores del Ramo.

"En nombre del Secretario Ausente felicito muy sinceramente a los trabajadores de Hacienda y los exhorto para levantar por medio del trabajo, el afecto y el amor a la Patria Mexicana".

Estas palabras fueron pronunciadas por el señor don Rafael Mancera Ortiz, Subsecretario de Crédito y del Presupuesto Encargado del Despacho de la Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público durante el festival celebrado el pasado 28 de septiembre, en el patio central del Palacio Nacional, ante un auditorio integrado por más de cuatro mil empleados de esa Secretaría que abarrotaban materialmente los corredores de los tres pisos y las tribunas metálicas que habían sido instaladas por los organizadores.

Acompañaban a don Rafael Mancera Ortiz, el licenciado Antonio Armendáriz, Subsecretario de Impuestos; el licenciado Raúl Noriega, Oficial Mayor de Hacienda; don Alfonso López Reyes, Secretario General del Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Secretaría de Hacienda y don Pastor Fajardo, funcionario del mismo Sindicato.

EL FESTIVAL

La ceremonia dio comienzo a las 13.00 horas con la ejecución que la Banda de la Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional hizo de una rapsodia mexicana. En seguida, un grupo numeroso de empleados de la Secretaría de Hacienda, bailó la danza de "El Barretero", dirigida por la Profesora Consuelo Guerrero.

El Conjunto Coral del Club Deportivo Hacienda, interpretó varias canciones populares.

En seguida, los funcionarios de la Secretaría de Hacienda, encabezados por don Rafael Mancera Ortiz, Subsecretario de esa dependencia, procedieron a entregar las medallas de perseverancia a cuarenta trabajadores que cuentan con más de treinta años de servicios.

Cada una de las medallas lleva inscrito el siguiente texto:

"Perseverancia en el servicio civil, primera clase. 30 años". En seguida el nombre de cada uno de los agraciados.

Uno a uno, fueron desfilando por la plataforma en que se instaló el presidium los siguientes trabajadores de la Secretaría de Hacienda:

José Sánchez Mejía, Ricardo Delfín Aguirre, María de la Luz Velasco, Carlos Niño Ibarra, Rodolfo Escobar Ruiz, Ismael Estrada Fiz, Octavio Ortiz Medina, Aurora González Aguilar, Jorge Aznar, Herlinda Aguilar Lork, Luis Echeverría, María Dolores Domínguez Marqués, Bertha Alvarez de Isla, Vicente Carmona Villafañá, Socorro García González, Carlos Mendoza León, Luz Espino viuda de Tabares, Juana Salazar Uriarte, Rosario Zúñiga Bátiz, Fernando Casani Ruiz, Isaura Gutiérrez Saldaña, Elisa Saucedo Cisneros, Quintín Erazo Meza, José Luis Domínguez Cantoral, José Galván Hernández, Nemesio Juárez Bautista, María de la Luz Neve Rovelo, Jorge Santiago Aguilera Cosío, Modesto Alanís Cruz, Jesús Alvarez García, Salvador Quintanar Castrejón, Adolfo Sheridan Mendiábal, Paulino Rojas Carrasco, Pedro Luna Domínguez, José Refugio Lomelí Ortiz, Juan Manuel Sandoval Ceballos, Antonio de la Barrera Aguilar, Francisco Amaya Cortés y Elias S. Vidafña Rebolledo.

Terminada la entrega de medallas, el grupo de

MUCHOS han sido los historiadores que se han echado a cuestras la tarea de escudriñar en la vida del infortunado don Agustín de Iturbide, para presentarlo ante la opinión pública unas veces como ardiente patriota limpio de toda mancha, y otras como feroz y sanguinario realista que aprovechando la buena fe del bravo insurgente don Vicente Guerrero, se convirtió en Monarca de un país horriblemente ensangrentado por él a impulsos de su enorme ambición y conveniencia.

Pero ciertas o no las fallas y virtudes que se atribuyen a su conducta militar y política, la verdad es que, todavía momentos antes de morir ante el pelotón que lo fusiló el 19 de julio de 1824, trató de sincerarse ante la Historia reiterando su acendrado amor a la patria en un patético documento que entregó a su confesor, el Presbítero don José Antonio Gutiérrez de Lara, cuando salía de su prisión para dirigirse al patíbulo.

Este importante escrito, junto con otros más que destinaba a los Prelados Religiosos, Jueces Políticos, Jefes Militares, Congresos, etcétera, explicándoles el objeto de su regreso a México y los pasos que había dado para lograrlo —trataba de recuperar el trono—, le fueron entregados por él mismo al sacerdote a que arriba se alude, quien inmediatamente los puso en manos de su hermano el coronel José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, en cuyo poder estuvieron hasta 1827 en que los remitió al historiador don Carlos María de Bustamante para que los utilizara al escribir sobre Iturbide; pero ni éste, ni don Lucas Alamán, que posteriormente los tuvo en su poder, jamás los mencionaron en las obras que publicaron sobre aquellos dramáticos sucesos que vivió nuestra patria en el trágico comenzar de su independencia.

Ciento siete años después —en marzo de 1931—, fueron publicados por primera vez en el Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación a instancias de mi queridísimo y ya desaparecido amigo el culto abogado Eduardo Vasconcelos que en ese tiempo fungía como Oficial Mayor de la Secretaría de Gobernación.

El documento a que me refiero, marcado con el número 7 y dirigido al H. Congreso General de la Nación dice así: "Con asombro he sabido que vuestra Soberanía me ha proscrito y declarado fuera de la ley, circulando el decreto para los efectos consiguientes:

"Tal resolución, dictada por el Cuerpo más respetable de la Patria, en que la circunspección y la justicia deben formar su primer carácter, me hace recorrer cuidadosamente mi conducta para hallar el crimen atroz que movió a dictar providencia tan cruel a los representantes de una Nación, que han hecho alarde de ser ilimitada su clemencia y lenidad. Discurro si el haber formado el plan de Iguala y el ejército trigarante, que convirtieron a la patria repentinamente de esclava en Señora será el crimen; si será el haber establecido el sistema constitucional en México, reuniendo violentamente un Congreso, que le diese leyes, conforme a la voluntad y conveniencia de ella; si el haber destruido dos veces los planes que se formaron para erigirme en Monarca desde el año de 21; si el haber admitido la Corona cuando ya no pude evitarlo e hice este gran sacrificio por librar a la patria, como en efecto la libré entonces de la anarquía; si será por no haber dado empleo a mis deudos más inmediatos, ni aumentado su fortuna; si será porque conser-

vando la representación Nacional en la Junta Instituyente, reformó un Congreso que en nueve meses no hizo cosa alguna de Constitución, de Ejército ni de hacienda que voluntaria e involuntariamente todas sus providencias nos arrastraban a la anarquía y al yugo Español; porque corté los pasos al Congreso, que en el mismo día en que se instaló y juró mantener separados los tres poderes de la Nación, se los abrogó todos y se separó de los términos de los poderes que habían recibido, quebrantando sus solemnes juramentos, un Congreso en fin, que había desmerecido la confianza pública, como lo manifestó toda la Nación después de mi salida, privándolo de los poderes que antes le había dado para constituirlo; si será porque restablecí este mismo Congreso para librar otra vez a la Patria de la anarquía, dejando a mi salida de ella un centro de unión, estando seguro de que haría este Cuerpo cuanto pudiese en mi contra, porque en él reinaba, siento decirlo, el espíritu de partido, la inmoralidad y las ideas miserables; si será porque apenas se inició por dos o tres Diputaciones Provinciales y una parte del ejército, que la Nación deseaba un nuevo gobierno, abdiqué gustoso y no mantuve como podía la Corona que se me había obligado a admitir; si será porque me entregué ciego a los que ya me habían faltado como Jefe Supremo de la Nación, y puse mi existencia en manos de aquellos que por todos medios, sin exceptuar los más bajos y miserables habían procurado destruirlos pareciéndome todo preferente a que vertiese una sola gota de sangre Americana en mi defensa; si será porque a costa de sacrificios míos, de mi familia y amigos, evité los choques intestinos que habrían dado ventajas a la facción Borbónica, empeñada entonces como ahora en dividirnos para poner la pesada galleta en las cervices Americanas; si será porque dejé a mi honrado y virtuosísimo venerado Padre en escaseces y yo partí con las mismas, con ocho hijos y mi mujer, con mucha probabilidad de mendigar mi subsistencia a dos mil leguas de mi patria; si será porque estando en mi mano, no tomé de los fondos de la Nación lo que ella misma me había asignado, porque en las escaseces quise que fueran pagadas de preferencia a las necesidades de mi estado, los sueldos y las diestras de aquellos que

fingían creerse llenos de tesoros y los aseguraban así sin pudor a la faz de la Nación, que poco antes o después había de conocer la verdad; si será porque con riesgo de todas clases me sobrepuse a las asechanzas de la Santa Liga, para ponerme en disposición de volver a servir a mi patria, cuando se preparaba contra ella; si será porque hice exposición de mi buena voluntad al mismo Congreso Soberano, no habiendo escrito ni una sola palabra a mis deudos ni a mis amigos que les diese la menor esperanza de mi vuelta a este país, porque ello no sirviese de ocasión ni aún remota para disensiones interiores; si será porque a ese Soberano Congreso, le manifesté francamente mis deseos por el bien de la Nación y que en manera alguna me contemplaba ofendido por ella; si será porque he escuchado filosóficamente las calumnias mayores y perdonado a mis enemigos, ya sean de voluntad, ya por equivocaciones erróneas; si será porque ofrecí traer armas, dinero y cuanto se necesitase, y protesté cordialmente que contribuiría gustoso a sostener el Gobierno que a la Nación fuese grato... no encuentro, Señor, después de tan escrupuloso exa-

men cuál o cuáles sean los crímenes, porque el Soberano Congreso me ha condenado. Yo quería saberlo para destruir el error, pues estoy seguro de que mis ideas son rectísimas y que los resortes de mi corazón son la felicidad de mi patria, el amor a la gloria sublime, y desinterés de cuanto en algún modo puede llamarse material.

"Señor, las Naciones cultas y el Mundo entero se horrorizarán y más aún la Historia, por la fulminación de que hablo y suplico, a vuestra Soberanía, que por su propio honor y más aún por el de la gran Nación que representa, lea de nuevo y examine punto por punto, la exposición que le dirigí desde Londres, el 13 de febrero y la 14 del corriente, para que sus deliberaciones sean dictadas con el tino que exigen las circunstancias del momento; y ruego a todos y cada uno de los señores Diputados, que entren dentro de sí mismos, que examinen imparcialmente el asunto y que resuelvan en él, como si hubiesen de ser Juez único y único Gobernador, y que decidan por la conveniencia general y por lo que mi conducta ofrece; y no por lo que sugieren los espíritus inmorales y pusilánimes que siempre piensan de los demás lo peor y su propia sombra los acusa; también suplico al Soberano Congreso, que considere cuanto puedo influir al bien de la patria, contribuyendo a cortar sus disensiones y a unir el espíritu público, cuya fuerza es la única que nos ha de salvar del gran peligro que nos amenaza. No hay que dudar que la Francia sin esfuerzo introdujo en España ciento cuarenta mil hombres y derramó tesoros inmensos por sólo destruir el sistema constitucional; qué no hará esta misma Nación unida a las poderosas de la Santa Alianza para destruir las nuevas Repúblicas y volverlas en colonias a sus antiguos señores, para sostener la legitimidad en que son tan interesadas las antiguas dinastías; recuerdo vuestra Soberanía, que las Cortes de España, arrogantes y sin previsión, no cuidaron de hacer de su casa lo que debían, y esperaban sin prudencia auxilios extranjeros que no recibieron; el éxito es sabido, e igual suerte tendría México si los que le deben salvar siguieran el mismo camino. Suplico por último a vuestra Soberanía, que me considere no como un enemigo, sino como el amante más verdadero de la patria; y que para servirla bien, con especialidad en el punto más interesante de la conciliación de opiniones, porque el amor de los Mexicanos comparado con los que pudieron llamarse enemigos míos, están en razón de 97 a 3.

"Por todas estas razones he venido con violencia y descubiertamente sin preparativos hostiles, y me dirijo en todo por el camino más recto; y también porque si mi sangre había de hacer fructificar los árboles de la paz y de la libertad, con tanto gusto y tan gloriosamente la ofrecería como víctima en un cadalso, como la vertería en el campo del honor, mezclándola sin confundirla con los enemigos de la Nación. La ruina de mi patria y mi deshonor casi momentánea son las dos cosas que tengo jurado no sobrevivir. En este estado de mi exposición, se me presenta el Ayudante don Gordiano Castillo, y me intima cuando menos lo esperaba, en nombre del Ciudadano General Felipe de la Garza, la pena de muerte, por efectuarse a las seis de la tarde, que eran las dos y cuarto. ¡Santo Dios! cómo podría pintar los sentimientos que se agolparon sobre mi espíritu: yo veía perecer a mi patria por la división interior y a manos del Gobierno Español, su enemigo irreconciliable; veía que manos americanas la iban a efectuar; que se me aplica una pena de que no tenía podía tener noticia porque fue fulminada en abril y mi salida de Londres se verificó el cuatro de mayo y de la isla de Edeigh el once; y no he tocado puerto alguno hasta mi llegada a la barra de Soto la Marina, veía ejecutar esta pena sin oírme, y lo que es más, sin darme el tiempo necesario para disponerme como cristiano; seis hijos tiernos, en un país extranjero y en el que no es dominante la religión santa que profeso; otros dos de cuatro años y diecisiete meses a bordo del Bergantín con su infeliz madre que lleva en el entre otro inocente; veía... más para qué perder el tiempo con relaciones tiernas; sigo a lo esencial de mi narración. No pedí por la conservación de la vida que ofrecía tantas veces a mi patria y he puesto muchas, por libertar la de mis compañeros y compatriotas: mi súplica se redujo a que se me concediesen tres días para disponer mi conciencia, que por desgracia no es tan libre en mi vida privada como es pura en la pública; a que se me permitiese escribir algunas instrucciones a mi mujer e hijos, y que se salvase de pena tan cruel y seguro de la rectitud de mis intenciones volvía a servir a esta patria misma que le condena.

"El General Garza no pudiendo dudar de la justicia de mis exposiciones, de que me presento de buena fe sin un hombre un fusil ni la menor señal de hostilidad en la parte de la República en que menos amigos tenía a obedecer las resoluciones del Soberano Congreso General, ya fué admitido mis servicios, ya disponiendo mi salida del territorio de la República, a no volver jamás a él, suspendió la ejecución de la pena y salió en la misma tarde del 17 dirigiéndome con una escolta al Honorable Congreso de Tas Tamaulipas. "Julio 19 de 1824. Agustín de Iturbide".

Fue fusilado ese mismo día a las seis de la tarde.

Y ahora, a una distancia de ciento treinta años de su muerte, todavía los historiadores no se ponen de acuerdo para emitir un juicio definitivo acerca de este personaje tan discutido, aclarando si era realmente el amor de la Patria lo que lo impulsó a regresar a México, o fue la ambición de recuperar el desacreditado trono que ocupó.

Tal vez algún día se sabrá la verdad.

UNA CARTA ESCRITA
AL PIE DEL CADALSO

Por el Gral. IGNACIO A. RICHKARDAY

RESPUESTAS AL ABATE TESTORY

LAS RIQUEZAS DEL CLERO

PROMETÍ en el artículo anterior dar algunas muestras de las refutaciones al opúsculo del Abate Testory y quiero elegir para eso las respuestas a cargos que todavía hoy se hacen a la Iglesia, con lo que quedará demostrado que los acusadores siguen repitiendo cargos que hace un siglo fueron refutados, lo que implica o ignorancia supina o mala fe manifiesta.

Hablaba del Abate Testory de las riquezas del clero mexicano y decía: "Si los cálculos que se me han comunicado son exactos, la suma poseída por el clero o comunidades religiosas se elevaba desde 160 a 200 millones de pesos. La renta de estos bienes, aumentada con el diezmo, con las ofrendas voluntarias, con los derechos curales, con el producto de las dispensas, pie de altar o derechos de estola, etcétera, etcétera, daba cada año al clero un presupuesto superior con mucho al del Estado".

A esto respondió el doctor Basilio Arrillaga lo siguiente: "Tales son las noticias —fuera de lo mucho que comprenden las dos etcéteras—, comunicadas al señor Abate pero faltas de exactitud y de verdad.

"El doctor Mora, el gran progresista mexicano, apóstata y enemigo encarnizado del clero, pero estadista y economista, laborioso y muy sobresaliente entre nosotros, formó el cálculo de los bienes eclesiásticos y cuanto podía merecer este nombre —con exclusión de las parroquias, que se propuso conservar—, es decir el valor de capitales, de fincas rústicas y urbanas, de diezmos, primicias y oblaciones voluntarias, limosnas recogidas por los religiosos, derechos de estola y hasta el valor del terreno y fábrica de 9 catedrales y una colegiata, de 227 templos de regulares y 79 particulares, el de los retablos, campanas, pinturas, ornamentos, mármoles, adornos que no son de plata, oro, perlas, ni pedrería; las alhajas del culto, que lo son de dichas materias, incluso los vasos sagrados, y reunido todo por un cálculo que más bien ha de estar exagerado que diminuto, sacó por resultado \$179,173,754.00.

"El mismo regula los bienes improductivos de templos, alhajas, etcétera, en \$30,000,000.00, con lo que vienen a quedar los productivos en \$149,000,000.00 faltando once para los \$160,000,000.00 que es el mínimo del señor Testory, quien sube después hasta 200 sin contar los diezmos, primicias, ofrendas y derechos de estola, pues nos dice que todo esto aumentaba los 160 o 200 millones. Pues todavía, de los cálculos del doctor Mora, tan inferiores a los que ahora se presentan, hay que rebajar los capitales piadosos que entraron en consolidación e incluye en su cálculo y que ascendieron a \$9,974,121.00 según el mismo doctor Mora y además \$723,613.00 pertenecientes a diversos objetos y corporaciones piadosas que en épocas anteriores había tomada sobre sí el gobierno español y cuyos réditos, en todo o en parte, habrá dejado de pagarse desde el triun-

go de la Independencia por la constante escasez de nuestro Erario Nacional, y por la misma razón los \$621,900.00 del fondo dotal de la Colegiata de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, que recibió también sobre sí el gobierno español, que hace tanto tiempo está perdido para la Iglesia. en fin, el doctor Mora calculaba que las rentas eclesiásticas ascendían a la mitad de las del Gobierno, lejos de excederlas y de **excederlas con mucho**, como asienta, mal informado y fácilmente crédulo el señor Testory.

"Pero aun hay más: todos esos cálculos se hacían el año 1837 con referencia a datos de tiempo anterior, o cuando fueran de aquel mismo año, se formaban en circunstancias muy diversas de las actuales. Había entonces mayor número de personas que pagaban diezmos primicias, estando recién quitada la coacción civil, y hacían otras muchas oblaciones voluntarias por el espíritu de piedad que florecía, y satisfacían los derechos de estola con arreglo a arancel; aún no había costado el clero, en su mayor parte, la guerra con los americanos ni pagado tantas y tan excesivas contribuciones como después se han impuesto y cuyo monto ha exigido la venta de muchas fincas, ni habían sido tan repetidos y grandes los auxilios prestados al Gobierno, de grado o por fuerza, como lo han sido últimamente, pues sólo el negocio que lleva el nombre de Davidson importó \$700,000.00 y el de los Stones Barron del mismo año ascendió a \$320,000.00. Y todavía se le hará creíble al señor Testory que el clero haya tenido hasta ahora poco \$200,000,000.00 fuera de los diezmos, primicias y derechos parroquiales, y esos disponibles, pues él no cuenta con el valor de los templos, retablos, mármoles, etcétera, ni es lo que pretende ahora al Gobierno".

Después de esto pone el doctor Arrillaga dos ejemplos, y podía poner veinte, del empleo de las rentas eclesiásticas. Hélos aquí:

"El señor obispo de Oaxaca, don Alonso de Ortigosa, percibió en los 16 años y 8 meses en que ejerció el episcopado disfrutando toda la renta y por el demás tiempo que vivió jubilado, dividiéndola con su coadjutor, \$366,631.00 y rebajando de esa suma \$65,214.00 de sus gastos demésticos en 20 años y \$2,000.00 que pudieron haberle costado sus bulas, todo lo demás lo repartió de limosna o en los objetos a que estaba destinada la pensión sobre las mitras. El Ilmo. Sr. don Antonio Alcalde, obispo de Guadalajara, empleó en limosnas y donaciones hechas en su diócesis \$1,097,320.00.

Hasta aquí el Pbro. doctor don Basilio Arrillaga S. J., en su respuesta al Abate Testory y espero que esto servirá para callar la boca a los que hablan de las inmensas riquezas del clero de México.

En el artículo próximo, si Dios es servido, veremos lo que respondió el dicho Abate sobre la intromisión del clero en la política.

Por el Canónigo JESUS GARCIA GUTIERREZ

UN SUEÑO FUTURISTA

Por CAROLINA BARRAGAN

DESDE que Luis Pasteur, el eminente sabio, descubrió el procedimiento que lleva su nombre (pasteurización), y que permite conservar en frascos esterilizados y herméticamente cerrados, durante mucho tiempo, productos que de otra manera se descompondrían, el hombre ha estado en posibilidad de almacenar, para las generaciones futuras, todos los sobrantes alimenticios.

Sin embargo, nada se ha hecho al respecto, sin duda porque quienes deberían tomar la iniciativa son los gobiernos. y éstos se preocupan más por fabricar o comprar aviones, que por guardar las toneladas de jitomates que sobran en un año de magnífica cosecha, o los millones de kilos de fruta que se pudren por falta de consumidores.

En efecto, con demasiada frecuencia nos enteramos de que la producción de tal o cual artículo excedió a las necesidades del consumo, y que para evitar el desplome de los precios el sobrante será tirado al mar o quemado. Tal ha acontecido con el café, con el trigo y con muchos otros productos, cuyo control se encuentra en manos de poderosos e intocables "trusts" internacionales.

Sería pedir peras al olmo el pretender que estos grandes organismos que sólo persiguen la obtención de ganancias por millones de dólares, sacrificaran una mínima parte de sus utilidades en la conservación, para el futuro, de sus productos. Pero los gobiernos, que tienen la misión de velar por el porvenir de sus respectivos países, sí podrían hacer algo al respecto.

Por ejemplo, México pierde anualmente una cantidad fabulosa de pesos, por concepto de la fruta que en diversas regiones del país se pudre lamentablemente.

Al mismo tiempo, nuestro país es un gran productor de azúcar, y no obstante que exporta anualmente 50 mil toneladas de este rico producto, y que el consumo nacional ha crecido en forma considerable, hasta alcanzar una cifra cercana a las 700 mil toneladas anuales, ha venido formándose una reserva con los remanentes de cada zafra, que debe llegar ya a la respetable suma de 200 mil toneladas.

Paralelamente a estos fenómenos, ocurren en México otros francamente dolorosos. Por ejemplo, sólo una mínima parte de la población tiene el hábito de consumir postres en las

comidas, en forma cotidiana. La fruta sigue siendo un artículo de lujo en los centros urbanos, por el alto costo de los medios de transporte. En fin, que pese a la baratura del azúcar y a la abundancia de la fruta, no cumplen aún plenamente su cometido de dar energías al pueblo mexicano.

Con el azúcar sobrante y la fruta que se desperdicia el Gobierno podría instalar grandes empacadoras de conservas, que puestas en manos del público a un precio mínimo, ayudarían a resolver el problema de la desnutrición, y enviadas al extranjero, sobre todo a países en donde la fruta es costosa, se convertirían en una magnífica fuente de dólares para nuestra República.

El momento es propicio para pensar en la posibilidad de llevar adelante este proyecto, pues la devaluación de nuestra moneda nos sitúa en un plano en el que es necesario trabajar, y sobre todo, aprovechar hasta el máximo nuestras riquezas.

Es un crimen que mientras hay niños que mueren víctimas de la desnutrición, en diversas regiones del país se tiren y se dejen podrir elementos tan ricos y nutritivos como la fruta.

Por otra parte, la industria de las conservas serviría a la vez para dar a conocer en el extranjero algo de lo nuestro, y estimularía al turismo, ya que muchas personas desearían probar en su propia tierra algunos de los productos enlatados. Sucedería como con las sardinas portuguesas y el caviar ruso, que atraen a gran número de gourmets dispuestos a saborearlos en su propia mata.

Nuestro pueblo necesita energéticos baratos, y sin embargo, consume poca azúcar. ¿Por qué no dársele transformada en dulces y postres de bajo costo?... Un visionario, el señor Clemente Jacques, ha formado una gran industria que beneficia al país y que le prestigia en el Mundo entero; pero ese sólo debe ser el principio. Toca al gobierno fomentar, respaldar el establecimiento de grandes empacadoras, que permitan utilizar los millones de toneladas de fruta que se pierden anualmente, y el sobrante de la producción azucarera.

Ese día, México contará con una poderosa industria, e infinidad de regiones olvidadas resurgirán, convirtiéndose en activos núcleos productores de riqueza.

GIRO TELEGRAFICO Núm.

B N°

338014

909

O R I G I N A L

Fecha

Solicitante

Beneficiario

Lugar de destino

Importe líquido

\$

Premio

Mensaje

(Anótese clasificación, servicio
y número de palabras excedentes)

TOTAL

\$

SELLO
DE LA OFICINA
EXPEDIDORA

EL JEFE DE LA OFICINA,

EL EXPEDIDOR,

LEA USTED EL REVERSO, LE INTERESA

ADVERTENCIAS IMPORTANTES AL PUBLICO

Los mensajes-giros pueden ser ORDINARIOS, URGENTES, con CONTESTACION PAGADA y con ACUSE DE RECIBO, y el girador tiene derecho a enviar como mensaje adicional al amparo de la misma tarifa, hasta cinco palabras. Textos con más de cinco palabras no se aceptan.

En caso de que este giro no fuere cobrado en el lugar de destino durante los 10 días siguientes a la fecha de su expedición, el solicitante deberá retirar su importe líquido de la Oficina que lo expidió, tan pronto como reciba de la misma, el aviso en tal sentido; en la inteligencia de que si el pago fuere solicitado antes de efectuarse el reintegro, podrá hacerse efectivo aquél sin previo aviso al girador.

EL DERECHO DE LOS INTERESADOS PARA RECOGER SU IMPORTE, PRESCRIBE A LOS DOS AÑOS DE SU EXPEDICION.

RECIBI de la Oficina Telegráfica Nacional en este lugar, la cantidad de \$ _____

(Número y letra)

por reintegro del importe del giro teleográfico a que se refiere la presente constancia.

_____ a _____ de _____ de 195_____

El solicitante,

INSTITUTO MEXICANO DEL SEGURO SOCIAL

DEPARTAMENTO DE AFILIACION

Confirmación del Aviso de Cambio de Salario

Número de la Tarjeta de Afiliación	Nombre completo del Asegurado (Apellidos Paterno y Materno y Nombre)	Clínica de Ad- scripción	Grupo de Salario	Fecha de Cambio de Salario		
				Día	Mes	Año
14516	33 CALVILLO ALONSO MANUEL		L	1	1	57

TRIPPLICADO — CONFIRMACION AL TRABAJADOR

Número de la Tarjeta de Identificación	Patrón Nombre y Dirección					
103	293 EL COLEGIO DE MEX A C				K	21 257

INSTITUTO MEXICANO DEL SEGURO SOCIAL

909

DEPARTAMENTO DE AFILIACION

Confirmación del Aviso de Cambio de Salario

Número de la Tarjeta de Afiliación	Nombre completo del Asegurado (Apellidos Paterno y Materno y Nombre)	Clínica de Adscripción	Grupo de Salario	Fecha de Cambio de Salario		
				Día	Mes	Año
14516	33 CALVILLO ALONSO MANUEL		N	1	7	59

TRIPLICADO-CONFIRMACION AL TRABAJADOR

Número de la Tarjeta de Identificación	Patrón	Durango No. 93. Cd.	1m.
103	293	EL COLEGIO DE MEX A C	L 25 759

DUPLICADO
PARA EL PATRON

INSTITUTO MEXICANO DEL SEGURO SOCIAL

IMSS(3)
FORMA No. 3

NUMERO DE LA TARJETA DE IDENTIFICACION
PATRONAL

DEPARTAMENTO DE AFILIACION

NUMERO DE LA TARJETA DE AFILIACION

AVISO DE BAJA DE ASEGURADO

1.-

13-293

2.-

145-16-33

3.-NOMBRE COMPLETO DEL ASEGURADO

CALVILLO

ALONSO

MANUEL

APELLIDO PATERNO

APELLIDO MATERNO

NOMBRE

909

4.-

EL COLEGIO DE MEXICO, A.C.

NOMBRE DEL PATRON

Guadalupe 125

UBICACION DEL CENTRO DE TRABAJO

5.-

10. de Abril de 1961 .

FECHA DE LA BAJA (DIA MES AÑO)

por renuncia

CAUSA DE LA BAJA

10. de Abril de 1961 México, D.F.

LUGAR Y FECHA

EL COLEGIO DE MEXICO

FIRMA DEL PATRON O DE SU REPRESENTANTE

(PARA SER UTILIZADO EXCLUSIVAMENTE POR EL INSTITUTO)

CRITICA

LOCALIZACION

MODIFICACION

PERFORACION

VERIFICACION

104

= "Correspondencia de Menéndez y Pelayo
con Americanos."

Rubio Mañé, Biblioteca del Casino Español,
Colegio de México, Instituto de Cultura
Hispanica (a. fines sabe la dirección y
el teléfono). (Para el Casino hablar a
don Florentino Torner)

"Antología" de Menéndez Pelayo.

El Col. de México, Joaquín Díez Canedo.

"Historia de la Poesía Hispanoamericana"
de Menéndez Pelayo.

Antología de poetas hispanoamericanos
líricos castellanos.

GIRO TELEGRAFICO Núm. 2086

Nº 459902

Forma 43-T

CONSERVE este comprobante para casos de reclamación o reintegro

Fecha

Mayo 20/59

Solicitante

Manuel J. Calvillo

Beneficiario

Maria Gomez del Campo de Umana

Lugar de destino

Cuautla Morelos

Importe líquido

\$

170.00

Premio

\$

4.70

Mensaje

\$

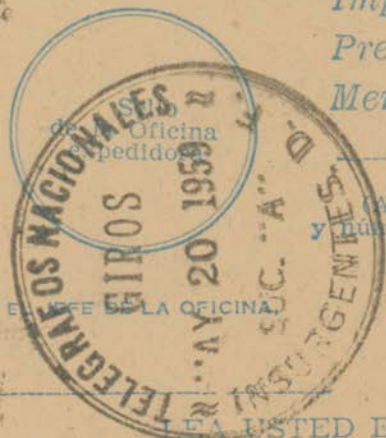
(Anótese clasificación, servicio
y número de palabras excedentes)

TOTAL

\$

\$ 174.70

EL EXPEDIDOR,



LEA USTED EL REVERSO, LE INTERESA

G. N.—2506-54

ADVERTENCIAS IMPORTANTES AL FUELICO

Los mensajes-giros pueden ser ORDINARIOS, URGENTES, con CO
TESTACION PAGADA y con ACUSE DE RECIBO, y el girador tiene de
cho a enviar como mensaje adicional al amparó de la misma tarifa, hasta
co palabras. Textos con más de cinco palabras no se aceptan.

En caso de que este giro no fuere cobrado en el lugar de destino dur
los 10 días siguientes, a la fecha de su expedición, el solicitante deberá
tirar su importe líquido de la Oficina que lo expidió, tan pronto como r
de la misma, el aviso en tal sentido; en la inteligencia de que si el pago
solicitado antes de efectuarse el reintegro, podrá hacerse efectivo aqué
previo aviso al girador.

EL DERECHO DE LOS INTERESADOS PARA RECOGER SU IM
TE, PRESCRIBE A LOS DOS AÑOS DE SU EXPEDICION.

RECIBI de la Oficina Telegráfica Nacional en este lugar, la cantidad

\$

(Número y letra)

por reintegro del importe del giro teleográfico a que se refiere la pre
constancia.

_____ a _____ de _____ de 19

El solicitante,

3907
3911
909

CORRESPONDENCIAS REGISTRADAS
SERVICIO INTERIOR

☐ REGISTRADOS

☐ REEMBOLSOS

☐ SEGUROS

PIEZA NUMERO

3755/59

CLASE

24

REMITIDA DE

Ignacio 24 (22)

EL 6 DE

Feb

DE 19

56

PARA

Dr. Manuel Barba Jr.

DOMICILIO

Rector de la Universidad

LUGAR

San Luis Potosí 22

Recibi de conformidad la pieza a que se refiere el presente.

13 FEB 1956

de 19

FIRMA DEL DESTINATARIO

109

Sello fechador de
la oficina que requi-
sita esta tarjeta

SERVICIO POSTAL MEXICANO
ACUSE DE RECIBO

Sr. *El Colegio de Mexico*
Domicilio *Parang 93*
Población *Mexico*



NOTA.—Este acuse de recibo debe requisitarlo la oficina que entregue la pieza registrada.



LIBRERIA ZAPLANA

ANDRES ZAPLANA

AV SAN JUAN DE LETRAN 41-I.

TELEFONO 10-13-93

MEXICO, D. F.

REGISTRO CAMARA DE COMERCIO 3578

CEDULA EMP: 14033 EXENTA

México, D. F., a 7 de Diciembre de 1959

Sr. Manuel Cobuillo

"El Col. de Mexico" Durango 93

Remitimos a Ud. (s) lo siguiente:

[illegible]**RECIBI DE CONFORMIDAD**

LIBRERIA ZAPLANA

ANDRES ZAPLANA

AV. SAN JUAN DE LETRAN 41-I.

TELEFONO 10-13-93

MEXICO, D. F.

REGISTRO CAMARA DE COMERCIO 3578

CEDULA EMP 14033 EXENTA

México, D. F., _____ de 195_____

Sr. *Francisco Calvillo*

Durango 93 Colegio Mexico

Remitimos a Ud.(s) lo siguiente: *Libros \$29 por la*

<i>La libertad</i>	<i>Bibliografía</i>	<i>maxima</i>
<i>para argentina</i>		<i>68 -</i>
<i>Kafka</i>	<i>Genes</i>	<i>23 50</i>
<i>Constituciones republicanas</i>		
<i>federales</i>	<i>Inst. Ejecutivos</i>	<i>75 -</i>
		<i>169 50</i>
	<i>10%</i>	<i>16 95</i>
<i>Pagado</i>		<i>152, 55</i>

COLEGIO DE MEXICO, A. C.

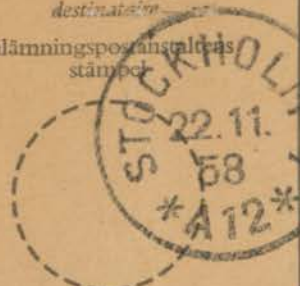
CONTABILIDAD Y CAJA

RECIBI DE CONFORMIDAD

KUPONG — COUPON

Kan fränskiljas av adressaten
Peut être détaché par le
destinataire

Inlämningspostanstalts
stämpel



Timbre du bureau d'origine

Avsändarens namn och adress
Nom et domicile de l'expéditeur

Föreskrift om paketets be-
handling vid obeställbarhet
lämnas på adresskortets bak-
sida och på paketet.

Tullverkets stämpel
Timbre de la douane

GIFT.

Paketets eller paketens inlämningsnummer

41 053
Stockholm 7

ADRES

Inlämningsland

Assurans-

belopp

Valeur déclarée

Antal
Nombre dePostförskott
RemboursementTill
A

Gata och nummer

Rue et numéro

Adressort

Lieu de destination

Adressland

Pays de destination

Vikt

Poids

kg

g

kg

g

kg

g

Tullavgifter³

Droits de douane

(Inlämnings) du (ou des) colis

NET — BULLETIN D'EXPÉDITION
— SUÈDE

(krontalet med bokstäver — les unités en toutes lettres et
en caractères latins)

(beloppet med siffror) (guldfr. med siffror
fr. or en chiffres arabes)

1 paket
colis

tulldeklarationer
déclarations en douane

certifikat eller fakturor
certificats ou factures

Postförskotts-
belopp — Montant
du remboursement

(krontalet med bokstäver — les unités en toutes lettres et
en caractères latins)

(beloppet med siffror
en chiffres arabes)

Insättes på postgirokonto nr _____ innehavare _____
A porter au crédit du compte courant postal no _____ de _____

i _____ vid postgirokontoret i _____
à _____ tenu par le bureau de chèques d _____

SEÑOR DON MANUEL CALVILLO
COLEGIO DE MÉXICO
MÉXICO D.F.
MEXICO

Befordran: Acheminement:
Befordringsväg
Voie

Utväxlingspostanst
Bureau d'échange

Göteborg 1

¹ Paket, låda, kartong, korg, säck, etc. — ² Om avsändaren
paketet icke skall eftersändas, skall han angiva detta genom en anteckning i denna ruta och på pa-
diteur desire que son colis ne soit pas réexpédié, il l'indiquera par une annotation dans ce cadre et sur
ruta ifylles av utväxlingspostanstalten eller tullmyndigheten i adresslandet. — Cadre à remplir par
par le service de la douane du Pays de destination.

FÖRESKRIFTER ATT MEDDELAS AV AVSÄNDAREN

INSTRUCTIONS A DONNER PAR L'EXPÉDITEUR

Avsändaren har att här nedan ävensom på paketet ange, huru detta bör behandlas i händelse av obeställbarhet. Enda föreskrifter äro medgivna. De kunna lämnas antingen genom att understryka eller i förekommande fall komplettera den. *L'expéditeur est tenu d'indiquer, dans le cadre ci-dessous et sur le colis, la manière dont ce dernier doit être traité en cas de non-livraison. Les prescriptions ci-après sont seules admises. Elles peuvent être données en soulignant et, s'il y a lieu, en complétant le texte imprimé.*

Paket, beträffande vilka avsändaren icke lämnat några föreskrifter, återsändas utan anmälan. — *Les colis dont l'expéditeur n'a pas donné d'instructions sont renvoyés sans avis.*

Om det på andra sidan av detta adresskort angivna paketet icke skulle kunna utlämnas, anhålles: — *Si la livraison du présent bulletin ne peut avoir lieu, je demande:*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>För paket till andra än nedan uppräknade länder.</p> | <p>a) att en obeställbarhetsanmälan tillställas mig; <i>qu'un avis de non-livraison me soit envoyé;</i>
 b) att en obeställbarhetsanmälan sändes till ¹ _____
 <i>que l'avis de non-livraison soit adressé à</i>¹
 c) att paketet omedelbart återsändes till inlämningspostanstalten;
 <i>que le colis soit renvoyé immédiatement à l'origine;</i>
 d) att paketet återsändes till inlämningspostanstalten sedan _____ dagar förflutit; <i>que le colis soit renvoyé à l'expiration d'un délai de _____ jours;</i>
 e) att paketet utlämnas eller återsändes till ² _____
 <i>que le colis soit livré ou réexpédié à</i>²
 f) att paketet återsändes för att utlämnas till den ursprungliga adressaten; — <i>que le colis soit renvoyé au destinataire primitif;</i>
 g) att paketet försäljes på min risk; — <i>que le colis soit vendu à mes risques et périls;</i>
 h) att paketet behandlas såsom avstått till postverket; — <i>que le colis soit traité comme abandonné.</i></p> |
| <p>För paket till Amerikas förenta stater med besittningar, Australiska statsförbundet, Canada, Ceylon, Irland, Nya Zeeland, Storbritannien med samtliga besittningar och Sydafrikanska unionen.</p> | <p>a) att paketet behandlas såsom avstått till postverket; — <i>que le colis soit traité comme abandonné;</i>
 b) att paketet utlämnas till _____
 <i>que le colis soit remis à</i> _____ här får endast annan adressat i adresslandet anmälas.</p> |

Avsändarens underskrift: *Signature de* _____

¹ Ange namn och adress på en tredje person i adresslandet. — *Indiquer le nom et l'adresse d'une tierce personne dans le pays.*

² Ange den nya adressatens namn och adress samt, i förekommande fall, huruvida paketet skall utlämnas utan postkrävande eller mot betalning av ett lägre belopp än det ursprungligen angivna. — *Indiquer le nom et l'adresse du nouveau destinataire, et, le cas échéant, le montant du paiement à percevoir ou contre paiement d'une somme inférieure au montant primitif.*

RÉCÉPISSÉ DU DESTINATAIRE

Le soussigné déclare avoir reçu le(s) colis désigné(s) au recto de ce bulletin.

_____, le _____ 19____

Signature: _____

115

EL COLEGIO DE MEXICO, S. C.

Recibí de El Colegio de México, en calidad de préstamo
la cantidad de \$ que me será descontada en abonos
de \$..... quincenales.

México, D. F., a.....de.....de 194....

Firma

Fecha	Concepto	Debe	Haber	Saldo
Feb. 17	anticipo	1400.-		1400.-
" 28	Inmuebles	1550.-		2950.-
Abril. 13	a/c		1400.-	1550.-
descuento de todo el mes de Febrero				
19	Anticipo	550.-		
29	"	1000.-	DESC.	
Feb. 15	a/c		550.00	1000.00
" 28	a/c		1000.00	- - -

Cantidad \$

Nombre

Abonos \$

ALBERTO REMBAO ✓
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Special to The New York Times.

AMSTERDAM, the Netherlands, July 18—A proposal to revoke the Seventeenth century excommunication of philosopher Baruch de Spinoza has been rejected by the leaders of the Portuguese Jewish community here, descendants of those who originally banned the eminent scholar.

The idea of reconsidering the 300-year-old measure arose from an article by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's former Prime Minister, in the Tel Aviv daily newspaper Davar.

Mr. Ben-Gurion wrote that the ban on Spinoza could not be continued in Israel, a free country, and added that it was a national and cultural duty to see that a complete Hebrew edition of Spinoza's works was published.

In 1656—the Jewish year 5416—the leaders of the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam branded Spinoza's work heretical and dangerous for the faith. The lay leaders of the synagogue announced the excommunication decision. The original record is preserved in the synagogue here.

Presumably, the synagogue elders were merely announcing a decision of the rabbinate. The current synagogue board, therefore, left the ultimate decision on whether to do anything about the centuries-old excommunication to the community's Chief Rabbi, Salomon Rodrigues Pereira.

The old Rabbi was emphatic today in expressing his intention to do nothing about the old measure. "No rabbinate has the right to review a decision of previous rabbinates, unless it is greater in number and wiser," he said.

This was well known in Jewish tradition, the spiritual leader said, adding, "I don't consider myself wiser than those who came before me."

This did not mean that Rabbi Rodrigues Pereira would have liked to review the 1656 measure if tradition did not bar the way. Given the age in which Spinoza lived and the nature of his beliefs, the excommunication was justified, the Rabbi thought.

This viewpoint has not won unanimous approval in the Jewish community here, which was sharply reduced by Nazi oppression during the war. In the polemic that followed Mr. Ben-Gurion's article, some felt the excommunication had been a tragedy and should, if possible, be rectified.

But the synagogue board is solidly behind its rabbi.



